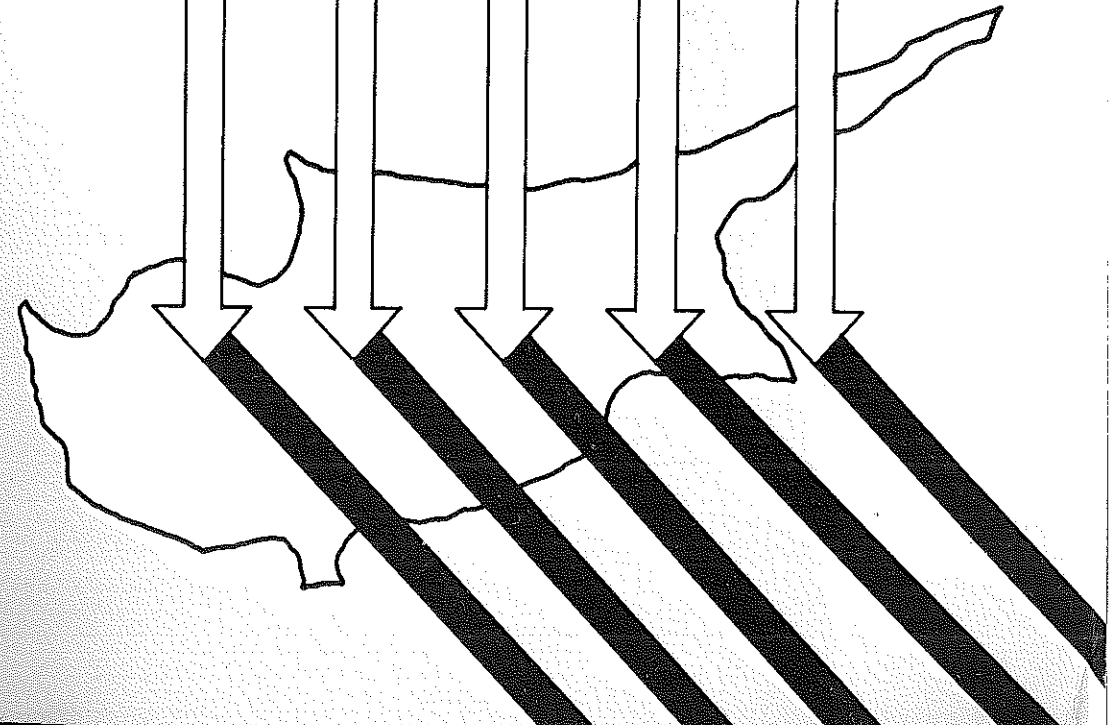




TURKEY

TURKISH EXPANSIONISM



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TURKISH EXPANSIONISM

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SOCIALIST TRUTH IN CYPRUS

TURKISH EXPANSIONISM

Turkey had designs on Cyprus' territory even before independence and certainly long before the 1963 events which the Turkish Cypriots cite as the beginning of their "sufferings" in Cyprus and the reason for their policy of partition.

The opportunity

It is an established and undisputed fact that during the Cypriot anti-colonial struggle, Turkish Cypriots manned an auxiliary police force used against their Greek Cypriot compatriots. We have uncontestable statements to this effect by British officials who served in Cyprus at the time as well as newspaper reports on the application and enforcement of the British divide and rule policy. Denis McShane writing in the "New Statesman" (22-29.12.78) characteristically says:

"In the last decade of colonial rule, Britain encouraged Turkish Cypriot aggression on classical divide and rule principles; a blind colonial eye was turned to the importation of arms from Turkey".

In an article in the Turkish Cypriot daily, Yeniduzen (8.2.79) RTP (left-wing opposition party) leader Ozgur, referring to the same period quotes Denktash as saying "we blindly became friends of the British".

The advantages of such a development for the colonial rulers are evident and it was clear to Greek Cypriots that any encouragement or provocation of intercommunal strife would result in disaster as far as the anti-colonial struggle was concerned. Apart from that, the majority of the Turkish Cypriot population who had lived with the Greek Cypriots in peace until then, had no reason to provoke conflict between the two communities.

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Turkey's intention straight from the horse's mouth

However, apart from the British colonial administration Turkey was another party with an interest in provoking intercommunal strife in Cyprus. Turkey considered and still considers Cyprus as Turkish territory as is corroborated, among other things, by the presentation of Cyprus as Turkish territory on map. A recent example of this is an advertisement in *"The Economist"* of Turkey's free trade zones (March 1986). But also in the past, Ataturk *"showed the path to Cyprus years ago,"* says Professor Dervis Manizada in an article in the Istanbul daily *"Milliyet"* (20.7.78) quoting Ataturk as saying, while addressing military commanders:

"Pay attention to Cyprus, this island is important for us".

It was Ataturk again who said (quoted by Ali Nesim in *"Dogus"* 20.9.84):

"In case of war the communication routes of Anatolia pass through Cyprus". Also, Ataturk, replying to a question on Cyprus after the annexation of Hatay, reportedly said: *"The turn of Cyprus has not yet come".*

In 1954 the then Foreign Minister of Turkey, F. Koprulu, declared that Cyprus is an *"extension of continental Turkey"* and that it should revert to Turkey *"on the basis of geographical proximity"*.

At the Tripartite Conference on Cyprus in August-September 1955, the then Turkish Foreign Minister, Zorlu, stated:

"...The importance of Cyprus to Turkey does not arise from a single cause; it is a necessity which emanates from the exigencies of history, geography, economy and military strategy, from the right to existence and security, which is the most sacred right of every state, in short from the very nature of things".

The Turkish journalist and historian A. Gurkan, more recently, in *"Kibris Postasi"* (20.12.83) put it quite succinctly when he said:

"Speaking from a purely strategic point of view we could say that for Turkey's security, a safe Cyprus is a Cyprus which would be, in its entirety, under Turkish control".

But perhaps the statements which put the point most clearly of all are the following statements (a) by Gunes (former Turkish Foreign Minister) which reads:

"Cyprus is as precious as the right arm of a country which cares for her defence or her expansionist aims if she harbours any. If we don't keep in mind this strategic importance of Cyprus we cannot understand the peace operation of 20 July or rather it is impossible to understand the whole Cyprus crisis....Many states, to a certain extent because it suits their interest, want to see the Cyprus problem merely as our desire to protect the Turkish community on the island. Whereas the actual problem is the security of 45 million Turks in the motherland together with the Turks in the island and the maintenance of the balance in the Middle East".

(Hurriyet, 20.7.80)

b) By Ozal, the present Prime Minister of Turkey who referring to the UDI of November 1983 said:

"Cyprus is an island which pierces the middle of Turkey like a dagger. It is extremely vital from the viewpoint of our security. This island should not be in enemy hands. The existence of the Turks in North Cyprus is a guarantee in this direction".

(Milliyet, November 1983)

and c) By Denktash himself who very recently stated:

"Naturally Turkey has strategic interests in Cyprus. It is fortunate for Turkey that the Turkish Cypriot community exists here. Even if the Turkish Cypriot community did not exist Turkey would not have left Cyprus to Greece. Mr. Koruturk told me something which is very important. The honourable President had told me: 'If Cyprus passes to Greece and is militarized then Turkey ceases to be a maritime nation'. This is an extremely, important factor".

(Milliyet, 23.7.85)

More recently, Prof. Mustafa Kuran, delivering the closing speech at a symposium organised by "Yeni Dusanne" on the general theme of "Turkey's problems", on 2nd February 1986, referred to the continuing presence of Turkish troops on part of the territory of the Republic of Cyprus and said, among other things:

"They say that we do not covet the territories lying outside our nation's sovereign territory. This is wrong. All the nations have their great ideology. In that case, what is the Turkish army seeking in Cyprus? Cyprus does not lie within the frontiers of our national territory".

(Cumhuriyet, 3.2.86)

The method

When Turkey sent an officer of the Turkish Army, Riza Vuruzkan, to Cyprus to organise the TMT terrorist organisation she was simply taking the first practical step in a long standing policy aimed at the annexation of Cyprus or at least a part of it.

The handy excuse used by Turkey to further her aim of partition was the "oppression" of

the Turkish Cypriot minority by the Greek Cypriot majority.

To counteract "oppression" the TMT, of which Denktash admitted to being a founder member in an interview with the London "Times", indulged in countless provocations against the Greek Cypriot population, on the instigation of Turkey, and with the express aim of creating a rift of terror and mistrust between the two communities and eventually achieving partition as a first step to final annexation of Cyprus by Turkey.

An instance of this terror was the massacre by Turks near the village of Geunyeli of 8 unarmed Greek Cypriots and the severe wounding of 5 on June 12, 1958. This came five days after a bomb exploded in the Turkish Press Office in Nicosia which was rumoured to have been planted by the Greeks but which as it was established later, "had nothing to do with Greek Cypriots" as Emin Dirvana, the then Turkish Ambassador to Cyprus said. Dirvana in an article says specifically:

"Denktash has also accused me of not allowing the memory of the Turks who fell in 1958 to be honoured and flags to be hoisted at half-mast. I feel ashamed on his behalf because he distorts the truth to such an extent. I am sorry but I must give an answer. The Turks of Cyprus honour the memory of their dead on 28th January. On that day in 1958, a number of Turkish Cypriots were killed in a clash with the British. On that day I too attended the ceremony with all the staff of the Embassy and the contingent officers. Denktash, however, wanted also the 7th of June to be celebrated. Dr. Kuchuk was hesitant and came to consult me. I was informed that on the 7th of June, 1958, a bomb had been planted in the Turkish Press Office in Nicosia by persons, who, as was established later, had nothing to do with the Greek Cypriots. The

Turks of Nicosia were then incited 'to be overwhelmed by holy indignation' and perpetrated acts similar to those committed on the 6th and the 7th of September, 1955, in Istanbul".

(Milliyet, 15.5.64)

This, apart from revealing a not so well known aspect of Denktash, shows that the intercommunal conflict was artificial and the result of careful planning by Turkey.

Nancy Crawshaw in her book "Cyprus Revolt" (P.288) is even clearer than Dirvana on the matter. She says:

"...circumstantial evidence strongly pointed to the fact that the bomb was of Turkish origin. This however did not deter Turkey from making a formal protest to Britain the next day alleging that the Cyprus administration has failed to give the Turkish minority adequate protection".

After the Geunyeli massare, a Commission of Inquiry under the chairmanship of the Chief Justice of Cyprus, who was appointed in June 1958 to investigate the matter, pronounced that:

"For some days prior to 12th June, in fact on the 7th June, intercommunal feeling was running very high in the island and there had been many instances of attacks by Turks particularly in Nicosia, upon members of the Greek community and upon Greek property. The attack was of a most savage nature and the injuries inflicted indicate an extraordinary blood lust".

Since then, partition has been the official policy of Turkey and one would be safe in saying that it has been the *immediate objective* of the official Turkish policy.

A TMT call circulated on leaflets on 7 May

1958 is quoted by Nancy Crawshaw in "Cyprus Revolt" (PP 287-288). It reads as follows:

"Onward Turkish Youth!

The day is near when you will be called upon to sacrifice your life and blood in the 'PARTITION' struggle - the struggle for freedom ... You are a brave Turk. You are faithful to your country and nation and are entrusted with the task of demonstrating Turkish might. Be ready to break the chains of slavery with your determination and willpower and with your love of freedom. All Turkdom, right and justice and God are with you. PARTITION OR DEATH".

This of course was before independence, and one might expect that with independence following the Zurich-London agreements to which the Turks were a party, Turkey would cease to try to kindle animosity in Cyprus. This is precisely what did not happen.

Even after the signing of the Zurich and London Agreements in February 1959 which granted independence to Cyprus, Turkey's designs on Cyprus remained immutable.

In the transitional period between the signing of the Treaty and the proclamation of Cyprus' independence, and specifically on 18.10.1959, the Turkish ship "Deniz" was intercepted by the British mine-sweeper "Burma-stom" while attempting to smuggle arms into Cyprus.

In official Turkish documents discovered in January, 1964, it is stated:

"We accepted the Zurich and London Agreements as a temporary stage, and it was for this reason that we signed them. If they were not a temporary stage but the final solution we would not have accepted them. We would have prolonged for a further period the disputes between the

two communities and we would have asked the United Nations for partition".

The documents proceed to lay down the plans whereby the Turks "should form a separate regime".

"The Turkish community, interspersed throughout the island, will be forcibly concentrated into an area which it will be obliged to defend. The size of this area will depend on the strategic plan prepared by the experts. Before fighting breaks out, the Turkish community must have the necessary supplies, ample food stocks and detailed plans for the strengthening of its ties with the motherland".

Extracts from the UN Secretary-General's reports bear irrefutable evidence about the intentions of the Turkish Cypriot leadership which was blindly following Turkey's instructions:

"The lack of movement of Turkish Cypriots outside their areas is also believed to be dictated by political purpose, namely, to reinforce the claim that the two main communities of Cyprus cannot live peacefully together in the island without some sort of geographical separation".

(Report S/5764, Para. 113, 15.6.64)

"The Turkish Cypriot leaders have adhered to a rigid stand against any measures which might involve having members of the two communities live and work together, or which might place Turkish Cypriots in situations where they would have to acknowledge the authority of Government agents. Indeed, since the Turkish Cypriot leadership is committed to physical and geographical separation of the communities as a political goal, it is not likely to encourage activities by Turkish Cypriots which may be interpreted as demonstrating the

merits of an alternative policy. The result has been a seemingly deliberate policy of self-segregation by the Turkish Cypriots".

(Report S/6426, para. 106, 10.6.65)

The situation after the invasion

The above clearly shows what Turkish policy on Cyprus has been. That this policy has not changed to the present day has been tragically confirmed by the eventual occupation of nearly 40% of Cyprus' territory and the systematic colonisation of the occupied territories with Anatolian Turks.

The Turkish settlers in Cyprus, as is obvious from the Turkish Cypriot Press and in particular from Kutlu Adali's articles in ORTAM and Ozgur's in YENIDUZEN, are not living in peace and harmony with the Turkish Cypriots. They live separately and in mistrust both socially and politically. The settlers have their own parties even though in "presidential elections" they vote en masse for Denktash who, after all, has always been Ankara's puppet and the official perpetrator of Turkish policies on Cyprus. This situation can only be explained in one way. Turkey's sole concern in Cyprus, far from being the much advertised security and welfare of the Turkish Cypriots, is the gradual take-over and Turkification of Cyprus for her own strategic purposes. The Turkish Cypriot minority, as was on a number of times openly stated, has been and is still used as the "strategic minority" in Turkey's expansionist plans.

Turkey may, now and then, particularly at international fora, declare respect for Cyprus' independence, territorial integrity, etc. but as the late President Archbishop Makarios pointed out in his October 1975 address to the UN General Assembly:

"Her deeds speak louder than her words".

Intimidation tactics continue

It is interesting to note that there is opposition to Denktash's and Turkey's policy of division by certain sectors of the Turkish Cypriot community who want to live with the Greek Cypriots in their common homeland, Cyprus. Indicative of this is, is the reaction of Mr. Ozker Ozgur's Republican Turkish Party and Mr. Ismail Bozkurt's Communal Liberation Party to the "declaration of independence" in the occupied north by the Denktash regime. Such instances are kept in check through the exercise of tyranny by the Denktash regime for the purpose of furthering partition. Developments in the not too distant past brought the terrorist organisation TMT to the fore of Turkish Cypriot politics again. Denktash, finding, himself unable to cope with growing opposition of the Turkish Cypriot population against his policies, resorted to the age old tactics of intimidation and terror carried out by the TMT, and aimed at the "disobedient children" among the Turkish Cypriot community.

Speaking at the opening of a TMT centre in Famagusta (Halkin Sesi 16.8.79), Denktash spoke of "ideological trends" which would "surrender the Turkish Cypriots to the Greeks by deceiving the former with talk appealing to their stomachs". He said: "it (was) the duty of the TMT to warn certain youths who (were) led astray by these ideologies". Then, referring to slogans he had seen on the walls demanding peace, he exclaimed:

"Let God not force us to go underground again and carry on the resistance in a belligerent manner again".

Apart from threats by Denktash in 1979 and while the UN Secretary-General was making efforts to secure the continuation of the intercommunal talks, Denktash's regime came out with a decision (26.6.79) banning all trade relations with Greek Cypriots and almost all imports from countries other than Turkey. No one failed to see that the new measures were leading to complete economic attachment of occupied Cyprus to Turkey which would finally lead to political attachment.

The reaction of the Turkish Cypriots to the ban took unprecedented dimensions. The Turkish Cypriot Chamber of Commerce and all political parties except the NUP (Denktash's party) as well as mass organisations rejected the measures and emphatically stressed their opposition to attachment of the Turkish Cypriot economy to that of Turkey. The Turkish Cypriot papers were flooded with reports, comments and editorials in which the measures were unreservedly condemned. Even papers of Turkey gave wide coverage to the reaction of the Turkish Cypriots. Turkish Cypriots were quoted as saying:

"The TFSC will (thus) be transformed into the 68th province of Turkey" (AYDINLIK 29.6.79), while Necati Zincirkiran Gunaydin journalist, pointed out that: "In a period of five years we have taken all our social and economic ills to Cyprus and now with the latest measures we have totally ruined its economy".

Similar reactions were observed every time a new economic protocol was signed with Turkey and in one instance, Fuat Veziroglu resigned in anger from his post as "Industry and Trade Minister" of the transitional "government", after big arguments with Turkey and, presumably Denktash, about the profitability of the economic protocol which he and many others saw as detrimental to Turkish Cypriot economic interests (Aug. 1984).

Another case in point, is the recent economic package brought by Ozal during his recent visit to the occupied area (2-4.7.86). The Turkish Cypriot reaction to this package was both vehement and virtually unanimous. With the probable exception of the NUP of course, every party and organisation saw the package as aiming at economic integration with Turkey and as being absolutely against "TRNC" interests.

If Denktash's repeated threats of UDI and his final decision to realize them in November 1983 are seen in connection with the trend of the Turkish Cypriot economy, which is still continuing, of total

attachment to Turkey, one may safely assume that UDI is just seen as a preliminary step to annexation of the occupied area by Turkey.

In fact there is a statement by Eroglu, then NUP leader now "Prime Minister" as well who said, immediately after UDI, that the aim was to move towards gradual integration with Turkey on every level.

UDI

When UDI 'was proclaimed' on 15 November 1983, the kind of reaction of the more progressive non-chauvinist forces in the occupied area clearly shows that many Turkish Cypriots are afraid that UDI will lead to total Turkish control. Notably Denktash was accused by Ozgur, soon after the declaration of independence, of acting like the vali (district officer) of Turkey in Cyprus, seeking to attach the occupied area to Turkey rather than to allow it to form a federation with the Greek Cypriots (Yeniduzen, 2.2.84).

The history of attachment to Turkey and Turkish interference from 1963 onwards, as Ozgur sees it, is as follows:

From December 1963 to July 1974 Turkey had ruled the Turkish Cypriots through TMT leaders. In the 1973 "elections" Turkey forced other candidates to withdraw before Denktash's candidacy. After the invasion Turkey's influence increased and between 1975-1983 Turkey played a decisive role in the "TFSC's" foreign and domestic policy. To prove Turkey's total control, Ozgur quotes the "TFSC Finance Minister" as saying on 7.11.82:

"It is impossible for us to act separately in our search to find solutions to our economic, financial and social problems" and follows the "minister's" statement with one of his own to the effect that the "TFSC" cadres which accepted Turkey's control are still in power in the "TRNC".

Adding that if the "TRNC" claims to be an "independent state" it cannot say that they cannot

act independently because they get aid from Turkey.

Ozgur believes, as can be seen from his statements in KIBRIS POSTASI (14.2.84) and elsewhere, that the growing economic dependence on Turkey proves the failure of the Turkish Cypriot "government" and warns that if this economic aid from Turkey turns into a political bond, then *"the trend will not be towards a federal Cyprus Republic but towards total integration with Turkey; that is towards Taksim"*.

Already, Ozgur says, those in power want unification with Turkey and this is obvious from the fact that the ruling circles are copying Ozal's policies to the letter and not worrying about the fact that the "TRNC" has no right of say in the projects financed by Turkey and cannot even oppose the despatch of cheap labour from Turkey. According to Ozgur, the Turkish Cypriot leadership, immediately after UDI, did not even worry about the fact that while "TRNC" exports to Turkey were restricted, Turkish goods were imported without any problem.

Ozgur at the same time revealed that after the July 18, 1981 "elections" the Turkish legation prevented the formation of a "government" outside the NUP in order to prevent the RTP from having a say in the "government".

The RTP spoke out repeatedly in February (1984) about the Turkish "envoy" Batu's interference in party politics. Ozgur, writing in Yeniduzen (13.2.84), gives details of the then Turkish "envoy" Batu's role in the attempted organisation of the settlers to form one party and says that the Turkish "envoy" was acting like a Turkish "vali" (district officer) and that the Turkish legation was responsible for many domestic intrigues.

Ozgur sees the whole effort as an attempt to organize the Turkish workers against the Turkish Cypriot workers and so to create division to help the "exploiters".

Both Ozgur and CLP leader Bozkurt reacted to the declaration of independence strongly because they feared Turkish interference in the domestic affairs of the "country". Despite this they both voted for it in contravention of past statements and at the time there were rumours that there were threats regarding both leaders' lives. (See relevant article by Christopher Price in *New Statesman* 27.1.84).

RTP reaction to the declaration of independence was based on ideological reasons and was grounded in the party positions of "Cypriotism" and of "one people in Cyprus".

The RTP had, before the "Unilateral Declaration of Independence", been firmly and unreservedly opposed to UDI. When the "person responsible for CLP foreign affairs" Durduran made his "prerequisites" proposition Ozgur came out with a statement in which he said that the RTP was definitely opposed to an independent Turkish Cypriot state and it supported Cyprus' independence, non-alignment, and territorial integrity (Halkin Sesi, 10.12.1979).

The RTP nevertheless voted for UDI on 15.11.83. On the "Bayrak" broadcast of the views of the parties immediately after the declaration, it appeared that it did so reluctantly. While all other parties spoke enthusiastically of "independence" Ozgur resignedly spoke of a "summit meeting" and a "just federal solution" and said that whatever the reasons that led to UDI now the time had come to strive for a "just solution".

The "unofficial" character of "TRNC" -Turkey relations

Although officially the "daughterland" has nothing but love and admiration for the "motherland" there have been instances of outspoken opposition to gradual integration with Turkey.

The RTP for instance has always been opposed to integration with Turkey on the economic or political level because the ultimate aim of the party is reunification of Cyprus under a federal structure,

and integration with Turkey encourages partition rather than reunification. As we mentioned above, one of the criticisms Ozgur levels at Denktash is that Denktash acts like a "vali" of Turkey seeking to further Turkey's and not Cyprus' interests (Yeniduzen, 2.2.84). In the past Ozgur often spoke about the desirability of a united economy in Cyprus (e.g. in a panel discussion organised by HALKIN SESI, published 12-24.3.79) but since the declaration of the "TRNC" - maybe because there have been other pressing matters to draw the party's attention to as well as stricter control of the press there have been no such suggestions which after all would not be practicable since "joint exploitation" of resources and exchange of goods through the co-operatives which Ozgur saw as interim steps until the Cyprus problem is solved and the economy is completely united, would amount to the legalization by the Cyprus Government of the seizure of its citizens' properties by an army of occupation.

Ozgur on the political level also speaks out against the dependence of the occupied area on Turkey and against Turkey's interference in the domestic politics of the "TRNC" (Kibris Postasi, 14.2.84).

Colonisation

Although no Turkish Cypriot party has ever spoken out against the presence of the Turkish army of occupation in Cyprus, the late Turkish Cypriot Vice-President, Dr. Fasil Kutchuk criticised the influx of Anatolian settlers. He wrote in Halkin Sesi on 24.5.1978: "*We warned the officials once again. We told them that these newcomers will be a nuisance to our decent citizens: We told them to stop them before it becomes too late; they turned a deaf ear on us and did nothing. On the contrary the newcomers were given houses, land, goods and money....*".

The RTP also openly criticised the colonisation of the occupied area of Cyprus by the Turks. In 1979

(Halkin Sesi, 24.11.79) Ozgur rejected the claim advanced at the time by Gurler that:

"The agricultural workers brought from Turkey were Cypriots who had previously emigrated to Turkey and have (now) returned to their country" and that "they too have a right to property".

The fact was, Ozgur revealed, that these were Turkish settlers who were distributed the land that the "southern refugees"¹ should have had by right and by official priority.

Ozgur took up the issue of the Turkish mainland settlers and asked:

"For what reason are these people brought here? The TFSC authorities deny their existence. They say: 'They are Turkish Cypriots who had emigrated and have returned to their country after 1974'. Foreign journalists, through their contacts with the Turkish settlers in the Karpass, have proved that this is not so; it has been proven that the TFSC authorities have lied. What was the reason behind bringing those people here? Did they bring them on the reasoning that 'the Greeks are a majority in Cyprus; let's bring in population to create a balance?' The existence of a community and the strength of this existence does not depend on numerical superiority. The countries with the highest populations are not the strongest ones. Population has been brought from Turkey to Cyprus but no qualitative change has taken place within our community. The problems have not been minimized. In carrying out this population transfer, it was not foreseen that people with different social backgrounds could not co-exist in harmony. This population influx has complicated the already complex Cyprus problem".

1. Turkish Cypriots who resided in the free areas of the Republic before they were incited by their leadership to flee to the occupied areas.

After clarifying that "the fault was not with the poor toilers brought from Turkey" regarding the injustices done to the "southern refugees", Ozgur pointedly remarked:

"...no one has given authority to the officials sitting in Ankara and Nicosia to trample on the rights of the Cypriot refugees.⁽¹⁾ The former Cyprus Coordination Committee President, Turhan Feyzioglu, told a southern refugee complaining of the situation: 'We did not make the Operation in order to transfer the Cypriots' properties in the south to the north'. Let the Turkish authorities know well that such statements are adding insult to injury".

Ozgur concluded his article with the following comment, the style of which amply demonstrates the political climate in occupied Cyprus but also indignation against Turkey's interference:

"We love the working people of our country. We love the working people of the world. We do not feel the slightest enmity against the working people of Turkey be they in Turkey or in Cyprus. But we have already a complex Cyprus problem in our hands. We want to solve it. Let us not put another knot on the existing knots. Let them leave us free so that we can settle our Cyprus in its honourable plane among the world nations.⁽²⁾ Let the working people of the world and Turkey help us".

(Yeniduzen, 13.12.79)

It is not surprising given his indignation at Turkey's attitude that in his statement on "TRNC"-Turkey relations in Kibris Postasi (14.2.84) the RTP leader spoke in no uncertain terms against Turkey's interference in the domestic affairs of the

(1) bold lettering is ours.

(2) bold lettering is ours.

"TRNC" and against the integration of the "TRNC" economy with that of Turkey. Ozgur in that article recalled that the "TRNC" was declared as an entity open to federation, therefore it was not an end in itself and this was an important fact not to be missed in discussing "TRNC" -Turkey relations.

Recently the reaction to the settlers has become more widespread and the matter was almost daily referred to in the Turkish Cypriot press. Kutlu Adali, a senior "civil servant" who often criticised colonisation in Ortam, was forced to retire early and the RTP called for an "official" inquiry into the "illegal workers" issue but the "Assembly" rejected the proposal. Denktash alleged the settlers issue was artificial and Yeniduzen was sued and generally intimidated. The RTP was accused of treason and of serving Greek Cypriot interests. All this happened in February - March 1986 and there is ample evidence of this in the Turkish Cypriot press of these months.

It is obvious that the "administration" was hard put to hush the matter up. Even right-wing parties spoke out against colonisation. Kotak of the ultra rightist DPP for instance, wrote a surprisingly overt article which makes Turkey's arrogant interference in the domestic affairs of the Turkish Cypriots clear. The article is entitled "The press silencing law" and reads as follows:

"Hitler, at the moment he was invading Czechoslovakia, was all the time talking about 'peace'. And Poland's last days elapsed with talk about 'peace'. When both these events were taking place, the western capitals were unable to grasp the fact that Hitler would be able to behave in a 'way so contradictory to what he was saying'.

After the declaration of the TRNC the question of freedoms was discussed, but the initial work done by those, who then took up their duties, consisted in saying that 'there are laws to be made we cannot advance before we make them'. The so-called independent Gov-

ernment bearing the NUP patent ruined as much as it could and left.

The NUP-CLP partnership was manipulated with the aim of leaving 'no other opposition'. The staging of the play had begun with the declaration of the Republic. The Democratic People's Party, the Social Democrat Party, the Turkish Unity Party and the National Unity Party were either to unite and assemble under a single roof, or to tolerate and connive at the events that were going to happen... This was clearly told us to our face. According to them there was a danger, and that danger was the Republican Turkish Party (RTP.). Everything would be done against the RTP...

All the games were played hiding behind these words. The new Birth Party (NBP) was deftly given birth to. With regard to the parties which remained outside, everything possible was done for their oppression. 'And mind you, this coalition ranges down to the RTP', as was rumoured The formula operated and went down to that point Money poured in abundantly from all directions. And as a result this coalition was secured...

How many votes could the RTP, which they had described as a danger, get? With the votes of those who were fed up with the CLP a 22% representation, 20% of the votes :... In such a case, what is the danger? How many are the RTP deputies in the Assembly? Can it become the government with 12 deputies?

It cannot, but that seemed to be the milieu, in which they could play the games they wanted to. They did not display any hesitation in achieving their target even by means of oppressing persons, parties and services. The law? Which one? During the same period, in the elections held one after the other, the number of 'white identity cards' was increased every time. Between the referendum and

the parliamentary elections a difference of 4,000 voters was observed. The state printing office machines came near to breaking down in the course of printing 'ballot books' and 'white identity cards' ... Who said so? Here are the lists, here are the holders of white cards, ballot book. Let them be checked and the reality will emerge ... Increase the percentage by this, take the card and put it on the side you know ... This curtain has closed or rather has been closed...

Now the turn of the press to be controlled has come. And the bogey is again the RTP. According to them, Yeniduzen is publishing harmful things. The laws are inadequate The masters are going to exercise control in spite of the Constitution and in spite of the declaration of the TRNC The slap will descend on every side... What ought to be done is simple; Why do you criticise, whilst you can praise and applaud?

Why? They undermine the TRNC... Well, well, when deputies are sent by the Assembly to the Council of Europe and the EEC meetings, has this question been put to them?: 'My brother, are you going to ask for the recognition of the TRNC? Do you want the recognition of the TRNC?'...

Noooo! Nobody looks for them, nobody puts such questions to them... But 'the press must be controlled'. And for what reason? Highly placed interests

Now, let us stop at this point. The interests of the State and the interests of those who have got hold of the State in one way or other are not of equivalent value. Mostly they are contrary. Many a time the citizens, often the press and often the opposition call the State Administration, which engages in practices against the high-ranking interests of the State and the Nation to account. They inform the people of what they do...

Just those who act in this way and are afraid of free press have now, as the NUP-CLP partnership, sent to the Assembly the 'Press Bill' in order to chain the press... The slogans about freedom... independence have been left aside...

Is it for this that we have declared the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus here?

We shall carry out this struggle to the end. Those who by their clumsiness have turned the economy of Northern Cyprus into a hellish place have now emerged with the intention to silence the press. They talk here and there about other causes but their whole anxiety is lest their real aims are disclosed.

A water jug is broken one day on the way to the well... The struggle will go on at any cost... To reduce by laws those who have won in the elections, to silence the press and to chain the freedoms by laws, may appear to be something easy at the outset but at the end of all this lies always frustration! History has thus written it... And both the National Unity Party and the CLP will wear out and go..."

(Kibris Postasi, 8.2.86)

YENIDUZEN (10.2.86), prints an interview with Ozker Ozgur in reaction to the above editorial.

Ozgur firstly takes up Kotak's references to the RTP as a party. Then Ozgur passes over to the role of the NBP which, he says, has been given the duty of preventing the scattering of settlers votes. Ozgur adds that the "white identity cards" referred to by Kotak are the cards given to those "elements who come to Cyprus provisionally and are not citizens. These are a voting force brought into Cyprus", says Ozgur and adds that these votes were unlawfully channelled to the NUP and the NBP. Ozgur goes on to confirm that there was a 4,000 vote difference between the "referendum" and the "general elections". He added: "These 4,000 people did not co-

me down from the sky in a basket. They were brought especially from Turkey".

To a question whether there is any connection of this issue with the compulsory retirement of the "Director of the Registration Department", Ozgur said that there must be, as Kutlu Adali is a straightforward person, a patriot and a democrat. Ozgur added:

"They have forced Adali to retire in order to carry out this type of illegal work more comfortably".

Ozgur says that if one viewed the issue from within the framework of what Kotak wrote, the compulsory retirement of Adali takes on a meaning.

Ozgur in reply to another question whether the new "press law" is directed against the RTP and Yeniduzen, says: "Kotak says so".

Ozgur goes on to expound on the issue and says that they want to bring the 12 September regime of Turkey to the "north of Cyprus" and want to "create for the capitalist class and foreign capital a rose garden without thorns in the north of Cyprus."

Furthermore, it is interesting to note the interview of Kutlu Adali with YENIDUZEN (7.2.86) on the subject of his early retirement.

According to YENIDUZEN (7.2.86), the "Director of the Registration Department" and journalist-writer Kutlu Adali has been forced to retire early through an NUP-CLP joint decision. The paper says Adali is not yet of pensionable age.

In an interview to the paper, Adali states that he has not "officially" been informed of his retirement but some "Ministers" have informed him that such a decision has been taken by the "Cabinet". They also informed him, says Adali, that the order came from the "High Court", and that he would be financially well off.

Adali went on to say that a wing of the "Cabinet" wanted to remove him from duty at whatever

cost and that the fact that he was a journalist/writer and one who wanted to disseminate information and incite thinking was the reason for his early retirement which was also due to the fact that certain people were disturbed by these thoughts. Adali added that the decision was also of a nature to "silence and scare civil servants" and cause people to refrain from "meddling".

To a question whether the fact that at this time when the issue of illegal Turkish workers was in the foreground the fact that he (Adali) was the "Director of the Registrations Department" and knew who were made "citizens" was another reason for his early retirement, Adali said his department was an important department and carried out all work into births, deaths, marriages, identities and surnames.

On the home front still, Cosar the "Education Minister of the TRNC" according to BIRLIK (25.1.86) said that efforts to project the image of "Cypriotism" instead of the existence of a "national Turkish people in Cyprus" fell contrary to the "realities".

Cosar went on to claim that the "Turkish Cypriot people" were a part of the Turkish nation.

Denktash's reaction to the flare-up of the settlers issue was, as broadcast by Ankara Radio (7.2.86), that the Greek Cypriots had artificially created it! He concluded by saying:

"It has occurred at a time that seasonal workers have come and gone. A number from among them have settled. Most of them are of Cypriot origin. The number of those who are not of Cypriot origin is very small".

The facts call Mr. Denktash's bluff. There is indeed a settlers problem, a colonisation problem and a taking over problem and these are problems that the Turkish Cypriots feel only too well as is witnessed by the recent development that even right-wing parties speak out against colonisation.

But it is again the RTP that leads the way one step ahead of everyone else in the occupied area. According to the monthly political review CENGEL (March 1986), the report on the RTP's activities and financial situation submitted to the 12th congress of the Nicosia District Branch on 6 February 1985:

- a) qualifies the Turkish troops in Cyprus since 1974 as "Occupation Force",
- b) calls the government in the free area of Cyprus "the Government of Cyprus" and
- c) speaks of the 1974 Turkish military operation as an "invasion operation".

Cengel expresses the view that the RTP's stand on the above issues is the same as that of the Government of Cyprus and asks why the leaders of the party do not try to cross to the free areas, if they recognise the Cyprus Government as such.

The review also accuses the RTP leaders of having objected to the construction of the illegal Lefkoniko airport and the new port at Kyrenia.

Finally Cengel addresses several questions to the RTP leaders, among which is the following:

"If a war breaks out tomorrow, are they going to take sides with the 'occupation forces' or in the Greek Cypriot-Greek ranks, where Akel supporters will fight?"

In keeping with colonisation is the tendency of Turkish officials to look down on the Turkish Cypriots and to ignore them.

Cases in point are the following taken from the Turkish Cypriot press.

a) The Turkish Embassy in Tripoli "does not recognise the TRNC"

Ibrahim Cangar in the weekly periodical SOZ (7.2.86) describes the unendurable distress of a group of Turkish Cypriot workers who have been employed in Libya since February 1985.

Mr. Cangar says that 15 out of 25 Turkish Cypriot workers, fed up with the disorder and indif-

ference of the employing company (in which Turkish Cypriot Engineer Aziz Kara is also a partner), have left Libya. The rest continue to work there under very bad conditions. For instance, after 8 months of work, they have not been paid at all.

What is interesting to note is the cruel attitude of the Turkish Embassy official in Tripoli to whom 3 representatives of this group of workers went in April 1985 to ask for the Embassy's help to overcome their sufferings. Mr. Cangar says in particular that they were asked to leave and adds:

"The workers explain their problems and ask for the Embassy's intervention for the protection of their rights. The official on duty tells them that the Embassy of the Turkish Republic has no connection with or interest in Cyprus and the Cypriots. 'We do not recognise any state under the name of Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus', he says. The workers then present to him their Republic of Turkey passports which they are carrying and ask: 'Since you have no interest in Cyprus or with the Cypriots, why do you give these passports?' The official replies: 'Give me that passport! In any case, you are not worthy of those passports'".

Mr. Cangar ends his story thus:

"The Cypriot workers, citizens of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus and holders of Turkish Republic passports, leave the Embassy with downcast eyes".

b) YENIDUZEN on plight of Turkish Cypriot students

YENIDUZEN (4.2.86) under the headline "Illegal workers from Turkey enter without question. Cypriot students coming for holidays are kept under arrest for hours". Yeniduzen goes on to relate the plight of the Turkish Cypriot student who went to the "TRNC" for a 10-day holiday from Turkey.

The paper says that pressures are continuing

to be a problem for Turkish Cypriot students who are studying in Turkey when they enter Turkey and when they return to the occupied area.

The paper says that a Turkish Cypriot student Ali Tosun was arrested at Famagusta port on the pretext that he was an "escapee from the army". He was kept at Famagusta port for hours and then he was taken to Famagusta "police" station from where he was later released after his papers were checked.

Ali Tosun speaking to the paper said: "*We came for a 10-day holiday and they poison it*". He also said that in their entries and departures from the occupied area there are continuous difficulties.

c) "TRNC" mistrusted by Turkey even on petrol control, says Ozgur

In an article published in Yeniduzen (6.2.86), RTP leader Ozker Ozgur expresses the view that the "TRNC" is not trusted even on matters concerning the importation and distribution of petrol in the occupied area of Cyprus.

Mr. Ozgur departs from the fact that at the beginning the share-holding of the "TRNC" in the Cyprus Turkish Petroleum Co. Ltd. was 49%, whereas up to one year ago those shares were reduced to 48%, thus increasing the shares belonging to Turkish partners from 51% to 52%.

The writer infers from this fact, which happened "on certain persons' direction and demand", as he says that the purpose aimed at was to render Turks from Turkey responsible for the importation and distribution of petrol in the "TRNC", because petrol is a strategic material. He interprets this kind of approach as lack of confidence towards the Turkish Cypriots in general.

On this occasion, Mr. Ozgur stresses that the reason behind the insistence that the "Police of the TRNC" remain attached to, and dependent upon the army is this mistrust towards the Turkish Cypriots. Taking up the question of the strike which began in the Cyprus Turkish Petroleum Co. Ltd. on 4 February and discontinued on 5 February, Mr.

Ozgur says with discontent that the "TRNC government" had no say on this issue and concludes in anger:

"What are we that we cannot import and distribute our own petrol ourselves?"

And if the Turkish Republic becomes sovereign over the Cyprus Turkish Petroleum Co. Ltd., what is the need for the word "Cyprus" in the company's name?

Very recently Turkey's policy on Cyprus has been given an overt expression through the illegal visit of the Turkish Premier Ozal to the occupied area of Cyprus.

Mr. Ozal's statements are indeed quoteworthy. On the first day of his visit (2.7.86) Ozal spoke to the people at Ataturk square. His speech was blood-thirsty to an extent bordering on savagery and he made no bones about his (and by extension Turkey's) attitude regarding Cyprus. Ozal said: "*The moment I set foot here, I felt myself in one of the provinces, towns, townships and villages of Turkey*", and later added:

"In order to possess a country, a land, it is necessary to shed blood...blood for it". Also:

"It is possible that there are people who will take advantage of my visit here to make a great fuss. Do not pay any attention to them. They have always been brawlers. We have recognised their ancestors in the Aegean, we have recognised their ancestors in Smyrna, we have recognised their ancestors in Dumlupinar; for this reason we have never attributed any importance to them, there is no importance, let them say whatever they want; were they able to stop my visit? I am here in front of you".

Also:

"Let us come together and show to the other side that there is Turk here and Turks Let us show them we will win the struggle on the economic field as in all other fields".

In his other speeches Ozal openly stressed the numerical superiority of the Turkish nation and complacently said Greeks had always been afraid of the Turks. (Halkin Sesi, 7.7.86).

Akinci, the commander of the Turkish occupation army in the same vein as Turkey's Prime Minister has also made a provocative and revealing statement.

Speaking at a ceremony in which the highest honour of the Turkish army "Turkey's war of independence medal" was conferred on one of the contingents of the Turkish occupation army in Cyprus, Akinci said:

"Over a twelve year period the Turkish peace forces commander's aim in protecting peace and freedom in Cyprus, is to be always alert regarding threats, aggressions, incitements, evil intentions and ideologies, and in order to overcome these dangers in a short time to be ready for war at any minute".

We leave it to the reader to draw his own conclusions as to what might qualify as "threat aggression", "incitement", "evil intention" or "ideology" requiring military measures as far as the Turkish army of occupation is concerned.

The upshot of all this is that Turkey is obviously controlling the occupied area of Cyprus and harbours designs of controlling and colonising the rest when this becomes possible. Turkey does not hold the "TRNC" to protect the Turkish Cypriots, whom she uses to further her own aims. The Turkish Cypriots in their majority know this and there are reactions both on the political and the economic level. Mr. Denktash's plans seem to be moving further and further on the way of partition so as to make genuine federation impossible. It is interesting to note that Mr. Denktash has recently begun to speak of "confederation". The first time this occurred was at the oath taking ceremony in the first "Parliament" session of the "TRNC", when Denktash said:

30 *"Even if a federation or confederation wi-*

th the Greek Cypriot south materialises, we must, at the earliest possible time, reach a stage where we can economically compete with our southern neighbour".

(Special News Bulletin, 10.7.85)

Similarly, Mumtaz Soysal commenting, in *Mil-liyet* (10.7.85), on Hass' visit to Ankara says that federation is now obsolete and "the only solution is confederation based on two equal states on their present territories".

The conclusion of Soysal's article is also very interesting if we take into account that, more often than not, it is Soysal that expresses official Turkish policy on Cyprus. Soysal concludes by proposing a defence and cooperation agreement between the "TRNC" and Turkey in order to legalise the Turkish troops' presence in Cyprus, and says the agreement should be done in such a way as to facilitate the increase of Turkish troops on Cyprus.

Fuat Veziroglu, a former "Minister of Industry" agrees with the above views on confederation. Referring to the 17 January 1985 high-level meeting Veziroglu says:

"It is on that day the federation curtain began to close... From now on the curtain will rise for confederation. When a play ends another play is staged and now on the stage there will be performed a new play, the one entitled 'confederation'".

(Halkin Sesi, 21.8.85)

When this concerted shift of Turkish policy is seen in conjunction with the also concerted efforts at recognition through Islamic fora but also through the recent hyperactivity in the sector of international conferences, the progress of the Turkish policy meekly carried out by the Denktash regime can easily be charted. It goes like this:

First step taksim, second recognition of a sepa-

rate state, third annexation to Turkey which already runs all things economical and political in the occupied area, fourth annexation of the whole island.

This has been amply proven through the words of the Turkish and Turkish Cypriot politicians themselves.