THE BRITISH EMPIRE AND THE EARLY COLD WAR: A COMPARISON OF HONG KONG AND CYPRUS

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Abstract

This thesis seeks to re-define the Cold War as first and foremost a conflict of imperialisms and to identify how it was fought on the ground. It does so by identifying and comparing British policies in two geostrategic colonies, Hong Kong (1938-1952) and Cyprus (1941-1955), where there operated two of what policy-makers considered to be the British Empire's most critical communist threats: the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and the Progressive Party of Working People (AKEL). The thesis examines the motivations and actions of British colonial policy-makers, as they attempted to recover Britain's great power status and imperial prestige, against the challenges of international anti-colonialism, colonial nationalisms, and, above all, the seemingly coordinated efforts of colonial, national, and transnational communist movements to undermine the British Empire. This British revisionist study argues that British imperialism (as well as that of the Soviet Union) started, defined the nature of, and was transformed in response to the Cold War.

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List of Abbreviations

ACJ	Arthur Creech Jones [papers]
AKEL	Progressive Party of Working People
AON	Progressive Organization of Youth
CCP	Chinese Communist Party
Cominform	Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers' Parties
Comintern	Communist International
COS	chiefs of staff
DSE	Democratic Army of Greece
DSO	defence security officer
EAK	Union of Cypriot Farmers
EAM	National Liberation Front
EAS	National Liberation Alliance
ELAS	Greek People's Liberation Army
ELES	Limassol Committee for National Cooperation
EOKA	National Organization of Cypriot Fighters
FTU	Federation of Trade Unions [of Hong Kong]
IRD	Information Research Department
IUS	International Union of Students
JIC(FE)	Joint Intelligence Committee (Far East)
KEK	Cypriot Nationalist Party
KKE	Communist Party of Greece
KKK	Communist Party of Cyprus
KMT	Kuomintang [Nationalist Party of China]
MBE	Member of the British Empire
MCP	Malayan Communist Party
MM	Malcolm MacDonald [papers]
MP	member of Parliament
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NCNA	New China News Agency
OAG	officer administering the government
PDK	Provisional Democratic Government [of Greece]
PEK	Pancyprian Farmers' Union
PEO	Pancyprian Federation of Labour
PEON	Pancyprian National Youth Organization
PESP	Pancyprian Greek Socialist Vanguard
PODY	Pancypriot Organization of Democratic Women
PRC	People's Republic of China
PSE	Pancyprian Trades Union Committee
PSR	political situation report
ROC	Republic of China
SEK	Confederation of Cyprus's Workers
SIFE	Security Intelligence Far East
SIME	Security Intelligence Middle East
TNA	The National Archives [of the United Kingdom]
TUC	Trades Union Congress
VOKS	All-Union Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries
WFDY	World Federation of Democratic Youth
WFTU	World Federation of Trade Unions
WIDF	Women's International Democratic Federation

Biographical Notes

ALEXANDER, 1st Viscount of Hillsborough (Albert Victor ALEXANDER) (1885-1965). MP (Labour and Co-operative), 1922-1931, 1935-1950. First lord of the Admiralty, 1940-1945, 1945-1946. Member, Cabinet mission to India, 1946. Minister of defence, 1946-1950.

ARMITAGE, Sir Robert Perceval (1906-1990). New College, Oxford. Entered colonial administrative service, Kenya, 1930. Governor, Cyprus, 1954-1955. Governor, Nyasaland, 1955-1961.

ATTLEE, Clement Richard (1883-1967). University College, Oxford. MP (Labour), 1922-1955. Parliamentary under-secretary of state for war, 1924. Secretary of state for Dominion affairs, 1942-1943. Deputy prime minister, 1942-1945. Prime minister, 1945-1951. Leader, Labour Party, 1935-1955.

BARTON, Cecil James Juxon Talbot (1891-1980). Downing College, Cambridge. Entered colonial service, Kenya, c. 1914. Assistant district commissioner, Machakos, Kenya, 1914. Acting district commissioner, Turkana, Kenya, 1919. Colonial secretary, Fiji, 1936-1941. Colonial secretary, Nyasaland, 1941-1945. Principal, Colonial Office, 1945-1958.

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BEVIN, Ernest (1881-1951). General secretary, Transport and General Workers Union, 1921-1940. Member, General Council, TUC, 1925-1940. President, TUC, 1937. MP (Labour), 1940-1951. Minister of labour and national service, 1940-1945. Secretary of state for foreign affairs, 1945-1951.

CHIANG Kai-shek (1887-1975). Commander-in-chief, KMT National Revolutionary Army, 1926-1931. Director-general, KMT, 1938-1975. Chair, Supreme National Defence Council, ROC, 1939-1975. President, ROC, 1948-1949, 1950-1975. President (prime minister), Executive Yuan, ROC, 1930-1931, 1935-1938, 1939-1945, 1947.

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CREECH JONES, Arthur (1891-1964). National secretary, Transport and General Workers Union, 1919-1929. MP (Labour), 1935-1950, 1954-1964. Parliamentary private secretary to the minister of Labour and National Service (Ernest BEVIN), 1940-1945. Co-founder and chair, Fabian Colonial Bureau, 1940-1945. Member, Colonial Office Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies, 1936-1945. Chairman, Labour Party Advisory Committee on Labour Questions, 1944-1945. Parliamentary under-secretary of state for the colonies, 1945-1946. Secretary of state for the colonies, 1946-1950.

DAWE, Sir Arthur James (1891-1950). Brasenose College, Oxford. Entered Colonial Office, 1918. Secretary, royal commission to Malta, 1931. Secretary, mission to Malta, 1933-1934. Assistant secretary of state, Colonial Office, head of Pacific and Mediterranean Department, 1936-1938; East African Department, 1938. Assistant under-secretary of state, Colonial Office, responsible for the West African Department, 1938-1943; Middle East Department and Mediterranean Department, 1944-1945. Deputy under-secretary of state, Colonial Office, 1945-1947.

EDE, James Chuter (1882-1965). Christ's College, Cambridge. MP (Labour), 1923, 1929-1931, 1935-1964. Home secretary, 1945-1951.

EDEN, (Robert) Anthony (1897-1977). Christ Church, Oxford. MP (Conservative), 1923-1957. Parliamentary under-secretary of state for foreign affairs, 1931-1934. Secretary of state for foreign affairs, 1935-1938, 1940-1945, 1951-1955. Secretary of state for war, 1940. Deputy prime minister, 1951-1955. Prime minister, 1955-1957. Leader, Conservative Party, 1955-1957.

FANTIS, Andreas (1918-2012). Member, Central Committee, AKEL, 1941-1990. General secretary, PSE, 1941. Assistant general secretary, PEO, 1946. Assistant general secretary, AKEL, 1960-1986. MP (AKEL), Cyprus, 1970-1991. Founding member, the Reformed Democratic Socialist Movement (ADISOK) (AKEL splinter party), 1990. Joined United Democrats, 1996.

FISHER, Mary Letitia Somerville (1913-2005). Somerville College, Oxford. BBC, 1941-1945. Principal, Colonial Office, Mediterranean Department, 1945-1956. (Married John Sloman BENNETT, 1955.)

FLETCHER, Reginald Thomas Herbert, see WINSTER, Lord.

FLETCHER-COOKE, Sir John (1911-1989). Colonial service, 1934-1955. Prisoner of war, Japan, 1942-1945. Counsellor, UK delegation to the UN, 1949-1951. Colonial secretary, Cyprus, 1951-1955. Minister for constitutional affairs, Tanganyika,

1956-1959. Deputy governor, Tanganyika, 1959-1961. MP (Conservative), 1964-1966.

GEORGE II (1890-1947). King of the Hellenes, 1922-1923, 1935-1941, (in exile) 1941-1946, 1946-1947.

GRANTHAM, Sir Alexander William George Herder (1899-1978). Pembroke College, Cambridge. Entered colonial service, Hong Kong, 1922. Called to the Bar, 1934. Colonial secretary, Bermuda, 1935-1938. Colonial secretary, Jamaica, 1938-1941. Chief secretary, Nigeria, 1941-1944. Governor, Fiji and high commissioner, Western Pacific, 1945-1947. Governor, Hong Kong, 1947-1957.

GRIFFITHS, Jeremiah ('Jim') (1890-1975). Central Labour College (London). President, South Wales Miners Federation, 1934-1936. MP (Labour), 1936-1970. Minister of national insurance, 1945-1950. Secretary of state for the colonies, 1950-1951. Deputy leader of the Labour Party, 1955-1959. Secretary of state for Wales, 1964-1966.

GRIVAS, Georgios ('George') Theodoros (aka 'Digenis') (1898-1974). Leader, EOKA, 1954-1959.

HALL, 1st Viscount (George Henry HALL) (1881-1965). MP (Labour), 1922-1946. Parliamentary under-secretary of state for the colonies, 1940-1942. Financial secretary, Admiralty, 1942-1943. Parliamentary under-secretary of state for foreign affairs, 1943-1945. Secretary of state for the colonies, 1945-1946. First lord of the Admiralty, 1946-1951.

HARCOURT, Sir Cecil Halliday Jepson (1892-1959). Britannia Royal Naval College Dartmouth. Commander-in-chief, military administration, Hong Kong, 1945-1946.

HARDING, John Allan Francis (1896-1989). King's College London. Commander-in-chief, British Army on the Rhine, 1951-1952. Chief of imperial general staff, 1952-1955. Governor, Cyprus, 1955-1957.

HEATHCOTE-SMITH, Clifford Bertram Bruce (1912-2003). Pembroke College, Cambridge. Political advisor to the governor, Hong Kong, 1947-1950. Commercial counsellor, Turkey, 1956-1960. Commercial counsellor, 1960-1964. Deputy high commissioner, Madras, 1965-1968.

IOANNOU, Neophytos ['Fifis'] (1914-1988). General secretary, AKEL, 1945-1949. President, Union of Cyprus Journalists, 1973-1979.

JEFFRIES, Charles Joseph (1896-1972). Magdalen College, Oxford. Entered Colonial Office, 1917. Principal, Colonial Office, 1920. Assistant secretary of state, Colonial Office, head of Colonial Service Department, 1930-1939. Assistant under-secretary of state, Colonial Office, responsible for Establishments and Asia Department, 1939-1947; Personnel Division, 1940-1942; Colonial Service Department and Colonial Development and Social Services Department, 1942; Colonial Service Department and Welfare Department, 1943; Colonial Service Department, General and Defence Department, and Ceylon and Pacific

Department, 1944-1947. Joint deputy under-secretary of state, 1947-1956.

JONES, Arthur Creech, see CREECH JONES, Arthur.

LENNOX-BOYD, Alan Tindal (1904-1983). Christ Church, Oxford. MP (Conservative), 1931-1960. Minister of state at the Colonial Office, 1951-1952. Minister of transport, 1952-1954. Minister of civil aviation, 1952, 1953-1954. Secretary of state for the colonies, 1954-1959.

LEONTIOS, See LEONTIOU, Leontios.

LEONTIOU, Leontios (1896-1947). University of Athens. Bishop of Paphos, 1930-1947. Locum tenens, 1933-1947. Archbishop of Cyprus, 1947.

LLOYD, Sir Thomas Ingram Kynaston (1896-1968). Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. Entered Colonial Office, Nigeria Department, 1921. Private secretary, Colonial Office, Middle East Department, 1926-1929. Principal secretary, Colonial Office, 1929. Secretary, Palestine Commission, 1929-1930. Secretary, West Indies Commission, 1938-1939. Assistant secretary of state, Colonial Office, head of Colonial Service Department, 1939-1943; Defence Department, 1942. Assistant under-secretary of state, Colonial Office, responsible for General and Defence Department, Social Services Department, West Indies Department, and Public Relations Department, 1943; West Africa and Eastern Department, 1943-1947; Social Services Department, West Indies Department, Public Relations Department, and Communication Department, 1944-1946; Eastern Department and Prisoners of War Department, 1947. Permanent under-secretary of state, Colonial Office, 1947-1956.

LUKE, Stephen Elliot Vyvyan (1905-1988). Wadham College, Oxford. Chief secretary, Palestine, 1928-1930. Entered Colonial Office, 1930. Seconded, Palestine, 1936-1937. Secretary, Palestine Partition Commission, 1938. Assistant secretary, Colonial Office, head of Mediterranean Department, 1942-1947. Under-secretary, Cabinet Office, 1947-1950. Assistant under-secretary of state, Colonial Office, responsible for General Department and West Indies Department, 1950-1953. Comptroller, Development and Welfare in the West Indies, 1953-1958. Co-chair, Caribbean Commission, 1953-1958. Commissioner, West Indies Federal Organization, 1956-1958. Senior Crown agent for overseas governments and administrations, 1959-1968. Interim commissioner, West Indies, 1962-1968.

LYTTELTON, Oliver (1893-1972). Trinity College, Cambridge. MP (Unionist), 1940-1954. President, Board of Trade, 1940-1941, 1945. Minister of state, War Cabinet, 1941-1942. Minister of production, 1942-1945. Secretary of state for the colonies, 1951-1954.

MACDONALD, Malcolm John (1901-1981). Queen's College, Oxford. MP (Labour), 1929-1931, (National Labour), 1931-1935, (National Government), 1936-1945. Parliamentary under-secretary of state for dominion affairs, 1931-1935. Secretary of state for dominion affairs, 1935-1938, 1938-1939. Secretary of state for the colonies, 1935, 1938-1940. Minister for health, 1940-1941. High

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MAKARIOS III (Born Michail Christodolou MOUSKOS) (1913-1977). Boston University (Massachusetts). Deacon, 1938. Priest, 1946. Bishop of Kitium, 1948-1950. Archbishop of Cyprus, 1950-1977. President, Republic of Cyprus, 1960-1974, 1974-1977.

MAO, Zedong (1893-1976). Chairman, Central Politburo, CCP, 1943-1969. Chairman, Central Committee, CCP, 1945-1976. Chairman, PRC, 1954-1959.

MARKOS. See VAFIADIS, Markos.

MARTIN, Sir John Miller (1904-1991). Corpus Christie College, Oxford. Entered Dominion Office, 1927. Transferred to Colonial Office, Far Eastern Department, 1928. Seconded, Malayan civil service, 1931-1934. Secretary, royal commission on Palestine, 1936-1937. Private secretary to the prime minister (Winston CHURCHILL), 1940-1945 (principal private secretary, 1941-1945). Assistant under-secretary of state, Colonial Office, responsible for Information Department, 1945-1947; Middle East Department and Mediterranean Department, 1945-1956; Hong Kong and Pacific Department, Southeast Asia Department, and Far East Department, 1954-1956. Deputy under-secretary of state, Colonial Office, 1956-1965. High-commissioner, Malta, 1965-1967.

PAPAIOANNOU, Ezekiel (Ezekias) (1908-1988). Member, Central Committee, AKEL, 1945-1988. Organizing secretary, AKEL, 1947-1949. General secretary, AKEL, 1949-1988. MP (AKEL), 1960-1988.

PASKIN, Jesse John (1892-1972). St. John's College, Cambridge. Entered Colonial Office, 1921. Assistant private secretary to secretary of state for the colonies (Leo AMERY), 1927-1929. Principal, Colonial Office, 1929. Assistant secretary of state, Colonial Office, head of East African Department, 1939. Principal private secretary to the secretary of state for the colonies (Malcolm MACDONALD), 1939-1940. Assistant secretary of state, Colonial Office, head of Colonial Development and Social Services Department, 1941; Eastern A Department,

1942-1947. Assistant under-secretary of state, Colonial Office, responsible for Hong Kong and Pacific Department and Southeast Asia Department, 1948-1954.

PAUL (1901-1964). King of the Hellenes, 1947-1964.

PAVLIDES, Stelios (1892-1968). Member, Legislative Council, Cyprus, 1925-1927. Public prosecutor, Cyprus, 1927-1940. Solicitor general, Cyprus, 1940-1944. Attorney general, Cyprus, 1944-1952.

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ROBERTS, Sir Frank Kenyon (1907-1998). Trinity College, Cambridge. Entered Foreign Office, 1930. Secretary, HM Embassy, Paris, 1932-1935; Cairo, 1935-1937. Chargé d'affaires, Czechoslovakia, 1943. Minister, HM Embassy, Moscow, 1945-1947. Principal private secretary to the secretary of state for foreign affairs (Ernest BEVIN), 1947-1949. Deputy high commissioner, India, 1949-1951. Deputy under-secretary of state, Foreign Office, 1951-1954. Ambassador, Yugoslavia, 1954-1957. Permanent representative, NATO, 1957-1960. Ambassador, USSR, 1960-1962; West Germany, 1963-1968.

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SHAW, Sir John Valentine Wistar (1894-1950). Military service, 1914-1919. Entered colonial service, Gold Coast, 1921. Assistant secretary, Gold Coast, 1928-1935. Assistant secretary, Palestine, 1935. Senior assistant secretary, Palestine, 1938. Departmental chief secretary, Palestine, 1939-1940. Colonial secretary, Cyprus, 1940-1943. Chief secretary, Palestine, 1943-1946. Governor, Trinidad and Tobago, 1947-1950.

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SMITH, Trafford (1912-1975). Trinity College, Cambridge. Entered Colonial Office, 1935. Seconded, Fiji, 1938. Principal, Colonial Office, 1939. Assistant British resident commissioner, New Hebrides, 1940; British Solomon Islands Protectorate, 1940; Gilbert and Ellice Islands, 1941. Secretary, Soulbury Commission, Ceylon, 1944-1945. Assistant secretary, Colonial Office, head of Middle East Department and Political Department, 1945-1948; General and Defence Department, 1948-1953. Lieutenant-governor, Malta, 1953-1959. Assistant under-secretary of state, Colonial Office, responsible for Economic

Department, 1959-1966. Assistant under-secretary of state, Commonwealth Office, responsible for Gibraltar and South Atlantic Department and Pacific and Indian Ocean Department, 1966-1967. Ambassador, Burma, 1967-1970.

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STANLEY, Oliver Frederick George (1896-1950). Military service, 1914-1918. Called to the Bar, 1919. MP (Conservative), 1924-1950. Parliamentary under-secretary of state, Home Office, 1931-1933. Minister of transport, 1933-1934. Minister of labour, 1934-1935. President, Board of Education, 1935-1937. President, Board of Trade, 1937-1940. Secretary of state for war, 1940. Secretary of state for the colonies, 1942-1945.

STEVENSON, Sir Ralph Clarmont Skrine (1895-1977). University College, Oxford. Military service, 1914-1919. Entered Foreign Office, 1919. First secretary, Foreign Office, 1928. Counsellor, Foreign Office, 1938. Principal private secretary to the secretary of state for foreign affairs (Anthony EDEN), 1939-1941. Minister, Uruguay, 1941-1943. Ambassador, Yugoslavia, 1943-1946; China, 1946-1949; Egypt, 1950-1955.

TSALDARIS, Konstantinos (1884-1970). University of Athens. Prime minister, Greece, 1946-1947.

TURNBULL, Roland Evelyn (1905-1960). King's College, London and St John's College, Oxford. Entered colonial service, Malaya, 1929. British resident, Brunei, 1934-1936. Seconded, Colonial Office, 1937. Controller of foreign exchange, Malaya, 1939. Colonial secretary, British Honduras, 1940-1943. Temporary colonel, War Office, 1943-1945. Colonial secretary, Cyprus, 1945-1950. Chief secretary to high commissioner, Basutoland, Bechuanaland, and Swaziland, 1950-1953. Governor, North Borneo, 1954-1959.

VAFIADIS, Markos (1906-1992). Member, Central Committee, KKE, 1942-1950. Commander, Macedonian division, ELAS, 1941. Commander, DSE, 1946-1948. Prime minister, PDK, 1947-1948. Expelled from KKE, 1949.

WINSTER, Lord (Reginald Thomas Herbert 'Rex' FLETCHER) (1885-1961). MP, (Liberal) 1923-1924, (Labour) 1935-1942. Private secretary to the first lord of the Admiralty (A.V. ALEXANDER), 1940-1941. Minister of civil aviation, 1945-1946. Governor, Cyprus, 1946-1949.

WOOLLEY, Sir Charles Campbell (1893-1981). University College Cardiff. Military service, 1914-1920. Entered colonial service, Ceylon, 1921. Secretary, Ceylon, 1931. Colonial secretary, Jamaica, 1937-1938. Chief secretary, Nigeria, 1938-1941. Governor, Cyprus, 1941-1946. Governor, British Guiana, 1947-1953.

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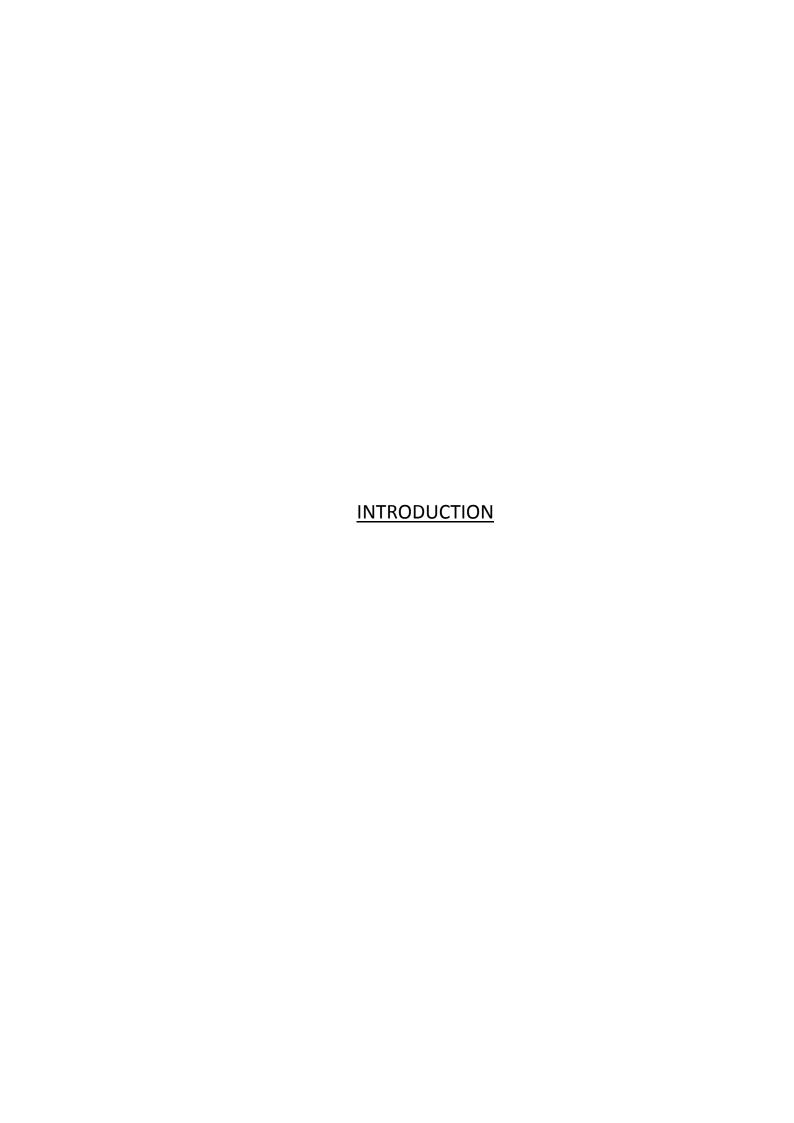
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INTRODUCTION

Introduction: Historiographies, Framework, and Sources

By the early 1940s, there operated within Hong Kong and Cyprus two of what policy-makers considered to be the British Empire's most dangerous communist threats: the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and the Progressive Party of Working People (AKEL), respectively. In addition to Anglo-Soviet tensions regarding their imperial peripheries which existed from the 1920s, there had been a communist presence in Hong Kong from as early as 1920, while AKEL's predecessor, the Communist Party of Cyprus (KKK), which was founded in 1926, had caused the British authorities there so much concern that the latter proscribed the KKK in 1933.[1] By the end of the Second World War, the perceived Soviet threat to the British Empire took on greater urgency, particularly given the gradual breakdown of Allied cooperation, Soviet expansionism in Eastern Europe, and British officials' anxiety regarding Britain's declining world power. Thus British policy-makers in Hong Kong, Cyprus, and London debated and implemented considerable and, in some cases, unprecedented actions against these colonial communists to defend British interests and to protect the imperial project from the supposed communist menace.

This comparative study of British colonial policies in Hong Kong (1938-1952) and Cyprus (1941-1955) seeks a fuller understanding of the motivations, perceptions, and intentions of British policy-makers in London and in the colonies, as they attempted to reassert Britain's great power status and imperial prestige, against the challenges of international anti-colonialism, colonial nationalisms, and, above all, the seemingly coordinated efforts of colonial, national, and transnational communist movements to undermine the British Empire. Moreover, with their contrasting geographical locations and development, with multiple yet differing challenges, these two colonies represent ideal prisms through which to view the Cold War for what it was, 'a clash between rival imperialisms'.[2]

Both Hong Kong and Cyprus were threatened by internal communist and

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[1] Christine Loh, *Underground Front: The Chinese Communist Party in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong, 2010), p. 43; Anastasia Yiangou, *Cyprus in World War II: Politics and Conflict in the Eastern Mediterranean* (London, 2010), p. 16.
[2] John Kent, *British Imperial Strategy and the Origins of the Cold War, 1944-49* (Leicester, 1993), p. xi.

nationalist agitation as well as by external claims of sovereignty; menaced, it was believed, by Soviet-directed communist movements; and economically devastated by the Second World War. Attempts at constitutional advancement (as part of a wider imperial strategy to justify the continuation of the British Empire and to contain communist imperialism) failed in both Cyprus and Hong Kong. Instead, policy-makers sought to maintain British sovereignty over these two geostrategic islands (i.e. on the frontline of Soviet and Chinese communist expansionism) and thus engaged in a (mostly) cold war against the local, regional, and international communist forces which were active, or at least perceived to be active, in these two colonies.

This comparative analysis focusses on British actors and British policy-making regarding two critical sites of tension. Despite the complexity of the British colonial system, with its numerous and often conflicting vested interests (e.g. the Cabinet, the Colonial Office, and the colonial governments), British policy-makers were nevertheless unified (although for varying reasons) in their determination to counter local and international communist movements, which they believed sought to destroy the British Empire from within and out, by fighting on cultural battlegrounds for the hearts and minds of the colonial people.

This thesis has two aims.

First and foremost, this thesis will elucidate the imperialist nature of the Cold War, thereby broadening our understanding of it beyond its traditional parameters confined by the US and nuclear conflict. The Cold War was not only a war of competing imperial powers (i.e. the great power interests of, at first, Britain and the Soviet Union) but also of competing imperialisms, in which Britain's repressive formal colonial rule faced a much more popular and effective Soviet cultural and ideological imperialism (masked as anti-colonialism and pro-nationalism) – not to mention the anti-colonialism of its major ally, the US (although it was less 'a coherent doctrine' and more a 'vague' ideal undermined by contradictory adventurism).[3]

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[3] Scott L. Bills, *Empire and the Cold War: The Roots of the US-Third World Antagonism, 1945-47* (London, 1990), pp. 6-7.

Britain (as well as other European colonial powers) was therefore under considerable pressure to decolonize, especially after 1945 with the breakdown of Allied cooperation. However, this did not mean that the British government intended to sever all ties with the colonies but to evolve the imperial system from direct rule to indirect influence through promoting political, legal, and cultural links between the metropole and its colonies, as well as continued diplomatic and economic ties with former colonies-cum-members of the Commonwealth of Nations. Wm. Roger Louis and Ronald Robinson have aptly called this process 'the imperialism of decolonization'.[4]

Therefore my first and main argument is that the Cold War was a war of rival imperialisms in which British foreign and colonial policy-makers believed they were resisting aggressive Soviet imperialism bent on destroying the British Empire via the propagation of an inherently imperialist but self-avowedly anti-colonial ideology and the manipulation of its proponents across the world. From this official perception (regardless of real Soviet intentions or capabilities), policy-makers in Hong Kong, Cyprus, and London sought to meet this perceived imperial threat on the local cultural and ideological battlefields of the Cold War.

Second, the thesis aims to present alternative narratives to the nationalist-focussed history of Cyprus and the neutrality myth of Hong Kong history. In both cases, the colonial governments identified local communism (as well as its links, both real and imagined, to external communist movements and organizations) as the most dangerous threat to their respective colony's stability and 'proper' development and therefore took action against it. By identifying these anti-communist actions, this thesis will further explain how the British fought the imperial Cold War on the ground.

HISTORIOGRAPHY AND DEFINITIONS: THE BRITISH EMPIRE AND THE COLD WAR

This thesis generally aims to draw together and expand the historical frameworks of the British Empire and of the Cold War, by demonstrating the pervasiveness of anti-communist and anti-Soviet thinking in British colonial policy-making, in order to

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[4] Wm. Roger Louis and Ronald Robinson, 'The Imperialism of Decolonization', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 22/3 (1994).

define the Cold War as an imperial conflict. The thesis also links the 'cultural Cold War' (which was itself imperialistic and often focussed on the issue of imperialism) and British imperialism (which, by the mid-twentieth century, attempted to manipulate culture in order to guide state formation) in order to demonstrate how the imperially-defined Cold War was fought on the ground.

The disunion of the British Empire and the Cold War has largely been the consequence of the resilient definition of the Cold War as a Soviet-American conflict which began sometime between 1945 and 1949, limiting the role of other nations to that of a passive battleground on which the US and USSR clashed.[5] While slight variations exist, the general consensus of Western scholars is indeed that 'the cold war is a post-World War II phenomenon, beginning at some point between 1945 and 1947' when 'an essentially bipolar world' emerged, 'in which the United States and the Soviet Union confronted one another more or less right around the Eurasian land mass'.[6]

This definition has been jealously (and sometimes contemptuously) guarded. Donald Cameron Watt, for example, wrote in 1978 that '[t]o apply the term "Cold War" to the whole history of Soviet relations with the capitalist powers since 1917 is to destroy any value that may lie in the concept and render it urgently necessary to devise another to cover the period since 1945'.[7] More recently, Geoffrey Warner has dismissed British revisionists (i.e. who identify Britain's active and vital role in the origins of the Cold War), stating that so long as they remember 'to treat it as a contribution to an eventual synthesis and not as anything approaching the synthesis itself, no harm will be done and much profit gained'.[8]

The timings and nature of the Cold War, however, have been seriously challenged. Richard Saull, for example, has written that traditional temporal definitions of the Cold War (i.e. that it started after the Second World War) 'tends

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[5] Recent examples include: John Lewis Gaddis, *The Cold War: A New History* (London, 2007); Campbell Craig and Fredrik Logevall, *America's Cold War: The Politics of Insecurity* (Cambridge, MA, 2012).
[6] Alexei Filitov, 'Victory in the Postwar Era: Despite the Cold War or Because of It?', in: Michael J. Hogan (ed.), *The End of the Cold War: Its Meaning and Implications* (Cambridge, 1997), p. 79.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 14.
[8] Geoffrey Warner, 'The Study of Cold War Origins', in: David Armstrong and Erik Goldstein (eds), *The End of the Cold War* (London, 1990), p. 21.

to overlook any linkage between the Soviet Union of 1917-45 and the USSR after 1945' and to ignore 'any continuity in Soviet *and* American international relations, that became *more manifest* after 1945'. He has also argued that 'the inclination to view the Cold War through the prism of strategic-nuclear conflict' tends 'to ignore other forms of political conflict or to reduce them to issues of domestic politics that did not, ultimately, interfere with the strategic patters of superpower behaviour'.[9]

Therefore, as Bruce A. Elleman argues:

> [t]he simple fact that the methods that the USSR used to draw Outer Mongolia into the Soviet-led Communist bloc [in the 1920s] preceded similar methods used throughout Eastern Europe after World War II is convincing evidence that some, if not all, of the diplomatic characteristics that later became associated with the cold war were already in play during the 1920s.[10]

Regarding its nature, Antonio Varsori has recently defined the Cold War as 'the conflict between two systems which [...] in different ways, had a need to assert themselves worldwide and could leave no room for the other system's values and models'. Varsori's definition, 'which stresses the ideological, almost 'religious' character of the conflict', is specific enough to mark out a distinct period of history (i.e. between the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 and the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991) but vague enough to allow for the complexities of the conflict (i.e. opposing systems which were also contested within, in the case of the communist system, by the USSR and PRC, and, in the democratic system, by Britain and the US).[11]

This vague and pervasive definition of the Cold War also has the benefit of concurring with contemporary understandings of the conflict. For example, according to the official Soviet line, as defined in the 1970 edition of *The Great Soviet Encyclopedia*:

> The various forms of the cold war and its arsenal of methods include the formation of a system of military and political alliances [...] the establishment of an extensive network of military bases [...] the use of force, the threat of force [...] the application of economic pressure [...]

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[9] Richard Saull, *Rethinking Theory and History in the Cold War: The State, Military Power and Social Revolution* (London, 2001), pp. 1-3.

[10] Bruce A. Elleman, *Diplomacy and Deception: The Secret History of Sino-Soviet Diplomatic Relations, 1917-1927* (London, 1997), p. 109.

[11] Antonio Varsori, 'Reflections on the Origins of the Cold War', in: Odd Arne Westad (ed.), *Reviewing the Cold War: Approaches, Interpretations, Theory* (London, 2013), p. 281.

increased subversive activity on the part of the intelligence services [...]
the encouragement of putsches and coups d'etat [...] propaganda and
ideologically diversionary activities [...] and the attempt to obstruct the
establishment and implementation of political, economic, and cultural
ties among states.[12]

Or, as Sir John Sterndale Bennett, the British deputy commissioner-general for
Southeast Asia, put it in 1950, the Cold War:

'included political policy, since the nationalist aspirations of the local
populations had to be taken into account. It included economic policy,
since an essential part of winning the Cold War was the promotion of
contentment, social welfare, and satisfactory living standards. It
included military policy, since without the restoration of law and order
there could be no political and economic progress. The Cold War, in fact,
covered the whole gamut of government policy.[13]

Not only do these quotations highlight the depth and breadth of the conflict in the
minds of policy-makers, these passages also point to a definition of the Cold War as
an imperial conflict.

Nevertheless, despite the amount of revision the Cold War historiography has
undergone – which was driven by a desire to assign blame for starting the Cold War,
from the so-called orthodox (the Soviet Union), revisionist (the US), and post-
revisionist (a little of both) schools – almost all of these historical challenges still
define the Cold War as a Soviet-American conflict.[14] John Lewis Gaddis, the
quintessential post-revisionist, wrote in 1978, that there were 'two superpowers
separated only by a power vacuum'.[15] In 2013, Geir Lundestad wrote that '[d]uring
the Cold War there were at least two worlds – the one dominated by the United
States, "the free world", and that dominated by the Soviet Union, the communist
world'.[16]

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[12] Elleman, *Diplomacy and Deception*, p. 110.

[13] Minutes of Bukit Serene Conference, 'The Cold War in South-East Asia', 22 August 1950, 18/9/38-
48, Malcolm MacDonald papers, Durham University Library: Archives and Special Collections
[hereafter MM papers].

[14] For the orthodox interpretation, see: George F. Kennan, *American Diplomacy, 1900-1950* (Chicago,
IL, 1951). For revisionism, see: Walter LaFeber, *America, Russia, and the Cold War* (New York, 1967).
For post-revisionism, see: John Lewis Gaddis, *The United States and the Origins of the Cold War,
1941–1947* (New York, 1972).

[15] John Lewis Gaddis, *Russia, the Soviet Union, and the United States: An Interpretive History* (New
York, 1978), p. 180.

[16] Geir Lundestad, 'Introduction: The Past', in: Geir Lundestad (ed.), *International Relations Since the
End of the Cold War: New and Old Dimensions* (Oxford, 2013), p. 2.

There was, however, a third world – the Third World, in fact – and it was dominated by Britain and its empire. While it is recognized that imperialism and decolonization influenced 'the way the Cold War was fought', the roles of colonial and post-colonial territories are often defined by American and/or Soviet involvement.[17] Niall Ferguson's often quoted description of Europe's 'long peace' as 'the Third World's War' is meant to include the large number of US-Soviet proxy wars in which millions of people died throughout Asia, Africa, and Latin America.[18] Odd Arne Westad's 2005 book, *The Global Cold War*, was essentially:

> about how the mightiest powers of the late twentieth century – the United States and the Soviet Union – repeatedly intervened in processes of change in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, and through these interventions fuelled many of the states, movements, and ideologies that increasingly dominate international affairs.[19]

In addition to military interventions, it has been observed that the US and USSR also sought Third World allies, offering 'contrasting development models' to these developing countries and territories.[20]

However, it must be noted that most of these Third World territories were either European colonies or recently decolonized countries and that, especially for the former, European colonial rule did not simply give way to American and/or Soviet influence. The activities, motivations, and intentions of the European colonial powers – especially Britain, which was by 1945 still governing the world's largest colonial empire – must be given due consideration as separate players in any study of 'the Third World's War' or the 'Global Cold War'.

While the Third World's hot wars and Soviet-American interventions have received much scholarly attention, this thesis seeks to highlight the Third World's cold wars and British imperial actions therein, specifically in Cyprus and Hong Kong.

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[17] Jussi M. Hanhimäki and Odd Arne Westad, *The Cold War: A History in Documents and Eyewitness Accounts* (Oxford, 2003), p. 347.

[18] Niall Ferguson, *The War of the World: Twentieth-Century Conflict and the Descent of the West* (London, 2006), p. lxxi; Odd Arne Westad, 'Two Finales: How the End of the Third World and the End of the Cold War Are Linked', in: Geir Lundestad (ed.), *International Relations Since the End of the Cold War: New and Old Dimensions* (Oxford, 2013), p. 134.

[19] Odd Arne Westad, *The Global Cold War: Third World Interventions and the Making of Our Times* (Cambridge, 2005), p. 1.

[20] Elizabeth Schmidt, 'Africa', in: Richard H. Immerman and Petra Goedde (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of the Cold War* (Oxford, 2013), pp. 267-268.

In doing so, this thesis also aims to further 'de-centre' the Cold War. As Jadwiga E. Pieper Mooney and Fabio Lanza have recently put it, there are insights to be gained 'by focusing on state policies *and* on the roles of individuals or organized actors, on people and groups whose activities were related to but not directly dependent on Cold War state policies at the highest levels'.[21] While the thesis concentrates on British colonial policy-makers, they were not monolithic in their interests or thinking, and studying their interactions indeed expands our understanding of how, where, and by whom the Cold War was fought.

Before coming to the empire, however, we must first consider the role of Britain in the Cold War. The earliest studies of Britain's Cold War have largely conformed to the orthodoxy line in one way or another.[22] British orthodoxy generally asserts that Britain encouraged greater involvement from the US – if not willingly handed over the hegemonic baton – in European politics, in response to Soviet expansionism.[23] Even *The Oxford Handbook of the Cold War*, published in 2013, includes the view that Britain was 'an active' but certainly secondary 'participant' and 'an important, albeit waning, cold war power'.[24] This US-centric-plus-Britain interpretation thrives despite the fact that, as Anne Deighton has observed, 'the protection of a favourable balance of power and the containment of the Soviet Union' – the two defining factors of a traditional understanding of the Cold War – 'were initially British phenomena'.[25]

British revisionism has challenged this interpretation of passivity or 'waning' activity. In 1988, Peter Weiler argued that the right-wing of the British Labour Party and Trades Union Congress (TUC) in part 'created […] the Cold War consensus', by means of domestic and international information management and propaganda in

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[21] Jadwiga E. Pieper Mooney and Fabio Lanza, 'Introduction: De-Centering Cold War History', in: Jadwiga E. Pieper Mooney and Fabio Lanza (eds), *De-Centering Cold War History: Local and Global Change* (London, 2013), p. 3.
[22] Peter Weiler, 'Britain and the First Cold War: Revisionist Beginnings', *Twentieth Century British History*, 9/1 (1998), pp. 127-129.
[23] For example: Alan Bullock, *Ernest Bevin, Foreign Secretary, 1945-51* (New York, 1983); Kenneth Morgan, *Labour in Power, 1945-1951* (Oxford, 1984).
[24] Klaus Larres, 'Britain and the Cold War, 1945-1990', in: Richard H. Immerman and Petra Goedde (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of the Cold War* (Oxford, 2013), p. 141.
[25] Anne Deighton, 'Introduction', in: Anne Deighton (ed.), *Britain and the First Cold War* (London, 1990), p. 4.

their campaign against 'the communist and non-communist left'.[26] Weiler was also one of the first to flip the US-centric-plus-Britain interpretation on its head, to argue that Britain attempted and was largely successful in securing a US commitment to European defence, in order to secure Britain's great power status, not replace it.[27] Anne Deighton has more recently demonstrated that Britain deliberately disrupted the potential post-war Soviet-American rapprochement regarding Germany and sought 'Anglo-American solidarity' to prevent its own decline in great power.[28] There are, perhaps unsurprisingly, a huge number of studies which question the exact dynamics of the subsequent Anglo-American 'special relationship'.[29]

A second thread of British revisionism has argued that Britain not only caused the Cold War for its own interests but sought a 'third way' between the US and the Soviet Union.[30] The essential question for the post-war Labour government, according to Lawrence Black, was how to resist the Soviet Union's 'Communist autocratic centralism' without having to assume the 'hysterical American worship of wealth'.[31]

The most challenging revisionist historical studies have come from those who focus on Britain's imperial power, most notably by John Kent.[32] Kent has argued that the Cold War was partly caused by and then helped sustain a British imperial strategy which was intended to recover Britain's great power status independent of the US and USSR. (Cyprus and Hong Kong both featured significantly in this

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[26] Peter Weiler, *British Labour and the Cold War* (Stanford, CA, 1988), p. 9.
[27] Peter Weiler, 'British Labour and the Cold War: The Foreign Policy of the Labour Governments, 1945-1951', *The Journal of British Studies*, 26/1 (1987), pp. 80-81.
[28] Anne Deighton, *The Impossible Peace: Britain, the Division of Germany, and the Origins of the Cold War* (Oxford, 1990), p. 235.
[29] For example: Richard J. Aldrich, *The Hidden Hand: Britain, America and Cold War Secret Intelligence* (London, 2001); Andrew Defty, *Britain, America and Anti-Communist Propaganda, 1945-53: The Information Research Department* (London, 2004); Wm. Roger Louis, *Imperialism at Bay: The United States and the Decolonization of the British Empire, 1941-1945* (Oxford, 1986); Hugh Wilford, *The CIA, the British Left and the Cold War: Calling the Tune?* (London, 2003).
[30] For example: John Kent and John W. Young, 'The "Western Union" Concept and British Defence Policy, 1947-1948', in: Richard Aldrich (ed.), *British Intelligence, Strategy and the Cold War* (London, 1992); Jan Melissen and Bert Zeeman, 'Britain and Western Europe, 1945-1951: Opportunities Lost?', *International Affairs*, 63/1 (1986-1987).
[31] Lawrence Black, '"The Bitterest Enemies of Communism": Labour Revisionists, Atlanticism and the Cold War', *Contemporary British History*, 15/3 (2001), p. 28.
[32] Weiler, 'Britain and the First Cold War', p. 129.

geostrategic thinking.[33]) More broadly, Kent defines the Cold War as essentially 'a clash between rival imperialisms', initially those of Britain and the Soviet Union, and then eventually those of the People's Republic of China (PRC) and the US as well.[34]

Re-framing the Cold War as an imperial conflict is crucial to understanding its dynamics. Now we must define imperialism. Imperialism in its broadest sense is 'the attempt to impose one state's predominance over other societies by assimilating them to its political, cultural and[/or] economic system'. It is 'a continuum with wide variation in its objects and methods', not only between empires but also within empires, depending on a great number of factors. One mechanism of imperialism is colonialism, which this thesis will define as direct political control over a subjugated people. However, crucial to our understanding of the Cold War, there are other mechanisms of imperialism, including economic domination, political and defence entanglements, and cultural and ideological imposition – indeed anything that creates (or is intended to create) 'one state's predominance over other societies'.[35]

Moreover, imperialism, especially that of the British, was variously 'fractured, informal, and indirect' as well as 'uneven […] between and among imperial powers'.[36] Rare were master imperial plans; rarer still were straightforwardly successful and wholly implemented master plans. Therefore, while they disagreed over exact strategies and while grand strategies had varying rates of success across the empire, that British policy-makers responsible for the administration of Hong Kong and Cyprus (including the Cabinet, Colonial Office, and colonial governments) agreed on the exact threat to British imperialism (i.e. communist imperialism) and the cultural battlegrounds on which they met (e.g. education and trade unionism) is all the more revealing of the imperial nature of the Cold War.

However, empires have been generally studied with a 'conceit of

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[33] For example, E.E. Bridges, report, 'Imperial Security in the Middle East', 2 July 1945, CAB66/67/5/1; Bevin, memorandum, 'Erection and Maintenance of Broadcasting Station in Singapore', 28 March 1946, CAB129/8/29.

[34] Kent, *British Imperial Strategy*, pp. x-xi.

[35] John Darwin, *After Tamerlane: The Rise and Fall of Global Empires, 1400-2000* (New York, 2008), p. 416.

[36] Antoinette Burton, *Empire in Question: Reading, Writing, and Teaching British Imperialism* (London, 2011), pp. 286.

exceptionalism' – that is, a tendency to focus 'inward, back toward the intra-colonial'.[37] It is not surprising then that there 'is a conceptual inequality: whereas the influence of the Cold War on decolonisation has been assimilated into a clear theoretical framework, there has been very little attempt to generalise about how the end of empire influenced Cold War strategy'.[38]

Indeed, the expansive historiography of the British Empire is generally silent on this matter, tending to view the Cold War as a factor in the British Empire, but not the British Empire as a factor in the Cold War. For example, John Darwin has argued that the 'fourth British Empire' was 'constructed in haste after 1945' as 'a last attempt to turn global politics to Britain's advantage and build a new British system to insure against the uncertainties of the post-war world'.[39] Mark Philip Bradley has asserted that while '[w]ithout question, the Cold War affected decolonizing states at multiple levels […] the global move toward decolonization was rooted in local particularities that long preceded, ran parallel with, and ultimately persisted beyond the Cold War'.[40]

There are a few exceptions who have built on Kent's imperial definition of the Cold War. Frank Heinlein, for example, has identified Whitehall's concerns about the Soviets 'courting "disappointed nationalism"' in an effort 'to open up another front in the Cold War' in the Middle East and Africa. Moreover, he has observed that, for the Colonial Office, 'the best way of providing a "constructive answer" to communism was a liberal colonial policy', and, therefore, decolonization 'became an inherent part of cold war politics'. Heinlein concludes that 'the colonial empire […] became "a vital 'cold war' battleground"', but only '[i]n the 1950s'.[41]

More recently, Antony Best, echoing the likes of Elleman and Saull, has

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[37] *Ibid.*, p. 283.

[38] Spencer Mawby, 'Mr. Smith Goes to Vienna: Britain's Cold War in the Caribbean 1951-1951', *Cold War History*, 13/4 (2013), p. 542.

[39] John Darwin, 'Was There a Fourth British Empire?', in: Martin Lynn (ed.), *The British Empire in the 1950s: Retreat or Revival?* (Basingstoke, 2006), p. 29.

[40] Mark Philip Bradley, 'Decolonization, Revolutionary Nationalism, and the Cold War, 1919-1962', in: Melvyn P. Leffler and Odd Arne Westad (eds), *Cambridge History of the Cold War. Volume 1: Origins* (Cambridge, 2010), p. 465. Similar assertions can be found in: Frank Füredi, *Colonial Wars and the Politics of Third World Nationalism* (London, 1998), p. 101; Jason C. Parker, 'Decolonization, the Cold War, and the Post-Columbian Era', in: Robert J. McMahon (ed.), *The Cold War in the Third World* (Oxford, 2013), p. 125.

[41] Frank Heinlein, *British Government Policy and Decolonisation 1945-1963* (London, 2002), p. 106.

criticized such chronological limitations, specifically calling out fellow British revisionists Deighton and Kent for writing 'as if the conflict arrived in the mid to late 1940s without any pre-history'. Instead, he argues that Anglo-communist tensions had a long history, specifically identifying an Anglo-Soviet '"cold war" of sorts' in China and East Asia during the inter-war years. Moreover, Best concludes 'that the Cold War battle-lines that would mar the Third World after 1945 were already being drawn up in the inter-war period'. (Westad has come to a similar conclusion.) As early as the 1930s, Britain found its imperial power challenged, not only by the Soviet Union, but also by colonial nationalists with Communist International (Comintern) backing, if not with genuine Bolshevik convictions and loyalties.[42]

The work of British imperial historians can be illuminated and illuminating to our understanding of the Cold War if the Cold War is understood as an imperial conflict, in which empires were controlled, experienced, and contested, and thereby 'shaped the discursive and material conditions in which they worked'.[43] The British, Soviet, Chinese, and US empires competed largely because of the conflicting national interests which they served, but also because power is not static. Charles S. Maier has observed that 'as authority wanes, whether endogenously because of civil strife at home, or exogenously because of pressure from outside, the frontiers [of empires] will become the site of killing, maiming, forced uprooting, and destruction of property' – indeed, the Cold War's hot conflicts.[44] The frontiers of empires were also sites of the Cold War's ideological and psychological conflicts: prohibition, censorship, intelligence, propaganda, and indoctrination.[45]

Moreover, as A.G. Hopkins has asserted, '[t]he perpetuation of colonial rule, which was regarded as a vital part of winning the Cold War in the immediate post-war years, came to be seen as a liability by the 1960s'.[46] But Whitehall (especially

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[42] Antony Best, '"We Are Virtually at War with Russia": Britain and the Cold War in East Asia, 1923-40', *Cold War History*, 12/2 (2012), pp. 205-206, 219-220. See also: Westad, *The Global Cold War*, pp. 73-74.
[43] Burton, *Empire in Question*, p. 285.
[44] Charles S. Maier, *Among Empires: American Ascendancy and its Predecessors* (London, 2006), p. 110.
[45] For example: Johan Franzén, 'Losing Hearts and Minds in Iraq: Britain, Cold War Propaganda and the Challenge of Communism, 1945-58', *Historical Research*, 83/222 (2010); Mawby, 'Mr. Smith Goes to Vienna'.
[46] A.G. Hopkins, 'Rethinking Decolonization', *Past & Present*, 200/1 (2008), p. 244.

the Colonial Office) considered traditional colonialism to be a liability far before the 1960s but certainly by the late 1930s. This sense of liability was further heightened in 1945 and 1946 after the Soviet Union's creation of massive non-governmental organizations (NGOs) – specifically the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY), the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU), the Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF), and the International Union of Students (IUS) – marked a significant turning-point in the nature of imperialism and geopolitics. In addition to its traditional anti-colonialism, Soviet imperialism was now cultural and transnational. Or put another way, the Soviets introduced in 1945 'a discourse of anticolonialism but a foreign policy of neocolonialism'.[47]

This was the origin of what Maier has termed a 'post-territorial empire'.[48] And, just as '[p]rinciples of human rights undermined established notions of racial superiority', the Soviet Union's anti-colonial neocolonialism undermined established notions of imperialism.[49] Thus the Cold War was not simply, as Cary Fraser has recently argued, driven by a 'decolonization process' designed to revive nation-states and redress colonial powers' 'historical embrace of [...] racial supremacy'.[50] These largely public relations exercises masked the real attempt by competing great powers (especially Britain, with its 'increasingly outdated [...] imperialist outlook') to reinvent their approaches to imperialism in order to maintain political, economic, and/or cultural dominance in an increasingly anti-colonial world – and it was this process of competing, adapting, and reacting imperialisms which drove Cold War tensions.[51]

Kent, Best, and Hopkins have demonstrated that Britain's imperialism and imperial interests in large part defined British high policy and affected geopolitics of the Cold War. However, this prompts the question, to which this thesis seeks an answer: how did British policy-makers try to implement these strategies on the

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[47] Walter L. Hixson, *The Myth of American Diplomacy: National Identity and U.S. Foreign Policy* (New Haven, CT, 2008), p. 224. See also: Gamsa, 'The Cultural and the Social', p. 396.
[48] Maier, *Among Empires*, p. 282.
[49] Hopkins, 'Rethinking Decolonization', p. 241.
[50] Cary Fraser, 'Decolonization and the Cold War', in: Richard H. Immerman and Petra Goedde (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of the Cold War* (Oxford, 2013), p. 471.
[51] Saki Dockrill, *Britain's Retreat from East of Suez: The Choice between Europe and the World?* (Basingstoke, 2002), p. 9.

ground in the colonies? Both Hong Kong and Cyprus were viewed as strategic necessities in the Cold War by the British Cabinet, Foreign Office, chiefs of staff, and Colonial Office, and this certainly dictated British external policy regarding the two colonies (e.g. British policy towards China, Greece, and Turkey).[52] But how did this affect British colonial policy in these two colonies, and how did British colonial policy affect high policy and geopolitics?

As discussed above, the historiographical focus on high politics and nuclear conflict is in part a hang-up of Cold War orthodoxy, and it limits our understanding of how the Cold War was fought. For example, Best has asserted that the 'Soviet Union during the 1920s and 1930s constituted more of an ideological than a strategic threat to British interests due to the relative inability of the Red Army to project its power over Russia's borders'. While Best recognizes some consistencies between the interwar and post-war periods of the Cold War, he unnecessarily separates ideology and strategy and thereby misses one of the most important consistencies: ideological and cultural politics.[53] British revisionism, perhaps out of necessity in establishing itself, has largely relied on this high politics definition of the Cold War and would now benefit from interacting with another important challenge to orthodoxy, that of the so-called 'cultural Cold War'.

While its exact meaning is still debated, many scholars (including the present author), initiated by Frances Stonor Saunders's work, have defined the cultural Cold War as the deliberate utilization of culture as an ideological weapon and battleground.[54] By this I mean the (attempted) manipulation of 'the common characteristics, shared values and beliefs, and patterns of behaviour that set one group apart from another'.[55]

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[52] David Clayton, *Imperialism Revisited: Political and Economic Relations between Britain and China, 1950-54* (Basingstoke, 1997), pp. 8-9; Edward Johnson, 'Britain and the Cyprus Problem at the United Nations, 1954-58', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 28/3 (2000), pp. 115-116.

[53] Best, 'We Are Virtually at War with Russia', p. 219.

[54] Frances Stonor Saunders, *Who Paid the Piper?: CIA and the Cultural Cold War* (London, 1999). See also: W. Scott Lucas, 'Beyond Freedom, Beyond Control: Approaches to Culture and the State-Private Network in the Cold War', in: Giles Scott-Smith and Hans Krabbendam (eds), *The Cultural Cold War in Western Europe* (London, 2003); Christopher Sutton, 'Britain, the Cold War, and "The Importance of Influencing the Young": A Comparison of Cyprus and Hong Kong', *Britain and the World* (2014).

[55] Mark Gamsa, 'The Cultural and the Social in Chinese-Russian Relations', *Cultural and Social History*, 9/3 (2012), p. 393.

During the Cold War, cultural politics was more than just propaganda; in Soviet communism, for example, the 'theory of "culture"' was an 'inexorable conquest of high ("spiritual") culture by the broad masses, who by the coming of communism would be raised to the level of the intelligentsia and thereafter replace it'.[56] Between the Soviet Union and the US, '[j]azz, rock and roll, jeans, Hollywood and Coca-Cola became weapons in [...] the contest over living standards that [Soviet premier Nikita] Khrushchev and [US President Richard] Nixon spotlighted in their famous "kitchen debate"' of 1959.[57]

The cultural Cold War has largely been defined by the traditional US-Soviet definition, and it has recently been observed that even the Soviets are slowly being pushed out of the historiographical picture of 'America vs Amerika'.[58] The cultural Cold War, however, was pervasive. Tony Shaw, for example, has demonstrated how certain British film-makers, official propagandists, and censors, for different reasons, 'helped to define how many aspects of the Cold War – political, economic, ideological, material and personal – were perceived' by millions of film-goers, not necessarily telling them 'what to think, but [...] what to think about'.[59]

Moreover, especially when considered as part of the 'Third World's War', cultural politics formed a significant portion of British Cold War colonial policy. As Susan Carruthers has observed, by as early as 1947 the British government was convinced that the Soviets had initiated an expansionist campaign, especially regarding the British Empire, 'competing not only for physical but also for psychological territory – "men's minds"'.[60]

'Men's minds' – or 'hearts and minds', to put it in its imperial terminology – were essential to British colonial strategies, especially in Britain's attempt to guide state formation and decolonization. Thus British colonial strategies and policy-

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[56] *Ibid.*, pp. 393, 395.
[57] Yale Ferguson and Rey Koslowski, 'Culture, International Relations Theory, and Cold War History', in: Odd Arne Westad (ed.), *Reviewing the Cold War: Approaches, Interpretations, Theory* (London, 2000), p. 170.
[58] David Caute, 'Forward', in: Giles Scott-Smith and Hans Krabbendam (eds), *The Cultural Cold War in Western Europe, 1945-1960* (London, 2003), p. viii.
[59] Tony Shaw, *British Cinema and the Cold War: The State, Propaganda and Consensus* (London, 2006), p. 196.
[60] Susan Carruthers, *Winning Hearts and Minds: British Governments, the Media and Colonial Counter-Insurgency 1944-60* (Leicester, 1995), p. 11.

making in Hong Kong and Cyprus, where two powerful communist parties were hard at work, aimed to meet the communists on the psychological, social, and cultural battlegrounds, such as trade unionism and education. Indeed, 'the Cold War was a continuation of colonialism though slightly different means. As a process of conflict, it centered on control and domination, primarily in ideological terms'.[61] This conflict between British and communist cultural imperialisms constituted in part the early cultural Cold War.

Ultimately, British colonial policy-makers struggled to find a constructive response to Soviet cultural imperialism and tended to rely on repressive legislation, police monitoring, and violence, while the communists (especially the pro-communist NGOs) offered an attractive vision of pro-nationalism and anti-colonialism to the colonies' youth, workers, and women. In fact, Hong Kong and Cyprus offer important insights into the process by which British policy-makers attempted to adapt their approach to imperialism to compete with those of the Soviets and, eventually, the US and PRC.

In both of these colonies, policy-makers reformed their colonial rule, rescinding some particularly repressive and/or racist laws, in order to build colonial loyalty and to counter international criticism. In both cases, the British attempted to introduce limited self-government but failed for a number of local and geopolitical reasons. In both cases, Britain's attempt to transform its approach to imperialism was challenged and undermined, at least in the minds of policy-makers, by communist movements. Finally, while acknowledging the benefits of providing a positive, pro-British alternative to communism, the British response to the CCP, AKEL, their respective front organizations, and their international affiliations tended to be repressive. Cyprus and Hong Kong provide two clear examples of how the British fought the Cold War as a 'clash between rival imperialisms' on the ground.

By utilizing British colonial rule as my framework – with its explicit and deliberate attempts at state formation and socio-cultural engineering – the ways in which culture served (or was intended to serve) authority become clearer.[62] This

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[61] Westad, *The Global Cold War*, p. 396.
[62] Lucas, 'Beyond Freedom, Beyond Control', p. 53.

thesis identifies how British officials, reacting to and causing Cold War tensions, attempted to manipulate several important cultural processes, specifically regarding youth, education, trade unionism, and the movement of people. This was how Kent's clash of imperialisms and Westad's global Cold War was fought on the ground, in the imperial Cold War.

Indeed, Westad's 'global Cold War', Ferguson's 'Third World's War', Kent's 'clash between rival imperialisms', Louis and Robinson's 'imperialism of decolonization', Darwin's 'Fourth British Empire', Saunders's 'cultural Cold War', and 'hearts and minds' are all describing the same process but from different perspectives and with different accentuations. By examining and comparing the local, in this case in Cyprus and Hong Kong, these formerly desperate historiographical interpretations of the twenty-first century align.

HISTORIOGRAPHY: CYPRUS

In many ways, the historiography of Cyprus is representative of histories of the British Empire, in that it is inward-facing. It is dominated by studies of the Greek-Cypriot nationalist revolt (1955-1959) for *enosis* (union with Greece) and Cyprus's subsequent problems, including independence (1960), the Greek coup and subsequent Turkish intervention (1974), and partition (1983). Studies of Cyprus's early post-war history written between 1955 and 1999 have tended to concentrate on explaining the revolt: its causes and consequences for Cyprus's future. As such, the ways in which Cyprus influenced and was influenced by the Cold War has been obscured. This thesis will present an alternative narrative based not on explaining some future event but elucidating British policy as it was intended when implemented and the centrality of the Cold War therein. In fact, Cyprus offers a rich case-study of how the British sought to fight the Cold War on the ground.

The historiography of the revolt is massive; however, a few crucial texts need to be highlighted for this thesis. One of the first important works on post-war Cyprus was written in 1978 by Nancy Crawshaw, a journalist, who published new findings on the role of George Grivas and his Greek-Cypriot nationalist terrorist group, the National Organization of Cypriot Fighters (EOKA). Unlike most of the authors who previously wrote on Cyprus, Crawshaw was more critical of British colonial rule, specifically, if perhaps unreasonably, for failing to recognize the

Greek-Cypriot nationalists as the government's greatest long-term threat.[63]

Official British documents pertaining to post-war Cyprus began trickling out of the relatively new Foreign and Commonwealth Office in 1975, but it was not until 1985 that material directly about the Cyprus Emergency was released. In 1998, Robert Holland published *Britain and the Revolt in Cyprus*. It was the first English-language work on the Cyprus Emergency which, in addition to a wide range of unofficial sources, utilized official British documents declassified under the thirty-year rule.[64]

These two monographs, representative of the field in general, treat the pre-emergency years as at least context or at most the origins of the nationalist-led violence, usually in their introductions or a background chapter. Crawshaw, while dedicating three chapters to the period, labelled them as: 'the growth of the enosis movement'; 'the years of warning'; and 'the origins of EOKA'.[65] The first English-language monograph to concentrate on the pre-1955 period was written by George Horton Kelling, a US army intelligence officer-turned-historian. While he observed that British policy-makers, and specifically Governor Andrew Wright, 'saw AKEL as the primary danger', Kelling nevertheless was preoccupied with the nationalists and their eventual revolt, which is clear from the title of his book: *Countdown to Rebellion*.[66]

While the origins of the Cyprus revolt is an important question, reading Greek-Cypriot nationalist violence backwards into the pre-1955 period obscures other important processes, such as the role of AKEL. Until the 2000s, AKEL's pre-emergency role has been either ignored or given a minimal role specifically, as Holland argues, as but one factor in the radicalization of the right-wing nationalists.[67] AKEL was not mentioned in Kelling's conclusions.[68] Charles Foley called AKEL 'the island's tame communist party', a small group of 'Iron Curtain

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[63] Nancy Crawshaw, *The Cyprus Revolt: An Account of the Struggle for Union with Greece* (London, 1978).

[64] Robert Holland, *Britain and the Revolt in Cyprus, 1954-1959* (Oxford, 1998).

[65] Crawshaw, *The Cyprus Revolt*, chapters 1-3.

[66] George Horton Kelling, *Countdown to Rebellion: British Policy in Cyprus, 1939-1955* (London, 1990), p. 101.

[67] Holland, *Britain and the Revolt in Cyprus*, p. 11.

[68] Kelling, *Countdown to Rebellion*.

graduates and their hangers-on', whose meetings were conducted without 'a hint of red'. Foley argued that AKEL's proscription was proof that Britain viewed all Greek-Cypriots as potentially dangerous.[69]

Crawshaw, on the other hand, recognized that Britain's dilemma was 'how to contain communism and preserve law and order without proscribing the only constructive political movement in Cyprus'. She concluded that:

> Whitehall and the Colonial Government, in their preoccupation with the dangers of communism, had failed to recognise that in the long term the greatest threat to British interests in Cyprus came from the right wing and that the best hope of launching a constitution with the consent of the people lay in concessions to the leftists over the structure of the legislature.[70]

Holland has echoed this sentiment.[71]

While these observations – which represent most of the historical analysis on Britain's post-war pre-emergency rule – might be justified if the only filter through which one studies Cyprus is the revolt, this prompts an important question: despite being aware of widespread and increasingly violent nationalist sentiments, why did the Cyprus government and Whitehall deliberately, explicitly, and consistently focus their efforts against communist influence between 1941 and 1955? AKEL played a much more significant role in Cyprus politics, British colonial policy-making, and the international Cold War.

Before 1999, there had been a few studies which recognized AKEL's importance. In 1972, T.W. Adams published the first academic English-language study of AKEL for a book series on non-ruling communist parties. However, as it preceded the release of official records, Adams depended on newspapers, interviews, and material published by the Cyprus government and AKEL, which were often in contradiction. Furthermore, the author betrays his Cold War bias, calling in the postscript for the nationalists' 'eternal vigilance' against the communist menace, prompted by AKEL's electoral victories in 1970. The book's value is not in

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[69] Charles Foley, *Legacy of Strife: Cyprus from Rebellion to Civil War* (Baltimore, 1964), pp. 28-29, 41-42.

[70] Crawshaw, *The Cyprus Revolt*, p. 39.

[71] Robert Holland, 'Never, Never Land: British Colonial Policy and the Roots of Violence in Cyprus, 1950-54', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 21/3 (1993), pp. 158-159.

its uneven historical narrative but its facts and references.[72]

AKEL's centrality was not again identified in such an explicit manner until 1999, when Ioannis D. Stefanidis examined the 'Cyprus problem' in its wider history, from the 1931 riots to independence in 1960. Stefanidis concluded that AKEL was responsible for internationalizing the Cyprus question in 1950 but then lost 'its ability to influence the course of events'.[73]

Since then, a considerable number of studies have been published about Cypriot politics during the pre-emergency period.[74] Yiorghos Leventis's 2002 in-depth study of the failed constitutional developments in Cyprus has provided new insights into AKEL's decision-making process and its uncertain relations with external communist parties.[75] In 2006, Hubert Faustmann and Nicos Peristianis published an edited collection which contained three important chapters: Nicos Peristianis traced the development of tensions between the left- and right-wings of Cypriot politics; Vassilis Protopapas provided an important narrative of left-right relations, specifically in regards to the municipal elections between 1940 and 1955; and Christophoros Christophorou developed our understanding of AKEL's political identity and tactics more generally.[76]

Also in 2006, Andreas Panayiotou brought AKEL's socio-political influence forward to the present day, not just in Cyprus, but also in his wider thesis that 'the communist alternative was also particularly attractive to non-western societies', especially in colonial territories where communism 'represented a radical/revolutionary alternative to ineffective middle-class liberalism, nationalism

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[72] T.W. Adams, *AKEL: The Communist Party of Cyprus* (Stanford, CA, 1977), p. 205.

[73] Ioannis D. Stefanidis, *Isle of Discord: Nationalism, Imperialism and the Making of the Cyprus Problem* (London, 1999), p. 246.

[74] These include several works in Greek. See: Andreas Fantis, *The Cypriot Trade Union Movement during the Period of the English Colonialism (1878 – 1960)*, 2 vols (Nicosia, 2006); Nicos Peristianis (ed.), *Fifis Ioannou, the Left and the Cyprus Problem* (Nicosia, 2004); Rolandos Katsiaounis, *The Consultative Assembly 1946-1948* (Nicosia, 2000); Yiannos Katsourides, 'The Origins of the Cypriot Left: The Mobilisation of the Working Class and the Communist Party, 1922-1931', *Annual Review of Cyprus Research Center*, 35 (Nicosia, 2010).

[75] Yiorghos Leventis, *Cyprus: The Struggle for Self-Determination in the 1940s: Prelude to Deeper Crisis* (Frankfurt am Main, 2002).

[76] Nicos Peristianis, 'The Rise of the Left and of the Intra-Ethnic Cleavage'; Vassilis Protopapas, 'The Rise of a Bi-Polar Party System, Municipal Elections 1940-1955'; Christophoros Christophorou, 'The Emergence of Modern Politics in Cyprus 1940-1959', all in: Hubert Faustmann and Nicos Peristianis (eds), *Britain in Cyprus: Colonialism and Post-Colonialism 1878-2006* (Mannheim, 2006).

[...] and traditional/conservative movements'.[77]

In 2010, Anastasia Yiangou has written on AKEL's importance during the Second World War, concluding that in Cyprus '[u]ndoubtedly, the critical event was the foundation of A.K.E.L.'.[78] Alexis Rappas recognized that the Cypriot communists 'had been clearly identified [...] as one of the main threats, along with nationalists, to colonial authority'.[79] Most recently, in early 2014, Yiannos Katsourides has written on the development of the communist movement in Cyprus between 1922 and 1941 and similarly concluded that 'the British concentrated on the CPC [Cypriot Communist Party], which they recognized was their greatest threat'.[80] Ultimately, in the post-war period, as even Holland has noted, '[p]roscribing AKEL [...] was always a key aim of the Cyprus authorities, and its significance requires more consideration'.[81]

Indeed, this is one of the aims of the thesis. The previous focus on the nationalist revolt had obscured our understanding of British action before the outbreak of nationalist violence. While these recent works have demonstrated AKEL's role in Cyprus's social and political development, this thesis aims to demonstrate AKEL's important position in the minds of British colonial policy-makers during a critical period not only of Cypriot history but also in Britain's wider Cold War. By comparing this preoccupation with that in Hong Kong, this thesis further elucidates the predominance of a Cold War mentality behind British colonial policy-making as well as how the Cold War was fought in the colonies.

HISTORIOGRAPHY: HONG KONG

Similar to that of Cyprus, Hong Kong's historiography has a pervasive interpretation which limits our understanding of Hong Kong's place in the Cold War. By accepting the colonial government's self-professed neutrality in the Chinese Civil War at face value (discussed below), recent historians have generally overlooked the war of

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[77] Andreas Panayiotou, 'Lenin in the Coffee-Shop: The Communist Alternative and Forms of Non-Western Modernity', *Postcolonial Studies*, 9/3 (2006).

[78] Yiangou, *Cyprus in World War II*, p. 164.

[79] Alexis Rappas, 'The Labor Question in Colonial Cyprus, 1936-1941. Political Stakes in a Battle of Denominations', *International Labour and Working-Class History*, 76 (2009), p. 204.

[80] Yiannos Katsourides, *The History of the Communist Party in Cyprus: Colonialism, Class and the Cypriot Left* (New York, 2014), p. 177.

[81] Holland, 'Never, Never Land', p. 158.

rival imperialisms which occurred in the colony. This thesis will begin to address this, by examining numerous ways in which British policy-makers explicitly sought to fight the Cold War in Hong Kong.

Challenging the 'colonial school' (which uncritically celebrated Britain's supposed accidental acquisition and then development of a small 'barren rock' into one of the most profitable international free ports in the world) and the subsequent 'Beijing school' (the Marxist response which aimed to reveal the exploitative nature of British imperialism), a third school of historians has appeared, which, instead of taking the middle ground between pro- and anti-imperialism, concentrated on the socio-political dimensions of the colony. The 'Hong Kong school' has not only corrected the biases and distortions of the historiography but has also taken the history of Hong Kong in exciting new directions.[82] This evolving historiography of post-war Hong Kong centres on defence strategy,[83] Sino-British relations,[84] local political and economic developments,[85] and the 'appointment with China' (that is, Hong Kong's scheduled return to China as stipulated in Sino-British treaties).[86]

Studies of Hong Kong's role in the Cold War generally begin their narratives in

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[82] John M. Carroll, *A Concise History of Hong Kong* (Lanham, 2007), p. 2; Christopher Munn, *Anglo-China: Chinese People and British Rule in Hong Kong, 1841-1880* (Richmond, Surrey, 2001), pp. 4-8; C.M. Turnbull, 'Formal and Informal Empire in East Asia', in: Robin W. Winks (ed.), *The Oxford History of the British Empire. Volume V: Historiography* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 393-395. For 'colonial school', see: George B. Endacott, *History of Hong Kong* (London, 1958); Frank Welsh, *History of Hong Kong* (London, 1993). For 'Beijing school', see: Lau Siu-kai, 'The Hong Kong Policy of the People's Republic of China, 1949-1997', *Journal of Contemporary China*, 9/23 (2000); Yin Qian, *Dynamics vs. Tradition in Chinese Foreign Policy Motivation: Beijing's Fifth Column Policy in Hong Kong* (Commack, NY, 1999). For 'Hong Kong school', see: Henry Lethbridge, *Hong Kong: Stability and Change* (Oxford, 1978); Chan Wai-kwan, *The Making of Hong Kong Society: Three Studies of Class Formation in Early Hong Kong* (Oxford, 1991).
[83] For example: Malcolm H. Murfett, *In Jeopardy: The Royal Navy and British Far Eastern Defence Policy 1945-1951* (Oxford, 1995); James H.T. Tang, 'From Empire Defence to Imperial Retreat: Britain's Postwar China Policy and the Decolonization of Hong Kong', *Modern Asian Studies*, 28/2 (1994).
[84] For example: Tom Buchanan, *East Wind: China and the British Left, 1925-1976* (Oxford, 2012); Clayton, *Imperialism Revisited*; Lanxin Xiang, *Recasting the Imperial Far East: Britain and America in China, 1945-1950* (New York, 1995); Feng Zhong-ping, *The British Government's China Policy 1945-1950* (Keele, 1994).
[85] For example: Leo F. Goodstadt, *Profits, Politics and Panics: Hong Kong's Banks and the Making of a Miracle Economy, 1935-1985* (Hong Kong, 2007); Catherine R. Schenk, *Hong Kong as an International Financial Centre: Emergence and Development 1945-1965* (London, 2001); Steve Tsang, *Democracy Shelved: Great Britain, China, and Attempts at Constitutional Reform in Hong Kong, 1945-1952* (Hong Kong, 1988).
[86] Steve Tsang, *Hong Kong: An Appointment with China* (London, 1997). See also: Roger Buckley, *Hong Kong: The Road to 1997* (Cambridge, 1997).

1949, with the fall of the Republic of China (ROC) to the CCP.[87] There are a few notable exceptions. Francis Yi-hua Kan has identified the 'unique form of foreign relations policy' which dictated British neutrality in Hong Kong during the immediate post-war years.[88] Richard Lombardo and Michael Share have produced important works on American and Soviet policies, respectively, regarding Hong Kong during the early Cold War.[89]

The historiographical recognition of Hong Kong's position in the Cold War has been facilitated by its physical proximity to communist China and its regional context. In East and Southeast Asia, the number of Cold War proxy wars in, for example, China, Korea, French Indochina, and Malaya, as well as the geopolitical upheaval caused by the formation of the PRC, have made the connections between colonies and the Cold War much more obvious.[90] Indeed, national and regional historians of post-Second World War Southeast Asia have been much more perceptive of 'the convergence and collision' of the rise of nationalisms, the Cold War, and British imperialism and decolonization.[91] For British policy-makers, Hong Kong was the first domino; when Hong Kong went, so did Southeast Asia.[92]

Nevertheless, there is a general consensus in the historiography of Hong Kong that, as Steve Tsang has put it, 'the authorities in Hong Kong adhered as far as possible to a policy of strict neutrality in Chinese politics, supported by an attitude

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[87] For example: Lowe, Peter, *Containing the Cold War in East Asia: British policies towards Japan, China and Korea, 1948-53* (Manchester, 1997); Chi-kwan Mark, *Hong Kong and the Cold War: Anglo-American Relations 1949-1957* (Oxford, 2004); Steve Tsang, *The Cold War's Odd Couple: The Unintended Partnership between the Republic of China and the UK, 1950-1959* (London, 2006). Qiang Zhai, *The Dragon, the Lion, and the Eagle: Chinese-British-American Relations, 1949-1958* (Kent, OH, 1994).

[88] Francis Yi-hua Kan, 'The Position of Hong Kong in Britain's Policy towards the Two Rival Chinese Regimes during the Early Years of the Cold War', *Civil Wars*, 2/4 (1999), p. 133.

[89] Richard Lombardo, *United States' Foreign Policy towards the British Crown Colony of Hong Kong during the Early Cold War Period, 1945-1964* (Hong Kong, 1997); Michael Share, *Where Empires Collided: Russian and Soviet Relations with Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Macao* (Hong Kong, 2007).

[90] Examples include: Ming K. Chan (ed.), *Precarious Balance: Hong Kong between China and Britain* (Hong Kong, 1994); Clayton, *Imperialism Revisited*; Malcolm H. Murfett, *Hostage on the Yangtze: Britain, China, and the* Amethyst *Crisis of 1949* (Annapolis, MD, 1991); Tsang, *Democracy Shelved*.

[91] Kah Seng Loh, Edgar Liao, Cheng Tju Lim, and Guo-Quan Seng, *The University Socialist Club and the Contest for Malaya* (Amsterdam, 2012), p. 22. For regional studies, see: Karl Hack, *Defence and Decolonisation in Southeast Asia* (Richmond, Surrey, 2001); Nicholas Tarling, *Britain, Southeast Asia and the Onset of the Cold War, 1945-1950* (Cambridge, 1998); Tilman Remme, *Britain and Regional Cooperation in South-East Asia, 1945-49* (London, 1995).

[92] Ritchie Ovendale, 'Britain, the United States, and the Cold War in South-East Asia, 1949-1950', *International Affairs*, 58/3 (1982), p. 454.

of non-provocative firmness towards the two Chinese regimes'.[93] The list of important works on Hong Kong which contain similar statements is a long one.[94]

However, while this was indeed the public face of policy and while non-provocation was an important consideration, British officials in London and Hong Kong, including the supposedly neutral governor, Sir Alexander Grantham, were in fact explicitly anti-communist in their motivations and intentions for policy-formation beginning in mid-1948.[95] Demonstrating this is another aim of this thesis. Moreover, the comparison with Cyprus further highlights the prevalence and consistency of British anti-communism and how colonial officials, despite being in two very different regional contexts, reacted to their local communist problems in a similar way.

FRAMEWORK

As established above, the historiographies of Hong Kong and Cyprus, for different reasons and in different ways, offer a partial insight into how and why these two colonies influenced and were influenced by such a 'convergence and collision' of British imperialism, colonial nationalism, and the Cold War. Thus, one aim of this thesis is to present alternative interpretations of their respective histories, framed in their international and regional contexts, and to compare the British decision-making processes therein.

To fully understand the British decision-making process, it is first necessary to spend some time on how the British Empire worked in practice, including the interactions of the colonial governments, the Colonial Office, and the Cabinet. An

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[93] Steve Tsang, 'Strategy for Survival: The Cold War and Hong Kong's Policy towards Kuomintang and Chinese Communist Activities in the 1950s', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 25/2 (1997), p. 311.

[94] For example: Alan Smart, *The Shek Kip Mei Myth: Squatters, Fires and Colonial Rulers in Hong Kong, 1950-1963* (Hong Kong, 2006), p. 80; Goodstadt, *Profits, Politics and Panics*, p. 76; Grace Ai-ling Chou, *Confucianism, Colonialism, and the Cold War: Chinese Cultural Education at Hong Kong's New Asia College, 1949-63* (Leiden, 2011), p. 132; Grace Ai-Ling Chou, 'Cultural Education as Containment of Communism: The Ambivalent Position of American NGOs in Hong Kong in the 1950s', *Journal of Cold War Studies*, 12/2 (2010), pp. 16-17; Flora L.F. Kan, *Hong Kong's Chinese History Curriculum from 1945: Politics and Identity* (Hong Kong, 2007), p. 26; Mark, *Hong Kong and the Cold War*, pp. 15-16; Suzanne Pepper, *Keeping Democracy at Bay: Hong Kong and the Challenge of Chinese Political Reform* (Plymouth, 2008), p. 109.

[95] This has been recognized, although often as an aside, by a few notable examples. See: David C. Wolf, '"To Secure a Convenience": Britain Recognizes China – 1950', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 18/2 (1983), p. 304; Loh, *Underground Front*, p. 75.

understanding of the structure and mechanisms of British colonial rule facilitates not only a better understanding of British policies in Cyprus and Hong Kong but also the comparison and wider conclusions.

As Ronald Hyam has pointed out, the two fundamental problems of maintaining a large empire were: (1) securing its structure and (2) doing so as inexpensively as possible.[96] This was further complicated by the configuration of British colonial rule. In a basic understanding of the British system, the Cabinet, which consisted of the prime minister and a number of senior government ministers, was at the top of the decision-making hierarchy and had the final say on British policy. Indeed, major decisions – for example, on defence, foreign relations, the attempted introduction of a constitution in Cyprus, and Hong Kong's relations with China – were discussed and decided in the Cabinet. However, the sheer size of the British system and its innumerable daily decisions necessarily limited the parameters of the Cabinet to the most important and/or controversial policy decisions.[97] Indeed, 'in practice Cabinet discussion of the internal affairs of any colony was extremely rare'.[98]

To handle the rest of the decisions (as well as to formulate the rare policy proposals for the Cabinet to consider), the British government consisted of several offices and departments which served Cabinet ministers. The Colonial Office was the instrument of the secretary of state for the colonies. Indeed, as Charles Jeffries, an assistant secretary of state in charge of the Colonial Office's Colonial Service Department, put it in 1938, '[e]very decision, every action is the Secretary of State's'.[99] The secretary of state had the power to direct colonial governors on any matter concerning the colonies' administration (which the governor risked dismissal if not followed) as well as to veto any law passed by colonial legislatures.[100] To assist in political matters, the secretary of state had a parliamentary under-secretary of state and, from 1948, a minister of state, who usually sat in different houses of

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[96] Ronald Hyam, 'The Primacy of Geopolitics: The Dynamics of British Imperial Policy, 1763-1963', in: Ronald Hyam (ed.), *Understanding the British Empire* (Cambridge, 2010), p. 77.

[97] Ronald Hyam, 'Introduction: Perspectives, Policies, and People', in: Ronald Hyam (ed.), *Understanding the British Empire* (Cambridge, 2010), p. 37.

[98] Norman Miners, *Hong Kong under Imperial Rule, 1912-1941* (Oxford, 1987), p. 29.

[99] Charles Jeffries, *The Colonial Empire and Its Civil Service* (Cambridge, 1938), p. 210.

[100] Miners, *Hong Kong under Imperial Rule*, p. 28.

Parliament and acted as conduits between Parliament, special interest groups, and the Colonial Office.[101]

These government ministers received files at the discretion of the Colonial Office's more than 1,000-strong civil servant staff, which included administrators, advisors, clerks, typists, and messengers. On the civil service side, the head of the Colonial Office was the permanent under-secretary of state, assisted by one or two deputy under-secretaries of state and a handful of assistant under-secretaries of state. Between them, they supervised and coordinated the work of groups of departments. These departments, which were divided by either subjects (e.g. the Social Services Department) or geography (e.g. the Far Eastern Department), were headed by assistant secretaries, who were in turn supported by a principal and assistant principals.[102]

According to Hyam, the Colonial Office's civil servants, while technically apolitical, were generally 'humane and progressive', worked best under radicals, such as the 1945-1951 Labour government, and preferred secretaries of state who could and would promote the Colonial Office's views in the Cabinet. Furthermore, these civil servants dictated how far up the hierarchy that decision-making travelled. Some decisions (such as regarding a governor's request for approval of salary changes) did not necessarily make it to the secretary of state; very few went to the Cabinet. Finally, the Colonial Office, especially during this period of study, was itself a powerful interest group, which at times could 'impose its views and even take advantage of the change of government in 1951 from Labour to Conservative'. Even Winston Churchill's disapproval could not alter the Colonial Office's 1951 declaration of continuity in general policy, instigated by Andrew Cohen, the left-wing assistant under-secretary in charge of the Colonial Office's African division.[103]

In addition to being answerable to the Cabinet, the Colonial Office also

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[101] Charles Parkinson, *Bills of Rights and Decolonization: The Emergence of Domestic Human Rights Instruments in Britain's Overseas Territories* (Oxford, 2012), p. 12.

[102] A.R. Thomas, 'The Colonial Office', in: Anthony Kirk-Greene (ed.), *Aspects of Empire: A New Corona Anthology* (London, 2012), p. 4; Ronald Hyam, 'Bureaucracy and Trusteeship in the Colonial Empire', in: Ronald Hyam (ed.), *Understanding the British Empire* (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 212-215.

[103] Hyam, 'Bureaucracy and Trusteeship in the Colonial Empire', pp. 215, 222; Miners, *Hong Kong under Imperial Rule*, p. 278.

interacted with several other government departments, especially the Treasury and the Foreign Office. The Treasury, while not directly contributing to policy-formation, generally reacted to proposals and held a financial (but certainly not the final) veto.[104] For example, in 1939, the Treasury's veto of Malcolm MacDonald's (the secretary of state for the colonies) reformed and expanded Colonial Development and Welfare Act was 'side-stepped' by the latter, who went directly to Neville Chamberlain (the prime minister), who, in turn, pressured the Treasury to acquiesce (although at half of the proposed amount).[105] From 1954, under the Churchill government, the Treasury was allowed to begin restricting colonial development funding because it believed that costs were too high – both for what Britain could afford and what the colonies could absorb – and that colonies moving towards independence 'should be encouraged to become less, not more, dependent of the UK for development finance'.[106] This was a particular problem for colonial policy-makers trying to fight the cultural Cold War; as British efforts at state building and colonial development through the provision of social services became increasingly important to counter international anti-colonial criticism and colonial nationalist agitation, it is no wonder that the Colonial Office often found the Treasury to be 'difficult'.[107]

The Foreign Office, on the other hand, was primarily concerned with Britain's diplomatic relations, and it often considered the colonies to be a hindrance.[108] In fact, during the Second World War, the Foreign Office was in favour of ceding both Hong Kong to China and Cyprus to Greece.[109] The Colonial Office's relationship with the Foreign Office was thus often strained during the interwar and war-time years. However, with the resumption of Anglo-Soviet tensions, their relationship improved, reflecting the post-war convergence (but not union) of their formally

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[104] Hyam, 'Bureaucracy and Trusteeship in the Colonial Empire', p. 221.
[105] Stephen Constantine, *The Making of British Colonial Development Policy, 1914-1940* (London, 1984), p. 248.
[106] Michael Havinden and David Meredith, *Colonialism and Development: Britain and Its Tropical Colonies, 1950-1960* (London, 1996), pp. 203, 255, 258.
[107] Jeffries, minute, 17 June 1949, CO537/4312, The National Archives of the United Kingdom, Kew, Surrey [hereafter TNA].
[108] Hyam, 'Bureaucracy and Trusteeship in the Colonial Empire', pp. 215-217.
[109] Carroll, *A Concise History of Hong Kong*, p. 127; Yiangou, *Cyprus in World War II*, p. 152.

disparate goals (the perpetuation of the British Empire and the perpetuation of Britain's great power status, respectively). Nevertheless, the Colonial Office often sought advice (but not necessarily permission) from the Foreign Office on certain matters, particularly regarding security, intelligence, and the impact of colonial policies on Britain's regional and international interests.

At the other end of this chain of command was the colonial government. The colonies were administered by the governor, Britain's 'man on the spot', supported by members of the colonial service. (When the governor was on leave, an acting governor was appointed, usually the colonial secretary.) The governor acted under the supervision and broad direction (but seldom instruction) of the Colonial Office.[110] As Governor Grantham put it, 'In a Crown Colony the Governor is next to the Almighty'.[111] This distinction between supervision and instruction is an important one, especially in the case of Hong Kong.

Autonomy is a highly contentious political concept, but this thesis defines it as the colonial government's ability to act independent of the British government and Whitehall (not to mention other external and internal pressures, such as Greece, China, and local elites).[112] The Hong Kong government's relative autonomy from London has been the subject of much debate (especially regarding how to measure it). Nevertheless, there is a general consensus among leading scholars that Hong Kong in fact had a large degree of autonomy from London, especially in the 1970s and 1980s.[113] Leo F. Goodstadt has claimed that Hong Kong's 'freedom from London's control [was] without precedent in British imperial history'.[114] While this might be true for the end of the century, it certainly was not true for the immediate post-Second World War years, when London took a very hands-on approach to

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[110] Hyam, 'Bureaucracy and Trusteeship in the Colonial Empire', pp. 212-215.
[111] Miners, *Hong Kong under Imperial Rule*, p. 43.
[112] Ian Scott, *Political Change and the Crisis of Legitimacy in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong, 1989), p. 253n80.
[113] Gavin Ure, *Governors, Politics and the Colonial Office: Public Policy in Hong Kong, 1918-58* (Hong Kong, 2012), pp. 1-12. For an alternative interpretation (one which asserts the persistence of a colony's 'fundamental duty […] to promote the sovereign's interest'), see: Ray Yep, 'The 1967 Riots in Hong Kong: The Diplomatic and Domestic Fronts of the Colonial Governor', *The China Quarterly*, 193 (2008), pp. 138-139. See also: Robert Bickers and Ray Yep (eds), *May Days in Hong Kong: Riot and Emergency in 1967* (Hong Kong, 2009).
[114] Leo F. Goodstadt, *Uneasy Partners: The Conflict Between Public Interest and Private Profit in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong, 2005), p. 49.

recovering and rehabilitating Hong Kong, even after ideas of self-government faded with the retirement of Governor Mark Young in 1947 and despite his successor's 'talent for defying the British government with impunity'.[115]

Nevertheless, every colonial government operated some degree of autonomy from London, by the physical nature of the imperial system and the limits of communication. Colonial governments could not afford, nor were they expected, to obtain permission before, for example, preventing (even with the use of deadly force) a communist protest from supposedly turning violent, as it happened in Cyprus on several occasions. This autonomy, no matter its relative amount, allowed space for disagreements and the divergence of interests between the colonies and London to develop and thus further reveals the complexity and disunion of the British colonial system. This makes the consistencies of policy-making in Cyprus, Hong Kong, and London all the more convincing.

According to Hyam's 'interaction model' of British imperialism, there were 'two sets of interests interacting along the axis of a chain of command'. On the top end of Hyam's axis was the metropolitan elite in the Colonial Office, which by the 1940s mostly comprised aristocratic and/or Oxbridge men educated in history who rarely had first-hand experience of the colonies they supervised. Their general policy aim was to build and protect Britain's prestige, defined as an amalgamation of 'power based on reputation'. While trade was the original motivation for obtaining an empire, protection soon became the priority. As the defence of something increases its intrinsic value (especially in terms of prestige), the British Empire thus became indispensable for its own sake. The idea of strategic requirements, such as 'taking more territory to maintain imperial prestige or pre-empt the challenges of the foreigner', was almost as old as formal rule itself. On the bottom of the axis were the 'limited, parochial, and selfish' colonial private interests, like those of businessmen and missionaries. By the early twentieth century, this included also the interests of the indigenous populations.[116]

Finally, according to Hyam, the governor acted as the intermediary who

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[115] *Ibid.*, p. 56.
[116] Hyam, 'The Primacy of Geopolitics', pp. 73-75, 78-81.

evaluated and navigated London's directions and local pressures.[117] Generally, the governor shared the Colonial Office's priority of building and maintaining British prestige but on a local level, as it was upon this that local contentment and then order was built. However, the colonial government was also intrinsically a bureaucracy of its own, and as such, pursued its own set of interests.[118] Indeed, as Goodstadt has argued, senior colonial civil servants, at least in Hong Kong, 'tended to regard London as an adversary rather than an ally'.[119] In 1947, Governor Winster admitted to the secretary of state for the colonies, Arthur Creech Jones, that he had long 'learnt to distrust Foreign Office views on Cyprus'.[120]

Hyam's axis thus becomes much more complicated, from two poles navigated by the governor to a number of self-interested and sometimes conflicting bureaucracies (the Cabinet, the Colonial Office, and the colonial government) with two major intermediaries (the secretary of state for the colonies and the governor), who themselves had differing degrees of loyalty to each bureaucracy. The secretary of state balanced the interests of his Cabinet colleagues, Parliament, the Treasury, his civil servants, and his voting constituency, while the governor balanced the interests of his colonial servants, the colonial subjects, and his boss (the secretary of state) – not to mention their own self-interests and careers.

Consequently, disagreements within and between the colonial governments and the Colonial Office over their respective analyses of and remedies for a given situation were not uncommon. Hong Kong and Cyprus provides two clear examples of this multi-faceted internal struggle over how best to protect Britain's imperial strategies from the threat of communism. Despite these differences and the room for various interpretations, however, there were striking consistencies in their identification of the enemy, the battlefields, and the goals of policies.

SOURCES

While the Cabinet was not involved with the day-to-day administration of the

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[117] *Ibid*., pp. 80-81.
[118] See: Steve Tsang, *Governing Hong Kong: Administrative Officers from the Nineteenth Century to the Handover to China, 1862-1997* (London, 2007), chapter 3.
[119] Goodstadt, *Uneasy Partners*, p. 50.
[120] Winster to Creech Jones, 22 July 1947, box 57, file 2, Arthur Creech Jones papers (MSS. Brit. Emp. s.332), Bodleian Library of Commonwealth & African Studies at Rhodes House [hereafter ACJ papers].

colonies and its discussions seldom reflected the complexities of colonial policy-making, Cabinet papers have been consulted for this thesis to help construct the external context as well as to examine the interaction between the Cabinet's high policy priorities and the Colonial Office's representation of the local politics of the colonies. On the other end of the spectrum, while often fragmentary, personal papers, specifically of Malcolm MacDonald and Arthur Creech Jones, have also been consulted for insights found in private correspondence and notes.

However, this thesis focusses mostly on Colonial Office files, for several reasons. Most basically, these files have not yet been examined within the framework of British revisionism and thus offer untapped information. Moreover, Colonial Office files offer a near-complete picture of the decision-making process. It is not uncommon for a Colonial Office file to contain: correspondence between it and the colonial governments; documentary evidence, such as seized communist documents or local newspaper clippings, forwarded by the colonial governments; related correspondence between it, the Foreign Office, British consulates overseas, and British security and intelligence agencies; information on Cabinet deliberations; file references for discussions which Colonial Office officials considered to be relevant, such as on lessons learned in the Malayan Emergency; and extensive minutes from relevant civil servants of every rank as well as government ministers attached to the Colonial Office, including the secretary of state.

These files reveal the meeting place of the Cabinet's high politics, the Colonial Office's high imperial politics, and the colonial government's local colonial politics. These files also reveal the motivations, perceptions, priorities, and intentions of British policy-makers, as they discussed, justified, and disagreed about the appropriate course of action. However, as this thesis demonstrates, while there was sometimes considerable variance between and within the colonial governments and London – not to mention between Hong Kong and Cyprus – there were some important consistencies, particularly regarding the politics of culture and cultural engineering. These consistencies reveal a coherent understanding in the British official mind of who the enemy was, what constituted the battlefields, and the necessity, for the sake of British interests and aims however defined, of winning those battles; they reveal how the imperial Cold War was fought on the ground.

STRUCTURE

In order to facilitate the comparative analysis, the historical narratives of Cyprus and Hong Kong have been divided between three chronological sections. Each section begins first with a short introductory chapter (chapters one, five, and nine) on the broad geopolitical and imperial context of the time period and concludes with a short comparative chapter (chapters four, eight, and twelve).

Chapter one frames the first section with the history of Anglo-Soviet tensions until 1946. It also provides the broad imperial and geopolitical consequences of the Second World War and the British government's planning for its post-war empire. Chapter two examines the rise of the CCP in Hong Kong from its activities before and during the Japanese occupation until the resumption of British civil government in 1946, and chapter three examines the rise of AKEL in Cyprus between its formation in 1941 and its sweeping victories in the 1946 municipal elections.

In the second section, chapter five covers Britain's post-war response to the rise of international communism, especially the formation of communist-dominated NGOs. The next two chapters then explore the Cyprus and Hong Kong governments' responses to the rise of their respective communist movements. Chapter six traces the Hong Kong government's abortive attempt to introduce a degree of internal self-government as well as the origins of Grantham's legislative containment of the CCP. Chapter seven examines the British attempt at reform and constitutional advancement in order to counter AKEL's popularity and international anti-colonial criticism.

Section three covers the post-1949 period, and chapter nine outlines the decline of the British world system in the intensified Cold War world, particularly with the introduction of hot proxy wars and greater US involvement. In this context, chapter ten examines Hong Kong's position regarding the fall of China to communism and the introduction of *Pax Americana* in the Far East. It finishes in 1952, when Grantham, utilizing regional tensions, especially the Korean War, ended any prospect for major constitutional reform in Hong Kong. British policy-makers grew increasingly confident that their position in Hong Kong was not in jeopardy of a communist take-over, and their priorities in governing the colony shifted towards economic concerns. Chapter eleven takes Cyprus's narrative to 1955, through the

beginning of the EOKA revolt in April to the proscription of AKEL in December.

Coordinating the beginning and end dates would have been arbitrary; instead, despite the chronological disparity, these periods of Cyprus and Hong Kong history are distinct and provide important case studies to compare British colonial policy-making in the Cold War. Finally, the thesis concludes with a comparison of several important themes in Cyprus, Hong Kong, and Britain's imperial Cold War more broadly.

Section One:

From Enemy to Ally to Enemy

<u>Chapter One</u>
<u>A History of Anglo-Soviet Imperial Tensions</u>

The Second World War heralded considerable changes in the world; however it also masked some important consistencies in geopolitics. As this chapter outlines, the Second World War was in many ways the major catalyst for the decline of Britain's great power as well as for the reformation of British colonial rule. It also created 'artificial conditions' which temporarily drew together the world's two largest imperial rivals, Britain and the Soviet Union, and interrupted the imperial Cold War. This context in part explains the origins and nature of the resumed Cold War in 1945 and provides the context in which British policy-makers sought to fight it in the colonies. In Cyprus and Hong Kong, the Second World War also allowed for the local communist parties to expand and become, in the eyes of British policy-makers at least, menacing and powerful.

PRE-1939 ANGLO-RUSSIAN IMPERIAL TENSIONS

Before 1939, the perceived Soviet threat to British power was greatest in the 1920s, following the First World War and the British-centred 'unipolar world' it created. However, the rivalry between British and Russian imperialism was not new.[1] In fact, Russian expansionism first turned eastward after Britain's successes in the First Opium War (1839–1842), in which the Qing dynasty ceded Hong Kong to Britain 'in perpetuity'. Hong Kong became 'the British bridgehead in China'.[2] While the Russians feared that this bridgehead might soon turn China into 'another India, with the British gradually taking over the entire country', they also recognized the potential territorial and commercial opportunities a weakened China offered Russia.[3]

For China, however, this marked the beginning of what was considered in Chinese collective memory to be a century of humiliation (1842-1943). At the centre of this were the so-called 'unequal treaties,' which dictated the imposed unilateral

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[1] Best, 'We Are Virtually at War with Russia', pp. 208, 220.
[2] Robert A. Bickers, 'The Colony's Shifting Position in the British Informal Empire in China', in: Judith M. Brown and Rosemary Foot (eds), *Hong Kong's Transitions, 1842-1997* (Basingstoke, 1997), p. 37.
[3] G. Patrick March, *Eastern Destiny: Russia in Asia and the North Pacific* (Westport, CT, 1996), pp. 118-119.

rights of foreign (European) countries without equal provisions for China. The most significant of these non-reciprocal rights included lower fixed tariffs, extraterritoriality, leased territories, and the most-favoured-nation clause.

The 'unequal treaties' played a central role in Chinese politics, as both the CCP and Kuomintang (KMT), the Chinese Nationalist Party, subsequently competed to re-define China and Chinese identity as well as to entrench their respective party's power.[4] British policy-makers were acutely aware of the fact that, by the end of the Second World War and the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945), Hong Kong was one of the last remnants of the 'unequal treaties'.

Meanwhile, 'the Great Game', as British contemporaries called it, was the nineteenth-century cold conflict between Britain and Russia particularly over the future of crumbling Islamic Asia. Russia's seizure of Afghan territory in 1885, called the Penjdeh Incident, nearly triggered war between Russia and Britain. At the turn of the century, Russia's attempt to take Manchuria as a protectorate pushed Britain into signing an alliance treaty with Japan and supporting the Japanese during the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905).[5] Indeed, 'Japan's cooperation effectively helped Britain to resist Russian expansion and therefore defend her [Britain's] interests'.[6]

Anglo-Russian tensions, however, were not confined to Asia's borders.[7] The Russo-Turkish War of 1877 pushed what was called 'the Eastern Question' further into the forefront of British foreign politics. The growing fear of a disadvantageous end of the ailing Ottoman Empire (particularly to Russia's advantage) prompted the British government to consider previously unfeasible solutions with the intention of propping up the Turks and/or securing British interests in the East, specifically India, through strengthening its presence in the Mediterranean. Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli proclaimed in the House of Lords that there was 'room enough for Russia and England in Asia. But the room we require we must secure. [...] In taking Cyprus the movement is not Mediterranean; it is Indian'.[8]

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[4] Dong Wang, *China's Unequal Treaties: Narrating National History* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 1, 10.
[5] Best, 'We Are Virtually at War with Russia', p. 208; March, *Eastern Destiny*, pp. 171-172. See also: David Fromkin, 'The Great Game in Asia', *Foreign Affairs*, 58/4 (1980).
[6] Feng, *The British Government's China Policy*, p. 12.
[7] William Mallinson, *A Modern History of Cyprus* (London, 2005), p. 10.
[8] Lords, 18 July 1878, *Hansard Parliamentary Debates, Third Series,* 241, cols 1772-1773.

This was the context in which Britain and Turkey entered into a secret defensive agreement in 1878 which granted Britain permission to occupy and administer Cyprus (while Cyprus remained under Turkish sovereignty) as a material guarantee for Turkish reform, in return for British military support in the event of further Russian aggression.[9]

From the 1917 Russian Revolution, Britain became 'particularly concerned at the spread of Bolshevik control towards Siberia and Central Asia, fearful of a potential Bolshevik threat to the British Empire, with Persia and India being the key areas of concern'. That Soviet foreign policy until the late 1930s (and perhaps beyond) was largely defensive was irrelevant in the British official mind. For the British, Russian expansionism 'naturally became more rather than less serious when they were married to Moscow's proselytising of Marxism-Leninism' – an ideology, it was feared, which transformed tsarist expansionism operating within (and thereby upholding) Europe's traditional balance of power politics into a proponent for worldwide revolution, whose primary target was the British Empire. As Vladimir Lenin, the leader of the newly formed Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic, informed the Russian Communist Party in 1918, 'international imperialism, with its capital's entire might [...] could not under any circumstances, on any condition, live side by side with the Soviet Republic' – a central tenet of Soviet communism that his eventual successor Joseph Stalin would uphold. In February 1921, Britain signed the Anglo-Russian Trade Agreement, not only to bolster its post-First World War economy but also 'to push the Soviets into ceasing anti-British agitation and propaganda in the British Empire, particularly in India'. Soviet signatures, however, did not end Britain's scepticism and for good reason.[10]

In adopting the 'General Theses on the Eastern Question' at the Fourth

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[9] See: George Hill, *A History of Cyprus, Vol. 4. The Ottoman Province. The British Colony, 1571-1948* (Cambridge, 1948); Robert Holland and Diana Markides, *The British and the Hellenes: Struggles for Mastery in the Eastern Mediterranean 1950-1960* (Oxford, 2006); Dwight E. Lee, *Great Britain and the Cyprus Convention Policy of 1878* (Cambridge, 1934).

[10] Alastair Kocho-Williams, *Russia's International Relations in the Twentieth Century* (London, 2013), pp. 36, 44; V.N. Khanna, *International Relations* (New Delhi, 2009), p. 252; Inbal Rose, *Conservatism and Foreign Policy during the Lloyd George Coalition 1918-1922* (London, 1999), p. 206; Michael Kort, *The Soviet Colossus: History and Aftermath* (New York, 2010), p. 221. Best, 'We Are Virtually at War with Russia', p. 208; Andrei P. Tsygankov, *Russia and the West from Alexander to Putin: Honor in International Relations* (Cambridge, 2012), p. 3.

Comintern Congress in November-December 1922, the Comintern committed itself not only to cooperate with but also to unite and train national-liberation movements around the world. The resolution proclaimed that 'colonial revolutionary movements' had 'extreme importance [...] for the international proletarian revolution'.[11] The British certainly felt the pressure; less than six months after the congress, of the four points raised in the ultimatum presented to the Soviet Union by the British secretary of state for foreign affairs, Lord Curzon, the most important demanded 'that the Soviets cease and desist from activity against the British Empire in India and recall their ambassadors from Iran and Afghanistan'.[12]

British policy-makers were also aware of (but less worried about) the Soviet agreement with Sun Yat-sen, the leader of the KMT in China. In January 1923, after being refused assistance from Western powers, Sun secured funding and equipment from the Soviet Union and the Comintern, which were also supporting the newly formed Chinese Communist Party (CCP). By mid-1925, a number of events – including a KMT-organized but Soviet/Comintern-directed boycott of British goods, Soviet support of at least one Chinese warlord in north China, and the dissemination of communist propaganda by the KMT branch in Malaya – soon forced Whitehall to reassess the Soviet menace in China.[13] The Hong Kong government was also suspicious of Chinese communists from the early 1920s, when they first became active in the colony, and the Hong Kong police regularly suppressed communist activities.[14]

After Sun died on 12 March 1925, his close ally, Chiang Kai-shek, became the leader of the KMT and took command of the Nationalist Army. One year later, Chiang initiated the Northern Expedition, a campaign to unite and rule the whole of China. By 1928, Chiang had broken ties with the Soviets and led a successful coup against the Chinese communists, purging them from the KMT, the army, and the

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[11] Alexander Pantsov, *The Bolsheviks and the Chinese Revolution, 1919-1927* (London, 2013), pp. 48, 51; Best, 'We Are Virtually at War with Russia', p. 208.

[12] Kocho-Williams, *Russia's International Relations*, p. 46.

[13] Best, 'We Are Virtually at War with Russia', pp. 208-209.

[14] Chan Lau Kit-ching, *From Nothing to Nothing: The Chinese Communist Movement and Hong Kong, 1921-1936* (Hong Kong, 1999), p. 52.

expedition. One British Foreign Office official exclaimed, 'Our prayers for a Russian downfall in China have been answered beyond our wildest expectations'. By 1928, Chiang had also defeated the warlords and successfully unified China under his leadership. This marked the beginning of the KMT government's one-party dictatorship of the ROC (inaugurated on 18 April 1927) as well as the beginning of the Chinese Civil War (1927-1937 and 1946-1950) between Chiang's KMT and Mao Zedong's CCP.[15] British celebrations of the 'Russian downfall in China' were certainly premature.

Meanwhile, in Cyprus, left-wing and labour movements began to take shape, which the British feared would grant the Comintern and its pro-nationalist strategy a way into the colony. The economic difficulties which followed the First World War facilitated the formation of Cyprus's first proper trade unions by 1920. By 1924, these burgeoning unions concerned British authorities so much that the Cyprus government exiled a number of labour leaders, including Dr Nicolas Yiavopoulos, one of the founders of the Cypriot communist movement. Nevertheless, in 1926, the KKK was formed on a platform which stressed the improvement of working class conditions as well as called for Cyprus's independence as a part of a Balkan Soviet Federation. The latter proposal proved politically debilitating for the KKK, in the face of widespread support for the *enosis* movement in the Greek-Cypriot population – a lesson AKEL certainly took into account.[16]

By the 1930s, the Soviet Union became but one revisionist power among many. In 1934, the British Foreign Office's Committee of Imperial Defence ranked the Soviet Union below Germany and Japan as the most immediate threats to the British Empire. Nevertheless, as Best has put it:

> [f]rom the very inception of the Bolshevik revolution in 1917 to the German attack on Russia in June 1941 the idea that the Soviet Union and communist ideology posed a serious menace to British interests in Europe and the empire was a constant that never disappeared from the

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[15] Bruce A. Elleman, *Modern Chinese Warfare, 1795-1989* (London, 2001), pp. 149-150. See also: Lloyd E. Eastman, 'Nationalist China during the Nanking Decade, 1927–1937', in: Lloyd E. Eastman, Jerome Ch'en, Suzanne Pepper, and Lyman P. Van Slyke (eds), *The Nationalist Era in China, 1927–1949* (Cambridge, 1991), chapter 1; Suisheng Zhao, 'A Tragedy of History: China's Search for Democracy in the Twentieth Century', in: Suisheng Zhao (ed.), *China and Democracy: Reconsidering the Prospects for a Democratic China* (London, 2000), pp. 38-40.

[16] Yiangou, *Cyprus in World War II*, pp. 15-16, 172n42.

minds of many politicians and civil servants in Whitehall.[17]

PRE-WAR COLONIAL RULE AND COLONIAL DEVELOPMENT

In addition to these external threats to the British Empire, there was an internal one: Britain's 'deplorable' colonial rule itself. According to Hyam, there was no colonial purpose or general policy. The Colonial Office 'was fumbling, daunted by the bewildering and kaleidoscopic variety of problems', of which the British public was at least ignorant or at most apathetic. Parliament was 'inattentive'. Commentators tended to be indifferent, in the cases of the press and academia, or female, which the British establishment generally viewed as 'seriously unhealthy'. However, in a genuine attempt to correct these problems, the Colonial Development and Welfare Act of 1940 created 'an embryonic policy' which would soon grow 'on a seismic scale'.[18]

The road to the Colonial Development and Welfare Act of 1940 was a difficult one. Domestic criticism of British colonial rule intensified in the 1930s, when the Great Depression, which started in 1929, significantly affected both colonial producers and colonial governments, thereby limiting the provision of social services. These economic problems prompted disturbances throughout the empire; between 1936 and 1938, economically-driven strikes and riots plagued Northern Rhodesia, Mauritius, the Gold Coast, Nigeria, Palestine, and, on many occasions, the West Indies.[19]

In fact, the 1931 riots in Cyprus were some of the first of these depression-era disturbances. In October, in response to Governor Sir Ronald Storrs's controversial socio-economic policies, the Legislative Council resigned, and Greek-Cypriot nationalists took to the streets to demand *enosis*. In the process, rioters burned down Government House. The KKE criticized the riots, and its members generally abstained from the violence. The Comintern admonished the KKK for opposing a

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[17] Best, 'We Are Virtually at War with Russia', pp. 206, 215.

[18] Ronald Hyam, *Britain's Declining Empire: The Road to Decolonisation 1918-1968* (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 84-85.

[19] Constantine, *The Making of British Colonial Development Policy*, pp. 228-229.

genuine revolution and purged its general secretary.[20] On 23 October, as the revolt was collapsing, the KKK's Central Committee announced its support for the violence on anti-imperial, but not pro-*enosis*, grounds.[21] Nevertheless, the KKK was identified by the Cyprus government as the 'chief instigator', despite Storr's belief, expressed to London just before the riots, that 'the communist movement, although harmful, is not at all worrying'.[22] Storrs eventually suppressed the riots (with the help of British troops from Egypt), suspended the constitution (Cyprus was ruled thereafter by decree until its independence in 1960), dissolved the Legislative Council, and exiled those he considered to be the primary agitators, which included two prominent KKK leaders.[23]

The 1931 riots marked the transition from British cautious tolerance to overt repression of the Cypriot communist movement.[24] Two years later, in August 1933, Stubbs, now convinced of an immediate communist threat, amended the Criminal Code explicitly to proscribe KKK and its seven front organizations on grounds of sedition. The courts sentenced twenty-three KKK members for sedition, some of whom remained imprisoned for four years.[25]

Hong Kong, on the other hand, managed to avoid unrest during the 1930s, despite its recent experiences of significant anti-colonial disturbances and labour-led strikes. In 1911, Chinese nationalist fervour after the fall of the Qing dynasty spilled into Hong Kong, and there were widespread anti-colonial disturbances. Looting, violence against the police and Europeans, and the discovery of bomb-making factories prompted a strong reaction from the Hong Kong government, which strengthened police powers and introduced the cat-o'-nine-tails as an

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[20] Peristianis, 'The Rise of the Left', pp. 246-247; Stavros Tombazos, 'AKEL: Between Nationalism and "Anti-Imperialism"', in: Ayhan Aktar, Niyazi Kizilyürek, and Umut Özkirimli (eds), *Nationalism in the Troubled Triangle: Cyprus, Greece and Turkey* (Basingstoke, 2010), p. 219.

[21] Yiangou, *Cyprus in World War II*, p. 16.

[22] Peristianis, 'The Rise of the Left', pp. 246-247; Katsourides, *History of the Communist Party in Cyprus*, p. 152.

[23] JIC(ME), report, 'The Internal Security Situation in Cyprus', undated, annex of: JIC(ME), (48)-71 (Final), Internal Security Situation in Cyprus, 25 November 1948, CO537/2639, TNA; Martin Thomas, *Violence and Colonial Order: Police, Workers and Protest in the European Colonial Empires, 1918-1940* (Cambridge, 2012), pp. 78-79.

[24] Katsourides, *History of the Communist Party in Cyprus*, p. 152.

[25] 'The Cyprus Criminal Code, 1828 to 1933', 16 August 1933, *The Cyprus Government Gazette*; Yiangou, *Cyprus in World War II*, p. 16.

additional punishment for a number of crimes. The Hong Kong garrison was also reinforced with two infantry battalions and an artillery battery from India. Disturbances continued, including a rise in banditry and piracy, while prisoners were being released early from over-crowded prisons to make room for new ones. The government's firm-handed response, helped by China's 'Second Revolution', deflated the revolutionary enthusiasm. By the 1920s, anti-colonialism gave way to much more successful agitation for wage increases and the subsequent expansion of trade unionism.[26]

Despite the significant devaluation of its currency between 1929 and 1931, Hong Kong fared relatively well during the early years of the Great Depression. Hong Kong's trade depressed to its lowest in 1935, but China's internal problems and the onset of an undeclared Sino-Japanese war in mid-1937 actually stimulated Hong Kong's economy. Chinese refugees brought increased tax revenues for the government, while industries, such as the production of gas masks and other military equipment, were transplanted from the mainland to Hong Kong.[27]

The problems highlighted by the unrest in Cyprus, Hong Kong, and elsewhere in the empire were further heightened by European politics, as fascist Italy looked to expand in North Africa and the Nazis demanded the return of colonial possessions which Germany lost as part of the 1919 Treaty of Versailles. Arthur Creech Jones, a Labour MP and member of the Colonial Office's Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies, announced in the House of Commons on 14 June 1938 that '[d]uring the last few years our own complacency in Colonial administration has been rudely shocked'. Creech Jones was but one critic urging for colonial reform. Demands 'for a more constructive form of trusteeship which would repair the neglect, stimulate economic recovery and improve social conditions' also came from the likes of W.M. Macmillan (historian and social critic), Lord Hailey (former colonial governor and prominent Africanist), and even the Colonial Office itself, while the Labour Party soon emerged as the 'rather better organised, better

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[26] Miners, *Hong Kong under Imperial Rule*, pp. 5-6, 22-24.
[27] *Ibid.*, pp. 23-26.

informed and better led critic of colonial matters'.[28]

Domestic critics, fascist expansionism, and widespread colonial unrest did

prompt significant changes to British colonial rule. As early as October 1937,

Ormsby-Gore, the secretary of state for the colonies, announced that:

> it is now the settled policy of all United Kingdom Governments to be
> guided in their Colonial policy by the doctrine of trusteeship. [...] We
> fully accept the position that it is our duty to advance to the fullest
> possible degree the interests of the Colonial territories under our
> charge.

The Colonial Office was subsequently expanded to include a labour advisor, and in

1938, it sought from the Treasury authorization to create a department dedicated

to social services. The Colonial Office despatch to the Treasury explained that:

> at the present time it is a matter of the highest political importance that
> His Majesty's Government should be able to show unassailable
> justification for its claim that it acts as a beneficial trustee for its subject
> peoples, and that there is urgent need for us to undertake an effective
> forward movement in developing the progress of social services,
> including the improvements of labour conditions, nutrition, public
> health, education, housing and so forth, in the Colonial Empire.[29]

However, while the Colonial Office, Creech Jones, and others were driven,

perhaps primarily, by notions of paternalism and trusteeship, it was the looming

international crisis which dictated colonial policy formation thereafter. By July 1938,

British rearmament took precedent over civil expenditure, especially in the colonies.

Nevertheless, Malcolm MacDonald – whom Joanna Lewis has aptly described as

'the right man, in the right place, at the right time, but not for long enough' –

replaced Ormsby-Gore as the secretary of state for the colonies in May and forged

ahead in the Colonial Office to revise the Colonial Development Act and, in the

process, the nature of British colonial rule.[30]

THE SECOND WORLD WAR AND THE BRITISH EMPIRE

The Second World War was 'a global struggle, and particularly...an *imperial* one', in

which Britain 'fought alongside imperial allies for imperial reasons'. Ashley Jackson

has even argued that had it not been for Britain's imperial expansion in the Far East

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[28] Constantine, *The Making of British Colonial Development Policy*, pp. 230-232
[29] *Ibid.*, pp. 232-233.
[30] *Ibid.*, pp. 240-241; Joanna Lewis, *Empire State-Building: War & Welfare in Kenya, 1925-52* (Oxford, 2000), p. 42.

and the Mediterranean, 'there would have been no quarrel with Italy or Japan'. Indeed, the battlefields of the Second World War were dictated by Britain's imperial position, 'whether on the sea routes of the Atlantic and the Indian Ocean, in the skies above Iraq and Malta, the deserts of North Africa, the mountains of Abyssinia and north-east India, or the jungles of Borneo, Burma and Malaya'.[31] The British Empire had a significant impact on how, where, and why the Second World War was fought, and the reverse is also true; the Second World War had a significant impact on how, where, and why the British Empire was administered.

In fact, the Second World War, while initially limiting civil funding from the Treasury, soon provided MacDonald with enough political evidence to push his colonial development and welfare reforms through the Cabinet and the Treasury. MacDonald argued that greater funding of colonial social services was necessary not only on its own merit but also, more importantly to the Treasury, to foster colonial loyalty (in other words, to avoid costly colonial disturbances), to counter propaganda from enemy countries, and to defend the administration of the empire from any future criticism in the post-war period. After sacrificing half of the proposed funding, MacDonald and the Colonial Office won the day: the Treasury acquiesced under pressure from the prime minister, and the act was passed by the Cabinet in April 1940 and by Parliament in July, largely unaltered. While Hitler's westward advance in May limited the implementation of the new act, MacDonald's arguments and the passing of the Colonial Development and Welfare Act succeeded in entrenching the benefits of colonial development and social services in the official mind.[32] This would become important after 1945, when the perceived communist challenge to British colonialism focussed largely on the latter's repressive nature. British policy-makers considered development and welfare as essential weapons in the imperial Cold War.

Nevertheless, the Second World War continued to reveal the fragility of the British imperial system, particularly regarding 'the fundamental bulwark of local political cooperation and popular acquiescence on which the Empire had come to

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[31] Ashley Jackson, *The British Empire and the Second World War* (London, 2006), p. 1.
[32] Havinden and Meredith, *Colonialism and Development*, pp. 249, 257-258.

rest'. The war brought colonial populations 'into closer contact than ever before with the intrusive power of a modern imperial state'. The Second World War also destroyed the myths of white prestige and British invincibility, especially by Britain's imperial loses in Southeast Asia.[33] By 1942, there were defections by Indian, Burmese, Gurkha, and Tamil troops, and the Arabs of Britain's informal empire in the Middle East 'enjoyed seeing their "haughty governess" fighting for survival'.[34]

Colonial development and welfare was thus only part of the solution. To further encourage the colonial war effort and counter Soviet and American anti-colonialism, the Colonial Office and colonial governments across the empire implemented a number of more liberal policies.[35] In Cyprus, Governor Sir William Denis Battershill decriminalized political parties and allowed municipal elections, thereby opening the door for AKEL.[36]

While there had been considerable pressure from the KMT, the US, and even within the British government for the return of Hong Kong to China, Churchill's defiance – that 'Hongkong [*sic*] will be eliminated from the British Empire only over my dead body!' – was supported by the likes of Anthony Eden (the secretary of state for foreign affairs) and Oliver Stanley (the secretary of state for the colonies). By mid-1942, the Colonial and Foreign Offices were united 'to blunt American plans to internationalize and eventually "liquidate" the British empire [*sic*] after the war'. This included Britain's return to Hong Kong, despite the potential damage to Britain's relations with China and the US.[37] The Colonial Office's Hong Kong Planning Unit, which was established in 1943 to consider Hong Kong's future status and the practical challenges of re-establishing civil government, by 1945 began 'to explore officially the possibility of liberalizing the constitution of Hong Kong'.[38]

By July 1943, post-war planning began in earnest, and Stanley announced a

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[33] Steve Tsang, 'Government and Politics in Hong Kong: A Colonial Paradox', in: Judith M. Brown and Rosemary Foot (eds), *Hong Kong's Transitions, 1842-1997* (Basingstoke, 1997), p. 69; Suke Wolton, *The Loss of White Prestige: Lord Hailey, the Colonial Office and the Politics of Race and Empire in the Second World War* (Basingstoke, 2000), pp. 46-48.
[34] Hyam, *Britain's Declining Empire*, pp. 96-97.
[35] Holland, *Britain and the Revolt in Cyprus*, p. 13.
[36] Peristianis, 'The Rise of the Left', p. 249.
[37] Kent Fedorowich, 'Decolonization Deferred? The Re-establishment of Colonial Rule in Hong Kong, 1942-45', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 28/3 (2000), pp. 26, 30, 34.
[38] Tsang, *Democracy Shelved*, pp. 13-14.

new direction for British colonial policy, which 'pledged to guide Colonial people along the road to self-government within the framework of the British Empire'. However, as was pointed out by Creech Jones, the parliamentary private secretary to the minister of labour and national service and member of the Labour Party's Imperial Advisory Committee, there was still much to do. Creech Jones asked:

> Have we made up our minds on the future of Malaya when we have rolled back the Japanese? Are we going back to the old régime there? What is to be the future of Hong Kong? Are we going to continue a chartered company in North Borneo? What about the aspirations of South Africa for a Pan-African Conference over a vast part of that great Continent? What about the demands, already vocal, in Kenya for a larger measure of white settlement there, and the claims of the white populations in the Rhodesias and in Nyasaland for amalgamation and a greater control over the machinery of government? What are we going to do for the Jews in Palestine? Then there are the constitutional problems of Ceylon, Cyprus, the West Indies, and so on.[39]

THE SECOND WORLD WAR AND ANGLO-SOVIET RELATIONS

While these major questions preoccupied the Colonial Office, Churchill, Eden, and the chiefs of staff were becoming increasingly suspicious of Soviet activities. The chiefs of staff wrote several reports on post-war long-term security risks posed by the Soviet Union, especially if, for whatever reason, it became allied with Germany.[40] Several events spurred British suspicions of a revived Soviet imperialism. Vyacheslav Molotov, the Soviet minister of foreign affairs, rejected Eden's proposal at the Third Moscow Conference in October 1943 to reinstate traditional European spheres of influence, which was interpreted by the British Foreign Office and others as the Soviet intention to claim complete influence in Eastern Europe.[41]

It was also feared that Soviet support of the newly formed Italian government under Pietro Badoglio would eventually lead to a communist take-over. Then, in April 1944, the Soviet Union started to criticize British strategies in Greece and to overtly support the National Liberation Front (EAM), which was ostensibly the

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[39] Commons, 13 July 1943, *Hansard Parliamentary Debates, Fifth Series* [hereafter *Hansard*], 391, col. 48, 72.
[40] Anne Deighton, '"The Frozen Front": The Labour Government, the Division of Germany and the Origins of the Cold War, 1945-7', *International Affairs*, 63/3 (1987), p. 452.
[41] Kent, *British Imperial Strategy*, p. 13.

military arm of the anti-monarchist Communist Party of Greece (KKE). While Britain was also supporting the EAM in their fight against the Nazis (but not for long thereafter), these interferences, combined with the Red Army's invasion of Romania on 2 April, demonstrated, as Eden put it, that 'Russia has vast aims and that these may include the domination of Eastern Europe and *even* the Mediterranean and the "communizing" of much that remains'.[42]

Germany's withdrawal from Greece in October 1944 left the latter on the brink of civil war. It was a top priority of the British government to ensure the existence of a resilient and friendly government in Greece, capable of protecting essential communication and trade routes to the Middle East and Far East.[43] Furthermore, Churchill was determined to resist a communist takeover there. At the Fourth Moscow Conference on 9-11 October, Stalin supposedly agreed to Churchill's so-called 'naughty document', which assigned the percentage of influence Britain and the Soviet Union would have in the Balkan nations after the war. The 'percentages agreement' recognized that Britain (along with the US) and the Soviet Union would share influence, albeit at varying proportions, over Bulgaria, Greece, Hungary, Romania, and Yugoslavia. Churchill had effectively secured British interests in Greece as a means of securing British supremacy in the Mediterranean, and he did so while sacrificing very little in the other territories in which Soviet influence was already entrenched.[44] Furthermore, while rejecting the implications of weakness or appeasement, Eden believed that recognizing and legitimizing the Soviet Union's expansionism would also limit it and protect the British Empire.[45]

Between April and July 1945, Britain found itself increasingly squeezed out of post-war planning by Soviet-American cooperation. US President Franklin D. Roosevelt sent one of his advisors, Harry Hopkins, to Moscow, where the latter

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[42] *Ibid.*, p. 24; B.R. Kuniholm, *The Origins of the Cold War in the Near East: Great Power Conflict and Diplomacy in Iran, Turkey, and Greece* (Princeton, 1994), pp. 86, 91-92.
[43] Thanasis D. Sfikas, *The British Labour Government and the Greek Civil War 1945-1949: The Imperialism of 'Non-Intervention'* (Keele, 1994), pp. 269-270.
[44] Albert Resis, 'The Churchill-Stalin Secret "Percentages" Agreement on the Balkans, Moscow, October 1944', *The American Historical Review*, 83/2 (1978), pp. 369, 372.
[45] Beatrice Heuser, 'Covert Action within British and American Concepts of Containment, 1948-51', in: Richard J. Aldrich (ed.), *British Intelligence, Strategy and the Cold War, 1945-51* (London, 1992), p. 66.

made significant headway regarding the Polish question (after Stalin failed to implement the decisions made at the Yalta Conference in February), the parameters of the veto in the proposed United Nations (UN), and the division of Germany.[46] Sir Archibald Clark Kerr, the British ambassador to the Soviet Union, informed London that '[t]his renewed Soviet-American flirtation of course means more than a mere attempt to break a temporary deadlock. The Americans and Russians alike are probably hoping to establish a direct relationship with one another'. Such a relationship would have cemented Britain's great power demotion.[47]

In July 1945, Orme Sargent, the deputy under-secretary of state in the Foreign Office, wrote his famous memorandum, 'Stocktaking on VE Day', in which he urged the British government to assume leadership of Western Europe which, in collaboration with the empire and Commonwealth, would strengthen Britain's economy, military, and, thereby, great power status.[48] Sargent outlined that Britain should enlist 'France and the lesser Western European powers, and, of course, also the Dominions, as collaborators with us in this tripartite system. Only so shall we be able, in the long run, to compel our two big partners [i.e. the US and USSR] to treat us as an equal'. Otherwise, Sargent warned, Britain 'and the lesser colonial Powers will be ignored by both Russia and the United States [...] and the smaller Powers will gravitate to the United States'.[49]

Thus by the time of the Potsdam Conference in July-August 1945, British policy had emerged in its 'embryonic' stage. Soviet assertions (including for naval bases in the Straits and trusteeship over Tripolitania) as well as Soviet claims to territory in Turkey (which Moscow attempted to negotiate bilaterally with Turkey) were viewed in London as direct challenges to Britain's empire (both formal and informal) in the Mediterranean and Middle East. The British policy response was

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[46] Kent, *British Imperial Strategy*, pp. 52-53.

[47] John Kent, 'British Policy and the Origins of the Cold War', in: Melvyn P. Leffler and David S. Painter (eds), *Origins of the Cold War: An International History* (London, 2005), p. 159.

[48] Anne Deighton, 'Entente Neo-Coloniale?: Ernest Bevin and the Proposals for an Anglo-French Third World Power, 1945-1949', *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, 17/4 (2006), p. 840.

[49] Sargent, memorandum, 'Stocktaking after VE-Day', 11 July 1945 (revised), FO371/50912, in: Ronald Hyam (ed.), *British Documents on the End of Empire, Series A, Volume 2: The Labour Government and the End of Empire 1945-1951. Part II: Economics and International Relations* (London, 1992), pp. 297-304.

simple: to protect Britain's imperial and great power position 'by a policy of no concessions to Russian wishes, whether they affected Britain's vital interests or not, and if necessary encourage US support for the defence of those interests where they were threatened by the Soviet Union'.[50]

POST-WAR CHANGES AND CONTINUITIES

Britain's post-war governments faced two critical challenges: economic recovery and communist expansionism.[51] The end of the Second World War did restore, albeit briefly, the unipolarity of geopolitics but certainly not Britain's leadership of it. While German, Italian, and Japanese power had disappeared, the recovery and continuation of the British and French empires were in question, and the Soviet Union had attained the military power that it had lacked before the war. As such, the Soviet Union was 'favourably placed to challenge the new unipolar world being constructed around the United States' and was 'perceived as having the commensurate power necessary to export its radical modernist ideology'.[52]

Despite emerging victorious, the Second World War brought low Britain's economy and great power status. Before 1939, 'Britain was the world's only superpower', but after 1945, Britain was the economically weakest of three. During the war, while the US economy was massively expanding, Britain's decline in export earnings forced the British government to finance the war effort by selling much of its overseas assets and borrowing heavily from its imperial system. In 1945, the British government calculated that the country had lost about twenty-five percent of its pre-war wealth.[53] Between 1938 and 1945, Britain's balance of payments deficit increased from £70 million to £875 million, while its national debt more than tripled to £21,473 million.[54]

While some of this debt was owed to the likes of India, Egypt, and Iraq, most

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[50] Kent, *British Imperial Strategy*, pp. 61-62, 69-70; Jamil Hasanli, *Stalin and the Turkish Crisis of the Cold War, 1945-1953* (Plymouth, 2011), pp. 89-90.

[51] Ronald Hyam, 'Africa and the Labour Government, 1945-1951', in: Ronald Hyam (ed.), *Understanding the British Empire* (Cambridge, 2010)', p. 238.

[52] Best, 'We Are Virtually at War with Russia', p. 220.

[53] Jackson, *The British Empire and the Second World War*, p. 4; Till Geiger, *Britain and the Economic Problem of the Cold War: The Political Economy and the Economic Impact of the British Defence Effort, 1945-1955* (Hampshire, 2004), pp. 4, 219.

[54] Rhiannon Vickers, *The Labour Party and the World, Volume 1: The Evolution of Labour's Foreign Policy 1900-51* (Manchester, 2003), p. 162.

of it was owed to the US, upon which Britain was now economically dependent. Britain thus looked to the US to 'support the British Empire in defence arrangements, underwrite economic development in the colonial world, and allow the British to maintain the sterling area'. British policy-makers considered US support and dollars to be necessary to the maintenance of Britain's great power status, at least while its economy was recovering.[55] Therefore, 'it was important to develop a strategy that would promote British independence and ensure that at some point in the not too distant future American support would be given on the basis of equality rather than dependence'.[56]

This was optimistic, if not unrealistic, especially as the US was keen to implement as soon as possible 'a new multilateral liberal international economic order' via the Bretton Woods agreements (which had been signed in July 1944 by forty-four Allied countries). This was at the expense of trading blocs, including the sterling area, and despite serious doubts that the other countries' 'war-torn economies would be able to liberalize their international trade and payments without lengthy adjustment periods'.[57] After the US announced the end of Lend-Lease in August 1945, Britain avoided bankruptcy only after John Maynard Keynes, a British economist, negotiated a loan from the US. The US Congress was eventually convinced, not by Keynes's 'appeal […] to "Justice"' (i.e. regarding Britain's contribution to the war) or his warning of Soviet expansionism, but by the consequences of British bankruptcy on world trade, specifically the threat of Britain's return to a bilateral trade system.[58]

However, the US also used the USD3.75 billion loan to shorten Britain's adjustment period, through a number of provisions which aimed to undermine the sterling area. These included committing Britain:

to eliminate their debts to India and other empire and commonwealth

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[55] Wm. Roger Louis, 'American Anti-Colonialism and the Dissolution of the British Empire', *International Affairs*, 61/3 (1985), p. 402.

[56] Kent, *British Imperial Strategy*, pp. 77, 145.

[57] Till Geiger, '*The Power Game*, Soft Power and the International Historian', in: Inderjeet Parmar, Michael Cox (eds), *Soft Power and US Foreign Policy: Theoretical, Historical and Contemporary Perspectives* (London, 2010), pp. 92-93.

[58] John Killick, *The United States and European Reconstruction, 1945-1960* (Edinburgh, 1997), pp. 35-36.

countries through negotiation, to ratify the Articles of Agreement for the IMF [International Monetary Fund] and the IBRD [International Bank for Reconstruction and Development] and, more riskily, to make sterling freely convertible to US dollars and all other European currencies within twelve months.[59]

In addition to these severe economic pressures, the Second World War also ravaged Britain's imperial system; indeed, there was a 'crisis of empire'. The re-occupation of Singapore, Malaya, and (as will be discussed in chapter two) Hong Kong required tackling not only significant practical challenges but also re-establishing in the indigenous mind the confidence in British imperial and military prestige, while the global food shortage threatened recovery and stability everywhere. In this context, the British Empire 'was more over-extended than ever'.[60] Moreover, the empire's vulnerability, it was feared in Whitehall, would further open it up to communist infiltration, evidenced in Hong Kong and Cyprus by the entrenchment of the CCP and AKEL.

THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT

On 26 July 1945, just over eleven weeks after the celebrations of Allied victory in Europe, the British general election results were announced: Clement Attlee's Labour Party had won by a landslide. The transition of power took place while Churchill was at the Potsdam Conference to negotiate the post-world order with Stalin and the new US president, Harry Truman. The election results caused much concern both in the Soviet Union (Molotov called Prime Minister Attlee and his new secretary of state for foreign affairs, Ernest Bevin, 'old fashioned imperialists') and the US (which distrusted Labour's socialism).[61]

The new government, while bringing widespread domestic changes to Britain, saw 'strong continuity' with its predecessor (i.e. Churchill's wartime coalition) in the areas of foreign and imperial policies. However, there were some who called for a reduction in Britain's overseas commitments. Hugh Dalton, the new chancellor of the exchequer, demanded a reduction in defence costs, especially as clinging to the empire would have been 'a waste both of British men and money to try to hold

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[59] Catherine R. Schenk, *International Economic Relations since 1945* (London, 2011), pp. 28-29.
[60] Hyam, *Britain's Declining Empire*, pp. 96-97.
[61] Deighton, *The Impossible Peace*, pp. 11-12.

down any of this crowd against their will'. Applying a sort of strategic cost-benefit analysis, Attlee, the new prime minister and 'master-pragmatist', wanted to concentrate British imperial commitments westward, linking Western Europe, sub-Sahara Africa, North America, and Australasia together. Shedding the mere 'outposts' in the Mediterranean and Middle East, Attlee reasoned, would not only cut costs (to economy and prestige) but also create a buffer zone, placing a 'wide glacis of desert and Arabs between ourselves and the Russians'.[62]

Dalton and Attlee, however, faced a powerful coalition of Bevin, the chiefs of staff, and the civil servants in the Foreign and Colonial Offices, all of whom linked Britain's power (including its privileged relationship with the US) to Britain's global imperial presence. Moreover, it was argued, a retreat from the Middle East would leave the oil-rich region for the Soviets – as 'the bear could not resist pushing its paw into soft places' – as well as 'signal to Russia, America, and the Commonwealth Britain's "abdication as a world power"'.[63] As Sir Oliver Harvey, a deputy under-secretary of state in the Foreign Office, put it in March 1946, Britain's:

> Mediterranean position is vital to our position as a great power because it is the area through which we bring influence to bear on the soft underbelly of France, Italy, Yugoslavia, Greece, Turkey and southern Europe. Without our physical presence these states would fall, like Eastern Europe, under the totalitarian yoke. The Mediterranean would become a second Black Sea and Russian influence would spread into Africa. These are far weightier reasons than the route to India argument for making sacrifices to hold the Mediterranean.[64]

After eighteen months of debate, Attlee acquiesced (see chapter five).

Despite campaign promises of a socialist approach to the empire and foreign policy, Labour's first year in power saw little change from the colonialism of its recent predecessors, particularly regarding the problematic questions which Creech Jones posed in 1943 (i.e. about the future of Hong Kong and Malaya, white settlement in the Rhodesias and Nyasaland, and the constitutional questions in

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[62] Heinlein, *British Government Policy*, pp. 11-15; Hyam, 'Introduction', p. 34; Hyam, 'Africa and the Labour Government', p. 249.
[63] Heinlein, *British Government Policy*, pp. 15-19, 23; Hyam, 'Africa and the Labour Government', pp. 249-250.
[64] Kent, *British Imperial Strategy*, pp. 98-99.

Ceylon, the West Indies, and Cyprus).[65] This all changed in the context of 1946, when international anti-colonialism coalesced with the overt breakdown of Allied cooperation, which will be the subject of section two.

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Britain's wartime experiences indeed masked long-term tensions with the Soviet Union. However, the pressures of war – including loss in the Far East and rising anti-colonialism in the US and Soviet Union – forced Britain to soften its approach. With one hand, Churchill negotiated for British interests in the Mediterranean by accepting Soviet expansionism in Eastern Europe. With the other hand, British policy-makers reformed their colonial rule – including its structure and raison d'être – in order to defend the continuation of the British colonial empire as well as to reassert its control, not by a firm hand but by winning hearts and minds.

It was in this context that AKEL and CCP grew deep roots in Cyprus and Hong Kong. As will be discussed in the following chapters, AKEL took advantage of the re-legalization of municipal governments and political parties, as well as the many social problems created first by Britain's pre-war colonial rule and then by the war, to gain significant public support and to usurp the *enosis* platform from the Greek-Cypriot nationalists. In occupied Hong Kong, Chinese communist guerrilla fighters earned the support of locals (and even, temporarily, some British) for their resistance against the Japanese. The following two chapters will trace the rise of these two communist parties as well as British perceptions of and, in the case of Cyprus, initial responses to them. Chapter four will then compare these findings.

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[65] Heinlein, *British Government Policy*, p. 23; Commons, 13 July 1943, *Hansard*, 391, col. 48, 72.

<u>Chapter Two</u>
<u>'A World of Grey Men': The Rise of the CCP, 1938-1946</u>

Between 1938 and 1946, the CCP entrenched itself in Hong Kong. This occurred, as this chapter will outline, within the contexts of: Britain losing, recovering, and rebuilding its war-torn colony; the resumption of the Chinese Civil War; the decline of the KMT in China and Hong Kong; and the rise in increasingly violent, often communist-led anti-colonial movements in the Far East, especially in French Indochina, the Dutch East Indies, and British Malaya.

British colonial policy-makers recognized this growing Asian nationalist challenge to traditional colonialism, which had reached its boiling point during the Pacific War, and the opportunities this afforded to the Soviets and Chinese. The post-war military and first civil governments of Hong Kong thus reformed their imperial position in Hong Kong in order to counter potential (internal and/or external) anti-colonialism by winning hearts and minds. However, this had to be balanced with the desire to guard its internal security against what Governor Young called the 'tug-o'-war' between the local KMT and CCP, in order to prevent the Chinese Civil War from spreading across the border.

In the face of these challenges, Britain, between 1945 and 1946, recovered and resuscitated Hong Kong primarily for its economic and prestige value, to find that the colony was on the front line of the Cold War in the Far East.

UNITED FRONTS AND COMMUNIST GUERRILLAS

In March 1937, the British government in Hong Kong carried out a joint armed forces exercise which involved some 26,000 personnel, in part as a show of strength to the would-be Japanese aggressors and as a sign of their commitment to the local Hong Kong population. Four months later, the Sino-Japanese War began in northeast China and soon spread to Hong Kong waters. Anti-Japanese protests and strikes spread across Hong Kong, especially led by workers and students. Now sharing a common enemy with the local population, the ROC, and the British, Hong Kong had indeed become 'fertile ground for Communist activities'.[1]

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[1] Cindy Yik-yi Chu, *Chinese Communists and Hong Kong Capitalists: 1937-1997* (Basingstoke, 2010), pp. 26-27.

Chinese communists had been present in Hong Kong from the inception of the CCP in 1921, but it was not until 1927, after Chiang purged them from the KMT, that the CCP in Kwangtung Province (located across the border from Hong Kong) were forced to move their headquarters from Canton (now called Guangzhou) to the British colony. Until 1937, the CCP in southern China were isolated and persecuted, especially in Hong Kong, where the British government regularly cooperated with Kwangtung authorities to capture suspected communists, who, if repatriated to Kwangtung, were often 'arrested, interrogated, tortured, and then executed'. The communist movement in southern China was saved by the onset of the Sino-Japanese War.[2]

In January 1938, with the Japanese constituting the most immediate threat in East Asia, the KMT and British allowed the CCP to establish the Office of the Eighth Route Army in Hong Kong, to arouse anti-Japanese cooperation from local and overseas Chinese, to collect and distribute their donations, to distribute propaganda, to coordinate covert work, and to direct overseas Chinese volunteers who sought to join the Red Army. However, the CCP was also keen to spread its influence more generally, especially at the expense of its ally in the anti-Japanese 'Second United Front', the KMT. In fact, the 'united front' idea soon became an important framework of Mao's party; the CCP's aims were: to consolidate its leadership over 'the proletariat, peasants, and urban petty bourgeoisie'; to strengthen the resolve of the middling and wavering 'national bourgeoisie'; and finally to unite them – all the while combating the 'national capitulationism' of 'the big landlords and big bourgeoisie', who tended to collaborate with the Japanese. This was especially true in Hong Kong, which was, according to Zhou Enlai, a leading member of the CCP's Central Committee and head of the CCP's Southern Bureau, 'a territory the CCP could not lose'.[3]

The CCP's efforts in Hong Kong, however, were characteristically disjointed, owing to the number of 'different lines of authority' located there as well as to general disagreements between 'central and local party organizations'. Hong Kong

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[2] Chan, *From Nothing to Nothing*, pp. 4-6.
[3] *Ibid*., pp. 7-9; Chu, *Chinese Communists and Hong Kong Capitalists*, pp. 25-29.

was home not only to the semi-official Office of the Eighth Route Army but also the underground local CCP Committee – both of which were subordinated to the Southern Bureau, which was responsible for CCP movements in KMT- or Japanese-controlled areas. Conflicts between the office and the committee, for example regarding the latter's 'Re-gain Hong Kong' campaign, had to be settled by Zhou, who was adamant that they should not antagonize the British authorities.[4]

TO RECOVER HONG KONG?

Aside from the shock to Britain's imperial system, the fall of Hong Kong in December 1941 further strained the deteriorating relations between Britain and the ROC. Not only had Britain rebuffed Chiang's numerous offers in 1939 and 1940 of military support to defend the colony, Britain's 'tight-fisted' loan policy and the British government's general scepticism of the ROC's claim to be one of the 'Big Four' further added to tensions between the two countries in 1942.[5]

In early 1942, shortly after the fall of Hong Kong to the Japanese, the ROC made its first formal request to Britain for the rendition of Hong Kong. The British government refused to discuss the matter until after the war.[6] Within Whitehall and the Cabinet, however, there were serious divisions over the matter. During the war, the Foreign Office generally viewed the value of Hong Kong (as it did with Cyprus) in terms of foreign policy: returning Hong Kong to China might improve Anglo-Chinese relations and help to reinforce the KMT government against the CCP in the suspended civil war. Certain MPs also voiced this opinion in the British Parliament.[7] Even the Colonial Office, which had established the Hong Kong Planning Unit in August 1943 to organize post-war reoccupation efforts, decided to consider the option.[8]

In fact, the fall of Hong Kong, Burma, Malaya and Singapore by 1942 was widely considered, especially in the US, to be the death knell of British colonialism in the Far East (and perhaps beyond), or at least the indicator that, in the words of

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[4] Chu, *Chinese Communists and Hong Kong Capitalists*, pp. 31-32, 34.
[5] Fedorowich, 'Decolonization Deferred?', pp. 27-28.
[6] Foreign Office, memorandum, 'The Future Status of Hong Kong', 13 April 1946, CO537/1649, TNA.
[7] For example, see: Commons, 14 October 1942, *Hansard*, 383, col. 1603.
[8] Wm. Roger Louis, 'Hong Kong: The Critical Phase, 1945-1949', *The American Historical Review*, 102/4 (1997), p. 1063.

US journalist Walter Lippmann, it was time for 'putting away the white man's burden and purging [...] an obsolete and obviously unworkable white man's imperialism'.[9] This was mainly because these humiliating defeats to the Japanese destroyed the perception of 'white prestige'.[10] As Bevin noted in 1946, 'All the nations of the Far East hate Japan, but all derived satisfaction from the ability of an Asiatic Power to beat the West at its own game'.[11]

As early as 1942, however, Britain's general imperial commitment was revived, with its colonial ideology of racial superiority rebranded as an obligation to protect and develop colonial peoples.[12] The British government issued numerous statements confirming its intention not to 'liquidate the British Empire'. Hong Kong, despite being occupied by Japan and coveted by China, was no different in this regard. On both 14 October 1942 and 28 January 1943, British ministers confirmed in Parliament that Hong Kong's status as a crown colony was not altered by the recent agreements with the ROC to relinquish British extraterritoriality (i.e. the exemption of British subjects in China from local laws) in exchange for greater Chinese cooperation in the Allied war effort.[13]

On 8 November 1944, when Clement Attlee, the deputy prime minister, was asked 'whether Hong Kong or any other part of the Empire is excluded from his declaration that it is not proposed to liquidate the British Empire', he replied that 'No part of the British Empire or Commonwealth of Nations is excluded'. Furthermore, Attlee confirmed Conservative MP William Astor's statement that 'all encouragement will now be given to British firms to prepare plans for re-establishing themselves in Hong Kong, and getting on with British export trade in

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[9] James P. Hubbard, *The United States and the End of British Colonial Rule in Africa, 1941-1968* (Jefferson, NC, 2011), p. 12.
[10] Wolton, *The Loss of White Prestige*, pp. 45-48.
[11] Bevin, memorandum, 'Erection and Maintenance of Broadcasting Station in Singapore', 28 March 1946, CAB129/8/29.
[12] Wolton, *The Loss of White Prestige*, p. 154. For the impact of the Second World War on the British Empire, see: L.J. Butler, *Britain and the Empire: Adjusting to a Post-Imperial World* (London, 2002), chapter 2.
[13] Commons, 14 October 1942, *Hansard*, 383, col. 1603; Commons, 28 January 1943, *Hansard*, 386, col. 634W. See: Chan Lau Kit-ching, *China, Britain and Hong Kong: 1895-1945* (Hong Kong, 1990), pp. 305-309.

that area'.[14] On 11 April 1945, Prime Minister Winston Churchill, in a conversation about Hong Kong, informed General Patrick Hurley, the US special envoy to China, that 'never would we yield an inch of the territory that was under the British Flag'.[15]

Indeed, '[n]othing has been said on a ministerial level either privately or publicly to suggest that any change in the status of Hong Kong is contemplated'.[16] Arguments for the return of Hong Kong to China could not compete with the colony's economic and strategic values in peacetime, combined with the salvaging of British imperial prestige in the Far East and the world.[17] The recovery of Hong Kong was one of three essential post-war economic strategies, the other two being the repossession of confiscated British properties and the recovery of Britain's shipping dominance in China.[18]

THE TROUBLE WITH CHINA

As Britain became bolder in its commitment to colonialism, the KMT government became increasingly troubled by 'two vital and outstanding problems': the existence of the 450,000-strong Chinese communist armies and the communist-controlled provinces in northern China, both relics of the First Chinese Civil War (1927-1937).[19] In fact, the 'Second United Front', although it formally suspended the civil war during the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945), was an alliance only in name; fighting continued between the KMT and CCP.[20] Indeed, 'in Chiang's mind, Japan was merely "a disease of the skin", while the [Chinese] Communist threat was "a disease of the heart"'.[21]

After the defeat of Japan, the resumption of the civil war was a constant threat. Mirroring Churchill's concerns for Eastern Europe, Chiang's 'indefinite anxiety' was getting his troops into areas evacuated by Japan before those of the

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[14] Commons, 8 November 1944, *Hansard*, 404, cols 1352-1353.

[15] Philip Snow, *The Fall Of Hong Kong: Britain, China and the Japanese Occupation* (New Haven, CT, 2004), p. 232.

[16] Foreign Office, memorandum, 'The Future Status of Hong Kong', 13 April 1946, CO537/1649, TNA.

[17] Kan, 'The Position of Hong Kong', p. 112.

[18] Feng, *The British Government's China Policy*, p. 31.

[19] JIC, Hong Kong, 'Weekly Intelligence Summary', no. 2, 4 October 1945, CO129/592/6, TNA. See: Suzanne Pepper, *Civil War in China: The Political Struggle, 1945-1949* (Oxford, 1999), p. 7.

[20] See: John W. Garver, 'The Origins of the Second United Front: The Comintern and the Chinese Communist Party', *The China Quarterly*, 113 (1988).

[21] Feng, *The British Government's China Policy*, p. 17.

Chinese communists.[22] This included Hong Kong as, by 20 August 1945, the main forces of the East River Column, a Hong Kong-based communist-led guerrilla resistance group, was stationed at the colony's border after capturing Shenzhen. If China was unable to reclaim Hong Kong from the Japanese, Chiang preferred the return of the British imperialists to the colony over the liberation and occupation of Hong Kong by the CCP.[23]

The ROC also had external problems. While the 'Treaty of Friendship and Alliance' (14 August 1945) between the USSR and the KMT government considerably weakened the position of the Chinese communists, it limited the KMT as well. First, reports from Manchuria claimed that Russia was in the process of dismantling industrial factories to be relocated to the Ukraine. The JIC reported that the deprivation of Manchuria's 'industrial capacity would definitely reduce its value to the Chinese, who are desperately short of means of production with which to repair their enormous war losses'.[24] This, in turn, had a significant impact on Britain's economic interests in China, given the former's enormous investments and desperate need for an export market in the latter.[25]

Second, while American and British sympathies for the KMT deterred the Chinese communists from initiating a military showdown, Soviet-Chinese relations similarly restrained Chiang. Chiang's 'indefinite anxiety' was constantly frustrated by Russia which, for example, refused to transport KMT soldiers, thereby giving the CCP an advantage in occupying territory in the north. The potential of ceding a 'bargaining point' to Stalin also restrained the US and Britain from encouraging a renewal of the civil war or allowing China to reclaim Hong Kong. In the end, the British JIC in Hong Kong concluded in October 1945 that the 'prospect of more than a compromise in China seems hopeless as long as the Communists (a) want a large army and (b) insists [*sic*] on autonomy in their own areas'.[26]

Third, the ROC was one of the founding members of the UN as well as one of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council in June 1945 and therefore

[22] JIC, Hong Kong, 'Weekly Intelligence Summary', no. 5, 25 October 1945, CO129/592/6, TNA.
[23] Steve Tsang, *A Modern History of Hong Kong* (London, 2004), p. 135.
[24] JIC, Hong Kong, 'Weekly Intelligence Summary', no. 4, 18 October 1945, CO129/592/6, TNA.
[25] Feng, *The British Government's China Policy*, p. 31.
[26] JIC, Hong Kong, 'Weekly Intelligence Summary', no. 5, 25 October 1945, CO129/592/6, TNA.

could not risk alienating itself from the other four, especially as one of them was the Soviet Union. Finally, with the death of President Roosevelt in April – who allegedly had told Hurley that 'he would go over Churchill's head' to petition the king and Parliament to support Chiang – and the rising threat of Soviet expansionism, the US's traditional anti-colonialism gave way to quiet support of the British Empire for the strategic advantages it could provide.[27] The KMT government was therefore in no position to reclaim Hong Kong. Nevertheless, Britain's broader foreign policy concern was the creation of 'a stable, united China in the hope of preventing the expansion of Russian influence' and the maintenance of British interests in China and the Far East.[28]

THE RESUMPTION OF BRITISH RULE

Given these internal and external pressures, Chiang's announcement on the 24 August 1945 was unsurprising. He declared that 'the present status of Hong Kong is regulated by a treaty signed by China and Great Britain. Changes in future will be introduced only through friendly negotiations between the two countries'.[29] On 30 August, with the approval of Harry S. Truman, the new US president, Japan therefore surrendered Hong Kong back to Britain.[30]

Although the ROC did not officially request the return of Hong Kong in 1945, Whitehall recognized that this issue was far from settled. The Foreign Office understood that 'Hong Kong is for China a question which closely touches her prestige and national self-respect', rooted in the 'national humiliations suffered' under the 'unequal treaties'. Moreover, if China officially requested Hong Kong, not only could Britain not count on continued US support, but China could count on that of the USSR. The Foreign Office based this assessment, in part, on an article published on 16 February 1946 in *Pravda* about Chinese agitation for Hong Kong. The Foreign Office memorandum concluded that the article was evidence of 'the apparently ruthless vendetta of the Kremlin against Britain and the British

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[27] Tsang, 'Government and Politics in Hong Kong', p. 70.
[28] Feng, *The British Government's China Policy*, p. 20.
[29] Kan, 'The Position of Hong Kong', pp. 109-110.
[30] Louis, 'Hong Kong: The Critical Phase', p. 1063; Mark, *Hong Kong and the Cold War*, p. 30.

Empire'.[31]

For the British Foreign Office, however, China's internal troubles, while preventing it from seeking Hong Kong's return, had much wider and potentially disastrous implications. The JIC reported that one of the many Soviet agents in Shanghai admitted that the USSR:

> did not recognize China as one of the great powers, and in view of the fact that she was incapable of looking after herself, that the Soviets might be compelled to restore peace and law in China should hostilities break out, in order to protect <u>potential</u> Soviet interests.

The JIC report, written in November 1945, concluded that if the KMT government failed to make sufficient arrangements to re-occupy north China when the US withdrew its forces, 'a definite threat to British interests and British nationals may arise', not necessarily from the CCP but from the Soviet Union.[32]

A similar argument had been expressed to Bevin one month previously by Sir Horace James Seymour, the British ambassador at Nanking, who explained further that:

> it becomes daily clearer to me that, if British interests in the Far East are to be re-established and expanded in the future, we shall have to rely entirely on our own efforts and are unlikely to be able to count on much Chinese assistance: it would appear that the best centre for the exertion of that effort is likely to be Hong Kong. To that extent I may be justified in urging that the earliest consideration be given to the requirements of the Colony, both in personnel and in the provision of shipping, fuel and other commodities.[33]

From late 1945, Hong Kong was beginning to feature in the minds of certain British officials, particularly those concerned with foreign policy, as a strategic pawn in Britain's cold war against Soviet imperialism.

With this in mind, Cecil Harcourt, the commander-in-chief of the military administration of Hong Kong, reported three weeks after the Japanese surrender that the '[p]opulation in general seems glad to see us back and [the] harbour filled with British warships gives obvious pleasure'. He warned, however, that 'we must

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[31] Foreign Office, memorandum, 'The Future Status of Hong Kong', 13 April 1946, CO537/1649, TNA.
[32] JIC, Hong Kong, 'Weekly Intelligence Summary', no. 8, 15 November 1945, CO129/592/6, TNA.
[33] British Embassy, Chungking to Bevin, 5 October 1945, CO129/592/6, TNA. For Seymour, see: Shian Li, 'Britain's China Policy and the Communists, 1942 to 1946: The Role of Ambassador Sir Horace Seymour', *Modern Asian Studies*, 26/1 (1992).

bring much more than ability to maintain order if our welcome is to endure'. He estimated that bombs, fire, and looting had destroyed about fifteen percent of properties across the colony, with some areas as high as sixty percent. 'Strong patrols' kept the colony quiet, despite the slow re-introduction of the Hong Kong dollar, limited working infrastructure, a dwindling food supply, and business being 'at a standstill'.[34]

There was indeed much work to be done if Hong Kong was going to become a British bulwark against Soviet expansionism in the Far East. The question for British policy-makers, however, was how best to fortify Hong Kong (i.e. through militarization, greater self-government, or economy), which provoked considerable disagreements between and within Hong Kong and London. The first of such disagreements occurred in Hong Kong between the military administration and the returning civil governor on the one hand and latter's successor on the other (see chapter six). By then, however, fortifying Hong Kong was complicated by the presence of and tensions between rival Chinese political parties in the colony. It was not until after May 1946, when the military administration of Hong Kong restored power to the British civil administration, headed by Mark Young, the reinstated pre-war governor, that the extent of this CCP-KMT rivalry became clear.

THE KMT IN HONG KONG

In the continuing battle over the future of China and Chinese nationalism, both the KMT and the CCP had been very active in Hong Kong during the Second World War. According to a report written in November 1946 by Thomas Megarry, Hong Kong's acting secretary for Chinese affairs, the KMT gained a foothold in the colony after it began employing men from criminal triad societies to support underground subversion against the Japanese. These movements continued after the war as self-styled 'anti-traitor and anti-communist' activities, which also, Megarry alleged, included looting and blackmailing collaborators and those whom the KMT deemed to be collaborators.[35]

According to Megarry, the KMT continued to extend its influence in media,

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[34] Commander-in-chief, Hong Kong to admiralty for COS, 18 September 1945, CO129/592/6, TNA.
[35] Megarry, memorandum, 27 November 1946, enclosed in: Young to Creech Jones, 28 November 1946, CO537/1658, TNA.

education, labour, and social and commercial organizations. The KMT could boast domination over thirty-five private schools and the vernacular press. It also established in Hong Kong sometime after 1938 a branch of the 'Three People's Principles Youth Corps', which British authorities believed was training members to collect political intelligence and spy on opponents of the KMT.[36]

Despite some competition with the CCP, the KMT had the numerical advantage in trade unions. This included the Chinese Seamen's Union, which, according to Megarry, was 'a powerful weapon to use against foreign shipping companies, whose vessels are manned by Chinese seamen'. However, Megarry was mistaken; the Chinese Seamen's Union was actually significantly weaker than the Hong Kong Seamen's Union, which was squarely in the CCP's camp. And while Megarry was correct in asserting that a general seamen's strike could have completely paralyzed 'all the economic life of the Colony which depends on the trade handled by the port', it was not in the KMT's power to orchestrate such an act. In fact, according Tsang, the KMT's unions were 'weak and politically inactive'.[37]

Nevertheless, British anxiety regarding trade unionism was borne out of experience. The first large-scale industrial action by a modern trade union in Hong Kong occurred in March 1920, when the Hong Kong Chinese Engineers' Institute organized a nineteen-day strike for higher wages. Over the next two years, its success inspired some forty-two strikes for similar ends. This unrest climaxed with the eight-week seamen's strike of 1922. Most of these strikes, particularly those of the seamen, called for wage increases and were economically driven. Governor Reginald Stubbs (1919-1925), however, erroneously interrupted the 1922 seamen's strike as political and organized by the CCP from Canton. His severe response included proscribing the Chinese Seamen's Union (which would eventually resurface as the CCP-dominated Hong Kong Seamen's Union), which in turn prompted a general strike of more than one-fifth of Hong Kong's population, including the Chinese staff of Government House. To prevent an exodus from the colony, the government suspended the train service to Canton, and police opened fire, killing

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[36] *Ibid*. For the Three People's Principles Youth Corps, see: Lloyd E. Eastman, *Seeds of Destruction: Nationalist China in War and Revolution 1937-1949* (Stanford, CA, 1984), pp. 89-107.
[37] *Ibid*.; Tsang, *Democracy Shelved*, pp. 51-52.

five strikers. Conditions continued to deteriorate until the government and the shipping companies acquiesced. This defeat of the British government and the Chinese elite put labour movements front and centre for policy-makers, where it would remain for decades.[38]

Moreover, by 1945, according to a Colonial Office memorandum, the organization of labour in Hong Kong 'was not an organic growth arising out of a struggle for better wages or working conditions'. In Hong Kong as well as in China, labour was instead 'caught up with a revolutionary movement in China which determined its development according to political exigency'. Before the outbreak of the Second World War, the memorandum claimed, the Hong Kong government gave 'every encouragement [...] to the workers to organise themselves', which resulted in 'a remarkable growth of genuine Trade Unionism in 1940 and 1941'. The report blamed the Japanese for destroying this movement.[39]

In reality, 'genuine' trade unionism (by which the British policy-makers were referring to non-political, especially non-communist, unions) had been stymied since the government's strong-handed reaction in the 1920s. In July 1927, in response to the devastating 1925–1926 general strike-cum-boycott (which the CCP sustained and significantly benefitted in terms of local power and prestige), the Hong Kong government enacted the Illegal Strikes and Lockouts Ordinance which banned political objectives for strikes and foreign affiliations for trade unions.[40] In 1939, the Hong Kong government's labour officer, Henry Robert Butters, admitted that since 1927, 'the surviving Hong Kong unions became little more than friendly societies concerned more with the provision of funeral expenses for the dead than the improvement of the conditions for the living'.[41] British actions were far from

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[38] Tsang, *A Modern History of Hong Kong*, pp. 87-90; Snow, *The Fall of Hong Kong*, p. 7; Ming K. Chan, 'Hong Kong in Sino-British Conflict: Mass Mobilization and the Crisis of Legitimacy, 1912-1926', in: Ming K. Chan (ed.), *Precarious Balance: Hong Kong between China and Britain* (Hong Kong, 1994), pp. 40-44; Chan, *From Nothing to Nothing*, pp. 21-23.

[39] Unsigned, 'Summary of memorandum on Trade Unionism in Hong Kong', undated, CO129/615/1, TNA.

[40] David Faure (ed.), *A Documentary History of Hong Kong Society* (Hong Kong, 1997), p. 193; Loh, *Underground Front*, p. 52; Chan, *From Nothing to Nothing*, p. 53. For the 1925-1926 strike-boycott, see: Chan, 'Hong Kong in Sino-British Conflict', pp. 49-54; Joe England, *Industrial Relations and Law in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong, 1981), pp. 103-107.

[41] Chan, 'Hong Kong in Sino-British Conflict', p. 53.

'encouragement'.

Nevertheless, according to Megarry, the British returned to Hong Kong in 1945 to find 'a very strong' KMT trades union movement and a CCP counter-movement. Based on experiences elsewhere in the empire, specifically in Malaya, Creech Jones (as the secretary of state for the colonies), who also had significant experience as a trade unionist in Britain, advised Young to appoint a trade union advisor. Creech Jones stated that:

> [t]he presence in Hong Kong of an experienced Adviser (who as soon as Trade Union legislation is enacted could stress the legitimate objects of unions and the need for registration) would I suggest be valuable in this respect as well as in minimising the danger of Unions being utilized by Chinese political parties for their own purposes.

According to a Colonial Office memorandum, the 'best chance for healthy development in Trade Unionism in Hong Kong lies in combating K.M.T. infiltration [...] [by] encouraging the growth of the anti-K.M.T. Unions'.[42]

However, Megarry argued that the local population, apart from the few supporters of the CCP and of other smaller parties, was unwilling to antagonize the KMT because of Hong Kong's uncertain future. If Hong Kong was to be returned to China, the local Chinese did not want to be considered to be 'of no influence with or even in disfavour with what is the most powerful political party in China'. This was a problem for British rule; the KMT, according to Megarry, was forming an *imperium in imperio* which undermined 'the foundations of our administration that, when the occasion suits it, it can manoeuver an unilateral resumption of the territory and meanwhile batten on its wealth and bend the populace to its will by methods of subtle intimidation'.[43]

In late 1946, a string of unfortunate events allowed for an increase in KMT agitation. This was helped along, in Young's view, by the KMT press's new strategy of making 'an international incident out of any domestic occurrence involving a Chinese and a non-Chinese'. On 26 October, an unlicensed hawker died while police

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[42] Creech Jones to Young, 17 January 1947; unsigned, 'Summary of memorandum on Trade Unionism in Hong Kong', undated, CO129/615/1, TNA.
[43] Megarry, memorandum, 27 November 1946, enclosed in: Young to Creech Jones, 28 November 1946, CO537/1658, TNA.

were clearing hawkers from the streets. According to Young, 'youthful hooligans', stirred up by 'violent' misinformation in the press, rioted in response. The officer alleged to have killed the hawker was a local-born Indian constable. This story was linked the following month with the shooting and killing of a Chinese man by a British soldier. Young complained that 'the victims in each case are being publicized by photographs and inflammatory, misinformed articles in certain sections of the Chinese press and are already acquiring something of the status of national heroes or martyrs'. In January 1947, Young relayed yet another account of British heavy-handedness. An assistant superintendent of police 'rather foolishly' attempted to clear Chinese woodcutters away with a warning shot, which, according to Young, 'by strange mischance' struck a young man, breaking his arm.[44]

While the 'motive for representing every incident of this nature as a major example of foreign oppression of the Chinese is obscure', Young speculated that:

> it may be to lend support to the cry for the rendition of Hong Kong; it may be a way in which certain factions may bring themselves to notice as patriots; for the newspapers it may be a good copy, since the ordinary newspaper reader seems to find a morbid enjoyment in any suggestion that he and his fellow-Chinese are being made the victims of the foreign aggressor; [...] or finally it may be a symptom of the general tendency of the Chinese to blame anyone but themselves for the present chaotic state of China.

Nevertheless, these stories were used by the KMT press to stir up agitation against the imperial rulers, while numerous requests from, for example, the Nanking Municipal Council urged the Chinese government to seek Hong Kong's return.[45]

Alongside agitation, the KMT press was also utilized as an extension of the KMT government. In June 1946, Young, with the unanimous support of his Executive Council (which was an advisory body comprising seven official, two unofficial British, and now two unofficial Chinese members) suppressed *The National Times* for one month after it urged the Hong Kong public to assist the Chinese government to capture alive Shum Wai Yau (a supposed Japanese collaborator) and 'to smash [his]newspaper to pieces'. The Chinese members of his Executive Council, Young

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[44] Young to Creech Jones, 18 November 1946, 12 December 1946, and 27 January 1947, CO537/2193, TNA.
[45] Young to Creech Jones, 12 December 1946 and 20 February 1947, CO537/2193, TNA.

reported, 'assured me that this last statement in original Chinese must be taken to refer to physical, not figurative, violence'. On top of the KMT's incitement to violence, Canton authorities made no application for Shum's arrest nor provided any proof of wrong-doing in China. Young concluded that *The National Times* article undermined British sovereignty and law.[46]

In this context, Young therefore instructed his security services in early 1947 to prepare for the expulsion of the KMT from the colony, if and when such action could be justified. But Young and Megarry had significantly over-estimated the KMT's influence in Hong Kong; the rise in agitation was an indication of the KMT's weakness, not strength. In fact, the KMT, while possessing some appeal as a leader of Chinese nationalism, was largely unsuccessful in securing influence over the Hong Kong Chinese, even at its 'high tide' in 1946.[47]

That said, as with the Greek-Cypriot nationalists in Cyprus after 1950, the Chinese nationalists were in reality the most disruptive force to Hong Kong's internal security throughout our period of study. As we will see in the following chapters, that British policy-makers nevertheless identified the CCP as their main threat and that legislation was formulated explicitly (but not publicly) against the CCP, demonstrated the pervasiveness of a Cold War mentality in the colonial official mind.

THE CCP IN HONG KONG

While the KMT's influence in Hong Kong, which was over-stated by British authorities in the first place, was in decline by early 1947, that of the CCP was on the rise. The CCP's perceived infiltration of and increasing control over Hong Kong society soon became the primary concern for British policy-makers and, by mid-1948, dictated British policy. This must first be understood within the regional context.

Hong Kong was one colony within a greater sphere of British colonial interests in the Far East, an area which, according to the Joint Intelligence Committee (Far East), or JIC(FE), had become 'more vulnerable to communist influence than ever

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[46] Young to Creech Jones, 16 June 1946, CO537/1658, TNA.
[47] Tsang, *Democracy Shelved*, p. 55.

before'. After Japan surrendered in 1945, the:

> factors favourable to the spread of communism included increasing nationalist feeling (later encouraged by the examples of India, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon), the greatly enhanced prestige of the USSR. [*sic*], a loss of European prestige consequent of defeats suffered at the hands of the Japanese, general political instability and disruption of economy. To these may be added the inevitable post-war lawlessness and the fact that communists operating as guerillas had, in many countries, provided the core of anti-Japanese resistance movements; [*sic*] and consequently possessed a reserve of arms of allied origin which rendered them more formidable.[48]

This assessment was mostly accurate for Hong Kong. By early 1941, anti-Japanese guerrilla fighters, under KMT command as part of the 'Second United Front', began operations in Hong Kong. By 1943, these guerrilla units had been put under communist control, re-named the East River Column, and made an auxiliary of the Kwangtung People's Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Corps. With its headquarters in the New Territories, the column's commander-in-chief was Zeng Sheng, the secretary general of the left-wing Hong Kong Seamen's Union.[49]

The East River Column cooperated with the British Army in fighting the Japanese.[50] The column, armed with rifles left by defeated British troops and supported by unemployed Hong Kong workers, rescued communist and left-wing individuals in occupied Hong Kong and aided Allied escapees.[51] The East River Column rescued an estimated eighty-nine 'international friends', including some twenty British and fifty-four Indian POWs.[52] While after the war they sent most of their arms to the CCP forces in north China, according to John Borrow, the British district officer in the New Territories, the communists 'left behind [a] political nuclei to see that the good work (as they see it) which they did is not undone', which

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[48] JIC(FE), (48)12 (Final), 'Communism in the Far East', 7 October 1948, CO537/2650, TNA.

[49] Hong Kong Police Special Branch, report, 'The Chinese Communist Party in Hong Kong', 30 June 1949, CO537/4816, TNA; Loh, *Underground Front*, pp. 59-60; Chu, *Chinese Communists and Hong Kong Capitalists*, p. 37.

[50] Chan Sui-jeung, *East River Column: Hong Kong Guerrillas in the Second World War and After* (Hong Kong, 2009), p. 98.

[51] Tsang, *A Modern History of Hong Kong*, pp. 129-130.

[52] Snow, *The Fall of Hong Kong*, p. 401n143. See also: Loh, *Underground Front*, pp. 61-62.

specifically included maintaining the sympathy of the youth.[53]

Such distrust in Hong Kong was balanced by the recognition in London of the communists' cooperation, demonstrated most poignantly by the invitation extended to Huang Zuomei, a Hong Kong-born translator of the East River Column, to represent the column in the Victory Day parade in London in June 1946, where he was also awarded the Member of the British Empire (MBE).[54] The Most Excellent Order of the British Empire, to which the MBE belonged as the lowest and most populated class, was created in 1917 by King George V for the recognition of war contributions of any British subject. David Cannadine has argued that this system completed 'Britain's imperial honorific hierarchy', promoted 'a sense of common belonging and collective participation', and 'created and projected an ordered, unified, hierarchical picture of empire'.[55] It is perhaps unsurprising that British policy-makers sought to keep such an important Chinese communist integrated into the British imperial system, especially as the Chinese communists in Malaya were already in 1946 beginning 'to implement the classic Russian pattern of revolution by seeding popular discontent through propaganda and economic disruption'.[56]

From Hong Kong, Young warned the Colonial Office in mid-1946 of the 'tug-o'-war' between the KMT and the CCP. On paper, the KMT had the numerical advantage. While both parties were active in propaganda, the KMT owned or controlled five newspapers, compared to the CCP's one. But this was a lesson in quality over quantity. By April 1947, the largest KMT newspaper, *The National Times*, had 'one of the smallest circulations in the Colony', which continued to fall until it was finally closed down in January 1949.[57]

At the same time, the CCP, with assistance from the East River Column, circulated pro-communist and anti-KMT news bulletins. Young decided that despite being 'a useful counteractive to Kuomintang propaganda here', the government

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[53] Barrow, report, 'The New Territories, September – November 1945', 27 November 1945, CO129/595/9, TNA.

[54] Chu, *Chinese Communists and Hong Kong Capitalists*, p. 37; Chan, *East River Column*, p. 26.

[55] David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism: How the British Saw Their Empire* (London, 2001), pp. 93-94, 98.

[56] James R. Arnold, *Jungle of Snakes: A Century of Counterinsurgency Warfare from the Philippines to Iraq* (New York, 2010), p. 136.

[57] Young to Creech Jones, 30 May 1946 and 23 April 1947, CO537/2193, TNA; Kan, 'The Position of Hong Kong', p. 127.

could not tolerate the CCP's publications any longer because they were not registered as English-language newspapers and especially because 'they show signs of becoming bolder, and if given latitude may become as big a nuisance here as the Kuomintang propagandists'. Furthermore, Young admitted that the CCP was 'likely to be the more attractive suitors for the hand of labour'.[58] While the KMT controlled more trade unions, they were concentrated in the service industries (e.g. restaurants and shops), while the CCP established unions in the major sectors of the Hong Kong economy, such as shipping, textiles, construction, and public utilities.[59]

With their patriotic wartime legacy, their cultural influence especially in trade unionism, and their alternative vision for China's political and nationalistic framework, the CCP was well-placed to take advantage of the concentration of anti-KMT sentiment in Hong Kong. As early as December 1947, British authorities recognized that the CCP's position was further enhanced in Hong Kong by the deteriorating conditions in China and the Far East, which will be considered in chapter six.

TO REFORM BRITISH RULE?

By the end of 1945, the military administration proclaimed that the 're-occupation as a whole has gone extremely well and, in fact much better than was ever expected or hoped'. Most of the remaining problems, Harcourt suggested, would be solved with 'the arrival of reasonable supplies'.[60] And with that, in May 1946, Harcourt restored power to Governor Young and the British civil administration.

Young and his government, however, disagreed with Harcourt's assessment. Although from 'a broad view the Colony [...] presents a normal appearance', David MacDougall, the former head of the Colonial Office's Hong Kong Planning Unit and now the colonial secretary in Hong Kong, argued that by April 1946, one could still perceive malnutrition, looting, neglect, and an overloaded and insufficient transportation system. The shops were full of people buying hoarded or stolen pre-

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[58] Young to Creech Jones, 25 July 1946 and 27 January 1947, CO537/2193, TNA.
[59] England, *Industrial Relations*, p. 110.
[60] Harcourt to Creech Jones, 11 November 1945, CO129/592/6, TNA.

war stuffs, while most of the vessels in the harbour were warships.[61]

The biggest problem, according to MacDougall, was that '[l]oyalties are discounted and disloyalties excused on the shifting grounds of expediency. White is as uncommon as black, and in a world of grey men, outstanding renegades and trustworthy leaders for the future are equally difficult to discover'.[62] This was largely attributable to the fact that upon liberation from Japanese occupation, the first priority of the local population was finding sufficient food. Furthermore, there was considerable uncertainty about the political future of Hong Kong, especially as the local population was simply unaware of the wartime agreement between China and Britain which ensured the latter's continued sovereignty over the colony.[63]

Ultimately, Britain's pre-war government in Hong Kong had managed to win the 'passive support' of its Chinese subjects but not their loyalty or affection. This was demonstrated by Britain's inability to mobilize local Chinese support to defend Hong Kong from the Japanese in 1941.[64] Thus, while the Hong Kong population was indeed glad to have the relatively benevolent British rule replace the brutal occupation of the Japanese, there were reservations.

To address this problem of loyalty, the Hong Kong government, in addition to promoting economic recovery, restructured what Tsang has called 'the uglier side' of its pre-war rule. Harcourt's '1946 outlook' included, for example, the repeal of laws which permitted opium smoking and banned non-Europeans from the Peak District.[65] Once reinstated, Governor Young similarly sought to provide 'practical effect to the general desire of [Hong Kong's] inhabitants to remain under British rule and to resist absorption by China'.[66] One of his first actions was to rescind banning orders from the 1920s and 1930s against some twelve trade unions.[67]

For Young and others, however, a bigger gesture was required, and, as we will see in chapter six, British policy-makers seriously contemplated the introduction of

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[61] MacDougall, 'Report on British Military Administration, Hong Kong', annex of: MacDougall to Creech Jones, 11 July 1946, CO129/595/9, TNA.
[62] *Ibid*.
[63] Tsang, *A Modern History of Hong Kong*, p. 142.
[64] *Ibid*., p. 200.
[65] Tsang, 'Government and Politics in Hong Kong', pp. 69-70.
[66] Ure, *Governors, Politics and the Colonial Office*, p. 113.
[67] England, *Industrial Relations*, p. 110.

limited self-government. While short-lived (owing to Young's successor) and perhaps impossible (owing to China), the idea, similar to that in Cyprus (see chapter seven), nevertheless reflected Britain's general trend (outside of Africa) to loosen control in response to the challenge to traditional colonialism mounted by colonial nationalists and, more seriously, the Soviet Union. Liberalization and self-government were Britain's positive weapons in the imperial Cold War; however, the eventual failure of this 'new deal' in Hong Kong (as in Cyprus) reflected the inherent limitations of British colonialism in its struggle against the seemingly more progressive Soviet imperialism.

Chapter Three
Moderate, Irreproachable, and Organized: The Rise of AKEL, 1941-1946

Between its origins in 1941 and the municipal elections in 1946, AKEL established itself as the most powerful political force in Cyprus and the colonial government's primary enemy. AKEL did so by taking advantage of great local discontent and geopolitical upheaval caused by the Second World War and the Greek Civil War as well as Britain's efforts to liberalize its colonial rule to encourage loyalty across the empire. Identifying several key battlegrounds in the imperial Cold War, the British administration, led by Sir Charles Woolley, the governor during most of this period, aimed to counter AKEL's influence in Cypriot politics, labour, and military forces as well as its connections to the communist-controlled EAM in Greece. Reflecting Britain's old-fashioned and repressive approach to colonialism, the Cyprus government's efforts during this period to counter AKEL included: Woolley's requests for greater executive and legal powers; the local authorities' use of force (on at least two occasions, deadly force); and appeals from the colonial service, especially from Roland Turnbull, the colonial secretary, for the proscription of the party. At the same time, Whitehall, while also convinced of the dangers posed by AKEL, was keen to avoid playing into wider communist anti-colonial propaganda and regularly curbed Woolley's more extreme requests. Nevertheless, the government's policies failed, and by mid-1946, AKEL's stunning performance in the municipal elections proved the extent of its resilience and power.

AKEL's success in 1946, in the context of other communist gains in the empire and around the world, prompted the British to re-think their approach to the perceived communist threat in Cyprus and their approach to colonialism in general. As we will see in section two, Woolley's repressive rule and its equivalents across the empire were (temporarily) replaced with a campaign of reform and constructive programmes, aimed to counter anti-colonial criticism and to meet Soviet imperialism on the ground in the imperial Cold War. Chapter seven will detail how this transpired in Cyprus.

THE ORIGINS OF AKEL

In 1941, Ploutis Servas, the Moscow-educated former general secretary of the

illegal KKK – whom Governor Battershill (1939-1941) called 'a thorn in the flesh [...] a clever, half-educated man' – co-founded AKEL with assistance from labour leaders and former members of the KKK. Battershill reported that 'little was achieved'.[1] The governor, however, was mistaken.

As early as November 1939, the British authorities in Cyprus suspected that the local communists might be under an 'external influence'. This suspicion was prompted by the appearance of manuscripts which attacked Trotskyism, placing at least the manuscripts squarely in Stalin's corner in this ideological dispute over the nature of communism.[2] In October 1941, after Germany had invaded Russia, AKEL founded its popular front (an anti-fascist coalition), which, while thriving locally, was considered to be proof by the British authorities of AKEL's communist disposition.[3]

Despite a traditional communist organization and ideology, AKEL presented a social-democratic political platform, and its first manifesto of 'pioneer political demands' proved very popular. These included:

> full recognition of the Turkish Cypriot national identity, compulsory education until the 14th year, enactment of labour law and social welfare, extensive measures for the protection of [...] farmers, a new fairer taxation policy, and the emancipation of women.[4]

Unlike its predecessor, AKEL was also pro-*enosis* (union with Greece), which had several consequences. Ideologically, the party was forced to soften some of its communist traditions, especially regarding atheism, given that the Greek-Cypriot Orthodox Church, led by the archbishop and his Ethnarchy Council, were the seemingly incontestable leaders of the *enosis* movement.[5] Culturally, AKEL's pro-*enosis* stance undermined its perhaps more genuine desire to win over and enlist

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[1] Kelling, *Countdown to Rebellion*, pp. 52-53.
[2] Rappas, 'The Labor Question in Colonial Cyprus', p. 204.
[3] Peristianis, 'The Rise of the Left', p. 250.
[4] AKEL Manifesto (article 13), 5 October 1941, cited in: Protopapas, 'The Rise of a Bi-Polar Party System', pp. 272-273.
[5] Between 1937 and 1947, as British law banned non-Cypriots from the archbishopric and as two of Cyprus's three bishops had been exiled in 1931, the church was unable to fill the role, and the bishop of Paphos instead was *locum tenens*, or acting archbishop (Sarah Stockwell, '"Improper and Even Unconstitutional": the Involvement of the Church of England in the Politics of the End of Empire in Cyprus', in: Melanie Barber, Stephen Taylor, and Gabriel Sewell (eds), *From the Reformation to the Permissive Society* (Woodbridge, 2010), p. 589).

the Cypriot minorities, including the inherently anti-*enosis* Turkish-Cypriots (who constituted about eighteen percent of the population), and, thereby, to create some sort of Pancyprian nationalism on AKEL's terms.[6] In fact, AKEL's predecessor, the KKK, was the main proponent for independence as well as for a form of Cypriot identity defined not by 'motherland nationalism' but class conflict.[7] The KKK was thus very popular among the island's Turkish-Cypriot population.[8] However, AKEL's shifting motivations behind its support of the *enosis* cause notwithstanding, its pro-*enosis* stance allowed for wider popular appeal among the majority Greek-Cypriot population via its social-democratic political platform.

This socio-political platform, in turn, highlighted the inadequacies of wider British efforts at colonial development and trusteeship. As in Hong Kong, one of the most important aspects of these efforts was the organization of 'responsible' (i.e. non-political or at least non-communist) colonial trade unionism. Cyprus had enacted its first trade union law in 1932, but the trade union movement was sluggish. By 1935, Cyprus had just two registered trade unions. Between 1932 and 1939, only forty-six unions, which represented 2,544 members, were created and registered. However, what they lacked in numbers, these unions made up in solidarity and cooperation. Here again, while individual Turkish-Cypriots participated in the labour movements in the 1930s, it was dominated by Greek-Cypriots and largely led by the Greek-Cypriot communists. Nevertheless, the Second World War was the great catalyst in the expansion of the Cypriot labour movement.[9]

By 1941, the number of trade unions increased to 143 and their membership

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[6] Tombazos, 'AKEL', p. 220; Prodromos Panayiotopoulos, 'The Emergent Post-Colonial State in Cyprus', *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*, 37/1 (1999), p. 41.

[7] Neophytos G. Loizides, 'Ethnic Nationalism and Adaptation in Cyprus', *International Studies Perspectives*, 8 (2007), p. 178.

[8] Michalis Michaelides, 'The Turkish Cypriot Working Class and the Cyprus Labour Movement, 1920-1963', *The Cyprus Review*, 5 (1993), p. 36.

[9] Yiouli Taki and David Officer, 'Civil Society and the Public Sphere', in: James Ker-Lindsay and Hubert Faustmann (eds), *The Government and Politics of Cyprus* (Oxford, 2009), p. 207; Alexis Rappas, *Cyprus in the 1930s: British Colonial Rule and the Roots of the Cyprus Conflict* (London, 2014), p. 180; Rappas, 'The Labor Question in Colonial Cyprus', p. 203.

included some 15,000 Cypriots.[10] In 1941, to manipulate the expanding labour movement to benefit the British, the Cypriot government created its own Labour Department and passed sweeping legislation, specifically: the Minimum Wage Act; the Trades Dispute-Conciliation, Arbitration and Enquiry Act; and the Trade Unions and Trade Disputes Act.[11] The last outlined the rights and privileges of trade unions as well as a basic procedure for resolving disputes.[12]

In 1941, AKEL helped form and then maintained control of the Pancyprian Trades Union Committee (PSE).[13] This was part of AKEL's wider social program, which also included a peasant union (in the form of the Union of Cypriot Farmers [EAK]) and cultural and athletic clubs. In 1943, political animosity and the church's long-established anti-communism split the trade unions between the Greek-Cypriot nationalists and communists. Michael Pissas, an ardent Greek-Cypriot nationalist, created in 1944 the Confederation of Cyprus's Workers (SEK), also known as the 'new' trade unions. The 'old' trade unions then overtly threw their support behind AKEL in the 1943 municipal elections, and AKEL's Third Pancyprian Congress in 1944 declared the PSE 'an inseparable part of AKEL'.[14]

John Shaw, the outgoing (to Palestine) colonial secretary of Cyprus, believed PSE leaders had 'signs of statesmanship'. Woolley, the new governor in 1941, on the other hand, considered AKEL to be 'second fiddle to the nationalist politicians'. He wrote that AKEL's popular appeal and attempts to 'out-enosis the enosists' stemmed from their pro-Soviet sentiments.[15] Woolley would soon change his tune. Moreover, the British failed to foster any collaboration in Cyprus's labour movements, instead providing plenty of ammunition to communist propagandists.

With such a popular platform, particularly regarding labour, and without any organized political or labour rivals, AKEL prospered and began to wield its newfound

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[10] Nelson K. Neocleus, 'Cyprus', in: Joan Campbell (ed.), *European Labor Unions* (Westport, CT, 1992), p. 55.

[11] Yiangou, *Cyprus in World War II*, p. 68.

[12] Taki and Officer, 'Civil Society', p. 207.

[13] Gregoris Ioannou, *Labour Relations in Cyprus: Employment, Trade Unionism and Class Composition* (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Warwick, 2011), pp. 34-35.

[14] Taki and Officer, 'Civil Society', p. 207; Crawshaw, *The Cyprus Revolt*, p. 31; Adams, *AKEL*, pp. 136-137.

[15] Kelling, *Countdown to Rebellion*, p. 53.

political and social power.[16] On 21 March 1943, in the first municipal elections since the 1920s, which were reinstated by the government to induce Cypriot support for the war, AKEL won two of the six urban municipalities: Famagusta and Limassol.[17]

On 16 June, bolstered by recent political victories and inspired by the Comintern's final appeal (before being dissolved in May) to communist parties to strengthen their efforts against fascism, AKEL's central committee called on its supporters to join the Cyprus Regiment. The Cyprus Regiment had been struggling to recruit adequate numbers since the beginning of the war, given the dire situation in Greece as well as the regiment's forty-two percent casualty rate by April 1942. Between January and March 1942, only eleven Cypriots were recruited. AKEL's call in June 1943 prompted eleven of its seventeen Central Committee members as well as seven hundred supporters to enlist to help liberate Greece and destroy fascism.[18]

This action provoked a wide range of responses in Cyprus. Such a demonstration of patriotism certainly endeared AKEL to the public and the left-wing press. The Greek-Cypriot Orthodox Church and the Greek-Cypriot nationalists responded by questioning AKEL's sincerity, especially regarding *enosis*. AKEL's sudden rise in organization and popularity also prodded the nationalists to redress their own deficiencies in unity and influence. Finally, AKEL's successful manipulation of the *enosis* issue deeply concerned the British, from the governor in Nicosia to the Cabinet in London. For these policy-makers, some of the 297 men who were eventually accepted into the regiment were blamed 'for the subsequent increase in Communism among the Cypriot troops, both in the island and overseas'.[19]

TURMOIL IN GREECE

Britain had made enormous investments in securing Greece. In repelling the German invasion, 70,000 British troops were deployed, 30,000 of which were

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[16] Peristianis, 'The Rise of the Left', pp. 250-251.

[17] Holland, *Britain and the Revolt in Cyprus*, p. 13. See also: Yiangou, *Cyprus in World War II*, chapters 5-6.

[18] Yiangou, *Cyprus in World War II*, pp. 81, 105-107; Edward M. Collins, *Myth, Manifesto, Meltdown: Communist Strategy, 1848-1991* (Westport, CT, 1998), p. 76.

[19] JIC(ME), report, 'The Internal Security Situation in Cyprus', undated, annex of: JIC(ME), (48)-71 (Final), Internal Security Situation in Cyprus, 25 November 1948, CO537/2639; political situation report (hereafter PSR), January 1945, CO67/323/4, TNA; Bridges, report, 'Imperial Security in the Middle East', 2 July 1945, CAB66/67/5/1; Yiangou, *Cyprus in World War II*, p. 106.

injured or killed. The British government was determined to reinstall the monarchical government-in-exile and, to that aim, supported Greek resistance movements during the Second World War. This meant supporting the anti-monarchist KKE and its EAM, as they were the only effective organizers of resistance.[20] In the end, to neutralize Soviet anti-imperial criticism and the KKE's potential parliamentary success, Ernest Bevin, the new secretary of state for foreign affairs in 1945, and his Foreign Office withdrew British support from the Greek communists and began exclusively and discreetly supporting the pro-monarchists, in order to give the latter 'anti-Imperialist non-interventionist respectability' and thereby a chance in local elections against the communists.[21]

Bevin and the Foreign Office believed that Cyprus was an obstacle to a strong and friendly Greece and proposed that the island might be handed over, perhaps in exchange for the retention of military bases. By September 1945, however, Bevin acquiesced to the arguments of the chiefs of staff and the Colonial Office, especially that an agreement with the current Greek government did not guarantee 'that some future Greek Government with communistic leanings might extend the offer of facilities to the Russians'.[22] Moreover, if there was to be a war with Russia, according to the chiefs of staff, the Middle East was 'the only air base from which effective offensive action can be undertaken against the important Russian industrial and oil-producing areas'.[23]

There were also other geopolitical requirements at stake than just bases. The Middle East – given its position in British imperial communication, trade, oil, and reputation as an imperial power – was often referred to as 'a region of life-and-death consequence for Britain and the British Empire', and Cyprus – being the only territory in the region over which Britain retained full sovereignty – was considered to be (if only in potentialities) invaluable.[24]

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[20] Kuniholm, *The Origins of the Cold War*, pp. 86, 91-92.

[21] Sfikas, *The British Labour Government*, p. 271.

[22] Leventis, *Cyprus*, p. 134; Wm. Roger Louis, *The British Empire in the Middle East, 1945-1951: Arab Nationalism, The United States, and Postwar Imperialism* (Oxford, 1998), pp. 211-212.

[23] COS, report, 18 June 1946, CAB131/3, DO(46)80, in: Kent, John (ed.), *British Documents on the End of Empire, Series B, Volume 4: Egypt and the Defence of the Middle East. Part 1: 1945-1949*, (London, 1998), p. 147.

[24] Bridges, report, 'Imperial Security in the Middle East', 2 July 1945, CAB66/67/5/1.

WOOLLEY AND AKEL

Woolley has been called 'perhaps the island's most liberal governor'.[25] This might have been true regarding the policies he was allowed to enact. If it were not for the Colonial Office's obstructions – Whitehall accepted the governor's assessment of the situation but not the severity of his approach – his legacy might have been quite different. In August 1944, Woolley travelled to London to discuss with the Colonial Office his plans for curbing *enosis* agitation, the blame for which he placed squarely on AKEL. His first request was for a firm statement from the British government 'that Cyprus would not in any circumstances be ceded to Greece after the war'. Woolley argued that this would encourage loyal Cypriots, dissuade further *enosis* agitation, circumvent certain Foreign Office officials in favour of secession, and counter international anti-colonial criticism.[26]

The Colonial Office insisted on more subtle tactics. Oliver Stanley, the secretary of state for the colonies, suggested that Woolley make 'the fullest use' of existing pronouncements, namely that of Clement Attlee, the deputy prime minister in Churchill's wartime coalition government, who verbosely announced in the House of Commons 'that no part of the British Empire or Commonwealth of Nations was excluded from the scope of the Prime Minister's declaration "that it is not proposed to liquidate the British Empire"'.[27] Nonetheless, Stanley agreed to supply 'an official statement in writing' specific to Cyprus but in the unspecified future when it would not undermine the creation of a strong Greek government.[28]

Indeed, neutralizing the communist threat in Greece was deemed to be more important than neutralizing the communist threat in Cyprus. Nevertheless, as it would do with Governor Grantham in Hong Kong four years later, the Colonial Office, in the words of Stephen E.V. Luke, the head of the Mediterranean Department, considered it to be 'most undesirable' to give Woolley any doubt as to Whitehall's faith in him to handle 'any situation that might arise with firmness and

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[25] Kelling, *Countdown to Rebellion*, p. 41.
[26] 'Note of a Meeting in the Secretary of State's Room on the 21st December, 1944', CO67/323/6, TNA.
[27] Stanley was referring to: Commons, 8 November 1944, *Hansard*, 404, col. 1352.
[28] 'Note of a Meeting in the Secretary of State's Room on the 21st December, 1944', CO67/323/6, TNA.

vigour'. The Colonial Office, therefore, were more willing to compromise on Woolley's last request: for powers 'to control or prevent political activities which might lead to disorder'.[29]

The governor's Executive Council (which was an advisory body consisting of the colonial secretary, attorney general, treasurer, commissioner of Nicosia, and three non-officials representing each of the island's Greek, Turkish, and British populations) 'very strongly urged' Woolley 'to recommend immediate condemnation of Akel, as an unlawful association'. They compared the current state of affairs with those in 1933, arguing that the proscription of AKEL 'would not only restore tranquillity and put [a] complete end to seditious agitation, but would be hailed with relief by the bulk of the population'. Woolley, however, was not prepared to proscribe AKEL.[30]

According to Crawshaw, Woolley was more interested in a moderate policy aimed at those communists who broke the law, thereby tainting an otherwise compliant and valuable political party.[31] More likely, however, Woolley believed proscription was an inadequate measure; instead, he wanted a broader and stronger range of legislative weapons, weapons which were increasingly being repealed elsewhere in the empire in the wider effort to reform British rule.[32]

For Woolley, these weapons included postal censorship, especially of mail to foreign countries, and the power to deport people as he thought fit. He hastened to add that the latter power would not be immediately used against AKEL; its 'mere enactment [...] would have a sobering effect on extremists'. Furthermore, Woolley revisited a request denied to him the year before, for permission under defence regulations to enable the 'closure of premises including Trades Union premises', adding that 'an entire new situation now exists' in which such sites were 'now being used for seditious agitation, quite unconnected with Labour matters'.[33]

Woolley had support from some in the Colonial Office. Juxon Barton, a

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[29] Luke, minute, 7 May 1945; 'Note of a Meeting in the Secretary of State's Room on the 21st December, 1944', CO67/323/6, TNA.
[30] Woolley to Stanley, 27 August 1944, CO67/323/6, TNA.
[31] Crawshaw, *The Cyprus Revolt*, p. 34.
[32] Hyam, *Britain's Declining Empire*, pp. 94-95.
[33] Woolley to Stanley, 27 August 1944, CO67/323/6, TNA.

principal in the Mediterranean Department, argued that 'every political trouble-maker must realise that a Government has reserve powers, and it is hard to believe that in 1931 the Cypriots were so naive as to think that a Government would hold a debate while Government House was burning'. However, others were less sympathetic. According to Kenneth Ernest Robinson, a principal in the International Relations Department, Woolley's draft regulation authorized him 'to close any premises in any town, village or area specified' so long as it was 'in the interest of public order, safety or defence'. Robinson minuted that he was unaware of any other colonial governor who wielded such power. Luke further objected because such regulations would prove both practically ineffective and politically damaging in Britain. Stanley, while stressing the difficulties in restricting civil liberties 'in advance of trouble', nevertheless authorized Woolley to prepare legislation which would enact all of the proposed measures 'in the last resort'.[34]

THE LEFKONIKO INCIDENT AND VIOLENCE

For Woolley, his fears were justified in 1945. On 25 March, Greek Independence Day, an Akelist attempted to prolong an outdoor meeting in a village outside Lefkoniko. The nationalists protested and left for their premises. The communists responded by forming an illegal procession and set off after them. The police, in order to prevent the tensions from escalating further, demanded the communist procession to cease and desist. A number of warnings were ignored, and the police sergeant therefore instructed his two constables to open fire. After five rounds, the procession dispersed, leaving behind two dead (a man in his twenties and a twelve year-old boy) and many injured, one of whom died soon thereafter.[35]

According to Woolley, the left-wing newspapers responded with 'highly coloured accounts'. In Britain, the Committee for Cyprus Affairs, the supposed London branch of AKEL, distributed a pamphlet which claimed that the Cypriot police 'fired on 200 people as they were peacefully returning from Church'. Communist propaganda, again according to Woolley, convinced Cypriots that the police officers opened fire unnecessarily, thereby whipping up anti-British agitation.

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[34] 'Note of a Meeting in the Secretary of State's Room on the 21st December, 1944'; Robinson, minute, 29 March 1945; Luke, minute, 7 May 1945; Barton, minute, 5 June 1945, CO67/323/6, TNA.
[35] PSR, March 1945, CO67/323/4, TNA; Yiangou, *Cyprus in World War II*, pp. 154-156.

Woolley nevertheless maintained that the police officers in question were innocent of wrongdoing.[36]

Less than one week after the Lefkoniko incident, on 31 March, Akelists, with help from some Cypriot military personnel, stole eight Bren guns, six pistols, fifty-eight rifles, and about 2,300 rounds of ammunition from the Cyprus Voluntary Force's armoury near Nicosia. According to Woolley, the theft 'reminded their opponents of the menace to life and property that [AKEL] constitute' as there was 'no doubt [...] that these arms were destined for use not only against the Police but against AKEL's political opponents'. That said, Woolley believed that the theft was orchestrated not by AKEL's Central Committee but 'by an inner organisation of that party with violent and revolutionary aims'. Woolley immediately enacted a new defence regulation which allowed for life imprisonment with a minimum seven-year sentence for the theft or unlawful possession of British arms.[37]

Instead of denying the allegations, AKEL promptly declared that the arms were intended for Palestinian fighters embroiled in the Jewish insurgency against the British in the mandate of Palestine (1945-1947). Nevertheless, police soon discovered the arms buried six feet under the garden of a member of AKEL, who was also the treasurer of the Masons' Trade Union and supposedly a cousin of Servas. AKEL alleged that the arms were planted to falsely incriminate it and justify its proscription. All of the arms were recovered except for three pistols and some ammunition. The courts charged five Akelists (four men and one woman) for the theft. The woman and one man were acquitted. Under the new defence regulations, two of the five were sentenced to seven years imprisonment, and the remainder, to twelve years. The authorities had found no evidence against the soldiers allegedly involved; they were instead punished by military authorities.[38]

In the Colonial Office, the theft of military arms invoked both memories of the 1931 riots in Cyprus and current anxieties regarding the armed Zionist insurrection

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[36] *Ibid.*; Peterson, minute, 12 April 1945, HO45/25551, TNA.
[37] PSR, March 1945, CO67/323/4; Woolley to Stanley, 19 April and 21 May 1945, CO67/324/5, TNA; Panagiotis Dimitrakis, *Military Intelligence in Cyprus: From the Great War to Middle East Crises* (London, 2010), p. 60.
[38] PSRs, March and April 1945, CO67/323/4; Woolley to Stanley, 21 May and 14 June 1945, CO67/324/5, TNA; Yiangou, *Cyprus in World War II*, p. 157.

in Palestine. Luke 'feared that under the leadership of Akel Cyprus politics may be entering an altogether tougher and more [dangerous] phase, as the result of which for the first time there is a risk of violence in the Palestinian sense'. There was hope that a firm hand would 'kill any taste for violence' among Cypriots, who were 'not made of the same stuff as the Arabs or Jews'. That said, the Colonial Office was concerned about provoking domestic and international criticism for mandatory minimum sentencing laws. Woolley therefore revoked this provision on 2 October 1945.[39]

CYPRUS AND EXTERNAL POLITICS

International events were another source of tension in Cyprus. With the end of the Second World War in Europe, Woolley praised Cyprus's part in the war effort; the Cypriots had:

> every right to feel proud of their role in the Allied victory. They fought in France, the Western Desert, Greece, Crete and Italy. During the last five and [a] half years there was not a single moment during which Cypriots didn't actively contribute to this struggle.[40]

The nationalists and communists both took the opportunity on V.E. Day to organize separate meetings, sing the Greek national anthem, and send letters to the Cyprus government and London regarding their demand for *enosis*.[41]

In September 1945, the London meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers regarding post-war treaties and territorial arrangements elicited considerable criticism from the Greek-Cypriot nationalists. Their newspapers condemned the unresponsiveness of the 'Big Five' (Britain, China, France, the US, and the USSR) to the rights of smaller countries, probably in reference to the unresolved proposal of the council to transfer the Dodecanese from Italy to Greece for war compensation. The right-wing daily newspaper, *Eleftheria*, called the Allies 'international sharks', 'betrayers of human civilisation', and 'the heirs of the Axis heritage'. AKEL, however, 'commented little'. Turnbull, the new colonial secretary of Cyprus, had in 1945 'no doubt [AKEL] is chary of acclaiming Russian diplomatic aggressiveness lest a Soviet

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[39] Luke, minute, 25 April 1945; Woolley to Hall, 9 October 1945, CO67/324/5, TNA.
[40] 'The Governor's address to Cypriots' [in Greek], *Eleftheria*, 9 May 1945, cited in: Yiangou, *Cyprus in World War II*, p. 157.
[41] PSR, May 1945, CO67/323/4, TNA.

claim on Greek territories should impale the Party on the horns of dilemma'.[42]

There was no dilemma, however, regarding AKEL's loyalty in their forecasted war between the Soviet Union and the Anglo-American-led democracies. AKEL held the latter completely responsible for the deterioration of Allied relations, citing the atomic secret as evidence. According a government political report, one unnamed Akelist reportedly said:

> the Soviets are expecting this war and are fully prepared for it. The capitalists must be annihilated as the Imperialist Governments are trying to deceive the people as they did after the last world war. The Soviet has its agents in all countries and is well informed. The majority of the people support the Soviet ideals and will start sabotage as soon as the war breaks out. They will refuse to fight and the war will undoubtedly be won by Russia.[43]

Its unverified authenticity notwithstanding, this was classic communist rhetoric during the Cold War. The Soviet Union's global propaganda campaign of associating Britain and the US with imperialism and warmongering and the Soviet Union with peace was the key to its success.[44]

AKEL AND THE CYPRUS MILITARY FORCES

In October 1945, force was utilized again by British authorities against the Cypriot communists. AKEL and its Union of Cypriot Ex-servicemen had been allegedly fomenting agitation within the Cypriot armed forces regarding the slow demobilization of Cypriot troops, the difference between the discharge terms of Cypriot and British soldiers, and the government's lack of sufficient resettlement plans. AKEL was also campaigning for total and immediate demobilization, with the supposed aim of causing 'confusion in the island's labour market, distress and discontent among ex-servicemen and labourers, and conditions apt for the provocation of violence, disorder and revolt'. Finally, Akelists were also allegedly spreading amongst Cypriot troops rumours which were, in the words of Harold Giles

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[42] PSR, September 1945, CO67/323/4, TNA; Commons, 9 October 1945, *Hansard*, 414, col. 36. For the council's discussions on the Dodecanese, see: Jonathan Knight, 'Russia's Search for Peace: The London Council of Foreign Ministers, 1945', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 13/1 (1978), pp. 150, 152-155.

[43] PSR, November 1945, CO67/323/4, TNA.

[44] J. Michael Hogan, 'The Science of Cold War Strategy: Propaganda and Public Opinion in the Eisenhower Administration's "War of Words"', in: Martin J. Medhurst and H.W. Brands (eds), *Critical Reflections on the Cold War: Linking Rhetoric and History* (College Station, TX, 2000), p. 144.

Richards, the chief assistant secretary of Cyprus and acting colonial secretary, 'so far-fetched as to be laughable to anyone not afflicted with that gullibility in regard to evil imputation which is one of the weaknesses of the Cypriot character'. For example, one rumour claimed that the British were going to redeploy the Cypriot troops to various territories to break strikes and suppress liberal organizations.[45]

This 'growing insubordination' peaked on 8 October at the Famagusta Camp where 200 Cypriot troops mutinied, refusing to board a ship destined for Palestine. Indian troops, at a time when many in Whitehall were questioning their reliability in carrying out 'a firm policy', opened fire and killed one sergeant (Takis Kythreotis) and wounded four soldiers. British authorities managed to suppress the mutiny but not the rising tide of local distrust (fomented by AKEL) of the government.[46]

Richards reported to the Colonial Office that AKEL 'at once fell a-sighing and a-sobbing when they heard of the death of the unfortunate Sergeant Kythrotis [*sic*]'. He unsympathetically added that a funeral and demonstrations 'of a peculiarly nauseating kind' followed. A military investigation claimed that the first shots were fired from the crowd and that these shots, not those from the Indian troops, killed Sergeant Kythrotis. This, according to AKEL, was a lie. In Larnaca, left-wing trade unions responded by officially passing proposals that Cypriot soldiers should steal as many arms and as much ammunition as possible from military armouries. On 25 November, a Cypriot soldier discharged his .38 pistol at a British police constable near Famagusta.[47] Cyprus witnessed a number of AKEL-led demonstrations, while 'small-scale mutinies in Cypriot units overseas took place in Italy and North Africa'. The British authorities interpreted these events as 'signs of a coming storm in Cyprus'.[48]

Woolley requested again from Whitehall a firm statement of British intentions to remain in Cyprus and was denied, again, because of the priority given to

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[45] PSR, October 1945, CO67/323/4, TNA.

[46] *Ibid*.; Dimitrakis, *Military Intelligence in Cyprus*, pp. 55-56; Judith M. Brown, 'India', in: Judith M. Brown and Wm. Roger Louis (eds), *The Oxford History of the British Empire. Volume IV: The Twentieth Century* (Oxford, 1999), p. 443. See also: Kaushik Roy, 'Military Loyalty in the Colonial Context: A Case Study of the Indian Army during World War II', *The Journal of Military History*, 73/2 (2009).

[47] PSRs, October and November 1945, CO67/323/4, TNA.

[48] Dimitrakis, *Military Intelligence in Cyprus*, pp. 56, 60.

rebuilding a friendly Greece.[49] Beginning in the summer of 1945, white terror (violent anti-communism) gripped Greece, as the government encouraged (and possibly assisted) right-wing extremists to arrest without warrant and to provoke popular armed violence against leftists, which in turn caused the ranks of the Democratic Army of Greece (DSE) to swell.[50] A British announcement regarding Cyprus would have put the Greek government in a compromising position, by forcing it either to ignore popular Greek support for *enosis* or to criticize its main source of international assistance. Either way, Whitehall reasoned, the Greek communists stood to benefit.

Instead of yielding, Woolley then requested that Whitehall attain a statement from the Greek government that it did not and would not claim sovereignty over Cyprus. In addition, the governor wanted two battalions of specifically British troops.[51] The answer was no.[52] Here again, while London agreed with Woolley's assessment of the dangers posed by AKEL, Whitehall restricted Woolley because of wider foreign policy requirements in the Cold War and sought that colonial rule in Cyprus did not contradict the intended image of a progressive, beneficial, and not exploitative British imperialism in the face of Soviet propaganda.

AKEL, *ENOSIS*, AND THE UNITED FRONT

In order to expand its appeal to Greek-Cypriots, AKEL indeed aimed to 'out-enosis the enosists'. In June 1945, Servas formed the Limassol Committee for National Cooperation (ELES) and invited thirty-one leading figures across the political spectrum to form a united front to address the 'national restoration question'. Much to the government's relief, the Cypriot Nationalist Party (KEK) labelled the ELES yet another satellite organization of the communists and vowed never to cooperate. The ELES thus comprised representatives from AKEL and the Hellenic Socialist Party, which was a short-lived pro-*enosis* party formed a few months previously by Dr Christianos Rossides, a dissenting nationalist and former municipal

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[49] 'Note of a Meeting held in the Secretary of State's room at 11 a.m. on the 23rd November, 1945', CO67/330/11, TNA.

[50] John O. Iatrides, 'Revolution or Self-Defence? Communist Goals, Strategy, and Tactics in the Greek Civil War', *Journal of Cold War Studies*, 7/3 (2005), p. 8; Sfikas, *British Labour Government*, pp. 47-48.

[51] 'Note of a Meeting held in the Secretary of State's room at 11 a.m. on the 23rd November, 1945', CO67/330/11, TNA.

[52] Barton, minute, 19 September 1946, CO67/321/9, TNA.

rival of Servas.[53]

Furthermore, the ELES's first meeting did not go according to plan for AKEL, as some of the non-communist members demanded that AKEL: discontinue its communist propaganda campaign; eliminate all images of Lenin, Stalin, and other Soviet leaders from its premises; and publish 'a clear declaration disavowing communism'. Some members 'took fright and abandoned ship'. According to T.S. Bell, the British commissioner of Limassol, this:

> strengthened the feeling that AKEL was trying to take a short cut to the achievement of its local aims by uniting Cyprus to a Greece, which would give far wider scope for communist activities than could be hoped for under British rule.[54]

Undeterred, Servas tried again, but this time on a national level. On 12 July, AKEL announced that Servas had resigned not only his position as general secretary but also his membership to AKEL. It was soon apparent that Servas had left AKEL to form the National Unity Party. He began his campaign in Limassol with a meeting of representatives from AKEL and the Hellenic Socialist Party. The KEK refused to send anyone. The meeting was unsuccessful, as the Hellenic Socialist Party members demanded a public declaration from AKEL which disavowed communism as a prerequisite to their cooperation.[55]

The British authorities were at first cautiously optimistic about Servas's efforts. If Servas succeeded, Woolley calculated, his unity party would probably have adopted a moderate, non-revolutionary platform supported by moderate Greek-Cypriots from all of the major political parties – the ideal colonial collaborator in the eyes of the British. In the Colonial Office, Luke believed Servas's recent trip to England had 'moderated his views'. Nevertheless, even if Servas failed, Luke continued, 'dissension within the Akel Party is not a matter of regret to the authorities'.[56]

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[53] PSR, October 1945 and annexed memorandum by T.S. Bell, 5 October 1945, CO67/323/4, TNA; Jeanette Choisi, *Wurzeln und Strukturen des Zypernkonfliktes 1878 bis 1990* (Stuttgart, 1993), p. 146n47.

[54] *Ibid*.

[55] PSR, April 1945, CO67/323/4; Woolley to Stanley, 9 and 14 July 1945, CO67/324/6, TNA. The National Unity Party was the name used by the British. Translated from Greek, the party's name was the National Cooperation Front (PES) (Protopapas, 'The Rise of a Bi-Polar Party System', p. 280).

[56] Woolley to Hall, 7 August 1945; Luke, minute, 4 October 1945, CO67/324/6, TNA.

Turnbull did not share this optimism. He interpreted the situation to be Servas's 'perplex[ing] and alarm[ing] his opponents by the sheep's clothing which he has donned'. His calls for a united front appeared 'to have devoured' the adversarial Hellenic Socialist Party, and Servas now seemed set to sink his teeth into the right-wing Pancyprian Farmers' Union (PEK). Turnbull believed that:

> [f]or the time being, he [Servas] has, it would seem, decided that revolutionary tactics will not pay and while pushing out feelers towards the Nationalist and Agrarian parties in the hope of being accepted as a national leader (once a united front were established, it is doubtful whether there would be anyone of sufficient political calibre in the other parties to hold out for long against a Servas hegemony) he is busily employed on broadening the basis of his support in Limassol where he has of late been courting with some success the astyki taxis (the local equivalent of the 'petit bourgeoisie').[57]

Furthermore, Woolley argued that AKEL's reconfiguration was in Servas's favour. His replacement as general secretary was Neophytos 'Fifis' Ioannou, while Andreas Fantis, the former general secretary of the PSE, was elected as the new organizing secretary. These two men, along with half of the Central Committee, were 'declared friends of Servas', while the remaining half were not anti-Servas.[58]

In a related move, the PSE reconfirmed the decision taken during its fourth annual conference in August that 'our relations with the trade unions must take a new form, the form of free, voluntary acceptance of our party lines', that is, independent of AKEL. Turnbull speculated that if at all meaningful, this decision might have been intended to free the PSE from association with AKEL should the latter be proscribed. More probably, he continued, the separation was 'merely claptrap designed to bait the ground' for seeking cooperation with the SEK, which was set to hold its first annual meeting on 2 September. To the latter end, the PSE failed; the SEK rejected cooperation and, while being 'avowedly non-political', spent the remainder of its first meeting discussing pro-*enosis* and anti-communist resolutions. In response, the PSE allegedly instructed its members to inhibit enrolment in these 'new' trade unions or, failing that, to infiltrate and destroy them

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[57] PSR, September 1945, CO67/323/4, TNA.
[58] Woolley to Hall, 17 September 1945, CO67/324/6, TNA.

from within.[59]

AKEL's failure to attract cooperation also had another unintended consequence. Later that year, the KEK, PEK, and a smaller pro-*enosis* party, the Pancyprian Greek Socialist Vanguard (PESP), all formally aligned themselves, establishing a joint Office of National Activity in Nicosia. This trinity of right-wing politics sought to cooperate on *enosis* activities and to establish contacts with foreign anti-communist, pro-*enosis* organizations. To the latter aim, the office was successful in receiving promises of support from the Panhellenic Union in Alexandria and the American Friends of Greece Association in New York.[60]

In October, the colonial government reported that AKEL similarly resolved to 'make contact with other colonial peoples so as to strengthen its position and to ensure sympathy and assistance from abroad if it became necessary to resort to armed revolt'. The communist press, for example, 'sympathetically' reported on the nationalist movement in Indonesia, which had established its own government and declared independence from Dutch rule. AKEL sought fraternal assistance from Abul Kalam Azad, the chairman of the Indian National Congress, who responded by expressing his regret that Indian troops were used against Cypriots and by assuring AKEL of India's support of *enosis*. AKEL was positioning itself 'to wrest from the Nationalists the initiative in the Enosis issue and become the protagonist of a united front'. Turnbull summed it up:

> while the professions of A.K.E.L. concerning Enosis per se are recognised as pure lip service, the vigour and cunning with which this campaign is conducted, cannot but excite attention and win converts in contrast to the divisions and ineptitude which characterise the opposition.[61]

With the increased organization of anti-colonial politics from both the left and right, British policy-makers encouraged themselves with claims of mass support from the rural population. The lack of substantiation did not deter the general belief in the Cyprus government that:

> many villagers deplored the prospect of [a] return to party politics in

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[59] PSR, September 1945, CO67/323/4, TNA.

[60] *Ibid*.

[61] PSRs, October and November 1945, CO67/323/4; PSR, February 1946, CO67/323/7, TNA. See: Dewi Fortuna Anwar, 'The Cold War and Its Impact on Indonesia: Domestic Politics and Foreign Policy', in: Albert Lau (ed.), *Southeast Asia and the Cold War* (London, 2012).

villages with its consequent warring factions, the reason being that disapproval of a man's political views in Cyprus frequently finds practical expression in malicious injury to property and personal violence.[62]

The British thus interpreted inconsequential incidents as indications of pro-British sentiments. For example, Turnbull boasted to the Colonial Office that an Akelist speaking about *enosis* was interrupted by the question of an ex-soldier: 'We got to know what Greece is. Do you want to be destroyed or to die of starvation?'.[63] Nevertheless, it was in fact AKEL, through its EAK and other activities regarding Cyprus's poor peasantry, which more likely garnered more rural support than the British.[64] Furthermore, the Cyprus government failed to identify a single cooperative popular leader. In his or her absence, the government's main rationalization for continued British rule was to protect the pro-British, anti-*enosis*, and anti-communist rural population, invented or otherwise.

THE GREEK CIVIL WAR

The colonial government did find some support, however fleeting, from the Greek-Cypriot nationalists after the Greek elections in March 1946. One month earlier, the KKE, in response to the white terror and obstructed political activity, had turned once again to armed resistance.[65] Bevin, now desperate to withdraw Britain's military presence from Greece, insisted on a national election, ignoring the concerns of the Greek liberals and communists who were convinced that the present circumstances made fair elections impossible. The KKE, disregarding advice from Moscow, thus abstained from the elections, and Konstantinos Tsaldaris formed a reactionary right-wing government.[66] While initially critical of 'foreign intervention' in Greece (especially as the elections had been supervised by the British, American, and French Allied Mission for Observing the Greek Elections), the

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[62] PSR, July 1945, CO67/323/4, TNA.
[63] PSR, February 1946, CO67/323/7, TNA.
[64] Richard Dunphy and Tim Bale, 'Red Flag Still Flying? Explaining AKEL – Cyprus's Communist Anomaly', *Party Politics*, 13/3 (2007), p. 293.
[65] Sfikas, *The British Labour Government*, p. 86.
[66] Peter Weiler, *Ernest Bevin* (Manchester, 1993), pp. 158-159; Richard Clogg, *Parties and Elections in Greece: The Search for Legitimacy* (London, 1987), pp. 173-174; Iatrides, 'Revolution or Self-Defence?', pp. 19-20.

outcome of the elections pleased the Greek-Cypriot nationalists.[67]

AKEL's press, on the other hand, called Bevin's foreign policy a 'coup d'etat' on behalf of a 'fascist' Greek government containing 'the equivalents of Mosley, Lord Haw-Haw and Amery Junior'.[68] AKEL also published a number of pamphlets which contained incendiary passages. For example:

> [t]he Imperialistic intervention of Great Britain in Greece which started 15 days ago still continues. This intervention is becoming more barbarous day by day: it is more and more undressed and manifests its reactionary, imperialistic and fascist aims. [...] Cypriots, fill your lungs with hatred and shout out with all your power that you cannot tolerate such dishonesty. [...] Cypriots, in this enslaved Greek corner [Cyprus] there are dirty traitors. Make a careful note and do not forget them. These are the leaders of KEK.[69]

As Greece slipped back into civil war, however, the nationalists re-joined AKEL in their disparate anti-British campaigns. AKEL blamed the civil war on British support of an unpopular government, while the nationalists claimed that British interference prevented Prime Minister Tsaldaris from winning the war.[70]

LEGAL CONTAINMENT, 1946

In late April 1946, a member of the Pioneer Company of the Cyprus Regiment, which was stationed in Egypt, was arrested for hitting his superior officer. In his possession was a document supposedly issued by AKEL which outlined a number of policy decisions made at the sixth conference of the Central Committee in January. The document outlined that illegal and violent demonstrations were impeding AKEL's goals. Instead, AKEL was: to operate within Cypriot law regarding demonstrations; to seek good relations with the Labour government in Britain, particularly regarding demobilization; to establish propaganda centres in France, the US, North Africa, Egypt, and Greece; and to abandon the campaign for a constitution for the sake of their first and foremost goal, *enosis*. That said, the

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[67] PSR, March 1946, CO67/323/7, TNA; Tim Jones, 'The British Army, and Counter-Guerrilla Warfare in Greece, 1945-49', *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, 8/1 (1997), p. 90; Clogg, *Parties and Elections*, p. 21; Haris Vlavianos, 'The Greek Communist Party: In Search of a Revolution', in: Tony Judt (ed.), *Resistance and Revolution in Mediterranean Europe, 1939-1948* (London, 1989), p. 195.
[68] PSR, March 1946, CO67/323/7; PSR, September 1945, CO67/323/4, TNA.
[69] 'Translation of Greek Leaflet distributed on night of 15th/16th December in Nicosia', annex of: Turnbull to Stanley, 19 December 1944, CO67/323/5, TNA.
[70] PSR, November 1946, CO67/323/7, TNA.

soldier was also allegedly in possession of 'subversive propaganda aimed at corrupting the Cyprus Forces', demonstrating for Woolley that AKEL still possessed 'a highly organised and active cell system' in the armed forces.[71]

AKEL's decision to operate within Cypriot laws did not completely transpire, and the court system handed AKEL its first significant setback in January 1946. Eighteen members of the PSE, including a member of AKEL's Central Committee, were brought up in court, charged with sedition, based on documents discovered in their premises during a police raid. During the trial, Stelios Pavlides, the attorney general – whom Governor Winster latter described as 'Col. Blimp to the nth degree', 'an excellent lawyer but politically is in the Stone Age' – outlined the 'subtlety and sometimes masterful' way in which the accused exploited 'the young and inexperienced, the easily influenced uneducated classes, poisoning and inflaming their minds and inspiring them with destructive influences'.[72]

Pavlides also accused the PSE of:

> encouraging the overthrow of the constitution of Cyprus by revolution, the overthrow by violence of the established Government of Cyprus, the overthrow by violence of the organised Government and the doing of acts purported to have as an object the carrying out of a seditious intention.

His evidence included PSE bulletins. For example, one bulletin urged its readers that '[b]esides the hatred against the foreign Government, we must develop a deadly hatred against the local reaction, the ally of the foreign Government'. Woolley echoed Pavlides's sentiment to the Colonial Office: without the prosecution of this 'nucleus of Communism and of Enosis', Woolley argued, there was 'little doubt that something in the nature of a minor revolution would have taken place in Cyprus'.[73]

Lastly, in the case against the PSE, Pavlides implicated AKEL: 'I have said that the political party which is to lead this camouflaged trade union movement is

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[71] Woolly to Hall, 3 May 1946 and annexed unsigned memorandum, 'Decision of the 6th Conference of the Central Committee of A.K.E.L.: Explanatory Document', 6 January 1946, CO67/323/8, TNA.
[72] Winster to Creech Jones, 29 December 1947, box 57, file 2, ACJ papers; Attorny-general's opening address, 17 December 1945, annex of: Turnbull to Hall, 23 January 1946; Turnbull to Hall, 31 January 1946, CO67/323/8, TNA; Crawshaw, *The Cyprus Revolt*, pp. 32-33.
[73] Turnbull to Hall, 31 January 1946; 'Translated Extracts from the Bulletin of PSE', no. 2, February 1945, annex of: Turnbull to Hall, 23 January 1946, CO67/323/8; 'Note of a Meeting held in the Secretary of State's room at 11 a.m. on the 23rd November, 1945', CO67/330/11, TNA.

AKEL'.[74] AKEL responded with a general strike and illegal processions, for which twenty-four people were fined. The fines were heavier than normal and thus caused AKEL's Central Committee to tone down its illegal protests.[75]

During the judgement, J.M. Halid, the president of the court, stated that 'the establishment by violence of a socialist regime based on Marxism is the ultimate object of P.S.E.'. Addressing the accused in his sentencing, he outlined that '[y]our teaching, if acted upon, would have caused chaos in the country. Judging from your activities it seems that some of you, no doubt, are men of intelligence and because of that you are more dangerous'. On 21 January (which, Turnbull noted, was 'by a coincidence' the anniversary of Lenin's death), all eighteen men were found guilty of sedition. Six received one-year prison sentences; the remainder were sent to prison for eighteen months. Sir Sidney Abrahams, a Colonial Office legal advisor with significant experience in colonial law, having served as attorney general and chief justice in a number of mostly African colonies, commented 'that by English standards the sentences seem very severe'. However, he noted, '[i]n exuberant political utterances it is sometimes difficult to estimate the proportion of inflammable gas to hot air, especially among Mediterranean people'.[76]

Turnbull claimed that the trial was 'not one of trade unionists as such but of the A.K.E.L. party', adding that he thought it was unfortunate that AKEL managed to hide incriminating evidence. Furthermore, Turnbull reported that he was resisting several proposals to proscribe AKEL by administrative order. Nevertheless, he continued:

> [s]ober, sound trade unionism such as we know in England is entirely alien to the Cypriot character, for which heated political controversy [...] provides the 'circenses' [i.e. *panem et circenses*] of the equivalent of the Saturday afternoon football match. A.K.E.L. is no football match; on the contrary, it is dangerous, but it is the form which the desire for political excitement currently takes and when, in one way or another, it loses its attraction, it will be replaced. There are a number of indications that its

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[74] Attorny-general's opening address, 17 December 1945, annex of: Turnbull to Hall, 23 January 1946, CO67/323/8, TNA.
[75] PSR, January 1946, CO67/323/7, TNA.
[76] Halid (president of the Assizes Court of Nicosia), judgement, Rex v. A. Zartides & others, 21 January 1946, annex of: Turnbull to Hall, 23 January 1946; Turnbull to Hall, 31 January 1946; Abrahams, minute, 11 March 1946, CO67/323/8, TNA.

influence is beginning to wane, and I regard it as highly desirable that this tendency, if it is confirmed, should be left to take its own course. In the Spring of this year A.K.E.L. was at the height of its power, and most dangerous; had outright suppressive action then been possible, it might well have been expedient and advantageous, but I believe that the time for such action has passed. [...] I do not wish to overstate the case. A.K.E.L. is still powerful and active, and will not willingly surrender its authority.[77]

Barton suspected the pressure for proscription was coming from the attorney general and other Cypriots on the governor's Executive Council. Nevertheless, Barton agreed with Turnbull's assessment, adding that a firm confirmation from London of Cyprus's colonial status might cause AKEL to change tactics 'and possibly die of inanition'. Moreover, Barton supposed that proscription would have been 'misrepresented in every part of the Middle East and in this country'.[78]

Indeed, the British government was similarly aiming in the Middle East – an area so vital to the continuation of British imperial prestige and geopolitical power – to counter the spread of communism and its anti-imperial campaign. As early as June 1946, colonial officials in the region and in Whitehall were discussing tactics of cultural warfare for this purpose. For example, the British ambassador at Baghdad argued that to compensate best for the Muslims' susceptibility to communism, Britain must project its ideals 'of moderation, toleration, social progress, and individual freedom'. By October 1946, the Foreign Office decided that counter-communist propaganda in the Middle East should project Britain's 'democratic system of government, social services, organisation of industry and labour, administration of justice; in short, the British way of life offers the best example of orderly and rapid progress'.[79] Proscribing AKEL might have consequently jeopardized these wider aims and played into communist anti-imperial propaganda.

THE PROSCRIPTION DEBATE

Less than two months later, Turnbull completely reversed his position (for reasons

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[77] Turnbull to Hall, 15 December 1945, CO67/323/5, TNA.

[78] Barton, minute, 1 January 1946, CO67/323/5, TNA.

[79] James R. Vaughan, '"A Certain Idea of Britain": British Cultural Diplomacy in the Middle East, 1945-57', *Contemporary British History*, 19/2 (2005), pp. 152-153. See also: James Vaughan, '"Cloak Without Dagger": How the Information Research Department Fought Britain's Cold War in the Middle East, 1948-56', *Cold War History*, 4/3 (2004); J.M. Lee, 'British cultural diplomacy and the cold war: 1946-61', Diplomacy & Statecraft, 9/1 (1998).

not altogether clear), now arguing in favour of proscribing AKEL. He wrote that he was 'anxious indeed not to lose the present opportunity to re-direct the trades union movement upon a road which will be of advantage to the whole community'. First, he claimed that some trade union leaders (themselves Akelists) had approached the Registrar of Trade Unions for help in forming a new committee outside AKEL's control. Although suspicious, Turnbull wanted to act as soon as possible on the issue. Second, Turnbull conveyed the attorney general's recommendation that PSE and its branches should be proscribed, with which he agreed. However, Turnbull argued that any action taken against PSE 'immediately raises the question of taking similar action against its *alter ego*, A.K.E.L.'.[80]

According to Turnbull, AKEL was 'dangerously subversive', demonstrated by a record 'too long and too well-known to leave any doubt'. Turnbull claimed that the proscription of AKEL would not only prohibit overt activity and enable the closure of AKEL premises, it would also 'force a breakdown into the component "cells"'. While these cells would eventually 're-combine into a forthright communist party' and while certain moderate members of AKEL would be required to lead the labour movement, Turnbull argued that the influence and fear the communists had wielded over workers would dissipate, allowing for a responsible labour movement to develop. Despite AKEL not constituting 'any immediate or specific danger to law and order', Turnbull concluded:

> that the gamble should be taken. [...] [T]he compelling argument is that failure to take action will confirm in the public mind the suspicion that the Government is afraid of A.K.E.L., will consolidate its following, will stifle opposition from outside the party, and will encourage A.K.E.L. to resume its activities with enhanced vigour and the most unrighteous glee, leaving Government in a worse position than it held even before the proscription of P.S.E. was undertaken.[81]

Woolley disagreed. While he acknowledged that AKEL's 'pernicious and seditious doctrines' which hindered healthy trade unionism were justification for proscription, he informed the Colonial Office that he could not recommend proscription and instead found legal action via the courts far more preferable. This

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[80] Turnbull to Hall, 21 February 1946, CO537/2482, TNA.
[81] *Ibid*.

pleased many in the Colonial Office; Sir John Martin, the traditionally conservative assistant under-secretary of state at the Colonial Office responsible for the Mediterranean and Middle East Departments, minuted, 'The recommendation of Mr. Turnbull's despatch [...] came as a considerable surprise and I share Mr. Luke's relief that the Governor [...] should have come down so decisively on the other side'. George Hall, the secretary of state for the colonies, likewise agreed with Woolley, adding that '[c]onsideration should also be given to the possibility of arranging visits of Cypriot trade unionists to England under the auspices of the T.U.C.[.] I attach great importance to such positive measures'.[82]

London was keen to defeat the Cypriot communists but with an approach that upheld its attempt to re-package its imperialism as progressive. In fact, the imprisonment of the PSE members (as a repressive action characteristic of traditional colonialism) was causing trouble for the Labour government in the House of Commons.[83] On 30 January 1946, Leslie Solley, a Labour MP who had previously questioned Britain's support of what he considered to be a quasi-fascist monarchical party over a largely non-communist social democratic one in the Greek Civil War, called the verdict in Cyprus 'Fascist and anti-working class in its character'.[84] He demanded the immediate release of the trade unionists as well as the dismissal of those responsible for initiating the trial of the PSE. Hall responded by simply rejecting Solley's premise.[85]

On 5 March, Solley took the question again to the Commons: 'It is a fantastic state of affairs when Labour rules at Westminster, and Socialism is a crime according to the law of Cyprus'. Solley then read from the court transcript of an exchange between the president of the court and the solicitor-general of Cyprus, in which the latter claimed that Marxist theory and the possession of Marxist literature was a crime under Cypriot law. Solley continued:

When I read that[,] I had in mind the Nazi bonfires of books which they

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[82] Woolley to Hall, 23/24 March 1946; Martin, minute, 28 March 1946; Hall to Woolley, 29 March 1946, CO537/2482, TNA. For Martin, see: Michael Jackson, *A Scottish Life: Sir John Martin, Churchill and Empire* (London, 1999).

[83] Crawshaw, *The Cyprus Revolt*, p. 33.

[84] For Solley's views of the Greek Civil War, see: Darren G. Lilleker, *Against the Cold War: The History and Political Traditions of Pro-Sovietism in the British Labour Party, 1945-89* (London, 2004), p. 97.

[85] Commons, 30 January 1946, *Hansard*, 418, cols 228-229.

did not like. But British Imperialism – and the Labour Party are not responsible; this is the baby we have taken over – moves in a more subtle, and more hypocritical, way. It merely creates the laws which make bonfires legal.

Creech Jones, as the parliamentary under-secretary of state for the colonies, dismissed Solley's accusations as 'grossly untrue and unfair'. He reiterated that the Colonial Office and the Cyprus government were steadfast in their 'every encouragement [...] to the building-up of sound trade union organisation'.[86]

Less than three weeks later, on 22 March, the *Manchester Guardian* translated and published an article from *Pravda* (the daily newspaper and mouthpiece of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union), which accused the British of making Marxism illegal in Cyprus.[87] This was exactly the sort of story the British government was keen to keep out of the international press and especially out of the hands of Soviet propagandists. This was made worse still by the barrage of protests Hall received from a number of concerned British organizations. For example, the president of the British National Union of Mineworkers called the convictions 'wicked', while many others, such as the general secretary of the Tobacco Workers' Union, cited the hypocrisy in fighting a war against fascism only then to repress liberalism in the colony.[88] (Barton pondered whether it might have been valuable to inform the British union leaders of the extent to which the Colonial Office considered AKEL, and by extension the PSE, to be controlled by Greek and possibly Soviet communism, but decided against it.[89])

Woolley wrote to Hall to clear up the misunderstanding. He said the solicitor-general's statements regarding the illegality of the promotion of Marxism and the ownership of Marxist literature were indeed erroneous when taken out of context. Woolley explained that the solicitor-general's use of 'Marxism' was an abbreviation for the committee's explicitly seditious interpretation of that ideology. Creech Jones minuted that Woolley's:

explanations seem to make the matter worse [and] to substantiate

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[86] Commons, 5 March 1946, *Hansard*, 420, cols 302-304.
[87] Lords, 29 July 1946, *Hansard*, 142, col. 1113.
[88] Lawther to Hall, 7 March 1946; Belcher to Hall, 1 May 1946, CO67/323/10, TNA.
[89] Barton, minutes, 13 and 14 May 1946, CO67/323/8, TNA.

much of what Mr Solley alleged. Whether the extract is read in or away from its context [and] in the light of earlier explanations[,] it is equally unfortunate [and] stupid. It has done much harm, for these quotations have been used not only to damage the present administration in Cyprus [and] the British Government here but also in the eyes of the world to reflect on the character of British colonial policy. I feel that either we want better lawyers in Cyprus or we want better law and certainly the position as it was left needs to be corrected.[90]

Abrahams responded that there was nothing wrong with the law; in fact, the law was identical to that of Britain. Furthermore, Whitehall was not allowed to interfere with Cypriot law officers. Consequently, Martin suggested that the Colonial Office should arrange a question to be asked in the Commons which would allow a correction to be stated.[91] In the end, Viscount Addison, the secretary of state for Dominion affairs, explained in the House of Lords that the prosecutors in Cyprus were inferring that the conviction was hung not on Marxist literature itself but the defendants' interpretation and use of it as propaganda to encourage 'the overthrow of the Government of Cyprus by violence'.[92] In a war of rival imperialisms, however, the damage had already been done.

Meanwhile in Cyprus, the fourth Pancyprian Trade Unions Conference on 30-31 March, formed a new committee, the Pancyprian Federation of Labour (PEO), to replace the PSE. This caused 'some satisfaction' for the government, as the conference dissociated itself from the more extreme policies of the PSE and expressed a desire to avoid manipulation by AKEL. Martin informed Woolley that the Colonial Office felt that the PEO constituted 'some grounds for optimism about the future of the trade union movement in Cyprus'. He added that 'every assistance and encouragement should be given to the movement in its chastened mood'. The Cyprus government agreed, having already assisted two delegations of Cypriot trade unionists, including Michael Montanios, now the general secretary of the PEO, to attend the 1945 World Trade Union Conference in London (which, as it turned out, laid the groundwork for the creation of the WFTU, widely believed to be a communist-front organization). Nevertheless, Woolley, similar to colonial officials in

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[90] Woolley to Hall, 24 May 1946; Creech Jones, minute, 5 June 1946, CO67/323/9, TNA.
[91] Abrahams, minute, 6 June 1946; Martin, minute, 11 June 1946, CO67/323/9, TNA.
[92] Lords, 29 July 1946, *Hansard*, 142, col. 1114.

Hong Kong, was convinced that contact with English trade unions (i.e. one-way cultural exchange) 'greatly benefited' the Cypriots.[93]

On 18 October, partly in order to encourage this moderate trade union movement in Cyprus and partly to counter anti-colonial propaganda more broadly, the Cyprus government released the PSE leaders from prison early as an act of clemency.[94] Creech Jones quickly informed certain British labour organizations of this decision and attempted to clear up any remaining misunderstanding. R. Coppock, the general secretary of the National Federation of Building Trades Operatives, for example, expressed his thanks upon receiving the news. He explained that the imprisonment of the PSE leaders was bound to be raised at an upcoming international building trades conference and that Creech Jones's letter 'will help to dispel the suspicion that is usual in the minds of representatives of other countries regarding British Colonial policy'.[95] This was exactly the sort of positive imperial image and indirect propaganda Whitehall hoped to encourage, especially in an area so crucial in the cultural Cold War.

British optimism, however, did not last long in Cyprus. On 3 November, the general council of the PEO appointed two former general secretaries of the PSE, Andreas Ziartides and Andreas Fantis, as general secretary and assistant secretary, respectively.[96] Thus the PSE, it seemed, had re-invented itself under a new name.

THE 1946 MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS

British optimism for the decline of communist influence in Cyprus completely dissipated in the wake of AKEL's accomplishments in the municipal elections of May 1946.[97] The election campaigns, according to the Cyprus government, 'followed traditional lines': pro-*enosis*, anti-British messages combined with the

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[93] Woolley to Hall, 26 April 1946; Martin to Woolley, 24 July 1946, CO537/2482, TNA. For the WFTU, see: Peter Weiler, 'The United States, International Labor, and the Cold War: The Breakup of the World Federation of Trade Unions', *Diplomatic History*, 5/1 (1981); Denis MacShane, *International Labour and the Origins of the Cold War* (Oxford, 1992).

[94] 'Release of Cypriot Union Leaders', *The Times* (London), 18 October 1946, issue 50586, p. 4.

[95] Creech Jones to Coppock, 14 November 1946; Coddock to Creech Jones, 18 November 1946, CO67/323/10, TNA.

[96] PSR, November 1946, CO67/323/7, TNA. This report incorrectly names Fantis as general secretary and Ziartides as his assistant. See: unsigned, 'Note on Communism in Cyprus', undated, annex of: PSR, July 1948, CO537/4041, TNA.

[97] Crawshaw, *The Cyprus Revolt*, p. 34.

assassinations of their opponents' characters. The political platforms, particularly of the right-wing, lacked constructiveness, for which there was supposedly little demand.[98]

AKEL, campaigning as its National Unity Party, surprised everyone when it gained in every municipality and received the majority of the urban, rural, and, therefore, overall votes. AKEL bolstered its control over Limassol and Famagusta, re-captured control in Nicosia, and won control in Larnaca for the first time.[99] It also undermined the Cyprus government's assumptions regarding the pro-British, anti-communist rural population by winning six of the nine rural municipalities.[100] The colonial government reported to the Colonial Office that while many of the National Unity Party councillors were not Akelists, reports of AKEL's political atrophy had been discredited. Luke lamented this 'sweeping victory for the Communists'. Barton speculated that 'we shall have a political murder or two in the not distant future in Cyprus, now that Communism is rampant'.[101]

These British officials' dismay stemmed from a limited understanding of AKEL's electoral appeal, which was in part rooted in the Greek Civil War. Because the Greek royalists depended on British support in the civil war, the Greek-Cypriot nationalists were forced to run on a platform of anti-communist and 'mild anti-colonial tactics', both of which were framed in the negative. AKEL, through its unrestrained pro-*enosis* stance, took the advantage of appearing more patriotic and more constructive, especially to those who feared an expansion of the Greek Civil War onto Cypriot soil. AKEL was 'open and socially moderate, nationally irreproachable and institutionally well organised'.[102] Furthermore, and perhaps most importantly, AKEL's achievements in social welfare and its domination of effective trade unionism appealed to the working classes.[103]

The British were now faced with AKEL at the height of its political and social power. As we will see in the next section, AKEL's municipal victories, the failure of

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[98] Protopapas, 'The Rise of a Bi-Polar Party System', p. 281.
[99] *Ibid*.; PSR, May 1946, CO67/323/7, TNA.
[100] Protopapas, 'The Rise of a Bi-Polar Party System', p. 281.
[101] PSR, May 1946; Luke, minute, 5 July 1946; Barton, minute, 27 July 1946, CO67/323/7, TNA.
[102] Protopapas, 'The Rise of a Bi-Polar Party System', pp. 280-281.
[103] Crawshaw, *The Cyprus Revolt*, p. 34.

Woolley's legalistic and negative approach, and the wider imperial Cold War context prompted a significant overhaul of British colonial rule. The British's 'new deal' replaced repression with liberalization and a move towards greater self-government, aimed largely to meet the communists on the local battlefields of the imperial Cold War.

<u>Chapter Four</u>
<u>British Anti-Communism: From Enemy to Ally to Enemy</u>

Between 1941 and 1946, Britain attempted to soften its colonial rule to counter anti-colonial criticism and to encourage loyalty among British subjects. While the (often vague) promises of greater self-government and Churchill's bombastic wartime claims of British imperial revival did much to rally enough colonial support to make the empire valuable during the Second World War, British policy-makers were disappointed in the response of many of its Asian territories, especially of the Malayan and Hong Kong 'indifference' to the Japanese occupation and the Indian opposition to the war effort.[1] And while there was much praise heaped upon the Cyprus Regiment for its efforts and sacrifices, British policy-makers found significant fault with the communist influence within it.

Reform, however, masked a retrenchment of British imperialism. The persistence in Hong Kong of racial stereotypes of the Chinese as untrustworthy and in Cyprus of the view of Greek-Cypriots as 'bogus Greeks' justified for many British elites and government officials the need for Britain's supposedly beneficial influence. On the one hand, the '1946 outlook' in Hong Kong and the legalization of political parties and municipal councils in Cyprus could be interpreted as self-reflective, rooted in trusteeship and paternalism, and aimed to build trust.[2] On the other hand, these early actions were used to justify the continuation of British colonialism and dull anti-colonial criticism (especially from communist movements) both inside and outside of the two colonies.

AKEL and the CCP took advantage of the war and its impact on British colonial rule to popularize their social-focussed agendas. During the war, British anti-communism was relegated in order to cooperate with communists to combat a common and more immediate danger in imperial Japan and Nazi Germany. After

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[1] Jackson, *The British Empire and the Second World War*, p. 34; Keith Jeffery, 'The Second World War', in: Judith M. Brown and Wm. Roger Louis (eds), *The Oxford History of the British Empire. Volume IV: The Twentieth Century* (Oxford, 1999), p. 306.
[2] Tsang, *A Modern History of Hong Kong*, p. 200; Diana Markides and G.S. Georghallides, 'British Attitudes to Constitution-Making in Post-1931 Cyprus', *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, 13/1 (1995), pp. 73-74. See also: Gerald Horne, *Race War: White Supremacy and the Japanese Attack on the British Empire* (New York, 2004), pp. 63-64.

the defeat of Germany and Japan, however, anti-communism returned to the forefront of the British official mind (which also explained the Foreign Office's eventual volte-face regarding Britain's retention of both Hong Kong and Cyprus).

In Hong Kong, while Young's brief post-war government saw a world of grey men and sought to win their allegiance through reform, British officials both in Grantham's administration as well as in Whitehall saw mostly red (see chapter six). The CCP's increasing influence in Hong Kong, through its patriotic and pro-labour image as well as its influence over smaller dissident political parties, caused some concern for British authorities. However, in the perceived context of greater Soviet meddling and intensifying communist-led anti-imperial agitation, the CCP became Hong Kong's primary problem. The Foreign Office concluded that 'counter action must be taken before the plans of the [CCP Executive] Committee reach the stage of direct action. This can only be done by means of adequate security intelligence backed by the use of police powers'.[3] On this last point, the Foreign Office, Colonial Office, and the Hong Kong government finally agreed, and by the middle of 1948, Grantham abandoned the 'policy of strict neutrality in Chinese politics' and implemented largely repressive measures to counter the CCP in Hong Kong.[4]

Similarly, AKEL's political and social successes, under its many guises, as well as its proficiency in capitalizing on British heavy-handedness returned the Cypriot communists to the top of the list of Britain's colonial troublemakers. Richards, the chief assistant secretary of Cyprus and acting colonial secretary, wrote:

> Whatever else the post-election period will produce, the most prominent feature will be increased clamour for enosis, indisputably at the forefront of the National Unity Party's policy. Their invitation to Nationalists and the Church to form a joint front on this issue has so far had a cool reception. Division may however spell greater danger than unity, as each faction may be encouraged to proceed to further excesses in demonstrating the sincerity and efficacy of its 'patriotism', and a highly combustible atmosphere may result.

Within a month, the KEK, PEK, and PESP instructed their members to keep away from Akelists because 'attempts by outsiders, particularly those professing foreign

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[3] Foreign Office, report, 'Communist Strategy in S.E. Asia', undated [sent to Colonial Office on 30 November 1948], CO537/2651, TNA.
[4] Tsang, 'Strategy for Survival', p. 311.

ideals, to infringe on their prerogative must be squashed'.[5]

Britain too wanted to squash AKEL. However, from its beginning in 1941, AKEL displayed a great resilience to British legal containment tactics, a wide appeal to the rural population, and a proficiency in working within the system; it was moderate, irreproachable, and organized. AKEL also revealed the weaknesses of British colonialism, as an out-of-touch, defensive, and repressive regime. Indeed, the colonial government's response during this period included Woolley's requests for greater powers and Turnbull's calls for suppression.

As will be discussed in the next section, the response of the colonial governments in both Cyprus and Hong Kong was for greater legal powers and repression. The Colonial Office, on the other hand, became increasingly convinced of the benefits of positive action, at least in theory (as it had little practical advice to offer), as well as increasingly aware of wider pressures and limitations on British colonialism in the imperial Cold War. It therefore often acted as a brake on the colonial governments' reactionary instincts. Sir Douglas G. Harris, an expert on Palestine, coarsely argued in mid-1945 that '[t]he opening of a new irrigation scheme or a health unit gives rise to the only type of public meeting in Cyprus at which one can be certain of not hearing the word enosis'.[6] The consensus was, as Martin put it, that '[w]e must try to give our administration in the island an appearance of greater and not of less liberality', while also keeping firm measures in reserve.[7] While Martin was writing on Cyprus, such sentiments in the Colonial Office were certainly also applicable to Hong Kong.

British colonial policy-makers therefore presented Hong Kong and Cyprus 'new deals', which included further legal reforms and the promise of increased self-government, in order to win local hearts and minds in the wider war of rival imperialisms. Both 'new deals', however, failed. And they failed mostly due to British policy-makers' aversion to giving up control as well as to risking subsequent communist electoral victories. In Hong Kong, it was Governor Grantham's repressive

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[5] PSRs, June and July 1946, CO67/323/7, TNA.
[6] Harris, minute, 31 July 1945, CO67/323/4, TNA.
[7] Martin, minute, 1 December 1945, CO67/323/6, TNA. See also: Sir Arthur Dawe (deputy under-secretary of state at the Colonial Office), minute, 3 December 1945; Creech Jones, minute, 6 December 1945, CO67/323/6, TNA.

inclinations and wily politics which trumped his predecessor's London-backed constitutional reforms, while in Cyprus, British unwillingness to work with a cooperative AKEL spoilt the prospects of a constitution. Instead, both colonial governments abandoned tactics of reform for 'politics of force', in order to meet their perceived communist threats on the cultural battlefields of the Cold War.[8]

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[8] Füredi, *Colonial Wars*, p. 4.

Section Two:

Containment through Reform

<u>Chapter Five</u>
<u>The Breakdown of Allied Cooperation and the Resumption of the Cold War</u>

As discussed in chapter one, the Second World War masked long-term imperial tensions between Britain and Russia. The end of the war not only revealed many of them (e.g. over the future of the Balkans and China) but also created more (e.g. the division of Germany and the trusteeship of the Italian colonies). For British policy-makers, these tensions were heightened by Britain's slipping world power status. By 1946, the thought of a Soviet-American rapprochement, which would have cemented Britain's position as the third power in a two-power world, pushed the new Labour government towards hostile actions, aimed to isolate the Soviet Union and tie the US to the defence of Europe.

Moreover, in 1945-1946, the Soviet Union ushered in a new phase of the Cold War: the introduction of transnational non-governmental organizations (NGOs). While these organizations described themselves as apolitical, they were in fact tools of the Soviet Union to draw wide support (especially from outside the Soviet bloc) to its side against the Western colonial powers. Thus imperial expansionism was no longer just about territory; these NGOs were the introduction of a campaign for hearts and minds around the world – a post-territorial empire.

As this section will outline, by 1946, the British Cabinet, Whitehall, and the colonial governments decided to engage fully with the Soviet's cultural Cold War and the inherent and overt criticisms this brought against Britain's old-fashioned colonialism. The Colonial Office's 'new approach' of 1946 sought to reform colonial rule into something much more progressive and mutually beneficial for the metropole and colonial peoples. In addition to rescinding repressive legislation, colonial governments across the empire began in earnest to prepare their colonies for greater (but not necessarily full) and 'responsible' (i.e. anti-communist and pro-British) self-government (that is, along lines which justified the continuation of Britain's imperial position, improved Britain's economic position, and secured Britain's great power status). This project, however, stalled in the cases of Cyprus and Hong Kong (and others) for a number of reasons. Instead, both colonial governments returned to a more repressive form of colonialism (i.e. 'the politics of

force'), explicitly to combat communist influences on the cultural battlefields of the Cold War.[1]

1945-1946: THE DETERIORATION OF ALLIED COOPERATION

Bevin and his Foreign Office, from as early as June 1945, were increasingly united in the view that 'imperialist Soviet ambitions […] presented a definite threat to British imperialism', which was considered to be a crucial pillar to Britain's post-war recovery.[2] The Soviet Union was, however, rather popular in Britain. Its wartime efforts won it admiration from the general public, while the Labour Party's 'Left understands Left' campaign called for improved Anglo-Soviet relations. Moreover, the Labour government publicly vowed its support for a united and democratic Germany. However, in private, the Labour government sought to frustrate Soviet plans and to convince the US 'both that the Soviet Union could not be trusted and that the Western Zones of Germany at least had to be revived, and revived quickly despite the risks, to prevent the spread of communism in Europe'. Lastly, as Bevin informed the Cabinet in May 1946, 'if there is to be a break [over Germany] the Russians must be seen to be responsible for it'.[3]

The break ultimately came during the protracted negotiations and conferences regarding the post-war order. British policy-makers had two general aims: (1) to rebuild 'British power and status in Europe and the Middle East' and (2) to contain Soviet imperialism. Thus, during the London meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers (11 September-2 October 1945), Bevin resisted Soviet attempts to break into Britain's traditional spheres of influence in the Mediterranean via Greece and Libya while also wrangling for the Soviets to uphold the spheres of influence deal in Eastern Europe, particularly for some British influence in Romania and Bulgaria – all the while the US claimed exclusive control over Japan.[4]

The next meeting of the foreign ministers (held in Moscow between 16 and 26 December 1945) was planned without Britain's input. Bevin wanted to boycott it but finally agreed to attend, largely because he feared 'Soviet-American

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[1] Füredi, *Colonial Wars*, p. 4.
[2] Kent, *British Imperial Strategy*, p. 77.
[3] Deighton, 'The Frozen Front', pp. 453-454.
[4] Kent, *British Imperial Strategy*, pp. 79, 82-85.

cooperation at the expense of British imperial interests'. Once in Moscow, the Soviets pressed for influence in Greece, Turkey and Persia, as Bevin put it, 'the three points where the USSR rubbed with the British Empire'.[5] Ultimately, Britain failed to secure these interests and, to make matters worse, essentially agreed to Soviet control of Romania and Bulgaria.[6]

In early 1946, the convergence of several well-known Cold War events (i.e. Kennan's 'long telegram', Stalin's anti-Western speech at the Bolshoi Theater, and Churchill's 'iron curtain' speech in Fulton, Missouri) with the stand-off over the Soviet refusal to withdraw troops from Iran in March indeed 'marked a new phase of the Cold War', in which the confrontation between a united Anglo-American front and the Soviet Union lost its veneer of cooperation.[7]

So too did Anglo-US relations. Regarding Iran, Bevin refused to rule out cooperation, but only after 'the Soviets accepted that such cooperation could not be secured at the expense of concessions by the British Empire'.[8] In fact, British ambiguity regarding their interests and their position on Soviet interests in Iran – Bevin assured Stalin in 1947 that Britain would not interfere with the proposed Soviet-Iranian oil agreement, which was eventually refused by an Iranian government emboldened by US support – encouraged Soviet adventurism and then US intervention. Indeed, this 'early cold war victory' for the US 'represented not only a challenge to the USSR but also to Britain'.[9]

Added to this, the US McMahon Act of 1946 (which unilaterally ended Anglo-American collaboration regarding atomic research) and the Americans' tendency of taking 'action in the international sphere affecting our interests, without prior consultation' meant that a 'united Anglo-American front' was in fact marred by 'their mutual distrust and an American dislike of British-Soviet antagonism'.[10] This took on greater urgency after July 1948, when the US based some of their atomic

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[5] *Ibid*., pp. 89, 91.
[6] Mark Percival, 'Churchill and Romania: The Myth of the October 1944 "Betrayal"', *Contemporary British History*, 12/3 (1998), pp. 56-57.
[7] Kent, *British Imperial Strategy*, pp. 95-96.
[8] *Ibid*., p. 97.
[9] Louise L'Estrange Fawcett, 'Invitation to the Cold War: British Policy in Iran, 1941-47', in: Anne Deighton (ed.), *Britain and the First Cold War* (London, 1990), p. 198.
[10] Deighton, *The Impossible Peace*, pp. 45-46, 79, 101.

bombers in Britain, making the latter a likely target, 'if not the prime target', for the Soviets in the event of war.[11]

The Paris meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers (April-May and June-July 1946) was called to prepare for the Paris Peace Conference (to deal with Germany's wartime allies: Bulgaria, Finland, Hungary, Italy, and Rumania). Keeping the Soviets away from Italy (including its colonies in Africa, another sphere of British influence) dominated the agenda. In the end, Bevin was successful in preventing 'any erosion of the British position in the Mediterranean, and although there were considerable doubts over the future of Libya and over the British securing military facilities in Cyrenaica, the Soviets had made all the Mediterranean concessions'. These outcomes were subsequently solidified at the Paris Peace Conference (29 July-15 October) and the New York meeting of foreign ministers (4 November-12 December).[12]

1946: LABOUR'S 'NEW' APPROACH TO COLONIALISM

In the context of increased international tensions (as well as increased colonial nationalist pressures), the Labour government revised Britain's traditional approach to empire. Colonial Office officials argued that instead of resisting demands for self-government, colonial officials should 'divert it to useful channels', particularly in establishing 'healthy' nationalist bulwarks against communist expansionism. However, this and the colonies' general 'social, economic and political development' were understood to be long-term processes. Thus 'the common assumption until the end of the 1940s was that colonial rule might continue for decades, if not generations to come'. Moreover, 'not all colonies were expected to reach independence', especially those considered to be too small to survive (such as Cyprus) or too remote to federalize.[13] Hong Kong (with its situation regarding China) was a different matter altogether.

George Hall, a former Welsh miner and Labour MP, had worked hard as under-secretary of state for the colonies (1940-1942) and as Attlee's secretary of

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[11] G.C. Peden, *Arms, Economics and British Strategy: From Dreadnoughts to Hydrogen Bombs* (Cambridge, 2007), p. 236.
[12] Kent, *British Imperial Strategy*, pp. 101-109.
[13] Heinlein, *British Government Policy*, pp. 24-27.

state for the colonies to support colonial development, particularly in 'guiding [...] the development of the new [trade] unions and [educating] their leaders in sound trade union principles'.[14]

On 4 October 1946, however, Hall resigned for health reasons and was moved to the first lord of the admiralty. Attlee, who held Hall in high regard, reluctantly promoted the under-secretary of state, Creech Jones, despite concerns that he 'perhaps is hardly strong enough for the position'. Attlee later wrote of Creech Jones that 'despite much hard work [and] devotion [Creech Jones] had not appeared to have a real grip on administration of the Colonial Office. He was bad in the House and contributed nothing to Cabinet'.[15] But this animosity between them, according to Hyam, boiled down to the fact that Attlee disliked Creech Jones's 'talkativeness'. Moreover, Creech Jones's ineffectiveness in the Cabinet was usually the result of disagreeing with the 'heavyweight' Bevin, against whom not even Attlee could 'automatically prevail'.[16]

However, Bevin and Creech Jones were in fact 'close friends'; the latter had served as the national secretary in Bevin's Transport and General Workers Union (1919-1929) and as the parliamentary private secretary to Bevin in his role as the minister of labour and national service (1940-1945).[17] Bevin shared Creech Jones's 'progressive socialist' view of imperialism, that Britain could reform the intrinsically exploitative nature of colonialism into a mutually beneficial relationship between metropole and empire. Bevin also shared with Creech Jones the view that standing in the way of Britain's progressive imperialism was communism. Indeed, they both had developed a 'dislike of communism [...] from dealing with inflexible, dogmatic and obstructive communist leaders' in domestic labour affairs.[18] Thus 'Bevin found in Creech Jones a supporter as faithful as he could have expected in the head of another major, and in some senses rival, government department'.[19] Where they

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[14] Peter Weiler, 'Forming Responsible Trade Unions: The Colonial Office, Colonial Labor, and the Trades Union Congress', *Radical History Review*, 28-30 (1984), pp. 377-378.
[15] R.D. Pearce, *The Turning Point in Africa: British Colonial Policy, 1938-1948* (London, 1982), p. 78.
[16] Hyam, 'Bureaucracy and Trusteeship', pp. 221-222.
[17] Pearce, *The Turning Point in Africa*, pp. 80-81.
[18] Kent, *British Imperial Strategy*, p. 77; Hyam, 'Africa and the Labour Government', p. 239.
[19] Wm. Roger Louis, *Ends of British Imperialism: The Scramble for Empire, Suez and Decolonization* (London, 2006), p. 423.

disagreed was not general principle but specific actions, stemming from Bevin's broader definition of 'Britain's strategic interests'.[20]

Nevertheless, Hall's proposals for the reformation of British colonial rule thus fell to Creech Jones to implement. Despite Attlee's assessment of him, Creech Jones continued his pre-1946 crusade to promote colonial development, education, welfare, 'responsible' trade unionism, and then, after a colony was economically and socially stable, to move forward with self-government – a strategy with which Attlee and Bevin agreed.[21]

Development and liberalism aside, Creech Jones and the Labour government 'never laid down when formal rule was to end', and there was 'no sign that the government envisaged conceding independence (as opposed to internal self-government) in the near future'.[22] Moreover, where reform failed to produce the desired effects (i.e. to counter anti-colonialist propaganda and to reduce the influence of communism and anti-British nationalism in the colonies) and where development proved to be too costly, British colonial governments resorted to more traditional forms of control and repression (e.g. in Cyprus and Hong Kong) or, as we will see in the next sub-section, rapid decolonization (e.g. in India and Palestine).

Thus in both Hong Kong and Cyprus, efforts were made to introduce greater internal self-government. As will be discussed in the following chapters, Governor Young's plan for self-government in Hong Kong had the support of London but died a fast death after his retirement in 1947. In Cyprus, there was an even greater effort to introduce a legislature, but this too came to nothing, much to the relief of the British authorities, after it became clear that elections would most probably be dominated by Cypriot communists. Subsequently, both colonial governments sought instead greater state powers, explicitly to counter communists activities and influence in the cultural Cold War.

1947: CUTBACKS AND CONSOLIDATION

In January 1947, Attlee was forced by the chiefs of staff (who threatened

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[20] Heinlein, *British Government Policy*, p. 18.
[21] Hyam, 'Africa and the Labour Government', p. 243.
[22] Heinlein, *British Government Policy*, p. 25.

resignation en masse) to abandon his preference for withdrawing from Britain's mere 'outpost position' in the Middle East and Mediterranean. However, in order to afford to maintain Britain's geopolitical position, the government had to make some cuts, specifically regarding India, Palestine, Greece, and the size of its military.[23] These decisions to withdraw, especially regarding Palestine, were eased by the government's decision to assert Britain's 'right to maintain forces in Egypt in peacetime', as stipulated by the disputed Anglo-Egyptian treaty of 1936.[24]

In short succession in mid-February, the Labour government announced both the decision to withdraw from India by June 1948 and to refer the future of Palestine to the UN. In the House of Commons, Attlee framed Indian independence as a fulfilment and success of Britain's imperial mission, while five days later, Bevin and Creech Jones made it clear in the Commons that '[w]e are not going to the United Nations to surrender' Palestine but for the purpose of 'setting out the problem and asking for their advice as to how the Mandate can be administered'.[25]

As it turned out, Britain was out of India early (on 15 August 1947) and determined (on 20 September) to withdraw completely from Palestine by 1 August 1948. The new viceroy in India, Lord Mountbatten, realized that staying on any longer would have led to civil war and also that early withdrawal forced India to join the Commonwealth, 'increased Britain's prestige[,] and ensured future defence collaboration'.[26] The rationale behind quitting Palestine was similarly strategic: 'when involvement there threatened to wreck Anglo-Arab relations, the Cabinet decided to withdraw from Palestine to preserve the British position in the rest of the Middle East'. With the withdrawal from Palestine, Cyprus became the only territory in the region over which Britain retained sovereignty.[27]

Cyprus also played a role in Britain's other Mediterranean withdrawal. By mid-1946, the survival of a pro-Western Greek government was no longer considered to be vital to the maintenance of British interests in the Middle East. Furthermore, the

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[23] *Ibid.*, pp. 13-14, 18-19.

[24] Kent, *British Imperial Strategy*, p. 134.

[25] Commons, 20 February 1947, *Hansard*, 433, cols. 1395-1398; Commons, 25 February 1947, *Hansard*, 433, cols 1901, 2007.

[26] Heinlein, *British Government Policy*, pp. 38-39.

[27] Ellen Jenny Ravndal, 'Exit Britain: British Withdrawal from the Palestine Mandate in the Early Cold War, 1947-1948', *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, 21/3 (2010), pp. 417-419.

Greek government was, as Bevin put it, 'moribund [...] from inanition [and] senility'. However, by forcing the US into supporting Greece (particularly while Britain was the largest benefactor of the Marshall Plan), Britain became further entangled in the conflict. The British government was successful in their primary objective; on 12 March 1947, President Truman announced a new US strategy, specifically in supporting Greece and Turkey against Soviet expansionism. However, while the Truman Doctrine limited Britain's economic burden, the Americans' 'dislike' of Greek Prime Minister Tsaldaris meant that the Greek government turned more to Britain for political and diplomatic support. Therefore both the US and Greece insisted on 'full British co-operation' in combating the Greek communists.[28]

THE COLD WAR TURNING HOT IN ASIA

British Security Intelligence Far East (SIFE) reported in late 1947 that Asia was 'fast reproducing the salient features of the political division in Europe' between the right and left. It cited as evidence the rightist coup d'état in Siam, China's proscription of the liberal Democratic League, and the lack of compromise in Indonesia or French Indochina. However, SIFE – which was an MI5-directed multi-agency organization concerned with the assessment, dissemination, and coordination of intelligence in the Far East – singled out as its overriding concern that 'Communism is striving to make capital out of resurgent Asian nationalism'.[29] This was soon underscored in February 1948 by the announced formation of the Democratic People's Republic of [Soviet-occupied] North Korea, which SIFE speculated to be 'only the first of a series of similar moves in North East Asia'.[30]

One of the first moves, however, was Mao's December 1947 report to the Central Committee of the CCP. According to SIFE, this report placed the party 'formally within the Soviet "anti-imperialist camp"'. SIFE argued that this was proof

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[28] Sfikas, *The British Labour Government*, pp. 274-275; Amikam Nachmani, 'Civil War and Foreign Intervention in Greece: 1946-49', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 25/4 (1990), p. 497; Robert Frazier, 'Did Britain Start the Cold War? Bevin and the Truman Doctrine', *The Historical Journal*, 27/3 (1984), pp. 720-721, 726-727; Howard Jones, *'A New Kind of War': America's Global Strategy and the Truman Doctrine in Greece* (Oxford, 1989), p. 33.

[29] SIFE, report, 'Review of Communism in South East Asia', no. 8, 30 December 1947, CO537/2650, TNA. For SIFE, see: Calder Walton, *Empire of Secrets: British Intelligence, the Cold War and the Twilight of Empire* (London, 2013), pp. 172-173.

[30] SIFE, report, 'Review of Communism in South East Asia', no. 10, 23 February 1948, CO537/2650, TNA.

that Chinese communism could no longer be identified as a sort of 'rural equalitarianism' – that is, an innocent brand of Marxism/Leninism not aimed for exportation.[31]

Similar conclusions had been propagated by some 'old China hands' during the Second World War. For example, Seymour, the then British ambassador at Nanking, argued that the CCP had 'no intention of abandoning Marx-Leninism, but aim[ed] rather to adapt it to present and future Chinese conditions'. The Foreign Office ignored these wartime warnings.[32] In May 1946, perhaps as a sign of the Foreign Office's hopefulness, Seymour was replaced by Sir Ralph Stevenson, whose expertise was not on China but Yugoslavia, which had just adopted a federal constitution (albeit based on that of the USSR), which induced some cautious optimism in the US and Britain that communism could be reformed.[33]

By early 1948, however, British authorities became alarmed by a number of communist actions in the Far East, including: Mao's report; the communist-organized Southeast Asia Youth Conference in Calcutta (19–25 February) and associated second congress of the Communist Party of India (28 February–6 March), where it was decided to follow Stalin's two-camp doctrine and attack imperialism; and a number of visits by representatives of communist front NGOs, namely the WIDF, WFDY, and IUS. SIFE considered all of these to be 'Russian-inspired activities', which were 'indubitably part of a softening-up process designed to stimulate political unrest and agitation in colonial territories, to facilitate the dissemination of Russian propaganda and the forging of new links between the various communist parties'.[34]

The JIC(FE) understood this not so much as a 'softening-up process' than as one of consolidation. After Moscow's rejection of the Marshall Plan, the Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers' Parties (Cominform) was established in September 1947. The report of its inaugural conference reached Asia

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[31] *Ibid*.

[32] Zhai, *The Dragon, the Lion, and the Eagle*, p. 30; Li, 'Britain's China Policy', p. 57.

[33] Xiang, *Recasting the Imperial Far East*, p. 91; Lorraine M. Lees, *Keeping Tito Afloat: The United States, Yugoslavia, and the Cold War* (University Park, PA, 1997), p. 8.

[34] SIFE, report, 'Review of Communism in South East Asia', no. 10, 23 February 1948, CO537/2650, TNA; R.S. Singh and Champa Singh, *Indian Communism: Its Role towards the Indian Polity* (New Delhi, 1991), pp. 66-67; Remme, *Britain and Regional Cooperation*, pp. 134-136.

in the following month, most probably during the Calcutta Youth Conference.[35] The report included the keynote speech by the Cominform's founder, Andrei Zhdanov, entitled 'On the International Situation', in which he identified American imperialism and its 'weaker imperialist rival, Great Britain' as enemies of socialism, nationalism, and peace.[36] The JIC(FE) argued 'that this document offered the guidance which the Asian communists had lacked since the dissolution of the Comintern [in May 1943] and that it provided the theoretical basis for the subsequent re-orientation of communist policy', which included bringing the 'external policy of the Chinese Communist Party [...] more into line with international communist trends'.[37]

Meanwhile, the ROC's domestic situation grew worse. First, further Soviet meddling in Manchuria, the KMT government complained, allowed Chinese communist troops to position themselves in the north-east to take over once the Soviets moved out.[38] In direct contravention of the 1945 Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Alliance, the USSR continued to deny KMT ships from landing troops at the naval base in the southern Manchurian port of Lüda.[39] According to the Hong Kong branch of the JIC, the 'strong suspicion' was that the USSR wished to cultivate the CCP's influence and that, despite Russia beginning to withdraw troops from Mukden in March (some seven months later than Stalin had promised Chiang), the Soviets were establishing 'a weak buffer state' in Manchuria in order to concentrate on interests in Europe and the Middle East.[40]

Second, in June 1947, the Soviet-backed Outer Mongolians invaded China's Sinkiang Province. Dr Sun Fo, the vice-chairman of the KMT government and

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[35] If, when, and how this new Soviet line reached Southeast Asia is a large historiographical debate. While there is no concrete evidence, the conference was the first mass meeting of Asian communists since the formation of the Cominform. See: Ruth McVey, *The Calcutta Conference and the Southeast Asian Uprisings* (Ithaca, NY, 1958); Larisa Efimova, 'Did the Soviet Union Instruct Southeast Asian Communists to Revolt? New Russian Evidence on the Calcutta Youth Conference of February 1948', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 40/3 (2009).

[36] Andrei Zhdanov, 'Report on the International Situation', in: Robert V. Daniels (ed.), *A Documentary History of Communism*, vol. 2 (London, 1987), pp. 145-148.

[37] JIC(FE), (48)12 (Final), 'Communism in the Far East', 7 October 1948, CO537/2650, TNA.

[38] JIC, Hong Kong, 'Weekly Intelligence Summary', no. 22, 21 February 1946, CO537/1660, TNA.

[39] Elleman, *Modern Chinese Warfare*, p. 229.

[40] JIC, Hong Kong, 'Weekly Intelligence Summary', no. 22, 21 February 1946, and no. 25, 13 March 1946, CO537/1660, TNA.

president of the Legislative Yuan (the equivalent of a prime minister), claimed that Russia was testing British and American attitudes. He warned that if those two nations failed to oppose the Soviets, the Soviets would soon invade Sinkiang and Tibet and 'march down to the Bay of Bengal' to take over India. As Sun Fo was an extreme leftist and widely known to be pro-Soviet, especially during the Pacific War, his warnings alarmed many in Whitehall and the Far East.[41]

1948: THE FINAL BREAK IN ALLIED COOPERATION

On 15 December 1947, the Council of Foreign Ministers broke down completely, with neither an agreement on the future of Germany nor an intention to meet again. Germany was thus divided. The Soviet deputy foreign minister, Andrei Smirnov, informed Molotov that the time had come for the USSR 'to take concrete measures that will not only limit the independent actions of the USA, England, and France in Germany, but will also enable us to actively obstruct their plans to build a Western bloc that includes Germany'.[42]

Bevin noted that 'other recent events seem to point to the increasing difficulty to reaching any agreement with the U.S.S.R. on political topics'. Bevin identified the Soviets':

> perpetual propaganda against the "Imperialist exploitation of colonial peoples" [...] aimed at the exclusion of the Western Powers from colonial territories, the promotion of independence movements (often nationalistic rather than Communist) [...] and at teaching colonial peoples to look to the Soviet Union as their champion and protector.

Furthermore, Bevin identified the Soviets' utilization of international and transnational bodies, specifically the UN and WFTU, 'for colonial propaganda against us' as well as training programmes by which the Soviets 'have for years collected agents from colonial areas and trained them in subversive measures in Russia before sending them back'.[43] AKEL's Servas certainly fitted this mould.

Bevin concluded that Soviet policy – which was 'actively hostile to British interests everywhere' – was a:

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[41] MacDougall (OAG) to Creech Jones, 7 and 22 July 1947, CO537/2193, TNA; Maochun Yu, *The Dragon's War: Allied Operations and the Fate of China 1937-1947* (Annapolis, MD, 2006), p. 74.

[42] Manfred Wilke, *The Path to the Berlin Wall: Critical Stages in the History of Divided Germany*, translated by Sophie Perl (Oxford, 2014), pp. 70-71.

[43] Bevin, memorandum, 'Review of Soviet Policy', 5 January 1948, CAB129/23/7.

concerted and co-ordinated attempt [...] to spread hatred against us throughout the world, by representing us with the Americans, as using "direct threats of force, blackmail, extortion, political and economic pressure, bribery" and other unscrupulous means to support our wholly predatory and oppressive aims.[44]

Bevin identified four fronts of Soviet aggression: Europe, the Middle East, the Far East and the UN. In Europe, he believed that the Soviets sought: to continue the ruthless consolidation of power in Eastern Europe; to gain complete control in Germany and Austria; to foment labour unrest, if not open rebellion, in France and Italy; to support the Greek communists; and to isolate and collapse Turkey. In the Middle East, Soviet support of the partition of Palestine, Bevin speculated, was meant: to 'cause the greatest possible disturbance throughout the Middle East'; to set up a Jewish state, over which the Soviets would more easily exert influence (based on the long-standing antisemitic association of the Jews and the left); and to set a precedence for the Armenian and Kurdish nationalist movements. Furthermore, Moscow declared Iran a hostile country and began subversive activities against it, which threatened not only regional stability but also British interests (e.g. the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company). In the Near and Far East, Bevin accused the Soviets of fomenting inter-state and anti-British agitation in Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, Korea, and all colonial territories – not to mention Soviet efforts in the Chinese Civil War. Finally, Bevin noted that the Soviets would probably 'maintain their membership [of the UN], but to use the Organisation chiefly for propaganda purposes and for rallying their satellites and with the object of impeding so far as possible any constructive efforts put in hand by the Western Powers'.[45]

Thus Bevin encouraged the Cabinet and then Parliament to act fast to secure British interests in Europe. His proposed policy was two-fold. First, recognizing that it was 'not enough to reinforce the physical barriers', he called for Britain to 'organise and consolidate the ethical and spiritual forces' of Western Europe, by providing 'political and moral guidance and [...] assistance in building up a counter

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[44] *Ibid*.
[45] *Ibid*.

attraction to the baleful tenets of communism'.[46] Second, although US support would be required in the immediate-term, Bevin called for rapid development of the colonial empire, especially of Africa, in order to extract the resources necessary to support Western Europe as a 'Third Force' – that is, a power bloc independent of US or Soviet influence.[47] The exact framework, however, was never made clear.[48]

The Soviet-backed communist coup in Czechoslovakia in February was a major impetus for the realization of Bevin's general aim. On 17 March, Britain, Belgium, France, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands signed the Treaty of Economic, Social, and Cultural Collaboration and Collective Self-Defence (or Brussels Pact). This, combined with the beginning of the Soviet blockade of Berlin in June (which deprived Britain, the US, and France the ability to supply their zones of the capital), prepared the ground for finally securing US military commitment to Europe, via the North Atlantic Treaty, which was signed on 4 April 1949.[49]

Greater military cooperation did not, however, fix Britain's economic situation. Bevin's Third Force and Creech Jones's emphasis on colonial development and welfare (which were difficult to reconcile in the first place, especially as the Colonial Office and colonial governments insisted that 'the requirements of a broad imperial strategy had to be subordinated to the requirements of particular territories or regions', especially the dollar-earning area of Southeast Asia) hit their biggest obstacle in the form of the Treasury. The Treasury demanded that 'the sterling areas as a whole came to terms with the dollar deficit whatever the needs of British exporters or colonial consumers'. In fact, the Colonial Office regularly complained to the Treasury that the colonial empire 'tended to get what was left over', after the needs of Britain, the Dominions, and foreign countries had been addressed.[50]

1949: THE DOLLAR CRISIS AND THE END OF 'THE THIRD FORCE'

In early 1949, Bevin was forced to abandon his plans for the Third Force. The idea was far too ambiguous to 'meet the demands of the international system', let alone

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[46] Bevin, memorandum, 'The First Aim of British Foreign Policy', 4 January 1948, CAB129/23/6.
[47] Commons, 22 January 1948, *Hansard*, 466, col. 407; Kent, *British Imperial Strategy*, pp. 160-161.
[48] Deighton, 'Entente Neo-Coloniale?', p. 836.
[49] Melissen and Zeeman, 'Britain and Western Europe', p. 88.
[50] Kent, *British Imperial Strategy*, pp. 176, 190-192.

to unify all of the necessary policy-making bodies of the British government (i.e. 'the Foreign Office, Treasury, Board of Trade, Ministry of Defence, Chiefs of Staff', and the Dominion and Colonial Offices).[51] Moreover, economic depression in the US decreased demand for European products, the cost of which in Britain alone was '$149 million in April and $230 million in May'. The dollar surplus in the colonies was lost, and the value of the British pound and thereby the unity of the sterling zone (as the key to British economic recovery and independence from the US) was now considered to be in jeopardy. The Foreign Office figured that economic and military independence from the US and the strain of European cooperation was unworkable. By October 1949, Bevin officially killed his Third Force plan.[52]

Instead, the Foreign Office now reasoned that Britain's best hope was to retain a level of independence which would give it some influence over US foreign policy. And not only was this necessary to maintain Britain's great power, it was argued, but the maintenance of British power was essential in preventing the US from possibly either seeking 'a modus vivendi' or starting the Third World War with the Soviets. After mid-1949, with the formation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in April and the successful testing of the Soviet's first atomic bomb in August, Bevin concluded in his Cabinet paper in October that 'for the present at any rate the closest association with the United States is essential, not only for the purpose of standing up to Soviet aggression but also in the interests of Commonwealth solidarity and European unity'.[53]

1948-1949: COLONIAL UNREST AND THE 'POLITICS OF FORCE'

Aside from the positive publicity given to Britain's imperial mission – that Britain's colonial rule meant the betterment of colonial lives as well as economic growth for all involved – the Colonial Office, within Whitehall, also linked colonial development to economic concerns. Specifically, the Colonial Office argued that the lack of development was a primary reason for the recent and costly outbreaks of violence and disorder across the empire.[54] These problems included: Burma's refusal to join

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[51] Deighton, 'Entente Neo-Coloniale?', p. 847.
[52] Kent, *British Imperial Strategy*, pp. 198-202.
[53] *Ibid*., pp. 201-202; Bevin, memorandum, 'European Policy', 18 October 1949, CAB129/37/8.
[54] Kent, *British Imperial Strategy*, p. 192.

the Commonwealth in January; riots in Baghdad less than two weeks later; 'cost-of-living' riots in the Gold Coast in February (widely but erroneously blamed on communists); sugar strikes in British Guiana in April; and the declaration of an emergency in response to the communist insurgency in Malaya in June.[55]

The disturbances in the Gold Coast and Malaya were especially alarming as they were two of Britain's few dollar-earning colonies. Moreover, they were 'unexpected', especially in the 'model dependency' that was the Gold Coast. These other colonial disputes were certainly important as well. Burma's refusal to join the Commonwealth not only threatened the important rice trade in Southeast Asia but was also the first case of decolonization after which Britain was unable to maintain informal influence. The Baghdad riots reflected the success of growing nationalist movements against Britain's informal empire in the Middle East. Indeed, '[t]he events of 1948 had finally taught Whitehall that political developments within a colony could not be isolated from global political patterns'.[56]

This was most apparent in the Far East, where in mid-1948 there was an 'important change in Communist policy in South East Asia': open rebellion. Paul Grey, the British under-secretary of state for foreign affairs, informed British representatives in the Far East, Washington D.C., and Moscow that this new policy was:

> for Communist parties in South East Asia to adopt the same general
> tactics as they have been employing since 1946 in Western Europe of
> doing everything possible to undermine and hamper the reconstruction
> and economic development of the whole area.[57]

Communists took up arms in Burma, Malaya, French Indochina, and Indonesia in order, as SIFE interpreted it, to 'determine whether the peoples of Asia are to join the Russian "anti-imperialist camp" or align themselves with the Western Powers'. Furthermore, it was the Soviet Union 'at minimum cost to themselves [...] creating throughout South East Asia a state of chaos which will not easily be remedied and must strongly militate against the economic recovery and political stability of the

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[55] Füredi, *Colonial Wars*, pp 89-92.
[56] *Ibid*., pp. 88-91, 97; A.J. Stockwell, 'Southeast Asia in War and Peace: The End of European Colonial Empires', in: Nicholas Tarling (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Southeast Asia: Volume Two, Part Two: From World War II to the Present* (Cambridge, 1999), p. 25.
[57] Grey, dispatch, 10 May 1948, CO537/2650, TNA.

Far East'.[58]

These developments concerned the Foreign Office, not only because they presented 'an immediate problem in the defence of our vital interests, but because they fit into the general strategy of the Kremlin in the cold war against us'. According to a Foreign Office report forwarded by Christopher Mayhew, the parliamentary under-secretary of state for foreign affairs, to his colonial counterpart, David Rees-Williams, the communist strategy in China, Mongolia, Sinkiang, and Korea was different fundamentally from that in South and Southeast Asia. China's long history of communism and its border with Russia made 'it possible to foresee the de facto incorporation of some or all of these regions into the Communist territorial block [...] ultimately for military protection [...] [of] the Soviet Union itself'. The rest of the Far East, including numerous British colonies, was to be subjected to infiltration and armed revolt, similar to Soviet tactics in Europe. Numerous territories in the Far East had sent to the Foreign Office accounts 'of active [communist] penetration of Trade Unions, nationalist movements, newspapers, armies, and even high governmental circles'. It had been demonstrated by the civil war in Greece and was certainly applicable to the situation in the Far East, the report warned, 'that a small group of resolute and well organised men can at comparatively trifling cost to the Soviet Union make progressive and democratic government impossible, by fomenting a state of anarchy'.[59]

Across the empire and within the Colonial Office, 'a crisis mentality' and 'a new sense of urgency' were certainly palpable in policy-making and correspondence. From many colonies, including Cyprus and Hong Kong, came requests for permission to increase the executive, legal, and police powers of the government. The Colonial Office, in part because of pressure from other departments, sought to improve the colonies' security forces, intelligence organizations (including their cooperation with the likes of MI5, SIFE, and Security Intelligence Middle East [SIME]), and propaganda. For example, before 1948, the

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[58] Unsigned, Hong Kong political summary, no. 5, September 1848, CO537/3732, TNA.
[59] Foreign Office, report, 'Communist Strategy in S.E. Asia', undated, enclosed in: Mayhew to Rees-Williams, 30 November 1948, CO537/2651, TNA.

purpose of colonial propaganda was education; after 1948, propaganda was focussed on, in the words of Creech Jones, 'correcting false impressions' and, in the words of Kenneth Blackburne, the Colonial Office's director of information services (1947-1950), countering the 'immediate Communist menace'.[60]

Another significant change in British policy was the strengthening of intelligence operations. In order to improve the Colonial Office's 'knowledge of the state and trend of political feeling in Colonial territories generally', it requested from all of Britain's African, West Indian, and Far Eastern colonies monthly political situation reports which were to cover nationalist movements, race relations, developments regarding the press, public opinion regarding government policy, and information on influential personalities. The Colonial Office also asked for 'a separate report monthly with special reference to Communism' to cover 'information on the hierarchy and lay-out of the local Communist organisations (if any)'; personalities; 'connections with foreign organisations'; and 'general strategy and tactics of Communist organisations in the area'.[61]

Sir J. John Paskin, the assistant under-secretary at the Colonial Office responsible for the Eastern A Department, added, 'I need hardly stress the importance of this latter request, and it will save a great deal of time here if this information forms a distinct and separate report'. These reports, according to Paskin, served a second purpose in fulfilling a Foreign Office request (which in fact came from Bevin) for the Colonial Office's 'co-operation in getting political reports from the more important Colonies as regards communist activities and the reactions of local political bodies to external events'.[62]

These reports were separated physically (for the sake of convenience) but not mentally. The first list of potential cultural and social issues represented the weak points of British colonialism, which, as Whitehall understood it, communists sought

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[60] Füredi, *Colonial Wars*, pp. 90-93.
[61] Cohen, circular dispatch to 'All African Governors', 15 March 1948; Cohen, minute, 15 March 1948; George Seel (assistant under-secretary of state for the colonies, responsible for the Eastern, West Indies, and General Departments), minute, 14 April 1948; Paskin to Grantham, 27 April 1948; Paskin to Sir Donald Mackenzie-Kennedy (governor of Mauritius), 29 April 1948; Paskin to Sir Brian Freeston (governor of Fiji), 29 April 1948, CO537/3731, TNA.
[62] Paskin, minute, 15 April 1948; Paskin to Grantham, 27 April 1948, CO537/3731, TNA. Füredi, *Colonial Wars*, p. 90.

to manipulate in order to spread the latter's influence as well as to embarrass and foment agitation against British colonialism.

Less than four months later, on 5 August 1948, Creech Jones sent a circular dispatch to all of the colonies in reference to the 'campaign of terrorism and murder, to overthrow the established order' occurring in Malaya and Singapore and the 'rioting and destruction of property', albeit with different motives, in the Gold Coast. He continued:

> It is in my view essential that every possible means should be taken to prevent similar happenings in other Colonial territories, and there is much evidence that the sources which have inspired the outbreak in Malaya (and had some indirect responsibility for those in the Gold Coast) are on the look-out for similar opportunities elsewhere. I therefore consider it necessary to ask Governors to take into review the present state of efficiency, in numbers, organisation, and equipment, of their Security forces, and to report as soon as possible.[63]

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By early 1948, the Colonial Office's 'new approach' of 1946 (i.e. of reform, development, and greater self-government for the colonies) was increasingly entwined with (and undermined by) Whitehall's 'trend towards the politics of force' in the empire. This included 'a willingness' to permit special legal powers (usually in contradiction to British domestic law), to declare emergencies (and the increased state powers involved), to increase intelligence gathering and policing, and to 'train [colonial] administrators in combating communist arguments' either by visiting Foreign Office specialists or special weekend classes at Oxford University.[64]

This contradiction (i.e. of reforming colonial rule through 'the politics of force'), in part, explains the failure of British colonial strategies. As will be discussed in the following chapters, British efforts in 1946 to introduce greater internal self-government in Hong Kong (the Young Plan) and Cyprus (the consultative assembly) were abandoned by 1948. Instead, these two colonial governments requested more and greater repressive powers to battle the perceived communist threats on the cultural battlefields of the imperial Cold War.

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[63] Creech Jones to MacDougall (OAG), Hong Kong, 5 August 1948, CO537/2774, TNA.
[64] Füredi, *Colonial Wars*, pp. 94-95, 101-102.

<u>Chapter Six</u>
<u>A Failed New Deal in Hong Kong: From Constitution to Repression,</u>
<u>1946-1949</u>

Between 1946 and early 1949, Hong Kong witnessed two significant

transformations, both of which owed largely to the change in governorship in 1947.

Young's proposed constitutional reform and identification of KMT as the primary

troublemaker soon gave way to Grantham's rejection of major reform and counter-

CCP policies. By 1948, the Hong Kong government decided to take action against

the CCP's perceived infiltration and control of several important areas of the

colony's cultural, political, and economic life, specifically, as this chapter will detail,

in areas of immigration, youth, anti-KMT Chinese political parties, labour, and

propaganda (i.e. some of the major battlegrounds of the imperial Cold War). By

mid-1949, according to the Hong Kong Police Special Branch, the CCP infiltrated

'nearly all the important unions, schools, singing groups, cultural associations, etc.'

and became 'menacing and powerful'.[1] Furthermore, the turmoil in surrounding

territories like Malaya and Korea and the wider British conflict with the USSR

created problems for Hong Kong's open immigration policy, especially regarding the

movement of communist revolutionaries and Soviet propaganda.

　　　　Tsang has argued that Hong Kong 'minimised the effect of the Cold War by

ignoring it'.[2] On the contrary, despite the fact that the CCP was ignoring Hong Kong

(i.e. regarding sovereignty), Grantham actively, explicitly, and persistently

attempted to combat the perceived communist menace. Beginning in 1948,

Grantham responded with 'a number of steps to curb the infiltration of the Chinese

Communists into the Colony and to deal with the difficulties and dangers which

might arise from their activities'.[3] As in Cyprus, this included the enactment of

numerous laws (the likes of which were being repealed around the empire in the

context of colonial reform) to meet the communists on cultural battlefields, such as

the Public Order Ordinance, the Illegal Strikes and Lockouts Ordinance, and the

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[1] Hong Kong Police Special Branch, report, 'The Chinese Communist Party in Hong Kong', 30 June 1949, CO537/4816, TNA.

[2] Tsang, *A Modern History of Hong Kong*, p. 158.

[3] Colonial Office, note, 'Recent changes in policy towards Chinese Communists in Hong Kong', 12 August 1949, CO537/4815, TNA.

Societies Ordinance. Positive polices were limited, and repressive legislation proved rather futile against the Chinese communists as they generally obeyed the law in Hong Kong. Nevertheless, Hong Kong became a significant battleground in the imperial and cultural Cold War.

CONSTITUTIONAL ADVANCEMENT?

After rescinding several racist and repressive laws, Young, whom Tsang has called 'remarkably forward-looking and far-sighted', attempted to further reform British rule by introducing an elected municipal council.[4] From a broader perspective, the Young Plan was a strategy typical of British Cold War imperialism, that is, the fostering of a sort of pro-British local nationalism through greater internal self-government, which would upon decolonization be able to resist China's desire to have Hong Kong back.[5]

By the end of October 1946, Young sent his proposals to Creech Jones, the newly appointed British secretary of state for the colonies. The Young Plan included a municipal council comprising fifteen Chinese and fifteen non-Chinese councillors, twenty of whom would be directly elected. The remaining ten would be appointed by a number of organizations to protect special interests, such as commerce, trade unions, education, and law. The council would be financially self-supporting and eventually responsible for domestic affairs, such as education and social welfare.[6] The Young Plan was endorsed by both the KMT government in China (although they protested the division of councillors as unfair to the ethnic Chinese who made up over ninety-five percent of the colony's population) as well as the CCP in Hong Kong (although they suggested greater representation for the working class).[7]

Young, however, noted a general indifference in the Hong Kong population towards constitutional advancement, which he blamed on widespread uncertainty regarding Hong Kong's political future. He nevertheless supported his original plan, arguing that it would help allay these doubts. Creech Jones responded with his own

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[4] Tsang, *A Modern History of Hong Kong*, p. 143.

[5] Prasenjit Duara, 'Hong Kong and the New Imperialism in East Asia, 1941-66', in: Bryna Goodman and David S.G. Goodman (eds), *Twentieth-Century Colonialism and China: Localities, the Everyday, and the World* (London, 2012), p. 204.

[6] Norman J. Miners, 'Plans for Constitutional Reform in Hong Kong, 1946-52', *China Quarterly*, 107 (1986), pp. 468-469.

[7] Tsang, *Democracy Shelved*, pp. 54, 56.

constitutional plan, which included a legislative council and an electoral process which favoured the local Chinese. Young refused, and after much debate, Young's original plan was eventually approved in principle in July 1947.[8]

By then, however, Young had retired on 17 May, and it fell to his successor, Sir Alexander Grantham, who arrived in Hong Kong the day after the Young Plan was announced, to implement the reforms. Creech Jones and the Colonial Office was in favour of a 'speedy implementation'. But despite publicly committing himself to this 'great step forward', the new governor held serious reservations.[9]

Grantham believed that the hearts and minds of the Chinese people in Hong Kong, given their close cultural and geographical proximity to China, could never be fully won on behalf of the British Empire. Instead, they could be made content to remain British subjects.[10] Furthermore, this was only possible through 'a benevolent autocracy' which prioritized first and foremost the rehabilitation and protection of Hong Kong's economy.[11] He argued that so long as the British government maintained law and order, did not over-tax its subjects, and provided justice, the local Chinese would be 'satisfied and well content to devote their time to making more money in one way or another'.[12]

Grantham, colluding with the Executive Council, thus slowly undermined Young's proposed reforms. Buying time through delay tactics, Grantham helped the Executive Council to formulate a counter-proposal for a Legislative Council with six official members (including the governor as the president) and eleven unofficial members ('to be partly elected by British subjects and partly nominated by the Governor'). In August 1949, Grantham, after adding further voter restrictions, took the new plan to Creech Jones, arguing that it, in part, 'avoided the political danger inherent in Young's municipal proposal: the danger that pro-Communist elements would be elected into the municipal council'.[13]

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[8] Miners, 'Plans for Constitutional Reform in Hong Kong', pp. 469-470, 472.
[9] Tsang, *Democracy Shelved*, pp. 63, 71.
[10] Tsang, *A Modern History of Hong Kong*, p. 148; Suzanne Pepper, 'Elections, Political Change and Basic Law Government: The Hong Kong System in Search of a Political Form', *The China Quarterly*, 162 (2000), p. 415.
[11] Tsang, *Democracy Shelved*, p. 64; Tsang, *Governing Hong Kong*, pp. 61-62.
[12] Tsang, *A Modern History of Hong Kong*, p. 148.
[13] Tsang, *Democracy Shelved*, pp. 91-92, 99-101

While Creech Jones and the Colonial Office considered the proposal, Grantham and his government focussed on re-building the economy and maintaining law and order. Grantham maintained a socially liberalized outlook – for example, he introduced the Prevention of Corruption Ordinance in 1948 to improve government in the eyes of the population – but his undermining of the Young Plan was a step back towards the pre-war interpretation of Britain's 'dual mandate' (i.e. that British economic interests and the development of the colonial people were mutually advantageous). That said, this strategy, according to Tsang, proved largely successful in Hong Kong.[14]

While the two governors disagreed in 1947 on the political future of Hong Kong, they were consistent in their perceptions of the KMT and the CCP as the two outstanding and significant threats to British interests in the colony. Mid-1946 marked the 'high tide' of KMT influence in Hong Kong. Within two years, these KMT waters receded, leaving British authorities with one main enemy, the CCP. Between 1948 and 1952, CCP actions in the mainland, Hong Kong, and East and Southeast Asia (especially in Korea) provided the justifications Grantham needed to end the prospects of major constitutional reform in Hong Kong (see chapter ten).[15]

THE CHINA FACTOR

By late 1947, the civil war in China went from bad to worse for the KMT – so much so that British policy-makers, both in London and Hong Kong, began to contemplate the possibility of communist victory. As early as December, the DSO in Hong Kong, which was an MI5 liaison officer stationed in individual colonies to coordinate security intelligence, warned of 'the increasing chances of Communist neighbours with a consequent reversal in internal problems'.[16] By the end of 1948, Creech Jones expressed 'serious anxiety' regarding the '[g]eneral deterioration' of the KMT government. Specifically, Creech Jones deliberated practical assistance in dealing with a potential refugee crisis produced by Chinese fleeing the civil war, including defeated KMT soldiers, and/or produced by '"cold war" tactics by communists

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[14] *Ibid.*, pp. 70-71; Tsang, *A Modern History of Hong Kong*, pp. 148, 202.

[15] Tsang, *Democracy Shelved*, pp. 50, 108.

[16] DSO, report, 'Situation in Hong Kong during December, 1947', CO537/2652, TNA; Walton, *Empire of Secrets*, p. 25.

either in [or] outside Hong Kong'.[17]

The CCP in Hong Kong, however, continued to focus its efforts against the KMT in China. By July 1948, the Chinese minister of foreign affairs informed Stevenson (the British ambassador at Nanking) that the KMT government considered Hong Kong to be 'a political and economic menace to China' as 'Communists and quasi-Communists' used 'Hong Kong as a base not only of propaganda but of subversive activities against China'.[18] Thus, as a part of their efforts against the communists, the KMT turned to the Hong Kong government for further cooperation. This began as early as late 1947, when General Cheng Kai-min, the Chinese director of intelligence, approached Britain's military attaché, Brigadier L. Field, regarding the 'activities of the Chinese Communist Party representatives in Hong Kong'. After being denied his first request for their expulsion from Hong Kong, Cheng requested greater communication between the Hong Kong and Canton police.[19]

The main source of pressure, however, was from Dr T.V. Soong, the American-educated 'financial genius' and brother-in-law of Chiang, who had raised the funds necessary for Chiang's Northern Expedition and subsequent rise to power.[20] In October 1947, Soong was appointed governor of Kwangtung Province, of which Canton was the capital. Soong's general strategy in the civil war was to secure southern China before the north broke up, in order to defend it against a communist invasion. In November 1947, Soong obtained authorization from Nanking to increase his provincial army from 8,000 to 45,000 soldiers to effectively suppress 'banditry' (a label with a long history in China, used especially by the KMT to normalize and moralize the suppression of communists).[21]

Despite knowing of Hong Kong's policy on refuge, Soong persistently pressed Grantham for firm and co-ordinated action against the CCP in Hong Kong and along the frontier (for which there was precedent), including the deportation of known

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[17] Creech Jones to Grantham, 12 November 1948, CO537/2774, TNA.
[18] Nanking to Foreign Office, 19 July 1948, CO537/3718, TNA.
[19] British Embassy, Nanking to Grantham, 7 November 1947, CO537/2196, TNA.
[20] Yu, *The Dragon's War*, p. 143.
[21] Grantham to Mayle, 22 November 1947, CO537/2196, TNA; Phil Billingsley, *Bandits in Republican China* (Stanford, CA, 1988), pp. 10-11.

communists and criminal proceedings against CCP newspapers and other organizations. By May 1948, Soong's call for action against communists was expanded to include anti-KMT fellow-travellers such as the Chinese Democratic League and the KMT Revolutionary Committee. Grantham nevertheless maintained 'neutrality' within the colony, noting that 'provided they behaved themselves in Hong Kong I could not justify deportation proceedings'.[22]

Despite Grantham's talk of neutrality, Hong Kong did lend its support against the CCP in China. For example, in late July 1948, units of the Chinese National Army and Gendarmes initiated an anti-banditry (i.e. anti-communist) campaign north of the Hong Kong border. Hong Kong authorities cooperated by closing the border to any escapees, which, as it turned out, was unnecessary as the campaign failed. The Hong Kong authorities frequently allowed Chinese military, customs agents, and police to transport personnel and weapons via Hong Kong's superior infrastructure as well as KMT wounded to be treated at Kowloon Hospital. Nevertheless, Grantham continued to stress Hong Kong's policy of open refuge.[23]

While the JIC(FE) and others were confident that '[a]t present it is unlikely that the Communists in Hong Kong would begin an anti-British campaign', it did not preclude the CCP in Hong Kong from participating in Asia's recent uprisings. For example, from the interrogation of a member of the MCP, SIFE learned that the MCP had sent a messenger to Hong Kong to contact and seek advice from the CCP. The messenger reportedly contacted Liao Cheng-chih, a reserve member of the Central Executive Committee of the CCP. SIFE also had 'several unverified reports that Chinese communist activities in French Indo-China are directed from Hong Kong'. SIFE concluded that '[i]t therefore appears that if the Cominform provides the central policy line for the South East Asia communists, the Chinese Communist Party is the model. Nothing succeeds like success and the C.C.P. is succeeding'.[24]

In addition to involving itself in the Cold War conflicts of the Far East, the CCP also involved the Far East in its civil war against the KMT – and did so through Hong

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[22] Grantham to Mayle, 5 April 1948; Grantham to Creech Jones, 12 April 1948, CO537/3718, TNA.
[23] Grantham to Creech Jones, 20 August 1948; unsigned, report, enclosed in: Heathcote-Smith to Lamb, 14 April 1948, CO537/3718, TNA.
[24] SIFE, reports, 'Review of Communism in South East Asia', no. 15, 23 July 1948 and no. 16, 31 August 1948, CO537/2650, TNA.

Kong. The Hong Kong Police Special Branch arrested a communist courier in November 1948, confiscating documents which indicated that the CCP had 'a considerable underground organisation within the colony'. The documents revealed that this organization, along with many other activities, vetted recruits for Chinese communist guerrilla forces, some of whom were from Malaya, Indonesia and French Indochina, and helped guide them to their destinations in mainland China.[25]

SIFE proposed to review 'the entire question of the Chinese communists in Hong Kong' in light of the CCP's 'growing awareness of its own importance in the field of international communism'. This was exemplified by the CCP's denunciation of Marshal Josip Tito, the communist leader of Yugoslavia whose 'deviationist' policies led to his country being expelled from the Cominform in June 1948.[26] According to SIFE:

> the denunciation is all the more revealing in view of the fact that the C.C.P. has been guilty of more deviations from orthodox Marxism than any other Communist Party. [...] Clearly Tito's sin was his failure to fall in with the dictates of Russian foreign policy. [...] The failure of any Communist Party to support the Yugoslavs is a visible demonstration of Russia's hold over the minds of her communist satellites throughout the world.[27]

INTELLIGENCE AND SECURITY

In response to Creech Jones's circular dispatch regarding security forces (see chapter five), Grantham had already reviewed Hong Kong's services in response to the problems in Malaya.[28] He and his numerous security organizations concluded that the arrangements were 'satisfactory'. Grantham explained that his:

> main sources of information are the Police Special Branch, the Defence Security Officer, [Grantham's] Political Adviser and reports from the various British Embassies and Consulates in the Far East. Liaison between the above named officers is very close, and there is no possibility of any significant information which is obtained not reaching all to whom it is of concern.[29]

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[25] SIFE, report, 'Review of Communism in the Far East', no. 19, 30 November 1948, CO537/2651, TNA.

[26] See: Jeronim Perović, 'The Tito-Stalin Split: A Reassessment in Light of New Evidence', *Journal of Cold War Studies*, 9/2 (2007).

[27] SIFE, report, 'Review of Communism in South East Asia', no. 15, 23 July 1948, CO537/2650, TNA.

[28] Creech Jones to MacDougall (OAG), Hong Kong, 5 August 1948, CO537/2774, TNA.

[29] Grantham to Creech Jones, 8 September 1948, CO537/2774, TNA.

Furthermore, Hong Kong kept the Colonial Office, let alone the information services and other colonial governments in the Far East, well-informed. Grantham's political advisor prepared fortnightly and monthly intelligence summaries which were distributed to the service commanders and the commissioner-general for Southeast Asia in Singapore. Monthly reports by the DSO and the director of the Police Special Branch were distributed to the service commanders, the colonial secretary, and the governor. The DSO's reports were also sent to the British ambassador at Nanking and the Colonial Office via MI5.[30]

These security services concurred in the second half of 1948 that the 'Communist policy in Hong Kong has been and remains one of not coming into conflict with authority'. Grantham interpreted this as a policy of expediency, particularly as Hong Kong offered 'considerable advantages as a contact point and transit centre for Communists in China and South East Asia'. The CCP enjoyed in Hong Kong freedoms of expression and of publication, easy access to China, quality international communications, and a relatively free economic market (compared to that of China). One of the most important advantages which Hong Kong offered the communists, according to Grantham, was the colony's numerous headquarters of the various anti-KMT political parties, particularly those of the Democratic League and the KMT Revolutionary Committee. Thus, the CCP in Hong Kong was determined to avoid giving the Hong Kong government any excuse to take action against them.[31]

While there was 'definite evidence of Communist activities in Hong Kong', Grantham argued that there was nevertheless nothing to justify suppressive measures, including specifically police raids on communist buildings. He noted that the latter would also have the adverse effect of driving them underground. The colonial government's policy was thus 'one of watchful toleration of Communists, treating them ostensibly on exactly the same footing as any other political group'.[32]

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[30] *Ibid*.

[31] Grantham, 'Report on Communist and Soviet Activities for the six months ending 30th June 1948', undated [pages missing], enclosed in: Grantham to Creech Jones, 13 August 1948, CO537/3718, TNA; Tsang, *Democracy Shelved*, pp. 86-87.

[32] Grantham, 'Report on Communist and Soviet Activities for the six months ending 30th June 1948', undated [pages missing], enclosed in: Grantham to Creech Jones, 13 August 1948, CO537/3718, TNA.

However, for the British authorities, these advantages allowed the CCP to rise not only to prominence but then to dominance. Through a successful policy of infiltration into trade unionism, education, youth movements, and dissident political parties, the CCP's membership and influence expanded to the extent that, according to the Police Special Branch, by June 1949, Hong Kong was not only 'riddled through and through with Communism' but the CCP had become 'menacing and powerful'.[33] And given the increasingly warmer Cold War in Asia, British policy-makers clamped down explicitly (although not publicly) on the CCP's actions. The first challenge for the security forces, however, was not Chinese but Soviet communist influences.

THE CCP AND SOVIET PROPAGANDA

As communist-led agitation and revolution increased in the Far East, so too did British suspicions and anxieties. As of December 1948, the Cabinet could define neither the nature of Chinese communism nor its relationship with the Soviet Union. Cabinet members weighed the Marxist philosophy of the CCP leadership against its agrarian support and expressed hope that 'Far Eastern Communism might develop on Chinese rather than Slav lines', most importantly in their response to British commercial interests. While they agreed to avoid pushing the Chinese communists into Soviet arms, the Cabinet considered whether it was:

> not time to extend to the Far East the same sort of concerted
> arrangements for economic and military defence measures as were
> being built up against Soviet aggression in Western Europe through the
> European Recovery Programme and the policy of Western Union?[34]

In Hong Kong, these uncertainties were compounded by a real Soviet presence. In mid-1948, a stateless Russian called Nikolai Ivanchenko managed an office of the Exportkhleb, an official Soviet trading organization, in Hong Kong. According to Grantham, the Hong Kong authorities 'strongly suspected' Ivanchenko of being under Soviet direction. Furthermore, Ivanchenko provided accommodation for Soviet officials who were travelling to, for example, China or Thailand via Hong

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[33] Hong Kong Police Special Branch, report, 'The Chinese Communist Party in Hong Kong', 30 June 1949, CO537/4816, TNA.
[34] Cabinet conclusions, 13 December 1948, CAB128/13/40.

Kong on diplomatic or service passports.[35]

The Hong Kong government took measures 'to limit the stay of such Soviet transit travellers to the shortest possible time'. Grantham added that there might be benefit in refusing all transit to Soviet officials 'so long as the Soviet Government continues to behave as it does in Berlin and elsewhere'. The Foreign Office agreed, noting that all Russians 'represent a security threat'.[36] Moreover, according to the Hong Kong DSO, 'the Far East is ripe' for turmoil, which might cause the West to redirect resources from Europe to Asia and, in turn, strengthen Russia's hand in Europe. On the other hand, the DSO argued, 'a Russian set-back in Europe might induce her to attempt to recover face in the East'.[37] The JIC(FE), however, maintained that there was no evidence of direct financial support from the Soviets to the local communist parties of the Far East.[38]

Nevertheless, Grantham reported to Creech Jones in mid-August 1948 that Soviet propaganda in the form of literature, sent to the Soviet trade representative in mainland China, was being sold in Hong Kong bookshops.[39] In fact, this was the work of the USSR's All-Union Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries (VOKS), which was responsible for producing and distributing Soviet propaganda as well as coordinating cultural exchanges between the USSR and foreign countries.[40] By at least 1947, Soviet propaganda was being sent via VOKS to China, North Korea, and Japan.[41] By May 1948, the Soviets relocated the headquarters of the Chinese VOKS from the increasingly volatile mainland to Hong Kong.[42]

From Hong Kong, VOKS produced or imported Chinese- and English-language

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[35] Grantham, 'Report on Communist and Soviet Activities for the six months ending 30th June 1948', undated [pages missing], enclosed in: Grantham to Creech Jones, 13 August 1948, CO537/3718, TNA. See: Share, *Where Empires Collided*, pp. 109-111.

[36] *Ibid*.

[37] DSO, monthly report, no. 26, June 1948, CO357/2652, TNA.

[38] JIC(FE), (48)12 (Final), 'Communism in the Far East', 7 October 1948, CO537/2650, TNA.

[39] Grantham, 'Report on Communist and Soviet Activities for the six months ending 30th June 1948', undated [pages missing], enclosed in: Grantham to Creech Jones, 13 August 1948, CO537/3718, TNA.

[40] David Caute, The Dancer Defects: The Struggle for Cultural Supremacy during the Cold War (Oxford, 2002), p. 29. See also: Jean-François Fayet, 'VOKS: The Third Dimension of Soviet Foreign Policy', in: Jessica C.E. Gienow-Hecht and Mark C. Donfried (eds), *Searching for a Cultural Diplomacy* (Oxford, 2010).

[41] Kathryn Weathersby, 'Soviet Aims in Korea and the Origins of the Korean War, 1945-1950: New Evidence from Russian Archives', working paper no. 8, *The Cold War International History Project Working Paper Series* (Washington D.C., 1993), pp. 22-23.

[42] Share, *Where Empires Collided*, p. 111.

literature, including *Pravda, New Times*, *Moscow News*, and *World Student News*, along with works by and on Stalin, Lenin, and other Soviet leaders. Grantham highlighted one series of imported pamphlets which depicted life in the 'soviet Paradise', which had been printed in Britain for the *London Soviet Monitor*. Grantham found it 'particularly irritating to think that misleading propaganda of this nature is printed in England where paper is in short supply and sent to Hong Kong to delude the people'.[43]

Along with printed material, Soviet films were also common in Hong Kong, often screened in working class areas. Grantham warned that the Soviet films 'are extremely good technically, and are skilful propaganda for the U.S.S.R.'.[44] This concern was echoed in the British Foreign Office, indeed 'somewhat ironically', by Guy Burgess, an intelligence expert and Soviet spy.[45]

The demand for Soviet literature, however, was small, and Grantham took solace in reports that the distributing agency was often forced to use its unsold copies for wrapping paper. As such, the British administration tolerated (but continued to monitor) the activities of VOKS, especially as they were staffed by Chinese people, not Soviets. The Exportkhleb, however, especially regarding its role in the movement of Soviets, was considered to be too chancy, and by the end of 1948, the British government closed it down.[46]

EXTERNAL ANTI-COMMUNIST PRESSURES

Meanwhile, Soong and others continued to pressure Grantham to take strong action against the Chinese communists in Hong Kong. The others also included in 1948 the leaders of the British fighting services, their commanders-in-chief at Singapore, and the European civilians in Hong Kong, whose 'abysmal ignorance' and 'wild talk of the necessity for "strong action", "nipping it the bud" etc., etc.',

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[43] Grantham, 'Report on Communist and Soviet Activities for the six months ending 30th June 1948', undated [pages missing], enclosed in: Grantham to Creech Jones, 13 August 1948, CO537/3718, TNA; Share, *Where Empires Collided*, pp. 111-112.

[44] Grantham to Creech Jones, 12 March 1948, CO537/3718, TNA. See: Peter Kenez, *Cinema and Soviet Society* (London, 2001); Sarah Davies, 'Soviet Cinema and the Early Cold War: Pudovkin's *Admiral Nakhimov* in Context', *Cold War History*, 4/1 (2003); Richard Taylor, *Film Propaganda: Soviet Russia and Nazi Germany* (London, 1998). For British efforts in cinema-based propaganda, see: Shaw, *British Cinema*.

[45] Share, *Where Empires Collided*, p. 112.

[46] *Ibid*.; Grantham to Creech Jones, 12 March 1948, CO537/3718, TNA.

Grantham complained, did not appreciate the complexity of Hong Kong's situation.[47] They, Grantham assumed, were 'inclined to think that the menace of Communism is not properly appreciated by me or by the officers of this administration'.[48]

To avoid misunderstandings, Grantham arranged informative talks by the Local Defence Committee to service commanders; talks by the political advisor to senior service officers and leaders of the European unofficial community; and talks by the secretary for Chinese affairs to recently-appointed senior government officials. Grantham decreed, 'Responsible opinion in Hong Kong will thus be made aware of the political situation in Hong Kong'. He added that this did not include 'the thinking Chinese community' which was 'fully aware of the position'.[49]

The misunderstanding which Grantham aimed to dispel stemmed from the following argument:

> Events in Malaya have shown the dangers of Communism. Unless strong preventive action is taken now, the Communists in Hong Kong may stage uprisings, with which the armed forces would have to come. Strong measures should therefore be taken against the Communists without delay, if necessary in co-operation with the Chinese authorities in Kwangtung, and all Communist activities should be suppressed.[50]

Instead, Grantham wanted 'responsible opinion' to understand 'that any Chinese government is latently or overtly hostile towards British rule in Hong Kong, and that this hostility is particularly evident in the case of the Kuomintang'. He added, '[i]t is not irrelevant to remark here that the Kuomintang retains a party organisation of Communist design and uses pressure tactics learnt from its former Communist advisers'.[51]

In fact, Grantham maintained that 'the chief political enemy of Hong Kong' was still the KMT. He argued that:

> [t]he Kuomintang since the [British] reoccupation [of Hong Kong] has made constant efforts to interfere in internal affairs in the Colony and to extend its influence over the Chinese community, for whom it pretends

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[47] Grantham to Sidebotham, 7 September 1948, CO537/3719, TNA.
[48] Grantham to Creech Jones, 6 September 1948, CO537/3719, TNA.
[49] *Ibid.*
[50] *Ibid.*
[51] *Ibid.*

to speak. It has sought with considerable success to extend its control over education, labour, the Press and commercial organisations, and generally it has aimed at setting up an 'imperium in imperio' whose object is constantly to remind the Chinese residents, whether of Chinese or British nationality, that they are 'overseas Chinese' and that they should look to Nanking as their real government.[52]

However, Grantham argued that because other political parties were allowed to operate within the colony, it was 'neither possible nor desirable' for action against the KMT 'except where the laws and regulations of the Colony have clearly been infringed'. This justified, for Grantham, the Hong Kong government's policy of 'strict surveillance' and counter-action 'where possible'.[53]

This argument also justified the same policy being used against the CCP in Hong Kong. Grantham argued that because the activity of the local communists was mainly directed against China and not Hong Kong, this further justified non-action, except, again, when those actions were outside the law. However, Grantham admitted:

> the small number of genuine Communists, whose names and locations are known to, and their activities watched by, the Police, do of course present a potential threat to British administration in Hong Kong and, in conjunction with their confederates elsewhere, a much greater menace to the British Empire as a whole. The Communists, however, have done nothing in Hong Kong which on the basis of available evidence gives this Government an excuse to suppress them.[54]

Furthermore, suppressing the CCP would at the same time 'render the [KMT] uncontrollable'. Grantham continued:

> While it is my considered opinion that at the present time the Kuomintang is the more immediate, insidious and dangerous enemy of British rule in Hong Kong, I appreciate that the Communists represent a wider and more extensive threat to British interests as a whole in South East Asia.[55]

This lengthy argument highlights the significance of the Cold War in government thinking in Hong Kong and makes the government's subsequent actions all the more revealing. With the KMT considered to be the greater danger,

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[52] *Ibid*. See: Louis, *Ends of British Imperialism*, p. 358.
[53] *Ibid*.
[54] *Ibid*.
[55] *Ibid*.

both real and potential, it was telling that Grantham, as early as mid-1948, began tightening government control – especially over education, immigration, and trade unionism – explicitly in response to the rise of the CCP, not the KMT.

In fact, in January 1948, the Foreign Office agreed that 'firm measures' against anti-KMT dissidents should be implemented before 'we attempt to check activities of the Kuomintang in Hong Kong'. Within two months, the Foreign Office and the British Embassy at Nanking reconsidered this approach. While maintaining their position regarding the KMT, they also did not want to antagonize 'personalities or groups who may later on play a prominent part in the Government of China' by acting 'as a brake on complete Communist control'. Hong Kong legislation, therefore, was targeted solely against the CCP. This became a matter of urgency by mid-1948 as the KMT failed to consolidate its influence in Hong Kong, hampered by, among many things, the decentralization of the Chinese government and thus termination of governmental funding.[56] Without further British action in Hong Kong, the scales were tipping in the CCP's favour.

This made many in London nervous, prompting a short but pointed debate in Parliament on 24 November 1948. Fitzroy Maclean, a Conservative MP and the architect of Britain's favourable post-war relations with Tito in Yugoslavia, asked Creech Jones, 'what steps have been taken to prevent the use of Hong Kong by Chinese Communists as a safe base for their activities against the Chinese Government?' The secretary of state replied that the CCP was 'closely watched', adding that deportation proceedings were currently underway for that very reason. He then avoided answering a question on Chinese immigration and affirmed the policy of maintaining the right of asylum for Chinese liberals who entered legally.[57]

Finally, David Gammans, a Conservative MP, asked, 'In view of the fact that the Government were obviously caught napping over a similar situation in Malaya, can the right [honourable] Gentleman assure the House that they will not be caught napping in Hong Kong?' Creech Jones responded, 'I do not at all accept the insinuation that the Government were caught napping. [...] So far as Hong Kong is

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[56] Scarlett to Mayle, 23 January and 12 March 1948; Grantham to Creech Jones, 28 May 1948, CO537/3713, TNA.
[57] Commons, 24 November 1948, *Hansard*, 458, cols 1228-1229.

concerned, the problem is very much before us, and I do not wish to add to the difficulties by making a statement now'.[58] This debate proved problematic for the Colonial Office. As R.E. Radford, an assistant principal in the Hong Kong and Pacific Department, put it, with the possibility of a communist regime in China, 'it is not in our interest at this stage to advertise unnecessarily the measures which Hong Kong is in fact taking against Communists'.[59]

Perhaps such discreetness explains why the historiography has generally assumed British neutrality in the colony. Nevertheless, beginning in late 1948, in addition to deportations, police raids, and increasing surveillance, the Hong Kong government went on the attack in the cultural Cold War, enacting several laws explicitly aimed against the CCP's growing influence in the colony's immigration, trades union movement, education, and dissident political parties.[60] As a Colonial Office note put it in unashamedly self-contradicting terms, '[w]hile not abandoning the traditional policy of non-interference and neutrality in the political affairs of China', the Hong Kong government took 'a number of steps to curb the infiltration of the Chinese Communists into the Colony and to deal with the difficulties and dangers which might arise from their activities'.[61]

THE CCP AND IMMIGRATION

Perhaps the most direct way to influence the cultural make-up of a society is to dictate who is included and who is excluded from the population (i.e. immigration policy). Furthermore, for the protection of British imperial interests, especially given Hong Kong's historic geographic and demographic context, a small and stable population was necessary. Beginning in 1948, however, Hong Kong faced an immigration emergency. And while Hong Kong, with its approximately 400 square miles of land, was no stranger to population problems, the Cold War context in which this one occurred made it particularly challenging.

During the Japanese occupation, the Hong Kong population had dramatically decreased (because of both voluntary and forced emigration) to 550,000. By 1946,

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[58] *Ibid*., col. 1229.
[59] Radford, minute, 12 November 1948, CO537/3718, TNA.
[60] Loh, *Underground Front*, pp. 75, 80-81.
[61] Colonial Office, note, 'Recent changes in policy towards Chinese Communists in Hong Kong', 12 August 1949, CO537/4815, TNA.

with post-war reconstruction still incomplete, the Hong Kong population had risen to its pre-war level of 1,600,000. The subsequent turmoil in East and Southeast Asia, and especially in China, led to a refugee crisis.[62] By 1947, the population rose by another 200,000.[63]

According to MacDougall, the colonial secretary, the colony's problems of overcrowding, inadequacy of foodstuffs, crime, smuggling, currency speculation, and political malcontents, while commonplace, were made intolerable for British authorities by the potential threat of the CCP and its effective propaganda machine. MacDougall argued that 'the present immigration free-for-all makes nonsense of most long-term planning especially on the social welfare educational side, to say nothing of more material things like the water supply'. He compared the provision of social amenities in Hong Kong to conducting 'a course in adult education in St. Pancras Station'. This prompted some in the Colonial Office, like Norman L. Mayle, the head of the Eastern B Department (which was responsible for Hong Kong as well as Brunei, Sarawak, and North Borneo), to advocate at least the consideration of immigration control.[64]

Grantham, however, was firmly against it. The governor initially believed that the surge in immigration was temporary and that the population would decrease once the situation in China calmed down.[65] Much more importantly, however, Grantham considered immigration control to be economically disruptive, especially as Hong Kong consumed and produced less than three percent of its HK$300,000,000 monthly trade. He forwarded to the Colonial Office a memorandum which argued that '[t]o restrict movement is to restrict trade'. Grantham then put it in more dire terms:

> Immigration control, registration of the population, compulsory military
> service and many of the elementary security measures which are in
> force in most states today would, in all intents and purposes, kill our

[62] Chi-kwan Mark, 'The "Problem of People": British Colonials, Cold War Powers, and the Chinese Refugees in Hong Kong, 1949–62', *Modern Asian Studies*, 41/6 (2007), pp. 1146-1148.
[63] Lau Siu-kai, *Society and Politics in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong, 1993), p. 3.
[64] MacDougall to Mayle, 4 March 1948; Mayle, minute, 1 April 1948, CO129/604/5, TNA.
[65] Mark, 'The "Problem of People"', p. 1149.

trade, in order to make the defence of its corpse more effective.[66]

Protecting Hong Kong's trade was Grantham's bottom line, against which policy decisions were judged.

While agreeing that '[p]olicy must take account of the fact that Hong Kong was valuable to us mainly as a centre of trade', the Cabinet did not agree with Grantham's dire predictions.[67] As Sir William Slim, the chief of the imperial general staff, argued, Hong Kong's 'trade [was] dead in [1945]. But [it is] about as flourishing as any part of [British] trade'.[68] Thus London pushed Grantham to introduce stricter population control.

THE DEPORTATION OF ALIENS ORDINANCE AND THE SINO-HONG KONG BORDER

As the Far East further disintegrated and the '[p]otentialities of illegal Communist activities' grew as a 'constant source of anxiety', Grantham acquiesced to pressure from London to move, albeit cautiously, towards greater population control. In August 1948, Grantham put strict visa restrictions on Chinese travellers from Malaya and the East Indies, because both territories were experiencing communist-nationalist revolutions. His government also liaised with Malaya and Siam regarding the 'movements of known or suspected Communists'.[69]

On 27 October, as a 'precautionary' measure 'to curb activities by Communist or other political organizations likely to cause violence', Grantham amended the Deportation of Aliens Ordinance 'to make it easier to expel certain undesirables and disturbers of the peace'. The amendments cut the amount of required paperwork as well as the oversight process to reduce delay in deportation proceedings. The amendments also granted the courts the power to deport any offender who did not have one year's residency in the colony before committing a crime. Furthermore, the courts could recommend deportation in any case against an alien, and the burden of proof regarding residency rested on the alien. Finally, there was an

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[66] Grantham to Creech Jones, 3 May 1949 (no. 15) and annexed unsigned memorandum, 'Effect on trade of immigration control in Hong Kong', 26 April 1949, CO537/4999, TNA.
[67] Cabinet conclusions, 26 May 1949, CAB128/15/38.
[68] Cabinet minutes, 26 May 1949, CAB195/7/34.
[69] Grantham to Creech Jones, 6 August 1948 and 6 November 1948, CO537/3718, TNA.

appeals process but through the governor-in-council.[70]

One month later, Grantham informed Creech Jones that the Deportation of Aliens Ordinance had been invoked to expel five prominent communists.[71] Their crime was 'abusing the asylum of this Colony by activities directed against the established Government of China to the detriment of the relations existing between Hong Kong and China'. These were the first deportations since the end of the war.[72]

The five communists in question were found with documents which, according to D.W. Mackintosh, the commissioner of police, revealed active recruitment and fundraising on behalf of the CCP's People's Liberation Army as well as pro-CCP indoctrination at Tat Tak Institute (see below). Mackintosh warned that the CCP's influence could seriously disrupt Hong Kong's economy and over-stretch Hong Kong's security forces. He claimed that some of the CCP members in Hong Kong were basically 'trained to terrorism and banditry'. He also alleged that the CCP was awaiting for an excuse to attack the colonial government. The Hong Kong authorities decided therefore 'that several judicious deportations will restore a sensitivity to action by the Government of Hong Kong, which formerly obtained and is greatly to be desired'.[73] Aside from the new legislation and recent deportations, Grantham admitted that an outstanding difficulty his government faced was the freedom of entry and exit granted to Chinese people.[74]

Nevertheless, Grantham maintained an open border with China, despite pressure from London and the general apprehension caused by the People's Liberation Army edging into south China. Creech Jones warned Grantham that refugees from China might include:

> possible Communist agents as well as armed deserters, or even formed bodies of troops attempting to surrender to internment; that concurrently, or separately, [the] federation of trade unions might be inspired to declare partial or general strike affecting public utility

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[70] Grantham to Creech Jones, 6 November 1948; 'Deportation of Aliens Ordinance', 29 October 1948, *The Hong Kong Government Gazette*, annex of: Grantham to Creech Jones, 13 November 1948, CO537/3718, TNA; Hong Kong Legislative Council minutes, 19 October 1949, *Hong Kong Hansard*.
[71] Grantham to Creech Jones, 30 November 1948, CO537/3729, TNA.
[72] Grantham to Creech Jones, 21 December 1948, CO129/617/5, TNA.
[73] Mackintosh to MacDougall, 27 October 1948, CO129/617/5, TNA.
[74] Grantham to Creech Jones, 6 November 1948, CO537/3718, TNA.

services, accompanied possibly by disorder and sabotage.[75]

With the chiefs of staff unable to send military reinforcements from outside the Eastern theatre and, therefore, the finite number of troops to be balanced between the recently declared emergency in Malaya and Hong Kong, Hong Kong was limited to relying on its police force. Creech Jones pressed for the restoration of the Hong Kong Volunteer Defence Force and provisions for static guards and limited patrols. Furthermore, he suggested that the force concentrate 'primarily on recruitment and training of infantry element, even to [the] detriment of organisation of other components, stress of training being at present laid on internal security duties, such as guards, patrols, street fighting, etc.'. Because this would take at least six months, he also urged for the restoration of the garrison to full strength or more. Lastly, Creech Jones informed Grantham that Whitehall was preparing plans for the possible evacuation of Europeans, especially women and children, from the colony.[76]

Grantham responded by acknowledging that when the communist armies invaded south China, there was going to be three possible outcomes: the largely peaceful occupation with very few refugees; the 'Rape of Shanghai or other cities leading to large influx'; or the 'Communists deliberately driving into Hong Kong [a] large mass of urban refugees in order to create chaos inside the Colony'. Grantham conceded that if the second or third possibilities became reality, he would be forced to close the border, probably with military assistance, in order to protect the current population's food, water, and health resources.[77] In fact, as early as 5 February 1949, the Hong Kong government had plans in place to wire the Sino-Hong Kong border within four days of an imminent refugee threat.[78] Until a refugee crisis became imminent, however, Grantham stood firm against closing the border or limiting Chinese immigration from the mainland.

ANTI-CHIANG PARTIES AND THE PUBLIC ORDER ORDINANCE

The CCP certainly benefitted from the wave of anti-KMT sentiment in Hong Kong

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[75] Creech Jones to Grantham, 19 November 1948, CO537/2774, TNA.
[76] *Ibid.*; Paskin, minute, 20 November 1948, CO537/2774, TNA.
[77] Grantham to Creech Jones, 23 November 1948, CO537/3718, TNA.
[78] Grantham to Creech Jones, 5 February 1949, CO537/5025, TNA.

and southern China, especially among the handful of minority Chinese democratic parties. By the end of 1947, numerous prominent Chinese liberals escaped the ROC to take refuge in Hong Kong. Grantham noted in January 1948 that many of these liberals were 'inclined to make common cause with the Chinese Communists in their desire to change the present Government of China'. Indeed, some of these immigrants were leaders of the Chinese Democratic League, a small political party which had been proscribed by the KMT government in 1947. The league, led by its general secretary, Chan Po-chen, sought in January 1948 an alliance with the CCP in Hong Kong against Chiang. The editorials in the league's nominal newspaper, *Hwa Shiang Pao*, according to Grantham, followed 'the Communist line closely on most issues'. Later that year, Marshal Li Chai-sum (also known as Li Chi-sen), a former head of the KMT's provisional government in Kwangtung who had been expelled from the party in early 1947, established in Hong Kong the KMT Revolutionary Committee for the overthrow of Chiang and his government. Li similarly sought an alliance with the CCP.[79]

As the JIC(FE) put it in August 1948, 'Hong Kong is almost indispensable as a centre for maintaining contact between the C.C.P. and such anti-Chiang Kai-shek parties and groups'. A few months later, Hong Kong police discovered information about a so-called Democratic Allied Army. The British authorities suspected that this was the work of Marshal Li, and MacDougall was convinced that the army was not 'a serious threat to peace'. Instead, he speculated that it was an attempt by Li to enhance his value and bargaining strength with the CCP.[80]

Nevertheless, the Hong Kong government passed the Public Order Ordinance on 29 October 1948. This ordinance prohibited quasi-military organizations and allowed for the declaration of curfew, closure, or evacuation of particular areas, including watercraft.[81] This, along with the Deportation of Aliens Ordinance, were, as Grantham put it, 'precautionary measures [...] to curb activities by Communist or

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[79] Grantham to Creech Jones, 7 January 1948, CO537/2193, TNA; Loh, *Underground Front*, p. 70. For the expulsion of Li, see: Chan, *China, Britain and Hong Kong*, pp. 243-244.
[80] JIC(FE), (48)10(Final), 'The Value of Hong Kong to the Chinese Communist Party', 26 August 1948; MacDougall to the Chancery, British Embassy, Nanking, 2 November 1948, CO537/3718, TNA.
[81] Colonial Office, note, 'Recent changes in policy towards Chinese Communists in Hong Kong', 12 August 1949, CO537/4815, TNA.

other political organizations likely to cause violence'.[82]

The Public Order Ordinance was a controversial law because it contained certain provisions without precedent outside emergency legislation. Grantham made it clear to the Colonial Office that in dealing with communist activities, he did not want to depend on emergency powers usable only once an emergency broke out – an argument which would have resonated with colonial officials still dealing with the Malayan Emergency.[83]

Furthermore, according to Walter I.J. Wallace (who had served in the Burmese colonial service before his transfer to the Colonial Office in 1947 to be a principal in the newly formed Hong Kong and Pacific Department) and Kenneth Roberts-Wray (a legal advisor), the ordinance contained one provision which seemed 'extremely dangerous'. The ordinance permitted police officers to 'take such steps and use such force (including the use of firearms) as may be necessary for securing compliance with any order' made under the new powers regarding curfew, closed areas, evacuation, and prohibition of the movement of watercraft. This provision 'in effect put into the hands of the humblest Chinese constable the right to shoot (not in defence of person or [property]) but merely – for instance – if someone is obstinate about moving out of his home if ordered to evacuate'.[84]

However, John B. Sidebotham, the head of the Hong Kong and Pacific Department, was not 'at all squeamish about endorsing the firm line'. He argued that, in regards to banditry, 'the Police must clearly, on occasions, be able to shoot fast – and first – if useful lives are not to be sacrificed'. In the end, Creech Jones allowed these provisions to remain in the ordinance in order to avoid the interpretation of weakness and 'damaging public morale', with the stipulation that once Hong Kong was 'more settled', the matter would be reviewed.[85]

THE CCP AND YOUTH

One of the most important cultural battlegrounds in the Cold War was youth. By

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[82] Grantham to Creech Jones, 6 November 1948, CO537/3718, TNA.
[83] Radford, minute, 13 December 1948, CO129/616/4, TNA.
[84] Wallace, minute, 14 December 1948; Roberts-Wray, minute, 23 December 1948, CO129/616/4, TNA. 'Public Order Ordinance', 29 October 1948, *The Hong Kong Government Gazette*.
[85] Creech Jones to Grantham, 7 February 1948; Sidebotham, minute, 15 December 1948, CO129/616/4, TNA.

June 1948, '[t]he importance of influencing the young', one of Grantham's reports concluded, 'seems in Hong Kong as elsewhere, to be fully realized by the Communists'. As early as 1945, the Hong Kong authorities observed the establishment or infiltration of schools by communist agents or pro-communist teachers, especially in the New Territories and areas contiguous with mainland China. Communist influence in schools set up to educate the children of workers proved another area of concern. By 1948, government authorities had discovered 'by a stroke of luck' written confirmation from a unit commander from the East River Column that communist propaganda in schools was intended to recruit youth for the guerrilla forces in mainland China.[86]

The most notorious communist-controlled school was the Tat Tak Institute (also referred to as Dade College), located in the Castle Peak region of the western New Territories. In late 1946, the CCP collaborated with the Chinese Democratic League to establish the Tat Tak Institute as a training facility for recruits for the civil war. The teachers, which included many famous left-wing intellectuals, propagated 'a tremendous amount of political indoctrination'.[87] Furthermore, over half of its 250 students were citizens of Kwangtung Province in China, and over eighty were from other territories in Southeast Asia. While it was a successful training facility, it was in fact a poor recruitment tool in Hong Kong because, as a CCP study put it, the colony's youth suffered from 'Hong Kong head': 'an ideological syndrome which included arrogance, a selfish and city-orientated view, as well as a tendency to forget their Chinese identity and to despise their own culture'.[88]

Nevertheless, according to the Hong Kong Police Special Branch, once schools had been infiltrated or created, the CCP exercised control via teacher unions, specifically the New Territories Teachers' Association and the Hong Kong and Kowloon Teachers Welfare Association, which were monitored by police from the beginning. The latter union was even reportedly 'a secret C.C.P. directed Education

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[86] Colonial Secretariat to the Chancery, British Embassy, Nanking, 6 August 1948; Grantham, 'Report on Communist and Soviet Activities for the six months ending 30th June 1948', undated [pages missing], enclosed in: Grantham to Creech Jones, 13 August 1948, CO537/3718, TNA; Wong Ting-hong, *Hegemonies Compared: State Formation and Chinese School Politics in Postwar Singapore and Hong Kong* (London, 2002), p. 99.

[87] Wong, *Hegemonies Compared*, p. 99; Loh, *Underground Front*, p. 71.

[88] Tsang, *Democracy Shelved*, p. 85.

Committee' of sorts, which organized political propaganda and coordinated the CCP's agents 'disguised as teachers'.[89]

To influence students, the CCP created a number of educational and cultural organizations, such as reading and singing clubs (e.g. the Hung Hung Choir and the New Chinese Alphabetized Language Society).[90] As the Hong Kong Police Special Branch put it, these groups' titles were 'deliberate misnomers, since the members indulge in political discussions and studies as opposed to singing etc.'. When these groups did fulfil their titular roles, the songs and plays were anti-Chiang in nature. Special Branch was clear: 'Once a person becomes a member of one of these groups, he or she knowingly or unknowingly enters the fringes of the Communist movement'. Furthermore, the CCP published a number of student periodicals. These included the *New Children*, *H.K. Students' Weekly*, *Youth Knowledge*, and *Student Digest*. The Special Branch noted that these publications were designed and marketed as without political propaganda, which was 'in actual fact cleverly concealed', in order to obtain wider circulation and circumvent the law.[91]

In addition to local activities and societies both inside and outside of the classroom, the CCP also aimed to influence the youth of Hong Kong through the appeal of national and international organizations. By January 1948, the CCP established in Hong Kong the underground liaison office of the National Student Federation of China. From Hong Kong, according to the JIC(FE), the federation arranged travel, including the procurement of false passports, for its delegates to the Southeast Asia Youth Conference in Calcutta, where they supposedly 'played an important and extremist role'. On top of links with the communist-dominated WFDY and the IUS, the National Student Federation of China built up contacts in India, Burma, Siam, Malaya, and various European countries, with the supposed aim 'to lead the youth and student organisations of South East Asia in the fight against the

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[89] Hong Kong Police Special Branch, report, 'The Chinese Communist Party in Hong Kong', 30 June 1949, CO537/4816, TNA; Wong, *Hegemonies Compared*, p. 99.

[90] Wong, *Hegemonies Compared*, pp. 99, 121n83.

[91] Hong Kong Police Special Branch, report, 'The Chinese Communist Party in Hong Kong', 30 June 1949, CO537/4816, TNA; Grantham, 'Report on Communist and Soviet Activities for the six months ending 30th June 1948', undated [pages missing], enclosed in: Grantham to Creech Jones, 13 August 1948, CO537/3718, TNA.

colonial powers'.[92]

Grantham considered communist infiltration in schools to be a most significant 'danger'.[93] In fact, earlier that year, on 13 April 1948, four Chinese youths, between ages sixteen and seventeen, left their village in the New Territories and headed for a town called Sha Wan across the border in China. They were arrested en route by Chinese soldiers, interrogated, and accused of belonging to the 'Little Devils' Corps of the CCP's People's Liberation Army. On 15 April, the four children were executed by shooting under the Suppression of Communists Military Orders. The commanding officer at Shum Chun, Colonel Leung Kei, informed Hong Kong that he was troubled by the number of Hong Kong youths swelling the communist army's ranks.[94]

According to Grantham, many in the colony called for the Hong Kong government to take a stand against these illegal executions of British subjects. Grantham, however, argued that the 'strong presumption in this case that they may have been persons influenced by Communist propaganda makes it inadvisable to intervene'. He intended to avoid any accusation of the Hong Kong government 'giving encouragement to Communists'.[95]

Giving discouragement, however, was a different matter. In June 1948, the Hong Kong government began applying 'discreet official pressure' to schools harbouring communist agents, and six teachers were subsequently dismissed. Such tactics, however, were deemed to be too narrow. The government thus began contemplating proposals explicitly 'to counter Communist activities in New Territory schools'.[96]

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[92] Grantham, 'Report on Communist and Soviet Activities for the six months ending 30th June 1948', undated [pages missing], enclosed in: Grantham to Creech Jones, 13 August 1948; JIC(FE), (48)10(Final), 'The Value of Hong Kong to the Chinese Communist Party', 26 August 1948, CO537/3718, TNA; DSO, Hong Kong, 'Situation in Hong Kong during January 1948', CO537/2652, TNA.
[93] Grantham to Creech Jones, 30 November 1948, CO537/3729, TNA.
[94] Grantham to Creech Jones, 26 May 1948, CO537/3718, TNA. During the Second Sino-Japanese War as well as the civil war, children, called 'little devils', were often used as couriers, sentinels, and intelligence-gatherers by the communist forces. See: Chan, *East River Column*, p. 50; Loh, *Underground Front*, pp. 60-61.
[95] Grantham to Creech Jones, 26 May 1948, CO537/3718, TNA.
[96] Grantham, 'Report on Communist and Soviet Activities for the six months ending 30th June 1948', undated [pages missing], enclosed in: Grantham to Creech Jones, 13 August 1948, CO537/3718, TNA.

THE EDUCATION ORDINANCE

On 23 November 1948, Thomas R. Rowell, the Hong Kong director of education

(1946-1951), requested amendments to the Education Ordinance of 1913 to

empower him to reject or revoke teacher registrations. He explained to the Hong

Kong Executive Council that these powers were necessary to counter 'the spread of

communist influence in schools in Hong Kong', especially as 'these schools are

known to be recruiting for armed communist organizations in South China'.[97] The

legislation was quickly drafted, and on 30 November, Grantham sought Creech

Jones's 'urgent authority' to amend the ordinance 'to empower the Director [of

Education] in his absolute discretion to refuse to register any teacher or school and

to cancel the registration of any registered teacher or school'. While he realized

that such an amendment would grant the director extraordinary power, Grantham,

with the unanimous support of his Executive Council, was convinced that

communist actions in 'schools cannot be curbed by any less stringent measures'.[98]

The amendments were met the following day with approval from a Colonial

Office meeting of top officials and ministers, including Paskin (the assistant under-

secretary at the Colonial Office responsible for the Eastern A Department), Rees-

Williams (parliamentary under-secretary of state for the colonies), and Sir Thomas

Lloyd (the permanent under-secretary of state for the colonies). Approval was also

given by Sir Christopher Cox, an education advisor who was then seven years into

what would be a three-decade-long career at the centre of British colonial

education policy-making. Creech Jones thus sent his approval of the amendments to

Grantham on 7 December 1948.[99]

Less than ten days later, at an opening ceremony for a new middle school,

Grantham alerted the audience to the danger of:

> those, and to my mind they are the most evil, who wish to use schools
> as a means of propaganda and poison the minds of their young pupils

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[97] Anthony Sweeting, *A Phoenix Transformed: The Reconstruction of Education in Post-War Hong Kong* (Oxford 1993), p. 199.

[98] Grantham to Creech Jones, 30 November 1948, CO537/3729, TNA.

[99] Radford, minute, 3 December 1948; MacDowell, minute, 4 December 1948; and Lloyd, minute, 6 December 1948; Creech Jones to Grantham, 7 December 1948, CO537/3729, TNA. For Cox, see: Clive Whitehead, 'Sir Christopher Cox: An Imperial Patrician of a Different Kind', *Journal of Educational Administration and History*, 21/1 (1989).

with their particular political dogma or creed of the most undesirable kind. This we know is what happened in the schools of Fascist States and is now happening in Communist-dominated countries. This deforming and twisting of the youthful mind is most wicked and the Hong Kong Government will tolerate no political propaganda in schools.[100]

While careful not to overtly implicate the CCP, this was a rare public confession from Grantham of the truth behind British policy-making in Hong Kong, specifically about education. And the truth was not 'strict neutrality'; it was British policy-makers meeting the perceived communist-imperialist enemy on the cultural battlefields of the Cold War. The first casualty of the new Education Ordinance was the Tat Tak Institute in February 1949. Subsequent action was taken against certain schools for workers' children; Rowell revoked a number of teacher registrations and replaced these institutions with government-run schools.[101]

THE CCP AND LABOUR

Labour was another of the great cultural battlegrounds of the imperial Cold War. In August 1948, Grantham reported his concern regarding the CCP's growing influence in Hong Kong labour. According to a Hong Kong intelligence report, the some thirty left-wing unions with 32,803 members were numerically inferior to the eighty-seven KMT unions with 92,304 members. Nevertheless, the fact that the CCP's influence was greatest in the public utilities unions – particularly those of electricity, gas, tramways, and telephones – was of great concern, as a left-wing general strike 'could paralyse Hong Kong'. Not only could the KMT unions not match the power of its rivals, the DSO added that the KMT was 'not backed by a power which is in any way hostile to the continued existence of the British Empire'. Communist influence in labour had been previously identified as 'an immediate potential threat', but with its growing influence and the support (real or imagined) of the Soviet Union, the

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[100] *South China Morning Post*, 16 December 1948, cited in: Sweeting, *A Phoenix Transformed*, p. 199. Also cited in: Paul Morris, 'Education, Politics, and the State in Hong Kong', in: Marie Lall and Edward Vickers (eds), *Education as a Political Tool in Asia* (London, 2009), p. 90; Vicky Lee, *Being Eurasian: Memories Across Racial Divides* (Hong Kong, 2004), p. 84; Beatrice Leung and Chan Shun-hing, *Changing Church and State Relations in Hong Kong, 1950-2000* (Hong Kong, 2003), p. 25; Gregory P. Fairbrother, *Toward Critical Patriotism: Student Resistance to Political Education in Hong Kong and China* (Hong Kong, 2003), p. 7.

[101] Anthony Sweeting and Paul Morris, 'Educational Reform in Post-War Hong Kong: Planning and Crisis Intervention', *International Journal of Educational Development*, 13/3 (1993), pp. 208-209; Jonathan S. Grant, 'Cultural Formation', in: Lee Pui-tak (ed.), *Hong Kong Reintegrating with China: Political, Cultural and Social Dimensions* (Hong Kong, 2001), p. 162.

Hong Kong government now feared that it 'may at any time become an actual danger'.[102]

Adding to those fears was the CCP's successful penetration and domination of the Hong Kong Federation of Trade Unions (FTU), which was established in April 1948. Under communist control, the FTU's aims were to expand its influence over Hong Kong workers and then to mobilize their support for the CCP in China, while being careful not to transgress Hong Kong law.[103] The Police Special Branch reported that '[f]rom the word go the F.T.U. has done everything possible to increase its strength and prestige. It has interfered in labour disputes, provided material aid to strikers and has expanded its influence to such an extent that it now controls 38 unions and guilds'.[104] Chu King-man, a wartime member of the East River Column, was made the full-time secretary of the FTU and proceeded to intervene in small disputes 'which could quite easily have been settled without him'.[105]

In September 1948, the Hong Kong taxi drivers went on strike, which, while not communist-inspired, did present Chu and the FTU their first major labour dispute, one of the first since the war. After three months, the striking drivers were replaced, which, the government feared, gave the FTU, of which the Taxi Drivers' Union was a member, the occasion to 'stage a sympathetic strike which might be tantamount to a general strike, since so many of the essential services would be involved'. The taxi strike, however, ended in February 1949 with successful

[102] DSO, monthly report, no. 28, August 1948, CO537/2652; Grantham, 'Report on Communist and Soviet Activities for the six months ending 30th June 1948', undated [pages missing], enclosed in: Grantham to Creech Jones, 13 August 1948, CO537/3718; extract from Hong Kong intelligence report, 4 November 1948, CO537/3729, TNA; David A. Levin and Y.C. Jao, 'Introduction', in: Y.C. Jao, David A. Levin, Sek Hong Ng, and Elizabeth Sinn (eds), *Labour Movement in a Changing Society: The Experience of Hong Kong* (Hong Kong, 1988), p. 21. See also: England, *Industrial Relations*, pp. 111-112.
[103] Stephen Wing Kai Chiu and David A. Levin, 'Contestatory Unionism: Trade Unions in the Private Sector', in: Stephen Wing Kai Chiu and Tai Lok Lui (eds), *The Dynamics of Social Movement in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong, 2000), p. 94; Chan Man-lok, *Between Red and White: Chinese Communist and Nationalist Movements in Hong Kong, 1945-1958* (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Hong Kong, 2011), p. 66.
[104] Hong Kong Police Special Branch, report, 'The Chinese Communist Party in Hong Kong', 30 June 1949, CO537/4816, TNA.
[105] Grantham, 'Report on Communist and Soviet Activities for the six months ending 30th June 1948', undated [pages missing], enclosed in: Grantham to Creech Jones, 13 August 1948, CO537/3718, TNA.

negotiations, but the precedent was now set.[106] The Hong Kong government faced the threat of a general sympathy strike with every minor labour dispute, which certainly made the FTU very powerful and more popular.

The CCP's influence in Hong Kong labour received a further boost from decisions made at the CCP Central Committee's second plenary session in March 1949. Mao announced a change in general policy which shifted concentration 'from the peasant to the city worker'. By June, Hong Kong authorities found what they considered to be proof of this change when they obtained a CCP directive dated 20 May. The directive indicated a more dynamic and constructive campaign regarding labour in Hong Kong, including calls for wage increases and better working conditions. The directive also demanded that 'every responsible comrade in all levels of the Labour Movement Cadre' should 'keep industrial organisations rigidly under cover' and to 'use careful and shrewd ways for cajoling middle-of-the-road elements into joining us'. Grantham called it 'a sinister example of Communist technique'.[107]

The Hong Kong Police Special Branch warned in June that these factors and techniques, combined with CCP successes in China, further weakened the counterbalancing KMT unions: 'A few unions have already broken away and joined the F.T.U. and more will follow, until in due time the F.T.U. will control most of the unions in the Colony'. Less than two months after this report was written, the Chinese Seamen's Union, the keystone of the KMT's labour power, defected from the KMT-controlled Hong Kong and Kowloon Trades Union Council and joined the FTU. Aside from further strengthening the capacity of an FTU general strike, this defection reduced the KMT's labour influence to restaurant unions, leaving the CCP

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[106] Extract from Hong Kong to Creech Jones, 6 January 1949; extract from Grantham to Creech Jones, 4 February 1949, CO129/596/1, TNA.

[107] Grantham to Creech Jones, 22 June 1949 and annexed CCP directive, 'Principles of action for cadre of Hong Kong and Kowloon labour movement', 20 May 1949, translated on 13 June 1949, CO537/3721; Hong Kong Police Special Branch, report, 'The Chinese Communist Party in Hong Kong', 30 June 1949, CO537/4816, TNA. Kenneth G. Lieberthal, *Revolution & Tradition in Tientsin, 1949-1952* (Stanford, CA, 1980), p. 10. See also: Kuisong Yang, 'The Evolution of the Chinese Communist Party's Policy on the Bourgeoisie (1949-1952)', *Journal of Modern Chinese History*, 1/1 (2007).

without a rival in labour.[108]

THE ILLEGAL STRIKES AND LOCKOUTS ORDINANCE

Grantham feared these CCP-dominated unions 'may perhaps take advantage of the existing laws and stage a strike which, while ostensibly being purely economic, is in fact expression of solidarity with communist elements'.[109] The government's first step to curb politics in trade unionism was the Trade Unions and Trade Disputes Ordinance, which was enacted on 1 April 1948. On the surface, this ordinance required trade unions to register and generally followed British domestic law. There were, however, a few important differences. First, the ordinance required all trade unions to register or be dissolved. Second, it required trade union officers to be employed in the same field as the trade union they represented. Third, and most importantly, the ordinance only protected registered trade unions. And as the government registrar of trade unions determined whether or not to accept registration, and as the governor-in-council had the final say on appeals, the Hong Kong government now held significant power over organized labour.[110]

On 30 November 1948, however, Grantham informed Creech Jones that he no longer considered this ordinance to be adequate in dealing with the CCP's rising power in trade unionism. Furthermore, Grantham did not want:

> to rely on Emergency Regulations to combat this tendency, because I fear that it will manifest itself long before the general situation has reached a point at which it would be politically desirable to introduce Emergency Regulations. I realise that [the] Illegal Strikes and Lockout [*sic*] Ordinance is contrary to the expressed policy of the Government of the United Kingdom, but with great deference I submit that this ordinance is important in our local economy and that the exercise of powers given under the Ordinance, if wisely handled, will do a great deal to prevent the local population from being led astray by communist

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[108] Hong Kong Police Special Branch, report, 'The Chinese Communist Party in Hong Kong', 30 June 1949; 'Extract from T.S. despatch no. 24 from Hong Kong', 3 August 1949, CO537/4816, TNA; England, *Industrial Relations*, p. 111.

[109] Grantham to Creech Jones, 30 November 1948, CO537/3729, TNA.

[110] 'The Trade Unions and Trade Disputes Ordinance', 1 April 1948, *The Hong Kong Government Gazette*; Anthony Woodiwiss, *Globalisation, Human Rights and Labour Law in Pacific Asia* (Cambridge, 1998), p. 169; David A. Levin and Ng Sek-Hong, 'From an Industrial to a Post-Industrial Economy: Challenges for Human Resource Management in Hong Kong', in: Anil Verma, Thomas A. Kohan, and Russell D. Lansbury (eds), *Employment Relations in the Growing Asian Economies* (London, 1999), p. 153n1.

propaganda.[111]

Grantham thus recommended the re-introduction of the Illegal Strikes and Lockouts Ordinance of 1927, which had been repealed only a few months previously.[112] The ordinance banned foreign affiliations for unions as well as strikes which had political objectives, caused social hardship, and/or sought to coerce the government. The ordinance also forbade public employees from taking industrial action.[113]

Many in the Colonial Office had concerns. Edgar Parry, an assistant labour advisor, warned his colleagues of the precedent this might set, particularly in Malaya, which had 'no legislation prohibiting general strikes such as is asked for by Hong Kong'. Nevertheless, Parry considered Far Eastern unions to be 'a different kettle of fish' compared to those of the West, and thought the ordinance, although seemingly 'a retrograde step', was 'justified if it diminished the threat of communism in the Colony'. Others disagreed. Caryll Archibald Grossmith, an assistant secretary in charge of the Colonial Office's Social Services B Department, argued that the ordinance 'could only be defended here on the grounds of a threat by Communist Controlled Unions to coerce the Government by a general strike. There is no such threat yet'. Rees-Williams argued that deeming 'a strike "illegal" neither prevents it being started nor, of itself, implies that it will be concluded if already started'. He called for 'practical steps necessary in such an eventuality' such as the 'maintenance of public utilities, the guarding of them, [and] so on'.[114]

Sidebotham's argument, however, won out. He was of the opinion that:

> [t]he difficulty which I think we have got to guard against is that in Hong Kong chaos could be produced by a lightning combined strike of utility company labour at the instigation of Communist China, deliberately planned to cause the maximum amount of inconvenience and dislocation in Hong Kong as part of 'cold war'. It seems to me to be no use waiting for threats of these happenings if we are to deal with them at all, and Communist inspired strikes ought, in the case of Hong Kong,

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[111] Grantham to Creech Jones, 30 November 1948, CO537/3729, TNA.

[112] *Ibid*.; England, *Industrial Relations*, p. 114.

[113] Frederic C. Deyo, *Beneath the Miracle: Labor Subordination in the New Asian Industrialism* (London, 1989), p. 113.

[114] Parry, minute, 8 December 1948; Grossmith, minute, 8 December 1948; Rees-Williams, minute, 10 December 1948, CO537/3729, TNA.

to be made illegal.[115]

The Foreign Office agreed but expressed concern regarding the presentation of such action. First, the Foreign Office wanted China to be informed to avoid any negative reactions, as the ordinance would ostensibly be levied against KMT unions as well. Second, the Foreign Office was 'a little anxious' that the ordinance might 'give an opening for attacks on reactionary Colonial policy [...] and thus have a harmful effect on our world-wide anti-Communist information services'. Peter Scarlett, the head of the Foreign Office's Far Eastern Department (1947-1950), suggested that the governor should make 'it clear that these measures were introduced for the defence of democracy and not as an attack on it'. He also suggested that Grantham's statement should stress that the Hong Kong government attaches:

> the greatest importance to free and sound trade unions and to a healthy diversity in school teaching; but that these features of the free, democratic way of life are now under threat from totalitarianism which has recently much increased; and that certain discretionary powers are therefore necessary in order to prevent exploitation of these liberties by malicious and disruptive minorities at the instigation of foreign powers.[116]

On 23 December, Creech Jones, almost word-for-word, reiterated these concerns and suggestions to Grantham along with his approval to revive the Illegal Strikes and Lockouts Ordinance, which 'should be presented to the public not so much as anti-Communist but as designed to maintain essential public services and the wellbeing and prosperity of Hong Kong'.[117] To allay Whitehall concerns, a safeguard was added that the continuation of the ordinance would depend on an annual review by the Legislative Council. The ordinance was enacted in April 1949 – and remained on the statue books for twenty-six years.[118]

MAO'S COALITION GOVERNMENT

April 1949 also saw the enactment of yet another controversial law, the Societies Ordinance, as Grantham deemed the Public Order Ordinance inadequate in dealing

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[115] Sidebotham, minute, 9 December 1948, CO537/3729, TNA.
[116] Scarlett to Sidebotham, 16 December 1948, CO537/3729, TNA.
[117] Creech Jones to Grantham, 23 December 1948, CO537/3729, TNA.
[118] England, *Industrial Relations*, pp. 114-115.

with the CCP's control of anti-KMT political parties. This was largely prompted by the success of Mao's decision to form a multi-party government, which would include non-communist dissident groups. On May Day 1948, the New China (Hsin Hua) News Agency (NCNA) printed in Hong Kong two of twenty-three slogans released by the CCP Central Committee. The fifth slogan read:

> All democratic parties, people's public bodies and non-partisan leaders should call, in a joint effort and as early as possible, the convention of a political consultative conference which will discuss the means and way of holding a National Assembly of the people and of forming a democratic coalition government in China.[119]

The British DSO was more than sceptical: 'the Democratic League and the Revolutionary Committee of the K.M.T. who are neither "fellow-travellers" nor secret members of the Communist Party, would appear to be suffering from blindness to their true position'. He argued that if these groups were:

> ever invited to join a coalition government with the Communists it would be surprising if they were to have any more important function than to act as a piece of window dressing to impress the Western Democracies. They would probably be thrown overboard, at the earliest opportunity, together with other ruses such as the latest enticement to foreign and Chinese business in the Liberated Areas.[120]

Grantham agreed: 'It is clear that they intend to utilise them, but if they are brought into a Coalition they will have to enter on the C.C.P.'s terms, and they can have no policy of their own'.[121] C.B.B. Heathcote-Smith, the political advisor to the governor, on the other hand, feared more sinister motives: 'The departure of these persons does mean that should the Communists definitely go underground in Hong Kong, the deck is cleared for action, and the main figures are out of the way'.[122] As it turned out, these assessments, apart from Heathcote-Smith's, were rather accurate, and Mao had first indicated his intention to renege on his promises as

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[119] DSO, monthly report, no. 25, May 1948, CO537/2652, TNA; Li Hua-yu, 'The Political Stalinization of China: The Establishment of One-Party Constitutionalism, 1948-1954', *Journal of Cold War Studies*, 3/2 (2001), p. 35.

[120] DSO, monthly report, no. 23, March 1948, CO537/2652, TNA.

[121] Grantham to British Embassy, Nanking, 30 December 1948, CO537/4814, TNA.

[122] Heathcote-Smith to Creech Jones, 12 March 1949, CO537/4849, TNA. See: Tsang, *Governing Hong Kong*, p. 63.

early as the fall of 1948.[123]

At the time, however, the dissident parties 'realised that they are not in a strong position to press their claims for inclusion in a new regime if they are not in at the kill when the time comes'. Mao was thus able to announce that his call for a coalition received positive responses from groups in Hong Kong. This included Marshal Li Chai-sum, who was the most reluctant of Hong Kong's political refugees. Li left for north China on 27 December 1948. He sent a letter to Grantham, thanking him for the two years of refuge and informing him that he had left for north China for matters of state.[124]

SOCIETIES ORDINANCE

Given the success of the CCP in courting anti-KMT dissident parties, Grantham thus informed Creech Jones on 1 April 1949 that his government had drafted a bill essentially to re-introduce the 1911 Societies Ordinance, which required compulsory registration of all local organizations of ten or more people.[125] Combined with the Trade Unions and Trade Disputes Ordinance, the Societies Ordinance effectively outlawed all foreign politics and gave the governor sole discretion without an appeals process to determine if a society should be prohibited.[126] That said, both the CCP-controlled FTU and the KMT's Trades Union Congress simply registered as non-union 'friendly societies' and did not challenge these new ordinances.[127]

Nevertheless, Grantham was 'satisfied that there is ample justification for this legislation, apart from general world conditions resulting from the "cold war"'. He conceded that while he still considered the KMT to be the primary troublemaker,

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[123] Loh, *Underground Front*, pp. 70-71; Li, 'The Political Stalinization of China', p. 37.

[124] Hong Kong monthly political summary, no. 4, August 1948, CO537/3732; Heathcote-Smith to Creech Jones, 12 January 1948, CO537/4849, TNA; Li, 'The Political Stalinization of China', p. 36.

[125] Grantham to Creech Jones, 1 April 1949, CO537/4824, TNA; Lison Harris, Lily Ma, and C.B. Fung, 'A Connecting Door: The Proscription of Local Organizations', in: Fu Hualing, Carole J. Petersen, and Simon N.M. Young (eds), *National Security and Fundamental Freedoms: Hong Kong's Article 23 Under Scrutiny* (Hong Kong, 2005), p. 306.

[126] Grant, 'Cultural Formation', p. 177n5; Chow Kwok-keung and Ng Sek-hong, 'Trade Unions, Collective Bargaining and Associated Rights: The Case of Hong Kong', *Hong Kong Law Journal*, 22/3 (1992), p. 295.

[127] Sek Hong Ng and Olivia Ip, 'Hong Kong's Trade Unions as an Evolving Social Organization and Their Prospects for the Future', in: Khun Eng Kuah-pearce and Gilles Guiheux (eds), *Social Movements in China and Hong Kong: The Expansion of Protest Space* (Amsterdam, 2009), p. 207.

'[t]here is every indication that once the Chinese Communist Party is the Government Party in China, we shall have the same or worse trouble from them'. Grantham argued that the offices of Chinese political parties located within the colony were disruptive to peace and order, especially as the CCP proved successful in infiltrating them. The ordinance was aimed thus to prevent giving the CCP 'a base in the middle of the town, which would be a focus for disaffection and for creating trouble'. It would also remove those organizations which the CCP infiltrated and manipulated. Grantham explained that:

> [i]t will be emphasized that there is no discrimination, and that foreign political parties of all views are equally prohibited. The parties which will immediately be affected are the Kuomintang, the China Democratic League and the K.M.T. Revolutionary Committee. [...] The Chinese Communist Party have no open organisation, but they would be controlled indirectly.[128]

The Societies Ordinance also increased the authorities' power in controlling 'singing groups and dramatic societies which are known to be vehicles for Communist propaganda and penetration'. Grantham admitted that while 'the proposed legislation cannot be completely effective in preventing the spread of communism', the Societies Ordinance was 'an essential method of control'.[129]

After a month of debate in the Colonial Office, mostly over the bill's wording, Creech Jones sent his approval to Grantham on 20 May 1949, with the one stipulation that the ordinance should allow individual membership to foreign societies which had no connection to the colony.[130] Three days later, Creech Jones relayed Grantham's concerns almost verbatim to the Cabinet (not for permission but to inform his colleagues of 'measures against subversive activities' in the wider discussion on Hong Kong's defence). Creech Jones's memorandum outlined that the Societies Ordinance was 'essential [...] not only to forestall a demand for the establishment by the Chinese Communist Party of an office in Hong Kong, but also to control the infiltration, under respectable disguises, of Communists'.[131] The ordinance was enacted in Hong Kong on 27 May.

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[128] Grantham to Creech Jones, 8 April 1949, CO537/4835, TNA.
[129] Grantham to Creech Jones, 1 and 8 April 1949, CO537/4835, TNA.
[130] Creech Jones to Grantham, 20 May 1949, CO537/4835, TNA.
[131] Creech Jones, memorandum, 'Hong Kong', 23 May 1949, CAB129/35/10.

The Societies Ordinance received immediate condemnation in the pro-communist press in Hong Kong. In fact, an editorial published on 29 May in the pro-communist *Wen Wei Pao* on the unnecessary and 'undemocratic' ordinance marked the first overt interference of the left-wing press in Hong Kong's domestic politics.[132] Furthermore, a seized CCP directive allowed the Hong Kong authorities access to the party's views. It stated that:

> [t]he Societies Ordinance is of an anti-Communist, anti-people, anti-democracy and anti-freedom nature. It persecutes the people of Hong Kong and turns Hong Kong into a 'police state'. Furthermore, it is a sort of provocation to the people, of New China, and the entire people of China. It is a very unfriendly act.

The directive included the CCP's plan 'extensively and resolutely [to] make use of the open and legal tactics and exert our best efforts to struggle for registration' – with the forewarning that its 'anti-oppression struggles may be launched at any moment'.[133] These 'struggles' were never launched, and the Societies Ordinance, combined (more importantly) with the CCP's determination to maintain its overt activities within the limits of the law, 'forced them to continue working as an underground political party in Hong Kong [...] and this underground nature has continued till the present day'.[134]

THE CCP, THE PRESS, AND PROPAGANDA

In 1946, the East River Column's Liaison Office was reorganized into the CCP's South China News Agency in Hong Kong. With the failure in negotiations between the CCP and the KMT government in April 1947, the South China News Agency was replaced by a branch of the NCNA, which was centrally based out of the CCP headquarters in Yenan in north China. According to the JIC(FE), while the NCNA's main purpose was to ensure its CCP-approved reports of events in China received ample space in the international left-wing press, it also published anti-KMT and pro-CCP propaganda for local consumption in Hong Kong and South China. According to Grantham, its news items mostly expressed 'warm approval of Soviet policies as put into effect in

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[132] Extract from Grantham to Creech Jones, 14 June 1949, CO537/4835, TNA.
[133] CCP, report, 'An understanding of the nature of the Society Ordinance', translated on 14 June 1949, enclosed in: Heathcote-Smith to Creech Jones, 24 June 1949, CO537/4815, TNA.
[134] Loh, *Underground Front*, p. 76.

Communist China', thereby giving 'support to Soviet Russian policies generally'.[135]

In fact, that was only one-third of its remit, as the NCNA in Hong Kong was also the East River Column's administrative office as well as the home to an underground radio station of the (hitherto illusive) South China Bureau.[136] The NCNA also provided material for *Hwa Shiang Pao*, the nominal newspaper of the Chinese Democratic League, which published editorials containing the CCP line on such things as the Marshall Plan, American aid to China, the Council of Foreign Ministers, and the communist coup in Czechoslovakia. Ultimately, the communist and dissident press, according to the Hong Kong authorities, concentrated 'on anti-K.M.T. and anti-American matters', but there was 'practically no effort to disturb local conditions'.[137]

In March 1949, Creech Jones informed Grantham of his discussions with Bevin regarding a proposal to recommend increasing colonial governments' powers to suppress 'dangerous publications' outside emergency regulations. He cited the 'altered circumstances' caused by '"cold war" relationships' (perhaps implying Britain's compromising position between its alliance with the US and the increasingly powerful CCP army).[138]

For Grantham, this could not have come any sooner. Three days after receiving Creech Jones's dispatch, Chinese communist radio broadcasted a statement from Beijing signed by Marshal Li and twelve other non-communist dissidents, most of whom had spent some time in Hong Kong as political refugees. This statement accused the British of oppressing overseas Chinese in Hong Kong but mostly in Malaya and violating human rights, citing the closure of the Tat Tak Institute and the illegal search of private homes as evidence. Heathcote-Smith noted that it was 'interesting that [the CCP] chose to make this first attack through

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[135] Grantham to Creech Jones, 12 March 1948; JIC(FE), (48)10(Final), 'The Value of Hong Kong to the Chinese Communist Party', 26 August 1948, CO537/3718, TNA; Loh, *Underground Front*, p. 72.

[136] Loh, *Underground Front*, p. 72; Lu Yan, 'Limits to Propaganda: Hong Kong's Leftist Media in the Cold War and Beyond', in: Zheng Yangwen, Hong Liu, and Michael Szonyi (eds), *The Cold War in Asia: The Battle for Hearts and Minds* (Leiden, 2010), p. 102.

[137] Grantham to Creech Jones, 12 March 1948; Grantham, 'Report on Communist and Soviet Activities for the six months ending 30th June 1948', undated [pages missing], enclosed in: Grantham to Creech Jones, 13 August 1948, CO537/3718, TNA.

[138] Creech Jones to Grantham, 21 March 1949, CO537/5116, TNA.

the indirect channel of fellow travelling stooge "democrats", who should be grateful to Hong Kong for the asylum which they enjoyed'.[139]

After this first attack, Heathcote-Smith reported, 'there was a very marked increase in the intensity and violence of Communist propaganda' from within Hong Kong. The CCP had 'turned all their guns in common with Communist publicity organs throughout the world' in criticism of the formation of NATO for its alleged violation of the UN charter and its veil for American imperialism.[140] This criticism in early April was prompted by the USSR's UN delegation, led by Andrei Gromyko, the deputy foreign minister, who alleged in the UN General Assembly that NATO was part of 'the aggressive policy of the ruling circles in the United States and United Kingdom' aimed 'to enforce United States and United Kingdom domination over other countries and peoples'.[141]

This first press attack on the British in Hong Kong was followed soon after by the first military attack. On 20 April, a British frigate called HMS *Amethyst*, which was carrying supplies up the Yangtze River to the British embassy at Nanking, was fired upon by the People's Liberation Army. The ship ran aground, was rendered defenceless, and held captive by the communists.[142] Three rescue attempts were also fired upon and routed. 101 days passed before the *Amethyst* managed to escape in a daring night-time flight down the river. Thirty-two members of the crew, including the captain, as well as about 250 Chinese soldiers were killed in the ordeal. Diplomatically, the British government deemed the *Amethyst* incident to be 'non-political' and 'unpremeditated' and decided not to retaliate.[143] Publicly, while the British press hailed the escape as heroic, it was a humiliating incident for Britain and its Royal Navy.[144]

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[139] Heathcote-Smith to Creech Jones, 23 April 1949, CO537/4849, TNA; Tsang, *Democracy Shelved*, p. 135.

[140] Heathcote-Smith to Creech Jones, 23 April 1949, CO537/4849, TNA.

[141] Lawrence S. Kaplan, *NATO and the UN: A Peculiar Relationship* (Columbia, MO, 2010), pp. 17-18. See also: Vladimir O. Pechatnov and C. Earl Edmondson, 'The Russian Perspective' in: Ralph B. Levering, Vladimir O. Pechatnov, Verena Botzenhart-Viehe, and C. Earl Edmondson (eds), *Debating the Origins of the Cold War: American and Russian Perspectives* (Oxford, 2001), p. 143.

[142] Murfett, *Hostage on the Yangtze*, p. 52.

[143] Ritchie Ovendale, *The English-Speaking Alliance: Britain, the United States, and the Dominions in the Cold War 1945-51* (London, 1985), p. 191.

[144] Carroll, *A Concise History of Hong Kong*, p. 135; Tsang, *A Modern History of Hong Kong*, p. 155.

The communist press in Hong Kong, on the other hand, blamed the clash on Britain's alleged aid to the KMT as well as its attacks on communist military installations. One NCNA editorial, which was published on 25 April (while the *Amethyst* was pinned down) proclaimed that '[t]he British imperialists must understand that China is no longer the China of 1926' and that '[t]he aggressive military forces of Britain must be withdrawn from China'.[145] While these press attacks were grounds for proscription, Grantham urged restraint while the *Amethyst* was 'at the mercy of the Communists'.[146]

Nevertheless, Grantham began contemplating steps to curb communist agitation in the press. Specifically, he considered invoking the Societies Ordinance to close down the NCNA for its connections to a foreign political party. He even requested that Whitehall should close down the agency's branch in London. The latter request, however, was dismissed in the Colonial Office because the London branch was not a danger to the state. Regarding the former request, the Colonial Office was unsatisfied with Grantham's criterion for closing the NCNA, not for its subversive activities but because it might technically be defined as a society under the Societies Ordinance. Stevenson in Nanking furthermore warned that the CCP would respond with retaliatory measures, especially against Reuters in north China. In June, Grantham acquiesced and decided to take action against the NCNA under the existing Printers and Publishers Ordinance (1927) and the Sedition Ordinance (1938) 'should it overstep limits'.[147] It was not until 1952 that British authorities finally decided to take action, and they forced the agency to register under the Societies Ordinance.[148]

By late July 1949, however, Grantham reported that the CCP's attitude towards the British government in Hong Kong from both within and out had become 'more critical and more aggressive'. Radio broadcasts from Beijing denounced the British 'reign of terror' in Hong Kong, and the communist press

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[145] Edwin Martin, *Divided Counsel: The Anglo-American Response to Communist Victory in China* (Lexington, KY, 1986), p. 13.

[146] Grantham to Creech Jones, 26 April 1949, CO537/5116, TNA.

[147] Grantham to Creech Jones, 23 April, 21 May, and 22 June 1949; Wallace, minute, 1 June 1949; Creech Jones to Grantham, 11 June 1949; Stevenson to Foreign Office, 13 June 1949, CO537/5116, TNA.

[148] Tsang, 'Strategy for Survival', p. 303.

claimed the CCP was cataloguing the 'unfriendly' actions of the Hong Kong government. Thus far, this list included: the Lin Kun raid of December 1948; the closing of the Tat Tak Institute (most of its teaching staff were now in north China); the Societies Ordinance; and the raid on the home of Fang Fang, a former East River Column leader and, unbeknownst to British authorities, head of the South China Bureau.[149]

This last event prompted a strong reaction in the British House of Commons as well. William 'Willie' Gallacher, a communist MP and founding member of the Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB), challenged Creech Jones over the Fang Fang raid. Creech Jones replied that the raid was executed because the man was suspected of owning illicit weapons, which Gallacher then inferred was false pretence in a wider policy 'of deliberate provocations' in Hong Kong. Walter Fletcher, a Conservative MP, interrupted the back-and-forth and asked rather crudely, 'Did the police find anything wrong-wrong'? Gallacher was not impressed with such trivializing of civil liberties. Creech Jones ended the debate by adding that Fang Fang was 'not a native or a leading or active citizen of Hong Kong', implying that the civil liberties of a 'foreign' troublemaker was an easy sacrifice for greater security in Hong Kong.[150]

While the authorities crack-downed on communist propaganda, Grantham complained about British counter-propaganda efforts, arguing that current British material might appeal to the intelligentsia but did not appeal to ordinary citizens. Grantham contended that the latter group, 'the hundreds and thousands of workmen and labourers', were 'the raw material for Communism'. Instead, he suggested propaganda which demonstrated the negative impact communist rule had on the working class, compared to the favourable situation in British Hong Kong.[151]

J.H. 'Adam' Watson, the assistant director of the Foreign Office's IRD, who had spent the previous four years at the British embassy at Moscow and now worked largely on formulating anti-communist propaganda, suggested producing a report

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[149] Grantham to Creech Jones, 27 July 1949, CO537/4816, TNA; Loh, *Underground Front*, p. 70.
[150] Commons, 20 July 1949, *Hansard*, 467, cols 1363-1364.
[151] Grantham to Creech Jones, 18 May 1949, CO537/5132, TNA.

based on events in Eastern Europe 'of the sort of thing that happens to trades union movements and the interests of labour generally when the Communists gain control'. This idea was fulfilled by the Hong Kong Police Special Branch. Its report aimed to 'convince the reader that Hong Kong is riddled through and through with Communism' and that '[t]he situation is dangerous'. Despite recent legislation, the Special Branch argued that '[s]hould internal trouble arise, the few will lead the many, unless the former can be eradicated quickly and the latter provided with a more wholesome and attractive form of leadership'. Grantham warned Creech Jones that 'this Government may be forced to take further action against Communist activities', which would 'merely serve to feed the fire of Communist propaganda'. Grantham concluded, 'It is an unenviable and dangerous situation'.[152]

THE CCP AND THE NEW DEMOCRATIC YOUTH LEAGUE

In January 1949, CCP influence over youth took on new proportions, when it re-structured the Communist Youth League, which was formed in 1922 to train recruits into full party members, into the New Democratic Youth League. According to the Hong Kong Police Special Branch, the new league was the Chinese equivalent of the Soviets' Komsomol. Members were tasked with the political education of young workers, farmers, soldiers, employees, students, and intelligentsia. Youth between fourteen and twenty-five years of age were invited to fill in application forms, which required, in addition to biographical information (e.g. name, age, sex, education, and occupation), the names and occupations of the applicant's friends and relations as well as the applicant's 'opinion towards the national situation and the future of the Revolution'. If accepted, new members swore an oath of allegiance 'to struggle for a new Chinese Democratic Society, to serve the people, to struggle to the end of the liberation of China, and to be punished by the Regulations of the Corps, if I betray in mid course'. Children between seven and fourteen years of age could join

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[152] Watson to William Stanley Morgan (head of the information services branch, Information Department, 1947-1950), 30 May 1949, CO537/5132; Hong Kong Police Special Branch, report, 'The Chinese Communist Party in Hong Kong', 30 June 1949; Grantham to Creech Jones, 27 July 1949, CO537/4816, TNA. For Watson, see: Defty, *Britain, America and Anti-Communist Propaganda*, pp. 77, 162-164.

the Young Pioneers.[153]

The Hong Kong Police Special Branch concluded that 'the C.C.P. political strategists are determined to ensure that the present and future generations shall not only support communism, but shall do so from infancy'. The Hong Kong branch of the New Democratic Youth League was led by Chau Kong Ming, an ex-Tat Tak teacher, and had 3,700 members by April 1949. The Special Branch argued that because the league was 'attractive to young students', it was 'a most dangerous and effective agency for the infiltration of schools and labour unions'.[154]

By April 1949, the Hong Kong Police Special Branch reported that forty-three CCP-controlled or -dominated schools and eighty-two CCP-infiltrated schools operated in the colony. The Special Branch warned that 'there is no doubt that eventually, if allowed to continue, communism will spread to even the most conservative schools'.[155] Thus, between March and July 1949, Hong Kong authorities deported three leaders of the New Democratic Youth League: Kwok Kit was a singing master found guilty of 'inducing young persons to leave the Colony to join the Chinese Communist forces in China'; Leung Ka was a teacher and a 'Liaison Officer' between the CCP in Macao and Hong Kong 'engaged in obtaining arms for the Chinese Communists'; and Chow Kong Ming was a former teacher at the Tat Tak Institute and lecturer of Marxism and Leninism at the Wan Fong Institute who worked with the others to recruit for the youth league. According to Grantham, 'Communist infiltration into the Schools of the Colony is most dangerous and one of the most effective means of dealing with the danger is to remove the leaders of the organisation'.[156]

THE SPECIAL BUREAU, EDUCATION DEPARTMENT

In response to this increase in communist youth activity, the Hong Kong government took a rather innovative step by establishing in July 1949 the Special Bureau of the Education Department explicitly 'to provide urgently needed counter

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[153] Hong Kong Police Special Branch, report, 'The Chinese Communist Party in Hong Kong', 30 June 1949, CO537/4816, TNA. For translations of the application form and oath of the Chinese New Democratic Youth League, see: the report's appendices IIIB and IIIC, respectively.
[154] *Ibid.*
[155] *Ibid.*
[156] Grantham to Creech Jones, 10 August 1949, CO537/4816, TNA.

action against communist propaganda in schools'.[157] The aims of the bureau were: to examine communist education and propaganda tactics; to execute 'counter Communist activities in the shape of positive propaganda'; and, by cooperating with the Special Branch of the Hong Kong Police Department, to investigate 'dangerous political activities, whether by individual teachers or students in schools or educational societies'.[158]

The bureau's first report, written by its director, Douglas J.S. Crozier, made clear the difficulty under existing legislation of controlling undesirable schools. It noted that:

> our chances of success in fighting Communism in the schools lie, in the long run, on the vigour and efficiency with which positive educational aims are pursued rather than on negative forms of repression and control. The latter are necessary; but while they may avert a danger they cannot secure a permanent degree of safety. The best answer to Communism is something more dynamic, more appealing and better than Communism itself.[159]

The Special Bureau, in collaboration with the Hong Kong Public Relations Department, thus began publishing monthly bulletins as well as issuing radio addresses in Chinese on education in the colony, as the Hong Kong government's first 'move beyond an essentially negative role' in the cultural Cold War in Hong Kong.[160]

Such positive policies had in fact been the prerogative of other British anti-communist organizations in Hong Kong, specifically the British Council. The British Council, which was founded in 1934 to spread pro-British cultural propaganda in response to fascist and communist political propaganda in Europe, was successfully established in Hong Kong in 1948. It soon thereafter launched a library, met regularly with educators, produced radio programmes, held lectures on British

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[157] Grantham to Creech Jones, 25 July 1949, CO537/3721, TNA.
[158] Unsigned, appendix VIII, 'Education Department, Hong Kong. Special Bureau', in: unsigned, report, 'Second Conference of Directors and Deputy Directors of Education, held in the Department of Education, Fullerton Building, Singapore, on Monday and Tuesday, 4th and 5th September, 1950', undated, CO968/259, TNA.
[159] Crozier, report on the Hong Kong Special Bureau, Education Department, 31 August 1949, CO537/3721,TNA.
[160] Paul Morris and Anthony Sweeting, 'Education and Politics: The Case of Hong Kong from an Historical Perspective', *Oxford Review of Education*, 17/3 (1991), p. 256.

culture, and helped send Chinese students and civil servants to Britain for study and training.[161] As in Cyprus, British policy-makers were trying to present 'something better' than communism to the population.

While policy-makers supported the positive activities of the British Council, the Hong Kong government's answer to communist infiltration in education and other cultural battlefields, as in Cyprus, was largely negative legislation – which was more than the Colonial Office, Foreign Office, and MI5 could offer. On 10 August 1949, Grantham requested from the Colonial Office 'any literature' regarding:

> (a) Communist methods of infiltration, propaganda, and organisation in schools, school or youth associations, or teachers' associations;
> (b) Accounts of action taken elsewhere to counter the above;
> (c) Any related matters.

This request was met with a 'note on Communist penetration of education' prepared by MI5 which provided a short history in the broadest of terms. The Foreign Office provided a report called 'Training the Young for Stalin' and a message of 'regret that they have little material on exactly the aspect you require, since their studies are devoted to countries already under communist control'. Creech Jones suggested Grantham ask the governments of Malaya and Singapore.[162]

As with propaganda, labour, and immigration, Britain was indeed ill-equipped to counter the CCP's potent combination of constructive social policies, revolutionary ideology, and the idealism of youth, especially when the effectiveness of the government's preferred option of overt repression was limited by the fear of retribution from the CCP. Instead, the Hong Kong government (like that of Cyprus) was forced to formulate its own counter-policy. In the case of youth politics, this would come later in 1949 with the first of many annual conferences of the directors of education from Britain's Southeast Asian territories, at which Hong Kong led the search for an effective British counter-communist policy. However, this was an

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[161] Mark Hampton, 'Projecting Britishness to Hong Kong: The British Council and Hong Kong House, Nineteen-Fifties to Nineteen-Seventies', *Historical Research*, 85/230 (2012), pp. 693, 695; Philip M. Taylor, *The Projection of Britain: British Overseas Publicity and Propaganda, 1919-1939* (Cambridge, 1981), pp. 83-84.
[162] Grantham to Creech Jones, 10 August 1949; MI5, report, 'Communist penetration of education', 25 August 1949; Creech Jones to Sir John Fearns Nicoll (OAG, Hong Kong), 17 November 1949, CO537/4816, TNA.

exception to the general rule of the period, and Grantham (similar to the Cyprus governors) sought greater and greater legal powers.

<u>Chapter Seven</u>
<u>A Failed New Deal in Cyprus: From Constitution to Repression, 1946-1949</u>

In 1946, prompted by AKEL's rising popularity and what was believed to be the increasingly aggressive imperialism of the Soviet Union, British policy-makers reformed their colonial rule in Cyprus. As in Hong Kong, the British introduced a number of reforms to improve British colonialism's ideological and moral image against rival and seemingly more progressive imperialisms in the Cold War. In Cyprus, this 'new deal' was intended to undermine AKEL's domestic political platform and reinforce the government's assumed rural support. The new secretary of state for the colonies, Arthur Creech Jones, announced 'a more liberal and progressive regime' in Cyprus, including the invitation to form a consultative assembly to consider constitutional reform and the re-establishment of a central legislature.[1] The assembly, however, was a political disaster, as the Greek-Cypriot nationalists refused to join and the communist members drove the agenda into the non-starter of self-government. AKEL and the nationalists responded with increasing violence, while Akelists travelling behind the Iron Curtain and rumours, for example, of an imminent Cominform-supported uprising, greatly alarmed the governor and Whitehall.

While AKEL's political power had slightly waned by the 1949 municipal elections, positive reforms had failed to destroy AKEL, and Britain's re-branded colonialism failed to win support from the local population. Policy-makers thus shifted their strategy again, this time back to the repression of old-fashioned colonialism. By 1948, the Cyprus government returned to relying on intelligence to monitor communists' travel, repressive laws to restrict communists' cultural activities, and prosecutions to jail communists for sedition – not to mention the consideration given to Turnbull's (the colonial secretary) favourite solution: proscription. As in Hong Kong, policy-makers responsible for Cyprus readily identified the cultural battles of the imperial Cold War, but the return to and reliance on such repressive policies reflected the inherent weakness of British

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[1] Commons, 23 October 1946, *Hansard*, 427, cols 396-397W.

colonialism in fighting them.

THE 'NEW DEAL' FOR CYPRUS

According to the JIC in March 1946, 'short of a major war, to attain her immediate aims, Russia will no doubt give full weight to the fact that Great Britain and the United States are both war weary, faced with immense internal problems and rapidly demobilising their forces'.[2] Weeks later, Frank Roberts, the British *chargé d'affaires* in Moscow, sent several messages to the Foreign Office, outlining that 'Soviet security has become hard to distinguish from Soviet imperialism and it is becoming uncertain whether there is, in fact, any limit to Soviet expansion'.[3] For the Cyprus government, this translated to a warning that AKEL will increase agitation to deplete further British resources and exploit national and international anti-colonialism.

In London, Hall's (the secretary of state for the colonies) memorandum to the Cabinet in July outlined that, while *enosis* 'had for long been the main political cry in the Island', the relatively recent development of 'a rapid and dangerous spread of Communism' by a 'strong Communist Party' had transformed the situation in Cyprus. Hall warned that since the municipal elections, AKEL had 'emerged as the dominant force' and that it was busy 'conducting a campaign with growing vehemence, which has allied Communist doctrines with the demand for union with Greece'.[4]

On 8 July, the Cabinet discussed Hall's plans for 'a more liberal regime' in Cyprus, including a 'new constitution designed to give Cypriots an effective say in local affairs' as well as 'a large-scale scheme for the development of the island and the improvement of its social services'. Hall's proposals also included the 'firm statement' of Britain's intention to retain sovereignty, for which the Cyprus government had so longed. However, Philip Noel-Baker, the minister of state at the Foreign Office, informed the Cabinet that Bevin, who was at the Paris meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers, was adamant that such an announcement would

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[2] Peter Hennessy, *The Secret State: Whitehall and the Cold War* (London, 2002), p. 17.
[3] Ray Merrick, 'The Russian Committee of the British Foreign Office and the Cold War, 1946-47', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 20/3 (1985), p. 454.
[4] Hall, memorandum, 'Proposed New Policy for Cyprus', 5 July 1946, CAB129/11/10.

harm Greek Prime Minister Tsaldaris's domestic standing, Anglo-Greek relations, and Britain's position in Paris. It was decided to postpone any decisions on a statement until Hall and the Foreign Office could work out an agreeable formula.[5]

These negotiations proved rather contentious. Bevin wanted 'to let sleeping dogs lie', particularly in the chaotic context of the Balkans and Middle East. He wrote to Hall, 'You can imagine the play which the Russians and their Communist agents in Greece will be able to make', and threatened to fight Hall and the Colonial Office in the Cabinet. By September, they ultimately comprised; Hall forfeited a positive statement of continued British sovereignty, and Bevin agreed to a more neutral statement that 'no change is contemplated'.[6]

Nevertheless, the Cyprus government had already begun the process of reform. In March 1946, the Flags Law, which had banned the flying of all flags apart from the Union Jack, was repealed without replacement. According to Turnbull, this was considered by many Cypriots to be an earnest step towards the imminent revocation of the other so-called 'illiberal laws'. The next step came in October with a change in leadership. Lord Winster, a former Labour MP and a wartime minister of civil aviation, was named the governor-designate. The Cyprus government then released the remainder of the PSE leaders, who had been imprisoned earlier that year. Finally, the Cabinet agreed to Hall's proposals (except for the statement), and, after the Cabinet re-shuffle, Creech Jones, the new secretary of state, announced his predecessor's 'new deal' for Cyprus.[7]

This 'new deal' promised a re-structuring of Cypriot national politics and 'a more liberal and progressive regime'. First and foremost, Creech Jones instructed Woolley to create a representative consultative assembly to study the introduction of constitutional reforms and the restoration of a central legislature (which had been abolished in 1931). Second, Creech Jones introduced a ten-year economic development and social welfare programme (which pledged some £6 million towards 'every aspect of the island's life and economy – agriculture, and irrigation,

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[5] Cabinet conclusions, 8 July 1946, CAB128/6/4; Cabinet minutes, 8 July 1946, CAB195/4/52.
[6] Bevin to Hall, 17 September 1946, FO371/53761, quoted in: Louis, *The British Empire in the Middle East*, pp. 215-216.
[7] PSRs, March and October 1946, CO67/323/7, TNA; Bevin, memorandum, 'The Future of Cyprus', 10 February 1947, CAB129/17/6.

the forests, medical and education services, the expansion of the ports, the provision of tourist facilities and so on'), repealed the Church Laws (which had prevented the election of an archbishop since 1937), and granted the 1931 exiles permission to return to Cyprus.[8] However, as Creech Jones would argue four months later, without a firm statement of Britain's continued sovereignty over the colony, the 'new deal' was unlikely to discourage pro-*enosis* Cypriots or attract long-term private British businesses and investment.[9]

Holland has interpreted the 'new deal' as an example of the British Labour Party's 'liberal instinct in colonial and imperial policy'.[10] More importantly, however, these reforms also corresponded with AKEL's popular political platform as well as with a number of common and embarrassing criticisms found in communist anti-colonial propaganda. The 'new deal' was in fact British policy-makers' attempt to counter anti-colonialism and to meet their communist enemies on the cultural battlefields of the imperial Cold War.

The 'new deal' was received in Cyprus with mixed reactions. The appointment of Winster disappointed those who had hoped that Woolley was to be the last British governor. And despite Winster's appointment indicating Cyprus's increased importance to the British government (by the fact that Winster had been a Cabinet minister, although without a seat, and not just another colonial official transferred from an African colony, which the Colonial Office had a tendency of doing and the Cypriots generally resented), his experience with aviation was interpreted as an indication that Cyprus was going to be converted into a military base. This, combined with the economic and social development programme and constitutional reform, demonstrated for many the indefinite deferment of *enosis*.[11]

Within a week of his promotion, Creech Jones promised the British colonies a 'closer mutual co-operation' with the Colonial Office as well as 'bold imaginative energetic steps towards greater responsibilities for colonial peoples'. The general attitude of the Cypriots, according to Turnbull, was that 'while the many nice

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[8] Commons, 23 October 1946, *Hansard*, 427, cols 396-397W; Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, p. 484.
[9] Creech Jones, memorandum, 'The Future of Cyprus', 10 February 1947, CAB129/17/5.
[10] Holland, *Britain and the Revolt in Cyprus*, p. 14.
[11] PSR, October 1946, CO67/323/7, TNA; Holland, *Britain and the Revolt in Cyprus*, p. 14.

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phrases regarding the future welfare and administration of the colonies might echo favourably among coloured people, they aroused no interest among Cypriots whose unalterable national creed and demand was enosis'. Turnbull claimed that while the release of the PSE leaders was considered by AKEL to be 'a triumph for their persistent pressure and evidence of their strength', the nationalists 'were incensed at "the encouragement given to criminals and anarchists" and viewed the matter as weakness on the part of the Government'. Furthermore, the reversal of the Church Laws and the right of return for the 1931 exiles 'caused general satisfaction, although the measures have been characterised as belated'. Lastly, the Ethnarchy Council's response to the 'clumsy lure' of the consultative assembly was 'a categoric and stentorian "No"'.[12]

Moreover, according to Turnbull, even the rural population, that alleged bedrock of pro-British support, disapproved of the changes. They supposedly believed that the liberalization of British colonial rule would allow for a revival of 'the bad old days prior to 1931' and wanted 'no more than a continuation of the present regime with more money spent on roads, irrigation and water supply'. The only support came from the villagers ('three-quarters of the population'), who allegedly considered the policies with great interest.[13] Nevertheless, the British attempt to entice moderates from either side of Greek-Cypriot politics failed.

NATIONALIST-COMMUNIST COOPERATION

In an unusual act of unity, AKEL and the Greek-Cypriot nationalists sent a joint deputation to Athens and London in December 1946 to promote their demand for *enosis*. In Athens, the deputation received a 'cool reception', given that, since the restoration of King George II in September, the Greek government had been preoccupied by white terror and impending economic ruin. In London, the deputation was snubbed by both the British government and press. Despite the 'bewilderment' this caused, the Cypriots found hope in the absence of a definitive answer.[14]

This changed on 11 December, when Creech Jones first publicly utilized the

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[12] PSR, October 1946, CO67/323/7, TNA.
[13] *Ibid*.
[14] PSR, December 1946, CO67/323/7, TNA; Sfikas, *The British Labour Government*, pp. 272-274.

formula to which Bevin had acquiesced some months previously. When asked in the House of Commons whether Britain would comply with the Greek-Cypriot demand for *enosis*, Creech Jones's reply was just five words long: 'No such change is contemplated'.[15]

Undeterred, the delegation finally procured an interview with Creech Jones some two months later. On 7 February 1947, the delegation 'stated that they had a mandate from the "Greek people" of Cyprus [...] whose desire was to be united with Greece' in terms of 'self-determination and liberty'. The delegation emphasized the lack of interest in a constitution or 'anything else'. Creech Jones restated his declarations from the House of Commons, that 'no change in the status of Cyprus was contemplated by His Majesty's Government'.[16] (When asked about this meeting in the House of Commons in April, Creech Jones repeated the line: 'no change in the status of Cyprus is contemplated'.[17])

The delegation, dissatisfied with this response, requested an audience with Attlee, which was denied. The Ethnarchy Council therefore instructed them to return to Cyprus. Their departure was preceded, however, by 'a bombshell': the Greek government, increasingly freer to assert its own interests over those of the British, announced on 28 February its plan to discuss *enosis* with Britain. AKEL 'was genuinely pleased, anticipating a Communist Government in Greece' and immediately announced its intention to cooperate with the Cyprus government's consultative assembly.[18]

WINSTER'S ARRIVAL

In the midst of these political manoeuvres, Winster arrived in the colony on 17 March with 'good intentions but with no experience in colonial and, more particularly, Cypriot affairs'.[19] He soon formed an old-fashioned imperialist opinion of the Cypriots as 'children', who were 'somewhat deficient in martial and moral courage' with 'a child-like unreasoning spirit of revenge'. He had little patience for the Greek-Cypriot right, whom, in Winster's assessment, wanted neither a

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[15] Commons, 11 December 1946, *Hansard*, 431, col. 235W.
[16] 'Note of a Meeting', 7 February 1947, CO67/352/1, TNA.
[17] Commons, 23 April 1947, *Hansard*, 436, col. 1013.
[18] PSR, January-February 1947, CO67/341/7, TNA; Stefanidis, *Isle of Discord*, pp. 7-8.
[19] Stefanidis, *Isle of Discord*, p. 4.

constitution (which it boycotted in fear communist domination) nor *enosis* (which it clamoured for only 'to deprive the Left of a cry against them'). Winster wrote that he thus was:

> trying to educate my advisers [...] out of worrying too much about the local politicians. One might as well expect veracity [and] straightforwardness from them as to get eggs [and] bacon well cooked in Paris. It is useless to worry about what is at the back of the Levantine mind. Probably there is nothing there. If there is anything, you will not be able to discover it [and] in any case it will be different by the next day.

Winster concluded that '[w]hat matters is to make quite clear what is at the back of your own mind'.[20]

Winster also found serious faults with his colonial bureaucracy, particularly with Turnbull, whom the governor requested the Colonial Office to transfer from Cyprus. Winster wrote that Turnbull, while having 'qualities above the average of the colonial service', made serious policy miscalculations and was 'a chain-smoker, a victim or chronic insomnia [and] completely unable to sit or standstill'. The feeling was mutual; Lloyd relayed to Creech Jones that Turnbull found Winster to be difficult, as the latter was not 'particularly interested in the problems of Cyprus, had said he did not propose to entertain much and had no wish to be entertained, and wanted Mr. Turnbull to manage all but the more important business, referring to him only exceptionally'.[21]

This owed partly to Winster's simple strategy: 'a clear veto on Enosis unaccompanied by one harsh or provocative word or action and the pursuance of an enlightened and liberal policy in all internal affairs'. By July, Winster boasted to Creech Jones that he had resisted calls 'to take very drastic action' against the Greek-Cypriot nationalists from the colonial secretary, the attorney general, the commissioner of police, a number of district commissioners, and 'all the members of the Executive Council'.[22]

However, Winster soon believed that his hands-off approach was being

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[20] Winster to Creech Jones, 19 July and 3 October 1947, box 57, file 2, ACJ papers.
[21] Winster to Creech Jones, 24 September 1947; Lloyd, minute, 2 June 1948, box 57, file 2, ACJ papers.
[22] Winster to Creech Jones, 22 July 1947, box 57, file 2, ACJ papers.

undermined by AKEL. Winster wrote:

> The difficulty of pursuing this line of action is the subversive propaganda carried on by the Communists [...] who endeavour to thwart and misrepresent every progressive step taken by Government, and who are inspired not by love of Cyprus but by a desire to see Cyprus and Greece under Russian domination.

While he was 'all for infinite patience', Winster warned that 'events may reach a pitch where we must either speak much more strongly than we have heretofore or acquiesce in letting the situation rot and disintegrate'.[23] Thus as early as July 1947, Winster was already considering the possibility of taking stronger measures, in contradiction to his progressive approach, in order to protect the reform project from the perceived communist menace.

ARCHIEPISCOPAL ELECTIONS

In March 1947, just as Winster arrived in the colony to assume the governorship, the Greek-Cypriot Orthodox Church held an archiepiscopal election. AKEL was first to publicize its support for Leontios Leontiou, the bishop of Paphos and the *locum tenens* (acting archbishop). Bishop Leontios was 'a great firebrand' of right-wing, pro-*enosis* politics; AKEL selected Leontios because he was the favourite to win.[24]

Winster recognized that AKEL's decision to campaign for Leontios was a part of the Soviet Union's cultural Cold War against the British Empire; he informed the Colonial Office that he believed that AKEL was 'the tool of Soviet Russia' and was thereby being utilized 'to get domination over the Orthodox Church as a means of extending Russian territorial domination'.[25] Leontios came to a similar conclusion and declined the candidacy repeatedly, lodging 'a most solemn declaration to this effect' with the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Greece.[26]

Nonetheless, AKEL continued to campaign for Leontios. It claimed that Leontios's refusal to run was a deceptive ploy orchestrated by the nationalists in collaboration with the British – as was the nationalists' candidate, Porphyrios. In May, Leontios was elected and, in June, enthroned as archbishop.[27] 'In a sense',

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[23] *Ibid*.

[24] PSR, March 1947, CO67/341/7, TNA; Yiangou, *Cyprus in World War II*, pp. 14-15.

[25] Winster to Creech Jones, 14 July 1947, CO537/2477, TNA.

[26] PSRs, April and May 1947, CO67/341/7, TNA.

[27] *Ibid*.; PSR, June 1947, CO67/341/7, TNA.

minuted Charles Y. Carstairs, the head of the Colonial Office's Research Department, 'the worst has happened'.[28]

To counter AKEL's constant pressure to restructure the Ethnarchy Council with increased representation for left-wing Cypriots, Leontios finally decided to realign himself. In June, as two clear messages to AKEL, he held a church service to celebrate the birthday of Paul, the newly crowned king of Greece and enemy of the KKE, and refused an invitation from the patriarch of Moscow.[29] Leontios was on the nationalists' side and was now, according to Barton (a principal in the Colonial Office's Mediterranean Department), 'near, if not actually, seditious'.[30]

His sedition, however, was not what concerned British authorities. In fact, he had been prosecuted for sedition several times in the 1930s. Instead, what alarmed the Cyprus government was the appearance of Soviet officials in Cyprus. The Cyprus government's political report for June noted with intense suspicion that:

> the first occasion on which Russian officials found it necessary to visit
> Cyprus coincided with (a) the Russian drive to use the Orthodox church
> as a means of infiltration, (b) the election of the Archbishop of Cyprus,
> and (c) a volte face by the chairman of the Synod which was decisive in
> the election as Archbishop of the only leading ecclesiastic on friendly
> terms with the AKEL party.[31]

Indeed, as early as 1945, the Soviet Union began supporting the Moscow patriarchate to expand its influence (and thereby the Soviet Union's influence) in the Eastern Orthodox Church as part of the cultural Cold War.[32] Furthermore, the JIC published a report in late 1946 which warned that 'officials of Soviet Missions have made considerable use of Communist Party members for espionage and subversive political activities'.[33] The Cyprus government was nervous: had Russia honed its subversive attention to the Mediterranean colony?

Despite the set-back caused by Leontios's political reversal, AKEL turned its attention to the consultative assembly, to which Winster formally invited the major

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[28] Carstairs, minute, 21 June 1947, CO67/337/4, TNA.

[29] PSR, June 1947, CO67/341/7, TNA.

[30] Barton, minute, 14 July 1947, CO67/337/4, TNA.

[31] PSR, June 1947, CO67/341/7, TNA.

[32] Nesim Şeker, 'The Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Constantinople in the Midst of Politics: The Cold War, the Cyprus Question, and the Patriarchate, 1949-1959', *Journal of Church and State*, 55/2 (2013), pp. 4-5.

[33] Hennessy, *The Secret State*, p. 21.

political parties on 9 July. AKEL accepted; the nationalists, with Leontios at the helm, declined. According to Turnbull, the nationalists feared a communist-dominated legislature and so decided to undermine its popular support.[34] The PEK and the right-wing trade unions also refused to send any delegates to 'an Assembly which entails the perpetuation of the enslavement of the people of Cyprus'.[35]

In a private message to Creech Jones on 14 July, Winster lamented the 'chronic instability' of Cyprus caused by 'childlike soi-disant politicians'. He (somehow) estimated that '95% of the population secretly endorse' the consultative assembly but 'will never come out into the open so long as the so-called political leaders remain with the Ethnarchy Council'. Furthermore, Winster complained that:

> AKEL and the Communists cry Enosis, while the Greek Government is arresting 2,500 Communists and throwing them into a concentration camp. The Archbishop joins hands with the Communists and cries Enosis, although a first Communist principle is that religion is opium. Businessmen cry Enosis, while knowing that Greek rule would bring ruin to the Island. [...] I regret that so far no men of weight and substance who know and admit in private the havoc that Enosis would bring in its train, have had the courage to come out in public on our side. This is symptomatic of their innate political cowardice, but I am afraid it is in the nature of the Cypriot, high or low, rich or poor, to seek to evade responsibility.

Despite these frustrations, and even if the consultative assembly failed, Winster insisted, 'we must not [...] in any way vary the Development Plan', while also 'affirming unequivocally that Enosis is out'.[36]

Because their implantation did not depend on Cypriot participation, a firm position against *enosis* and the execution of socio-economic development would still go a considerable way, in policy-makers' minds, in bolstering the silent Cypriot majority's supposed pro-British support, undermining AKEL's political strength, and countering Soviet-led anti-colonialism.

Twelve days later, Leontios, after 'aggressively and offensively calling upon Greek Cypriots to refuse participation', died. AKEL turned immediately to the

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[34] PSR, July 1947, CO67/341/7, TNA.
[35] Winster to Creech Jones, 14 July 1947, CO537/2477, TNA.
[36] *Ibid.*

question of succession. Without a viable left-wing contender and at the behest of Ioannis Clerides, the mayor of Nicosia and a popular non-communist moderate in Servas's National Unity Party, AKEL began campaigning on behalf of Bishop Derkon as the most likely successor. The nationalists selected 'the aged' Makarios II, the bishop of Kyrenia, who had been exiled from Cyprus for his part in the 1931 disturbances, because 'no other candidate of their anti-communist persuasion – apart from Derkon – with a chance of success' existed.[37]

Twice in six months, the archiepiscopal election was 'a straight trial of strength between the Communists and the anti-Communists'. However, Bishop Makarios II's popularity had, by November, persuaded AKEL that the election was a lost cause, and the party abandoned their efforts. Furthermore, the bishop had gone on the offensive. In December, he told a Reuters's correspondent 'that his chief concern after becoming Archbishop would be the eradication of Communism from Cyprus and that he would excommunicate avowed Communists'.[38] The bishop was enthroned in December 1947 as Archbishop Makarios II.

This marked AKEL's first major electoral defeat as well as Clerides's waning influence over the extremists in the National Unity Party. Turnbull added, perhaps with a hint of satisfaction, that 'Mr. Clerides is now frequently seen under the influence of drink'. Turnbull concluded, 'The straight issue of communism versus anti-communism now dominates all political activities in Cyprus'.[39] It certainly dominated British colonial rule.

THE CONSULTATIVE ASSEMBLY

By September, Winster received the invitees' replies regarding the consultative assembly. The acceptance list included seven Turkish-Cypriots, one Maronite, and ten Greek-Cypriots with varying connections to AKEL. The Greek-Cypriots included communist mayors Servas (Limassol), Clerides (Nicosia), Lyso Santamas (Larnaca), and Adamos Adamantos (Famagusta) as well as Ziartides and Fantis, the general and assistant secretaries of PSE. The governor considered abandoning the assembly but felt forced to continue. Withdrawing now, he wrote, would have evoked 'the

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[37] PSRs, July and August 1947, CO67/341/7, TNA.
[38] PSRs, September, November, and December 1947, CO67/341/7, TNA.
[39] PSR, October 1947, CO67/341/7, TNA.

charge of bad faith, whereas no responsibility could [be] attach[ed] to the Government if the Assembly broke down of its own accord', which he believed to be the most probable outcome. Sir Edward Jackson, the chief justice of Cyprus (1943-1951) and presiding president of the consultative assembly, who had been involved in the establishment of the Ceylon and Malta constitutions in the 1930s, concurred that it 'might result in something near a fiasco'.[40]

Indeed, difficulties plagued the assembly from its beginning. The first and fundamental problem was that the leftists demanded that the assembly be authorized to contemplate self-government. Jackson refused. On 18 November, the assembly adjourned *sine die*, and Ioannou (AKEL's general secretary), Clerides, and Servas departed for London with a proposition for internal self-government (leaving defence and foreign policy to Britain). Winster, 'with considerable anxiety', wrote at least two telegrams, imploring Creech Jones to refuse meeting the delegation on the grounds that such a meeting would alienate the Turkish-Cypriots and moderate Greek-Cypriots. More importantly, Winster wrote, 'Servas and Santamas [*sic*] must not be allowed to gain kudos out of their journey or be able to create the impression that they can go behind the backs of Jackson and myself'. Creech Jones, while refusing at first, soon acquiesced to pressure from his socialist back-bench for an informal meeting. The Akelists returned to Cyprus weeks later, claiming they had successfully negotiated an improved constitutional offer.[41]

The constitution question was further confused when, as Winster untactfully put it, 'that moron Tsaldaris [...] shot off his mouth again about Enosis, reaffirming the interest of Greece in the matter'. Meanwhile, Cyprus's 'adverse balance of trade' (importing five times more than it exported) faced further disruption by the communist-led 'obstinate and protracted' strike at the copper mines (which began on 13 January). Winster complained that:

the Communists are fomenting the trouble as a matter of Communist

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[40] Winster to Creech Jones, 9 and 24 September 1947; Lloyd, minute, 29 September 1947, CO537/2477, TNA; 'List of Members of the Consultative Assembly', *The Cypriot*, 2 November 1947, box 7, file 3, ACJ papers; Leventis, *Cyprus*, p. 194n20; Holland and Markides, *The British and the Hellenes*, p. 219.

[41] PSR, November 1947, CO67/341/7, TNA; Mediterranean Department, 'Note on Cyprus', 26 June 1950, CO537/6228, TNA; Winster to Creech Jones, 14 January 1948, box 57, file 2, ACJ papers; Crawshaw, *The Cyprus Revolt*, p. 37.

general tactics of making life one long sad song for Government. I am at a loss to know what to do about the Communists. They are very active and undoubtedly are making headway, but Government disposes of no means whatever for countering their propaganda. The two organized forces here which hate the Communists are Government and the Greek Orthodox Church, but we are not on speaking terms because of Enosis.[42]

In April 1948, Winster left for London to discuss Jackson's draft constitution; however, the Labour Cabinet, weakened by political attacks from the Conservatives and especially by the rebellion in Palestine, rejected the offer.[43] In its stead, the Cabinet approved a constitution which fell significantly short of internal self-government, basically granting 'an elected Legislature with powers to debate and legislate on the affairs of the Island within the limits set by our [Britain's] strategic interests; [and] an Executive Council responsible to the Governor and not to the Legislature'.[44] While the offer provided for a legislature based on proportional representation of the Greek- and Turkish-Cypriots, the proposed constitution retained the British governor as the executive and granted him the power to introduce legislation without the legislature's approval. Furthermore, the British retained control over defence, foreign policy, and the protection of minority rights.[45]

The limited nature of the constitution had broad support in the Cabinet. Bevin argued that until Palestine, Cyrenaica, and Britain's general position in the eastern Mediterranean were stabilized, the British could not cede any further power to the Cypriots. Listowel stated that these proposals were the minimum that the consultative assembly would accept as well as the maximum that the Cypriot leaders were capable of handling. Attlee noted that the Colonial Affairs Committee, while not liking '[half-]way houses' because they tended 'to be lessons in irresponsibility', was satisfied that the Cypriots were 'not experienced enough to shoulder more responsibility that this'. Attlee added that the proposed constitution

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[42] Winster to Creech Jones, 23 February 1948, box 57, file 2, ACJ papers.
[43] Holland, *Britain and the Revolt in Cyprus*, pp. 15-16.
[44] Cabinet conclusions, 29 April 1948, CAB128/12/30.
[45] Stefanidis, *Isle of Discord*, p. 5; Crawshaw, *The Cyprus Revolt*, p. 38. See: Listowel, memorandum, 'Constitutional Reform in Cyprus', 26 April 1948', CAB129/26/22.

'[would] divert their attention from Greece'.[46]

In Cyprus, the left-wing members refused it outright and quit the consultative assembly. Winster thus officially dissolved the assembly on 12 August because it was not 'sufficiently representative to warrant going forward'.[47] Winster decreed that the constitution offered would be available when 'responsible and fully representative political leaders in Cyprus come forward and ask'.[48]

The Cyprus government and AKEL then endeavoured to salvage their respective reputations from the aborted cooperation. The failure of the consultative assembly propelled AKEL into a state of significant confusion, dividing its leadership between those who believed that participation in the assembly and the self-government platform was a mistake and those who wanted to maintain the course. The former group, which included Ziartides, blamed the mistake on their misunderstanding of 'Anglo-American imperialism' as well as erroneous advice from the Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB). The leadership decided to seek further advice and sent Ioannou and Ziartides to Europe to meet with representatives of the communist parties of France, Britain, Greece, and the Soviet Union as well as the Cominform.[49]

Winster, on the other hand, having failed to secure his primary objective, namely a constitution for Cyprus, privately indicated to Creech Jones as early as July that he had decided to resign. His resignation was announced in mid-November. A subsequent Colonial Office statement made a particular effort to stress that speculation propagated by certain newspapers that Winster's resignation was connected to Creech Jones's refusal to grant additional powers to deal with internal security in Cyprus was false.[50]

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[46] Cabinet minutes, 29 April 1948, CAB195/6/29.

[47] Mediterranean Department, 'Note on Cyprus', 26 June 1950, CO537/6228, TNA.

[48] Winster, draft statement, undated, box 57, file 2, ACJ papers.

[49] PSR, December 1948, CO537/4041, TNA; Fisher to Ernest Elwin Sabben-Clare (colonial attaché, British Embassy, Washington), 10 June 1949, CO537/4974, TNA; Turnbull, 'Comments on appreciation dated 1.3.49 by the Defence Security Officer upon the political situation in Cyprus', 11 March 1949, annex of: Turnbull to Martin, 13 March 1949, CO537/4309, TNA; John Reddaway, *Burdened with Cyprus: The British Connection* (London, 1986), pp. 41-42; Leventis, *Cyprus*, pp. 237-238.

[50] 'Lord Winster. Statement by Colonial Office', *The Times* (London), 15 November 1948, issue 51229, p. 3.

In fact, while accepting some responsibility, Winster assigned blame more widely, to include: the British government's 'refusal [...] to make the statement about Enosis'; Turnbull's 'bad advice'; Jackson's ineffectiveness to deal with the leftists' demand for self-government; and Creech Jones's decision to meet with Servas and his delegation in London. This was more than a sore loser making excuses; it was a reflection of the divisions which often existed within the British imperial system. While most British policy-makers agreed in general principle (e.g. that AKEL constituted the primary threat and, as Winster put it, that the British should continue seeking 'a potential middle-of-the-road party'), Winster's local and personal priorities were often subordinated in London to wider geopolitical considerations.[51] This was one reason why the British proved to be inefficient in the cultural Cold War, compared to the Soviets and Americans whose empires were more informal and thereby less hindered (but not unhindered) by administrative divisions.

POLITICAL VIOLENCE

Winster, who decided to remain in post until early February 1949, now faced what he described as 'intensified dissension between the Right and Left which amounted to a spectacle almost resembling civil war'.[52] Everything became politicized. In addition to different newspapers and trade unions, Greek-Cypriots were now forced to choose between different nationalist and communist cultural clubs, football teams, cafés, grocery stores, pharmacies, barbershops, cigarettes, alcohol, and coffee – a division which still exists today.[53] These everyday things and places were indeed the symbolic weapons and battlefields of the imperial Cold War.

Meanwhile, AKEL, frantically attempting to recover prestige and purpose lost from its involvement with the consultative assembly, intensified strikes against the Amiandos Asbestos Mines and the Cyprus Mines Corporation, which were the lifeblood of Cyprus's economy. Both strikes included physical assault, arson, dynamite attacks, improvised landmines, and subsequent police action; both strikes

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[51] Winster to Creech Jones, 25 January 1949, box 57, file 2, ACJ papers.
[52] PSR, September 1948, CO537/4041, TNA.
[53] Peristianis, 'The Rise of the Left', p. 256; Panayiotou, 'Lenin in the Coffee-Shop', p. 270.

ended in failure.[54] According to Winster, the copper mine strike was largely settled when the resident director of the mining company, who 'hates AKEL, Trade Unions and Communists', and Makarios II, who 'hates the same outfits', found 'common ground in being glad [...] to give a dirty dig to anything on the Left' and reached a compromise.[55]

In September, another leftist strike in Nicosia involved 'masked men' and 'gangs of thugs' assaulting employees at both work and home. The nationalists responded by employing the *X* [the Greek letter *Chi*] Organization to defend its workforce. A number of skirmishes ensued between the two rival parties, and police found illicit arms in their possession twice in September. By October, the *X* Organization members wore black berets with a silver badge consisting of the crown of the Greek monarchy set over an '*X*'. John Bennett, the radical and talented head of the Colonial Office's Mediterranean Department (1947-1952), called them 'Right-wing "Cagoulards"', referring to the fascist, anti-communist terrorist group in France which attempted to overthrow the Third Republic between 1935 and 1937.[56]

News of the violence prompted a discussion in the House of Commons in which Rees-Williams, the under-secretary of state for the colonies, put the blame squarely on AKEL. He outlined that during the five and a half months between 1 June and 17 November, there had been twenty-nine incidents involving the use of dynamite and seventy-four incidents of assault, malicious injury, and arson. Of 129 recorded court cases, all but nine involved right-wing plaintiffs against left-wing defendants.[57]

Despite the marked rise in right-wing violence, the JIC claimed that these events demonstrated 'that a campaign of mounting violence has been launched by the AKEL [...] following a series of reverses, with a view of gaining sufficient power

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[54] JIC(ME), report, 'The Internal Security Situation in Cyprus', undated, annex of: JIC(ME), (48)-71 (Final), Internal Security Situation in Cyprus, 25 November 1948, CO537/2639, TNA; Crawshaw, *The Cyprus Revolt*, p. 40; Dimitrakis, *Military Intelligence in Cyprus*, p. 66.
[55] Winster to Creech Jones, 12 April 1948, box 57, file 2, ACJ papers.
[56] PSR, September 1948; Bennett, minute, undated, on: PSR, October 1948, CO537/4041, TNA. Formed in October 1947, the *X* Organization, an 'amateurish [...] secret body' was named after the monarchist group in Greece which terrorized Greek communists (PSR, October 1947, CO67/341/7, TNA; Sfikas, *The British Labour Government*, p. 73). For Bennett, see: Ronald Hyam, 'John Bennett and the end of empire', in: Hyam, Ronald (ed.), *Understanding the British Empire* (Cambridge, 2010).
[57] Commons, 17 November 1948, *Hansard*, 458, cols 44W, 363.

to ensure its success in the Municipal elections in April 1949'. The JIC cautioned that 'should the Builder's strike fail, which appears likely, it is probable that AKEL will take even stronger action, for their only alternative is to admit defeat and suffer eclipse at the hands of the Right Wing Nationalist'. The JIC was particularly concerned about the party's recently instituted insurance programme for dependants of Akelists who might be hurt or killed by the British authorities. AKEL, according to the JIC, was 'determined to achieve its objectives at whatever cost'.[58]

In the Colonial Office, Bennett attempted to quell these alarmist reports. While AKEL might have been able to emulate the Malayan or Greek communists in structure and rhetoric, he maintained that there was 'no evidence that it is prepared for open rebellion'.[59] Mary Fisher, a principal in the Colonial Office's Mediterranean Department, agreed:

> we are far too timid in our whole approach to communist infection. Our line ought surely to be 'We have a better case [and] are prepared to prove it. Come who will', not 'We can't allow anyone to hear the opposition case, lest they should believe it [and] act accordingly'.[60]

Bennett and Fisher, however, were not in the majority.

The Cyprus government was desperate to quell this outbreak of political violence. Winster and his government thus abandoned tactics of reform and returned to repression, not of the nationalists but of the communists.

AKEL AND THE IRON CURTAIN

On 21 October 1948, Winster requested permission from Creech Jones to reject applications from Cypriots for visas to visit Czechoslovakia. Particularly with the formation of the IUS in 1946 and the enormously successful World Youth Festival in 1947 (both in Prague), Czechoslovakia was increasingly viewed as the centre for the communists' anti-colonial campaign. In October 1948, two such applicants supplied the Cyprus government with evidence of their admission to university in Prague, but Winster was convinced 'that the real purpose of their visits is to obtain training in communist ideas and methods'. Winster considered it to be 'most undesirable that

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[58] JIC(ME), (48)-71 (Final), 'Internal Security Situation in Cyprus', 25 November 1948 and annexed report by JIC(ME), 'The Internal Security Situation in Cyprus', CO537/2639, TNA.
[59] Bennett, minute, 16 December 1948, CO537/2639, TNA.
[60] Fisher, minute, 11 November 1948, CO323/1904/2, TNA.

these or any Cypriots should be allowed to go to Czechoslovakia or similar countries for whatever purpose'. He suggested that the excuse for rejection should be that Britain could not guarantee the safety of its citizens behind the Iron Curtain.[61]

The Colonial Office's first reaction was that such an excuse, even if true, should not be made public and, moreover, that there was 'no restriction on visits behind the "curtain" either by ordinary citizens or by known communists'. The Foreign Office responded that while they would have liked 'to see these gentlemen's prospective studies [in Czechoslovakia] discouraged', they had no legitimate reason to deny visas outright. This decision was forwarded to Cyprus. Less than two weeks later, Alan David Francis, a Foreign Office official who spent much of his career in the British diplomatic service in Europe, informed the Colonial Office that further consideration did not reveal any ways in which travel could be legitimately denied. He continued:

> I am sorry about this. I understand the Czechs have been offering facilities of this kind for a long time now and there is little doubt that the three Cypriots to which you refer, will be exploited, when they arrive in Prague, for anti-British publicity purposes. They will join up with the Marcos Greeks, Indians etc. whom the Czechs keep in their cold war aquarium.

Francis added, 'One day it will perhaps be possible to expose all this'.[62]

LEGAL CONTAINMENT, 1948

On 11 November, Ezekiel Papaioannou, the acting general secretary of AKEL (in Ioannou's absence), and Miltiades Christodoulou, a member of AKEL's Central Committee and municipal councillor for Nicosia, gave a press interview, in which they claimed that when the Western democracies finally instigate war with the Soviet Union, AKEL vowed to fight on the side of the latter. Turnbull, with support from Pavlides, the attorney general, was in favour of prosecution on grounds of sedition to demonstrate that the government was 'not prepared to give unlimited licence to communists' and, even if unsuccessful, to force the communists to contradict their statements, 'thereby losing much politically'. While Turnbull had

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[61] Winster to Creech Jones, 21 October 1948, CO323/1904/2, TNA. See: Jöel Kotek, *Students and the Cold War* (Basingstoke, 1996), chapters 6 and 7.
[62] Cade to Francis, 22 November 1948; Francis to Cade, 23 November and 9 December 1948; Creech Jones to Turnbull, 27 November 1948, CO323/1904/2, TNA.

the attorney general prepare a case, the former said he would wait for permission before launching it.[63]

Fisher minuted that giving Winster permission to be 'be as tough as he likes or as the efficiency of his police force permits' had apparently implied that Turnbull 'can be as ruthless as he thinks necessary in enforcing law and order'. She argued that prosecuting Papaioannou and Christodoulou for their statements would have meant that the Cyprus government was 'now preparing to go into battle against those who advocate communist doctrines or express communist sympathies (pretty mild ones from the quotations) as well as against those who [...] beat up right-wing trade unionists or break the Meetings [and] Processions Law'.[64]

Even if conviction was possible, Bennett wrote, 'the propaganda honours would go to AKEL and to the Cominform. In fact I should not be surprised if the whole press conference was not a carefully calculated "dare" and that they hope we will fall into the trap'. Bennett agreed with Fisher, that prosecution would force the British to side with repressive colonialism and against 'peace and progress'. Furthermore, Martin, the assistant under-secretary in charge of the Middle East Department and Mediterranean Department, claimed that Pavlides was 'an extreme Right Wing Cypriot and his advice, particularly where politics are involved, is unfortunately not always reliable'.[65] (Two years later, Barton wrote that Pavlides 'out-Herods Herod in seeking to obtain ad hoc powers to deal with matters which can be dealt with under the Criminal Codes'.[66])

After consulting the Home Office, Creech Jones informed Turnbull that it was up to the attorney general in Cyprus to decide the appropriate course of action against AKEL. While Creech Jones agreed with Turnbull's reasons for prosecution, he did not feel the evidence was good enough to secure a conviction and would consequently play into anti-colonial propaganda.[67]

THE 18 NOVEMBER DEMONSTRATIONS

While Creech Jones was formulating this decision, Turnbull decided that prosecuting

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[63] Turnbull to Creech Jones, 13 and 19 November 1948, CO537/4045, TNA.
[64] Fisher, minute, 23 November 1948, CO537/4045, TNA.
[65] Bennett, minute, 24 November 1948; Martin, minute, 26 November 1948, CO537/4045, TNA.
[66] Barton, minute, 30 August 1950, CO537/6236, TNA.
[67] Creech Jones to Turnbull, 14 December 1948, CO537/4045, TNA.

Papaioannou and Christodoulou was no longer advantageous, because Christodoulou was already in prison, along with Servas and many other communist leaders for their part in an illegal procession on 18 November.[68]

By early November, AKEL was still in a state of confusion. Its unsuccessful industrial actions and unpopular violence, combined with the government's tougher stance, including the police search of 'the long sacrosanct' headquarters of the PEO, caused a further dip in prestige and funds. Then, according to Turnbull, with AKEL withering away, Winster announced his resignation, and '[i]t was as manna from heaven'.[69] AKEL, according to the JIC, managed to convince a large number of Cypriots via its propaganda machine that it was responsible for Winster's resignation. AKEL thus 'increased enormously' its reputation and 'largely recovered from the reverses which it has continuously suffered since the death in July 1947 of Archbishop Leontios'.[70]

Emboldened by this self-proclaimed victory, AKEL, through one of its front organizations, the National Liberation Alliance (EAS), applied for permits to hold large meetings and processions on 18 November across Cyprus to advance its objective of self-government. (The EAS was formed by AKEL to provide a non-communist umbrella union for all pro-*enosis* political parties, although it was, unsurprisingly, only successful in enlisting left-wing organizations, such as AKEL, its other front organizations, the National Unity Party, and some progressive individuals.[71]) Permission was granted for the meetings but not for the processions. On 18 November, to protest the Assemblies, Meetings, and Processions Law, under which their programmes were limited, these meetings turned into illegal mass demonstrations.[72]

In Turnbull's account, several Akelist leaders conspired to lead the processions, to elicit prosecution, to refuse paying the subsequent fines, to go to jail, and thus to 'pose as martyrs before their followers and evoke sympathy for

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[68] Turnbull to Creech Jones, 16 December 1948, CO537/4045, TNA.
[69] PSR, November 1948, CO537/4041, TNA.
[70] JIC(ME), report, 'Internal Security Situation in Cyprus', 11 December 1948, CO537/2639, TNA.
[71] Sotiroula Moustake, *Το Εργατικό Κίνημα στην Κύπρο την περίοδο της Αγγλοκρατίας 1878-1955* [*The Labour Movement in Cyprus during the Period of British Rule, 1878-1955*] (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Athens, 2010), p. 301; Leventis, *Cyprus*, pp. 229-235.
[72] PSR, November 1948, CO537/4041, TNA.

themselves in the United Kingdom'. All was going to plan for AKEL until its leaders were brought up in court. The first case heard included, among other demonstrators, Christodoulou, who had six previous convictions for taking part in illegal processions. He reportedly used the dock 'as a political platform', insulting and defying the court – which included declaring his refusal to pay the forthcoming fine. The district judge called Christodoulou a 'danger to public security and law and order'. In a surprising move, the court handed Christodoulou the maximum penalty of six months imprisonment and a fine of £50. To make matters worse, this incidentally rendered him ineligible to run in the next municipal election.[73]

From Limassol alone, thirty-six people were convicted, thirty-four of whom were sent to prison: Servas for three months; Pantinos Mavroyannis (a member of AKEL, trade union leader, and municipal councillor for Limassol), Evangelos Vanellis (a member of the PEO's Central Committee), and six others for two months with a £5 fine; twenty-three others for one month with a £10 fine; and two women for three days. In Larnaca, thirty-four people, including a municipal councillor, were imprisoned for at least one month. Even with the prosecutions in Famagusta outstanding, seventy-six persons were sent to Central Prison as a result. Less than a week later, George Photiou, a member of AKEL's Central Committee and municipal councillor for Larnaca, was sent to prison for three months for his role in another illegal procession.[74]

Leading members of the EAS urged Creech Jones to overrule the sentences, to release the prisoners, and to repeal all illiberal laws, especially the Assemblies, Meetings, and Processions Law. All of these requests were ignored, especially the last one. Fisher summed it up:

> Clearly if we wish to put Communists into prison without fuss the
> continued existence of this law, which every spirited Cypriot will wish to
> break, provides a most useful means of doing so [and] I imagine that
> until there is some general new deal in Cyprus there can be no question

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[73] *Ibid*.; Turnbull to Creech Jones, 22 and 23 November 1948, CO537/4045, TNA.
[74] Turnbull to Creech Jones, 26 and 30 November 1948, CO537/4045; 'List of persons sentenced because they took part in the demonstrations of the 18th November, 1948', annex of: Papaetrou, *et. al.*, to Creech Jones, 12 December 1948, annex of: Turnbull to Creech Jones, 3 January 1949, CO537/4974, TNA.

of repealing it.[75]

The Assemblies, Meetings, and Processions Law criminalized the arrangement or attendance of a meeting of more than four people to hear a political speech without a permit from the district commissioner. It was passed in 1932, in response to the 1931 riots, but was more often utilized to contain AKEL's public rituals and demonstrations. Public rituals, which can be used to construct, define, and legitimize explanations of social life and identity on the one hand and constitute 'the life blood of revolution' on the other, were essential battlefields in the cultural Cold War.[76] The British were not willingly going to repeal their best weapon.

AKEL'S 1949 PURGE

In March 1949, AKEL purged its leadership, significantly alarming British authorities, who viewed it not as a sign of atrophy or turmoil but as a sign of worsening conditions in Cypriot politics. The purge reinforced the idea that the Cypriot communists, like most communists, would in times of pressure and defeat turn not to moderation but extremism. (If this was true of communists, it was certainly true of British colonialists!) This stereotype would later inform the debate regarding the potential consequences of AKEL's proscription (i.e. driving them underground and to take up violence).

While AKEL was dealing with the legal fallout from the demonstrations on 18 November 1948, Ioannou and Ziartides were struggling to find direction from Europe's communist parties. Details of their mission vary between accounts – even between those of Ioannou and Ziartides.[77] Piecing together conflicting reports by Turnbull and Colonel P.E.X. Turnbull, the defence security officer (DSO) in Cyprus,[78] British authorities believed that the two Akelists had parted ways in Paris. Ziartides went to Greece and London, and Ioannou, to Prague, Belgrade, and Greece. In

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[75] Papaetrou, *et. al.*, to Creech Jones, 12 December 1948, annex of: Turnbull to Creech Jones, 3 January 1949; Fisher, minute, 13 January 1949, CO537/4974, TNA.

[76] Sally F. Moore and Barbara G. Myerhoff, 'Introduction: Secular Ritual: Forms and Meanings', in: Sally F. Moore and Barbara G. Myerhoff (eds), *Secular Ritual* (Assen, 1977), pp. 3-4; David I. Kertzer, *Ritual, Politics, and Power* (New Haven, CT, 1988), p. 2.

[77] For an account of the variation between Ioannou and Ziartides, see: Leventis, *Cyprus*, pp. 237-251.

[78] Fisher wrote, 'It is really maddeningly confusing that the OAG [and] the DSO are both called Turnbull' (minute, 26 March 1949, CO537/4309, TNA). In this thesis, P.E.X. Turnbull will be referred to as such.

Greece, Ioannou received from Markos Vafiadis (the commander-in-chief of the DSE and the head of the KKE's Provisional Democratic Government [PDK] of Greece) instructions for AKEL to continue the campaign for self-government as a means to *enosis*. On 30 December, Ioannou returned to Cyprus to report to AKEL's Central Committee. He claimed that Ziartides continued to London to influence the selection of Cyprus's next governor and to seek support for a new constitution.[79]

According to the Cyprus government, Ziartides was indeed in London but was instead in contact with Nikos Zachariadis, the Moscow-appointed general secretary of the KKE, who had been vocal in his demands for the return of Cyprus to Greece as a way of embarrassing the British and Greek governments.[80] Zachariadis criticized AKEL's self-government campaign and instead directed AKEL to return to a purely pro-*enosis* platform. This was supposedly reinforced by orders from the Cominform, which also rebuked AKEL for its recent tactical blunders. Ziartides returned to Cyprus on 6 January 1949, and AKEL became divided over whose orders to follow.[81]

The British account clashes significantly with those of Ioannou and Ziartides (which were given decades after the events, at a time in Cyprus when political connections to the Soviet Union were not at all politically advantageous). However, the British account did identify, at least in essence, most of the salient details: AKEL's leadership was experiencing a crisis of confidence; there was a division in the KKE leadership in Greece; and Zachariadis gave a stern rebuke of AKEL's rightist deviationism and ordered AKEL to return to an *enosis*-only platform. What the British authorities did not know (and probably would have benefitted from knowing if true) was that Ioannou and Ziartides allegedly were snubbed by the communist parties of France and the Soviet Union and were told by the Cominform that Cyprus did not fall into its purview of 'vital international problems'.[82]

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[79] PSR, December 1948, CO537/4041, TNA; Fisher to Sabben-Clare, 10 June 1949, CO537/4974, TNA; Turnbull, 'Comments on appreciation dated 1.3.49 by the Defence Security Officer upon the political situation in Cyprus', 11 March 1949, annex of: Turnbull to Martin, 13 March 1949, CO537/4309, TNA.
[80] For Zachariadis's views on enosis, see: Ioannis D. Stefanidis, *Stirring the Greek Nation: Political Culture, Irredentism and Anti-Americanism in Post-War Greece, 1945-1967* (Aldershot, 2007).
[81] P.E.X. Turnbull (DSO), memorandum, 1 March 1949; (Roland) Turnbull, 'Comments on appreciation dated 1.3.49 by the Defence Security Officer upon the political situation in Cyprus', 11 March 1949, annex of: Turnbull to Martin, 13 March 1949, CO537/4309, TNA.
[82] Leventis, *Cyprus*, pp. 237-246.

Less than one month after Ziartides returned to Cyprus, the KKE in Greece, during its fifth plenary session on 30-31 January 1949, dismissed Vafiadis for his recent military failures and 'deviationism'. Vafiadis had promoted limited guerrilla warfare until communist countries could be persuaded to recognize the PDK and send aid. Vafiadis, according to a British Foreign Office intelligence report, lost out to 'the Moscow-trained Cominform extremists' who were 'ready to pursue the civil war to the bitter end'.[83]

In the same Colonial Office file, Fisher included a clipping from the 8 March edition of the *Daily Graphic*, which stated that the Cominform had 'directed Greek Communists to claim Cyprus as part of Greece'. Less than a week later, Cyprus's 'national liberation movement' and 'forthcoming struggle against Anglo-U.S. imperialism for union with Greece' began to feature in broadcasts from Greek communist radio.[84]

Thus in early March, AKEL's entire Central Committee resigned because of their erroneous support of self-government and 'petit bourgeois' tendencies. A provisional committee was established, led by Papaioannou, who had been acting general secretary during Ioannou's trip.[85] At AKEL's sixth Pancyprian meeting on 27-28 August, it was officially decided to reject any constitutional offer and instead demand *enosis* and only *enosis*.[86] Papaioannou was appointed general secretary, and a new Central Committee was elected, which now included: the trade unionists Ziartides and Fantis; Pantelis Varnava, a trade unionist who supposedly promoted violence during the 1948 Cyprus Mines Corporation strike; and Georgios Christodoulides, who was known to the British authorities for 'his violent speeches' and for organizing the demonstrations-turn-riots outside the Larnaca commissioner's office on 28 June. AKEL's Central Committee, as far as the British

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[83] Foreign Office, intelligence report, no. 95, 'Greek Rebel Rift', 19 February 1949, CO537/4974, TNA. See: Sfikas, *The British Labour Government*, p. 241-244.

[84] Extract, *Daily Graphic*, 8 March 1949; 'Trends of Communist Propaganda, 1st-14th March, 1949', extract from: C.I.(49)29, Cabinet Committee on Colonial Information Policy, undated; Fisher to Sabben-Clare, 10 June 1949, CO537/4974, TNA.

[85] Turnbull to Creech Jones, 8 March 1949, CO537/4974, TNA.

[86] Unsigned, 'Note on Communism in Cyprus during the month of August, 1949', undated, annex of: Wright to Creech Jones, 15 September 1949, CO537/4309, TNA.

were concerned, now consisted of 'all extremists'.[87]

Bennett noted that this effectively purged AKEL of 'their Titos and Rajks' (which was shorthand for non-aligned nationalist-communists who might prove strategically useful to the British in dividing and undermining Soviet communism), including Servas, Ioannou, Adamantos (the mayor of Famagusta), and Costas Partassides (the mayor of Limassol). For Ioannou, AKEL's news bulletin for August heaped insult onto injury, alleging his further transgressions, like smoking imported cigarettes while AKEL supported the local cigarette industry and being caught drinking in a bar instead of attending the celebrations of the sixth anniversary of AKEL's entry into the Second World War.[88]

Ever suspicious of AKEL, Turnbull argued that the 'purge' was most likely the establishment of provisional and limited leadership while certain political factors developed, especially in Greece. More importantly, the forthcoming municipal elections demanded a more pro-*enosis* stance. According to Fisher, the Southern Department of the Foreign Office believed that this split was genuine and reflected the division between 'Titoesque nationalists' and 'Kremlinites' in northern Greece. (At this point, the Colonial Office file was upgraded to secret.) Either way, according to Bennett, 'it will still no doubt be useful to AKEL to have feet in both camps'. The purge did, however, alienate its more moderate, pro-independence supporters, particularly Clerides, who had been instrumental in AKEL's 1946 electoral victory in Nicosia.[89]

Bennett lamented the loss of 'the favourable opportunity presented in 1948 of having at least one side prepared to talk in terms of a constitution for Cyprus and forgetting about Greece'. Far from empowering AKEL, he had hoped that the nationalists and moderates might have been induced, or rather blackmailed, to cooperate with Britain in creating a constitution, for fear of AKEL dictating Cyprus's future alone. Moreover, Bennett suggested that 'if we could be <u>sure</u> that Servas and [company] are Titos at heart and not tactical burnt sacrifices, it would be rather fun

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[87] PSR, August 1949, CO537/4973, TNA.

[88] Bennett, minute, 5 November 1949; PSR, August 1949; AKEL, 'News Bulletin', vol. 1, no. 4, August 1949, annex of: PSR, August 1949, CO537/4973, TNA.

[89] Turnbull to Creech Jones, 8 and 25 March 1949; Fisher, minute, 10 March 1949; Bennett, minute, 10 March 1949, CO537/4974, TNA; Crawshaw, *The Cyprus Revolt*, p. 42.

to have a constitution and put them in office!'[90]

While probably a flippant comment on the frequency of artificial purges to shift blame from the party for previous decisions, Bennett might also have been testing the water, particularly in light of the Colonial Office's history of backing certain more moderate nationalists, for example in Ceylon in 1948. As Louis has observed, 'The watchword became "more Ceylons and fewer Burmas"'.[91] Nevertheless, nobody acknowledged Bennett's comment in the subsequent minutes, and it came to nothing. The JIC furthermore deduced that in the short-term, 'the internal security situation in the Island may be said to have improved. Taking the long-term view, the situation has considerably worsened'.[92]

COOPERATION WITH THE NATIONALISTS?

Turnbull's response to AKEL's supposed move towards extremism was to increase pressure on the communists. At the district commissioner's conference in February 1949, Turnbull identified 'a hard core of fanatic communists within A.K.E.L.' as 'our real enemies' and 'their most dangerous instrument' as 'irresponsible young men'. While he expected the commissioners to generally support 'the individual', Turnbull charged them with the rule that '[w]here the individual is a communist who may be expected to promote the cause of communism your attitude will cease to be helpful, and you will use your administrative powers to hamper and thwart the purposes of communism'.[93]

In fact, he wanted the commissioners 'to employ against the communists the methods they have so long employed, with success, against us'. He continued:

> For a long time now we have turned a blind eye to the seditious aspect of the advocacy of enosis. We shall continue to do so. [...] But I have no intention of engaging in a war on two fronts such as might conceivably force Right and Left into an alliance, however uneasy. [...] Here, indeed, we must walk delicately. We must concentrate upon the communists, and keep Left and Right apart, but I want no understanding between Government and the Right such as might involve the Government in

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[90] Bennett, minutes, 1 March and 5 November 1949, CO537/4973, TNA.
[91] Wm. Roger Louis, 'The Dissolution of the British Empire', in: Judith M. Brown and Wm. Roger Louis (eds), *The Oxford History of the British Empire. Volume IV: The Twentieth Century* (Oxford, 1999), p. 337.
[92] JIC(ME), report, 'Internal Security Situation in Cyprus', 11 December 1948, CO537/2639, TNA.
[93] Turnbull, transcript of opening comments at Commissioner's Conference, 11 February 1949, annex of: Turnbull to Martin, 17 February 1949, CO537/4309, TNA.

future liabilities where they are concerned.[94]

With the church's 'anti-communist nature', Turnbull suggested that the government should seek 'an implicit truce between Government and the Church on the question of enosis on the very important condition that the Church and the Right generally refrained from actions subversive of Government's authority'. That way, the government could commit its full attention and resources against AKEL.[95]

In fact, SIME, which was an MI5 organization involved with the coordination of intelligence in the Middle East, had considered cooperation with the nationalists ten months previously. A SIME report suggested that the nationalists, 'who at present talk loudly but act little against AKEL, might be encouraged to lend positive assistance to the police'. The 'perverse and suspicious' nationalists, however, 'might oppose it on the grounds that similar action would next be taken against their own party'. Nevertheless, SIME cautioned that:

> so long as no action is taken to suppress the [AKEL] party or ban its activities the majority of the rank and file will support the leaders in their policy and will probably follow them to extremes; those might finally culminate in the execution of a plan which AKEL is reported already to have prepared for taking over the island by coup d'etat in the event of war.[96]

The Colonial Office had mixed feelings about Turnbull's plan to cooperate with the nationalists. Bennett considered it to be tactically 'coherent and effective' but 'strategically negative; it leads no-where in the long term'. He continued:

> I believe that in the long run you can only beat ideas by better ideas, and not by political tactics and police methods. So long as the Government of Cyprus is an alien bureaucracy, however benevolent, AKEL will have a long start in enlisting the ideals and loyalties of worth-while Cypriots. I believe we shall only really destroy AKEL by rendering it unnecessary; and how can that happen till we begin to practice in Cyprus what the West is always preaching against the Iron Curtain – democracy? Of course it means taking risks; but that is what democracy is about.[97]

In this minute, Bennett summarized Britain's position in the imperial Cold War. British aims were to 'destroy' the communists and to enlist 'the ideals and

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[94] *Ibid.*
[95] *Ibid.*
[96] SIME, report, 'The AKEL Party', April 1948, CO537/2639, TNA.
[97] Bennett, minute, 15 March 1949, CO537/4309, TNA.

loyalties of worth-while' (i.e. non-extremist) colonial subjects to the British imperial project; the key British weapon (i.e. the 'better idea' than communism) was 'democracy' (i.e. the slow process of introducing internal self-government as a means of training colonial people towards independence within the Commonwealth). Bennett was describing a positive strategy in the cultural Cold War. However, that Bennett had to continually restate this argument three years into the Labour government's supposed 'new approach' to imperialism reflected its limited effectiveness, not necessarily in principle but certainly in practice.

TURNBULL AND PROSCRIPTION

Taking little heed of Whitehall's continued (if increasingly shaky) commitment to the strategy of reform, Turnbull, as acting governor, sought to counter AKEL's growing interest in Cypriot youth by means of repressive measures. Turnbull reported that AKEL was instilling in the minds of young men 'Communist doctrines and Communist hates' in order to create 'the nucleus of a "fighter" group on the same pattern as the Stern Gang'.[98] The Stern Gang, or Lehi, was a Zionist terrorist organization in the 1940s which had aimed to forcibly remove the British from Palestine and form a Jewish state.

In early 1949, as a first step, Turnbull requested permission from London to proscribe the Progressive Organization of Youth (AON), AKEL's youth organization. Established in 1944, AON was reinvented in 1947 'as a typical communist youth organisation concerned with the indoctrination of adolescents with communist propaganda and their preparation for active membership of the communist party'. AON was also a channel for communication with communist organizations abroad. The Cyprus government was concerned about 'the increasingly frequent contacts between members of A.K.E.L. and the Slav countries (and about which it has not as yet proved possible to do anything)'.[99] In January 1949, this concern was substantiated when the Czechoslovakian government announced its intention to award eight Cypriots with scholarships to study at the University of Prague.[100]

Turnbull argued that as the government's aim was 'to frustrate and impede

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[98] P.E.X. Turnbull (DSO), memorandum, 1 March 1949, CO537/4309, TNA.
[99] Turnbull to Creech Jones, 12 April 1949, CO537/4976, TNA.
[100] PSR, January 1949, CO537/4973, TNA.

the purposes of the [AKEL] party so as progressively to contain it, by moving against it where it exhibits weakness or indiscretion renders it vulnerable', AON was the ideal target. Moreover, similar to the Hong Kong government's assessment of communist youth activities there, Turnbull identified AON as 'the most dangerous single long-term instrument in the hands of the communist party'. But AON had somehow learned of Turnbull's intentions and ceased overt activities. The acting governor thus sought authorization to proscribe AON as soon as it resumed its sedition.[101]

To assess Turnbull's request, officials in the Colonial Office turned to British experiences in Malaya for direction. On 23 July 1948, just over one month after the outbreak of fighting, the Malayan government proscribed the Malayan Communist Party (MCP) and its satellite organizations. This was too late as the party leaders and fellow-travellers had either gone underground or had been arrested before proscription was announced. Owen H. Morris, the Colonial Office principal who wrote the memorandum, determined that 'once the [MCP] had adopted the policy of armed action and was prepared to murder and intimidate on a large scale', its moderate supporters and satellite organizations 'had to be deterred by far more forcible and repressive measures than the mere proscription of their parent organisation'. If its intelligence had been better, the Malayan government claimed it would have prosecuted the MCP some months previously to frustrate the latter's preparations for rebellion.[102]

Morris concluded that these lessons demonstrated the merits of pre-emptive proscription as well as the value of improving colonial security services.[103] The latter in Cyprus was particularly troubling. Fisher considered the connection between Turnbull and the security services to be 'somewhat embarrassing' and pondered if the DSO knew 'about (i) Marxist theory [and] (ii) what is happening in Greece'. The intelligence was so inadequate, Fisher claimed, that it was unknown to the Colonial Office, for example, whether the Akelists visiting Prague would return to Cyprus as

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[101] Turnbull to Creech Jones, 12 April 1949, CO537/4976, TNA.
[102] Morris, memorandum, 23 May 1949, CO537/4976, TNA.
[103] *Ibid*.

simply 'practised doctrinaires or will they be good at blowing things up'.[104]

Nevertheless, according to Creech Jones, while proscription was legally permissible and potentially beneficial on some levels, the potential disadvantages made proscription imprudent: the hypocrisy of taking action against AON but not AKEL which had identical political aims; the consequences if AON was driven underground, particularly in increasing its appeal 'to enthusiastic and hot-headed young men'; the inevitability of prosecuting certain individuals; and the ease in which AKEL could simply create another youth organization.[105]

Most of the officials concerned agreed with Creech Jones. Surprisingly, Fisher contended that while proscription was 'a singularly sterile policy', it 'may be the simplest effective way of keeping the Island in order', particularly in the absence of any 'new ideas to offer the young Cypriot politicians as a rival attraction to the body of Marxist-Leninist doctrine'. Martin recommended that Turnbull should not only proscribe AON but do so before the arrival of Sir Andrew Wright, the governor-designate, to avoid association. Martin rejected the comparison with Malaya and emphasized the value of 'clipping [AKEL's] wings'. The Colonial Office reached a compromise; Creech Jones granted the Cyprus government 'a free hand to proscribe [AON] if they were satisfied after considering the arguments against such a course', but only after Wright arrived and had time to assess the situation.[106]

AKEL AND THE IRON CURTAIN

On 4 February 1949, Geoffrey Wallinger, the head of the Foreign Office's Southern Department (1947-1949), wrote to Bennett about the 'increasing number of Cypriots [who] appear to be going behind the "iron curtain" on various "missions"'. Wallinger explained that his and his department's interest in the matter was specifically connected to their interest in the Greek Civil War, adding that 'there would be mutual benefit in obtaining such information as may be possible from our Missions in Eastern Europe about the activities of these gentlemen'. Furthermore, he requested that the governor send to the Foreign and Colonial Offices a summary

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[104] Fisher, minutes, 30 June, 26 March, and 17 November 1949, CO537/4309, TNA.
[105] Creech Jones to Turnbull, 13 July 1949, CO537/4976, TNA.
[106] Fisher, minutes, 11 August and 20 June 1949; Martin, minutes, 17 and 26 May 1949, CO537/4976, TNA.

of each individual's name, probable destinations, and background information. This information would then be forwarded to the relevant chanceries, which had already been briefed on the situation.[107]

Turnbull complied. He sent reports which detailed, for example, that Andreas Neophytou Gavris was issued a passport for Britain, Egypt, France, Greece, Italy, and Switzerland. The report described him as a '[f]anatic communist' and a leading party member who frequently wrote for left-wing newspapers. His Greek ex-artiste wife was supposedly an AKEL-sympathiser and lectured for AON. When they left Cyprus, intelligence suggested that they were heading for Russia. Instead, Gavris was reportedly studying in a Czechoslovakian university. These lists were then forwarded by the Southern Department to the chanceries in Athens, Belgrade, Bucharest, Budapest, Moscow, Prague, Sofia, and Warsaw, with the request that information as to the whereabouts and actions of these individuals would be relayed back to Whitehall.[108]

The Foreign Office's Information Research Department (IRD), which was the primary mechanism of Britain's overseas anti-communist propaganda campaign, considered the combination of Cyprus and Czechoslovakia to be particularly troubling. It explained in correspondence with the chancery in Prague that:

> [t]he importance of the influential Communist Party [of Czechoslovakia] in so strategic a colony as Cyprus needs no emphasis; and we shall therefore be glad of anything you may be able to send us about Cypriots, over and above other British subjects. We are sending copies of this letter to the Chanceries at Moscow, Sofia, Bucharest, Budapest and Warsaw, in case anything comes their way.[109]

The chancery in Bucharest had more bad news for the Foreign and Colonial Offices, namely that there had 'been an attempt to start a certain amount of traffic the other way'. The chancery had received two applications from the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs for diplomatic visas for Cyprus, allegedly to facilitate travel to Egypt. The chancery did not grant the visas. Instead of officially refusing

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[107] Wallinger to Bennett, 4 February 1949, CO537/4975, TNA.

[108] Enclosure of: Turnbull to Creech Jones, 16 May 1949; Foreign Office, Southern Department to Chancery, 2 June 1949, CO537/4975, TNA.

[109] IRD to Chancery, Prague, 8 July 1949, CO537/4975, TNA. For the IRD, see: Defty, *Britain, America and Anti-Communist Propaganda*; Vaughan, 'Cloak Without Dagger'.

them, the chancery stalled, and the Romanians did not pursue it.[110]

US INTEREST

Meanwhile, by early 1949, the US became 'concerned with the broad strategic question of the defence of the Eastern Mediterranean'. Stratton Anderson, the second secretary and counsellor at the US Embassy in London, was instructed by the US State Department to relay the latter's concern about communist actions in Cyprus. The State Department, while stressing its desire not to directly intervene in the colony, offered to take action in Greece and Turkey with the aim of assisting the Greek-Cypriot nationalists in the upcoming municipal elections. Anderson gave to Edward H. Peck, an experienced British diplomat who was seconded to the Foreign Office in 1947 to work especially on Greek affairs, a memorandum, which Anderson 'stressed was not in any sense a formal communication'.[111]

The memorandum outlined the US's assessment of the upcoming elections, which forecasted the communists winning a majority of the municipalities. The memorandum then suggested 'certain things which might be done to alter the foregoing situation and the probable outcome'. First:

> one should bear in mind that the Nationalists can win everywhere
> (except possibly Famagusta) provided their personal opinions of, or
> differences with, their own candidates do not keep them from the polls.
> To turn out the vote, however, the Greek Orthodox Church must be
> urged, or prodded, into public display of its interest in the election
> results. There is no apparent reason why the Bishops should not
> continually and openly support the Nationalists candidates instead of
> confining their efforts, as they do now, to assurances given in private
> meetings.[112]

The memorandum suggested that the US Embassy in Athens might be able to influence the Cypriot church through the friendship between the Greek Archbishop Damaskinos and the Cypriot Archbishop Makarios II as well as to induce 'friendly editors in Athens' to encourage unity among the Greek-Cypriot nationalists. Furthermore, while most of the Turkish-Cypriots were not expected to vote, the memorandum claimed that those who do 'will almost certainly support a non-

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[110] Chancery, Bucharest to IRD, 22 July 1949, CO537/4975, TNA.
[111] Peck to Fisher and annexed minute by Peck, 8 April 1949, CO537/4974, TNA.
[112] Unsigned, memorandum, 15 March 1949, annex of: Peck to Fisher, 8 April 1949, CO537/4974, TNA.

Communist ticket'. And as the Turks constituted an estimated twenty percent of the electorate in Cyprus, the US Embassy in Ankara could be persuaded to push for a similar press campaign there. Thus, 'local Turks should be urged to vote for a full list of non-Communists, and not merely for the Turkish candidates'.[113]

Fisher outlined several reasons against British, let alone American, interference as outlined above. First, the Greek-Cypriot Orthodox Church was involved as effectively as it could have been: 'The Bishops have taken an extremely unequivocal line about communism, and (I should have thought) have made it clear enough that any communist supporter would be worthy of excommunication'. Second, even if greater participation was possible, it would not be advantageous for the British. According to Fisher, encouraging a group whose only constructive policy was 'Union with Greece and out with the English' would have created 'a curious impression'. Third, seeking Greece's assistance in the matter would have been counter to the well-established policy of resisting Greek interference in Cyprus. This last argument likewise applied to Turkish intervention. Fourth and most important, Fisher was convinced 'that any manoeuvre such as that suggested would in fact play straight into the hands of AKEL'. The process would certainly not remain a secret, and:

> even if the faintest suspicion of it got about[,] the Cyprus communists would be presented with a trump card. 'We always told you' they would say 'that Cyprus is being turned into an Anglo-American imperialist base. Now you see the proof in this American attempt to dominate our municipal elections.

Therefore, Fisher concluded, it would have been 'the greatest possible mistake'.[114]

Fisher added that the Colonial Office felt that AKEL's 'influence and capacity for harm' derived from the effective control of trade unionism rather than of municipal governments. She argued that '[t]he disturbances of this past year would I think have taken place with no less violence even if all the Mayors had been Right Wing Enosists'. The elections, Fisher concluded, were 'after all municipal elections'. The Colonial Office maintained that political and social reforms, especially regarding labour, were the key to destroying AKEL. Peck replied that he and Anderson were

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[113] *Ibid*.
[114] Fisher to Peck, 13 April 1949, CO537/4974, TNA.

both convinced by her arguments against the proposals. Anderson, however, did 'again stress the American interest in seeing that Cyprus was not rendered untenable as a strategic base by large scale Communist activities'.[115]

Fisher wrote to Peck one month later. According to Fisher, the Colonial Office considered the 'number of genuine Communists trained, orthodox and convinced' to be 'not very large' and 'all well known' to the authorities. These Akelists were 'on the whole an able and efficient lot'. Fisher argued that 'while nothing very positive can be done about the skilled professional communists', it was conceivable 'to weaken the machine at their disposal'. She continued:

> Their organisation, which is based on the 'Old' Trade Unions and Akel, includes a wide variety of members, from the miner and the bricklayer to the young intellectual of the Nicosia coffee shops. The aim of the Cyprus Government is to create a state of affairs in which the number of members committed to follow Akel policy is kept as small as possible and in which it is recognised that indulgence in subversive activity by any group of members will pay no dividends.[116]

To fight this cultural Cold War, according to Fisher, the Cyprus government had a number of tools at its disposal. First and most common was legal action against seditious activities, which included the increasing of penalties. Second, the government assumed the responsibility of fixing electoral districts to 'diminish the opportunities for cooking the lists in the interests of Akel'. Third, the government prohibited any political activity by all public servants, which included civil servants and primary schoolteachers. The only positive tool was in the area of trade unionism. Over the previous year, the government both strengthened its Department of Labour to facilitate its handling of labour disputes and appointed a permanent public information officer to influence public opinion.[117]

Fisher claimed that this 'stiffening' of the government's position on AKEL's subversion had a positive effect: AKEL's rallies had been less attended, at times 'sparse'; AKEL lost a significant amount of prestige after its failed mining strike in 1948; their December general strike had to be called off after only two hours; despite changing the date to a Sunday, the Cominform's youth day celebrations

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[115] *Ibid*.; Peck to Fisher, 13 April 1949, CO537/4974, TNA.
[116] Fisher to Peck, 10 May 1949, CO537/4974, TNA.
[117] *Ibid*.

were considered to be unsuccessful; the 'volte-face' from self-government to *enosis* and the related purges – especially as they were widely believed to have been directed from Greece, Moscow, and/or the Cominform – weakened its popular appeal; and AKEL had been continuously unsuccessful at trying to infiltrate the British colonial service. However, while AKEL was weakened, the lack of a left-wing, labour, and/or progressive alternative; the continuation of an almost entirely British central government; and Cyprus's increasingly troubled economy: these realities left 'some very strong cards indeed in the hands of the Communists'.[118]

The strongest card remained trade unionism. The PEO had a membership in 1948 of 9,604, down from 12,961 in 1945. The right-wing unions had gained the momentum but only to the extent that their combined membership in 1948 was 2,641. The Turkish trade unions, which boasted 843 members in 1945, only had 190 in 1948 and suffered, according to Fisher, 'like some other Turkish institutions in the Island, from general apathy'. She described these figures, rather optimistically, as 'a remarkable decline in membership of the Left Wing Unions over the period and a very noticeable increase in the Right Wing Unions'.[119] By 1954, however, the PEO could boast of 18,200 members, compared to the SEK's 2,900.[120]

THE 1949 MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS

On 21 March, the district court suspended AKEL's press organ, *Neos Democratis*, as well as jailed one of its editors, both for three months. The incriminating article alleged that the government amended municipal laws recently to permit gerrymandering in the upcoming municipal elections and, moreover, had 'fixed' the elections for the Turkish mukhtars (village leaders) and the right-wing party. One month later, the Cyprus courts decided that imprisonment, because it disrupted the two-year residency requirement, would exclude candidates from the electoral roll and thus could disqualify them from seeking office. This ruling was applied to Servas as well as to a councillor and former councillor for Limassol. Because they had no right to appeal, AKEL was forced to make new nominations. Bennett minuted, 'we

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[118] *Ibid*.

[119] Fisher to Peck, 8 June 1949, CO537/4974, TNA.

[120] Christophoros Christophorou, 'The Evolution of Greek Cypriot Party Politics', in: James Ker-Lindsay and Hubert Faustmann (eds), *The Government and Politics of Cyprus* (Oxford, 2009), p. 101n10.

need not be too squeamish about accepting any tactical advantages in the cold war which come our way'.[121]

Nevertheless, the municipal elections 'took place quietly, smoothly and without incident' in May 1949, apart from disturbances in Nicosia between members of the *X* Organization and AKEL which resulted in two deaths. Turnbull interpreted the outcome as 'an unexpectedly substantial victory for the Right over their Akelist opponents'.[122] The nationalists unseated AKEL in Nicosia and several rural municipalities (Lapithos, Karavas, and Lefkoniko). AKEL, particularly given its pre-election difficulties, suffered reductions in every one of the municipalities but still maintained control in Limassol, Famagusta, Larnaca and Morphou.[123]

This was not necessarily considered to be good news for the Cyprus government. Turnbull argued that party membership did not reflect the slip in electoral support. Since September 1947, AKEL had lost only eleven members, while it lost thirty-nine of its municipal seats in the 1949 election. Furthermore, some 11,000 ballots (44.6 percent of the total vote) had still been cast for AKEL candidates, which, Turnbull calculated, were five times the party's membership. He admitted that while 'the falling off in "fellow traveller" support is significant, this support is still considerable'.[124]

Increased British intelligence, information management, and complacency regarding the Greek-Cypriot nationalists failed to destroy AKEL. As we will see in chapter eleven, 1950 did see the decline of AKEL and the rise of Greek-Cypriot nationalist-led violence. However, this did not deter the Cold War priorities of British policy-makers and their focus on AKEL. In addition to the legal and administrative weapons to combat AKEL's influence via public rituals and demonstrations, trade unionism, and youth that we have seen detailed in this chapter, the policy-makers would seek more extreme powers to fight the imperial Cold War on the ground in Cyprus.

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[121] Turnbull to Creech Jones, 21 March and 15 April 1949; Martin, minute, 28 April 1949, CO537/4974, TNA.
[122] PSR, May 1949, CO537/4973, TNA.
[123] Fisher to Peck, 10 May 1949, CO537/4974, TNA.
[124] Turnbull to Creech Jones, 22 July 1949, CO537/4974, TNA.

Chapter Eight
British Anti-Communism: Containment through Reform

Between 1946 and 1949, British colonial rule was further reformed in both Cyprus and Hong Kong for a number of reasons with varying significance: to make the colonial economies more efficient; to counter anti-colonialism in both the colonies and the international community; to justify to all involved the continuation of the British imperial project; and to counter and contain communist forces in the local, regional, and global battlefields of the Cold War. This was Britain's attempt to evolve its colonialism to compete in a Cold War dominated by Soviet NGOs and cultural imperialism. However, in both colonies, the resilience of these communist forces led to the abandonment of the reform project and a return to a more repressive approach.

Cyprus's 'new deal' (the series of policies which reformed British colonial rule, including proposed constitutional reform and internal self-government) failed in its primary aim to undermine AKEL, but not for a lack of trying. In fact, it was the resilience of AKEL (that is, the potential of AKEL's domination of the proposed self-government system) which ultimately doomed the reform. Hong Kong's proposed constitutional reform suffered a similar fate for similar reasons. While it was as good as dead once Grantham assumed the governorship in 1947 (given his views of the colony), it was the threat of CCP domination and the general upheaval caused by the Korean War (as we will see in chapter ten) which provided the justification for the Cabinet to abandon ideas of major reform for Hong Kong and to allow Grantham to return to a more traditional approach to colonial rule.

The failure of reform as a containment policy had important consequences for both colonies. The Greek-Cypriot Orthodox Church, led by a stronger archbishop, asserted itself as the leader of nationalist politics and hardened its anti-British and anti-communist resolve; however it, just like the KMT in Hong Kong, remained a secondary threat in the eyes of British policy-makers. In fact, some in the Cyprus government and in Whitehall contemplated cooperation, or at least an implicit truce, with the nationalists in combating AKEL, while in Hong Kong, there was actual cooperation with the KMT authorities across the border in combatting the CCP in the area.

Far from maintaining 'strict neutrality', the Hong Kong government's new ordinances – Trade Unions and Trade Disputes (April 1948), Public Order (October 1948), Education (December 1948), Illegal Strikes and Lockouts (April 1949), and Societies (May 1949) – as well as the formation of the Education Department's Special Bureau were created explicitly for the purpose of countering communist influences in the colony. In Cyprus, authorities discriminatorily targeted communists who broke laws against sedition and unpermitted meetings (usually for celebrations) as well as who sought to travel to Eastern European countries. This was how the imperial Cold War was fought on the ground, where culture, politics, and imperialism intersected.

The Hong Kong government, however, was unwilling (unlike some officials in Cyprus) and unable to take the final step. As will be seen in chapter ten, Grantham repeatedly rejected overt suppression as a useful tool for numerous reasons (i.e. the lack of legal justification, the loss of a listening post, and emboldening the KMT). The JIC(FE) added to that list the ineffectiveness of suppression, as known organizations would have simply re-established themselves under unknown disguises or go underground.[1] Cyprus governors received similar reasons against their requests for overt suppression.

However, Grantham's firmer covert measures against the CCP, particularly the Societies Ordinance, had already forced the CCP to continue its work in Hong Kong as an underground political organization. The much greater fear, as outlined by the JIC(FE), was that suppression might have led to 'serious disruption of the Colony's internal security' by strikes in 'all essential services', invasion by 'large guerilla bands from South China', student-led civil disobedience, and overt battles between KMT and anti-KMT parties.[2] While Cyprus authorities shared similar fears (i.e. of internal disruption, strikes, student-led agitation, and communist-nationalist clashes) the lack of external threat – the repression of AKEL prompting an invasion by the Greek EAM, let alone the Soviet Red Army, was never a concern – meant that the Cyprus government had a freer hand to be more overt and harsh than Hong

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[1] JIC(FE), (48)10(Final), 'The Value of Hong Kong to the Chinese Communist Party', 26 August 1948, CO537/3718, TNA.
[2] *Ibid.*; Loh, *Underground Front*, p. 76.

Kong in its treatment of AKEL.

Nevertheless, by mid-1949, British policy-makers were convinced that the CCP had infiltrated 'nearly all the important unions, schools, singing groups, cultural associations, etc.' and became 'menacing and powerful'.[3] While Grantham and the Hong Kong authorities battled these internal threats, Hong Kong was also becoming entangled with wider Cold War tensions, and the Hong Kong government was becoming an important player in British activities against communism in Far Eastern education, immigration, and propaganda. Furthermore, as Scarlett observed, British policy, especially its publicity as pro-democratic and not anti-Chinese, was 'of course dependent on the continued existence of an anti-Communist Chinese Government'.[4] In October 1949, British policy in, let alone its continued sovereignty over, Hong Kong was obfuscated by two new phases in the Cold War: the formation of the PRC and the introduction of hot proxy wars inaugurated in Korea.

Unlike Hong Kong, Cyprus was relatively free of external restraints on British actions against the colonial communists. Consequently, whereas British officials in Hong Kong were forced into exploring more innovative and less overtly anti-communist options, British officials in Cyprus, similarly becoming impatient with the reform approach, discarded it altogether.

Instead, the question officials in both colonies faced after 1949 was where to draw the line between too much or too little repression in containing, if not destroying, their respective perceived communist threats. For Grantham, the abandonment of major constitutional reform meant that he retained enough power to maintain internal security. For Governors Wright, Armitage, and Harding in Cyprus, the answer was proscription and imprisonment.

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[3] Hong Kong Police Special Branch, report, 'The Chinese Communist Party in Hong Kong', 30 June 1949, CO537/4816, TNA.
[4] Scarlett to Sidebotham, 16 December 1948, CO537/3729, TNA.

Section Three:

Containment through Repression

<u>Chapter Nine</u>
<u>The Decline of the British World System</u>

Between 1949 and the mid-1950s, the full extent of Britain's decline in great power (i.e. the ability to act independently of the US and Europe) began to dawn on politicians and civil servants alike. From parliamentary discussions on defence spending in 1946, 'cutting our coat according to our cloth' was an increasingly popular phrase in the Cabinet and Parliament, especially in the 1950s.[1] The phrase was perhaps most notoriously (and ironically) used by Prime Minister Anthony Eden in the Cabinet on the eve of the disastrous Anglo-French-Israeli invasion of Egypt (i.e. the Suez crisis) in 1956, after which Britain truly understood just how little cloth it had left.[2]

During these years, as we will see in the subsequent chapters, increasing Cold War tensions (including the fall of China and the introduction of hot proxy wars) and economic pressures prompted British policy-makers to depend more and more on repression (as opposed to constructive and costly policies and programmes) to contain the perceived communist threat on imperial and cultural battlegrounds. While it is true that neither the Churchill nor Eden governments formally decolonized any territories (focussing cuts in the domestic sphere), the process of imperial streamlining certainly continued.[3] This process of preparing colonies for independence within the Commonwealth (which included investment in education, the localization of civil service, and grooming of colonial collaborators) was guarded by significant expansions of colonial state power, aimed explicitly against local and external communist activities on the cultural battlefields of the imperial Cold War.

LABOUR'S LAST YEARS, 1949-1951

The creation of NATO in April 1949 marked a subtle but certain 'shift of emphasis' in British foreign strategy. By solidifying the Anglo-American alliance, according to Nicholas Tarling, the British government's 'two objectives, Western preponderance and being a third world power, could be pursued simultaneously, though if they diverged, the former must take priority'. Or, as the Foreign Office put it, Britain

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[1] Commons, 4 March 1946, *Hansard*, 420, cols. 39-146.
[2] Louis, *Ends of British Imperialism*, p. 480n136.
[3] Butler, *Britain and the Empire*, p. 115.

'must show enough strength of national will and retain enough initiative to maintain her position as a leading world power, and, as such, influence United States policy'.[4] This explained why in 1950, the Cabinet decided to prioritize the defence of Western Europe over that of the Middle East, based not on Britain's military needs but on the requirements of maintaining Britain's influence in the American-dominated alliance.[5] This was certainly not withdrawal from the Middle East; the chiefs of staff determined that Cyprus was so strategic that Britain had to retain full sovereignty indefinitely.

Regarding Hong Kong, the newly formed Permanent Under-Secretary's Committee (responsible for long-term foreign policy planning) believed that the Anglo-American alliance 'would be least effective in Asia and the Far East', where 'American naïvety and selfishness were particularly evident'.[6] Thus the British government took it upon themselves (while also seeking greater US involvement) to create 'a kind of Marshall Plan for Asia', by which assistance and aid towards the development of Asian countries would help contain the spread of Chinese communism. This approach was also applied to Asian colonies, especially regarding French Indochina and the Dutch East Indies.[7] US involvement in East Asia would come the following year after the outbreak of the Korean War.

Before then, however, the fall of the ROC to Mao's forces in October 1949 – which nearly doubled the size of the communist bloc – considerably tested the Anglo-American alliance.[8] The divergence in policies towards China came down to the difference between US and British interests in China. For the US, 'it was the loss of American influence that was of critical importance', and this as well as domestic public opinion against the PRC dictated a policy of 'continued recognition of the KMT regime and non-recognition of the communists', which would last until 1979.[9]

For British policy-makers, it was hoped that China's economic problems 'might

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[4] Tarling, *Britain, Southeast Asia and the Onset of the Cold War*, p. 317.

[5] Kent, *British Imperial Strategy*, p. 205.

[6] Ovendale, 'Britain, the United States, and the Cold War in South-East Asia', p. 447.

[7] Tarling, *Britain, Southeast Asia and the Onset of the Cold War*, pp. 317-318.

[8] Tsang, *The Cold War's Odd Couple*, pp. 59-60.

[9] Lanxin Xiang, 'The Recognition Controversy: Anglo-American Relations in China, 1949', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 27/2 (1992), pp. 340-341; Ritchie Ovendale, 'Britain, the United States, and the Recognition of Communist China', *The Historical Journal* (1983), p. 158.

mean reasonable treatment of Western interests'. Specifically, the Cabinet was keen to protect the 'potentially vast market for British goods', the 'potentially soft currency source of supply of essential imports', and the 'potential trade between Britain and China', which was estimated potentially to 'double its pre-war level' – not to mention Hong Kong's lucrative position therein. Thus, while willing to delay recognition in line with a coordinated Western strategy, the British embassy in Washington insisted (to no avail) that the US should not apply economic sanctions.[10]

The US, however, was not the only one acting unilaterally, and Anglo-American tensions escalated in October, shortly after the formation of the PRC in Beijing, when the British foreign mission there basically afforded the communist government de facto recognition. Although Bevin profusely apologized to the irate American government, the Cabinet had decided as early as September that Britain was willing to pursue recognition alone.[11] Finally, on 15 December, Bevin argued in the Cabinet that, despite the fact that the US would disapprove, 'the interests of the United Kingdom Government would be best served by according early recognition to the Communist Government of China'. The Cabinet agreed, leaving the precise arrangements to Bevin.[12] Formal de jure recognition was given to the PRC on 6 January 1950.

THE KOREAN WAR

The outbreak of hostilities in Korea on 25 June 1950 is still the subject of much debate. While most recently interpreted by scholars as first and foremost a civil war, the contemporary view was that Kim Il Sung's North Korea invaded South Korea 'at the instigation of, or with the connivance of, the Soviet Union' as a test of US resolve. Had Kim conquered South Korea, it would have effectively 'strengthen[ed] communism in Asia, counter-balance[d] the American policy of rebuilding the Japanese economy, and diminish[ed] the prestige of the West in

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[10] Ovendale, 'Britain, the United States, and the Recognition of Communist China', pp. 141-142, 158; Wolf, 'To Secure a Convenience', p. 301, 319-320.
[11] Xiang, 'The Recognition Controversy', pp. 336-337.
[12] Cabinet conclusions, 15 December 1949, CAB128/16/29.

other parts of the world'.[13]

Two days after the invasion, US President Harry Truman ordered the Seventh Fleet into the Taiwan Strait to protect the KMT, now in Taiwan, from further attack from the CCP. This reaction, as indicated by Sir Oliver Franks, the British ambassador to the US, replaced *Pax Britannica* with *Pax Americana* in Asia.[14] Or more accurately, Cold War Asia's hot conflicts would from 1950 onwards be associated more with US imperialism than European colonialism. Nevertheless, in order to demonstrate its usefulness in the wider Cold War and to resist communist imperialism in Asia, Britain threw its somewhat reluctant support behind the US and eventually used Hong Kong as a support base for British military and naval campaigns in Korea.[15]

Another reason for giving support was to secure and then to influence further US actions in the region. For example, three days after North Korea invaded South Korea, the US government sent to the British Foreign Office the text of its upcoming public announcement regarding the hostilities. The text condemned 'centrally-directed Communist imperialism' which now 'passed beyond subversion in seeking to conquer independent nations and was now resorting to armed aggression and war'. Although not wanting 'to discourage that [the US] Government from helping us and the French in resisting Communist encroachments in Malaya and Indo-China', the Cabinet was keen to dissuade the Americans from using this sweeping statement as well as references to other 'Communist encroachments in other parts of Asia' in the speech. The Cabinet feared that such an announcement would:

> present a major challenge to the Soviet Government; [...] would bring
> into controversy other issues which had not yet been brought before
> the Security Council; and [...] embarrass the United Kingdom
> Government in their relations with the Communist Government of China
> and might even provoke that Government to attack Hong Kong or to

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[13] Lowe, *Containing the Cold War*, p. 184.

[14] Ritchie Ovendale, 'Britain and the Cold War in Asia', in: Ritchie Ovendale (ed.), *The Foreign Policy of the British Labour Governments, 1945-1951* (Leicester, 1984), p. 12.

[15] Cabinet conclusions, 27 June 1950, CAB128/17/39; Cabinet conclusions, 17 July 1950, CAB128/18/6; Cabinet conclusions, 4 September 1950, CAB128/18/15; Nicholas Tarling, 'Britain and the Cold War in Southeast Asia', in: Albert Lau (ed.), *Southeast Asia and the Cold War* (London, 2012), p. 16; Tsang, *A Modern History of Hong Kong*, p. 157; Michael F. Hopkins, 'The Price of Cold War Partnership: Sir Oliver Franks and the British Military Commitment in the Korean War', *Cold War History*, 1/2 (2001), pp. 43-44.

foment disorder there.[16]

Washington acquiesced and 'watered down' the statement, changing 'centrally-directed Communist imperialism' to 'communism', thereby avoiding an overt accusation of the Soviet Union.[17]

As the Korean War dragged on and as the US attempted to organize greater Western commitment via the UN, British policy-makers sought to restrain American enthusiasm. In November 1950, Attlee explained to the Cabinet that:

> it was of the first importance that the United Nations should not be trapped into diverting a disproportionate effort to the Far East. Their operations in Korea had been important as a symbol of their resistance to aggression; but Korea was not in itself of any strategic importance to the democracies and it must not be allowed to draw more of their military resources away from Europe and the Middle East.

On the other hand, Attlee reasoned that full withdrawal of British support would probably prompt the US to respond in kind in Europe. Thus, Attlee argued, '[t]he wisest course would probably be to continue to resist the Chinese forces in Korea, but to seek to limit hostilities to Korea and refrain from any attacks beyond the Manchurian frontier', lest the Soviet Union be provoked in overtly joining the war. Attlee concluded that 'we must be prepared, if necessary, to accept American leadership in the Far East'.[18]

This was easier said than done. One of the main British concerns was that the US might intensify its economic warfare against the PRC, from its November 1949 'embargo on strategic goods *only* [...] to a total embargo on *all* trade with China', which in fact came in December.[19] Worse still came on 18 May 1951, when the US pushed through the UN a strategic embargo against the PRC for its intervention in Korea. The aim was 'to deny contributions to the military strength of the forces opposing the United Nations in Korea'.[20]

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[16] Cabinet conclusions, 27 June 1950, CAB128/17/39.

[17] Steven Casey, *Selling the Korean War: Propaganda, Politics, and Public Opinion 1950-1953* (Oxford, 2008), p. 27.

[18] Cabinet conclusions, 29 November 1950, CAB128/18/38.

[19] Mark Chi-kwan, 'American "China Hands" in the 1950s', in: Cindy Yik-yi Chu (ed.), *Foreign Communities in Hong Kong, 1840s-1950s* (New York, 2005), p. 179.

[20] Shu Guang Zhang, *Economic Cold War: America's Embargo against China and the Sino-Soviet Alliance, 1949-1963* (New York, 2001), p. 39; James T.H. Tang, 'World War to Cold War: Hong Kong's

Generally, as Malcolm MacDonald, the commissioner-general of Southeast Asia, warned the Foreign Office in December 1952, the US's 'fundamental generosity and idealism' was seriously undermined 'by the clumsiness of their methods and the deep seated fear amongst Asians that the American attitude to China may lead either to an extension of the Korean War [...] or to a general war'. For MacDonald, Britain must 'exercise a restraining influence where possible'.[21]

Indeed, 'the greatest threat to Hong Kong's economy in the years after the 1949 revolution came not from the Chinese communists but rather from the United States'.[22] Not only did Hong Kong-China trade decrease significantly due to the US-instigated embargoes, but Hong Kong's trade with the rest of the world also became encumbered. For example, considerable debate was had 'to decide whether the meat products from chicken or ducklings hatched in Hong Kong from eggs imported from the PRC should be deemed to have sufficient capitalist pedigree for export to the USA'.[23]

In the end, however, these embargoes were 'a blessing in disguise [...] helping speed up (if not initiate) its [Hong Kong's] industrialization'.[24] The embargoes also increased for the PRC the importance of maintaining the status quo in Hong Kong. By 1952, ninety percent of China's import trade with non-communist countries came from Pakistan and Egypt (cotton), Ceylon (rubber), Macao, and Hong Kong ('for goods that could not be imported from the Eastern Bloc including pharmaceuticals [...], machinery and dyes'). Zhou (the PRC's premier) thus sought to uphold the colony's capitalist system and to build relations with Hong Kong entrepreneurs.[25]

Future and Anglo-Chinese Interactions', in: Ming K. Chan (ed.), *Precarious Balance: Hong Kong Between China and Britain, 1842-1992* (Hong Kong, 1994), p. 122.

[21] MacDonald to Foreign Office, 8 December 1952, 18/5/18, MM papers.

[22] Carroll, *A Concise History of Hong Kong*, p. 141.

[23] Tsang, *A Modern History*, p. 164.

[24] Mark, 'American "China Hands" in the 1950s', p. 179.

[25] Chu, *Chinese Communists and Hong Kong Capitalists*, p. 46; Catherine R. Schenk, 'Hong Kong's Economic Relations with China 1949-1955: Blockade, Embargo and Financial Controls', in: Lee Pui-tak (ed.), *Colonial Hong Kong and Modern China: Interaction and Reintegration* (Hong Kong, 2005), p. 214.

THE COLD WAR EMPIRE

On 18 February 1950, Creech Jones sent a circular dispatch to the colonies, requesting governors to examine their existing legislation in light of the perceived communist menace. Creech Jones suggested that adequate powers should be put in place so that local authorities could suppress communist agitation early and quickly without the need to declare a state of emergency. He invoked his circular dispatch from 5 August 1948, stressing the consistent and 'abundant evidence that a part of the present Communist tactics is to attempt to undermine the authority of government wherever possible in British Colonial territories'. He specifically emphasized the importance of a government's power to proscribe any subversive or dangerous association or society. However, he argued that the current legislation in Singapore, Malaya, and Hong Kong went too far because 'as permanent legislation, they are open to the criticism that they confer arbitrary powers on the Executive without providing any recourse by the private citizen to the Courts'. He nevertheless included copies of these three ordinances as good examples of emergency legislation.[26]

In addition to associations, Creech Jones specifically identified immigration, arms trafficking, and education as potentially dangerous areas in the imperial Cold War which required a strong British response. With any legislation intended to counter communism, Creech Jones stressed that 'no specific mention should of course be made of the fact that it is directed against "Communism" and "Communists"'. Furthermore, if these powers were likely to influence external affairs (e.g. in Parliament or 'of reciprocity with Communist powers in such matters as the exchange of films, facilities for newspaper correspondents, introduction of publications etc.'), the secretary of state requested to be consulted first.[27] By implication, Creech Jones was leaving the discretion of internal anti-communist policies to the governors.

Indeed, Creech Jones spelled out several ways in which local governments could avoid criticism for executing such repressive measures. The first excuse was

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[26] Creech Jones, circular dispatch to the colonies, 'Powers for Dealing with Subversive Activities', 18 February 1950, CO537/5389, TNA.
[27] *Ibid*.

that there were some counter-measures which simply did not require special legislation. Creech Jones argued that 'overt and clandestine' surveillance was 'a normal activity of the police'. On the other hand, enacting legislation which legalized such surveillance methods as postal censorship was 'clearly undesirable', (although Creech Jones did imply that the British authorities should do it anyway). Finally, despite the recently enacted UN Declaration of Human Rights and despite providing communist propagandists with more ammunition, Creech Jones concluded that in the end, 'the most important consideration is, of course, that Colonial Governments should be equipped to deal with Communist and subversive activities generally'. He therefore recommended that governments should educate their entire administration as to 'the dangers of the present Communist threat, with appropriate advice as to the means by which, by administrative action, the activities of subversive persons and associations, particularly Communists, can be hampered and thwarted'.[28]

CHURCHILL AND THE CONSERVATIVE GOVERNMENT (1951-1955)

The 1950 general election reduced the Labour Party's overall majority in Parliament to just six seats, and Attlee called for another election eighteen months later, hoping to regain ground.[29] However, continued austerity measures (especially regarding the National Health Service), the costs of the Korean War, and the increasing number of strikes with a corresponding increase in government repression (i.e. the Labour government's use of troops, strike-breakers, and jail time for strikers) had taken their electoral toll.[30] Meanwhile, Churchill overcame 'Labour's accusations that he was a "warmonger"' by playing up his experience in international diplomacy. The result was a narrow victory for the Conservatives, and Churchill returned for one last jaunt as prime minister.[31]

Churchill's first problem was the economy. His government inherited a considerable balance of payments crisis, caused mostly by the rearmament programme of 1950. R.A. Butler, the new chancellor of the exchequer, informed his

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[28] *Ibid*.
[29] Stuart Ball, *The Conservative Party and British Politics, 1902-1951* (London, 2013), p. 115.
[30] Malcolm Pearce and Geoffrey Stewart, *British Political History, 1867-2001: Democracy and Decline* (London, 2002), pp. 452-453.
[31] Klaus Larres, *Churchill's Cold War: The Politics of Personal Diplomacy* (London, 2002), p. 139.

Cabinet colleagues that Britain's deficit was increasing some £700 million each year.[32] Churchill thus instructed the Treasury to pressure all government departments to cut expenditure. This included the implementation of the so-called 'New Look', which was a shift from conventional to nuclear weaponry in order to reduce military spending. Britain tested its first atomic bomb on 3 October 1952 (to be outdone by the US's test of the first hydrogen bomb less than one month later and a Soviet hydrogen bomb in August 1953).[33] Moreover, Churchill specifically asked Oliver Lyttelton, the new secretary of state for the colonies, to consider 'any emergency measure which the Colonies might take to relieve the current economic difficulties of the United Kingdom'.[34]

Churchill's government also continued its predecessor's prioritization of the Anglo-American relationship. Just as the Labour Cabinet agreed to shift its defence policies from the Middle East to Europe in 1950, Anthony Eden, in his third stint as secretary of state for foreign affairs, was forced in 1954 to pursue the rearmament of West Germany within NATO, after John Dulles, the US secretary of state, threatened to lessen the US's military commitments to Europe. And with the softening of Soviet policy after the death of Stalin in March 1953 – most broadly, the move from Zhdanov's two-camp doctrine towards the 'peaceful coexistence' rhetoric of Georgii Malenkov and Nikita Khrushchev – Churchill's desire to make peace with the Soviets had to give way to the view of US President Eisenhower (supported domestically by a population whipped into a paranoid frenzy by Senator Joseph McCarthy's crusade) that 'there had been no change since Lenin' in the Soviet Union's expansionist aims.[35]

CHURCHILL'S COLONIAL POLICY

The colonial policy of the Attlee government (to prepare certain colonies for independence within the Commonwealth, in part, to lessen the economic burden on the metropole) was also taken up by the Conservatives with only minor changes. These changes, which included the substitution of the phrase 'full self-government'

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[32] Heinlein, *British Government Policy*, p. 88.

[33] Dockrill, *Britain's Retreat*, p. 16; Peden, *Arms, Economics and British Strategy*, p. 272.

[34] Cabinet conclusions, 1 November 1951, CAB128/23/2.

[35] Geoffrey K. Fry, *The Politics of Decline: An Interpretation of British Politics from the 1940s to the 1970s* (Basingstoke, 2005), pp. 120-123; Kocho-Williams, *Russia's International Relations*, p. 104.

for 'independence', reflected the broader Conservative attempt to slow the pace of decolonization in certain cases.[36]

Churchill's prime ministership saw 'relatively little constitutional progression towards colonial independence'. In fact, his government, as well as that of his successor, Eden, 'have been variously characterised as delivering years of "ambiguity" and even "revival" in British imperial policy'.[37] For example, it was Churchill's minister of housing and local government, Harold Macmillan, who pushed for increasing trade within the sterling area to reinvigorate what he called 'the third British Empire'. On 14 November 1951, Lyttelton announced in the House of Commons his government's intention to maintain the imperial strategy of Churchill's wartime coalition and Attlee's post-war governments.[38] He said:

> First, we all aim at helping the Colonial Territories to attain self-government within the British Commonwealth. To that end we are seeking as rapidly as possible to build up in each territory the institutions which its circumstances require. Second, we are all determined to pursue the economic and social development of the Colonial Territories so that it keeps pace with their political development.[39]

This vague statement also maintained the previous governments' view that the road to self-government was long. Indeed, 'by linking economic and social development with the pace of political change, Lyttelton was in fact saying Britain would not grant independence to a colonial territory which did not possess means of its own to sustain it'.[40] Moreover, Churchill and Eden, like their predecessors and successors, believed that 'the stability of sterling, the special [Anglo-American] relationship and Britain's international standing [i.e. prestige] were interlinked'. Therefore, 'any kind of retreat equalled a loss of prestige and thus power. And loss of power meant not only political, but also economic decline'.[41]

With the economy and military over-stretched, the Conservative government

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[36] Butler, *Britain and the Empire*, p. 113.
[37] Sarah Stockwell and L.J. Butler, 'Introduction', in: L.J. Butler and Sarah Stockwell (eds), *The Wind of Change: Harold Macmillan and British Decolonization* (Basingstoke, 2013), p. 5.
[38] S.R. Ashton, 'Keeping Change within Bounds: A Whitehall Reassessment', in: Martin Lynn (ed.), *The British Empire in the 1950s: Retreat or Revival?* (Basingstoke, 2006), pp. 32-33.
[39] Commons, 14 November 1951, *Hansard*, 493, col. 984.
[40] Ashton, 'Keeping Change within Bounds', p. 33.
[41] Heinlein, *British Government Policy*, pp. 87-88, 90.

was forced to trim as much as possible but also as delicately as possible, so as to avoid costly colonial conflicts and/or the perception that Britain was unable to maintain its global position. As a Foreign Office memorandum outlined, 'It is evident that in so far as we reduce commitments […] our claim to the leadership of the Commonwealth, to a position of influence in Europe, and to a special relationship with the United States will be, *pro tanto*, diminished'. Thus Churchill's government sought 'a very gradual and inconspicuous' reduction, both imperially and domestically.[42]

SUEZ AND THE H-BOMB

In 1952, the nationalist Free Officers Movement, led nominally by General Muhammad Naguib but actually by Colonel Gamal Abdel Nasser, overthrew King Farouk and established the Republic of Egypt. This movement also sought to end British occupation, not only of the Suez Canal Zone but also of the Sudan, the Anglo-Egyptian condominium which Britain nevertheless 'governed as though it were a crown colony'. The latter was settled on 12 February 1953, when the British government agreed to withdraw from the Sudan over a three-year period.[43]

In February 1954, Nasser officially assumed leadership of the country. The British Foreign Office believed that this was the best chance to settle Anglo-Egyptian disagreements; Churchill hoped that Nasser would provide an excuse 'to give the Egyptians a military thump' before redeploying.[44] In the Cabinet, on the other hand, Eden proposed a flexible approach which recognized that, while winnable, a military conflict with Egypt would be costly and render the Suez base useless anyway. Instead, the general strategy of 'redeployment' would aim 'to mothball bases in peacetime' to be used only in emergencies, thus cutting military costs and avoiding colonial animosity towards 'British occupation'.[45]

Despite some hardliner Conservative support (from the so-called 'Suez rebels') for maintaining the Suez Canal Zone permanently, pressure from US President Eisenhower, the British chiefs of staff, and most of his Cabinet finally

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[42] *Ibid.*, p. 90.
[43] Martin Sicker, *The Middle East in the Twentieth Century* (Westport, CT, 2001), pp. 191-193.
[44] Tony Shaw, *Eden, Suez and the Mass Media: Propaganda and Persuasion during the Suez Crisis* (London, 1996), p. 6; Louis, *Ends of British Imperialism*, pp. 621-622.
[45] Heinlein, *British Government Policy*, pp. 92-93.

convinced Churchill that Britain had to leave. In June 1954, using the hydrogen bomb as a justification for the 'redeployment' of British troops from the Suez base, Churchill persuaded the House of Commons (after a serious heckling from the opposition regarding 'scuttle' and eating 'humble pie') that this was the right course of action.[46]

On 19 October 1954, an Anglo-Egyptian treaty was signed 'on essentially Egyptian terms'. It committed Britain to withdraw all troops within twenty months but allowed British civilian technicians to maintain the base in peacetime and the British military to re-enter the base in war. While 'lightening the imperial burden', this was by no means complete withdrawal, as '[i]t was assumed that it was not possible to evacuate, for example, the eastern Mediterranean without starting a crumbling process that would inexorably destroy Britain's hold over the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean as well'.[47] Thus once Britain withdrew from Suez, the retention of Cyprus, as Britain's last possession in the eastern Mediterranean, became absolutely non-negotiable.[48]

EDEN'S GOVERNMENT (1955-1957)

On 5 April 1955, five days into the EOKA revolt in Cyprus and less than two months before the next general election scheduled for the end of May, Churchill reluctantly retired as prime minister, owing largely to poor health. With Eden at the helm, the Conservative Party increased their majority in Parliament by forty-two seats. Larres has speculated that it was Eden's success in negotiating with the Soviets (regarding establishing 'a fully sovereign Austria in its 1938 borders' and efforts to ease international tensions) and the rise in domestic living standards which attracted more of the British electorate away from the schismatic Labour Party and yet another Labour programme for nationalization.[49]

Eden's measured diplomacy with the Russians notwithstanding, Soviet meddling in Egypt had prompted concerns in the Cabinet; Harold Macmillan, the

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[46] Louis, *Ends of British Imperialism*, pp. 621-626.
[47] Sicker, *The Middle East*, p. 193; Heinlein, *British Government Policy*, pp. 87, 93.
[48] Evanthis Hatzivassiliou, 'The Cyprus Question and the Anglo-American Special Relationship, 1954-58', in: Richard J. Aldrich and Michael F. Hopkins (eds), *Intelligence, Defence and Diplomacy: British Policy in the Post-War World* (London, 1994), pp. 149-150.
[49] Larres, *Churchill's Cold War*, pp. 371-372.

new secretary of state for foreign affairs, claimed that 'in the Middle East the Russians had clearly embarked on a deliberate policy of opening up another front in the cold war'. Eden replied that:

> the main objective of our policy should be to protect of our vital oil interests in the Middle East. From this point of view the strengthening of the Northern Tier defence arrangements was more important than the attitude of Egypt. Turkey was the pivot to the Northern Tier defence. This factor should be kept in mind in all considerations of the Cyprus question.[50]

Thus the ongoing colonial emergencies in Malaya, Kenya, British Guiana, and Cyprus as well as the Suez crisis in 1956 'all suggested that the British appeared to have dug in their heels and to be tenaciously clinging to empire'. Or, as David Goldsworthy put it, the Conservative governments' general policy aim was 'the containment of colonial political change'.[51]

This imperial strategy for rebuilding and maintaining British geopolitical power was a consistent framework since at least the early 1940s, defined by imperial tensions with the Soviets which stretched back to the late 1910s. The Suez Crisis in 1956, however, made plain Britain's declining imperial power as well as influence in the Anglo-American relationship. By the early 1960s, British strategy was shifted away from empire towards Europe, marked by Eden's (unsuccessful) application to join the European Economic Union in 1961.[52]

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As we will see in the following chapters, late 1949 witnessed important turning points for both Hong Kong and Cyprus, which caused significant and sometimes unprecedented expansion of state power to explicitly protect the imperial process from the threat of communism. The fall of China and the uncertainty this caused forced Grantham to restrict further immigration, to expand the use of corporal punishment, and to take more control of education. In Cyprus, the arrival of Sir Andrew Wright as governor and the Greek-Cypriots' organization of a pro-*enosis* plebiscite (which took place in January 1950) similarly saw an expansion of

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[50] Cabinet conclusions, 20 October 1955, CAB128/29/36.
[51] Stockwell and Butler, 'Introduction', p. 5.
[52] Terrence R. Guay, *The United States and the European Union: The Political Economy of a Relationship* (London, 2012), pp. 26-27; Larres, 'Britain and the Cold War', p. 153.

government power to censor the press, punish crime, and deport undesirables. Both colonies also underwent strategic re-evaluations in which the chiefs of staff decided that the retention of full British sovereignty was crucial to Britain's position in the Cold War. And despite rising right-wing nationalist violence in both colonies, both colonial governments continued to identify the communists as their primary enemies.

It seemed that as Britain's imperial power became increasingly challenged and undermined by (perceived) internal and external threats, policy-makers reverted from the positivity of imperial reform to the repression of old-fashioned colonialism. The increasing violence used to suppress the growing number of colonial disturbances (i.e. in Malaya, Kenya, British Guiana, and Cyprus) was a reflection of weakness and a precursor to the Suez debacle.

<u>Chapter Ten</u>
<u>The Fall of China and '*Pax*' *Americana*, 1949-1952</u>

In addition to battling its domestic communist threat, the Hong Kong government, beginning in mid-1949, was fast becoming a major player in the British (and in some cases Anglo-American) war against communism in Far Eastern propaganda, immigration, and education. This was partly because the PRC (and US) was orchestrating some of its major regional operations from inside the colony. It was also because the British were keen to demonstrate their usefulness in the Anglo-American relationship, in order to maintain great power and to influence the US's 'naïvety and selfishness' in the region.[1]

Hong Kong's position in this clash of imperialisms was complicated by two new phases in the Cold War: the formation of communist China in October 1949 and the outbreak of the Korean War in June 1950. Whitehall leveraged these events to force Grantham to accept a number of policies he had previously resisted, specifically: increased interference from London regarding Hong Kong's defence; a constantly expanding purview for US espionage and information services; and stricter immigration policies. Grantham more willingly accepted permission to expand his government's power to control subversion and to expand corporal punishment.

The beginning of the Korean War marked the end of British leadership in the region, replaced by '*Pax*' *Americana*. Moreover, the Korean War, combined with the 1952 Kowloon riots, gave Grantham the justification needed to end any hope for major constitutional reform for Hong Kong. Throughout this period, British policy-makers were steadfast in their cold war against the CCP in Hong Kong and the region.

THE CCP BASE FOR REGIONAL OPERATIONS

In April 1948, Heathcote-Smith, Grantham's political advisor, informed the Colonial Office that the US consul-general in Hong Kong had 'made a remarkably interesting disclosure to me – whether accidentally or not[,] I am not sure'. The consul-general told Heathcote-Smith that the former's vice-consul, Richard Service, who had been

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[1] Ovendale, 'Britain, the United States, and the Cold War in South-East Asia', p. 447.

transferred to Hong Kong with orders to monitor Chinese political dissidents, had negotiated the release of four captured US marines in Shantung via local CCP members in Hong Kong.[2]

If true, Heathcote-Smith argued, this exchange gave credibility to the Chinese communists in Hong Kong as significant channels for communication with leaders in communist China. Furthermore, it confirmed suspicions that some sort of radio communication existed between Hong Kong and China. Heathcote-Smith believed that Service's contact was Kung P'eng, the wife of Chiao Mu, the director of the NCNA in Hong Kong (1946-1949).[3] The NCNA was indeed operating as 'a quasi-diplomatic channel for government exchange'.[4]

Not only was Hong Kong a direct line into north China but also a direct line out. As early as August 1948, the JIC(FE) described Hong Kong as 'a Communist liaison and communications centre for the whole of the Far East'. The local CCP publicly denied any such arrangements, specifically in regards to the MCP.[5] On 11 December, however, Hong Kong police raided the property of a prominent Chinese communist and allegedly found numerous documents which suggested, among other things, that the property was the site of some sort of communist headquarters for Hong Kong and possibly for south China. The seized documents also indicated the existence of connections between the CCP in Hong Kong and communists in French Indochina and the Philippines as well as included a list of addresses in Malaya.[6]

SIFE concluded that '[t]hrough Hong Kong pass some of the main lines of communication between the C.C.P. and the outside world'.[7] One of the most important lines was in fact the NCNA, which had become the primary channel for CCP propaganda sent to Southeast Asia, Europe, India, and the US. Its propaganda

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[2] Heathcote-Smith to Lamb, 28 April 1948, CO537/3719, TNA.
[3] *Ibid*.
[4] Loh, *Underground Front*, p. 72.
[5] JIC(FE), (48)10(Final), 'The Value of Hong Kong to the Chinese Communist Party', 26 August 1948; Grantham, 'Report on Communist and Soviet Activities for the six months ending 30th June 1948', undated [pages missing], enclosed in: Grantham to Creech Jones, 13 August 1948, CO537/3718, TNA; Loh, *Underground Front*, p. 73.
[6] Grantham to British Embassy, Nanking, 30 December 1948, CO537/4814, TNA.
[7] SIFE, report, 'Review of Communism in South East Asia', no. 11, 24 March 1948, CO537/2650, TNA.

included efforts to convince outsiders, particularly potential capitalist investors from the West, that the CCP would run its nation's economy differently from that of the Soviet Union.[8]

In addition to Hong Kong, the NCNA also had branches in London and Singapore, all of which were directly controlled by the CCP's Central Propaganda Department. The Singapore branch of the NCNA, which serviced Malaya, Borneo, and North Sumatra (a province of Indonesia), was closed down after only three months. MI5 speculated that this might have been indicative of local Chinese apathy towards CCP propaganda. The London branch, however, proved more successful, or at least more vital, for the CCP, specifically as 'the link' between the CCP and international communist organizations based in Europe, such as the WFDY, IUS, and WIDF.[9] Furthermore, by 1949, Hong Kong was a major centre for the printing and distributing of communist books and periodicals for Southeast Asia.[10]

In addition to the NCNA, the JIC(FE) suspected that the colony was also the home of the CCP's elusive South China Bureau. If true, the JIC(FE) explained, Hong Kong was not simply a mouthpiece but the source of policy and directives to CCP branches in South China and in foreign territories.[11] In August 1948, SIFE claimed to possess unverified reports that the Chinese communists in French Indochina were being directed from Hong Kong.[12] Five months later, SIFE informed the JIC(FE) that there was 'no doubt' that the key administrative structures of the South China Bureau had been located in Hong Kong for some time: 'The study of communism in Hong Kong is in fact the study of the development of the South China Committee and its successor, the South China Bureau'.[13]

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[8] JIC(FE), (48)10(Final), 'The Value of Hong Kong to the Chinese Communist Party', 26 August 1948; Grantham, 'Report on Communist and Soviet Activities for the six months ending 30th June 1948', undated [pages missing], enclosed in: Grantham to Creech Jones, 13 August 1948, CO537/3718, TNA.

[9] MI5, note, 'New China News Agency (Hsin Hwa News Agency)', May 1949, enclosed in: Hamblen to Marston, 24 May 1949, CO537/5116, TNA; Chan, *Between Red and White*, p. 53.

[10] Hong Kong Police Special Branch, report, 'The Chinese Communist Party in Hong Kong', 30 June 1949, CO537/4816, TNA.

[11] JIC(FE), (48)10(Final), 'The Value of Hong Kong to the Chinese Communist Party', 26 August 1948; Grantham, 'Report on Communist and Soviet Activities for the six months ending 30th June 1948', undated [pages missing], enclosed in: Grantham to Creech Jones, 13 August 1948, CO537/3718, TNA.

[12] SIFE, report, 'Review of Communism in South East Asia', no. 16, 31 August 1948, CO537/2650, TNA.

[13] SIFE, report, 'Communism in Hong Kong', 2 February 1949, CO537/4814, TNA.

This was not too far from the truth. The CCP established the South China Bureau (formerly called the Hong Kong Central Branch Bureau) in Hong Kong in June 1947, under the leadership of Fang Fang. Organizationally, it received instructions directly from the CCP Central Committee and was considered to be a vital operation.[14] Once the civil war ended, the bureau was moved to Canton, and the CCP maintained a sub-bureau in the colony.[15]

SIFE also had an accurate understanding of the bureau's local structure and function. The South China Bureau had its own secretariat and, parallel to the CCP organization in China, consisted of a number of departments for the affairs of youth, women, propaganda, labour, and economics – the cultural battlefields of the Cold War. In addition to normal administrative duties, this regional bureau had unique responsibilities: the recruitment, verification, indoctrination, and direction of Chinese communists returning from overseas; communication with foreign communist organizations; the overseas distribution of propaganda; and the negotiation with dissident Chinese political parties. Lastly, for the sake of expediency, it was charged with not antagonizing the British government in Hong Kong. SIFE warned that this last point would change once the CCP determined that the colony in British possession was no longer useful as a centre for administration, propaganda, or trade.[16]

Until then, however, British authorities could not take action against the South China Bureau, let alone find it. Nevertheless, between the NCNA and the South China Bureau, the CCP had established in Hong Kong a base for regional and international operations in the imperial Cold War, including communication with international communist organizations, management of regional communist movements, and distribution of propaganda for a range of intended audiences.

US INVOLVEMENT

While Hong Kong was never considered to be 'vital to US national interests', especially as trade between the two was 'negligible', the US government

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[14] Loh, *Underground Front*, pp. 69-70.

[15] Tsang, *A Modern History of Hong Kong*, p. 153.

[16] SIFE, report, 'Communism in Hong Kong', 2 February 1949, CO537/4814, TNA; Loh, *Underground Front*, p. 70.

increasingly found value in Hong Kong's strategic position beginning in 1949, as it was becoming clear that its support of Chiang and the ROC was not enough to turn the tide of the civil war.[17] For this reason, the US opposed Britain taking action against the communists in Hong Kong, at the risk of losing its window into China. Instead, the US wanted to use the CCP in the colony as a backchannel to the mainland.[18] In fact, by 1949, the United States Information Service in Hong Kong had become 'the key operating unit for the dissemination of anti-Communist and pro-democratic propaganda in Asia'.[19]

Whitehall's arguments against such communications stemmed from the growing debate as to if, when, and how to recognize a communist China. 'Unless we want to set up another T.W. Kwok', who was the ROC's informal special commissioner to Hong Kong, Radford argued, 'we should have to avoid any semblance of official recognition of a "C.C.P. representative"'. Not to mention, Grantham persisted, there were no 'communist authorities' in the colony – just 'irresponsible unofficial representatives'.[20] Furthermore, given the US's support of the KMT government, British authorities feared that American operations in the colony might provoke CCP intervention in Hong Kong.[21]

Refusing the Americans the permission to negotiate through the Hong Kong communists, however, did not necessarily preclude Britain from doing the same thing. Both the Foreign Office and the British ambassador at Nanking pressed for the utilization of local communists for informally sending important messages to the regime in northern China. Moreover, Wallace pointed out 'that we already obtained much valuable information of Communist activities [...] through allowing the Communists considerable freedom of action in Hong Kong'.[22]

On the other hand, British policy-makers were keen to develop and then manage American involvement in the Far East. US tactics, especially regarding

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[17] Mark, *Hong Kong and the Cold War*, pp. 31-33.
[18] Radford, minute, 4 February 1949, CO537/4826, TNA.
[19] Johannes R. Lombardo, 'A Mission of Espionage, Intelligence and Psychological Operations: The American Consulate in Hong Kong, 1949-64', *Intelligence and National Security*, 14/4 (1999), p. 67.
[20] Radford, minute, 14 January 1949; Grantham to Creech Jones, 11 February 1949, CO537/4826, TNA; Tsang, *The Cold War's Odd Couple*, p. 46.
[21] Mark, *Hong Kong and the Cold War*, p. 177.
[22] Wallace, minute, 12 March 1949, CO537/4815, TNA.

diplomacy and propaganda, had, as Bevin put it, a tendency 'to scare and unbalance the anti-communists, while heartening the fellow-travellers and encouraging the communists to bluff more extravagantly'.[23] Grantham later complained that the CIA was 'extremely ham handed' in the colony and that he frequently had 'to take [a] very strong line to stop them being so stupid'. Despite their differing perspectives on anti-communist propaganda as well as on relations with the CCP, Britain nevertheless agreed as early as 1948 to give its assistance to US intelligence gathering. In Hong Kong, the US was allowed to use its consulate (the largest in the world) for research and collecting and processing human intelligence. Britain also granted the US access to information collected by a joint British-Australian communications intelligence unit, established in Hong Kong in 1949.[24]

Information, or rather misinformation, flowed both ways. For example, the US State Department warned the British in June 1949 that it obtained evidence that the Chinese communists had decided 'to use all means [...] to gain control of Hong Kong', including 'labour unrest to maximum extent possible' and even 'direct military attack'. But Grantham kept his cool: 'The suspicion was created in our minds, perhaps wrongly, that the information may have been deliberately planted on the Americans' in order 'to frighten us'.[25]

Grantham's assessment was correct. There was no immediate attempt to gain control of Hong Kong. Furthermore, part of the CCP's reasoning for allowing Britain to maintain control of Hong Kong was to use the colony as a wedge in Anglo-American relations. In addition to taking advantage of early miscommunications and misunderstanding in Anglo-American intelligence gathering, the CCP believed it could also 'influence Britain so it would not, and dared not, follow the US's China policy and its Far East arrangements too closely'.[26]

COUNTER-PROPAGANDA

Malcolm MacDonald, the British commissioner-general for Southeast Asia, claimed

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[23] Phillip M. Taylor, *British Propaganda in the Twentieth Century: Selling Democracy* (Edinburgh, 1999), p. 238.

[24] Lombardo, 'A Mission of Espionage', pp. 66, 69; Richard J. Aldrich, Gary D. Rawnsley, and Ming-Yeh T. Rawnsley, 'Introduction: The Clandestine Cold War in Asia, 1945-65', *Intelligence and National Security*, 14/4 (1999), p. 10.

[25] Franks to Foreign Office, 8 June 1949; Grantham to Franks, 11 June 1949, CO537/4817, TNA.

[26] Loh, *Underground Front*, p. 84.

in June 1949 that it was 'inevitable' that the colony would become the focus of at least a propaganda war and therefore must 'be the focal point for anti-Communist propaganda in the Far East'. Consequently, MacDonald voiced his reservations about W. Gordon Harmon, Hong Kong's public relations officer (1948-1950), whose 'special knowledge and admirable qualifications' were not suitable for 'the work we have in mind'. In the words of A.V. Alexander, the British minister of defence, Harmon was never going to 'set the Thames on fire'. MacDonald supported Grantham's suggestion that a liaison officer should be established in Hong Kong from the British Regional Information Office in Singapore. The Regional Information Office had been created only one month previously by the IRD to plan and produce British propaganda for Asian audiences in the Far East, such as an illustrated Chinese-language edition of George Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four* for Hong Kong.[27]

Stevenson, the British ambassador at Nanking, warned that such actions might then provoke retaliation in Hong Kong from the Chinese communists. Instead, Stevenson argued for 'positive "Counter-propaganda" i.e. pro-British and pro-Hong Kong, rather than [a] definitely anti communist campaign'. Grantham agreed with this assessment. Nevertheless, Grantham was concerned about the cost and stigma of turning his Public Relations Office into a propaganda machine. Instead, the governor wanted a separate office, or at least a separate staff, finances, and registry. Furthermore, because 'the main weight of our propaganda will be directed against China', Grantham expected the Foreign Office to bear the expense.[28]

The Foreign Office required this new 'Anti-Communist Liaison Office' to have an effect 'in South East Asia generally' and 'some effect in China'. While agreeing that 'blatant anti-Chinese-Communist material' should not be used, the Foreign Office argued that 'we can scarcely let Chinese Communist propaganda go entirely unrefuted in Hong Kong' and that this would not be achieved with only a 'positive

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[27] MacDonald to Foreign Office, 25 June 1949; Alexander, 'Report by the Minister of Defence on his visit to Hong Kong, June 6th – June 9th, 1949', CO537/5132, TNA; Defty, *Britain, America and Anti-Communist Propaganda*, p. 157; Andrew Rubin, *Archives of Authority: Empire, Culture, and the Cold War* (Princeton, 2012), p. 40; Wilford, *The CIA, the British Left and the Cold War*, p. 58. See also: Tony Shaw, 'The Information Research Department of the British Foreign Office and the Korean War, 1950-53', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 34/2 (1999).

[28] Stevenson to Foreign Office, 5 July 1949; Grantham to Creech Jones, 11 August 1949; Grantham to Hone, 20 June 1949, CO537/5132, TNA.

pro-British pro-Hong-Kong' line.[29] The Foreign Office therefore wanted a balance between positive and defensive propaganda.[30]

By October 1949, it was agreed to appoint a Hong Kong representative of the Regional Information Office. The representative's duties included: disseminating 'publicity to counter Chinese communist propaganda, particularly in the Chinese press in Hong Kong'; advising 'Radio Hong Kong on policy to counter Chinese communist propaganda'; collecting 'propaganda intelligence material for passing to [the Regional Information Office in] Singapore'; and distributing 'positive publicity and information about British achievements in labour, industrial and other fields especially intended for Hong Kong'.[31]

In addition to demonstrating the extent to which 'strict neutrality' was little more than a façade, the language in this job description reflected British awareness and efforts to fight the Cold War's cultural and imperial battles. Hong Kong Chinese 'hearts and minds' needed to be convinced of the progressive and beneficial nature of British colonialism, in order to prevent any local discontent and to counter communist anti-colonial propaganda.

This was nowhere clearer than in Britain's manipulation of Radio Hong Kong. Radio Hong Kong was ostensibly little more than an under-funded, out of touch public station founded in 1928 to develop 'understanding between the Eastern and Western man' and to keep the local population informed of the activities of the British government. By the 1930s, Chinese nationalist-communist tensions in the media elevated the importance of maintaining British control of the airwaves. Nevertheless, throughout the 1940s and 1950s, Radio Hong Kong, according to David Clayton, 'sought to inform as well as entertain'.[32]

As early as November 1949, however, 'to inform' took on new meaning, and Radio Hong Kong listeners were unwitting subjects to British propaganda. The Hong Kong government predicted a 'radio war' with communist China and asserted that

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[29] Foreign Office to MacDonald, 16 August 1949, CO537/5132, TNA.
[30] Shaw, 'The Information Research Department', p. 264n4.
[31] Morgan to Ralph Murray (head of the IRD), 7 October 1949, CO537/5132, TNA.
[32] David Clayton, 'The Consumption of Radio Broadcast Technologies in Hong Kong, c.1930-1960', *Economic History Review*, 57/4 (2004), pp. 699, 711-712. See also: Joseph Man Chan, 'Mass Media and Socio-Political Formation in Hong Kong, 1949-1992', *Asian Journal of Communication*, 2/3 (1992).

Hong Kong would 'not allow itself to be browbeaten or over-awed by threats'. Chinese propaganda would be met by 'purely factual and truthful' counter-propaganda; jamming by counter-jamming; and illegal and secret radio transmitters would be confiscated and their owners fined. The Hong Kong government stressed, however, that all negative counter-propaganda should describe conditions in the Soviet Union and its European satellites, not China.[33]

Earlier that year, the Foreign Office's Russian Committee (which was created in April 1946 to monitor the perceived Soviet menace) came to a similar conclusion regarding British propaganda in Yugoslavia after the Tito-Cominform split in late 1948. In the words of the committee's head, Christopher Warner, British propaganda must:

> avoid attacking Tito's regime and the Communist ideology on which it is based and [...] concentrate entirely upon differences between the Cominform and the Soviet Union on the one hand, and Tito on the other, and on factual information about the factors which might constitute common ground between Tito and the West, without of course drawing the moral.[34]

Perhaps drawing on the successfulness of this policy, Whitehall and Grantham agreed that a strategy of anti-Soviet but not anti-Mao propaganda was necessary if Britain was to drive a wedge between Moscow and the citizens of a future communist China.[35]

DEFENCE AND IMMIGRATION

As the CCP made advances in the civil war, Hong Kong's vulnerability to communist attack and/or to a flood of refugees became an urgent concern for British authorities. As early as September 1948, Grantham warned the Colonial Office that the potential for disaster in Hong Kong, which was 'possibly to a greater extent than other places', could at any moment require emergency legislation and military procurements without hesitation. In his nightmare scenario, internal violence would correspond with invasion by communist guerrillas, thereby involving security forces

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[33] Extract from 'Memorandum relating to problems which may become subjects of controversy or negotiation between Hong Kong and Chinese Communist regime', undated, annex of: Radford, departmental note, 12 November 1949, CO537/5132, TNA.

[34] Alban Webb, *London Calling: Britain, the BBC World Service and the Cold War* (London, 2014), p. 69.

[35] John Jenks, *British Propaganda and News Media in the Cold War* (Edinburgh, 2006), p. 73.

'in two simultaneous operations totally different in nature'. This would have been exacerbated by 'trying political circumstances' which might result in numerous defections from the police force. Because the loyalty of Chinese police officers 'cannot therefore be fully guaranteed in all circumstances', his government decided that less than one-third of them were to be given firearms.[36]

These concerns were echoed by Bevin and Creech Jones in the Cabinet. On 8 March 1949, Creech Jones argued that:

> [i]t seemed to be wiser to hold the balance between the different parties [the KMT and the CCP] so long as no attack was made on the Government. Meanwhile, certain restrictions were being imposed on overt political activities, and every endeavour was being made to raise the standard of life in Hong Kong by social and economic measures so that it would be apparent that life under British rule was preferable to life in neighbouring areas dominated by communism.

Attlee was unconvinced of this nuanced approach. He sarcastically asked, 'What [was the] long-term object? Keep it [Hong Kong] flourishing to hand over to [the Communists]'. Bevin, Creech Jones, Morrison, and Alexander had a difficult time countering Attlee's unsophisticated understanding that their approach did not 'excuse sheltering Communists'. Nevertheless, the Cabinet agreed to invite Creech Jones 'to consider further what action might be taken to lessen and counter Communist activities in Hong Kong'.[37] Here again, British policy in Hong Kong was meant to be outwardly neutral, while conducting covert actions explicitly intended to limit the CCP's influence and power (that is, unless Attlee had his way).

Grantham and his defence committee had further concerns with the state of the British military in Hong Kong, especially as one garrison (the 1st Battalion of the Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers) had been sent to Malaya in July 1948 to reinforce British forces in the emergency there. The remaining military presence comprised only two infantry battalions (the 2nd Royal East Kent Regiment and the 2/10th Gurkhas) and one artillery regiment (the 25th Field Regiment). While he admitted that there was currently 'no immediate menace to Hong Kong' which the police force could not handle, he warned that it must:

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[36] Grantham to Creech Jones, 8 September 1948, CO537/2774, TNA.
[37] Cabinet conclusions, 8 March 1949, CAB128/15/18; Cabinet minutes, 8 March 1949, CAB195/7/18.

never be forgotten that the situation in Hong Kong can change almost overnight and that as soon as either the Communists or the Kuomintang are sufficiently interested to create trouble within the Colony the internal security problem in its most acute form will arise again.[38]

Fear of invasion was stirred, for example, by a statement by communist leaders that China would establish free and equal diplomatic relations with all states 'on condition that the entire territorial sovereignty is being maintained and the nation not invaded in any manner'.[39] In May, Creech Jones argued in a memorandum to the Cabinet that a communist China, given 'its particular ideology and international affiliations' would at least be more 'anti-British over Hong Kong' than the ROC.[40]

This paranoia, however, was balanced with a number of assurances from diplomats and security operations. On 21 April, a raid by Hong Kong security services produced 'a further valuable and interesting haul of Communist documents'. One of the documents revealed secret decisions made at the CCP second plenary session in March. After these documents were translated and analyzed by Hong Kong authorities, Grantham reported that there were '[n]o startling disclosures' except for the general 'picture of the complex financial and economic network setup by the Communists to finance their operations, and to help their penetration'. Most importantly, there was no reference to plans for the recovery of Hong Kong. On the contrary, the documents contained long-term commercial plans for relations with a British Hong Kong. Grantham noted that this might 'imply that there is no immediate intention to seek a change of status'.[41]

Nonetheless, between March and June 1949, Hong Kong experienced a marked increase in violence by so-called communist 'bandits'. In March, these bandits began to extort shipping companies on the Pearl River, threatening to attack vessels unless the latter paid 'protection fees'. On 24 March, the 'Miss Orient', a 1,200-ton British river steamer, was bombed and sunk for failing to comply. On 6 May, two European police officers and a Chinese detective corporal were murdered by the crew of their police boat. The boat was then taken into

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[38] Grantham to Creech Jones, 8 September 1948, CO537/2774, TNA.
[39] Grantham to Creech Jones, 26 May 1949, CO537/4815, TNA.
[40] Creech Jones, memorandum, 'Hong Kong', 23 May 1949, CAB129/35/10.
[41] Grantham to Creech Jones, 10 and 26 May 1949, CO537/4815, TNA.

Chinese territory where the crew and accomplices disembarked, taking all of the arms with them. Less than a month later, KMT troops, aided by information from the Hong Kong police 'and spurred by the hope of a promised reward', found, surrounded, and killed or captured the entire gang responsible for an unrelated ambush of a Hong Kong police patrol and frontier post, both of which had resulted in the deaths of police officers.[42]

According to Grantham, this increase in violence – combined with the CCP crossing the Yangtze River in China, the fall of Nanking, the impending fall of Shanghai, and the attack on HMS *Amethyst* – prompted 'moderate unofficial opinion' by May 1949 to recognize that the fall of China was unavoidable and that the CCP was not a party of 'comparatively mild agrarian reform'.[43] Meanwhile, Chiao Mu, the director of the NCNA in Hong Kong, held a cocktail party to celebrate the fall of Nanking. He invited a number of British officials, who ignored the invitations.[44]

Grantham predicted that the communist army would reach Hong Kong's border between September 1949 and February 1950. He argued that:

> force must be the basis of dealings with Communists in the Far East, just as in Eastern Europe, and if we are to hold this Colony we must be in a position to array a military force on this side of the Hong Kong-China border comparable to that which can be deployed by the Chinese Communists on the other side.

Grantham prodded Creech Jones by adding that people in Hong Kong had no confidence in 'British prestige nor British military strength' to protect British interests.[45]

As it turned out, the Cabinet shared Grantham's concerns, especially in light of the humiliating *Amethyst* incident. Thus on 5 May 1949, Alexander announced in the House of Commons the decision to reinforce the Hong Kong garrison. In fact,

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[42] Heathcote-Smith to Creech Jones, 23 April and 14 June 1949, CO537/4849, TNA.
[43] Grantham to Creech Jones, 3 May 1949 (no. 16), annex II of: Merton and Hoskins (joint secretaries, Cabinet Far Eastern (Official) Committee), note, 'Hong Kong', 11 May 1949, F.E.(0)(49)27, CO129/604/6, TNA.
[44] Heathcote-Smith to Creech Jones, 14 May 1949, CO537/4849, TNA.
[45] Grantham to Creech Jones, 3 May 1949 (no. 16), annex II of: Merton and Hoskins (joint secretaries, Cabinet Far Eastern (Official) Committee), note, 'Hong Kong', 11 May 1949, F.E.(0)(49)27, CO129/604/6, TNA.

the Cabinet decided to strengthen the garrison twice, on 28 April and 26 May.[46] All told, the garrison expanded to some 30,000 troops and included heavy artillery, tanks, and air and sea support.[47]

Grantham, however, was unaware at first of a concurrent discussion in Whitehall about the dwindling confidence in his leadership. By 19 May, the British chiefs of staff were 'seriously concerned' about how a local command divided between a civil governor and military commander-in-chief was hampering Hong Kong's defence. The chiefs informed the China and Southeast Asia Committee that 'the time had come when the Colony ought to be regarded primarily as a fortress', which would include the replacement of Grantham with a military governor who would also be the commander-in-chief of the Hong Kong garrison. The chiefs argued that such a change, along with military reinforcements, would 'emphasise our determination to resist a Communist attack'. Some of the committee members disagreed on the basis that a fortress would come with 'serious risks', not least would have been the 'administrative confusion' caused by the removal of the civil governor in a time of 'intricate political and administrative problems'.[48]

Unsurprisingly, Grantham had a few reasons for resisting the chiefs' proposal. Mostly, he re-used his objections to immigration control, rhetorically asking Creech Jones for 'guidance as to the extent to which the historic role of Hong Kong as an imperial trading base should now be subordinated to the requirements of preparations for defence and to the exigencies of "cold war"'. Creech Jones responded that Grantham's short-sighted policy had allowed Chinese communists to put themselves in a favourable position, particularly with local trade unions, to foment agitation. Hong Kong 'is buying a short period of tranquility [*sic*] at the price of much eventual trouble'. Grantham maintained that his policy of balance was the correct one and reassured Creech Jones that a 'vigilant watch' was 'kept on

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[46] Commons, 5 May 1949, *Hansard*, 464, cols 1249-1252; Cabinet conclusions, 28 April 1949, CAB128/15/30; Cabinet conclusions, 26 May 1949, CAB128/15/38.

[47] Chi-kwan Mark, 'A Reward for Good Behaviour in the Cold War: Bargaining over the Defence of Hong Kong, 1949–1957', *The International History Review*, 22/4 (2000), p. 838.

[48] 'Extract from Minutes of a Meeting of the China and South East Asia Committee', 19 May 1949, CO537/5001, TNA.

Communist activities; they will be curbed whenever they overstep the mark'.[49]

On the other hand, drastically suppressing the communists in Hong Kong, Grantham argued, 'would be tantamount to a declaration of war', which would provoke 'counter-measures, general strikes and even terrorism' from China. The subsequent collapse of trade and the loss of a window into China would be for nothing, as the communists in Hong Kong, while driven underground, would be no less effective in their activities. In fact, Grantham argued, the chiefs' proposed reinforcements would only put troop levels at the same strength as they were in December 1941. He was increasingly frustrated with military leaders, having too often to clear up their 'misstatements of fact and slurring implications'. Grantham's public message (and outlook) was simple: 'we must hope for the best but prepare for the worst', adding that he hoped Hong Kong would soon be trading with communist China.[50]

On that final note, everyone could agree. As early as March 1949, the Foreign Office believed that keeping a foot in China's door would protect British trade interests, disrupt relations between a communist China and the Soviet Union, and protect Hong Kong's future.[51] Nevertheless, back in London, confidence in Grantham's judgement was still waning. This was the topic of a meeting called by Alexander before his trip to Hong Kong in June. Attendees included Lord Arthur Tedder (the chief of the air staff), Lord Bruce Fraser (the first naval lord), Field Marshal Sir William Slim (the chief of the imperial general staff), Sir William Elliot (the chief staff officer to the minister of defence), MacDonald (commissioner-general for Southeast Asia), Paskin (the head of the Colonial Office's Eastern Department), and Scarlett (the head of the Foreign Office's Far Eastern Department). Alexander echoed Creech Jones's admission that Grantham, while 'excellent from the Colonial Office point of view' regarding Hong Kong's position as a trading post, would likely prove difficult in disagreements between himself and

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[49] Creech Jones, memorandum (SAC (49) 5) on Hong Kong, undated, annex of: Paskin to Chiefs of Staff Committee, 25 May 1949, CO537/5001, TNA.

[50] *Ibid*.; extract from a letter from Grantham, 17 May 1949; Grantham to Creech Jones, 12 May 1949, CO537/5001, TNA.

[51] S.R. Ashton, 'Keeping a Foot in the Door: Britain's China Policy, 1945-1950', *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, 15/1 (2004), p. 85.

the military authorities. However, the problem, Creech Jones argued, was that there was no suitable replacement with a similar 'deep and intimate knowledge of Hong Kong'.[52]

The committee agreed 'that the real importance of Hong Kong at present is not so much as a trading post or as a potential fortress but because of the effects of what is done there upon the Cold War. This must govern all decisions'. They also agreed with MacDonald that Grantham, for all his 'admirable qualities', lacked the vital quality of leadership. However, there was 'no other person available with the necessary qualities who could be found to replace the present Governor'.[53]

The committee agreed with Alexander's assessment that the replacement of Grantham with a military general was not a viable solution. The most important reason, which sums up clearly Britain's position in the imperial Cold War, was that they were:

> trying to enlist the moral support of the Commonwealth and the United States for our stand at Hong Kong and to convince them that what we were doing was not Colonialism or Imperialism but resistance to aggression in accordance with the spirit of the United Nations.

Moreover, Scarlett explained that the Foreign Office believed that the CCP, when firmly in power in China, 'would undoubtedly try to get rid of us and would probably do it by attempting to mobilise all the anti-Colonial feeling in Asia against us', which the appointment of a military governor would only facilitate.[54]

The committee thus made the 'unprecedented decision' to appoint what amounted to a military governor (that is, a commander over all of Hong Kong's land, air, and naval defence forces) to serve with Grantham.[55] They also decided that the commander 'should be a man of such stature that he would be able to influence the Governor, who tends to be somewhat remote from his usual advisers'. Finally, Grantham was to be sent private instructions to acquiesce to the commander's decisions over security measures. However, as Lloyd (the permanent under-secretary of state for the colonies) minuted, this was a delicate issue; without prior

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[52] Aide memoire, 'Hong Kong – Command and Government', 1 June 1949, CO537/5001, TNA.
[53] *Ibid*.
[54] COS (49) 82nd meeting minutes, 1 June 1949, CO537/5001, TNA.
[55] Wolf, 'To Secure a Convenience', p. 309.

word, Grantham might 'take it amiss', regard it as a loss of confidence, and resign.

To smooth things over, Creech Jones ended his letter to Grantham as follows:

> I should also like once again to tell you how conscious I am of the
> burden of responsibilities and anxiety which has rested and will
> continue to rest on your shoulders, and to express my satisfaction that,
> in these difficult times, the civil administration of Hong Kong is in such
> competent hands.[56]

Alexander arrived in Hong Kong on 6 June 1949 to discuss its defence,

particularly in regard to his announcement in Parliament on 5 May of 'substantial

reinforcements' to the colony. In setting out his case, Alexander, although

appreciating Grantham's 'experience', 'great capacity', and 'special local

knowledge', was concerned about a communist military attack on Hong Kong, which

would have repercussions for all of East and Southeast Asia. The cost of

reinforcements was heavily criticized due to the lack of confidence within Hong

Kong, particularly regarding Grantham's hesitancy in adopting necessary measures

like population registration and complete immigration control.[57]

In this context, Alexander explained to Grantham that London desired a

system which, while:

> retaining to the fullest possible extent the powers of the Governor and
> the advantage of his knowledge and experience, would prevent the
> ultimate defeat of military defensive measures, by subversive activities
> known to have been so successful elsewhere.

Therefore, the British government provided Grantham a military commander of the

defence forces. For this role, General Francis Festing, who had been the general

officer commanding Hong Kong's land forces during the military administration

between 1945 and 1946, was selected. Grantham agreed to these terms so long as

he retained the right to appeal to the secretary of state for the colonies over any

disagreements with the commander, without which, Grantham warned, he would

have to resign. Attlee agreed but only if Grantham first informed the British Defence

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[56] Aide memoire, 'Hong Kong – Command and Government', 1 June 1949; Lloyd, minute, 2 June 1949; Creech Jones to Grantham, 4 July 1949, CO537/5001, TNA.
[57] Alexander, 'Report by the Minister of Defence on his visit to Hong Kong, June 6th – June 9th, 1949', CO537/5132, TNA.

Co-ordination Committee of any appeals. The governor acquiesced.[58]

Next, Alexander, unsure at first, was convinced by a dispatch from Sir Henry Gurney, the high commissioner of Malaya, that 'an improvement in internal security in Hong Kong would only be obtained by introducing registration at once as a preliminary step to instituting [...] a comprehensive control of immigration'.[59] Grantham, who was firmly against immigration control because of its negative impact on trade, had already given some ground in April, when his government enacted the Immigration Control Ordinance – adding to the long list of newly acquired ordinances to combat communist influence in trade unionism, public order, and education. This new ordinance required all immigrants, including from China, to have legal travel documents.[60] In May, however, Grantham told Creech Jones that he would not consider introducing registration, again, because it would harm trade.[61]

Alexander attempted to dissuade Grantham from this dogged use of trade as a trump card in resisting pressure from London, especially as businesspeople were 'one of the most intractable factors' in defence planning. Alexander complained that 'business people want the best of both worlds. They want adequate defence provided for their interests and persons, but nothing said about it, and to go on making money'. That fact was, he argued, that successful defence required some sacrifices to be made in trading interests. In fact, Alexander supported Grantham's decision to expand Hong Kong's trade outside of China, which was 'one of the most important things that the civil authorities can do to help prepare Hong Kong to meet the Communist challenge'.[62]

On the day after Alexander's departure from Hong Kong, Grantham wrote to the Colonial Office in defence of an open border with China. Instead of trade, Grantham's argument was that closing the frontier 'would not (repeat not) prevent

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[58] *Ibid*. For Festing, see: Murfett, *In Jeopardy*, pp. 101, 108n33.
[59] *Ibid*.
[60] Immigrants Control Ordinance, 1 April 1949, *Hong Kong Government Gazette*; Law Kam-yee and Lee Kim-ming, 'Citizenship, Economy and Social Exclusion of Mainland Chinese Immigrants in Hong Kong', *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 36/2 (2006), p. 219.
[61] Grantham to Creech Jones, 3 May 1949 (no. 15), CO537/4999, TNA.
[62] Alexander, 'Report by the Minister of Defence on his visit to Hong Kong, June 6th – June 9th, 1949', CO537/5132, TNA.

infiltration of Communists'. He argued that the greatest danger to Hong Kong was 'deserting or defeated Nationalist soldiers whom we should disarm and push back over the frontier as quickly as possible'.[63]

Nevertheless, perhaps shaken by Whitehall's lack of confidence in his leadership, Grantham reversed his position four days later and instituted a curfew and a registration system for villages within four miles of the Chinese border, parts of which he ordered to have wired.[64] In August, the government enacted the Registration of Persons Ordinance, which required all adult residents (twelve years old and older) to register, including their thumbprints and photographs, for identification cards. The ordinance also empowered the police to search 'any place in which it is suspected there may be evidence of contravention of the Ordinance'.[65] Together, the immigration and registration ordinances marked a significant shift in Hong Kong immigration policy; Grantham's reservations notwithstanding, the British government asserted immigration control over 'persons of Chinese race'.[66]

Finally, on 2 September, the government enacted the Expulsion of Undesirables Ordinance. This allowed the authorities to expel any 'alien' (i.e. not a British subject or protected person) with less than ten years of residence in Hong Kong found to be: an economic drain on the state or charitable organizations (especially if 'diseased, maimed, blind, idiot, lunatic or decrepit'); a health risk; immoral (e.g. regarding prostitution); previously expelled from any other country; or 'likely to promote sedition or to cause a disturbance'. The ordinance also allowed for the governor to create detainment camps as well as for any police officer (with a rank of sub-inspector or higher) to detain, by force if necessary, any suspected undesirables.[67]

J.B. Griffin, the attorney general in Hong Kong, explained to the Legislative Council that, while the government already had power to deport undesirables (e.g. through the Vagrancy Ordinance of 1897 and Deportation of Aliens Ordinance of

[63] Grantham to Creech Jones, 10 June 1949, CO129/604/6, TNA.
[64] Heathcote-Smith to Creech Jones, 14 June 1949, CO537/4849, TNA.
[65] Colonial Office, note, 'Recent changes in policy towards Chinese Communists in Hong Kong', 12 August 1949, CO537/4815, TNA; Law and Lee, 'Citizenship, Economy and Social Exclusion', p. 219.
[66] Agnes S. Ku, 'Immigration Policies, Discourses, and the Politics of Local Belonging in Hong Kong (1950-1980)', *Modern China*, 30/3 (2004), p. 334.
[67] 'Expulsion of Undesirables Ordinance', 2 September 1949, *The Hong Kong Government Gazette*.

1935), these previous laws were 'inexpeditious in operation'. Instead, the government wanted a quicker process by which to shrink the colony's swollen population.[68]

The amended Deportation of Aliens Ordinance (in October 1948), the partial closing and wiring of the Hong Kong-Chinese border (in June 1949), and the introduction of the Immigrants Control Ordinance (in April), Registration of Persons Ordinance (in August) and the Expulsion of Undesirables Ordinance (in September) reflected British alarm and uncertainty regarding the impending fall of China as well as British perceptions of Hong Kong's weaknesses and CCP tactics. While education and trade unions were essential in fighting the Cold War, British policy-makers considered 'the problem of people' to be Hong Kong's most immediate threat. The authorities thus sought to deny the CCP the sort of people (i.e. Chinese aliens and general discontents) whom the British believed to be most susceptible to communist influence and agitation.

THE FALL OF CHINA

As it turned out, the fall of China was in itself a non-event for Hong Kong. While the communists were driving the KMT out of Canton, Mao proclaimed victory on 1 October 1949 and announced the formation of the PRC. It was Mao's policy to maintain British Hong Kong for its strategic window into the West and its economic benefits as a source of foreign exchange and imported goods not produced in China, which his war-torn economy so desperately required.[69] Indeed, the first directive from the PRC to the CCP in Hong Kong came just days after 1 October and instructed them not to attempt to challenge British sovereignty but instead to begin again building a united front campaign. On 17 October, the People's Liberation Army reached Hong Kong's northern border, where (unbeknownst to British authorities) the CCP had ordered its forces to avoid incidents with the British.[70] Over the next few months, British policy-makers would become increasingly confident in their calculation that the Chinese communists were not going to take

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[68] Hong Kong Legislative Council minutes, 17 August 1949, *Hong Kong Hansard*.
[69] Carroll, *A Concise History of Hong Kong*, p. 137.
[70] Loh, *Underground Front*, p. 80; Brian Hook, 'Changing British Perceptions of the China Threat, 1945-2000', in: Herbert Yee and Ian Storey (eds), *The China Threat: Perceptions, Myths and Reality* (London, 2002), p. 131.

Hong Kong by force.

The CCP were indeed keen to support the status quo in Hong Kong, including its capitalist system. Zhou Enlai's main objectives for the colony's provincial party were to 'adjust to Hong Kong's historical situation and reality' and to 'understand the mutually beneficial relationship between Hong Kong and China'. While resisting 'the containment policy of Western imperialist countries', the CCP genuinely sought to 'solve the historical problem of Hong Kong in the very long run'.[71]

WAR WITH RUSSIA?

On the other hand, less than a week after Mao announced the formation of the PRC, the committee of the British commanders-in-chief in the Far East wrote a paper entitled 'Defence Policy for Hong Kong in a War with Russia'. Its basic premise was that while 'Russia will be the main enemy in war', communist China would constitute the main threat, from both its military and its 'active encouragement of subversive activity and militant Communism'. The commanders agreed that while Cold War conditions persisted, 'Hong Kong will remain a most important part of our cold war strategy'. Furthermore, the commanders added, 'Hong Kong is British territory. We therefore have a paramount duty and moral obligation towards the inhabitants'.[72]

Nevertheless, the commanders wrote, if war became hot, Hong Kong would be indefensible for several reasons. The first and foremost problem was limited manpower in the Far East, particularly when the more important theatres of Indochina, Thailand, Burma, Indonesia, and Malaya were taken into account. In this scenario, resources in Hong Kong would have been redirected to Malaya, 'the lynchpin of our position in the Far East'. Second, if the Soviet Union was to aid China, especially with air power, Hong Kong's defence would have been impossible even with full support. Third, the fact that Hong Kong produced only ten percent of its own food requirements would have made it an easy expenditure to cut. Fourth, while Hong Kong would have offered valuable facilities to the enemy, such as an

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[71] Chu, *Chinese Communists and Hong Kong Capitalists*, p. 39.
[72] Commanders'-in-Chief Committee, Far East, memorandum, 'Defence Policy for Hong Kong in a War with Russia', enclosed in: Casey (Ministry of Defence) to Morgan, 7 October 1949, CO537/6316, TNA.

advanced U-boat position, continued British occupation was 'desirable but not, on this score alone, essential'. Fifth, Hong Kong's manufacturing goods, apart from ship building and textiles, were not important in war. Ultimately, wartime Hong Kong would have been 'a financial drain' on Britain's already stretched resources.[73]

On the other hand, the memorandum explained, abandoning Hong Kong would have a detrimental effect in the Far East; if nothing else, withdrawal would have provoked memories of 1941. For independent nations like Thailand and Burma, withdrawal would have resulted in a loss of prestige and confidence, particularly 'in the ability of the British to provide support in the face of the Russian threat'. For dependent territories like Indochina and Malaya, withdrawal would encourage local communists in further agitation. Nevertheless, the paper concluded, there was no reason to believe that withdrawal from Hong Kong 'would be disastrous so long as we were to retain our position in Malaya'.[74]

Consideration then turned to the least damaging way of losing Hong Kong: at the outbreak of war, after the outbreak of war, or via diplomatic negotiations. The last option, although avoiding 'any appearance of a surrender to force majeure', would be considered to be a 'clear sign of weakness'. Furthermore:

> This would be all the more serious if the rendition were made to a Communist China since all the advantages of possession of Hong Kong would in that case be handed over to an actual enemy in the cold war period and a potential enemy in a hot war. [...] We would also discard the benefits gained by making a firm stand in the Colony during the cold war.

Instead, the commanders entertained the idea of internationalizing Hong Kong under the UN.[75] This idea was also being studied by the US State Department, which ultimately decided against it, as such a move would provide an international stage for the CCP to appear widely popular in China and embarrass the US government's connection to this 'colonial problem'.[76]

THE RECOGNITION DEBATE

While the British commanders-in-chief deliberated possible military responses to

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[73] *Ibid*.
[74] *Ibid*.
[75] *Ibid*.
[76] Mark, *Hong Kong and the Cold War*, p. 31.

Chinese and/or Soviet aggression, Whitehall considered possible diplomatic ones. The debate on if, when, and how to recognize a communist China began long before China's fall. By early January 1949, Britain sought coordination on the issue with other Western powers, particularly the US. Bevin, while not in any hurry, was in favour of recognition, particularly as a means to protect British trade interests in China, to upset Sino-Soviet relations, and to maintain control in Hong Kong.[77] His Foreign Office, however, believed that British diplomatic recognition of the PRC would not 'confer any great benefits on us'.[78] The US doubted any benefits whatsoever.[79]

The Bukit Serene Conference, which was a meeting of the chiefs of British missions in the Far East held on 2-4 November in Singapore, concluded 'that British interests in China and in Hong Kong demand earliest possible de jure recognition of the Communist Government in China'.[80] The conference also concluded that 'an extensive propaganda campaign should be launched to explain that the recognition does not involve any inconsistency with our policy of opposition to Communism in South-East Asia'. Hong Kong, however, 'should not take any direct part in this'.[81]

In preparation for recognizing the PRC, the Colonial Office and Foreign Office, in a joint note, expressed concern regarding this policy's publicity. Specifically, both offices feared that recognizing the communists would both boost the morale of 'Communist bandits' and confuse the Chinese population in Malaya. The commissioner-general for Southeast Asia, the high commissioner for the Federation of Malaya, the governor of Singapore, the British ambassador to China, the officers administering the governments of North Borneo and Sarawak, the Colonial Office, and the Foreign Office all agreed that the 'Chinese Communist Government must be distinguished from the Communist terrorist movement in Malaya'.[82]

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[77] Ovendale, 'Britain, the United States, and the Recognition of Communist China', p. 146.
[78] Xiang, 'The Recognition Controversy', p. 338.
[79] Mark, *Hong Kong and the Cold War*, pp. 92-93; Ovendale, 'Britain, the United States, and the Recognition of Communist China', p. 146; Anita Inder Singh, *The Limits of British Influence: South Asia and the Anglo-American Relationship, 1947-56* (London, 1993), pp. 68-69.
[80] Martin, *Divided Counsel*, p. 88.
[81] MacDonald to Foreign Office, 4 November 1949, CO537/5132, TNA.
[82] Colonial Office and Foreign Office, joint note, 'Malaya: Attitude to be adopted in publicity towards Communism in Malaya and China', undated, annex of: Foreign Office memorandum, 'Anti-Communist propaganda in the Far East', December 1949, CO537/5132, TNA.

This was, however, a delicate argument, which could easily have been construed to demonstrate British support of some forms of communism. The Colonial and Foreign Offices stressed that recognition:

> does not mean that we approve of Communism. For we consider Communism to be the means whereby the Russians seek to expand and to dominate all Asian territories. As such Communism is the enemy of all genuine nationalism, since it seeks the domination of nationalism by alien influence. [...] The danger to China is Russian penetration and domination.

British policy, the note argued, should 'avoid any suggestion that any tendencies towards Titoism or independence of the Kremlin exist in the Chinese Government', while actively encouraging it.[83] These policy and propaganda lines, however, were again considered to be inappropriate for Hong Kong.[84] After much coordination with the British Empire and Commonwealth, Britain recognized the PRC as the de jure government of China on 6 January 1950.[85]

BRITISH POST-FALL COLD WAR POLICY

Beginning around 1950, Hong Kong (like Cyprus) witnessed increased violent disturbances orchestrated not by communists but nationalists. Indeed, '[i]n sharp contrast, despite their rising influence and increasing level of activities, the Communists did not create any violent incident until the Cultural Revolution in the 1960s'. Nevertheless, the Hong Kong government continued to identify the Chinese communists as more dangerous than the KMT.[86]

Indeed, Creech Jones's warnings of communist influence on 18 February 1950 – specifically regarding the potentially vulnerable fields of immigration, arms trafficking, and education – were nothing new in Hong Kong.[87] But these areas continued to cause great concern for British policy-makers there, pushing them into more extreme reactionary and repressive policies. As we will see in the following sections, Grantham introduced (with London's permission) further powers,

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[83] *Ibid*.

[84] Sidebotham, minute, 13 December 1949, CO537/5132, TNA.

[85] Ovendale, 'Britain, the United States, and the Recognition of Communist China', pp. 152-153. See also: Tsang, *The Cold War's Odd Couple*, pp. 18-26; Wolf, 'To Secure a Convenience'; Martin, *Divided Counsel*.

[86] Tsang, *Democracy Shelved*, pp. 181-2.

[87] Creech Jones, circular dispatch to the colonies, 'Powers for Dealing with Subversive Activities', 18 February 1950, CO537/5389, TNA.

especially regarding the control of immigration, corporal punishment, and education, specifically in response to communist activities in these important areas of the imperial Cold War.

IMMIGRATION AND THE EXPULSION OF UNDESIRABLES ORDINANCE

In addition to preventing immigration into Hong Kong, the governor also aimed to encourage emigration out of the colony, specifically through the Expulsion of Undesirables Ordinance. Before he could, however, Grantham needed Creech Jones's permission. While ordinance was passed in September, it was November before the Colonial Office could evaluate the new law. The Colonial Office, according to Radford, agreed that Hong Kong should have 'some rapid procedure for getting rid of the many undesirable Chinese who [...] now present serious problems' but disapproved of the ordinance for its 'arbitrary procedure' (i.e. the lack of required summons or right to council). Furthermore, according to Harold P. Hall, a principal in the Colonial Office's Hong Kong and Pacific Department, the ordinance would easily be manipulated into 'a good weapon for anti-Colonial propaganda', especially given the recent 'publicity about "Human Rights"'.[88]

Indeed, as the Soviet Union was becoming 'a leading proponent of human rights' from 1948, and as its NGOs began linking human rights with their anti-colonial campaigns, pressure only increased for British policy-makers to reform (or at least be perceived to reform) their colonial rule.[89] The Expulsion of Undesirables Ordinance ran contrary to this.

As the fall of Canton in October 1949 did not prompt the forecasted refugee crisis, the government did not invoke the ordinance. In May 1950, however, Grantham warned that 'the emergency [...] is virtually upon us' as 'those whom we are most anxious to exclude, namely destitutes, sick and other undesirables' were flooding Hong Kong with, he alleged, the CCP's support. Grantham therefore requested permission to use the Expulsion of Undesirables Ordinance.[90]

Despite its initial reservations, the Colonial Office now gave Grantham its

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[88] Radford, minute, 8 December 1949; Hall, minute, 14 December 1949, CO129/604/7, TNA.
[89] Jennifer Amos, 'Embracing and Contesting: The Soviet Union and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948-1958', in: Stefan-Ludwig Hoffmann (ed.), *Human Rights in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, 2011), p. 147.
[90] Grantham to Creech Jones, 8 May 1950, CO129/624/8, TNA.

support:

> We think that action under the Ordinance now would not merely improve morale in Hong Kong, but would also strengthen the Governor's hand by enabling him to reduce the 'undesirable' population among which the Communists are bound to foment trouble.

The Foreign Office, however, was unconvinced of the justifications for large-scale expulsion, specifically when weighed against the risk of harming British relations with China. Grantham was swayed to postpone action, but Hall was not satisfied. Hall argued that 'we should now look ahead a little from the point of view of Hong Kong and not from the point of view of the Chinese Communists as we have been doing in the past'. He thus explained to the Foreign Office that:

> In view of the Korean developments, and in view of the constant pressure that is being put on the Officer Administering the Government to subordinate the interests of Hong Kong to American requirements in waging the Korean War [...] I am sure that you will agree also that in this matter the Hong Kong authorities have taken an extremely reasonable and co-operative line and have perhaps sacrificed their own peace of mind to what you consider to be the requirements of world politics.

Hall's argument won the day. Creech Jones thus authorized Grantham to enact the ordinance at the latter's discretion without any further correspondence. By December 1950, Grantham implemented the ordinance 'to reduce the swollen population [...] by all means possible'.[91]

Consequently, the number of expulsions from Hong Kong rose, but only slightly, from 3,046 (before the ordinance) to 4,431 in 1950 (about 12 people per day). In 1952, this number fell to only 1,096, mostly because China and Taiwan both stopped accepting deportees.[92] It quickly became clear that deportation was not a long-term viable solution to the 'problem of people' in Hong Kong's Cold War.

ARMS TRAFFICKING AND CORPORAL PUNISHMENT

Although there was no mass movement of KMT troops into Hong Kong, the fall of Canton did prompt the mass movement of illegal arms into the colony. According to

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[91] Hall to Trench, 20 May and 21 July 1950; Trench to Hall, 17 June 1950; Creech Jones to Grantham, 27 July 1950; Grantham to Creech Jones, 23 December 1950, CO129/624/8, TNA.
[92] Laura Madokoro, *Unwanted Refugees: Chinese Migration and the Making of a Global Humanitarian Agenda, 1949-1989* (unpublished PhD thesis, University of British Columbia, 2012), p. 82.

Grantham, the possessors – ex-soldiers, deserters, guerrillas, and bandits – were not only experienced with but also willing to use these arms for theft and political ends. The rise of 'grenade incidents' prompted the government to reinforce legislation by encouraging corporal punishment (e.g. flogging by rattan cane or cat).[93]

Grantham wrote to Jim Griffiths, the new secretary of state for the colonies after Creech Jones lost his seat in the 1950 general election, that:

> I am aware of the necessity of bringing to an end the use of whipping and flogging as a punishment for offences committed within the colonial territories, a policy which has, as I am aware, recently been re-affirmed in the House of Commons by a statement of the Minister of State for the Colonies. Notwithstanding this consideration, however, I am in agreement with my Executive Council that in the existing and possibly worsening situation in Hong Kong, it may well prove very necessary to employ corporal punishment even to the extent of using the 'cat' rather than the cane for the offence of possession of arms [...] and that furthermore the power to impose such corporal punishment be given to magistrates.

Furthermore, Grantham desired to introduce similar legislation to that of Malaya and Singapore in which the possession of arms, including grenades, was punishable by death.[94]

Grantham met firm resistance. At a meeting in the Colonial Office, Wilfred Chinn, a social welfare advisor, said that the British government found it difficult to defend the present circumstances in Hong Kong, where the number of whippings of youth was substantially higher than that of the rest of the British colonies combined. He added that some eighty percent of these whippings in Hong Kong were punishments for insignificant crimes like street hawking. Furthermore, Chinn was adamant that experiences in Palestine demonstrated that the death penalty was a completely ineffective punishment, arguing that not only was it easy for somebody to plant weapons on his or her opponents, but also that it did not deter 'real terrorists'. B.O.B. Gidden, a principal in the Colonial Office, added that the

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[93] Grantham to Griffiths, 1 June 1950, CO537/5240, TNA.
[94] *Ibid*. See: A.W. Brian Simpson, *Human Rights and the End of Empire: Britain and the Genesis of the European Convention* (Oxford, 2004), p. 465. For Malaya, see: Karl Hack, 'The Malayan Emergency as Counter-Insurgency Paradigm', *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 32/3 (2009).

death penalty had also been ineffective in Malaya.[95]

Grantham argued that Hong Kong's situation was different to those in Malaya and Palestine. Bombings in Hong Kong were generally executed not by organized terrorists or even by communists per se but by 'people who hoped to ingratiate themselves with the Communists by throwing bombs'. Chinn responded that the Colonial Office was currently preparing for Griffiths a circular dispatch which would recommend the abolition of corporal punishment in the colonies. Flogging, Chinn implored, was 'demeaning to the human personality' and that legal violence did not deter illegal violence – again, an attempt to liberalize British colonial rule in the imperial Cold War. Grantham nevertheless 'wished to press strongly'.[96]

Less than one week later, Grantham convinced Griffiths to permit the introduction of the death penalty, given that the secretary of state's approval was first sought on each case. Griffiths, however, was not as convinced by flogging which, he argued, was 'not a deterrent', as 'by brutalising the person concerned makes an enemy of society for life'. Furthermore, flogging was not being utilized in Malaya and Singapore, 'and what made the Hong Kong proposals worse was that Hong Kong was not under such pressure as Malaya'. In the end, Griffiths did not agree to the re-introduction of flogging but agreed 'to the extension of whipping on the lines proposed'.[97]

In 1951 and 1952, the Hong Kong government claimed a significant fall in serious crime in the colony, which it attributed to the introduction of the death penalty.[98] Physical violence, however, was never a policy the CCP implemented in Hong Kong during the immediate post-war years. And while the intensification of corporal punishment might have deterred criminals looking to impress the CCP, the influence of the CCP was cultural and as such required a cultural response. Perhaps unsurprisingly then, it was education which became the major cultural Cold War battleground for British policy-makers in Hong Kong and the Far East.

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[95] Unsigned, 'Notes of the meeting with the governor of Hong Kong held at 2.30 p.m. on 28th June, 1950', CO537/5240, TNA.
[96] *Ibid*.
[97] Unsigned, 'Notes of the meeting in the Secretary of State's room on 4th July, 1950', CO537/5240, TNA.
[98] Carol Jones and Jon Vagg, *Criminal Justice in Hong Kong* (London, 2007), p. 223.

EDUCATION

While Hong Kong's internal and immediate affairs were causing anxiety for Grantham and his government, Cold War tensions increasingly permeated Southeast Asia as a region. Thus during the ninth commissioner-general's conference in late January 1949, MacDonald suggested that a conference of education officers was now necessary.[99] This decision was made in the context of looming communist victory in the Chinese Civil War and increased communist meddling in international youth affairs. By 1949, the Soviet monopoly over youth movements via the WFDY and IUS was in its fourth year without a Western response.[100] These communist front organizations, along with national communist parties in both the East and West, set their sights on colonial youth. Czechoslovakia's branch of the WFDY was particularly worrying. In April, the US press reported that Prague was offering scholarships for study there to students from a number of territories, including Cyprus and Hong Kong.[101]

On 23 and 24 June 1949, the directors of education from Hong Kong, Malaya, North Borneo, Sarawak, and Singapore met for what would become an annual conference to tackle common educational problems (communism being a major issue) with a regional approach. From the beginning, it was Hong Kong, despite not being under the commissioner-general's jurisdiction, which took the lead in these discussions.[102]

Soon after MacDonald opened the conference, the Hong Kong director of education, Thomas R. Rowell, stressed his conviction that the 'preservation of the democratic way of life in the Far East depended on the action taken against Communist teaching in [...] schools'. Rowell tabled a paper called 'Counter-Communist Education', which concluded 'that really effective counter-action must go beyond police, military, economic and diplomatic measures, and that there

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[99] Unsigned, 'Minutes of the Ninth Commissioner-General Conference held at Bukit Serene on Saturday and Sunday, 22nd & 23rd January, 1949', CO717/162/6, TNA.
[100] Kotek, *Students and the Cold War*, pp. x-xi.
[101] Extract from the Periscope column, *Newsweek Magazine* [US], 18 April 1949, enclosed in: Robert Scott to Lloyd, 11 July 1949, CO537/4312, TNA.
[102] Unsigned, report, 'Conference of Directors and Deputy Directors of Education, held in the Department of Education, Singapore on Thursday and Friday, 23rd and 24th June, 1949', CO537/3721, TNA.

should be well-planned counter-Communist propaganda and counter-Communist educational activities'. These activities included 'games, competitions, musical festivals and the extension of the Boy Scouts and similar Youth movements'.[103]

Rowell explained that these positive actions would be coordinated by the Special Bureau of the Hong Kong Education Department. When this relationship between overt propaganda and education was challenged by the Malayan director, M.R. Holgate, Rowell replied that 'an educationalist would be needed to decide how the work of the bureau should be carried out in schools'. The conference accepted Rowell's report 'as a basis of positive action on the part of the various Education Departments with the proviso that the suggested bureau should not be within the Department'. This proviso was ignored, and in July 1949, the Hong Kong government established the Special Bureau of the Education Department 'to provide urgently needed counter action against communist propaganda in schools'. As discussed in chapter six, despite its mostly repressive objectives, the bureau stressed that Britain's 'best answer to Communism is something more dynamic, more appealing and better than Communism itself.[104]

This dynamic and appealing 'something', however, was both elusive and expensive – a situation which haunted more than one colonial government, including Cyprus, as well as Whitehall. The Hong Kong government did not have the funding to support existing schools, let alone to build replacements, to the extent necessary to retain full control over education. Nor did the government have the finances to support counter-communist youth organizations and related activities. Furthermore, it was a difficult sell. British policy-makers realized that their tactics risked the criticism of emulating the communists.[105]

As a sign of growing Cold War tensions, particularly after the establishment of the PRC in late 1949 and the start of the Korean War in June 1950, MacDonald opened the second education conference in more explicit terms, citing:

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[103] *Ibid*.

[104] *Ibid*.; Grantham to Creech Jones, 25 July 1949; Crozier, report on the Hong Kong Special Bureau, Education Department, 31 August 1949, CO537/3721,TNA.

[105] See: unsigned, report, 'The Fourth Annual Conference of Directors of Education and Senior Education Officers held in the Office of the Commissioner General for South East Asia on 8th, 9th and 10th September, 1952', CO1022/292, TNA.

> [t]he fact that educational institutions had been dragged into the quarrel between the Communist Governments with their tyrannical control over men's thoughts and opinions, and the democratic governments which still believed in liberalism and freedom.

His aims were clear: education policy was not meant to produce 'slave-minds turned out from factories' but instead independent minds – adding that the 'problem of mixed populations' troubled him. He called for national loyalty and for the establishment of a single language as the medium of instruction in each territory, including now Brunei. Finally, MacDonald 'wished all success to the conference, reminding its members that the progress of the human race depended on the preservation of freedom of thought, particularly amongst children'. Rowell, the elected chairman of the conference, outlined the conference's three goals: 'to safeguard education from Communist indoctrination' (now the first order of business compared to the previous year), to inculcate a common nationality in each territory, and to produce suitable textbooks.[106]

Regarding the last goal, Rowell explained that the prohibition of numerous textbooks, due to their objectionable political and educational nature, left 'a considerable gap' in the supply of education material. It was desirable therefore to produce textbooks 'giving a positive backing to democracy as is done by some textbooks for Communism'. Rowell added 'the urgent need of books for general reading' which should include 'a judicious use of humour, provided it were directed against Communism in general or the Russian exponents of that creed, but not against the people of China'. Others called for an investment in new atlases, as the ones used from China 'made extravagant territorial claims' on China's behalf, including the whole of Malaya and North Borneo – while still other atlases stressed the distribution of races in Malaya. Instead, they wanted atlases to be more politically accurate and less racially divisive – and also to portray Britain's Far East territories integrated within the wider British Empire and Commonwealth. With financial support from the Regional Information Office, this answered the supply

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[106] Unsigned, report, 'Second Conference of Directors and Deputy Directors of Education, held in the Department of Education, Fullerton Building, Singapore, on Monday and Tuesday, 4th and 5th September, 1950', undated, CO968/259, TNA.

problem, but the demand was a different problem altogether.[107]

With textbooks sorted, the conference turned to the problem of study abroad programs. Despite the supposedly positive influence of studying in Britain, the directors were concerned about the CPGB's growing involvement with visiting colonial students. One director even suggested that MI5 monitor visiting students' holiday arrangements. More importantly, it had been tradition to allow students to further their education in China. After its fall and an increase in scholarships offered by the PRC, 'the danger of political contamination' by returning students rendered it untenable. A.D. York, the deputy commissioner-general for colonial affairs, suggested this was linked to the problem of dual nationality. The conference, including the Hong Kong director, agreed and decided that 'one effective measure would be to prevent the re-entry of such students'.[108] In other words, a colonial student's decision to study in China was to forfeit his or her rights of citizenship. This came to nothing.

Nevertheless, for the next seven years, such extreme measures against the perceived threat of communist influence over youth continued to be an essential topic for these annual education conferences, with Hong Kong playing a leading role in policy formation.

Back in Hong Kong, the colony's education system expanded between 1949 and 1952. In those three years, the number of schools increased from 798 to 1,044, and the student population, from 129,350 to 197,105. Grantham calculated (without demonstrating how) that communist infiltration of schools decreased from 11% to 8% and that students subjected to indoctrination decreased from 12.5% to 8.5%. While he was encouraged by the fact that the communists 'failed to extend their influence in proportion to the expansion of the school system', the governor was realistic as to the impossibility of measuring the influence of the New Democratic Youth League and other direct contact. The government thus continued to pass negative education legislation, granting even greater powers to the director

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[107] *Ibid*.
[108] *Ibid*.

over school managers and teachers.[109] This was in keeping with a wider policy-shift, which began with the Korean War.

THE US AND THE KOREAN WAR: A TURNING POINT

The beginning of the Korean War on 25 June 1950 marked a significant turning point in the wider Cold War and for the future of Hong Kong. First, the UN strategic economic embargo against China took a significant toll on Hong Kong's economy (its raison d'être, at least according to Grantham) which threatened the colony with recession and social unrest.[110] Second, the introduction of limited proxy wars to the Cold War, combined with greater US military involvement in Asia, made British policy-makers in Hong Kong nervous about getting swept up in the wider conflict if it escalated. In late October 1950, PRC troops entered Korea, where they met American and British troops, supported from Hong Kong; Britain was thus in armed conflict with China. However, China and Britain both purposefully overlooked this detail in their dealings with Hong Kong.[111]

Third, British policy-makers became increasingly confident that China's attention was focussed on other priorities (i.e. Taiwan, Tibet, Korea, Indochina, and, more broadly, the US). Moreover, unbeknownst to British authorities, the PRC's strained relationship with the Soviet Union was also a priority, and the Korean War was indeed a contest between the two over 'revolutionary anti-imperialism and the leadership of the communist world'.[112] China therefore found value in a British Hong Kong.

Ultimately, the UN embargo, fears of the Korean War spreading, and PRC priorities actually gave the Hong Kong government more freedom of action, as the Foreign Office relinquished its right to veto new colonial policies and the CCP lost Hong Kong public support. Grantham was thus able to pursue '[a] harder, more stringent anti-communist line'. Over the next couple of years, the Hong Kong

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[109] Grantham to Lyttelton, 17 November 1952, CO968/259, TNA.
[110] Chan Cheuk-wah, 'Hong Kong and Its Strategic Values for China and Britain (1949-1968)', *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 28/3 (1998), p. 350.
[111] Tarling, 'Britain and the Cold War', p. 17; Tsang, *A Modern History of Hong Kong*, p. 157.
[112] Rana Mitter, 'China and the Cold War', in: Richard H. Immerman and Petra Goedde (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of the Cold War* (Oxford, 2013), p. 127. See also, Zhihua Shen and Yafeng Xia, 'Leadership Transfer in the Asian Revolution: Mao Zedong and the Asian Cominform', *Cold War History*, 14/2 (2014).

government expanded its powers of deportation and press censorship and finally killed major constitutional reform.[113]

THE DEATH OF CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM

During the dramatic events of 1949 and 1950, Grantham was still in protracted negotiations with London regarding constitutional reform for Hong Kong. Between June and October 1950, Grantham held several meetings with Colonial Office officials, in which he abandoned the Executive Council's counter-proposal (see chapter six) in favour of a significantly restricted (i.e. completely 'safe' and 'more easily controllable') Legislative Council. The Colonial Office was on board; indeed, there had been a major shift in principle in the Colonial Office: from giving 'inhabitants of the colony greater self-government' to 'introducing some kind of reform which would not in any way lessen Whitehall's control over the colony'.[114]

However, while Grantham's proposal was supported by the likes of Paskin, Griffiths was unmoved. Instead, he wanted to implement the original Young Plan, or at least the Executive Council's counter-proposal, because anything less (especially Grantham's new plan) would be 'retrogressive'. Griffiths had regional concerns (as well as parliamentary pressure for reform) in mind, specifically MacDonald's warning 'that Britain must plan quickly for the future of its East Asian colonies because they would be the only ones in the region without self-government'.[115]

The PRC's intervention in the Korean War, however, provided Grantham and the Colonial Office the justification needed to postpone any decisions on reform. While they had not linked the outbreak of fighting with Hong Kong previously, Grantham, from early 1951, was happy to accept the Foreign Office's objections to the proposed reforms as ammunition for Chinese communist propagandists. One Foreign Office official called the reforms 'undemocratic' and easily spun as 'the imperialist oppressors [...] brutally crushing the rightful interests of the Chinese in the Colony'.[116]

Postponement continued until 20 November 1951, when Grantham decided

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[113] Clayton, *Imperialism Revisited*, pp. 105-106.
[114] Tsang, *Democracy Shelved*, pp. 110-112, 118.
[115] *Ibid*., p. 112.
[116] *Ibid*., p. 116-118.

to return again to the reform question, prompted by a fear of communist agitation during the upcoming December visit of Oliver Lyttelton, the new Conservative secretary of state for the colonies. In fact, on 22 November, Churchill's Cabinet authorized Lyttelton to make a public declaration of Britain's resolve 'to maintain their position in Hong Kong' – a statement which the British government only danced around since the end 1945 and, some feared, would prompt communist agitation. Lyttelton's three-day visit was spent dodging specific questions about reform beyond his 'sympathetic consideration'.[117]

In fact, Lyttelton had become convinced that Grantham's limited 'reform proposals would be a lesser evil than political agitation for reform in the colony'.[118] This was undoubtedly influenced by the Kowloon riot of 1 March, when, according to *The Hong Kong Standard*, '[t]housands of Communist-led students and workers [...] attacked police, servicemen and Europeans, overturned and burned vehicles, and smashed property' in response to the government decision to deny the entry of a Chinese comfort mission from the mainland to assist victims of a squatter settlement fire still homeless from November the previous year. The US consulate believed 'that the riot was "planned" by the "Chinese Communist authorities". Hong Kong police (who more than likely started the riot by its use of tear gas on a peaceful demonstration) put the riot down, killing at least one and arresting more than one hundred people, twelve of whom were eventually deported for their alleged transgressions in the violence.[119]

This riot 'exposed risks posed by civil disturbances that could be seen by China as the result of imperialist mistreatment of Chinese subjects' as well as 'damage the more progressive face of colonial rule that Britain was trying to promote' in the imperial Cold War. However, instead of prompting a major overhaul of public housing, the riot revealed and reinforced 'broader governmental beliefs', certainly shared by Grantham, 'in the unreliability of Hong Kong's Chinese residents'.[120]

As such, on 20 May, Lyttelton took Grantham's limited constitutional

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[117] *Ibid.*, pp. 151, 155; Cabinet conclusions, 22 November 1951, CAB128/23/10; Lyttelton, memorandum, 'Hong Kong', 19 November 1951, CAB129/48/25

[118] Tsang, *Democracy Shelved*, p. 157.

[119] Loh, *Underground Front*, pp. 92-93; Lombardo, 'A Mission of Espionage', p. 67.

[120] Smart, *The Shek Kip Mei Myth*, pp. 77-78, 94.

proposals to the Cabinet, which 'was interested only in the complete lack of reference to the interests of the Indian community in Hong Kong'. The Legislative Council was to comprise:

> four officials, five unofficials nominated by the Governor and six [unofficial] members elected by the Justice of the Peace, the General Chamber of Commerce, the Chinese Chamber of Commerce and the Urban Council. The Governor would have the usual reserve powers.

Lyttelton reiterated Grantham's assertions that 'on any conceivable voting combination of the unofficial members, Government could count on a majority of the Council to carry any measure of real importance'. Indeed, nearly every single unofficial member during the period under study was 'closely connected with the business community' and therefore keen to limit political and economic risks associated with major reform.[121]

Thus on 20 May 1952, the Cabinet agreed to Grantham's limited constitutional reforms.[122] With this decision, British policy-makers in Hong Kong reverted to a traditional colonial rule of only minor reform, intended to restrain foreign politics in the colony and to avoid antagonizing the PRC. This general approach lasted more than thirty years.[123]

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[121] Lyttleton, memorandum, 'Constitutional Reform in Hong Kong', 16 May 1952, CAB129/52/15; Tsang, *Democracy Shelved*, pp. 157-158, 197-198.
[122] Cabinet conclusions, 20 May 1952, CAB128/25/4.
[123] John Darwin, 'Hong Kong in British Decolonisation', in: Judith M. Brown and Rosemary Foot (eds), *Hong Kong's Transitions, 1842-1997* (Basingstoke, 1997), p. 23.

<u>Chapter Eleven</u>
<u>'Too Much or Too Little Repression': The Fall of AKEL, 1949-1955</u>

As in Hong Kong, the years between 1949 and the mid-1950s saw a rise in government repression as a means to counter perceived communist threats on the cultural battlefields of the imperial Cold War. By mid-1949, with constitutional advancement still nominally the goal, the Cyprus government, now led by Sir Andrew Wright, returned to politics of force, such as press censorship and the tightening of immigration laws, aimed to destroy AKEL.

After the 'Cyprus problem' was internationalized when the 1950 plebiscite in favour of *enosis* was presented to various countries and the UN, AKEL's position as chief troublemaker was increasingly usurped by the Greek-Cypriot nationalists, particularly the Orthodox Church. AKEL responded by assuming relatively law-abiding tactics. The Cyprus government was nevertheless undeterred from its cold war against the Cypriot communists. In fact, as this chapter concludes, even with EOKA's revolt commencing on 1 April 1955, the Cold War remained the principal consideration in British policy-making, and the Cyprus government finally proscribed AKEL later that year.

THE 1950 PLEBISCITE

Wright assumed the governorship of Cyprus on 4 August 1949. He had considerable experience of Cyprus, serving in different posts, including colonial secretary, between 1922 and 1940. In fact, it was Wright's overturned car which supplied the rioters in 1931 with the fuel to burn down Government House. He was the inspector of the Cyprus Regiment during the Second World War before becoming the colonial secretary of Trinidad and then governor of the Gambia. In this last post, Wright was a popular governor, especially after he organized the first democratic elections for the Gambian Legislative Council.[1] Upon his return to Cyprus in 1949, Creech Jones charged Wright with the task of 'making some constitutional advance'.[2]

In opposition to constitutional advancement, however, still stood both *enosis* and communism. In late 1949, AKEL asked the Ethnarchy Council to co-author a

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[1] Arnold Hughes and David Perfect, *Historical Dictionary of the Gambia* (Plymouth, 2008), pp. 246-247.
[2] Mediterranean Department, 'Note on Cyprus', 26 June 1950, CO537/6228, TNA.

proposal for a UN-sponsored plebiscite on the question of *enosis*. The council refused, and AKEL prepared to act unilaterally. The council, however, was not to be outdone and organized a plebiscite of its own, under the leadership of Michail Christodolou Mouskos, the popular, youthful, and gifted Bishop of Kition.[3] Meanwhile in Greece, Zachariadis (the general secretary of the KKE) defied instructions from Moscow to end the civil war and called for a new and disastrous offensive in August 1949.[4] Weakened by internal dissension, significant casualties, and Tito's decision to close the Yugoslav border in July, the KKE finally declared a ceasefire on 16 October.[5] The KKE's defeat and the recent Tito-Stalin split flung AKEL back into a state of confusion. Instead of continuing with their original plan, AKEL announced its cooperation with the church's plebiscite, despite lacking an invitation to do so.[6]

The collaboration was initially successful. For example, in Limassol, a crowd witnessed 'the unusual sight of a number of distinguished nationalists [...] sitting on the same platform with and applauding speeches by His Worship the Mayor and the District Secretary of A.K.E.L.'. The plebiscite was a success for the Greek-Cypriots, with supposedly more than ninety-five percent signing in favour of *enosis*. But this was where political collaboration ceased. According to a government report, AKEL planned to invite Russia or a Soviet satellite to introduce the 'Cyprus question' in the UN. To avoid the plebiscite being 'prostituted to Communist diplomacy', the church wanted to negotiate with Athens, London, and Washington DC. Failing that, the rumour was that Egypt or India would be asked by the nationalists to sponsor the application at the UN.[7] Thus AKEL and the nationalists sent separate delegations overseas to solicit support.

Meanwhile, AKEL reinvigorated its domestic political and social programme, which included more demonstrations by unemployed Cypriots, more strikes, more rural campaigning, the re-establishment of the Pancypriot Organization of

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[3] *Ibid*.; Holland, *Britain and the Revolt in Cyprus*, p. 25.
[4] Iatrides, 'Revolution or Self-Defence?', pp. 31-32.
[5] Sfikas, *The British Labour Government*, p. 277.
[6] Unsigned, 'Note on Communism in Cyprus during November, 1949' undated, annex of: Wright to Creech Jones, 16 December 1949, CO537/4309, TNA.
[7] A.F.J. Reddaway (commissioner, Limassol), 'Monthly Report: Limassol', 2 February 1950, CO67/368/10, TNA.

Democratic Women (PODY), and 'a more militant' AON.[8] Fisher noted that while AKEL erected a successful framework, it was 'having uphill work in filling it in'. Nevertheless, there was still no other political movement in the colony which could rival such organization. Fisher concluded that '[t]he real question, of course, is how much of all this would go on if Akel were either proscribed or decapitated'.[9]

WRIGHT'S STRONG HAND

It was in this context of more organized and widespread *enosis* agitation that Wright formulated his plan to fulfil Creech Jones's directive for constitutional advancement. On 13 January 1950, two days before the plebiscite and less than six months after his arrival to the colony, Wright wrote to Creech Jones, requesting approval for increased executive powers, specifically regarding press censorship, crime, and immigration. Wright argued that it would be impossible to introduce a constitution in Cyprus given how entrenched *enosis* was in the minds of all Greek-Cypriots. *Enosis* agitation also undermined public security and hindered government and economic growth. Wright blamed explicitly his predecessor's reform campaign as well as the belief, 'studiously fostered by the communists', that British sovereignty was based on world opinion and therefore could be removed via the UN. In his mind, the propagators of *enosis* agitation, via fear and manipulation, were divided between leaders of the press and of certain organizations.[10]

His first step, therefore, in preparing Cyprus for a constitution was to gain control of the press and political leaders. For this, Wright requested substantial and controversial expansions of his executive powers: to suspend local newspapers and prohibit foreign newspapers; to expand the category of offenders required to give a bond for good behaviour to include those convicted of sedition; to deport non-British natives of Cyprus; and to deport Cypriots who were British subjects.[11]

His second step, after these laws were enacted and *enosis* agitation was suppressed, was to proscribe AKEL and dismantle the communist system in Cyprus. While he believed that its influence was waning, Wright warned that AKEL had

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[8] Turnbull to Creech Jones, 22 July 1949, CO537/4974, TNA.
[9] Fisher, minute, 1 February 1950, CO537/6236, TNA.
[10] Wright to Creech Jones, 13 January 1950, CO537/6228, TNA.
[11] *Ibid*.

reportedly received instructions from the Cominform to intensify their *enosis* campaign as a means to weaken Britain internationally. Furthermore, Wright claimed that the communist troublemakers outnumbered those of the nationalists and that AKEL was so secretly and effectively organized, it constituted 'the chief menace to security which we have to face'.[12]

Regarding the Greek-Cypriot Orthodox Church, on the other hand, Wright believed there was little to be done, except to curb overt agitation. He believed that the church's influence would best be diminished once a constitution and legislative council were introduced. Until then, *enosis* agitation and AKEL were the first two obstacles. The governor concluded that 'Cypriots need, and for the most part seek, to be governed and if we fail to govern them we shall before much longer reap an untimely reward'.[13]

The initial reaction in the Colonial Office was negative. Bennett labelled Wright's presuppositions as the 'familiar talk of harassed Colonial Governors everywhere in the last half century'. Furthermore, the Colonial Office, he insisted, could not agree to Wright's repressive propositions 'in the hope that no one would notice'. Lord Listowel, the minister of state for the colonies (1948-1950), added that firm-handedness as an instrument of liberal colonial rule was contrary to British experiences in Ireland, India, and Palestine. Creech Jones questioned whether the proposed policies would even work, let alone 'lead to a repressive regime'. The consensus among leading Colonial Office officials was that Wright's requests 'taken individually might be defended; but collectively they amounted to a warning that we were going to fight the Cypriots'.[14]

The Colonial Office decided to wait until after the 1950 general election (to be held on 23 February) and after the chiefs of staff could be consulted before making any final decisions on Wright's proposals. Nevertheless, Wright's requests prompted months of considerable debate with and within Whitehall. In fact, these requests prompted a complete re-examination of British policy regarding Cyprus.

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[12] *Ibid*.

[13] *Ibid*.

[14] Bennett, minute, 24 January 1950; Listowel, minute, 1 February 1950; Creech Jones, minute, 3 February 1950; 'Note of a Meeting with the Secretary of State', 1 August 1950, CO537/6228, TNA.

PRESS CENSORSHIP

In 1950, the total circulation of the five daily and twelve weekly Greek-Cypriot newspapers was about 60,000 copies. Wright argued in his 13 January dispatch that because there was no government oversight, editors competed for sales via sensationalized attacks on the Cyprus and British governments. The public information officer, 'an experienced and much respected journalist', had been unsuccessful in steering editors away from anti-government articles and could only induce them to print anti-communist propaganda. Wright complained that prosecutions of the press for sedition under the current laws would be ineffective, especially as government policy had been to tolerate the *enosis* movement and as the flexibility of the Greek language afforded some legal cover for incitements to violence.[15]

Wright thus requested the power to suspend newspapers. In order to prevent suspended newspapers from simply continuing under a new name, Wright also sought two amendments to enable the colonial secretary to demand a cash deposit on a newspaper owner's bond or to refuse a bond altogether, although Wright personally had hoped for permission to introduce a registration system. Moreover, he requested the power to prohibit the importation or reproduction of foreign newspapers.[16]

Whitehall had no problem with the two amendments regarding bonds. The other two, however, were slightly more problematic. The first response in Whitehall was from the IRD. The IRD did not object to press censorship as a concept but preferred that local newspapers were handled through the court system and international newspapers, through customs law. The IRD was not keen on such decisions being made through the summary powers of the executive. Fisher similarly warned of possible 'awkward questions' in the British House of Commons. By May, however, the Colonial Office decided internally that suspending local newspapers and prohibiting foreign newspapers in Cyprus might be acceptable if the draft law was re-worded to highlight that the powers were only to be utilized

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[15] Wright to Creech Jones, 13 January 1950, CO537/6228, TNA.
[16] *Ibid*.

when newspapers excited 'disaffection against the Government and Constitution of the United Kingdom or of the Colony'.[17]

On 27 July, Wright again lobbied for powers to control the press, specifically to decrease 'the communist menace [...] to negligible proportions, as it has been in Greece'. On the next day, Wright forwarded to the Colonial Office a copy of *Neos Democratis*, the press organ of AKEL, in which AKEL's Central Committee expressed its support for the 'patriotic struggle into which the Korean people have thrown themselves after the American invasion', which Britain and its Commonwealth had assisted. Wright added that under the current law, prosecution was unworkable.[18]

Neos Democratis also began publishing a number of pieces which accused Britain and the US of warmongering. Another example forwarded to the Colonial Office included an editorial dated 2 August. It began:

> Mr. Attlee, another great champion of 'freedom', defender of
> 'democracy' and a 'socialist' (are you telling me?) hath spoken. He has
> followed Mr. Truman, guardian angel of the world by the grace of God,
> on the Korean question and he has told the British people that the
> communists 'are seeking to wipe out democracy and freedom from the
> world'.[19]

Wright complained that such articles were 'so manifestly a disgrace to the British reputation' and 'must, through repetition and their indirect appeal to violence in opposing British rule, exercise a profoundly disturbing influence on their readers'. He concluded, 'in existing conditions, the only effective method of checking such press abuses is by recourse to immediate suspension of the offending newspaper under powers such as those which were prematurely withdrawn from Cyprus'. Fisher suspected that Wright's several dispatches which contained subversive communist newspaper articles 'were designed to induce in the Colonial Office a frame of mind propitious to his proposal to take power to suppress

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[17] Fisher, minute, January 1950 [incomplete date, sometime between 19 and 24 January] and memorandum, 'Governor's Request for Additional Powers', 15 May 1950, CO537/6228, TNA.
[18] Wright to Griffiths, 27 and 28 July 1950 and annexed newspaper article, 'The People of Cyprus Are by the Side of the Korean People: The Korean People's Victory Will Be Our People's Victory Too', *Neos Democratis*, 16 July 1950, CO537/6236, TNA. For British actions in the early Korean War, see: Lowe, *Containing the Cold War*, chapter 10; Nicholas Tarling, *Britain, Southeast Asia and the Impact of the Korean War* (Singapore, 2005), chapter 2.
[19] 'Imperialism Undisguised' (editorial), *Neos Democratis*, 2 August 1950, annex of: Wright to Griffiths, 10 August 1950, CO537/6236, TNA.

newspapers rather than to evoke an immediate response'.[20]

THE PREVENTION OF CRIME LAW

In his 13 January letter, Wright also sought to expand the Prevention of Crime Law to include 'any person whose utterances, publications or conduct', in the opinion of a commissioner or court, were 'likely to be prejudicial to peace, public order or good government in the Colony'. Wright argued that this power was effectively used by Governor Storrs after the 1931 disturbances and without embarrassing the British. Wright wanted to use it 'to warn, and if necessary to restrain' those who incite anti-government agitation.[21]

Martin, the assistant under-secretary in charge of the Middle East Department and Mediterranean Department, was concerned that it could embarrass the administration if they tried to apply the law to political leaders, especially leaders of the Greek-Cypriot Orthodox Church. Bennett argued that the amendment would effectively permit the government to repress any expression of political opinion. He continued:

> There would be nothing ['except his own common sense and judgement'] to prevent a Commissioner, at his sole discretion, demanding a 'bond' from a Bishop or a trade union leader for a sum which he knew the man could not pay and then imprisoning him for twelve months [...] for failure to pay, and repeating the process the day he comes out.

Nevertheless, as with the Press Law, the Colonial Office agreed to approve the amendment after revision to allow for an appeals process.[22]

THE MOVEMENT OF PEOPLE

Wright furthermore sought to restore to the Aliens and Immigration Law the power to deport non-British natives of Cyprus. From the beginning, the Colonial Office and Foreign Office had no problem with this amendment. The only difficulty, Fisher minuted, was 'the practical one of where to send the persons concerned'.[23]

Much more controversially, however, Wright also sought permission to

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[20] Wright to Griffiths, 10 August 1950; Fisher, minute, 29 August 1950, CO537/6236, TNA.
[21] Wright to Creech Jones, 13 January 1950, CO537/6228, TNA.
[22] Martin, minute, 26 January 1950; Bennett, minute, 24 January 1950; Fisher, memorandum, 'Governor's Request for Additional Powers', 15 May 1950, CO537/6228, TNA.
[23] Fisher, memorandum, 'Governor's Request for Additional Powers', 15 May 1950, CO537/6228, TNA.

amend the Deportation (British Subjects) Law. The current law allowed for the deportation of British immigrants not native to Cyprus convicted under the criminal code of treason, sedition, or involvement in unlawful associations. Wright wanted to expand the law to include Cypriot natives who were also British subjects.[24] Wright's request ran against the general rule that every colony was responsible for its own undesirables who were also British subjects.[25] This was meant to protect the United Kingdom not only from being burdened by undesirable British subjects, but also from Soviet anti-colonial criticism for violating human rights.[26]

According to Pavlides, the attorney general, the conditions in Cyprus were such that those prosecuted for sedition were heralded as martyrs and heroes and that imprisonment was considered to be a cause for pride. Thus, the government required a more severe punishment for such crimes: deportation. Pavlides stressed that 'the extremely dangerous situation' in Cyprus demanded no less stringent measures and as soon as possible.[27]

James Ede, the secretary of state for the Home Department, and the Home Office were firmly against Wright's request. In addition to the violation of general principle, there was the embarrassing possibility that as Britain was the only country (apart from other colonies) to which the deportee could have been sent, the home secretary might have been forced 'to weaken [...] the traditional right of a British subject to unrestricted entry into this country'. In other words, if a large number of deported Cypriot 'troublemakers' were sent to Britain, 'retaliatory legislation to keep them out might have to be considered'.[28]

However, before the Colonial Office could respond to his request of the 13 January, Wright informed Creech Jones on the 26 January that eighteen of the eighty-six most prominent Cypriot communists, including 'some of the most

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[24] Wright to Creech Jones, 13 January 1950, CO537/6228, TNA.
[25] Colonial Office, memorandum, 'Powers of Colonial Governments to Deport British Subjects', 2 March 1954, CAB129/66/35.
[26] Amos, 'Embracing and Contesting', p. 147.
[27] Pavlides, 'Notes on Draft Deportation (British Subjects) Amendment Law, 1950', 11 January 1950, CO537/6228, TNA.
[28] Mediterranean Department, memorandum, 20 September 1950; Fisher, memorandum, 'Governor's Request for Additional Powers', 15 May 1950; Mediterranean Department, memorandum, 26 June 1950, CO537/6228, TNA.

potentially dangerous', were then or recently in Czechoslovakia and that they were 'there receiving full Marxist revolutionary training'. He argued that the current immigration laws, despite his instructions for stricter enforcement of the 'personal security' criteria in the granting of visas, were inadequate. Instead, he wanted the power 'to prohibit the re-entry into Cyprus of dangerous communists who have already left and are known to be undergoing revolutionary training'. He continued:

> I am aware that, as a general policy, each territory should be responsible for its own undesirables, but I do not feel that this can be held to cover the case of selected leaders of a revolutionary organisation who are receiving training in communist countries for the specific purpose of attempting to overturn the established Government of the Colony on their return. These people have, by their actions, forfeited the right to receive any consideration from this Government. It is possible to declare such persons prohibited immigrants under Section (6)1(f) and (g) of the Aliens and Immigration Law (19 of 1949), and I seek your concurrence in the use of this power in future in the circumstances described.[29]

Fisher observed that this was legally permissible, adding that there was 'clearly [...] much to be said for it'. She argued that:

> [t]he Communist party in Cyprus (as no doubt elsewhere) depends very much on its handful of efficient and professional leaders. The rank and file are anything but formidable. Anything that can be done to keep down the number of leaders with full professional equipment is therefore a convenience, to say the least. The practical consequence would presumably be that these Cypriots would remain in Czechoslovakia; though since they would retain their British passports they could, I take it, move to the United Kingdom or other countries for which visas are not required without much difficulty. It seems unlikely however that they would make themselves as much of a nuisance elsewhere as they would in Cyprus.[30]

The Foreign Office's response, Fisher minuted, was of 'no real help'. It outlined that Wright's proposal did in fact comply with the circular dispatch sent to the colonies by Jim Griffiths, the new secretary of state for the colonies after Creech Jones lost his seat in the 1950 general election, which recommended:

> that Governors, in deciding what powers and measure were requisite, should regard the need to combat Communism effectively as paramount, but should also bear in mind the possible repercussions of

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[29] Wright to Creech Jones, 26 Jan 1950, CO537/6238, TNA.
[30] Fisher to Barnes, 15 February, CO537/6238, TNA.

their taking any powers which might conflict with His Majesty's Government's obligations in the field of Human Rights.[31]

The Home Office, on the other hand, raised strong objections, similar to those regarding the deportation of British Cypriots.[32]

While acknowledging that this would play into communist propaganda by blatantly disregarding the UN Universal Declaration on Human Rights, Martin, whom Wright considered to be 'the evil genius of the Colonial Office', argued that the governor should nevertheless be granted greater powers to deal with communists in Cyprus. He was therefore in favour of Wright's proposals: 'We should be guided by the fact that this is a cold war and that Cyprus is an important military base and not by what <u>may</u> be included in a Covenant of Human Rights still under discussion'.[33]

Nevertheless, the Colonial Office, with the Foreign Office's concurrence, decided to reject Wright's request and instead to offer the governor greater liberties in refusing passports to suspected communist troublemakers. Griffiths thus informed Wright that:

> [t]he general practice in this country, is that a passport should not be withheld unless the applicant is a criminal attempting to avoid prosecution, a minor whom it is sought to take out of the country without the consent of his parent or guardian, or a person who is clearly likely to endanger the safety of the realm while abroad or as a result of his travels. This saving clause is, I understand, [...] very rarely invoked here, and only when the activities of an individual are so notoriously undesirable or dangerous that Parliament would be expected to support the action of a Secretary of State in refusing or confiscating a passport. I should not, however object to a discreet use of it in Cyprus. Where the person concerned was well-known to be an active Communist, and where there was good reason to believe that he was proposing to travel abroad for subversive purposes, I would not object to the withholding of a passport.

Nevertheless, Griffiths denied Wright the requested power to treat such

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[31] Fisher, minute, 30 March 1950; P.S. Falla (FO) to Fisher, 21 March 1950, CO537/6238, TNA.
[32] Fisher, memorandum, 'Governor's Request for Additional Powers', 15 May 1950, CO537/6228, TNA.
[33] Martin to Sir Andrew Noble (the Foreign Office under-secretary responsible for the Southern Department and two departments concerned with passports), 14 August 1950; Martin, minute, 4 April 1950, CO537/6238, TNA; Hyam, 'John Bennett and the End of Empire', p. 291n29.

communists as prohibited immigrants.[34]

Within twenty-four hours, Wright pertinaciously informed the Colonial Office that Papaioannou (AKEL's general secretary), 'one of the most influential and dangerous of [the] Cyprus communists', and his delegation were in Prague and intended to return to Cyprus in September. Wright requested urgent authorization to declare Papaioannou a prohibited immigrant. He added that Papaioannou had no close family in Cyprus, which included his wife who likely lived in England. Wright simultaneously sent another telegram which relayed a story from an Athens newspaper that the UN radio services discovered secret Soviet radio transmissions which directed propaganda efforts in Greece, Yugoslavia, Turkey, Persia, Iraq, Germany, and Cyprus. According to the newspaper, the instructions recommended 'the people of Cyprus to rise in revolt'. Wright acrimoniously added that Cyprus was not included in the 'instructions for murder of senior government officials'.[35]

Griffiths was unconvinced and refused. Wright responded that he understood the previous correspondence to mean 'that where security was involved there might be exceptions to general principle'. He stressed that Papaioannou was instructed 'by directing influences in Eastern Europe to return here immediately in order to carry out their instructions through local Communist organisations [...] with [the] purpose of rendering Cyprus a defence liability rather than an asset to Great Britain, with eventual war in view'. Griffiths refused again. Wright, undeterred by the opposition, wrote with greater urgency: 'I have experienced political disturbances in Cyprus and should expect them to be accompanied by violence and bloodshed, with loss of life'.[36]

SABRE-RATTLING

Wright began putting pressure on the Colonial Office in other ways, similar to sending sedition-filled copies of *Neos Democratis*, to induce a favourable view towards his January proposals. In March, Wright hinted that he was considering the re-instatement of the 1931 Flags Law, which had been repealed during Creech

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[34] Martin to Noble, 14 August 1950; Noble to Martin, 14 August 1950; Griffiths to Wright, 28 August 1950, CO537/6238, TNA.
[35] Wright to Griffiths, 29 August 1950 (nos. 356 and 357), CO537/6238, TNA.
[36] Griffiths to Wright, 30 August 1950; Wright to Griffiths, 31 August and 2 October 1950, CO537/6238, TNA.

Jones's reform crusade in February 1946. According to Wright, flags and slogans were 'the usual means of racial provocation'.[37]

Fisher argued that re-introducing the Flag Law would have brought the British 'into a far more openly anti-enosist position' than any of the other legislation Wright was considering. In fact, she argued that Wright's other proposed laws could at least be unspecific, while the Flags Law was inherently anti-*enosis* and 'based on the belief that the only way to deal with enosis is to stamp on it'. Instead, the criminal code already made provision against 'any visible representation whatsoever with seditious intention'. In the end, Wright cunningly decided to hold off on the Flags Law because he 'was advised and satisfied that control of the Press, if that was possible, should precede any attempt to control the abuse of flags'.[38]

Wright then turned from flags to assemblies. In May 1950, AKEL's National Liberation Alliance (EAS) applied for permits for preliminary meetings for an upcoming conference. The applications were rejected by the commissioners of Famagusta, Limassol, and Paphos on grounds of sedition but were accepted by the commissioners of Nicosia and Larnaca. The permit for the conference itself was then submitted to Dr Ivan Lloyd-Phillips, the commissioner of Nicosia. Wright instructed Phillips to interview Miltiades Christodoulou, the organizing secretary of the EAS.[39]

According to Phillips, Christodoulou was 'refreshingly frank' about most issues, except for the EAS's future policy and organization. Christodoulou outlined the most important points of discussion for the proposed meeting: *enosis*, AKEL's plebiscite delegation, and Anglo-American war-mongering. He also stated that the meeting would consider action to greater unify the left-wing organizations (i.e. AKEL, AON, the EAS, and the EAK) into a 'coalition'. He was, however, 'elusive' regarding the motivation behind this proposal. Phillips speculated that this was a precautionary move to allow the communist movement as a whole to continue to operate effectively if AKEL was ever proscribed. After discussing the details with his

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[37] Wright to Griffiths, 23 March 1950, CO67/368/11, TNA.
[38] Fisher, minute, 19 April 1950; Wright to Griffiths, 13 September 1950, CO67/368/11, TNA.
[39] Wright to Griffiths, 26 May 1950, CO537/6236, TNA.

Executive Council, Wright decided to have Phillips refuse the permit.[40]

In response, AKEL, with about 1,500 delegates from left-wing organizations in Cyprus, convened the 'Preservation of World Peace' Congress in Limassol on 21 May. According to police and intelligence reports, in addition to Greek flags and images of Stalin and Lenin, the Rialto Theatre was also decorated with banners which read, for example, 'Long Live Union', 'Long Live the Great Leader of the World Proletariat, Joseph STALIN', 'Women of Cyprus Rise against War', 'Down with the Criminal Imperialists who are preparing new Bloodshed', and 'Death to the Government which will First Use the Atomic Weapon'.[41]

As general secretary of AKEL, Papaioannou addressed the congress, allegedly proclaiming that:

> [t]he rotten Imperialist camp of the Anglo-Americans is mobilising everything to fight for its existence. True madness has come upon the Imperialists who are trying by every means to throw the World into a more destructive war. Madness is not a contagious disease. These gangsters, the American Imperialists, are at the head of the warmongers. [...] The movement of the defenders of peace is an unconquerable power, embracing 800 million of people, headed by the Soviet Union and the wise teacher Joseph Stalin. [...] We hate Imperialism.

Similar speeches were supposedly given by Georghios Christoforou (the district secretary of the PEO in Limassol, whom British authorities considered to be a 'loud-mouthed braggart but a physical coward'), Hambis Michaelides (the general secretary of the EAK), Christakis Ioannou Katsambas (the general secretary of AON), and Ziartides (the general secretary of PEO).[42] The congress then moved onto proceedings originally planned for the banned EAS conference, specifically electing a seven-person permanent Pancyprian committee of representatives from the leftist organizations.

Wright relayed these stories to Griffiths as proof that he required increased

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[40] *Ibid*. and annexed correspondence from Phillips to Turnbull, 20 May 1950, CO537/6236, TNA.
[41] Extract from Police Situation and Intelligence Report, no. 21, 25 May 1950, annex of: Wright to Griffiths, 27 May 1950, CO537/6236, TNA.
[42] *Ibid*.; unsigned, 'Note on Communism in Cyprus', undated, annex of: PSR, July 1948, CO537/4041, TNA.

powers to combat AKEL's ability to circumnavigate current legislation.[43] These stories (whether accurate or not) reflected colonial policy-makers' sensitivity to the cultural Cold War. Wright's accounts emphasized several important cultural battlegrounds (e.g. women, atomic warmongering, anti-imperialism) at least in the hope of persuading London to acquiesce to his requests. Here again, the Cyprus government's response to AKEL's cultural tactics was repression.

THE CHIEFS OF STAFF AND STRATEGIC REQUIREMENTS

In addition to AKEL's allegedly increasing impudence in Cyprus, Whitehall was also under increasing international pressure. By August 1950, the two rival plebiscite delegations had little success in rallying the US, France, or Britain to their cause; however, they were successful in internationalizing the 'Cyprus question'. Fisher reckoned that more international attention was now focussed on Cyprus than had been since the 1931 riots.[44]

Moreover, Britain's failure to introduce a constitution in Cyprus put it in a vulnerable position regarding the UN charter on self-determination. The Colonial and Foreign Offices turned to the chiefs of staff for any concrete strategic argument they could exploit against *enosis* and international criticism, particularly with the US 'where the fear of Communism is stronger than [its] anti-colonial feeling'.[45]

The chiefs delivered a list of ambiguous but delicate arguments, including 'a free hand to station in Cyprus [...] forces which may be considered necessary, at any time, to meet the strategic situation' and 'the right to develop the airfields necessary to support allied strategy'. Moreover, the rejection of *enosis* would bolster 'Turkish resistance to Russian aggression', which was now 'a most important factor in allied strategy in the Middle East'. Greece, however, was no longer considered to be a priority:

> the Allies do not plan to provide direct support to Greece in war and they accept the fact that she would be overrun by Russian forces in some three months. Although it would be a set back, it would not be disastrous to allied plans for the Middle East if Greek resistance to Russia collapsed and the enemy was able to establish sea and air bases

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[43] Wright to Griffiths, 27 May 1950 and annexed extract from Police Situation and Intelligence Report, no. 21, 25 May 1950, CO537/6236, TNA.
[44] Fisher, minute, 1 August 1950, CO537/6228, TNA.
[45] Listowel cited in: Martin, minute, 26 January 1950, CO537/6228, TNA.

in southern Greece at an earlier stage in war. Any friction, therefore, which might arise between Greece and the United Kingdom as a result of continued British sovereignty in Cyprus should not seriously affect allied strategy in the Middle East.

If nothing else, the chiefs stated, it was 'essential that Cyprus does not come under Communist control in peace'. They therefore determined that 'Cyprus must remain under British sovereignty'.[46]

While this would help justify the rejection of *enosis* in the UN, the chiefs' conclusions meant that Britain was, as Fisher put it, now 'primarily an occupying power and must be prepared to take such measures as are necessary to maintain our position in the Island unimpaired'.[47] A reappraisal of British colonial policy in Cyprus was therefore required, and the first issue considered was Cyprus's internal communist threat. Because Cyprus was 'too small, too prosperous, and too easily policed and held', Fisher rejected the suggestion that AKEL could take control in Cyprus as communists had done in Czechoslovakia and Malaya. She maintained that AKEL's aim would be to frustrate Britain by endeavouring 'to improve their intelligence, to continue their efforts (hitherto unsuccessful) to infiltrate into the Civil Service and Police, and to keep a reliable and well disciplined organisation in being for use when the occasion should arise'. AKEL's efforts might be assisted, Fisher argued, by external powers using Cyprus 'very effectively' to injure diplomatic relations between the US, Britain, Greece, and Turkey as well as 'to discredit the U.K. as a colonial power'.[48]

Identifying a key element of the imperial Cold War, Bennett concurred:

The more we can be forced into having to repress the Cypriots, the happier the Cominform will be. [...] We rejected a deal on the basis of internal self-government for fear of the risks which it might carry internally in Cyprus. But if Miss Fisher's analysis is right, that risk can perhaps be exaggerated, especially when weighed against the advantages which a tight authoritarian regime gives to the other side in the cold war.[49]

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[46] COS report, 'Strategic Importance of Retaining Full Sovereignty in Cyprus', annex of: JP(50) 65(Final), 5 June 1950, CO537/6244, TNA.
[47] Fisher, minute, 8 June 1950, CO537/6228, TNA.
[48] Fisher, memorandum, 'The Aims of Communism in Cyprus', 16 June 1950, CO537/6237, TNA.
[49] Bennett, minute, 22 June 1950, CO537/6237, TNA.

Martin found solace in that 'up to now there has been no shooting'. Fisher replied that 'the Cyprus communists have (in my view) nothing to gain by shooting while the war remains cold or even tepid. They have everything to gain by inducing the police to shoot first'. Either way, the problem, Martin minuted, was drawing the 'line between too much and too little "repression"'.[50] Indeed, this was the general British approach to the war of rival imperialisms, which had little chance against the seemingly progressive, nationalist-embracing, peace-loving activities of the Soviet Union and its front organizations.

WRIGHT EMPOWERED

Despite acknowledging that it was in 'the interest of communism in general that [the government] in Cyprus should be made to appear as repressive as possible', Fisher was not convinced repression should be so quickly dismissed, particularly if 'the war in the Middle East ceased to be cold'. She reasoned that if it was considered to be:

> likely that the Russians will, as their next move, switch the heat from the far to the middle East, it would be reasonable to suppose that the Cyprus communists would be required to take more positive action to diminish Cyprus' use as a military base. Before deciding what to do about Akel, we should, I think, try to discover (i) what the 'best opinion' is about the next scene of Russian activity [and] (ii) whether there are any indications that Mr Papaioannou has acquired a new policy while touring the Eastern European capitals.

She noted that MI5 did not have answers to these questions when she and Barton asked them ten days previously.[51]

> Nevertheless, Fisher argued, if the assumption was:

> that we may be faced with a warm rather than a cold war (? dynamite rather than the Stockholm appeals & leaflets) to make up our own minds whether the balance of advantage lies in waiting for Akel to stick out its head before striking or whether to move first.

She added that AKEL would find going underground in such a small and densely populated island very difficult, 'unless it had the whole community with it (which is very far from being the case)'.[52] Thus in January 1951, the Colonial Office granted

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[50] Martin, minute, 24 June 1950; Fisher, minute, 11 July 1950, CO537/6237, TNA.
[51] Fisher, minute, 18 September 1950, CO537/6236, TNA.
[52] *Ibid.*

Wright the powers he requested, except to deport British Cypriots.

WRIGHT AND PROSCRIPTION

Four months previously, on 26 September 1950, in a meeting at the Colonial Office with Lloyd, Martin, Bennett, Fisher, and William Dale, a legal advisor, Wright stated that the proscription of AKEL would be valuable 'eventually' but that he did not necessarily seek it. Instead, he considered his other proposals (i.e. regarding the press, crime, immigration, and the deportation of British subjects) to be the more urgent matters, adding that these would also incidentally prepare the ground for AKEL's proscription in the future. He implied that this would be the second phase of his plan to introduce a new constitution. Once firm government had been re-instated and *enosis* agitation quelled, AKEL would then be made illegal. Wright argued that AKEL would not be driven underground (which had been a significant reason for not proscribing AKEL in the past) but instead would re-surface as a centrist party. It was only then, according to Wright, in the one- to two-year window before this centrist party reverted to communism, that introducing a new constitution would be possible.[53]

Developments in the Greek-Cypriot Orthodox Church also seemed favourable to a new constitution. The archbishop had died on 18 October 1950, and his successor was the Bishop of Kition, who became Archbishop Makarios III. Makarios III had impressed both British and Americans policy-makers into a cautious optimism that he was 'basically a reasonable man' who happened to follow the *enosis* line, not out of conviction but because of his ecclesiastical ambitions. Moreover, the *locum tenens* had issued an encyclical which struck off from the electoral rolls all Cypriots who had been 'disrespectful to the Church', thereby deliberately disenfranchising the communists in the archiepiscopal election and ensuring that the future archbishop would not be contaminated by even tacit communist support.[54] British policy-makers were therefore closer to re-introducing a constitution, so it seemed, than any time since 1931.

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[53] 'Extract from Note on Discussions with Sir Andrew Wright. 26th Sept. 1950'; Fisher, minute, 2 October 1950, CO537/6236, TNA.

[54] Bennett, minute, 11 June 1950; Wright to Griffiths, 13 July 1950, CO67/367/1, TNA; Kelling, *Countdown to Rebellion*, pp. 120-121.

The Colonial Office granted Wright most of his requested powers in January 1951, but decided to put the proscription of AKEL into 'cold storage'. Less than a year after this decision was made, Wright returned to the proscription of AKEL some time in early to mid-1951. As early as 20 July, the Colonial Office was considering such a proposal and informed Wright in a meeting in London on 4 October that a decision had to be postponed until after the upcoming general election (set for 25 October) as well as the UN General Assembly meeting in November. In the meanwhile, discussion could continue on an official level.[55]

The colonial officials present at the October meeting – Lloyd, Martin, Bennett, Trafford Smith (the assistant secretary in charge of the General and Defence Department), and D.L. Pearson (a principal in the Mediterranean Department) – speculated that the British government would not consider the proscription of AKEL to be a preliminary step to introducing a constitution. Moreover, as it had been decided by the chiefs of staff that Cyprus must be retained, it was now general policy that Cyprus should be kept 'out of the news'. Wright disagreed, instead asserting that constitutional progress was of first importance for the sake of the local Cypriots, Anglo-American relations, and world opinion. He maintained that, as introducing a constitution was only possible if *enosis* agitation was suppressed, AKEL was 'the chief organised protagonist of Enosis and [...] must be proscribed'.[56]

Martin pushed back, arguing that British experience, particularly in the Far East, had demonstrated 'that the driving of communists out of one field of activity led them to seek the continuation of their activities in a different way', especially via trade unionism and covert militancy.[57] Martin, who less than two and a half years earlier had supported clipping AKEL's wings via the proscription of AON, was unconvinced about removing AKEL's head.

Nevertheless, the Colonial Office agreed to consider the matter and began by again comparing Cyprus to Malaya, specifically regarding the Awbery-Dalley report. In January 1947, British trade unionists Stanley Awbery (a Labour MP) and F.R.

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[55] Mediterranean Department, memorandum, 9 October 1950, CO537/6228, TNA; 'Note of a Meeting held on 4th October, 1951', CO537/7454, TNA.
[56] 'Note of a Meeting held on 4th October, 1951', CO537/7454, TNA.
[57] *Ibid*.

Dalley were appointed by the governors of Malaya and Singapore to report on their colonies' labour conditions.[58] Their mission departed from Malaya just before the outbreak of armed revolt in June, which made their observations particularly relevant to understanding the origins of communist insurgencies.[59]

The mission found that the Malayan communists evaded the law by utilizing trade unions for political ends. The Malayan government responded by passing legislation in May 1948 to restrict those who could hold office in trade unions to those with at least three year's experience in the particular industry and without conviction for crimes such as extortion and intimidation. Lastly the government banned trade union federations across industries. The Awbery-Dalley mission concluded that while this directly cancelled the Malayan communists' tactics, they then 'turned to their other weapon – violence'.[60]

Martin now recognized parallels between Wright's proposals and those of the Malayan government. He therefore wrote to Wright that while the Colonial Office 'entirely agreed with you as to the importance [...] of a positive influence by the Labour Department', proscribing AKEL might, like in Malaya, push 'the Communists into open use of violence to establish their control over the unions'. This would in turn, Martin argued, require a military response as well as the effective control by the government over the trade unions, both of which would be expensive and unpopular. Proscription was put back into 'cold storage'.[61]

'Cold storage', however, was once again short-lived. Eighteen months later, Wright informed the Colonial Office, now under the leadership of Oliver Lyttelton after the Conservative Party's victory in the 1951 general election, that a constitution would now be possible in Cyprus if AKEL was proscribed and its newspapers suspended. By Wright's calculations, the proscription of AKEL would spare the constitution from communist involvement, embolden moderates, placate

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[58] See: Nicholas J. White, 'The Limits of Late-Colonial Intervention', *Indonesia and the Malay World*, 36/106 (2008).

[59] Victor Purcell, *Malaya: Communist or Free?* (London, 1954), pp. 177-178.

[60] Extract from S.S. Awebery and F.W. Dalley, *Labour and Trade Union Organization in the Federation of Malay and Singapore* (Kuala Lumpur, 1948), CO537/7454, TNA. See also: Leong Yee Fong, 'The Impact of the Cold War on the Development of Trade Unionism in Malaya (1948-57)', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 23/1 (1992).

[61] Martin to Wright, 31 October 1951, CO537/7454, TNA.

minorities, safeguard domestic affairs, and, by eliminating communist competition, allow the nationalists to consider self-government without fear of electoral defeat.[62]

Alan Lennox-Boyd, the new minister of state for the colonies, disagreed: 'the proscription of AKEL, regarded as a purely political manoeuvre designed to create conditions for introducing a Constitution, would not be justifiable'. Lyttelton decided 'that the disadvantages of taking these measures (not least on account of the probable international reactions) would outweigh any advantage to be gained from them in present circumstances'.[63] Proscription was once again returned to 'cold storage' for the sake of Britain's progressive image in the wider Cold War.

Wright, echoing his predecessors, next requested a firm statement on Britain's intention to retain sovereignty over Cyprus. This was supported in the Cabinet by Eden, the new secretary of state for foreign affairs. Eden believed that a firm statement, given Cyprus's strategic position against the Soviet Union, would further bolster British relations with anti-communist Turkey and would 'do them [the Greeks] good to know we intend to remain in Cyprus'.[64]

Nevertheless, Lyttelton declined. He argued that:

> I think it would be better not to make this statement out of the blue, but to find an occasion for it when we come to debate in Parliament the situation in the Middle East in light of the negotiations with Egypt. [...] [T]he association of the statement on Cyprus with a debate relating to strategic dispositions in the Middle East would implicitly but not explicitly suggest that the main reason for our retention of Cyprus is strategic.[65]

While strategic requirements were in fact the main reason for the retention of Cyprus (particularly after it was agreed, at least in principle on 3 December 1952, to relocate the armed forces' Middle East Joint Headquarters from Suez

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[62] Mediterranean Department, memorandum, 'Sir Andrew Wright's Proposals regarding the Proscription of AKEL etc.', 19 March 1952; Mediterranean Department, memorandum, 'Discussions with Sir Andrew Wright', 26 March 1952, CO926/12, TNA.

[63] Bennett, memorandum, 'Note of discussion with Minister of State on 1st February 1952', 1 February 1952; Lyttelton to Eden, 10 April 1952, CO926/12, TNA.

[64] Cabinet minutes, 3 December 1952, CAB195/11/1. See Evanthis Hatzivassiliou, 'Cold War Pressures, Regional Strategies, and Relative Decline: British Military and Strategic Planning for Cyprus, 1950-1960', *The Journal of Military History*, 73/4 (2009), pp. 1155-1156.

[65] *Ibid*.

to the colony), London was keen not to advertise this (as well as the fact that constitutional advancement in Cyprus had stalled) in the context of rising anti-colonial criticism from the international community, especially the UN, supposedly fomented by the Soviets.[66]

PEON

Meanwhile, AKEL's predominance in Cyprus politics took another hit in early January 1952, when the Ethnarchy Council formed the Pancyprian National Youth Organization (PEON). Makarios III decreed: 'We invite the Cyprus youth – the shield of Cyprus's hopes – to take their places on the national bastions. Let the Cyprus youth be the first to take their places in the field of the noble struggle'.[67] The major cities witnessed a number of rallies organized by secondary schoolchildren. Wright blamed Nicosia's demonstration on AON but conceded that 'elsewhere indications are that the demonstrations were a spontaneous reaction on the part of the boys in the senior classes to the Archbishop's call to Youth'.[68] This was a significant turning point in what Panayiotou has called the 'anti-colonial mutation of the Right'.[69]

Three months later, PEON began paint daubing, which, according to John Fletcher-Cooke, the new colonial secretary, was 'normally the prerogative of the communists'. In Nicosia and Limassol, Cypriots who had supported the introduction of a constitution or had criticized the church found the external walls of their houses and businesses painted with, for example, 'Here resides traitor no. 1'. In Larnaca, PEON members painted on the wall of a monastery, 'Greeks, liberty is won with blood – Enosis', which received the Bishop of Kitium's 'unqualified approval'. For the official birthday of recently proclaimed Queen Elizabeth, members of PEON were observed recording the registration numbers from cars of Greek-Cypriots who were attending an official function at Government House.[70]

Wright was particularly concerned about the 'combination of excessive enthusiasm [...] and unchecked demonstrations by secondary schoolboys'. His

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[66] Cabinet conclusions, 3 December 1952, CAB128/25/51.
[67] 'Full translation of Archbishop's speech in Phaneromeni Church on January 13th, 1952', annex II of: PSR, January 1952, CO926/19, TNA.
[68] Wright to Lyttelton, 18 January 1952, CO926/10, TNA.
[69] Panayiotou, 'Lenin in the Coffee-Shop', p. 270.
[70] PSRs, April, May, and June 1952, CO926/19, TNA.

government responded by amending the Secondary Education Law to aid schools with financial problems. The amendments established 'public-aided secondary schools' as a new category, which allowed the government to appoint teachers, to pay their salaries and pensions, to limit tuition, and to monitor closely the curriculum. Both Greek-Cypriot parties accused the British of bribery and 'de-hellenising' Cyprus's young. The archbishop produced an encyclical, condemning the amendments and announcing the church's intention to fund schools which would fall into this category.[71]

Wright, however, was keen to maintain focus on AON and the communists. In his August 1952 political report to the Colonial Office, Wright described an AON meeting called to discuss AKEL's most recent purge of certain members (most notably, Christofis Noussis, George Cacoyannis, and Adamantos) for 'deviationist' views. At this meeting, Savvas Droushiotis, a leading Akelist, allegedly explained the purges as follows:

> You should know that a war between communists and capitalists is very near. All communists in the world should take an active part in this war. Although we here in Cyprus cannot take arms in our hands to fight the capitalists, we can fight in different ways, such as committing acts of sabotage and giving information concerning military operations in the island to Soviet Russia. [...] The members of our party must be genuine communists who will at any moment carry out the instructions and directions of the Central Committee without taking into consideration the consequences.

Droushiotis also reportedly stated that AKEL's Central Committee's decisions originated not from within but 'from abroad'.[72] If nothing else, this justified for Wright his continued focus on curbing communist activities, instead of being distracted by recent right-wing agitation.

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS AND NATIONALIST YOUTH VIOLENCE

On 17 May 1953, despite improved political machinery and purpose, the Greek-Cypriot nationalists gained very little ground against AKEL in the municipal elections. There was no change in the status of the urban municipalities, but the nationalists did manage to unseat AKEL in Morphou, the latter's only rural

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[71] PSRs, May, July, and August 1952, CO926/19, TNA.
[72] PSR, August 1952, CO926/19, TNA.

municipality. According to Wright, the nationalists were set to unseat AKEL in Limassol and Larnaca but were weakened by the Bishop of Kitium's refusal to allow moderates to join right-wing tickets.[73]

Perhaps frustrated by the inertia of formal politics, the Greek-Cypriot nationalists took to violence in mid-1953 via PEON. The government's actions in education were unsuccessful, demonstrated by the events surrounding the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II. According to Wright, what began as a contest 'in expressions of disloyalty and sedition' ended with PEON violence. Indeed, AON emerged 'unscathed'. On 31 May, some 200 to 300 PEON-led secondary students marched through a Nicosia shopping centre, spitting on and breaking windows which contained coronation decorations. Allegedly, PEON members destroyed 500 coronation mugs which were going to be distributed to primary schoolchildren, pulled down decorations, and even short-circuited a power line near Dhekelia which left Nicosia without electricity between 22:30 and 23:30 on 1 June.[74]

In Paphos, 800 secondary schoolchildren sparred with police, incited by 'the unbalanced and politically dangerous' Christodoulos Galatopoulos, the nationalist founder of the PESP. Efforts to defuse the situation failed, and the police, after being reinforced by forty soldiers of the Royal Engineers who happened to be in city for the parade, resorted to baton charges. Adding to the chaos, some Turkish-Cypriots, who, according to Fletcher-Cooke, were swept up with 'interracial feelings', entered into the fight against the Greek-Cypriots. The schoolchildren disbanded after being warned that the use of firearms was a possibility. Seventeen police officers, five soldiers, and an estimated sixteen civilians were injured.[75]

The government proscribed PEON, and the courts sent twelve Greek-Cypriot children to prison for six weeks and sent one for two years. Fletcher-Cooke lamented that the government was unable to procure convictions for 'the more notorious' Greek-Cypriots, namely Galatopoulos and Yiannis Sophokli, the district secretary of AKEL. The latter, whom Fletcher-Cooke called 'the main instigator', is surprising, as Sophokli was not mentioned anywhere in the previous reports as

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[73] PSR, August 1952, CO926/19; PSR, May 1953, CO926/20, TNA.
[74] PSRs, May and June 1953, CO926/20, TNA.
[75] PSRs, June and August 1953, CO926/20, TNA.

being involved in the riot. Furthermore, Fletcher-Cooke admitted that the recent events demonstrated that 'for the time being the [AKEL] Party seems to have abandoned its former truculent militancy'.[76]

Wright and his Executive Council decided that these disturbances justified even greater government control over education. On 5 July, the government published the new Elementary Education Laws, which dictated that members of school committees were no longer to be restricted to members of the Greek-Cypriot Orthodox Church. On 16 July, the Paphos town school committee was dismissed and replaced by three Greek-Cypriot government officials: a district judge, a district medical officer, and a school inspector. Wright hoped that this would serve as a warning to other schools.[77]

ARMITAGE AND AKEL

In August 1953, Sir Robert Armitage, who had spent most of his career in Kenya and the Gold Coast, was announced as Wright's replacement. The Colonial Office sent Armitage to Cyprus without any clear directive, even omitting their desire for the introduction of a constitution.[78] Instead, the new governor was concerned with maintaining order after the upcoming UN General Assembly's decision on the Cyprus question. He claimed that the bishop of Kyrenia had 'warned all youths to be ready to shed their blood', citing India and Egypt as inspiration. Furthermore, Armitage argued that:

> there is little doubt that fear (repeat fear) of the Church and of communism is widespread. Peasants fear damnation; shopkeepers fear boycott; industrialists fear strikes; professional men fear loss of clients; and all fear that there might be ostracism, the daubing of their houses if they question Enosis, and reprisals on their children at school.[79]

Armitage also reported a 'possible threat of desperate men from Greece or the Greek Islands trying to do acts of sabotage and generally to catch us on the wrong foot'. Armitage's first priority, therefore, was 'to try and penetrate any sabotage movements that may be now being [*sic*] engineered in Cyprus'.[80]

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[76] PSRs, June and July 1953, CO926/20, TNA.
[77] Wright to Lyttelton, 17 June 1953, CO926/10; PSR, July 1953, CO926/20, TNA.
[78] Holland, *Britain and the Revolt in Cyprus*, pp. 33-34.
[79] Armitage to Lennox-Boyd, 9 December 1954, CO926/174, TNA.
[80] Armitage to Morris, 8 December 1954, CO926/171, TNA.

The governor thus formulated a two-pronged strategy. First, he requested that the British Labour Party make a statement demonstrating their opposition to *enosis*, in order to quash any hope for a British government sympathetic to *enosis* after the next general election.[81] Second, Armitage sought permission to implement:

> a policy designed to curb Communist activities here and to prevent the indoctrination of incipient Communists in centres behind the Iron Curtain and the free movement of extreme Communists, even with British passports, to meetings behind the Iron Curtain.[82]

W.A. Morris, the assistant secretary who replaced Bennett as head of the Colonial Office's Mediterranean Department (1953-1957), found Armitage's second request illogical, particularly as AKEL was potentially the only Greek-Cypriot party willing to cooperate with the government, while the nationalists were allegedly encouraging violence.[83] However, what Morris failed to understand (or perhaps what Morris was trying to rise above) was the entrenched official belief that communist cooperation with the government would only facilitate communist infiltration, influence, domination, and thus victory. Armitage was fighting the Cold War in Cyprus.

THE UN AND THE CYPRUS QUESTION

Armitage's anti-communist proposals, moreover, were not entirely for the benefit of Cyprus's internal security. Anti-communism was also considered to be the key to preventing the inscription of the Cyprus question (i.e. the right to self-determination) onto the UN General Assembly's agenda. By 1953, Britain had blocked applications from the Cypriots, Greeks, and Poles. In September 1954, however, the Greek delegation finally succeeded, no thanks to the US, which abstained from the vote.[84]

The British UN delegation, in its campaign for support against the Greek motion, particularly regarding the US, decided that:

> it would be particularly useful if we could insinuate that the issue of

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[81] Armitage to Lennox-Boyd, 9 December 1954, CO926/174, TNA.
[82] Armitage to Morris, 8 December 1954, CO926/171, TNA.
[83] Morris, minute, 10 December 1954, CO926/171, TNA.
[84] PSR, 1 July-10 August 1954, CO926/209, TNA; Johnson, 'Britain and the Cyprus Problem', p 118.

> Enosis has been gradually exploited and blown up by the Communists, both in Cyprus and Greece, as a cold war gambit, until the Greek Government felt obliged to come forward themselves as its public champion.[85]

Despite India and the US abstaining, Britain's diplomatic wrangling paid off, and on 16 December 1954, with help from the Commonwealth delegates and Turkey, Britain defeated the Greek motion.[86]

THE EOKA REVOLT

The reaction in Cyprus to the defeat of the Greek motion was unsurprising. Both of the right- and left-wing farmer unions joined in a general strike, while students took to the streets in destructive demonstrations. In Nicosia, for example, secondary schoolchildren pulled down British flags and broke windows at, among other places, the colonial secretariat's offices and the Government Tourist Office. They were met by police batons and tear gas. Police arrested twenty-five people, who, according to Armitage, were 'mainly Communists'. The military was brought in for support and in response to being attacked, opened fire, injuring three people. These larger demonstrations allegedly evolved into 'bands of hooligans up to 100 strong' which walked 'about doing what damage they can at Nicosia and Limassol'. Some eighty Turkish vigilantes, who threatened to exacerbate the situation, were 'dispersed with tear smoke'. Rumours circulated the following day of plans to torch the US consulate and the attorney general's house.[87]

Upon his return from representing Cyprus at the UN in New York, Makarios III stated that it was time for Cypriots to increase their struggle and self-sacrifice for *enosis*. Moreover, he expressed his satisfaction with the previous outburst of violence and congratulated those who shed their blood for the cause.[88] Despite, once again, a clear articulation in support of violence on behalf of the nationalists, British policy-makers blamed AKEL. Lennox-Boyd stated in the House of Commons that 'here again, not for the first time and, no doubt, not for the last, Communists

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[85] Kelling, *Countdown to Rebellion*, p. 146.

[86] Foreign Office, brief (for the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Meeting), 'Cyprus', 10 January 1955, FO371/117621, RG1081/31, TNA.

[87] Armitage to Lennox-Boyd, 18 and 19 December 1954, FO371/112884, WG1081/1257(A-C), TNA.

[88] Armitage to Lennox-Boyd, 11 January 1955, FO371/117621, RG1081/34, TNA.

are prepared to put other people in to do work from which they hope to profit'.[89]

In January 1955, Cyprus authorities captured a boat transporting over ten thousand sticks of dynamite by a Greek crew allegedly intended for the new National Front for the Liberation of Cyprus.[90] While the right-wing press downplayed the incident, claiming the dynamite was for illicit fishing, AKEL condemned the nationalists for contemplating 'such a foolhardy enterprise'.[91] On 1 April, EOKA, led by General Grivas, executed that foolhardy enterprise, by detonating bombs in and around government buildings in Nicosia, Limassol, and Larnaca.[92] The Cyprus Emergency had begun.

THE PROSCRIPTION OF AKEL

In the British House of Commons, Kenneth Robinson, Labour's opposition whip, blamed the outbreak of violence in Cyprus on the Colonial Office's policies and 'ill-chosen words'. R.H. Turton, the joint under-secretary of state for foreign affairs, responded by accusing Robinson of abetting 'Communist terrorism in Cyprus'.[93] The Colonial Office immediately informed the Foreign Office 'that there was in fact no evidence that the riots were Communist-inspired' and 'that Communist leaders had condemned these acts of violence'. AKEL, according to one Foreign Office official, had placed itself 'inconveniently in the right'.[94]

Nonetheless, Lennox-Boyd proclaimed in the Commons three days later that 'it is not part of our policy to abandon resistance to Communist imperialism in the cold war, and that we have to take a number of other important steps to secure that aim' in Cyprus. Viscount Hinchingbrooke, a Conservative MP, stated that, in Cyprus, 'the only effective political party [...] is the Communist Party. They cannot be allowed to flood the Constitution, to dominate it and control it at this stage, otherwise there would be another British Guiana situation', where British policy-makers suspended the only six-month old constitution to prevent allegedly pro-

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[89] Commons, 20 December 1954, *Hansard*, 535, col. 2440.
[90] Armitage to Lennox-Boyd, 28 January 1955, FO371/117688, RG1192/16, TNA.
[91] PSR, February 1955, CO926/209, TNA.
[92] Holland, *Britain and the Revolt in Cyprus*, p. 52.
[93] Commons, 2 May 1955, *Hansard*, 540, col. 1340.
[94] Wiley, minute, 3 May 1955, FO371/117633, RG1081/378, TNA.

communist subversion from the majority People's Progressive Party.[95] This sentiment was echoed in a note by Selwyn Lloyd, the minister of defence, to the Cabinet, which concluded that '[w]hilst the Communist element is not openly engaged at present, it needs to be fully understood that it has the greater potential power of the two sections of Greek-speaking Cypriots demanding Enosis' to seize power, either through a new constitution or the withdrawal of British forces.[96]

In November, police in Cyprus obtained a communiqué allegedly written by AKEL's politburo. It called for:

> all Cypriot patriots, Greeks, Turks, and Armenians, men, women, and youths, right-, left-wingers and independents, labourers, agrarians, artisans, craftsmen, scientists and business men [...] to be united in the common democratic and mass struggle for freedom.

Despite little proof of authenticity, let alone any explicit call for violence beyond the rhetoric normally employed in AKEL publications, George Sinclair, the new deputy governor (1955-1960), interpreted this document as proof of 'a cardinal change of direction' for AKEL: if EOKA 'with the backing of the Ethnarchy, intensifies its efforts to disrupt Government and the life of this island, it seems [...] that Akel might take this opportunity of joining in'. The director of intelligence in Cyprus concurred.[97]

However, Sir John Harding, the former chief of the imperial general staff who had been governor of Cyprus for just over two months, was focussed on the immediate nationalist agitation, requesting from London approval to detain and deport the Bishop of Kyrenia for his incitement to violence on 4 December. Lennox-Boyd refused, because his deportation would have deterred the resumption of negotiations with Makarios III (as well as Greece's assistance in the matter). Instead, Lennox-Boyd 'made it clear to the Governor that he should take the earliest opportunity of proscribing the Communist trade unions, which he had full authority to do as soon as he thought fit, and of arresting and deporting Communist leaders'.

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[95] Commons, 5 May 1955, *Hansard*, 540, cols 1971, 1996; Hyam, *Britain's Declining Empire*, pp. 210-211.

[96] Selwyn Lloyd, note, 'Strategic Review of the Cyprus Problem', 18 July 1955, CAB129/76/32.

[97] Sinclair to Martin, 19 November 1955 and annexed publication by AKEL politburo, 'Appeal of AKEL to all Cyprus people in order to avert the national sell-out', 8 November 1955, FO371/117677, RG1081/1624, TNA.

The Cabinet was 'in general agreement' with these decisions (after the fact).[98]

Thus, on 14 December 1955, British authorities carried out Operation 'Lobster Pot'. Within the four hours between 02:30 and 06:30, AKEL, AON, PODY, and the EAK were proscribed and 128 communists were detained. In the end, authorities detained four additional communists, seized AKEL's properties, closed *Neos Democratis*, and froze AKEL's funds. By 16:40, only thirty-five communists were at large, including two who were abroad and one who died before the operation had begun. One of those abroad was Ziartides, the general secretary of PEO and the 'most notable figure in the A.K.E.L. hierarchy'. British authorities nevertheless detained every other known important office holder of Cyprus's several communist organizations, including Papaioannou (the general secretary), Partassides (the mayor of Limassol), Georgios Christodoulides (the mayor of Larnaca), and Ghalanos (the editor of *Neos Democratis*).[99]

> The government justified its actions with a press release, which read that:

> [i]t was the Communists who since the war led the way in resorting to riot, sabotage and physical intimidation in pursuit of their political aims. It was they who developed the whole paraphernalia of 'struggle' against established authority – the mass demonstrations, political strikes, daubing of slogans, seditious propaganda and monster petitions. That a large number of the public now accepts violence and agitation as a substitute for normal democratic processes is largely their doing.[100]

Proscription shocked many in Cyprus and Greece. The reactions from the Greek press were 'almost uniform' in their condemnation of what was understood to be a British ploy to promote to the world that the nationalist revolt was 'Communist controlled'.[101] As Crawshaw has put it, 'allegations of violence, valid in 1948, could not be sustained in 1955' against AKEL, whose activities 'came within the law' and whose subversion was inconsequential when contrasted with that of the church, not to mention of EOKA. Makarios III, responding to the subsequent

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[98] Cabinet conclusions, 6 December 1955, CAB128/29/45.
[99] Harding to Lennox-Boyd, 14 December 1955, FO371/117676, RG1081/1688; Harding to Lennox-Boyd, 14 December 1955, FO371/117677, RG1081/1632(G), TNA.
[100] Cyprus government, press release, 14 December 1955, cited in: Crawshaw, *The Cyprus Revolt*, pp. 150-151.
[101] Sir Charles Peake (British ambassador at Athens) to Foreign Office, 15 December 1955, FO371/117676, RG1081/1653, TNA.

'wave of sympathy' for AKEL from the public, gave the long-desired invitation for a united front.[102] The communists decided that they would gain more by remaining apart from the violence and indeed garnered much public support in doing so.[103] In early 1958, however, AKEL became the target of violence, as Grivas ordered EOKA to begin killing leftists for their alleged treason. Fifteen leftists were killed during the emergency, including one who was publicly stoned to death in front of a village crowd.[104]

The US State Department was pleased 'at the official level' with the decision to proscribe AKEL.[105] John Dulles, the US secretary of state, explained to the Greek minister of foreign affairs that:

> critics of the present British Government were attacking it for giving up the Suez base and pointing out that no sooner had the base been taken over by Egypt than the Communists had moved in. Similarly, with respect to Cyprus, it is important to make sure that it did not pass under Communist control.[106]

Since the breakdown of the consultative assembly in 1947 and certainly after the plebiscite in 1950, British policy-makers responsible for Cyprus struggled to find a constitutional solution which supported their projected image as a progressive colonial power. Despite the fact that these two major events were victories for the Greek-Cypriot nationalists and despite the fact that the nationalists became increasingly more disruptive than the communists, the British, both in Cyprus and London, (not to mention the Americans) continued to prioritize AKEL and its front organizations as the primary threat to the colonial process. Instead of a lack of foresight or comprehension (as posited by Crawshaw and others), this reflected wider British efforts in fighting the Cold War on the ground in the colonies of the British Empire.

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[102] Crawshaw, *The Cyprus Revolt*, pp. 151-152.
[103] François Crouzet, *Le Conflit de Chypre, 1946-1959*, vol. 2 (Brussels, 1973), p. 532.
[104] Peristianis, 'The Rise of the Left', p. 257.
[105] Makins to Foreign Office, 14 December 1955, FO371/117677, RG1081/1645, TNA.
[106] 'Memorandum of a Conversation between Dulles and Theotokis', 24 October 1955, in: United States Department of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1955-1957, Vol. 24: Soviet Union, Eastern Mediterranean* (Washington DC, 1989), p. 310.

Chapter Twelve
British Anti-Communism: Containment through Repression

The most striking similarity between Hong Kong and Cyprus between 1949 and the mid-1950s was the British persistence in viewing the communists as the most dangerous threat despite rising and eventually surpassing levels of violent disturbances caused by right-wing nationalists.

This is further remarkable given the differences and disagreements evident between the colonial governments and London. Whitehall increasingly saw Hong Kong and Cyprus in terms of geopolitics in the Cold War (e.g. in British relations with the PRC, US, USSR, and UN). On the ground, however, Grantham continued to prioritize the protection of Hong Kong's trade, while Wright and, to a lesser degree, Armitage focussed on preparing the ground for a constitution in Cyprus. And while this had some impact on policy formation, especially regarding immigration and defence, all shared a similar aim: to counter the influence and impact of the communists.

In both colonies, however, the containment of communism was more the success of external powers than British policy. For Hong Kong, as Tom Buchanan has observed:

> Rees William's repeated reference to Hong Kong as the 'shop window of democracy in the Far East' was just as meaningless as Bevin's description of the colony as the 'Berlin of the East'. Hong Kong only remained a British colony because of its economic value to China and because, for the time being, it suited both the Communists and the KMT to preserve it as a neutral base for their political operations.[1]

In addition to the strategic benefits, Hong Kong was an important market for Chinese goods and thereby provided the CCP with a consistent flow of capital. 'And for that', as Loh has put it, 'it was worth putting ideology aside'.[2]

The British Cabinet recognized this even before the ROC's fall, concluding that: 'if a strong Communist Government established itself in control over the whole of China, it would be impossible for us to maintain Hong Kong as a trading

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[1] Buchanan, *East Wind*, p. 104.
[2] Loh, *Underground Front*, p. 84.

centre unless that Government acquiesced in our continuance there'.[3] Thus, British counter-action against the threat of Chinese communist expansionism had to be even more covert than British counter-action in Cyprus. It is therefore unsurprising that policy-makers in Hong Kong were more creative and more eager to attempt positive cultural warfare (e.g. through education and youth politics).

Economy, prestige, and politics (i.e. the fundamentals of maintaining a large empire) were, to varying degrees, the factors which dictated British (and CCP) action regarding Hong Kong during the early Cold War. In the end, Grantham's assessment was right: 'The strength of our position in Hong Kong depends largely upon non-involvement in political issues' and greater involvement in trade with China.[4] That China shared much of this outlook meant that Hong Kong's sovereignty was not a point of conflict between rival imperialisms; Hong Kong was thus one of the few success stories of the Cold War.

While similarly being settled by external powers, Cyprus would have no such luck. As EOKA's deadly revolt escalated in 1955, in the words of Sinclair, the Cyprus government was unwavering in its 'long-term job [...] to see that communism does not break through in this part of the world'.[5] Cyprus was considered to be a vital possession (if only in terms of potentialities) for Britain from the very beginning of British rule, specifically to check the perceived threat of Russia's southern expansionism into India, the Mediterranean, and the Middle East. Thus, from as early as 1943, British policy-makers were principally focussed on countering AKEL in Cyprus, on the grounds that it posed the greatest threat to British sovereignty and good government.

This latter aim – specifically the introduction of a constitution and greater internal self-government for Cyprus – was Britain's primary tool for countering anti-colonialism, whether from the local population, the US, or the Soviet Union. However, British policy-makers, while rather confident in its dealing with colonial nationalisms and the US, found countering communism a befuddling challenge.

For both Cyprus and Hong Kong, this translated to a shared understanding

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[3] Cabinet conclusions, 26 May 1949, CAB128/15/38.
[4] Tsang, 'Strategy for Survival', p. 300.
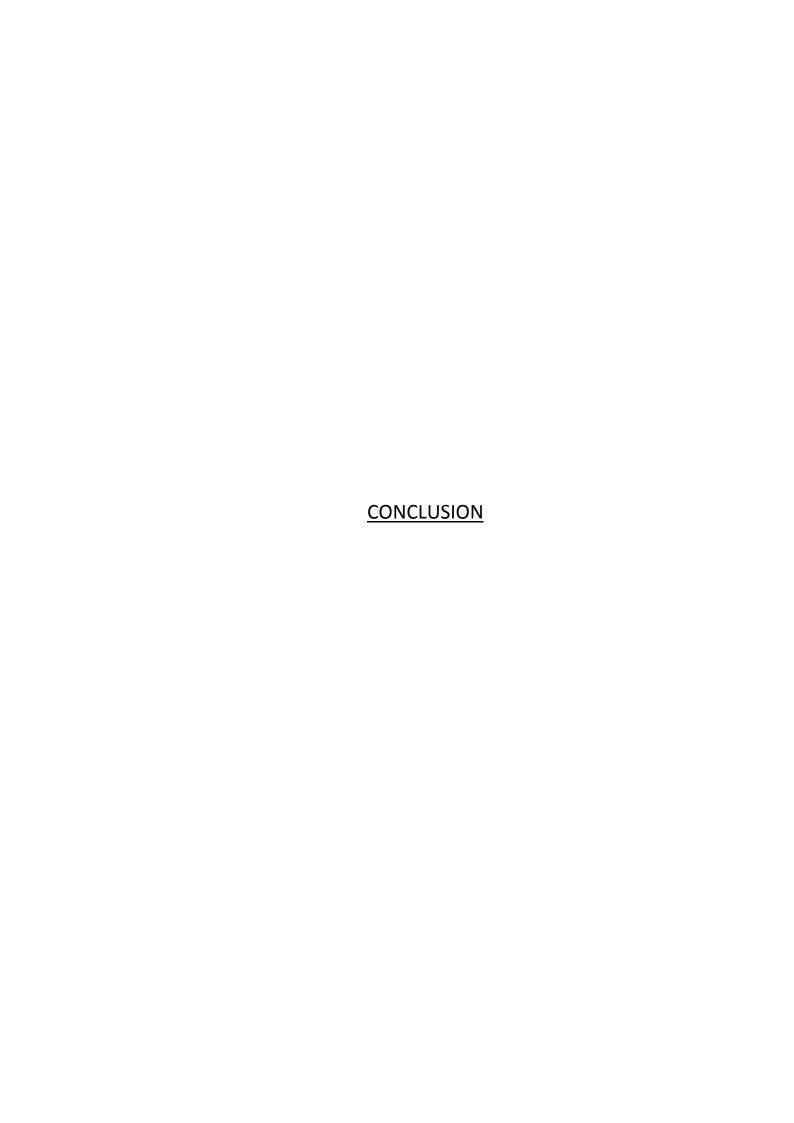[5] Sinclair to Martin, 19 November 1955, FO371/117677, RG1081/1624, TNA.

between six governors, six secretaries of state for the colonies, and scores of Colonial Office officials who served roughly between the CCP's and AKEL's rise in 1941 and the mid-1950s that communism was the primary threat. There was, however, considerable variance between their proposed solutions, but the limitations of British imperialism – its inability to offer something more attractive than what the communists (or Americans) were offering – meant that the Colonial Office gradually gave way to the governors, as the latter requested greater and greater repressive powers to counter the CCP and AKEL. These powers (e.g. regarding immigration, press censorship, and education) also reflected a shared understanding across the British Empire of how to fight communists on the ground in the Cold War.

<p align="center">***</p>

After 1957, Britain sought to further streamline its regional power. Successive Conservative and Labour governments continued to 'retreat from an empire of continents and hinterlands to an empire of points, from jungle to city-port and aircraft-carrier, and from formal to informal empire'.[6] While by no means ending the imperial Cold War or Britain's centrality therein, it certainly narrowed the scope and changed the nature of Britain's imperial activities.

By the mid-1950s, the historical narratives of Hong Kong and Cyprus diverged. In the former, the Korean War and a growing confidence that the PRC sought to uphold the status quo in Hong Kong allowed Grantham to abandon major constitutional reform altogether and for Britain to retain sovereignty for decades thereafter. In the latter, however, the outbreak of the Greek-Cypriot nationalist revolt in 1955, while finally allowing the government to proscribe AKEL, set in motion the eventual demise of British rule there. By 1960, it was in fact Greece and Turkey which decided the nature of Cyprus's independence, with Britain wrangling two small military bases near Dhekelia and Episkopi out of the eventual settlement.[7]

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[6] Hack, *Defence and Decolonization*, p. 300.
[7] Holland, *Britain and the Revolt in Cyprus*, p. 331.

<u>CONCLUSION</u>

Conclusion: Britain, the Empire, and the Cold War

Given the immediate parallels between Hong Kong and Cyprus, the temptation
exists to over-extrapolate. Hong Kong and Cyprus were two relatively small but
strategic islands in the Cold War divided by nationalist and communist politics. Over
both colonies, Britain aimed to maintain sovereignty, which was contested by
internal and external powers, themselves wracked with communist-led civil wars
and wider Cold War tensions.

However, as was recognized by colonial officials then, direct comparisons
between colonies risk reductive fallacies. As Martin, the assistant under-secretary in
charge of the Middle East Department and Mediterranean Department, minuted in
1949, 'Cypriot "Greeks" will not necessarily react in the same way as [the] Chinese'.[1]
Indeed, a monolithic view of colonial people was a tendency and limitation of
Britain's pre-war imperialism. British policy-makers also identified and sought to
exploit (but did not fully understand) the divisions between and within colonial,
national, and international communist organizations. That said, British policies
towards the local communist parties of Hong Kong and Cyprus as well as towards
national and transnational communist movements demonstrated that they had a
monolithic understanding of communism's popular appeal as well as of the policies
necessary to defeat it. It is here that a comparison yields results.

There were, however, three fundamental differences between Hong Kong and
Cyprus which must first be considered. First, one of the biggest differences between
Hong Kong and Cyprus was their respective raisons d'être. In Cyprus, strategy
trumped economies. The government policy towards Cyprus's economy was one
indeed of 'benign neglect'.[2] Although never fully developed, Cyprus was considered
to be essential in the Cold War, if only because occupying the island meant that the
Soviets could not.

Trade, however, was the justification for Hong Kong.[3] While there were some
geostrategic advantages to Hong Kong while the Cold War remained cold, Grantham

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[1] Martin, minute, 26 May 1949, CO537/4976, TNA.
[2] Taki and Officer, 'Civil Society', p. 206.
[3] Tsang, *Democracy Shelved*, p. 212.

frequently invoked the argument that without trade, the colony was worthless, and its defence, development, and future were futile. However, given both the real and perceived threats, this prioritization made policy-making difficult, particularly when the Colonial Office and the rest of Whitehall considered Hong Kong more in terms of a Cold War fortress against the spread of Chinese communism in Southeast Asia.

The second important difference between the two colonies was the degree of local self-government. The lack of demand from the Hong Kong public for greater democratic development, in part, because the British administration was in fact meeting their expectations, meant there was little resistance to Grantham's defeat of the Young Plan.[4] Instead, Grantham's 'benevolent autocracy', which meant a ban of 'cultural representations through politics for all but the Westernized economic elite appointed to serve as legislators (called Unofficials) on the budgetarily castrated Legislative Council', lasted until 1981.[5]

In Cyprus, while there was little support for self-government outside AKEL (and perhaps the Turkish-Cypriots), there was a significant demand in the majority Greek-Cypriot population for self-determination and thereby the transpiring of *enosis*. However, constitutional advancement was key in Britain's colonial strategy for Cyprus. British policy-makers saw the re-instatement of municipal elections in March 1943 and the consultative assembly in 1947 as steps towards a new constitution and local self-government, in accordance with the wider aim of guiding the colonies to responsible self-government.[6]

Finally, while both Hong Kong and Cyprus were both coveted by external powers, the former was unique in the British Empire because the New Territories (over ninety percent of the colony's landmass) were leased from and therefore set to return to China by 1997. Moreover, the ROC and then the PRC desired the return of the entire colony, not just the leased territories.[7]

With these three differences in mind, however, there were several important similarities in British policy in Hong Kong and Cyprus, which demonstrate the

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[4] Tsang, *A Modern History of Hong Kong*, pp. 206-207.
[5] Grant, 'Cultural Formation', p. 160; Tsang, *Democracy Shelved*, p. 213.
[6] Yiangou, *Cyprus in World War II*, p. 101.
[7] Tsang, *Democracy Shelved*, p. 212.

imperial nature of the Cold War and how it was fought on the ground.

EXTERNAL RELATIONS

While in a state of geopolitical decline, Britain and its empire still held some considerable diplomatic influence, from which both Hong Kong and Cyprus benefitted. In fact, during the 1940s, a 'firm statement' of British intentions to retain control over certain colonies, especially Hong Kong and Cyprus, was considered to be one of the most effective tools available to British colonial policy-makers. It was thought that a statement of British determination would deter any serious nationalist claims for self-government and ward off external meddlers. Several such statements were made from Parliament regarding Hong Kong between 1942 and 1944; Cyprus Governors Woolley and Winster pleaded for similar statements, but had to wait until 11 December 1946, when London decided that it would not have detrimental consequences for British interests in Greece. Once made, Winster had the island plastered with posters which declared that '[o]n this foundation of a clear understanding of the future intentions of His Majesty's Government [...] the road lies clear for a new start in the relations between Britain and Cyprus'.[8]

Moreover, both Turkey and Greece depended on British and then Anglo-American economic and diplomatic support during the immediate post-war years. It was Winston Churchill who arguably saved Greece from Soviet domination at the Fourth Moscow Conference in 1944, and it was Britain which initially provided the necessary support for the Kingdom of Greece in the civil war. As the former Greek prime minister, George Papandreou, put it, Greece breathed 'with two lungs, one of them being British and the other American, and for this reason it cannot undertake the risk of suffocation because of the Cyprus problem'.[9] Turkey meanwhile supported British sovereignty as a deterrent against Soviet expansionism.[10] By the mid-1950s, however, Greece's political stability, pro-*enosis* public opinion, and diplomatic credibility meant that it could revive its active support for *enosis*, doing

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[8] Kelling, *Countdown to Rebellion*, p. 75.
[9] Tombazos, 'AKEL', p. 226.
[10] Suha Bölükbaşi, 'The Cyprus Dispute and the United Nations: Peaceful Non-Settlement between 1954 and 1996', *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 30 (1998), p. 413.

so somewhat successfully at the UN in 1954, outside hopeless bilateral discussions with Britain.[11] This marked the beginning of the end of British rule in Cyprus.

The KMT and the CCP also benefitted from an ostensibly neutral and open British colony on its border. The relative lack of communist agitation against British colonial rule in Hong Kong was certainly not a success wholly of British policy; this was more a reflection of the CCP's wider priorities: a concentration of efforts against Taiwan and the US and in Malaya, Korea, and French Indochina. A small, economically dependent, neutral British colony on its border was an advantage the CCP sought to maintain.

In fact, Li Hou, the deputy director of the PRC's Hong Kong and Macao Affairs Office, outlined in 1997 the two major reasons for the PRC's decision not to recover Hong Kong. First, recovery would have required force against the British, which would probably have provoked the US to defend Hong Kong. Second, the economic embargoes imposed on the newly formed PRC by the US and other Western powers meant that Hong Kong was indeed a useful 'channel to the outside world, making it possible for China to obtain things which could not be obtained from other channels'. The PRC therefore sought to maintain the status quo in Hong Kong.[12]

YOUTH

Policy-makers in Hong Kong and Cyprus considered youth to be both the most susceptible targets to communist indoctrination and the most unruly anti-colonial enemy. This owed largely to the stereotype of youth's corruptible idealism as well as to the existence of well-funded and well-organized local and transnational communist youth organizations (the New Democratic Youth League, AON, WFDY, and IUS) and the Soviets' historical preoccupation with youth and familial politics.[13]

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[11] Stephen G. Xydis, 'The UN General Assembly as an Instrument of Greek Policy: Cyprus, 1954-58', *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 12/2 (1968), p. 142; Evanthis Hatzivassiliou, 'The Red Line: Pressure and Persuasion in Greek Diplomatic Strategies on Cyprus, 1945-2004', *Mediterranean Quarterly*, 20/1 (2009), pp. 54-55. See also: Robert Holland, *Blue-Water Empire: the British in the Mediterranean since 1800* (London, 2012).

[12] Li Hou, *Hui de Licheng* [*The Path of Hong Kong's Return*] (Hong Kong, 1997), p. 47, cited in: Lau Siu-kai, 'Pragmatic Calculations of National Interest: China's Hong Kong Policy, 1949-1997', in: Suisheng Zhao (ed.), *Chinese Foreign Policy: Pragmatism and Strategic Behavior* (Armonk, NY, 2004), pp. 92-93.

[13] Anne E. Gorsuch, *Youth in Revolutionary Russia: Enthusiasts, Bohemians, Delinquents* (Bloomington, IN, 2000), p. 12; Kotek, *Students and the Cold War*, p. vii.

Furthermore, as post-war economies and British efforts in development and welfare allowed for greater educational opportunities, colonial youth had increasing access to the more influential positions within society and government.

The politicalization of youth, although not a new phenomenon, evolved during the Cold War, specifically in 1918 with the formation of the Soviet Union's Komsomol, 'the first state-sponsored communist youth organization, in the very first communist country'.[14] For Britain, the end of the Second World War ushered in a 'new cultural order' in which the teenager became one of the principal representations of change, over which the Soviet Union then internationally monopolized influence in 1945 when the communist-dominated WFDY was formed in London.[15] This was reinforced the next year with the formation of the communist-dominated IUS in Prague. Both of these organizations, which were highly successful communist front organizations designed to rally the world's youth to the Soviets, established colonial bureaux, which targeted colonial youth and students with their anti-colonial and pro-nationalist message.

In fact, the communists' expanding anti-colonial campaign was rooted in colonial youth. In addition to the colonial bureaux of the WFDY and the IUS, the Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB) and the communist-infiltrated British National Union of Students likewise formed sub-committees dedicated to campaigns about colonial affairs, such as protests in Whitehall and supporting the nationalist aspirations of visiting colonial students.

Visa applications, for example, from Cypriot and Hong Kong Chinese youth to attend the WFDY's and the IUS's massive festivals therefore troubled British authorities. While Whitehall scrambled to put together a viable counter-attraction, which materialized in 1949 as the under-financed World Assembly of Youth (WAY), the governors of Hong Kong and Cyprus considered ways in which they could prevent, dissuade, or, at the very least, monitor these youth delegations.

In Hong Kong, Grantham looked towards education policies to prevent

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[14] Matthias Neumann, *The Communist Youth League and the Transformation of the Soviet Union* (London, 2011), p. xiv.
[15] Bill Osgerby, *Youth in Britain since 1945* (Oxford, 1998), pp. 31-32; Kotek, *Students and the Cold War*, p. x.

communist indoctrination and foster a pro-British mentality. The Cyprus governors, particularly Wright, on the other hand, sought measures to reject visa applications, prevent travel, and, failing that, deny re-entry. In fact, apart from school magazines, the only positive policy contemplated at any length by the Cyprus authorities was for the establishment of a university to serve the dual purpose of limiting the number of students studying overseas and of advancing British influence in the Middle East.[16] It came to nothing.

British education efforts in Hong Kong bore much more fruit, which did not go unnoticed in the region. Although not within the jurisdiction of the commissioner-general for Southeast Asia, Hong Kong's representatives always attended the annual conferences of education directors of British Southeast Asia (which ran between 1949 and 1961) and assumed a leading role in the discussion and development of anti-communist, pro-democratic education and youth policies, justified by the argument that as Hong Kong went, so did the region.

Youth was vital in the war of rival imperialisms. British colonial policies in this area included some of Britain's most innovative (although largely ineffective) programmes (e.g. WAY, new schools, and universities) as well as the most repressive activities (e.g. espionage, imprisonment, and proscription) in the imperial Cold War.

TRADE UNIONISM

Extensive labour unrest in the colonies, especially in Hong Kong, during the 1920s and the subsequent and rapid growth of colonial trade unionism, particularly along militant and pro-independence lines, in the 1930s created significant problems for British authorities. Without some sort of intervention, British policy-makers feared that these increasingly popular and organized movements could seriously threaten British colonial rule and jeopardize the colonies' economic value. Furthermore, no longer could the British rely on repression, as this prompted further violence in the colonies and provoked political opposition in London. The British response had to be positive, reinforce their colonial rule, and improve the empire's contribution to

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[16] Cyprus Intelligence Committee, report, 'Security Implications of the System of Education in Cyprus', 12 September 1955, CIC(55) – Twelve (Final), CO537/4312, TNA; Harding to Hare, 17 October 1956, CO926/157, TNA. See also: CO926/438 and CO926/914.

Britain's economy. Collaborating with the British Trades Union Congress (TUC), the Colonial Office called on the colonies to legalize and guide the formation of 'responsible' trade unions.[17]

By 1930, only British Guiana, Hong Kong, Jamaica, Malaya, and Northern Rhodesia had a legal framework for trade unions.[18] In September, Lord Passfield, the secretary of state for the colonies, sent a circular dispatch to urge governors to enact legislation which gave trade unions legal rights.[19] Malcolm MacDonald, in September 1938, and then George Hall, in August 1946, sent similar circulars as secretaries of state, expressing 'the view that Colonial Labour Departments are actually or potentially among the most important Departments of Government'.[20] By 1940, twenty-seven colonial governments had labour departments, officers, and/or inspectors.[21] Hong Kong had a labour officer from 1938; Cyprus joined this list in 1941 (although Governor Winster did complain in 1947 that 'all the King's horses and all the King's men in Great Britain cannot provide me with a thoroughly competent labour adviser').[22]

Traditional views of colonial people, especially workers, and growing fears of a communist menace meant for Hall, who was in 1940 the parliamentary under-secretary of state for the colonies, that these new colonial trade unions might 'be ill-informed, badly organised and badly led and an easy prey to the agitator and the opportunist'. It was therefore imperative, Hall argued, that Britain guide 'their development on sound and moderate lines'.[23]

British policy-makers' concerns about trade unionism and communist infiltration only grew after the Second World War. Domestically, the long-standing tensions between reformist and revolutionary elements within the British labour

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[17] Weiler, 'Forming Responsible Trade Unions', pp. 367-370.
[18] See: George T. Daniel, 'Labor and Nationalism in the British Caribbean', *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 310/1 (1957); Lawrence Nurse, *Trade Unionism and Industrial Relations in the Commonwealth Caribbean: History, Contemporary Practice and Prospect* (West Port, CT, 1992).
[19] Weiler, 'Forming Responsible Trade Unions', p. 369.
[20] Hall, circular dispatch to the colonies, 24 August 1946, CO129/615/1, TNA.
[21] Paul Kelemen, 'Planning for Africa: The British Labour Party's Colonial Development Policy, 1920-1964', *Journal of Agrarian Change*, 7/1 (2007), p. 84.
[22] Winster to Creech Jones, 28 October 1947, box 57, file 2, ACJ papers.
[23] Kelemen, 'Planning for Africa', p. 84.

movement exploded in the immediate post-1945 years. Widespread allegations of communist infiltration in Parliament prompted Labour Prime Minister Attlee in November 1946 to direct Guy Liddell, a senior official of MI5, to complete a list of all crypto-communist and fellow-travelling MPs, which was completed by February 1949. In March 1948, communists (and even some non-communists) were purged from the British civil service and from the TUC in the following October. Indeed, as Carruthers has observed, the Malayan Emergency was congruent with Attlee's decision in 1949 to declare a state of emergency and draft servicemen to break a supposedly communist-incited dockworkers' strike in London.[24]

Just as the British TUC was under pressure from a communist-led challenge, so too were many of Britain's 'moderate' colonial trade unions. The leftist, especially communist, unions, in turn, were met not with increased British guidance but traditional repression. The socialist-led East African Trade Union Congress in Kenya, for example, saw its leaders arrested and replaced. The communist-led unions in Malaya were simply proscribed.[25]

The trade unions in Hong Kong and Cyprus fell largely into this pattern. The colonial governments watched with dismay as the communists formed strong trade unions and effective committees. These grew at the expense of those of the right-wing, thereby removing another restraint on the communists' local power. Both colonial governments passed and reinforced laws regarding trade unions and societies and sought strong legal action against the unions whenever they could. In Cyprus, the left-wing trades union committee was proscribed twice in ten years. Furthermore, the political polarization between nationalist and communist unions, the power advantage of the latter, and the absence of any competitive moderates limited Britain's ability to guide the formation of 'responsible' trade unions and to remove workers from the Cold War battlefield.

THE MOVEMENT OF PEOPLE

Within the framework of cultural warfare, one of the most direct ways in which British authorities attempted to influence local identity and to curb communist

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[24] Daniel W.B. Lomas, 'Labour Ministers, Intelligence and Domestic Anti-Communism, 1945-1951', *Journal of Intelligence History*, 12/2 (2013), p. 118; Carruthers, *Winning Hearts and Minds*, p. 12.
[25] Weiler, 'Forming Responsible Trade Unions', p. 381.

efforts was to dictate who was to be included and excluded from the colonies. Furthermore, colonial migration directly affected Britain, as colonial people were (if only technically) free to move about the empire, including Britain itself.

Beginning in 1919, under the guise of 'equal rights for all British subjects' and *civis Britannicus sum*, the British government in London introduced a number of administrative policies aimed to limit the number of 'coloured' peoples settling in Britain, particularly in response to those communities of 'coloured' seamen which were growing around the major port cities. The Second World War prompted the British government to increase further its 'informal and generally invisible' policies to limit the immigration of Asian and black British subjects. These black and Asian subjects, it was believed, were likely to cause social instability and, especially in the Cold War context, to encourage the spread of communism in Britain.[26] For example, J.B. Howard, the assistant secretary in the Home Office's Aliens Department, was convinced as early as 1949 that communists constituted 'a large element in the coloured population' in Britain.[27]

However, the Cold War was an inopportune time for immigration laws which were even ostensibly racially discriminatory, particularly given Britain's economic and geopolitical desire to induce decolonized or soon-to-be-decolonized territories to join the Commonwealth.[28] Promoting a more liberal and welcoming British Commonwealth with one hand and openly excluding non-white immigration to Britain and the Dominions with the other would have played straight into the hands of the communists and their anti-colonial campaign.

'The problem of people' was a significant difference between Hong Kong and Cyprus. While their populations only differed by about 115,000 people in 1945,

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[26] Ian R.G. Spencer, *British Immigration Policy since 1939: The Making of Multi-Racial Britain* (London, 1997), pp. 8, 21, 46. On colonial immigration to Britain, see: D.W. Dean, 'Coping with Colonial Immigration, the Cold War and Colonial Policy: The Labour Government and Black Communities in Great Britain 1945–51', *Immigrants & Minorities*, 6/3 (1987); Kenneth Lunn, 'The British State and Immigration, 1945–51: New Light on the Empire Windrush', *Immigrants & Minorities*, 8/1-2 (1989); Ian R.G. Spencer, 'The Open Door, Labour Needs and British Immigration Policy, 1945–55', *Immigrants & Minorities*, 15/1 (1996); Mark M. Smith, 'Windrushers and Orbiters: Towards an Understanding of the "Official Mind" and Colonial Immigration to Britain 1945–51', *Immigrants & Minorities*, 10/3 (1991).
[27] Spencer, *British Immigration Policy since 1939*, p. 171n63.
[28] *Ibid.*, pp. 67, 153.

Hong Kong's population grew at a drastically greater rate than that of Cyprus. Between 1945 and 1955, the population living on Cyprus's 3,500 square miles rose from 435,000 to 530,000, while that on Hong Kong's mere 400 square miles soared from 550,000 to 2,000,000. The enormous and concentrated population presented the Hong Kong government with unique challenges.

From the resumption of British rule in 1945 to today, Hong Kong faced what Grantham called the 'human problem, a problem of ordinary men, women and children'. On top of the practical challenges of housing, infrastructure, and food supply, British authorities faced significant diplomatic restraints, given that Hong Kong's swelling population was largely made up of Chinese people from the mainland. The PRC and the ROC both viewed the 'Overseas Chinese' in Hong Kong 'as part of their unfinished civil war'.[29] Consequently, the British administration was forced to walk a fine line between maintaining peace and order via restrictive policies (i.e. requiring identity cards, introducing a curfew, and simplifying the deportation process) and avoiding specifically the indignation of Beijing for mistreating Chinese nationals. Furthermore, in a battle over migration, China would have always won; Britain was simply unable to prevent a mass movement of people from China across the border if Beijing so directed.

Related to immigration, travel was also a significant concern for British policy-makers. The British government in London did not want non-white British people – particularly students – to travel overseas with 'a racial bitterness or political radicalism induced by their living in a racially hostile society'.[30] This also applied to colonial people visiting Britain. The governor of Nigeria wrote in 1937 that:

> [t]he harm that can be done, on his return to his own country, by one African student who has managed to accumulate a store of real or fancied grievances during his stay in England far outweighs the good done by a dozen students who come back successful and satisfied.[31]

Nevertheless, British policy-makers did encourage short-term visits to Britain for 'receptive' colonial people, especially students and workers. They believed that

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[29] Mark, 'The "Problem of People"', pp. 1146-1147.
[30] Paul B. Rich, *Race and Empire in British Politics* (Cambridge, 1986), p. 178.
[31] A.J. Stockwell, 'Leaders, Dissidents and the Disappointed: Colonial Students in Britain as Empire Ended', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 36/3 (2008), p. 489.

a short-term visit to Britain would confront the colonial people with an undeniable conviction of the benefits of British political and cultural leadership. Such ideological indoctrination (although only framed as such when it pertained to the communists) was aimed to improve the colonial person, who then would return home to improve the colony, thereby removing socio-economic motives for migration to Britain and undermining the socio-economic platforms of local communists.

However, in addition to a history of educating future anti-British nationalist leaders (e.g. Kenyatta, Nkrumah, Nehru, and Gandhi), visiting colonial people were also subjected to the anti-colonialism campaign of the CPGB. According to MI5, the CPGB's interest in colonial, especially African, students visiting Britain began in early 1947. In February 1948, the CPGB's International Committee outlined practical actions to encourage nationalist parties in the British Empire. The first three dealt with trade unions; the fourth, communication. The fifth and last action was to intensify further the recruitment of specifically African students visiting Britain.[32]

Many in the Colonial Office clamoured for a British response, one which would not leave the Africans and other visiting colonial people 'to their own devices'. The head of the Colonial Office's West African Department, Leslie Harold Gorsuch, argued that it was 'obviously hopeless trying to prevent Communists from getting at the students in this country'. Instead, the British government should create an environment in which communist propaganda had no appeal, specifically by increasing living allowances, improving accommodation, and countering 'feelings of racial inferiority'. John Lucien Keith, the assistant secretary of state in charge of the Colonial Office's Welfare Department (1943-1951), although less worried, stated that these reports made plain not only the communists' sinister plans but the volatility of specifically West African students, who reacted positively to anyone who encouraged their nationalist and anti-colonial sentiments.[33] It was in this context that the governments of Hong Kong and Cyprus encouraged certain colonial

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[32] MI5, memorandum, 'Communist Influence on Coloured African Students in the U.K.', September 1948, CO537/4312, TNA.
[33] Keith, minute, 8 November 1948; Logan, minute, 9 December 1948; Gorsuch, minute, 23 December 1948, CO537/4312, TNA.

people – particularly students, teachers, and trade unionists – to visit Britain to be positively influenced.

Travel to certain other countries, however, caused greater concern for British authorities. International festivals organized by pro-communist NGOs and scholarships to study at universities in Eastern Europe and in communist China prompted an empire-wide effort to limit and monitor the travel of certain individuals. In May 1949, one of Creech Jones's circular dispatches suggested that governors should attempt to discourage students from accepting scholarships. Failing that, he stated that no facilities should be offered and, moreover, that the colonial governments should keep thorough records on these students 'so that on their return their activities can be specially watched'.[34]

Cyprus's relatively smaller and more stable population, its legalized local politics, and the lack of an immediate external threat meant, at least in theory, that the security services could monitor Cypriot communists with greater ease. Beginning in 1949, the Cyprus government sent reports to Whitehall almost every month with the biographical and travel details of Cypriot communists overseas, and these details were sent via the Foreign Office to the relevant chanceries. But for Wright and others, tightening control over the granting of facilities was inadequate. Wright's tenacious requests for permission to prevent the re-entry of certain Cypriot communists as undesirable immigrants was one step too far for Whitehall, although some officials, like Fisher, were sympathetic.

A similar proposal was discussed in 1950 by the directors of education from Britain's Southeast Asian territories to prevent the re-entry of nationals who chose to further their education in communist China. Banning re-entry into Hong Kong, however, was a non-starter. Even though the Hong Kong-Chinese border was closed in 1949, it was still rather porous, and deported Chinese nationals often found their way back into Hong Kong without much trouble. Furthermore, the enormous and growing population made monitoring individuals a difficult process for the British security services.

Nevertheless, that each territory was responsible for its undesirables was a

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[34] Creech Jones, circular dispatch to the colonies, 25 May 1949, CO537/4380, TNA.

non-negotiable for Whitehall. The rights of citizenship were inviolable, not necessarily out of principle but out of practical and ideological restraints stemming from the Cold War. In the war of rival imperialisms, British colonial rule could not afford to be seen restricting the freedom of movement of its subjects, not only because it risked feeding communist propaganda and provoking international condemnation but also because it invited disadvantageous comparisons with the welcoming and inclusive image of communist countries and organizations (e.g. of the WFDY's and IUS's international youth festivals and Prague's scholarships for international students). Government control over immigration, emigration, and travel were important but, for the British, limited weapons in the imperial Cold War.

THE COLD WAR: IMPERIALISMS AND IDEOLOGIES

This comparative study of British policies in Hong Kong and Cyprus and the identification of several important battlegrounds (i.e. international diplomacy, youth politics, trade unionism, and the movement of people) challenge the traditional definitions of the Cold War. If, as Johanna Rainio-Niemi has recently put it, 'the view that the Cold War was an embracive contestation between two "empires," notably alike in their motives, both taking efforts to prove "the universal applicability of their ideologies," is mainstream [as of 2014] in Cold War research', that the definition of the Cold War is still limited to an Soviet-American conflict is nonsensical.[35] As this thesis has shown, British colonial policy-makers were also engaged in an imperial contest, both territorially and psychologically, against the Soviet Union 'by all means short of war'.[36] Moreover, British efforts (just like the efforts of the Soviet Union, the US, and others) 'to prove "the universal applicability of their ideologies"' was less an end than the means by which policy-makers sought to revive, expand, and defend their empire and contest those of their rivals.

Britain's imperial ideology was not a coherent and consistent doctrine but more an adaptable justification for the existence of the British Empire. From the sixteenth century, Protestantism, commercialism, mercantilism, free trade, and liberalism all served at some point or another as Britain's imperial ideology, while

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[35] Johanna Rainio-Niemi, *The Ideological Cold War: The Politics of Neutrality in Austria and Finland* (London, 2014), p. 11.
[36] Deighton, 'Britain and the Cold War', p. 119.

great power rivalry remained a constant.[37] For the British, ideology served state interests; however, British perceptions of communist ideology as the slippery and pervasive dynamo for Soviet imperialism meant that Soviet imperialism was a new and more dangerous type of imperial rival.

Before the advent of the Soviet empire, imperial conflicts (such as the 'Great Game' between tsarist Russia and Britain) were competitions for dominance in an established framework of economic and great power interests. Once communism – as an ideology which self-avowedly sought to not only destroy 'imperialist' and 'capitalist' powers but also to overthrow the existing order – became the nominal driving force behind one of the largest empires on earth, the imperial conflict between the Soviet Union and Britain (and soon others) marked a distinctive period of history called the Cold War. While the Soviet Union in practice was largely motivated by traditional great power interests, the British perception of a rival imperialism bent on the destruction of the British Empire through 'all means short of war', combined especially with the devastation of the Second World War, prompted British policy-makers to adapt their approach to colonialism.

The task of reforming colonial rule (including the implementation of the 1943 decision to guide colonies to self-government) in the face of perceived Soviet aggression fell first to the post-war Labour government. This was the same Labour government whose 1945 election manifesto had promised to 'apply a socialist analysis to the world situation'. As Bevin famously put it, 'Left understands Left'. Labour was a latitudinarian party, and many of its members, which included liberals, social democrats, socialists, and ex-communists, hoped that the new Labour government would build friendly relations with the Soviet Union and the CPGB.[38] The Labour Party, however, had a 'schizophrenic approach to the Soviet Union', based on 'the recognition that while the Soviets professed to be socialist and mouthed anti-capitalist, progressive rhetoric[,] what they practised mostly contravened both this and Labour's own democratic socialist values'.[39]

However, what ultimately pitted the Labour government against the Soviet

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[37] Anthony Webster, *The Debate on the Rise of the British Empire* (Manchester, 2006), pp. 7-15.
[38] Weiler, *British Labour and the Cold War*, p. 189.
[39] Black, 'The Bitterest Enemies of Communism', p. 28.

Union was not ideology but imperial rivalry. To this end, ideology was manipulated as political cover for the Labour government to implement the policies it considered to be necessary to combat Soviet imperialism. The ideological anti-communism of such moderate Labour Party leaders as Bevin and Creech Jones notwithstanding, and while the perception of a Soviet threat was genuine, as Weiler has observed:

> the pursuit of British hegemony in the Middle East or counterrevolution in Malaya or continued support of French and Dutch colonialism – actions that would have been denounced by Labour if carried out by a Conservative government – could now be made more acceptable by presenting them as the defense of freedom against totalitarianism or of Western civilization against encroaching foreign barbarism.[40]

While often framed as an ideological struggle, the motivation for British foreign and colonial policies was great power interests.

That is not to say that ideology was irrelevant. This comparison of Hong Kong and Cyprus has highlighted rampant, sometimes illogical (even for politics), anti-communism in the British colonial official mind. Indeed, 'paranoia clearly led London to see real or potential Soviet communists behind every nationalist outbreak'.[41] Beginning on 28 February 1948, riots in Accra, the capital of the Gold Coast, were widely and inaccurately considered by many in London to be a communist conspiracy. And while Creech Jones was not convinced, his under-secretary of state for the colonies, Rees-Williams, stated in the House of Commons that '[t]here was almost certainly Communist incitement'.[42] Even before the communist agitation which had been bubbling away in Malaya turned violent in June 1948, the Colonial Office was reorganized to improve its ability to monitor communist subversion in and regarding the colonies.[43]

This was not that Britain succumbed to some sort of misinformed Cold War hysteria, which exaggerated the threat and exacerbated tensions. Instead, as Phillip Deery has argued, British official anti-communism was 'rational' and 'clear-headed', based on two perceived developments: the increasingly belligerent and

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[40] Weiler, *British Labour and the Cold War*, pp. 190, 193, 216, 228, 280.
[41] Munroe, Trevor, *The Cold War and the Jamaican Left, 1950-1955: Reopening the Files* (Kingston, 1992), p. 149.
[42] Commons, 1 March 1948, *Hansard*, 448, col. 39; Butler, *Britain and the Empire*, p. 91.
[43] David Percox, *Britain, Kenya and the Cold War: Imperial Defence, Colonial Security and Decolonisation* (London, 2004), p. 26.

expansionist foreign policy of the Soviet Union and the 'aggressive, doctrinaire, and unremittingly hostile' policies of the CPGB, supposedly on instructions from the Cominform.[44] This comparison of Hong Kong and Cyprus demonstrates a third perceived factor: the development of effective colonial communist parties, supposedly directed by Moscow as a part of its imperialist anti-colonial campaign. These three factors, taken together, support the definition of the Cold War as a conflict of rival imperialisms, in which communism was considered to be a threat because it provided an efficient ideological framework for attracting the discontents of the colonial world and manipulating them to the benefit of Soviet imperial power at the expense of that of the British.

Moreover, colonial communist movements, real or imagined, defied British colonial strategy. In forming its strategy for West Africa, but certainly applicable across the empire, the Colonial Office distinguished between the mostly educated nationalists, the professional moderates, and the non-political rural population. According to a secret Colonial Office International Relations Department paper, successful colonial policy 'must satisfy the second class [i.e. the moderates] while safeguarding the interests of the third [i.e. the rural population], and going far enough to meet the aspirations of the first [i.e. the nationalists] to secure some co-operation at any rate from all but the more extreme nationalists'.[45]

The difficulty of fitting the communists and their revolutionary ideology into this equation meant colonial officials endeavoured to simply remove them. The ten-year economic and social development plan in Cyprus and creating schools in Hong Kong were positive policies aimed not to satisfy, safeguard, or appease communists, but to undermine their popular appeal and remove them from colonial politics. When this failed, British policy-makers turned to suppression.

What is clear from this study is that the threat of communism, while perhaps presented publicly in ideological terms and certainly fought through ideological and cultural warfare, was almost always within the British imperial system described by policy-makers as a threat of material, territorial, and/or psychological expansionism.

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[44] Phillip Deery, '"The Secret Battalion": Communism in Britain during the Cold War', *Contemporary British History*, 13/4 (1999), pp. 2, 19.
[45] Hyam, 'Africa and the Labour Government', p. 245.

As John Peck, the head of the Foreign Office's IRD (1951-1953), explained in 1951:

> [i]t is not so much Communism that we seek to counter, since Communism and Communists by themselves are not expected to achieve very much; it is the aggressive aims of the Soviet Government using the Communist Parties and Communist-controlled organisations for the purpose[,] and exploiting 'Communism' (whatever that may mean) for its own political ends.[46]

More specifically, British anti-communist policies were motivated by the paramount objective to defend the British imperial project from direct or indirect Soviet aggression and to re-establish Britain's world power status independent of the US and USSR.[47]

However, the rise of two conflicting superpowers, both of which were keen 'to disassociate themselves from European colonialism', meant that colonial people of the British Empire could look to the enemy of their enemy (i.e. to the Soviet Union) for support.[48] By the 1950s, Britain finally succumbed to the debilitating cost of re-building its global role and to the permanence of Soviet-American hegemonic power – that which the early Cold War had allowed Britain to ignore before and immediately after the Second World War.[49]

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The violence and repression which were implemented during Britain's nineteenth- and early twentieth-century colonial expansion were then justified as Britain's 'virtuous' and 'profitable' endeavours, as Churchill famously put it, '[t]o give peace to warring tribes [...] to draw the richness from the soil, to plant the earliest seeds of commerce and learning, to increase in whole peoples their capacities for pleasure and diminish their chances of pain'.[50] Attlee, as former Labour prime minister in 1953, reflected, 'an attempt to maintain the old colonialism would I am sure have immensely aided communism'.[51]

After the Second World War, British decolonization, not as a scuttle but as a

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[46] Vaughan, 'Cloak Without Dagger', p. 58.
[47] John Kent, 'The British Empire and the Origins of the Cold War, 1944-49', in: Anne Deighton (ed.), *Britain and the First Cold War* (London, 1990), p. 166.
[48] Westad, *The Global Cold War*, p. 89.
[49] Kent, *British Imperial Strategy*, p. 217.
[50] Winston Churchill, *The River War: An Historical Account of the Reconquest of the Soudan* (London, 1899), p. 13.
[51] Hyam, *Britain's Declining Empire*, p. 410.

deliberate, calculated, but ultimately doomed programme aimed to re-establish British global power in the context of international anti-colonialism, demanded a softer touch. On the one hand, it was widely believed that 'in the long run you can only beat ideas by better ideas, and not by political tactics and police methods'.[52] On the other hand, financial and geopolitical restraints dictated British policy formation and, thereby, the direction of decolonization and the Cold War. Britain's Cold War policies, therefore, fell broadly but unevenly into two categories: constructive and repressive. The governments of Hong Kong and Cyprus relied much more on repression.

Indeed, as Vaughan has argued, 'this distinction between "negative" anti-Communist and "positive" pro-British propaganda tended to break down in practice'. This was acknowledged by contemporaries; the Ministry of Defence wrote in 1952 that:

> The activity variously called 'presentation of the democratic case', 'battle of ideas', 'cold war', 'ideological warfare', 'propaganda' and 'psychological warfare' (and sometimes 'information and cultural activities' [...]) is capable of being discussed in a negative or a positive aspect. [...] The two aspects cannot however be completely divorced.[53]

Nevertheless, the policies introduced during these early years of the Cold War and decolonization were increasingly cultural (although mostly negative). The arms and space races, the hot proxy wars, and Soviet-American high politics which classify the traditional definition of the Cold War comprised only part of what is better understood as an imperial conflict. Recently, much has been made of the role of culture; indeed, '"[c]ulture" is now part of historians' Cold War'.[54] And while culture has long been a part of historians' British Empire, culture was considered by British policy-makers to be the answer to the perceived threat of communist imperialism.

Hong Kong and Cyprus offer two examples of this process and demonstrate the centrality of cultural warfare, especially regarding youth and workers, to the post-1945 world in terms of both the Cold War and empire. Britain's lack of

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[52] Martin, minute, 15 March 1949, CO537/4309, TNA.
[53] Vaughan, 'A Certain Idea of Britain', p. 153.
[54] Lucas, 'Beyond Freedom, Beyond Control', p. 53.

successful constructive policies was a microcosm of British power in the twentieth century. Decolonization was part of Britain's answer to the problems of its declining world hegemony and rising colonial nationalisms. However, Britain's often inept attempts at decolonization, particularly the handful of violent struggles to re-establish colonial authority (e.g. in Malaya and Cyprus), provided the opportunity for the Soviet Union and the US to fill the void in world power.

What is clear from this comparison of Hong Kong and Cyprus is that the Cold War was a different sort of conflict from those which came before it, one which indeed influenced and was influenced by the local, colonial, national, international, and transnational. The Cold War must not be historicized, as it traditionally has been, alongside the First and Second World Wars. The Cold War also must not be studied as a separate historical process to the other developments which characterize the post-1945 world, especially decolonization, internationalization, and (re-)globalization.[55] Instead, the Cold War was a pervasive conflict of empires, which originated in an Anglo-Russian imperial rivalry and drove, in part, the evolving nature of imperialism (i.e. from formal to informal to cultural imperialism).

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[55] Akira Iriye, 'Historicizing the Cold War', in: Richard H. Immerman and Petra Goedde (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of the Cold War* (Oxford, 2013), pp. 15-18.

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