



The importance of organizing activities of the Turkish Cypriot Community in the process of becoming a state (1957-1960)

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Abstract

In this study, organization process of the Turkish Cypriot Community between 1957 and 1960 was examined. This study claims that this process was important, because it formed the basis of Turkish Cypriots' becoming a state.

It can be said that there are two main views about organization process of Turkish Cypriots in researches which were examined for this study. Researchers such as Ahmet An and Niyazi Kızılyürek allege that this process was Turco-British collusion to divide Turkish and Greek Cypriots who had lived together peacefully for centuries. According to researchers such as Ahmet C. Gazioglu and Ulvi Keser; Turkish Cypriots started an organization process to protect themselves from Greek Cypriots' hostility and attacks. However, it seems that the relationship between organization process of the Turkish Cypriot Community and Turks' becoming a state has not been handled yet.

After the Great Britain took over the rule of Cyprus from the Ottoman Empire by the Cyprus Convention in 1878, the British established a Legislative Council. Greek Cypriots who desired to realize enosis (union with Greece) made attempts to pass enosis memorandums in the Council. On the contrary, Turkish Cypriots who saw union with Greece as a threat to their safety avoided these attempts with help of the British. Moreover, Turks published various newspapers and journals to voice their objections to enosis. Both these efforts and anti-Turkish feelings caused Greek Cypriots' attacking Turkish Cypriots. In order to protect themselves from these attacks and conduct effective struggle against enosis, Turkish Cypriots set up assemblies, political parties, farmer and trade unions, social associations and armed organizations from 1918 to 1957. However, it was 1957 when these organization activities became continuous process. Hence the Turkish Cypriot Community was organized in terms of, military, administration, economy and culture during the period between 1957 and 1960. Turkish states which were founded between 1964 and 1983 were based on these organizations.

Considering this fact, the study is composed of two main parts. The first part summarizes the organization efforts of the Turkish Cypriot Community between 1918 and 1957. The second part focuses on the organization process of the Turkish Cypriot Community between 1957 and 1960.

Keywords: FTCA; Turkish Resistance Organization; Municipalities; From Turk to Turk Campaign; Citizen Speak Turkish.

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1. Introduction

The Ottoman Empire signed the Cyprus Convention with the Great Britain on June 4, 1878. According to this convention, the Ottoman Empire hand over the rule of Cyprus to the Great Britain on the condition that the British defend the Ottoman against the Russian Empire (Armaoğlu, 2007: 535; Gürel, 1984: 24; Uçarol, 2000: 67–68). After the British arrived in Cyprus, they began to appoint High Commissioners as the chief administrator to the island. The first High Commissioner Sir Garnet Wolseley (November 22, 1878-June 23, 1879) set up a Legislative Council by putting a constitution into effect on September 14, 1878 (The London Gazette, 1 October 1878, p.5369-5371; The Times, Oct 02, 1878, p.4; Samani, 2007: 66–67). This council was composed of three British members and three Cypriot (Turk, Greek and Latin) members (The Cyprus Gazette, November 5 1878, p.2; Samani, 2007: 85–86). However, Greek Cypriots aiming at enosis (union with Greece) claimed that they composed majority of the population and demanded change of proportion of representation in the Council. On the contrary, Turkish Cypriots who saw enosis as a threat to their safety raised objection to this demand. In 1881, the British Rule conducted a census in the island and found that Greek Cypriots outnumbered Turkish Cypriots by nearly 100,000 (İsmail, 1986: 32). Based on this reality, the British enacted new constitution in 1882 and changed the proportion of representation in the Legislative Council. According to the 1882 Constitution, the Council was composed of twelve elected Cypriot (nine Greeks and three Turks) and six official British members. The High Commissioner, the chief administrator of Cyprus, was entitled to use casting vote in the case of equality of votes in the Council (The Cyprus Gazette, Thursday, March 23rd, 1882, p.1; Gürel, 1984: 42; Hill, 2010: 418). After gaining majority in the Legislative Council, Greek Cypriots began to make attempts for passing enosis memorandums. However, British and Turkish members both of whom were opposed to enosis voted against these memorandums and avoid them to be approved (Gazıoğlu, 2000a: 133–153). Moreover, Turks published newspapers in order to make struggle against enosis more effective. The first newspaper was “Saded”. Saded newspaper which was published in 1889 argued that Cyprus should be reversed to the Ottoman Empire if the Great Britain left the island (Cyprus Blue Book, 1889-1890, p. 417). In 1891, “Zaman” newspaper was published. To be in opposition to union with Greece, work for economic, cultural and moral development of Turkish Cypriots and look out for their interests were among main purposes of the Zaman newspaper (Ünlü, 1981: 18–20). Both Turks’ efforts and anti-Turkish nationalist education (Oberling, 1982: 16) resulted in Greek Cypriots’ seeing Turks as their enemies. Hence they attacked Turks in the 1890s and because Turks responded to them, intercommunal clashes erupted. These intermittent clashes reached their peak in 1912 and caused casualties from both communities (İsmail, 1997: 34–45, 176–216). In the years of 1918-1919, Greek Cypriots elected a delegation and send it to London in order to make propaganda for enosis (Gazıoğlu, 2000a: 156–176). On the contrary, Turkish Cypriots held a national assembly called Meclis-i Millî on the days of December 10-12, 1918. This assembly took a decision to send a delegation to the Paris Peace Conference which was held after the First World War (1914-1918) and lobby for reversion of Cyprus to the Ottoman Empire. However, the British Rule did not permit them to go to Paris. Furthermore, the British imprisoned Turkish communal leaders (Sonyel, 1995: 168), dismissed them from their jobs and censored their press (İsmail ve Birinci, 1987: 12–37). Nevertheless, on the one hand, Turkish Cypriots supported the Independence War in Turkey (1919-1922) (Akar, 1981: 10–13), on the other hand, they continued to write articles in their newspapers which objected to Greek Cypriots’ union with Greece aim (İsmail ve Birinci, 1987: 68-96).

On the other hand, after the British sovereignty in Cyprus was recognized by Turkey in accordance with the Lausanne Peace Treaty on July 24, 1923 (Soysal, 1989: 91; Toluner, 1977: 36), the Great Britain declared that Cyprus would be a crown colony on March 10, 1925 (Hill, 2010: 414–415). However, Greek Cypriots were not satisfied with the situation and repeated their enosis desires, but

the British rejected it. As a result of it, Greek Cypriots revolted against the British Colonial Rule. The British suppressed the revolt and banned or restricted political, cultural and educational activities of both Turkish and Greek Cypriots (Denktaş, 2005:38–39; 2008: 42; Gazioğlu, 1960: 36–37; 2000a: 257–279). For some reasons, the British Colonial Rule in Cyprus began to lift bans and restrictions against the Cypriot people in 1941 (Eden, 1960: 394–395; Gazioğlu, 2000a: 324). Hence both Greek and Turkish Cypriots set up their political parties, farmer and trade unions and social organizations between 1941 and 1955 (KTMA, K.T.Y.04.1947.61.01; Crawshaw, 1978: 30–34; Maden, 2014: 31–34). The principal Turkish Cypriot organizations were the Federation of Turkish Cypriot Associations/FTCA(Kıbrıs Türk Kurumları Federasyonu/KTKF) (Kaymak, 1968: 12–13) and the Cyprus is Turk Party/CTP (Kıbrıs Türktür Partisi/KTP) (Evre, 2004: 118–124). At the beginning of this organization process, the Second World War which started in 1939 was continuing. It ended in 1945 with the Allied Powers' (including the Great Britain) victory against the Axis Powers led by Germany and Italy (Armaoğlu, 2010: 355–511). After the war, western countries which composed the Allied Powers founded the United Nations (UN) in order to secure world peace. One of the basic principles enshrined in the UN Charter was self-determination (Armaoğlu, 2010: 467; Uçarol, 2008: 797). This principle granted colonial people the right to determine their own political future by plebiscite (“the direct vote of all the members of an electorate on an important public question such as a change in the constitution”) or other democratic means (GAOR, 637 (VII), Seventh Session, 403th Plenary Meeting, s.26). The Greek Orthodox Church in Cyprus who wanted to benefit from the self-determination principle held a plebiscite among Greek Cypriots on the days of January 15-22, 1950. In consequence of the plebiscite, nearly 96% of Greek Cypriot electors voted for enosis (Grob-Fitzgibbon, 2011: 285). After the plebiscite, the Greek Orthodox Church and the Greek Government demanded that the Great Britain recognized the result of plebiscite, but the British refused to do it (Gazioğlu, 1998: 1–25; Tuncer, 2005: 74). Then, on August 16, 1954, Greece applied with a draft resolution to the UN for the self-determination right to be granted to the Cypriot people (Greek Cypriots). The UN General Assembly discussed the Greek draft resolution on December 17, 1954 and decided that “for the time being it does not appear appropriate to adopt a resolution on the question of Cyprus” (Ziros, 1969: 33–43). Greece and the Greek Cypriot Community were displeased with the resolution. Therefore the Greek Cypriot armed organization EOKA, which had been organizing with the help of Greece since 1951, commenced attacks against the British Colonial Rule on April 1, 1955 (Foley, 1964: 12–33). The Turkish Cypriot Community who was also against enosis, became target of EOKA attacks after a few months (Hürriyet, 24 Haziran 1955). Therefore Turkish Cypriots had to set up resistance organizations such as Turkish Cypriot Resistance Union (Kıbrıs Türk Mukavemet Birliği), VOLKAN, Black Gang (Kara Çete) and 9 September Front (9 Eylül Cephesi) between 1955 and 1957 (Emircan, 2007: 123–131). In addition to it, Turks made some attempts to catch up with Greek Cypriots economically. The FTCA paid a visit to Turkey and presented a report including political, cultural and economic demands to the Turkish Government. As a result of these efforts, the Business Bank (İş Bankası) opened a branch in Cyprus on February, 1955 and TEKEL (General Directorate of Tobacco, Tobacco Products, Salt and Alcohol Enterprises Inc.) set up a cigarette factory in 1956 (Kaymak, 1954: 15–22). Turkish Cypriots' organizing attempts gained a different character during the period between 1957 and 1960 and hence Turks became well-organized community in terms of military, administration, economy and culture.

It can be said that there are two main views about the organization process of the Turkish Cypriot Community between 1957 and 1960 in researches which were examined for this study. Researchers such as Ahmet An (2005: 89–137) and Niyazi Kızılyürek (2002: 244–290) assert that the British Colonial Rule encouraged Turkish Cypriots to organize separately so that it could set them against Greek Cypriots and thus maintain its sovereignty over Cyprus. According to researchers such as

Ahmet C. Gazioğlu (2000b: 1–85) and Ulvi Keser (2007: 111–338), Turkish Cypriots needed to organize to protect themselves from Greek Cypriots' hostility and attacks. However, this study claims that it paved the way for Turkish Cypriots' becoming a state. Therefore it uses the analytical method and analyzes the process within the frame of cause and effect relation.

2. The Organization Process of the Turkish Cypriot Community (1957-1960)

The first field in which Turkish Cypriots organized was military field. Resistance organizations mentioned above were undisciplined and inadequate. For this reason, Turkish Cypriots needed a disciplined and effective armed organization. The murder of Turkish Cypriot police inspector Ahmet Beyaz by EOKA on November 9, 1957 in Nicosia reinforced Turks' belief that such armed organization was necessary (Akkurt, 1999: Keser, 2007: 126). According to Rauf Raif Denктаş, the chairman of the FTCA (1957-1960) (Gazioğlu, 2000b: 10), after Ahmet Beyaz was murdered, a group of young Turkish Cypriots gathered in front of the CTP Leader Dr. Fazıl Küçük's house and protested the event. Meanwhile, Rauf R. Denктаş persuaded Dr. Küçük to address a speech to the crowd and protest the EOKA's action. However, a British army officer came and wanted Dr. Küçük to help him clear the protesters. Then Dr. Küçük helped the army officer and made the crowd end their protest. According to Rauf R. Denктаş, who was with protesters at that moment, the crowd was very angry and thought that an armed organization which would be voice of Turkish Cypriots and retaliate against the EOKA must be established. In addition to it, Rauf R. Denктаş expressed that he said to Dr. Burhan Nalbantoğlu, the General-secretary of the FTCA (Gazioğlu, 2000b: 11–12), that it was necessary to create a disciplined Turkish Cypriot youth (Akkurt, 1999: 21–22; Akgün, 2009: 174–176).

On the other hand, Dr. Nalbantoğlu had already been discussing the issue with Kemal Tanrısevdi, the administrative attaché at Turkey's Consulate of Cyprus, for a while. According to Tanrısevdi, Dr. Nalbantoğlu and Rauf R. Denктаş met at Kemal Tanrısevdi's house in Eğlence (Aglantzia), a village of Nicosia, on July 15, (or July 27 (Keser, 2007: 230; Akgün, 2009: 177)) 1957 and began to discuss how to found an armed organization. They wanted Kemal Tanrısevdi to help them set up an armed organization. Tanrısevdi claims that Dr. Nalbantoğlu and Rauf R. Denктаş asked for his help, since they believed that he was sent by the Turkish Government with a special mission. The reason was that Tanrısevdi was travelling all over Cyprus, made talks with Turkish Cypriot leaders and collecting information about Turks (Gazioğlu, 2000b: 7).

Meetings at Kemal Tanrısevdi's house lasted for a few months. Difficulties of organizing an armed organization were handled at these meetings. One of the main difficulties was the question if Dr. Küçük was made known about the organization. Kemal Tanrısevdi thought that Dr. Küçük was a political leader, so he should not take part in an armed organization. In addition to it, according to Kemal Tanrısevdi, armed organization should not be made known to Dr. Küçük, because he disliked such organizations which were out of his control (Akkurt, 1999: 36). Dr. Nalbantoğlu agreed with Tanrısevdi (Kasımoğlu, 1991: 80). However, Rauf R. Denктаş objected to this idea, so they decided to inform Dr. Küçük about the armed organization after establishing it (Akkurt, 1999: 33–34). Therefore, when the first leaflet of the organization was distributed, Rauf R. Denктаş gave information to Dr. Küçük about the organization (Keser, 2007: 233–234). Moreover, Dr. Küçük himself participated in this organization later (Gazioğlu, 2000b: 8). Another difficulty was about arms and money. Rauf R. Denктаş states that Kemal Tanrısevdi had the opinion that arms and money should be procured by Turkish Cypriots (Kasapoğlu, 2008: 56). Furthermore, both Kemal Tanrısevdi and Dr. Nalbantoğlu believed that the organization should not be under the control of Turkey. On the contrary, Rauf R. Denктаş thought that the arms, money supply and organization should be conducted by Turkey on the ground that Turkish Cypriots may abuse the power which they would have owing to the armed organization. Kemal Tanrısevdi and Dr. Nalbantoğlu found

Rauf R. Denктаş's views reasonable. Thus they decided that Rauf R. Denктаş went to Ankara and request arms and money from the Turkish Government (Akkurt, 1999: 34–35).

The last meeting was on November 23, 1957. On that day; Kemal Tanrısevdi, Dr. Nalbantoğlu and Rauf R. Denктаş decided to name the organization as “Turkish Resistance Movement/TRO (Türk Mukâvemet Teşkilâtı/TMT)”. Then they determined their nom de guerre. Rauf R. Denктаş was “Mülayim”, Kemal Tanrısevdi was “Nâzım” and Dr. Burhan Nalbantoğlu was “Râci”. Furthermore, they prepared many leaflets and distributed them among Turks on November 27 (Akgün, 2009: 177–178). These leaflets announced that organizations such as the VOLKAN and 9 September Front were abolished and a new one which would protect Turks from both the imperialist colonial rule and pro-enosis Greek Cypriots was set up instead of them. Moreover, they emphasized that the TRO was not an offensive, but a defensive armed organization and invited Turks to support and take place in it (Gazioglu, 2000b: 9).

As soon as the TRO was founded, members of the CTP, FTCA and similar organizations got involved in it. Furthermore, policemen and teachers joined the TRO. The TRO also formed cells headed by reliable mukhtars (Akkurt, 1999: 47–49) and armed Turkish villagers (Akgün, 2009: 184). Moreover, women and high school students who took part in the TRO distributed leaflets, joined meetings and made propaganda of the organization among Turkish Cypriots.

Meanwhile, Dr. Küçük and Rauf R. Denктаş went to Ankara on January 2, 1958 and talked to the Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs Fatin Rüştü Zorlu. Rauf R. Denктаş told Fatin Rüştü Zorlu that they founded an armed organization and needed for arms and officers who would train militants. Then the Minister Zorlu asked them if they could take arms sent by Turkey. Rauf R. Denктаş responded by saying that there were Turkish Cypriots who could do this job. However, Dr. Küçük said that he was not so sure. Then the Minister Zorlu wanted Denктаş to return to Cyprus and discuss the issue with his friends one more time. Rauf R. Denктаş expresses that Turkey's sending arms to Cyprus delayed for nine months because of Dr. Küçük's doubt and Turks had to resist against Greek Cypriot attacks in the summer of 1958 with handmade weapons. Nevertheless, Rauf R. Denктаş claims that Dr. Küçük was right, since when Turkish Cypriots were given weapons, they may use them for their personal interests. That was why Denктаş insisted that there should be a person at the top of the TRO who was the master of his domain (Kasımoğlu, 79–80).

On the other hand, Fatin Rüştü Zorlu was inclined to supply arms to the TRO, but he thought that he must consult with experts before. For this reason, Zorlu talked to Rüştü Erdelhun, the Commander-in-Chief of the Turkish Armed Forces, and wanted him to express his opinion within two days. Full General Erdelhun gave the Deputy Commander-in-Chief Salih Coşkun the task of examining the issue. Full General Coşkun asked Major General Daniş Karabelen, the Chief of the Department of Mobilization Examination (DME) if it was possible to reorganize the TRO. Then Major General Karabelen advised from Colonel İsmail Tansu, the Manager of Logistics Branch of the DME. Colonel Tansu expressed the opinion that they could do the task if arms and money were supplied, officers given task were accepted as off duty indefinitely and the Turkish Government gave full support. Thus Major General Karabelen said to Full General Karabelen that they were ready to reorganize the TRO.

According to Colonel Tansu, while the Turkish General Staff began to work for the task, Fatin Rüştü Zorlu mentioned the TRO to the Prime Minister Adnan Menderes. However, the Prime Minister hesitated over the issue. According to Colonel Tansu, who was informed by Fatin Rüştü Zorlu, the Prime Minister Menderes believed that he could solve the Cyprus Question owing to his friendship with the Greek Prime Minister Konstantinos Karamanlis. Similarly, Kemal Tanrısevdi, one of the TRO founders, states that, at that time, the Turkish Government warned Turkish Cypriots to act cold-bloodedly and not to react against Greek Cypriot attacks (Akkurt, 1999: 37).

Nevertheless, according to İsmail Tansu, the Prime Minister Menderes then shared Minister Zorlu's view with regard to that Greeks were unreliable and accepted the reorganization of the TRO.

In the meantime, İsmail Tansu selected army officers who would train TRO militants and prepared an organization plan by consulting with Major General Karabelen. This plan's name was "Plan of Recoupment of Cyprus (Kıbrıs'ı İstirdat Planı)". According to the plan, the reorganization of the TRO would be based on guerilla warfare and when EOKA made attempt to achieve enosis, the TRO would stop it. If the Turkish Army captured the whole island, the TRO would help it do. In addition to it, the TRO would train 5000 Turkish Cypriots within a short time at first, but this number would be increased to 10000-15000 later. The TRO Leader would take orders from the Chief of the DME and be responsible to him. Furthermore, the TRO Leader would establish good relations and seek information from them when needed. Meanwhile, on April 1958, the Prime Minister Menderes gave official order to reorganize the TRO. After that, Major General Daniş Karabelen gave Colonel Tansu the task of reorganization. Therefore İsmail Tansu planned a work based on staff, train and arms supply. Then he began to form Ankara and Cyprus cells of the TRO. Furthermore, Colonel Tansu tried to determine which bodies of the government would support the TRO.

On the other hand, Dr. Fazıl Küçük and Rauf R. Denктаş came to Ankara on May 24 and talked to Fatin Rüştü Zorlu. The Minister Zorlu said to Rauf R. Denктаş that the Turkish Government accepted his request and would reinforce the TRO (Akkurt, 1999: 221). In June, Colonel Tansu gave Dr. Küçük and Rauf R. Denктаş information about how he would reorganize the TRO and said that Rauf R. Denктаş was chosen as the assistant of the TRO Leader. In addition to it, İsmail Tansu, Dr. Küçük and Rauf R. Denктаş agreed on selection of young Turkish Cypriots to be trained.

Meanwhile, until the beginning of June, Colonel Tansu focused on setting up Headquarters in Ankara and selecting army officers who would be sent to Cyprus. Moreover, he made a student house belonging to the Society of Turkish Cypriot Culture in Ankara the TRO Headquarters and then chose volunteer army officers among personnel of the DME. These army officers were given fake professions and identity cards. Furthermore, they would be off duty indefinitely, all their occupational rights would be reserved and their salaries would be paid to their families. Then some of these officers were given task at Ankara Headquarters of the TRO and some of them were sent to Cyprus. Another step taken for the reorganization of the TRO was to give nom de guerre to members of the organization. Lieutenant Colonel Ali Rıza Vuruşkan who was made the TRO Leader, was "Bozkurt", Dr. Fazıl Küçük was "Ağrı", Rauf R. Denктаş was "Toros", Major general Daniş Karabelen was "Cankurt" and Colonel İsmail Tansu was "Tansu". Each TRO militant was "Kurt". Every main town in which there was a TRO branch was "Yayla" and they were subordinated to "Bayraktarlık", the General Center of the TRO in Nicosia. The chief of this center was Lieutenant Colonel Vuruşkan.

On July 22, Fatin Rüştü Zorlu held a meeting with a group of army officers including Lieutenant Colonel Vuruşkan, Major General Karabelen and Colonel Tansu and handled how to send arms and ammunition to Cyprus. Meanwhile, the Turkish Government approved the list of army officers who would go to Cyprus. Then Lieutenant Colonel Vuruşkan and his assistant Captain Mehmet Özden were given fake occupations and they were made deputy inspector to the Nicosia Branch of the Business Bank. They were also given fake names. Thus Ali Rıza Vuruşkan was "Ali Conan", while Mehmet Özden was "Necdet Beyazıt". At last, on July 31, Lieutenant Colonel Vuruşkan and Captain Özden went to Cyprus and settled in Nicosia and started to reorganize the TRO by August 1 (Manizade, 1993: 573-578). Thus the TRO became an armed organization under the control of the Turkish Armed Forces.

On the one hand, Turkish Cypriots established their armed organization; on the other hand, they carried out organizing activities in the administrative, economic and cultural fields. The principal activity in the administration field was setting up Turkish municipalities. It is understood that there were a number of reasons that forced Turks to establish their own municipalities. These were violent Turco-Greek clashes, Greek mayors' destroying Turkish historical monuments, their replacing Turkish names of streets and squares with Greek names and paying little attention to the improvement of Turkish quarters. One of these Greek mayors was the mayor of Nicosia Municipality Dr. Themistocles Dervis. Therefore Ümit Süleyman (Onan), Dr. Tahsin Salih (Gözmen), Dr. Orhan Müderrisoğlu and Dr. Niyazi Manyera; Turkish members of the Nicosia Municipality Council, resigned from the Council on April 1958 in protest at Dr. Dervis's policies against Turks. Then both these members and the CTP Leader Dr. Fazıl Küçük called Turkish Cypriots for gathering at the centers of all main towns. Thus thousands of Turks attended meetings throughout the island. At these meetings, resigned members of the Nicosia Municipality Council gave speeches and asked Turks not to pay municipal taxes. Furthermore, they drew attention to the fact that Greek Cypriot mayors used municipal taxes to improve Greek quarters and make enosis propaganda and emphasized the necessity of establishing separate municipalities. In addition to these, they sent telegrams to the British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan, the Turkish ambassador to the Great Britain Muharrem Nuri Birgi and the Governor of Cyprus Sir Hugh Foot and announced that they were determined to set up their own municipalities.

On May 4, 1958, 55 delegates elected by Turkish Cypriots convened under the leadership of Rauf R. Denктаş in Nicosia and discussed the issue of forming separate municipalities. In consequence of the meeting, they sent a telegram to Sir Hugh Foot. In their telegram, they demanded that the law which would provide for organizing Turkish municipalities and holding municipal elections be enacted within a week. Moreover, they declared that they would hold the elections by themselves in case that law could not be made. On the other hand, they made a decision consisting of four articles. These articles were as follows:

- a) Separate municipalities would be founded in all centers of main towns;
- b) A telegram would be sent to Sir Hugh Foot and demanded that he issue instructions to mukhtars to make preparations for municipal elections;
- c) There must be single list of candidates for municipal elections;
- d) Committees consisting of five persons would be set up to execute municipal works until the election day.

Then Turkish Cypriot delegates elected unanimously temporary municipal committees in accordance with the last article. Furthermore, they decided to stop paying municipal taxes to Greek Cypriot mayors. This decision was also announced to Sir Hugh Foot by a telegram (Gazioğlu, 1998: 429-434)

Meanwhile, Turkish Cypriots made efforts before the British Colonial Rule to legalize their municipalities. Dr. Tahsin Gözmen, Dr. Niyazi Manyera, Orhan Müzerrisoğlu and Ümit Süleyman visited the Administrative Secretary John Reddaway on April 20 and demanded that municipal law would be enacted. However, John Reddaway said that he wanted to examine the issue at first. On May 4, the Governor Foot discussed the issue with Dr. Küçük and Rauf R. Denктаş. Dr. Küçük said to the Governor that they made decision to found their own municipalities. After this meeting, Dr. Küçük and Rauf R. Denктаş paid a visit to Ankara. During their visit, they held a press conference on May 31 and declared that Turkish municipalities were going to be established within 15 days. At last, the first Turkish municipality was set up on June 16, 1958 in Nicosia. Dr. Tahsin Gözmen was elected as mayor to this municipality which was named Temporary Turkish Municipality of Nicosia (Geçici Lefkoşa Türk Belediyesi). Other Turkish municipalities were set up

in Limassol, Larnaca, Famagusta, Paphos and Kyrenia until July 1. Despite the fact that the British Colonial Rule did not make a law which would secure legitimacy for Turkish municipalities, it did not object to establishment of them (Bozkurt, 8 Temmuz 1958, p.1).

In the economic field, the FTCA launched “From Turk to Turk Campaign (Türkten Türke Kampanyası)”, considering the fact that Turkish Cypriots were less advanced than Greek Cypriots economically. It can be said that there were several reasons. The first reason was about Evkaf, the Pious Foundations which had held Turkish immovable properties since the Ottoman Rule (1571-1878). Turkish delegates who ruled the Evkaf had met cost of their electioneering for elections of the Legislative Council from revenue of the foundation. Furthermore, they had kept this revenue as interest-free money in a bank for years. Turkish delegates also had connived in Greek Cypriots’ seizing thousands acres of land held by the Evkaf. Therefore Turkish Cypriots became devoid of land and money which were necessary for development (Gazioğlu, 2000a: 394–396). The second reason was policies of municipalities governed by Greek Cypriot mayors against Turks. Although large part of municipal taxes was paid by Turkish Cypriots, Greek Cypriot mayors gave priority to developing Greek quarters of main towns (Gazioğlu, 1998: 428). Another reason was that the British Colonial Rule neglected Turks. For instance, the Turkish diplomat Kemal Tanrısevdi expresses that Turkish villages which he visited in the years of 1957-1958 were deprived of electricity, road and water (Keser, 2007: 231–232). In addition to it, according to Rauf R. Denktaş, Turkish Cypriots had no market and bought necessary items from the Greek Cypriot market (Keser, 2007: 191).

For these reasons, the FTCA set goals of gaining independence from the Greek Cypriot market, building a Turkish economy and create Turkish bourgeoisie (Kızılyürek, 2002: 248–249). At first, the FTCA promoted the establishment of Turkish commercial agents. Thus both a mercantile class and Turkish market were born. Then, to improve Turkish economy, the FTCA prevented Turkish Cypriots to establish economic and commercial relations with Greek Cypriots (Keser, 2007: 191–192). It got the TRO’s help while doing it. For example, a TRO leaflet dated May 11, 1958 declared that to establish economic and commercial relations with Greek Cypriots and going to Greek Cypriot taverns and night clubs were forbidden. Moreover, the leaflet announced that a team was formed to watch those going to Greek Cypriot enterprises (TNA, CO 926/952-XC185296). These efforts and measures yielded result and on November 15, 1958, the Turkish Cypriot Chamber of Commerce (Kıbrıs Türk Ticaret Odası) was founded which all Turkish market traders joined (“Oda’nın Tarihçesi”). In addition to the TRO’s leaflets, the FTCA used the Turkish Cypriot press to encourage Turks to buy necessary items from the Turkish market. Especially Rauf R. Denktaş, the chairman of the FTCA, in his articles in Turkish Cypriot newspapers called Turks for developing in cooperation and supporting the Turkish market (Gazioğlu, 2000b: 168–169).

However, while “From Turk to Turk Campaign” was being carried out, some market traders raised prices of their products to maximize their profits. As a result of it, Turkish Cypriots began to buy goods from the Greek Cypriot market which was cheaper than the Turkish market. Thereupon the FTCA set up the Market Inspection Committee to control prices of the Turkish market (Gazioğlu, 2000b: 169). Moreover, Rauf R. Denktaş, in his articles in Halkın Sesi newspaper and bulletins, warned Turkish market traders to give priority to their community’s interests and wanted Turks to keep supporting the Turkish market (Evre, 2004: 140). Similarly, articles appeared in Nacak newspaper, the official organ of the FTCA, which warned Turkish market traders to reduce prices of goods. The articles also called Turkish vegetable growers for growing more vegetables to end dependence on the Greek Cypriot market (Nacak, 10 Temmuz 1959, p.3).

In addition to “From Turk to Turk Campaign”, some efforts were made in the field of small and medium-sized enterprises. One of these efforts was in the industrial sector. 15-20 shoemakers who became unemployed because of Turco-Greek clashes in the summer of 1958 set up a shoemaking

company named Turkish Cypriot Shoemaking Company (Kıbrıs Türk Kundura Şirketi) on August 4, 1958. Not only this company produced qualified shoes for Turkish Cypriots, but also employed Turks. Towards the end of August, Toros Knitwear Company was founded. Erol N. Erduran, a columnist for Nacak newspaper, in his article dated August 21, 1958, stated that this company was established with 100% Turkish capital, worker and labor. He also drew attention to the fact that Turkish Cypriots had lost 30,000-35,000 Cypriot pounds because of the absence of such company and emphasized the importance of it. On December 12, 1958, Nicosia Cooperative Dairy Company (Lefkoşa Kooperatif Sütçülük Şirketi) was founded. This company produced 387,584 okas of sheep milk and 11,080 okas of goat milk within five months. Then 52 tons of Swiss cheese, 36 tons of cheddar cheese, 14 tons of cottage cheese, 4 tons of cream and butterfat were made from this milk. On April 26, 1959, Güneş Macaroni Factory was erected. This factory produced macaroni and semolina both for Turkish Cypriots and exportation.

Another effort was in the agricultural sector. There had already been the Turkish Cypriot Farmers' Union (Kıbrıs Türk Çiftçiler Birliği) since 1943. However, Turkish Cypriot farmers felt that it was necessary for those who grew exportation products to establish an organization. Hence Rauf R. Denктаş in his announcement which appeared in Turkish Cypriot newspapers dated May 23, 1959, declared that delegates of potato growers from 20 Turkish villages convened a meeting at the building of Çetinkaya Football Club in Nicosia and with the FTCA's incentive and investment of 1000 Cypriot pounds, they set up the Turkish Cypriot Potato Sales Cooperative Limited (Kıbrıs Türk Patates Satış Kooperatifi Ltd.). This company's purpose was to market potato growers' products in and out of Cyprus.

In addition to these enterprises, there were distributors, banks, soft drinks and ice factories, groceries, tire coating factories, laundries, tin and wire factories, workshops, trading houses and chemistry laboratories. All these enterprises were advertised in the Turkish Cypriot newspapers to encourage Turks to buy goods and services from them (Gazıoğlu, 2000b: 170–190). In addition to founding a Turkish market and establishing enterprises; the FTCA supplied clothes, money and food which Turkish Cypriots needed. As a consequence of it, in Rauf Denктаş's words, the FTCA began to function as if it was a government. Moreover, according to Denктаş, Turks began to make their petitions to the FTCA instead of the Colonial Government's concerned offices (Kasımoğlu, 1991: 52).

Another campaign was in the cultural field. Rauf R. Denктаş states in his memoirs that the Turkish Cypriot Community had been trying to protect its cultural identity from the Greek Orthodox culture. However, Turkish Cypriots had become partly Orthodox within time because of neglect, lack of education and poverty. For example, 33 Turkish villages in Tillirias region of Nicosia converted to Christianity in return for Greek Cypriot priests' promises of finding jobs and supporting their education. Rauf R. Denктаş states that one of the main duties of the FTCA was to strengthen the Turkish Cypriot culture, so it felt necessary to deal with Turks who spoke Greek and became Christian (Denктаş, 2008: 153–154). Hence the Turkish Cypriot Youth Organization/TCYO (Kıbrıs Türk Gençlik Teşkilatı/KTGİT), the youth branch of the FTCA, launched "Citizen Speak Turkish (Vatandaş Türkçe Konuş)" campaign in 1958. Members of the TCYO were visiting villages and trying to persuade Turks who spoke Greek to speak Turkish. Furthermore, the FTCA was giving Turkish villages which bore Greek names Turkish names (Kızılyürek, 2002: 249–250).

While "Citizen Speak Turkish" Campaign was proceeding; Dr. Burhan Nalbantoğlu, the Secretary-general of the FTCA, he appealed to Celâl Hordan whom he knew since university student days. Celâl Hordan was ex-chairman of the National Student Federation of Turkey (Türkiye Millî Talebe Federasyonu). One of his prominent actions was "Citizen Speak Turkish" which forced non-Muslim minorities living in Istanbul to speak Turkish in order to protest political and social

pressure on Turks in the Western Thrace and Cyprus (Armaoğlu, 1963: 394–395). Dr. Nalbantoğlu probably thought that Hordan could help the FTCA make its campaign more fruitful. Thus he brought Celâl Hordan to Cyprus on May 23, 1959 and appointed him to the top of the TCYO. As soon as Hordan became chairman, he created Thunderbolt Team (Yıldırım Ekibi) and started to visit Turkish villages. Members of the Team were collecting money from Turkish villagers for cultural activities and making speeches to them evoking their national feelings. These activities were also supported by the Turkish Cypriot public opinion. However, as campaign continued, Turks began to complain that the Thunderbolt Team fined some Turks for speaking Greek, forced some Turkish women to take off their chadors and tried to collect money for buying arms.

These complaints annoyed both Turkish Cypriot leaders and public opinion. For this reason, the CTP Leader Dr. Fazıl Küçük complained about Celâl Hordan to Ankara. Rauf R. Denктаş, the chairman of the FTCA, warned the Thunderbolt Team not to fine Turks just because they spoke Greek. The Turkish Cypriot press withdrew its support for “Citizen Speak Turkish”. On the other hand, the Turkish Prime Minister Adnan Menderes called Dr. Küçük, Rauf R. Denктаş and Celâl Hordan to Ankara on August 29, 1959. They discussed Hordan’s actions in Cyprus and in consequence of it, the Prime Minister Menderes did not permit him to return to the island. It meant that Celâl Hordan was no longer the chairman of the TCYO (Gazioğlu, 2000b: 67–77). Nevertheless, in spite of Hordan’s extreme acts, it seemed that “Citizen Speak Turkish” Campaign indoctrinated Turkish Cypriot youth with the Turkish language and national culture (Denктаş, 2008: 154).

While Turkish Cypriots’ organizing activities continued; the Great Britain, Turkey and Greece were negotiating to solve the Cyprus Question. In consequence of these negotiations, they signed the Zurich and London Agreements on February 19, 1959. These agreements envisaged the foundation of the Republic of Cyprus which was a federal republic based on political and social equality of Turkish and Greek Cypriots. Furthermore, both communities had their own communal chambers and municipalities in accordance with these agreements. On August 16, 1960, the Republic of Cyprus was declared (Crawshaw, 1978: 340–364; Gürel, 1985: 159–160; Tuncer, 2005: 88–89).

3. Conclusion

It seems that all these organizing efforts and campaigns yielded two important results. The first result was the fact that the Turkish Cypriot Community became a political and social entity separate from the Greek Cypriot Community. As a result of it, the Zurich and London Agreements granted both Turkish and Greek Cypriots the right to set up their communal chambers and municipalities. Moreover, Turkish Cypriots were accepted as one of two Cypriot peoples who had equal political and social rights according to these agreements.

Secondly, it can be said that Turkish Cypriots gained both necessary experience in and instruments of founding a separate state in consequence of this organization process. The developments in the later years confirm this remark. When Greek Cypriots made an attempt to dissolve the Republic of Cyprus and launched a planned armed attack to Turkish Cypriots in 1963, Turks established the General Committee (Genel Komite) in 1964 and then the Temporary Turkish Administration of Cyprus (Kıbrıs Geçici Türk Yönetimi) in 1967. On July 20, 1974, the Turkish Armed Forces made a military operation to the northern part of Cyprus in order to re-establish the constitutional order according to the Zurich and London Agreements. After this operation, Turks were gathered in the northern part of the island and set up the Autonomous Turkish Cyprus Administration (Otonom Kıbrıs Türk Yönetimi) on October 1, 1974. Then it was turned into Turkish Federated State of Cyprus (Kıbrıs Türk Federe Devleti) on February 13, 1975. On November 15, 1983, Turkish Cypriots founded the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus/TRNC (Kuzey Kıbrıs Türk

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Cumhuriyeti/KKTC) which maintains its existence today. It is seen that all these administrations and states were based on organization efforts and campaigns carried out during the period between 1957 and 1960. In the military field, the TRO was transformed into the Security Forces Command (Güvenlik Kuvvetleri Komutanlığı) on August 1, 1976 and is the army of the TRNC. In the administrative field, the TRNC has its own legislative body named the Assembly of the Republic (Cumhuriyet Meclisi), its own government and municipalities. In the economic field, organizations such as The Turkish Cypriot Commercial Chamber and enterprises such as Nicosia Cooperative Dairy Company still exist today. In the cultural field, the official language of the TRNC is Turkish.

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