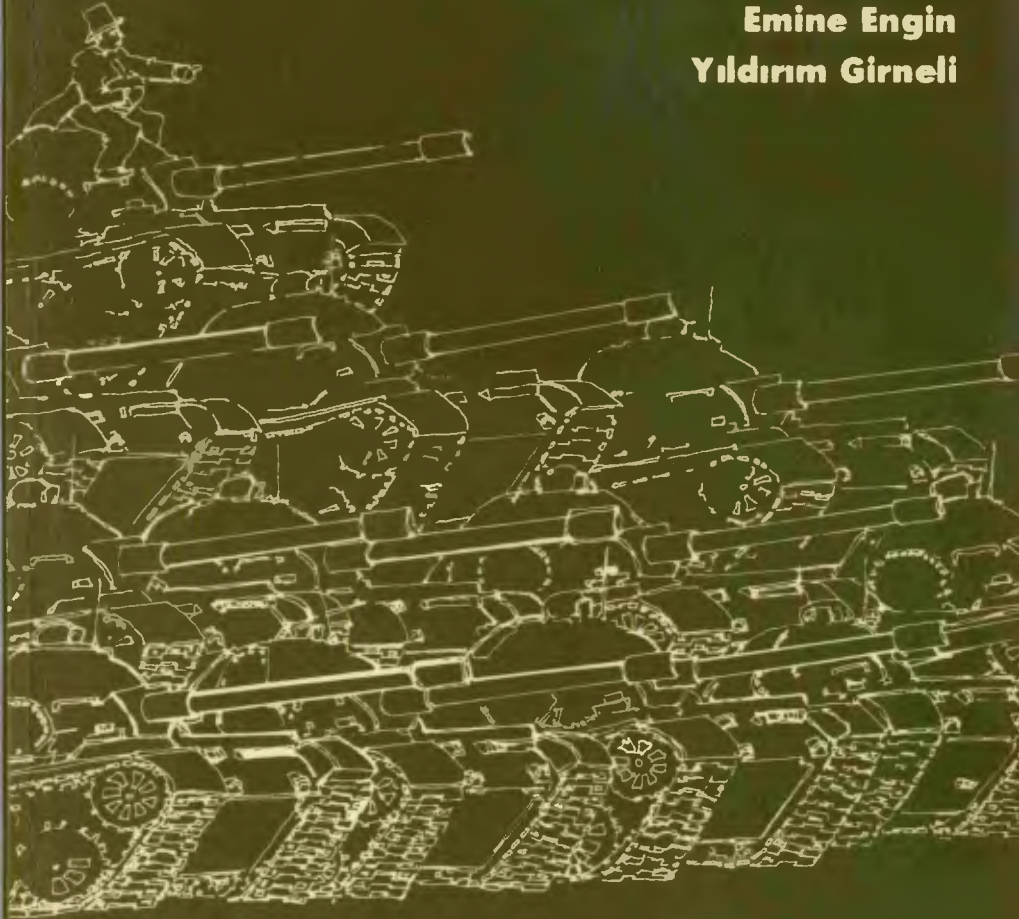


CYPRUS QUESTION

**Emine Engin
Yıldırım Gıneli**



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THE CYPRUS QUESTION is a complex and multifaceted issue that has long been a source of international concern. It involves the relationship between the United Kingdom, the Republic of Cyprus, and the Turkish Cypriot community. The issue is rooted in the historical context of British colonial rule over Cyprus, which began in 1878 and ended in 1960. The 1960 Constitution of Cyprus established a republic with a power-sharing arrangement between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. However, tensions between the two communities grew over time, leading to the declaration of independence by the Republic of Cyprus in 1960. In 1974, a coup d'état was staged by Greek Cypriots, leading to the intervention of Turkey and the subsequent division of the island into a northern Turkish Cypriot state and a southern Republic of Cyprus. The international community has been unable to reach a permanent solution to the Cyprus question, and the issue remains a major source of international tension.

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October 1980

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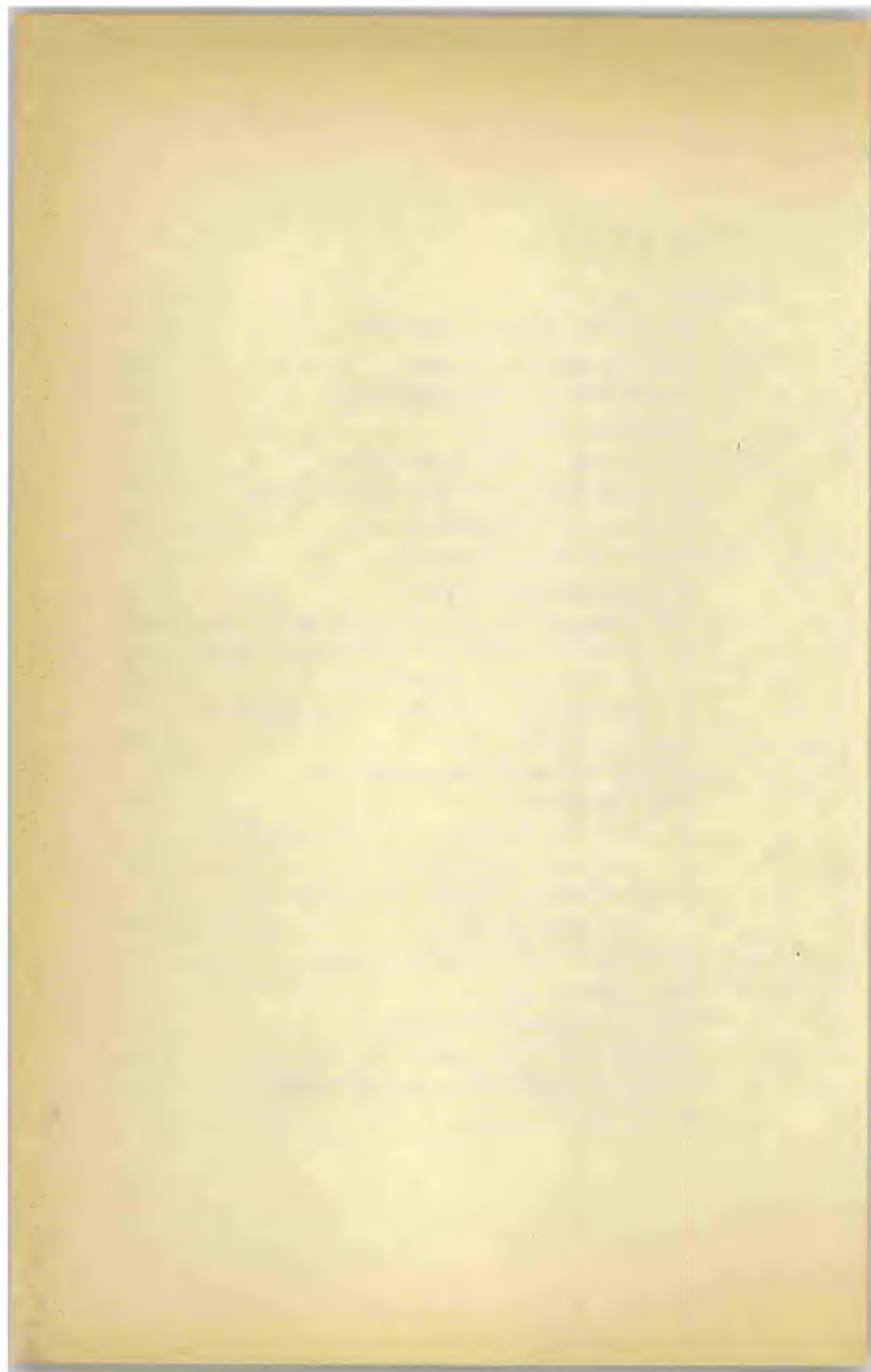
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Preface

The Cyprus Question is being published in the days following the army commanders' seizure of power in a military coup. This coup was the last option remaining to Turkey's finance-capital in its efforts to escape from the continuing revolutionary situation by way of counter-revolution. It is an attempt to resolve in the negative, i.e., by consolidating fascism, the profound economic and social crisis in which collaborating *monopoly capital*, *feeling the need to expand*, finds itself in the context of a world imperialist system, the sphere of which has already been divided and restricted. Domestically, the coup will mean a bloody *dictatorship* against the working class and working masses. Abroad, it will mean the pursuit of a policy of aggression and adventurism against neighbouring countries. Turkey under a fascist regime will be an abscess constantly threatening peace in the region.

What the coup entails for Cyprus was made clear in a letter from the new "head of state", General Evren, to the Turkish-Cypriot administration: the Turkish military will continue to guarantee the "happiness and well-being" of "the daughter of the motherland (Cyprus) as an integral

part of Turkey” (*The Times*, 17 September, 1980).

This “happiness and well-being” meant misery, deprivation and agony for thousands of Cypriots since 1974 when the Turkish army invaded Cyprus under the same pretext. And what General Evren promises to the Cypriots is nothing but a continuation of the same situation, if not worse.

The developments since the coup show very clearly that the democratic facade the generals are trying so hard to present to the outside world is crumbling fast. A great number of MP’s are still being detained in army camps. Thousands of people (ten thousand according to a figure published in *The Guardian*) have been arrested. Torture and intimidation has become a daily routine. Posters of “wanted people” have appeared all over the country. Military operations are being carried out against the Kurdish people in Turkish Kurdistan and reports come in about wide scale arrests in continuous raids against Kurdish villages. And behind all this a strong call for the militarisation of the Turkish economy is being raised.

Militarisation of the economy, and a militarily strong Turkey under the rule of the generals will be the strongest threat to the peace in the eastern Mediterranean and in the Middle East. Cyprus was an easy prey. But now the generals turned their face towards their “brethren” in Mousul and Kirkuk. The Iraque-Iran war provided them with the opportunity they were looking for. Headlines appeared in Turkish newspapers about the “Turks in Kirkuk”, expressing “concern” about their safety. There should be no doubt that their “concern” will increase in accordance with their strength and that they will not hesitate to grab the first opportunity to guarantee the “happiness and well-being” of their “blood brothers” as they did in Cyprus.

In making such masterly use of the method of historical materialism to expose the objective realities underlying such a complex question as the Cyprus question, Emine Engin and Yildirim Girneli have at the same time provided a sound insight into what can be expected from the foreign policy of the fascism which it is intended to consolidate through the junta generals. Moreover, the Leninist and genuinely proletarian internationalist approach which they have advanced for the resolution of the Cyprus question shows the way to overthrow this curse which will haunt the peoples of the region.

At a time when the confrontation between revolution and counter-revolution in Turkey is rapidly advancing, when the masses are living through the experiences of years in the space of a few days, we believe that revolutionaries and all anti-imperialists in our region will have occasion to frequently refer to *The Cyprus Question*, a work that succeeded in marching ahead of its time.

R. Yürüköglu

1. What is the Cyprus Question?

When referring to the Cyprus question the word “question” conveyed various meanings. At first, the rising of the people of Cyprus against colonialism was termed a “question” in the bourgeois press. Later, using the divisive effects of bourgeois nationalism, imperialist centres incited “inter-communal discord”. Then, taking advantage of this “discord” and the intervention of Greece, the finance-capital of Turkey invaded Cyprus in July 1974. It proceeded to colonise the third of the island that it had seized.

Six years have passed since the invasion. Successive Turkish governments have carried out a transfer of population from Turkey to the occupied territory of Cyprus equal in number to its indigenous population, both in order to assimilate the Turkish people of Cyprus, and to secure the future of the occupied region. Today more than 20,000 troops and hundreds of state and civilian employees are standing guard over the area on behalf of Turkish finance-capital.

Even the remotest parts of Northern Cyprus have been subjected to exploitation by Turkish monopolies.

As a result, everything from air transport to sea cargo, from the postal system to the currency has been seized by the Turkish state. While the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus has been presented to world public opinion as a federal part of Cyprus, it has in fact been made a province of Turkey.

This is a familiar tactic of the bourgeoisie of Turkey. It applied the same tactic and performed the same acrobatics among international contradictions 35-40 years ago in Hatay. Then too all the talk was of independence, neutrality and the "rights of Turks"(!) but suddenly, Turkish flags appeared all over Hatay, which was annexed to Turkey following negotiations with France. Our subject here is not Hatay, and we are not trying to establish an exact parallel with Cyprus. Nevertheless, observing the similarity in methods is important in arriving at a better understanding of what the bourgeoisie is doing today.

Today, behind the clamour of "our Turkish brothers" and "daughter-land", and threats of "independence", Northern Cyprus is being annexed to Turkey while, at the same time, it is being presented as an argument when begging for credits, etc.

As with any other question of our era, the Cyprus question cannot be considered in isolation from the struggle between the two systems. It is a matter of the imperialist centres versus the solution proposed by the Soviet Union and the socialist countries, and supported by many other countries: an immediate end to Turkey's occupation of Northern Cyprus, the withdrawal of all foreign troops and weapons from the island, a solution to the problem through negotiations between the two communities unhindered by external interference, and an international conference to resolve the international

aspects of the question.

However, as the communists of a country directly involved in the question, we cannot be content merely to support this solution in statements and to draw up lists of the interests of imperialism in Cyprus. This is what the mensheviks have been doing with a very authoritative air for years. Our duty is to expose the efforts of the finance-capital of Turkey, "our own bourgeoisie", to colonise Northern Cyprus, and to explain the tasks that face us as a result; to connect the Cyprus question with the struggle for revolution in Turkey. It is only then that we shall have genuinely worked to expose imperialist manoeuvres and for the realisation of the international solution that we support.

II. A Brief History of Cyprus

In order to arrive at a better understanding of the Cyprus question, it is useful to have a brief look at the history of Cyprus.

Because of its natural wealth and strategic location in particular, Cyprus has long drawn the attention of Mediterranean states. The country constantly changed hands in accordance with changes in the balance of power in the Mediterranean. Following the Genoese and the Venetians, it became one of the colonies of the Ottoman Empire in 1571. In 1878, during the Ottoman-Russian War, the Ottomans formed an alliance with Britain against Tsardom. According to the agreement, Cyprus was temporarily left to Britain.

During the First World War, the Ottomans took the side of imperialist Germany. For this reason, Britain, a member of the opposing imperialist front, included Cyprus among its colonies. With the Lausanne Treaty, Turkey gave up its rights of sovereignty over Cyprus.

The island remained a British colony until 1959. In that year, a treaty was signed in Zurich among Britain, Turkey and Greece. According to this treaty, Cyprus was

to become an independent republic. The three signatories to the treaty “guaranteed” the independence of the new republic.

The establishment of the Republic of Cyprus was officially announced after the London Treaty in 1960.

The Winning of Independence

The independence of Cyprus was won at the end of a long struggle. The seeds of struggle against colonialism had already accumulated among the people in the 1930's. Hatred for colonialism led to a spontaneous popular uprising in 1931. Relying on these sentiments among the people, and at the same time enjoying the support of the Greek bourgeoisie, a section of the Cypriot bourgeoisie launched a struggle against colonialism in 1950. The Greek General Grivas and Makarios founded the EOKA organisation for the purpose of waging a guerrilla war.

The struggle against colonialism was launched under the slogan of Enosis. The Enosis movement embraced both the bourgeois nationalism which, from the point of view of Cyprus, was of a progressive character, being directed against British colonialism, and the bourgeois nationalism of Greece directed at annexing Cyprus to Greece. This movement put its stamp on the struggle for the independence of Cyprus. The struggle against colonialism was waged under the hegemony of the bourgeoisie.

Although not strong enough to lead the struggle against colonialism, the working class was not absent. It took an active part in the struggle.

The Communist Party of Cyprus was founded in 1926. It functioned illegally. In 1941 AKEL was formed

as a legal party and the Communist Party was closed in 1944. From the 1940's onwards, the working class of Cyprus was organised in trade unions as well. Already in those years, the membership of the PEO (the Cyprus Workers' Federation) was approaching 11,000. The yellow trade union SEK had approximately 700 members.

There was a comprador bourgeoisie in Cyprus which controlled the trade sector. This wing of the bourgeoisie took the side of the colonialists. On the other hand, capitalism was developing against the pressures of British imperialism and under the wing of the church. Because of this the church dominated the anti-colonialist movement.

The church was a great political power in Cyprus due to both historical reasons and, connected with them, its economic strength. At the beginning of the 1960's, 10% of the entire land and 20% of the arable land in Cyprus belonged to the church. The EMA monopoly (Cyprus Mining Corporation) was in the hands of the church which also had many investments in the tourist industry, including many luxury hotels. The cooperative movement was also under the church's control. In short, to an important extent, the church represented developing capitalism in industry, agriculture and other spheres. This wing of the bourgeoisie was thus closely connected with the church.

The bourgeoisie in the Turkish section of Cyprus was very weak. During the war against colonialism, its efforts to itself become a candidate for comprador bourgeoisie led it to take sides with the British colonial rulers. Later, in his book "Five Minutes to Midnight", the colonial lickspittle Denktash tried to plead innocent and bury the past by saying that they had "supported

colonial rule because they were unaware of changing world conditions”.

By taking sides with the colonial rulers in the hope of becoming a comprador bourgeoisie, the Turkish bourgeoisie in Cyprus both came into conflict with the Greek comprador bourgeoisie and became an enemy of the independence movement. Already in the 1950's it engaged in provocations and incitements designed to separate the Turkish working people from the Greeks. As the struggle against colonialism was waged under the slogan of Enosis and reflected Greek-Cypriot bourgeois nationalism and, most importantly, as this nationalism, because of its class character, went as far as national oppression against the Turks, it had the effect of consolidating the influence of the Turkish-Cypriot bourgeoisie over the Turkish-Cypriot community. It kept the Turkish-Cypriot workers apart from active participation in the anti-colonial struggle and threw them into the lap of Denktash and the like.

Had the working class led the Cyprus war of liberation, it would have resisted bourgeois nationalism, would never have allowed it to turn around and oppress another people, and would have advanced proletarian internationalism. Bourgeois nationalism on the other hand, has a divisive effect among peoples even when it is of a just and anti-colonialist nature.

Thus, instigation of tension between the peoples who had been living together peacefully in Cyprus took place on the basis of a division created by bourgeois nationalism. We cannot explain this by reference solely to the manoeuvres of imperialism. Neither can we foil those manoeuvres without a struggle against bourgeois nationalism.

After Independence

After independence, capitalism began to develop rapidly in Cyprus. On the one hand, this just as rapidly developed and strengthened the working class. On the other hand, it aggravated the bourgeoisie's contradictions.

The EOKA had waged the struggle against colonialism under the slogan of Enosis. After independence however, Enosis was no longer on the agenda for an important section of the EOKA. This section, led by Makarios, continued to use the Enosis slogan frequently, but it no longer wanted Cyprus to be annexed to Greece.

At the same time, following independence, the development of capitalism was no longer confined to areas under the wing of the church. On the contrary, the capitalism now developing outside the church was compelled to compete with the power of the church which held a monopoly in such spheres as mining and the wine industry. If the cooperative movement and its bank were controlled by the church, the Bank of Cyprus was now becoming another focal point whose contradictions with the church, a state within a state, were mounting with every passing day.

In this way there emerged a section of the bourgeoisie whose interests led it to rely on Greece against the mighty power of the church. At the same time, a section of the EOKA organisation still hankered for Enosis. Thus the EOKA-B organisation was formed in 1970 on the basis provided by the uniting of these two trends. Having close links with the fascist leadership in Greece, the EOKA-B itself was of a fascist character.

After 1970, these contradictions within the Greek-Cypriot bourgeoisie became even sharper. The cooperative movement began to make important investments in

industry. Moreover, the church attempted to extend its influence to the sphere of banking. These developments led to such serious arguments that free enterprise in Cyprus was in danger(!).

The Turkish-Cypriot bourgeoisie too was striving mightily to enrich itself after independence. The Greek-Cypriot bourgeoisie was a powerful competitor. Thus the Turkish-Cypriot bourgeoisie became obsessed with creating its own sphere which no one else could enter, i.e., dividing the island. As there was now no British colonial rule upon which it could rely, it relied on imperialism in general, and Turkey in particular. Turkey had already been thinking for many years about the “rights of its kith and kin”(!).

Together with Turkey, the Kucuk’s and Denktash’s at the head of the Turkish-Cypriot community speeded up their work of inciting “inter-communal discord”. In the meantime, many Turkish revolutionaries were murdered at the hands of their “dear kith and kin”. Blaming the Greeks for these murders, the cry of “kinship” was raised. The old EOKA group, which wanted Enosis, was working along the same lines in the Greek sector. A section of the Greek-Cypriot bourgeoisie, as well as Greece itself, supported it. Thus, after 1963, attempts to drive a wedge between the two peoples flared up again.

It was not an “inter-communal clash” but in reality the contradictions between and the interests of various sections of the bourgeoisie and imperialist centres that brought Cyprus to its present-day state. First a fascist coup was carried out in 1974. Then, Turkish finance-capital, under the command of the patriotic officer Ecevit, brought “peace and freedom” to the island!

In conclusion, let us once again emphasize the

following point: those who say that the problem on the island is merely a plot on the part of US imperialism and NATO are helping to widen the gap between the two communities, i.e., they are aiding the plots of the US and NATO. They are opening the door for the domestic bourgeois nationalism of the island. And it is this which provides the basis for the manoeuvres of imperialism.

To deliver “anti-imperialist” speeches without referring to the nationalism of the Greek-Cypriot or Turkish bourgeoisie is to take the side of domestic bourgeois nationalism against foreign bourgeois nationalism. It divides the working class. This brief history of Cyprus vividly confirms the following words of Lenin:

“Those who seek to serve the proletariat must unite the workers of all nations, and unswervingly fight bourgeois nationalism, *domestic* and foreign’.¹

It is Lenin who has underlined the word “domestic”!
Let us underline it in life!

III. The Attitude of the Opportunists

When the Cyprus events exploded in 1974, an unprecedented deluge of nationalism swept across Turkey. The Communist Party of Turkey (TKP) put forward the most internationalist attitude in this storm. Its attitude was unique in Turkey, and it retained a beneficial effect in the years that followed.

Nevertheless, if there was one good aspect in the attitude of the Central Committee of the TKP, it was outweighed a thousand times by its more unsavoury aspects.

Internationalism and Tailism do not Mix

After the coup in Cyprus, but before the invasion, the Political Bureau of the TKP issued a statement dated 17 July 1974. This Statement was published only in *Yeni Cag* (the Turkish edition of *World Marxist Review*). For some reason(!) it was not published in *Atilim* (the central organ of the Central Committee of the TKP). The Statement contained the following:

“An attempt has been made to create a situation in which the extreme reactionary and collaborating circles and the militarist clique which want to further trim the already restricted democratic rights which exist in Turkey and *put the government in a difficult position*, could exploit the mood of war and tension” (our italics).

At that time the government consisted of the Ecevit-Erbakan coalition. In March 1974, *Atilim* had demanded that this government “apply a revolutionary programme” and, on behalf of the popular masses, had given the government a certain period of time in which to do so.² So the main concern of the Political Bureau immediately prior to the invasion of Cyprus was the possibility of the government being put in a difficult position!

The same mentality is reflected in the Central Committee Appeal, dated 20-25 July 1974 and published immediately after the invasion:

“They have resorted to a variety of pressures and manoeuvres in order to present the overthrow of the Cyprus government by US imperialism, NATO and the fascist junta in Greece as a *fait accompli*. The government of Turkey took a different stand. The Turkish army landed on the island. A war broke out between the Turkish troops and units loyal to the Greek junta.

“In its statement, the Turkish government has emphasized that it ‘has not brought war and bloodshed to the island’, and that it wishes to reinstate the legal government.

“The Turkish government must act decisively to

ensure that the Security Council's resolutions are accepted at the Geneva Conference. For these resolutions accord with the statement made by the government. The Communist Party of Turkey demands that the government keep the promise it made in its first statement.

“There are reactionary circles in Turkey, who, under the pretext of ‘liberation’, would like to occupy a part of the island. They are inciting chauvinism”.

It is explicitly stated that the government of Turkey adopted an attitude different from that of American imperialism and NATO. Different in what sense? The answer to this question is revealed in the appeal to the government to keep its promise. Thus the government was a government which could choose not to bring bloodshed and war to the island, a government which might keep its promise! In other words, the government differed from American imperialism and NATO in being anti-imperialist!

On top of that, it is not the government, but reactionary circles which are fanning chauvinist feelings. What the government must have been fanning then was not chauvinism, but some variety of anti-imperialist nationalism! After all, the government adopted an attitude “different” from that of the USA and NATO and went to Cyprus to defend(!) the rights of the oppressed Turkish nation. This is what the CC Appeal wanted to say.

These are all said after the Republican People's Party (RPP) government has invaded another country! The hopes expressed before the invasion that the government would “apply a revolutionary programme”(!) have not been shattered. On the contrary, the

invasion is almost presented as “part of the revolutionary programme”(!). As if the invasion is a part of a revolutionary programme, but there are those who wish to divert it from its “revolutionary” line and lay their hands on part of the island!

The rest of the Appeal directly contradicts the above, declaring that the TKP opposes any type of attack against the island, that the war on the island must be halted, and that Turkey must withdraw from NATO. The Appeal refers to the invasion of Cyprus, not as an attack, but as a military intervention.

The Appeal is eclectic, combining whitewashing the government with defence of the island’s independence. As a result, it gives the impression that the government is right in essence, but not in form. And this mistake in form, moreover, was provoked by the attempts of NATO, American imperialism and the Greek fascist junta to present the coup they had carried out on the island as a *fait accompli*.

However much it speaks against the war, by whitewashing the government which carried out the invasion, by creating the impression that the Turkish army could bring to the island something other than bloodshed and war, this Appeal is, in essence, contrary to proletarian internationalism. It is most probable that the subsequent swift change of tune was due to an internationalist warning!

Thus, the leading article in the 20-25 July 1974 issue of *Atilim*, the same issue in which the Appeal was published, contradicts the Appeal, and was obviously written after it. The leading article said as follows:

“Deputy Prime Minister Erbakan explained the aim of the landing in Cyprus. He said, ‘They will

divide the island'. This is not new. It was foreseen in the Atcheson plan: a dual application of 'Enosis'. This amounts to an admission that expressions such as 'peace and security' used by the government while troops were landing on the island were all empty words. Subservience to NATO is not the way to peace and security among peoples and nations.

"When, after the invasion, the Prime Minister talks about loyalty to NATO and the United States, and embraces the Chief of Staff Sancar as well as the statements made by the Deputy Prime Minister, he is implementing the fraudulent and adventurist policies of Demirel".

Such a complete about-face in the space of one or two weeks, and the reflection of two contradictory stands on the same page of the same issue of *Atilim*, this is truly an undesirable type of openness. As if great lessons had been drawn from life within one or two weeks! As if Prime Minister Ecevit, from opposing the US and NATO, had suddenly turned in the opposite direction!

Following this 180-degree turn in the attitude of the TKP leadership, an Appeal to the Army appeared, dated 14 August 1974. Leaving aside the intermingling of such concepts as "uniformed sons of the people" and "officers", the Appeal to the Army says the following:

"What has been brought to Cyprus is not peace and freedom, but war and destruction. American imperialism and the ruling circles in NATO want to carry out their plan of dividing Cyprus and turning it into a NATO base with the help of the government and the militarist clique led by the Chief of Staff Sancar. Those who cannot give bread or freedom to

the people, are arming and sending them into war adventures. They are striving to secure the system of exploitation and pillage with martial law, and to suppress the people's anti-imperialist liberation movement, to divert it from its aims with expansionist aims.

(...) "Mehmetcik, come home!"

The September issue of *Atilim* in which this Appeal, dated 14 August 1974, was printed, included an article entitled "What are our national problems?". The article says in passing: "The bourgeoisie ... by sending troops to the island, and by turning this into an attack". The tailist attitude is here justified with the claim that the first landing of the troops was not an attack. Sharp about-turns are explained in a "dialectical" fashion: the leadership of the TKP adopted one attitude when it was not an attack, another when it turned into an attack! Fine, but even the expression "when it was not an attack" is nothing more than a slightly insidious form of tailism.

A subsequent Political Bureau Statement dated 5 October is angry at the government, however, because it had quite openly left no room for tailism:

"Remaining faithful to NATO, the government sent the army against the independent state of Cyprus, a member of the United Nations, for the sake of the expansionist plans of American imperialists. It brought bloodshed and destruction and divided the Green Island. With this adventure, the Turkish bourgeoisie and its government became embroiled in contradictions, exposing themselves before the peoples of the world as aggressors, and becoming isolated in the United Nations".

At first it was stated that the government had adopted an attitude different from that of American imperialism and NATO in being anti-imperialist (!). Now it is said that the same government is serving the expansionist plans of the United States. The fact is that, by appearing before the peoples of the world as an aggressor, the Ecevit government had thus messed up a whole lot of tailism. That is why the October Statement is couched in such angry terms.

It is very interesting to glance through the *Atilims* which appeared during the invasion of Cyprus and the years that followed. There are articles containing passages on Cyprus, some of which are very good indeed. However, for example, the slogans for the first May Day following the invasion contain not a single reference to Cyprus. A statement issued by the Central Committee on 31 July 1975 in regard to the Helsinki Conference coincided with the anniversary of the invasion. Cyprus is not mentioned at all.

One cannot help thinking. The army invaded Cyprus; the invasion sabotaged the peace, and this suited the interests of NATO. Therefore one would think that articles on such subjects as peace, the army and NATO might perhaps have touched upon the invasion of Cyprus. There are many articles on these subjects. However, the overwhelming majority contain not a single word in regard to the invasion of Cyprus.

So hardly anything is said about Cyprus when discussing the army, peace and NATO. The invasion was carried out when the Ecevit government was in office. Is the invasion of Cyprus therefore mentioned at all in articles about the government, the RPP and Ecevit? There is no such thing. How could there be? For example, there is a whole series of statements in regard to general or by-

elections. The statements contain either a covert wink in the direction of the RPP or open support for it. It is natural that the same statements should hush up the fact that Cyprus was invaded by Ecevit. Ecevit is whitewashed in order to be able to hitch on to his tail.

The menseviks are hushing up the connection between the invasion of Cyprus and the Ecevit government. For this reason they are bound to hush up the question of Cyprus altogether. That is why Cyprus is never mentioned even when discussing such topics as the army, peace and NATO.

Hiding behind the slogan “The masses learn from their own experiences” and calling attempts to impart revolutionary consciousness “adventurism”, the menseviks are hushing up the very experiences from which the masses are supposed to learn.

In short, to rephrase the opportunists, tailism and internationalism do not mix. On the menseviks, an internationalist stand looks like someone else’s trousers, falling down every now and then. Either they say that Ecevit did well and the government adopted an attitude different from that of the United States and NATO in being anti-imperialist (!), or they imply that the government was in itself good, but did some bad things under the influence of imperialism. As for these bad things, they try to hush them up. Thus, the opportunists are whitewashing the “national bourgeoisie” and propagating nationalism.

Communism or Kemalism?

At first glance *Atilim* seems to be whitewashing only the RPP and the “national bourgeoisie” but denouncing the

collaborating monopoly bourgeoisie on the Cyprus question.

In actual fact, *Atilim's* whitewashing encompasses the monopoly bourgeoisie as well. The term "collaborating monopoly bourgeoisie" is used all the time, but the entire logic of what is said points only to collaborationism. *Atilim* denounces the monopoly bourgeoisie for its collaboration with imperialism. There is not even the slightest mention of its own interests in regard to Cyprus, interests which, like colonisation, stem from its monopoly character. As if the monopoly bourgeoisie itself does nothing "wrong" or, if it does, it is solely due to its collaboration with imperialism.

This logic of *Atilim* is exactly the same as that of Kautsky, who criticised the French and British imperialists but did not mention Germany's colonies; or that of Longuet who criticised Germany and Britain, but did not mention France's colonies. However, *Atilim's* logic reflects the level that Turkey has reached. Who knows what *Atilim* would say were Turkey to become an imperialist country!

A joint statement dated March 1976 and signed by the TKP, the Communist Party of Greece and AKEL states: "The three parties,... vehemently loathe and condemn the continuing aggression of Turkey, which is trying to colonise the region it has occupied". This statement was published in the April 1976 issue of *Atilim*. The idea that Turkey is colonising Northern Cyprus appears and disappears with this statement.

The duty of the communists of a country which attacks and colonises another country is to incessantly expose this fact to their own working class and people. The opportunists, however, are content merely to expose imperialism in Turkey. The most severe accusation they

bring against the bourgeoisie itself is of being under the influence of imperialism or collaborating with it. The opportunists refer to the conduct of the bourgeoisie in Turkey for the sole purpose of exposing imperialism. They never expose the bourgeoisie itself, not even the monopoly bourgeoisie. However, when it comes to foreign relations, e.g., in joint statements, etc., they say everything under the sun against the bourgeoisie in order to display their "internationalism".

This is not internationalism. It is manipulation. It is playing a role instead of fulfilling one's internationalist duties. This is a typical example of the centrist opportunism which characterises *Atilim*. What underlines it, however, is a deep nationalism.

The train of thought which *Atilim* advances with such centrist opportunist "expertise" is displayed in a more crude form in *Savas Yolu* (Road of Struggle). This journal's second issue said the following:

"The way out of the economic crisis is through achieving independence from imperialism, and 'being able to curtail' imperialism's collaborating monopolies inside the country. What has the RPP, which since 1974 has declared its class stand as one of 'curtailing the monopolies', done in this respect? Other than allowing the monopolies to curtail itself...

"The impasse of an economy which is closely dependent on international financial establishments and multinational imperialist monopolies can only be overcome by overcoming this dependence. And that is possible only with an anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly policy."

What is said up to this point are conclusions which can

easily be drawn from the polished words of *Atilim*. As for *Savas Yolu*, it is not even necessary to draw conclusions. They are all obvious. That is the difference between right opportunism and centrist opportunism.

“In today’s world, there are alternatives for a country like Turkey. A consistent and resolute anti-imperialist policy would offer possibilities of influencing the so-called ‘third world countries’ and of close cooperation with those which have progressive regimes as well as important sources of raw material and market opportunities. It has become obvious that this cannot be secured with foreign tours and relations based on friendship or a common religion alone, but that it demands a consistent and resolute foreign and economic policy.”

This is not anti-imperialism.

This is no longer even tailism towards the national bourgeoisie. This is tailism towards the “national monopoly bourgeoisie”, a desire for Turkey to become an imperialist country in its own right rather than the errand-boy of this or that imperialist power.

What *Savas Yolu* calls anti-monopolism is the curtailing of a certain section of the monopoly bourgeoisie. The same article talks about “breaking the power of the monopolies which are the domestic collaborators and accomplices of imperialism”, i.e. breaking the power, not of all the monopolies, but of some of the monopolies, and then not the monopolies themselves, but their power. In other words, to curtail them.

What *Savas Yolu* calls “achieving independence from imperialism” is Turkey’s emergence as an imperialist

power in its own right, no longer the errand-boy of other great imperialist powers. It also points out the way to achieve this: approach the third world countries with a "progressive" appearance against the big imperialist powers. Approach in sheep's clothing, it says, there are market possibilities. Friendly relations or those based on religious brotherhood are not enough.

What it amounts to is, behind the clamour of "anti-monopolism", taking sides in inter-monopoly contradictions. And behind the clamour of "anti-imperialism", the longing for an imperialist Turkey.

Savas Yolu pours it all out in a crude manner in its second issue. In doing so, it exposes the logic which lies behind the opportunists' phrases against American imperialism and NATO alone, and their hushing up of the reality of finance-capital in Turkey.

In its 18th issue the same *Savas Yolu* wails:

"The Ottoman Empire was a semi-colonial empire, divided up by imperialism. The situation of Kurdistan is the legacy of Ottoman despotism. With its destruction, Kurdistan was split up during the first imperialist war for division and assumed its present state. Turkey is a new state which waged a war of liberation against imperialism and achieved its political independence on the ruins of the Ottoman Empire.

"The situation of Turkey differs from that of the Ottoman Empire, it is not a situation that would enable her to have colonies. The chance of obtaining colonies has been wiped out in the epoch of imperialism."

So the new state is totally innocent in regard to the question of Kurdistan. That was handed down from the Ottomans. The new state is unable to acquire colonies.

Therefore there can be no question of such an urge in the invasion of Northern Cyprus. Perhaps *Savas Yolu* considers the concept of acquiring colonies applicable only within the old Ottoman boundaries. If only those big imperialist powers did not exist...

If there is monopoly capitalism in Turkey, it is in no way unable to acquire colonies (in the present meaning of the word). Given the existence of great imperialist powers, it cannot easily expand outwards. However, this does not mean that it can never become aggressive for that purpose. Kurdistan is an internal colony, and the invasion of Cyprus is a concrete example of aggression directed towards acquiring a colony.

Savas Yolu is "overlooking these objective truths". The two articles which at first glance seem to contradict each other, do in fact complement each other. One points out the way to become imperialist. The other hides the reality of colonies. One suggests to the RPP plans to become imperialist behind an "anti-imperialist" guise. The other hides from the masses the distance Turkey has "already travelled" on this road.

Behind anti-monopoly phrases the longing for "national monopoly"! Behind anti-imperialist phrases, the longing for an imperialist Turkey "independent of imperialism"(!). This is how far the petty-bourgeois take their tailism towards the nonexistent "national bourgeoisie" in the epoch of imperialism, when monopoly capitalism prevails.

Moreover, those who long for "national" (!) monopolies and imperialism have got hold of the fount and are trying to show *Iscinin Sesi* as outside the party. This is precisely what one calls "coming down from the mountain to drive out those in the valley". They are trying to drive the working class out of its own party! However,

30 The Attitude of the Opportunists

there is a "small" point that they seem to forget: this is not the **Kemalist Party of Turkey**, but the **Communist Party of Turkey**.

IV. Turkish Finance-Capital and the Occupation of Cyprus

We shall not attempt here to prove the existence of monopoly capitalism, finance-capital and state-monopoly capitalism in Turkey. The book, *Turkey — Weak Link of Imperialism* demonstrated this long ago.

Monopoly capitalism does exist in Turkey. Finance-capital dominates the economy of the country. Monopoly and the state are intertwined. State-monopoly capitalism exists. As a natural consequence of all these, the export of capital, i.e., expansion abroad, i.e., the “need” to acquire colonies, is on the agenda. The invasion of Cyprus was nothing other than a bloody step towards satisfying this “need”.

Iscinin Sesi expounded this truth years ago: “...What underlies the ‘peace operation’ to Cyprus, the hand of friendship being extended to Libya and Tunisia? What underlies the competition with Greece, ‘brotherhood’ with Iran, etc...? The monopoly bourgeoisie wants to expand.”³

It is necessary to clearly expose this policy of Turkey’s monopoly bourgeoisie.

The Essence of the Occupation is being Obscured

The essence of the occupation of Cyprus was, from the start, the desire of finance-capital to expand, to acquire colonies. However, this essence is either being obscured behind various “arguments” or is being brushed aside completely. Here we shall touch on three arguments being put forward to obscure the essence of the occupation. The first is the argument that the occupation cannot be linked with finance-capital because it was carried out by the Ecevit government. The second is the argument which asks what interests finance-capital could have in a tiny island. The third argument claims that Turkish finance-capital could not carry out such an act due to the presence of American imperialism.

All three arguments have a common denominator. They first deny the existence of finance-capital in Turkey. When the opposite is demonstrated, they admit its existence but claim it is not dominant. When its domination becomes clear, they hide behind the three arguments listed above and try to obscure the essence of the occupation of Cyprus.

Ecevit in the Service of Finance-Capital

War is the extension of class politics applied in peacetime. He who fails to understand class politics in periods of peace, will assuredly get bogged down when trying to interpret war.

Whether they intend it or not, those who fail to understand the existence of monopoly capitalism in Turkey, the country’s place in the imperialist system and,

in conjunction with this, the political positions of various classes and strata, inevitably end up by obscuring the interests pursued by finance-capital in occupying Cyprus and by justifying the occupation.

The fact that Cyprus was occupied by Ecevit does not prove that the occupation is unconnected with the interests of finance-capital. On the contrary, it proves that all bourgeois governments in Turkey are compelled to carry out the wishes of finance-capital.

In his work, *Imperialism — the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, Lenin said the following:

“A monopoly, once it is formed and controls thousands of millions, inevitably penetrates into every sphere of public life, regardless of the form of government and all other ‘details’ ”.⁴

Under conditions of the existence of monopoly capitalism, Lenin regards the form of government as a “detail”. The monopolies’ domination over the economy forces a government to choose: either to carry out the wishes of the monopoly bourgeoisie as a “detail” or, by relying on the revolutionary initiative of the masses, to smash the rule of finance-capital and the monopolies. Which road it will take is determined by the class nature of the particular government.

When we consider the rule of finance-capital in Turkey together with the class nature of the Republican People’s Party (RPP), we can easily deduce what can be expected from an Ecevit government in peace, or in war.

The RPP is a social-democratic party which, in general, acts as the spokesman of the non-monopoly bourgeoisie. Comrade Yurukoglu wrote the following on the nature of the non-monopoly bourgeoisie:

“If the removal of obstacles in the path of capitalism is on the agenda in a certain country, if capitalism is newly developing, then one can speak of a national bourgeoisie in that country. Otherwise, if capitalism has become the dominant mode of production in a country, the bourgeoisie of that country will become increasingly more reactionary. If monopolies have seized hold of the economy like an octopus, then *no section* of the bourgeoisie in that country can be expected to be capable of responding to the objective requirements of society or striking at the main enemy. For that would amount to striking at capitalism, to moving towards socialism.

“This fundamental postulate is also reflected on the socio-political level. The progressiveness, revolutionariness or nationalness of the bourgeoisie, or any section of it, is determined by *whether or not the proletariat has emerged as an independent force in its own right*.

“If the working class has established itself as an independent force in the social and political life of a given country (and that is only possible with the factory stage) *no section* of the bourgeoisie can any longer be expected to be revolutionary. The moment the working class enters the political stage as an independent force, the bourgeoisie becomes reactionary. In a society where the proletariat has achieved such strength, *no section* of the bourgeoisie can resolutely strike at the main enemy (imperialism and the monopolies), for that would amount to pulling the rug out from under its own feet.

“If we approach the question of the national bourgeoisie in the light of this generalisation, we will see that today, in the advanced capitalist-im-

perialist countries and the capitalist countries with a medium level of development, a national bourgeoisie which conforms to the characteristics in the definition *no longer exists*. Non-monopoly capital exists and is in a certain contradiction with monopoly capital. Nevertheless, this contradiction is a contradiction born of monopoly capital's domination over non-monopoly capital, a domination that is ensured by thousands of economic strings. For this reason, in imperialist countries, the non-monopoly bourgeoisie is not an autonomous force either economically, socially or politically. Nor is it any more of an autonomous force in countries at the transition stage. In regard to the so-called 'national bourgeoisie', the difference between the two groups of countries is not qualitative, but *quantitative*.”⁵

As far as Turkey is concerned, the conclusion to be drawn from this analysis is that the non-monopoly bourgeoisie is neither a revolutionary nor a democratic force. In that case, an RPP government can only be expected to act as a “detail” carrying out the wishes of the monopolies. By its very nature, the RPP is mortally terrified of the revolutionary energy of the masses. How could it be capable of acting against the rule of the monopolies by relying on this energy? The RPP's verbal populism performs no function other than that of tacking the masses more securely onto the tail of the monopolies. Such has been the case with the occupation of Cyprus.

Ecevit announced the occupation of Cyprus in the following words: “... The landing operation of the Turkish Armed Forces from air and sea has begun. God bless our nation and all Cypriots, all people. We believe that in this way we shall be performing a great service for humanity

and for peace.

“... the operation undertaken by Turkey in Cyprus for peace, brotherhood and liberty ...

“... not to invade Cyprus ...”

He called out to Cypriots as follows: “... We have come not to fight you, but to put an end to your misery”.

Ecevit made free use of such lofty words as “peace”, “brotherhood”, “liberty” and “humanity”. But he brought “misery” to Cyprus. He “performed a service” for a minority of “humanity” and for warmongering. Nothing else could have come of an RPP government in the third quarter of the 20th century in a Turkey under the rule of monopoly capitalism. Ecevit’s “fine” phrases could be no more than demagoguery to cover up the connection between the occupation of Cyprus and the expansionist aims of the monopolies.

The socio-economic structure of Turkey in the 1970’s determined the nature of the Cyprus events, whatever Ecevit’s “fine” phrases. Those who failed to make a correct Marxist-Leninist analysis of Turkey before the occupation understood the occupation, not for what it was, but from Ecevit’s lying words.

The Fable of a Tiny Island

It has been said: “Why should Turkish finance-capital spend millions to occupy a tiny island like Cyprus?”

Such a question arises either from a wrong understanding of the phenomenon of finance-capital or from a desire to resist understanding it due to a petty-bourgeois outlook.

In exposing Kautsky’s interpretation of imperialism,

Lenin said the following:

“The characteristic feature of imperialism is precisely that it strives to annex *not only* agrarian territories, but even most highly industrialised regions (...), because 1) the fact that the world is already partitioned obliges those contemplating a *redivision* to reach out for *every kind* of territory, and 2) an essential feature of imperialism is the rivalry between several great powers in the striving for hegemony, i.e., for the conquest of territory, not so much directly for themselves as to weaken the adversary and undermine *his* hegemony.”⁶

Again, Lenin says:

“Finance-capital is interested not only in the already discovered sources of raw materials but also in potential sources, because present-day technical development is extremely rapid, and land which is useless today may be improved tomorrow if new methods are devised (...), and if large amounts of capital are invested ... finance-capital in general strives to seize the largest possible amount of land of all kinds in all places, and by every means, taking into account potential sources of raw materials and fearing to be left behind in the fierce struggle for the last remnants of independent territory, or for the repartition of those territories that have been already divided.”⁷

Lenin’s words are equally valid for Turkish finance-capital striving to become imperialist. In the *first* place, in a world long since partitioned by giant rivals, a world

moreover “considerably reduced” by the socialist system, Turkey’s finance-capital will crave any and every piece of land still available. The wailing of TFSC representatives, themselves nothing more than an extension of Turkish finance-capital, that “the real wealth lies in the south” is an indication of the craving felt for Southern Cyprus as well.

Secondly, while craving any kind of land, Turkey’s finance-capital will be taking into account not only already exploited resources and short-term profits, but potential resources and future bonanza opportunities as well. For example, tourism was an important source of foreign currency for the island before the occupation. Such “possibilities” as those of making Famagusta an open port and Marash a free region can also be classified among potential resources.

Thirdly, in order for Turkey’s finance-capital to seize Cyprus using barbaric methods, it need not be thinking merely of its own direct interests. There are also “problems” such as using it as a trump card against its rivals, to weaken them. Denktash’s repeated threats to “proclaim an independent Turkish state” are a vivid example of how Cyprus is being used as such a trump card. In addition, preventing its rival, Greek finance-capital, from exhibiting an “interest” in the island, is another important “problem” for Turkey’s finance-capital.

A Leninist understanding of the essence of finance-capital leaves no room for the idea that the occupation and colonisation of Cyprus by Turkish finance-capital must yield large and immediate profits or that the occupation of a small island is of “no value”. Moreover, finance-capital has not come out of the occupation empty-handed. We shall return to this below.

Turkey would not Dare while American Imperialism Exists

It has been said that "As long as American imperialism, etc., exists, Turkey cannot possibly colonise the island".

Referring to such countries as Belgium and Holland in this book *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, Lenin says the following:

"These small states mostly retain their colonies only because the big powers are torn by conflicting interests, friction, etc., which prevent them from coming to an agreement on the division of spoils."⁸

These words of Lenin confirm that the existence of big imperialist powers does not constitute an obstacle to small states acquiring and retaining colonies. On the contrary, as long as big imperialist powers exist, there will also be frictions between them and this enables the small countries to engage in colonialism.

Moreover, the "possibilities" for Turkish finance-capital to colonise Northern Cyprus depend not only on contradictions among big imperialist powers, but also on American imperialism's own internal contradictions. According to the newspaper *Hurriyet*, the American Senate is sometimes divided into pro-Turkish and pro-Greek sections. *Hurriyet* reports this in a manner designed to incite nationalism and to drive a wedge between the peoples of Turkey and Greece, distorting a fact in a way that suits its own propaganda aims.

The fact distorted is this: Turkey, which for years has acted as an errand-boy for the United States, has become a sore spot within American imperialism itself and in the

context of the contradictions among various financial circles. Turkish finance-capital's exertions towards establishing colonies can find a favourable atmosphere among these contradictions as well.

Putting Subjective Illusions before Objective Realities

In the previous section we touched upon views which camouflage the essence of the occupation, views which are aimed at hiding the obvious. In other words, the problem is not one of failure to understand a complex situation but one of complicating an otherwise obvious and clear situation by regarding it from petty-bourgeois class positions.

The situation is absolutely clear. *First of all*, the bourgeois press reported the essence of the matter even in the course of the invasion itself, in a fashion that left no room for interpretation. *Secondly*, the 6 years since the invasion have provided ample factual evidence as to what is what. To persist, in the face of all these, in asking whether or not it can colonise, whether or not it wants to colonise, is nothing but putting petty-bourgeois subjective illusions before objective realities. Now let us briefly look at the objective realities.

Even the Bourgeois Press Revealed the Essence of the Invasion

While various views aimed to hide the essence of the invasion by saying that it had taken place while Ecevit was

in office, or asking what could be expected from a tiny island, etc., the bourgeois press announced in an absolutely clear manner the aim of the invasion and what was to be expected from it, even while the invasion was in progress.

Eighteen days after the invasion, Ali Gevgilili wrote the following:

“... Ankara’s influence in Cyprus will create altogether new prospects which will increase the economic benefits to be had from foreign relations with Western Europe, the Soviet Union, and, in particular, the Middle East. It is necessary to make use of these opportunities, on the mainland as well as in Cyprus, to increase *economic strength* in particular... Turkey’s prospects in regard to foreign sources will increase immensely with the new status...”⁹

Dundar Soyer, former president of the İzmir Chamber of Commerce, posed the problem even more frankly:

“From now on it will be necessary to regard the Cyprus problem as a whole, taking into account all the political, social and economic aspects, and to resolve it accordingly... We will now think of Cyprus as more than just a geographical extension of the mainland; namely as one of *our economic units*, which has developed economically and united with us and where our brothers live. It will be *possible to establish an effective integration between the two fraternal economies which will be profitable for both*. The island can become a *new sphere of investment* for Turkish entrepreneurs, provided that the necessary

work is undertaken in order to establish infra-structural foundations. The relations between Cyprus and the EEC will facilitate this in some respects.

“Uniting the realistic and progressive views of the businessmen of mainland and daughter-land will be helpful both in securing the necessary capital for investment and in opening up fields of investment... From now on we must regard the economy of Cyprus, other than the differences which stem from the special political conditions in which it finds itself, as an integral part of the economy of the motherland... The Cyprus peace operation is only a beginning. This operation will come to an end when, and only when, the political, social and economic unity of the Turkish community on the island has been ensured.”¹⁰

The chairman of the Association of Industrialists and Businessmen of Turkey, Feyyaz Berker, expressed the following view:

“We have undertaken preparations to create a Cyprus self-sufficient from the economic point of view (...) As representatives of businessmen we are striving to provide Cyprus with self-sufficient economic strength. We have begun preparations with this in mind.”¹¹

Many more examples could be cited from the bourgeois press. But even the examples given above are sufficient to clearly reveal the essence of the matter. They speak openly for integration, a new sphere of investment, taking advantage of relations between Cyprus and the EEC, and how businessmen are preparing for an economic invasion. What the bourgeois press had said so openly, the petty-bourgeois press, seemingly “socialist”, tried to cover up.

The Helping Hand Extended to the “Daughter-Land”(!)

First “our army”(!) and then “our businessmen” invaded Cyprus. The following data will suffice to show what happened after that.

The official currency of Cyprus, the Cyprus lira, was abandoned and *the Turkish lira was adopted as the official currency!*

Soon after the invasion, 30-odd public and private enterprises brought their “services” to Northern Cyprus.¹²

The postal system of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus was annexed to the Republic of Turkey. Mail to Cyprus must be addressed: Mersin-10/Turkey.

The telephone-telex link to the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus is via Turkey.

The Turkish Maritime Bank took over the TFSC sea transport. The airlines of Northern Cyprus fly planes rented from Turkish Airlines.

The Turkish Agricultural Bank was declared the Central Bank of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus. All Republic of Turkey banks opened branches in the TFSC.

All the Cyprus currency in the banks was confiscated immediately after the invasion and reimbursed in Turkish lira. (The Cyprus lira was more valuable than British sterling!)

Turkey is a partner in the State Economic Enterprises (SEE) in the TFSC. Their management is in the hands of Turkey. Moreover, “The State Economic Enterprises have been filled with representatives of the private sector from Turkey and Cyprus and these people have not hesitated to abandon any sphere that does not suit them”.¹³

The manager of the Tourism Bank of Turkey is also

the president of the board of directors of Cyprus Turkish Tourism Enterprises.

All these enterprises which have brought their "services" to Northern Cyprus do not pay taxes there. Among those listed as not paying taxes in 1979 are such well known names as Is Bank, Aksigorta A.S., Marine Bank Sea Transport (Denizcilik Bankasi Deniz Nakliyat), Ziraat Bank and others.

Half of the capital of the Cyprus Turkish Industrial Enterprises Holding Ltd. (K.T. Sanayi Isletmeleri Holding Ltd.) founded in 1975 belongs to private and state enterprises in Turkey. This holding embraces 40 enterprises and showed a profit of two million Turkish lira in 1978. Thus half of this two million is profit from the exploitation of another people by Turkish finance-capital and its state!

It is difficult to find more detailed figures regarding Turkish investments in Cyprus. However, all the "services" enumerated above are clearly operated not for "aid" purposes but for profit. Why do those who cry out against American "aid" to Turkey not cry out against Turkey's "American-style aid" to Northern Cyprus? This is a requirement of genuine anti-imperialism and genuine internationalism. Never mind. Let us continue with our examples.

40% of Cyprus is under occupation. Billions of liras of wealth have been expropriated in the occupied region:

"At the end of August 1974, there was inestimable wealth in the TFSC region...

"There were hundreds of factories, hundreds of thousands of hectares of citrus fruit gardens, hotels with facilities for thousands of tourists, hundreds of thousands of hectares of fertile land, as many olive

trees, and the wealth in millions of abandoned cities and towns. Three ports and one airport....”¹⁴

Now let us take a brief look at Turkey’s “foreign”(!) trade relations with Northern Cyprus.

If we look at the trade relations between Turkey and Cyprus prior to 1974, Turkey’s exports to Cyprus were:

in 1972	626,000KL (23,000,000TL)
in 1973	1,447,777KL (52,000,000TL)

(Note: At that time 1 Cyprus lira (KL)=36 Turkish lira (TL).)¹⁵

At the end of 1974, together with Turkey’s occupation, the TFSC’s trade with Turkey multiplied many times over.

(I)

Year	TFSC imports from Turkey (in TL)
1975	—
1976	500,120,496
1977	585,528,588
1978	823,901,081
1979	1,446,000,000

These figures were taken from TFSC import-export statistics for the year 1978. The figure for 1979, however, was taken from the TFSC weekly information bulletin, *Kuzey Kıbrıs (Northern Cyprus)*.

(II)

Year	TFSC exports to Turkey as percentage of total exports
1975	42.5%
1976	38.4%
1977(April)	31.1%
1978(April)	25.7%
1979(April)	13.0%

These figures were taken from *Northern Cyprus*.

Thus, after the invasion, Turkey's exports to Northern Cyprus were in 1977 ten times those of 1973, in 1979 30 times. The TFSC exports to Turkey are constantly declining, however, as they are banned by Turkey. Vehbi Koc explained (!) this as follows: "The TFSC capitalist class is getting hold of the foreign exchange of Turkish workers in Europe and England. Then it is turning around and, in TFSC markets, selling to Turkey European goods bought with this foreign exchange."¹⁶

All the figures prove concretely that Turkish finance-capital is colonising Northern Cyprus. So too does the insolent attitude of Turkey's finance-capitalists who are aping their own masters in this as well.

The Situation of Northern Cyprus

Comrade Yurukoglu wrote the following in regard to Northern Cyprus:

"Looking at the existence there of a show

government, we may say that the Turkish section is a semi-colony of Turkey. That this is so is due largely to international situation. Nevertheless, the economy of the occupied region is to a great extent closely dependent on Turkey."¹⁷

The fact is that Northern Cyprus is a colony which looks like a semi-colony of Turkey because Turkey could not directly annex it due to international conditions. The Cyprus Turkish administration which appears as the government of a federated state operates as the government of a province of Turkey. The Turkish section of the island is in every respect economically and politically bound, not to the island's Greek section, but to Turkey.

After occupying Northern Cyprus, Turkey imposed the Turkish lira as currency, both in order to exploit the region in "comfort" and unrestricted by her own dearth of foreign exchange, and in order to isolate the economy of Northern Cyprus from the south and bind it to herself. Turkey brought over and settled down with her State Economic Enterprises and banks, breaking the Northern economy off from the outside world and binding it totally to herself.

It is absurd to speak about political independence in regard to a piece of land that has been occupied and whose economy, even its currency, is totally dependent on an external power. The TFSC leaders are in any case "experienced cadres" who waged a "hard struggle" throughout their lives in order to become the governors of a colony.

With these cadres Turkey does what she wants in Northern Cyprus, or makes others do it. Turkey controls everything from the sacking of directors to the taking of any and all decisions.

The most striking example of this are the restrictions

on imports and exports. Through the Denktash administration, Turkey has banned the TFSC from importing certain goods. On the other hand, she has placed severe restrictions on imports into Turkey from the TFSC, thus turning Northern Cyprus into both a market and a source of foreign exchange. Certain goods that suit Turkey, Northern Cyprus will buy only from Turkey. At the same time, the TFSC will gain foreign exchange by selling certain other goods abroad. In the meantime, a healthy profit will be ensured for Turkey's investments.

Coming to the Turkish bourgeoisie in Cyprus, for years it shouted about Turkey and incited Turkish Cypriots against Greek Cypriots. But it did not do this for love of "Turkishness". Its aim was to set up its own region against its strong competition, the Greek-Cypriot bourgeoisie, and to strengthen itself through "trade" and "business" with Turkey.

A significant section of the Turkish-Cypriot bourgeoisie was annoyed when the doors of Turkey closed. A press statement issued by the Turkish-Cypriot Chamber of Commerce on 18 October 1978 said the following:

"We do not understand the fact that, while all imaginable goods can be freely exported from the Republic of Turkey to the TFSC and in total violation of Turkey's existing protocol, only about 100 goods from the TFSC are allowed to enter Turkey. How is it that the trade rights the Common Market, i.e., England, Germany, France and Italy, has granted Turkey, are not granted to us by Turkey? We cannot understand this either. Any citizen or enterprise of Turkey can conduct any kind of business in the TFSC, open a bank or an office, participate in delegations

and be found in any branch of industry, but the poor citizen of the island TFSC cannot do any of these in Turkey. We cannot understand this either.

“Let no one try to shut us up or ask us who we think we are. Because the Cypriot Turk who experienced years of repression wants to taste the second of the aims of the Peace Operation. He wants economic freedom.”

This confirms that, whatever the IMF and the EEC have imposed against Turkey, Turkey has done a thousand times worse in Northern Cyprus. Let those who shout against the IMF and the EEC in Turkey take a look at their “local” IMF’s and EEC’s. Otherwise, under the guise of anti-imperialism, they will be doing nothing more than taking the side of their “own finance-capital” in its contradictions with its great partners!

Let us turn to Northern Cyprus. In its official newspaper dated 26 July 1979, the Council of Ministers of the TFSC published a “Decree” according to which the TFSC was forbidden to import 108 goods other than from Turkey. The banned goods included “certain foodstuffs, motorised vehicles, alcoholic beverages, medicines and electrical appliances”...¹⁸

This evoked broad dissension among the people. The unofficial weekly publication of the Republican Turkish Party, *Yeni Duzen (New Order)* said the following on the matter:

“The ‘decree’ directly envisages Northern Cyprus as a province. It aims at the division of Cyprus.

“... It appears that this decree was written under foreign inspiration, that it is aimed at dividing

Northern Cyprus and having it governed by a governor, that trade relations with Southern Cyprus have been banned. It does not accord with the integrity of Cyprus.

“In this situation the reason why this decision was adopted becomes certain. The decision was taken on the advice of *authorities in Turkey*. On the one hand, the Turkish Cypriot economy is becoming tied to the economy of Turkey as a part of the policy of uniting with Turkey ...”¹⁸

The decree in question was changed in April 1980. In a small concession, the 108 goods were reduced to 15! But the remaining 15 are the most vital. That is, the TFSC cannot import from abroad any important products of Koc or the Association of Employers in the Metal Industry (MESS): “Motorised vehicles not originating in Turkey refrigerators, washing machines, crystal chandeliers, carpets...”²⁰.

The same Koc and MESS bosses who are the main enemy of our working class, of the Turkish and Kurdish working people, are responsible for the occupation and colonisation of Northern Cyprus. Our working class must raise its struggle against the occupation of Northern Cyprus as well. It must make its class enemies account for this as well. It must play a more active role at the side of the people of Northern Cyprus.

V. The Cyprus Question – Rights, Proposals and Tasks

The National Composition of Cyprus

The Greek-Cypriots, who make up the overwhelming majority of the two communities living in Cyprus, have a long-standing national kinship with Greece. However, as time passed, the Greek-Cypriots became a nation. They unified the island's economy separate from Greece. As this took place on a separate land, the result was the emergence in language, culture and psychological make-up of characteristics different from those of the Greeks.

The fact that the demand for Enosis has gradually subsided since the establishment of the independent Republic of Cyprus is an indicator of this. In the struggle against British colonialism, the Enosis slogan had gradually begun to acquire the meaning of receiving support from Greece. It has been pushed into the background, however, with the success of the Greek-Cypriot national movement. This situation has made Greece anxious and resulted in the reestablishment of the

EOKA and such coup attempts as Sampson's.

Today the Greek-Cypriots are a separate nation. Just as there exist long-standing kinship between Spain, Portugal and the Latin American nations, between Britain and the United States, Canada, etc., there is the same between the Greek-Cypriots and Greeks.

As for the Turkish-Cypriots, prior to the 1950's they constituted a national minority. They lived scattered on the island, and were fast being assimilated within Greek-Cypriot society.

In the 1950's the situation changed with the start of the anti-colonial struggle under the Enosis slogan. Both the feeble Turkish-Cypriot bourgeoisie, which was hankering to become a comprador, and Turkey, which had an eye on the island and worried that it might go to Greece, began to fan nationalism among the Turks. Fighters were trained in military camps in Turkey with the direct support of the Turkish army. Compulsory campaigns such as "From Turk to Turk" were inaugurated. A feeling of hostility towards Greek Cypriots was beginning to be instilled.

The Turkish-Cypriot nationalism that was thus provoked performed a reactionary function in the anti-colonial struggle. Greek-Cypriot nationalism on the other hand, had an anti-imperialist essence. Nevertheless, due to its bourgeois nationalist character, it had some repressive aspects even when performing a progressive function. It served to aggravate the reactionary Turkish nationalism.

The development of capitalism on the island speeded up after independence. So too did the competition between the Turkish-Cypriot bourgeoisie and the much stronger Greek-Cypriot bourgeoisie. Both their quarrel and divisive efforts on the part of Turkey and Greece in pursuit of their respective colonial interests, had the effect

of a aggravating the national question to an extreme degree.

Following independence, Turkish-Cypriot nationalism was openly directed towards the aim of a separate region. In the meantime, Turks in both Turkey and Cyprus organised "Division or Death" meetings and a Turkish-Cypriot administration was set up. It started to take decisions which completely ignored the existence of the central state. Turkish settlement was gradually concentrated in one region. In 1974, first an autonomous region and then the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus were declared.

In other words, while Turkish-Cypriots still constituted a national minority, they were drawn into the process of becoming a nation with sophisticated provocations carried out on the basis of the capitalist development of the island. Since 1974 in particular, Turkey has been striving to influence this process of becoming a nation in every way possible, economic, social, political and cultural, and, relying on the occupation army, to forcefully assimilate Turkish-Cypriots.

In the Turkish-Cypriot section the process of becoming a colony and that of becoming a nation are advancing together. The fact that Turkey's finance-capital, because of its class nature, has been striving to assimilate them by force, rather than voluntarily, is no doubt having the effect of shattering illusions of the "Motherland Turkey", illusions that had been inculcated among Turkish-Cypriots for many years, and of stirring their consciousness of being a separate nation.

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In order not to divide the working class and working people, it is necessary to defend the most democratic

solution of a national question, even if it has been aroused and fanned with provocations and for colonial aims, etc. Otherwise one serves the aims of the provocateurs.

In this respect, the first thing that must be emphasised in regard to Cyprus, is that both Greek and Turkish Cypriots have the right to freely determine their own destiny.

We said that the Greek-Cypriots constitute a separate nation. Even so they have the right to join Greece, that is, the right of "Enosis" if they so wish.

In TKP Publications one often sees opposition to Enosis, but it is never stated that this is a right. To speak against Enosis without recognising this right is Turkish nationalism. One may be against Enosis, but this cannot go any further than being against the use of a right in a particular way. The right itself is inalienable. The mensheviks always forget the word "right" in the national question!

As for the Turkish Cypriots, they too have the right of self-determination. Yes, if a referendum were to be held in the Turkish section today, it is highly probable that the majority would still support the idea of joining Turkey. But it is not enough just to say this.

First of all, a democratic referendum cannot be held today. For this it would be absolutely necessary to end the occupation. Secondly, in any case, a democratic unity could not be established without recognising the rights of the Turks on the island as well. For this reason, it is necessary to defend rights in any eventuality. Thirdly, the Turkish-Cypriot people have formed their views about Turkey under the influence, first and foremost, of Turkey's bourgeoisie, and of divisive attitudes serving the interests of imperialism in general and of the Greek-Cypriot bourgeoisie in particular. And, since the invasion, the

morale of the Turkish Cypriot people has been worn down, and is being worn down with every passing day.

The Turkish-Cypriots were under the influence of propaganda of an abstract "motherland". Now they have had six-years' first-hand knowledge of Turkey. Having glorified the "Turkish army" they found themselves facing an invading army. Having said "motherland", they found themselves facing a club-wielding, colonialist. With every passing day, they are understanding better that "daughter-land" means "colony".

The finance-capital of Turkey has no "high" aims. Its aim is to acquire colonies. The Turkish-Cypriots are beginning to realise that they leaped out of the pan and into the fire. They fell under repression by their own "kith and kin". This harsh reality is changing the consciousness of the Turkish-Cypriot people. And it is pushing them to take another look at their relations with the Greek-Cypriot people.

Greek and Turkish-Cypriots have the right to self-determination. First, acceptance of this right is the fundamental condition for a secure and democratic unity. Secondly, in order for the peoples of the island to freely exercise this right, it is necessary to struggle against the colonialist finance-capital of Turkey in particular, and against imperialism and all manner of bourgeois nationalism in general.

There are certain tasks that this struggle places before us. First and foremost is that of raising in our region the banner of proletarian internationalism and the slogan of fraternity between the peoples against imperialism and bourgeois nationalism. This too has several aspects:

1. As the proletariat of the invading, colonising country, the proletariat of Turkey must raise its powerful voice against the occupation of Cyprus, and its

revolutionary struggle against the occupying colonialist finance-capital. It must educate the Turkish and Kurdish working people in the struggle against every type of nationalist influence and occupation.

2. The working class of Cyprus must resolutely defend the right of the peoples of the island to self-determination, and eradicate the harmful vestiges of all types of bourgeois nationalism. While leading the working people in the struggle against the colonialist finance-capital of Turkey, it must at the same time give active support to the revolutionary struggle in Turkey. Turkey is living through a revolutionary situation. The victory in Turkey of the advanced democratic people's revolution which will grow into socialism will be an important step forward, not only in expelling the invaders from Cyprus, but also against imperialism and warmongering in our region.

3. Among these tasks, revolutionary solidarity between the working class and people of the occupying country and the workers and working people of the occupied region occupies a special place. Aside from and included in the unity of general interests, there is also unity directed towards certain particular, direct and concrete aims in the struggle against the occupiers. Success in the struggle against occupation proceeds first and foremost through the unity of the workers and working people for revolutionary struggle. This requires firm organisational ties and relations between the proletariat of Turkey and that of Northern Cyprus. Not only solidarity in words, but close coordination in the revolutionary struggle against the colonialist and invading finance-capital of Turkey, and its representatives in Northern Cyprus!

When Poland was under German occupation during the First World War, Polish communists remained in the

same organisation with the Bolsheviks until it was clear that the occupation had come to an end. At the same time they were closely connected with the German communist movement as well.

At the end of 1916, Poland became a constitutional monarchy with Germany and Austria-Hungary as the joint guarantors. However, the Polish communists could not entirely sever themselves from the Bolsheviks. The revolutionary situation in Russia was maturing. They joined the revolutionary struggle and fought for the victory of the glorious October Revolution. Among these great revolutionaries, Dzerjinsky will never be forgotten for the duties he undertook in the formation of the young Soviet State!

Proletarian internationalism is the international solidarity of the workers for revolution. It is the remedy for all manner of divisive wounds inflicted by bourgeois nationalism and colonialism. What will heal the wound inflicted on Cyprus too is the joint revolutionary struggle of the workers and, under their leadership, the working people, against imperialism and domestic reaction, on the basis of proletarian internationalism.

Down with the occupying colonialist finance-capital of Turkey!

Down with imperialism!

Long live proletarian internationalism!

Long live revolution!

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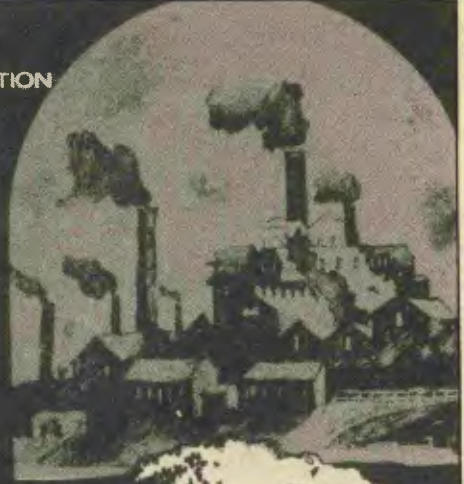
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