

The Emergence of the Cyprus Republic from the Turkish Cypriot Point of View: *Halkın Sesi*'s stance towards the bicommunal endeavour and its clash with local Greek and English language newspapers (1959-1960)

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Abstract

This article attempts to add to the limited yet very informative knowledge regarding the period 1959-1960 and fill a gap in modern Cypriot historiography. It sheds light on the role played by Halkın Sesi in the establishment of the bicommunal republic. Besides, it focuses on the interaction of the Turkish Cypriot newspaper with the other local media of the period. The article discusses the positive aspects and the complications which emerged during the transitional period. Furthermore, it summarises the attitude of the local newspapers towards the power-sharing project, the role of the economic factors, the overshadowing the basic constitutional principles, and the emergence of segregate electoral democracies during the establishment of the short-lived bicommunal Cyprus Republic.

Keywords: Cyprus Problem, decolonisation, Greek Cypriots, Turkish Cypriots, *Halkın Sesi*, press

Introduction: The emergence of bicommunal democracy through the eyes of *Halkın Sesi*

My request to all my friends (Turkish, Greek) is that they focus their energy on one point, which is to work hand in hand to sow the seeds of happiness in this land. We have countless things to do ahead. We all agree that our path is tough and difficult. However, there is no doubt that if we act in good faith we will be able to defeat all the difficulties early. We are the ones who will give Cyprus an honourable place among the nations of the world. The independence, freedom, and honour are Cyprus' rights. I would like to stress that the understanding and

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cooperation of Turkey, Greece and Britain resulted in an agreement granting rights and freedoms to both communities of the island. This is the best service that could be done to world peace and humanity. Our task is to follow the strategy of these three governments and work to build a permanent peace on the island.³

On 16 August 1960, the day of the proclamation of the new republic, the leader of the Turkish Cypriot community delivered this speech as the British colonial administration was handing over the baton of governance to the bicomunal Republic of Cyprus. The speech was published by *Halkın Sesi* which like the other newspapers in Cyprus informed its readers that the transitional period and the process of transferring power was completed. As the last Governor of Cyprus, Sir Hugh Foot, put it this was a transition from ‘colonial rule to Agreement rule’.⁴

The declaration of independence was a product of the decolonisation process which peaked between February 1959 and August 1960. Cyprus was governed by the British as a protectorate since 1878 and then as a colony since 1925. According to the census of 1960, Cyprus had a population of just over half a million divided mainly between the overwhelming majority of the Greek Cypriot community and the most significant minority of Turkish Cypriots.⁵ The third-largest community on the island was comprised of British citizens, many of which belonged to the government and military personnel stationed in Cyprus. At the top of the administration was the British Governor, who since the widespread upheaval of October 1931, ruled in the absence of an advisory body. The Governor exercised his enhanced powers by often resorting to strict policing measures in the face of the politicisation of the urban and rural populations by the local nationalist elites.⁶

The island was a small underdeveloped country with a chiefly agricultural economy. As Argyriou mentions ‘Throughout colonial rule, Cyprus remained a country

³ ‘Dr. Fazıl Küçük’ün Dün Yaptığı Konuşmanın Metni.’ (The Text of Dr. Fazıl Küçük’s Yesterday Speech) *Halkın Sesi*, (Nicosia: 16 August 1960). All translations belong to the authors.

⁴ Robert Holland, *Britain and the Revolt in Cyprus, 1954-1959* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002) 331.

⁵ ‘Census of Population and Agriculture 1960’ (Republic of Cyprus 1960) [https://www.mof.gov.cy/mof/cystat/statistics.nsf/All/1240A557C7D9F399C2257F64003D0D54/\\$file/POP_CEN_1960-POP\(RELIG_GROUP\)_DIS_MUN_COM-EN-250216.pdf?OpenElement](https://www.mof.gov.cy/mof/cystat/statistics.nsf/All/1240A557C7D9F399C2257F64003D0D54/$file/POP_CEN_1960-POP(RELIG_GROUP)_DIS_MUN_COM-EN-250216.pdf?OpenElement). (last accessed 27 January 2021)

⁶ For this period analytically see Heinz A Richter, *A Concise History of Modern Cyprus, 1878-2009* (Rutzen, 2010); Stavros Panteli, *A History of Cyprus: From Foreign Domination to Troubled Independence* (London: East-West Publications (U.K.) Limited, 2000); William Mallinson and Bill Mallinson, *Cyprus: A Modern History* (IB Tauris, 2005).

with backward economy'.⁷ Further, as Anderson states, there was a close relationship between economic poverty and hostility towards British rule. In this framework, the Greek Cypriot community's political demands as well as the claims for economic development intensified during and after the World War II period.⁸ According to Yiangou, Cyprus' contribution to the War forced the British to allow some degree of return to political life permitting the nationalist and leftist forces to re-surface.⁹ Overall, as Papadakis et al. underline:

'The British colonial period witnessed the rise of Greek and Turkish nationalism in Cyprus. Greek Cypriots strove for enosis, the union of Cyprus with Greece [Enosis], while Turkish Cypriots initially expressed a preference for the continuation of British rule and later demanded Taksim, the partition of the island. From 1955, the Greek Cypriot enosis struggle assumed the form of an armed insurrection led by EOKA (National Organization of Cypriot Fighters). In 1958, Turkish Cypriots set up their armed organisation, TMT (Turkish Resistance Organization).'¹⁰

From 1955 through 1959, the British used several strategies for restoring law and order without the expected results.¹¹ Thus, London steadily turned its attention to the aim of reconstructing its position in Cyprus.¹² At the end of 1958, all the parties involved in the civil conflict, meaning the British, Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities, Athens, and Ankara began searching for a compromise. Succumbing to various external pressures dictated among other by the Cold War¹³ circumstances the Athens-Greek Cypriot front sacrificed the national aspiration of Enosis. Similarly, the Ankara-Turkish Cypriot front abandoned their demand for Taksim. The

⁷ Sophia Argyriou, 'The Imperialistic Foundations of British Colonial Rule in Cyprus' (2018) 30 (1) *The Cyprus Review* 297–316, 302

⁸ David M. Anderson, 'Policing and Communal Conflict: The Cyprus Emergency, 1954-1960' (2008) 21 (3) *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 177-207.

⁹ Anastasia Yiangou, 'The Political Impact of World War II on Cyprus and Malta' (2014) 23(1) *Journal of Mediterranean Studies* 101-112, 107

¹⁰ Yiannis Papadakis, Nicos Peristianis, and Gisela Welz, *Divided Cyprus: Modernity, History, and an Island in Conflict* (Indiana University Press, 2006), 2.

¹¹ Andreas Karyos, 'Britain and Cyprus: 1955-1959: Key Themes of the Counter-Insurgency Aspects of the Cyprus Revolt' in Mihalis Sozos-Theodoulou Contos, Christos Panayiotides, Nicos Alexandrou Haralambos (eds) *Great Power Politics in Cyprus: Foreign Interventions and Domestic Perceptions* (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014) 33-53.

¹² David French, *Fighting EOKA: The British Counter-Insurgency Campaign on Cyprus, 1955-1959* (Oxford University Press, 2015) 299.

¹³ Andreas Stergiou, 'Soviet Policy Towards Cyprus' (2007) 19(2) *The Cyprus Review* 83-106.

compromise was sealed in 1959 when all the interested parties signed the Zurich and London Agreements initiating the process of decolonisation in Cyprus.¹⁴ The transitional period which entailed the transfer of power from the colonial government to the independent bicomunal republic begun with the activation of three committees. First, the Transitional Committee and the Joint Council in charge of 'preparing for transferring authority' second, the London Joint Committee on Cyprus tasked with 'settling the question of the British military requirements' and third, the Joint Committee (also called Constitutional Committee) assigned with 'creating the constitution of the Republic of Cyprus'.¹⁵

The negotiations for the establishment of the independent Republic of Cyprus were part of a broader process of decolonisation which was progressing worldwide. During the brief period of approximately three decades which followed the Second World War, some intercontinental empires dissolved.¹⁶ In this decolonisation process, several factors played a crucial role. As Dülffer, Frey, McIntyre, Osterhammel and Jansen argue, the political and social changes occurring in the colonies led gradually to the emergence of national liberation movements. The economic and military strength of the empires declined while fresh challenges emerged. Under these circumstances, the empires searched for a formula which would appease the rebellious colonies and reinvent their role in the periphery. From the 1950s onwards, the initial policies dictating violence in dealing with the insurgencies gave way to the emergence of a strategy of compromise. Within this framework, the empires transferred power, meaning the legal and institutional sovereignty, to their former colonies through negotiation processes, avoiding great upheaval in the home front. Thus, new standardised political units aligned with the post-war international law standard emerged worldwide, and the old empires transformed their roles in various parts of the world.

¹⁴ Alan James, 'The Making of the Cyprus Settlement, 1958-1960' (1998) 10(2) *The Cyprus Review* 11-32.

¹⁵ Hubert Faustmann, *Divide and Quit? The History of British Colonial Rule in Cyprus 1878 - 1960 Including a Special Survey of the Transitional Period February 1959 - August 1960* (PhD Thesis, Universität Mannheim, 1999).

¹⁶ Jost Dülffer and Marc Frey, (eds) *Elites and Decolonization in the Twentieth Century* (Palgrave Macmillan 2011); David McIntyre, *British Decolonization, 1946-1997: When, Why and How Did the British Empire Fall?* (London and New York: Macmillan International Higher Education, 1998); Jürgen Osterhammel and Jan C Jansen, *Dekolonisation: Das Ende der Imperien* (Decolonisation: The End of Empires) (C.H. Beck, 2013).

Halkın Sesi and the two local newspapers studied in this article followed closely the developments of the period that led to the establishment of bicomunal democracy. The Turkish Cypriot newspaper, like its colleagues *Eleftheria* and *Cyprus Mail* have engaged in a vibrant dialogue which illuminates various aspects of the decolonisation process in Cyprus. To date, this archive has attracted limited interest from the scientific community. By failing to take into account all the parties involved, mainly the Turkish Cypriot actor, scholars have neglected the thorough evaluation of the decolonisation process in Cyprus. This paper attempts to fill this gap and add to the existing knowledge by shedding light on the complications which emerged during the transitional period. The study attempts to find answers to several important questions such as: What was the attitude of the local newspapers towards the power-sharing project? What was the role of economic factors? What kind of complications arose prior to the proclamation of the Republic of Cyprus? What was the echo of the emerging segregate electoral democracies in the front pages of *Halkın Sesi* and other local newspapers? What was the role of the local newspapers during the last period of decolonisation?

The Turkish language *Halkın Sesi*, was first published in 1942 in Nicosia by Dr Fazıl Küçük. The newspaper aimed to protect the rights and interests of the Turkish Cypriot community and to resist both the Greek Cypriot aspirations for Union with Greece and the British colonisation. During the decolonisation period, *Halkın Sesi* mirrored the official positions of the Turkish Cypriot leadership.¹⁷ *Eleftheria* is a Greek language paper published first in 1906 in Nicosia by the brothers Demosthenes and Kyros Stavrinos.¹⁸ From 1954 onwards the paper passed to the daughter of Demosthenis, Militza Garuana.¹⁹ Since its establishment, *Eleftheria* was considered a conservative newspaper. During the period in question, it echoed the positions and opinions of Archbishop Makarios and his followers. The English language *Cyprus Mail*, first published in 1945 in Nicosia, was very popular amongst the British living in Cyprus. Throughout this period, the newspaper, which is described as politically conservative, reflects the views of the British colonising forces in Cyprus.²⁰

¹⁷ Nikolaos Stelgias, *Ο Αγώνας Της ΕΟΚΑ, 1955-1959, Στα Πρωτοσέλιδα Του Τουρκοκυπριακού Τύπου* (The EOKA Struggle, 1955-1959 in the Turkish Cypriot Press) (Nicosia: Mass Media Institute, 2014).

¹⁸ Andreas Sophocleous, *Συμβολή Στην Ιστορία Του Κυπριακού Τύπου* (Contribution to the History of Cyprus Press) (Nicosia: Intercollege Press, 2003), 131–37.

¹⁹ Aristides Koudounaris, *Βιογραφικό Λεξικό Κυπρίων* (Biographical Dictionary of Cypriots) (Nicosia: Pierides Foundation, 1995), 289–90.

²⁰ Andreas Sophocleous, *Η Λογοκρισία Του Τύπου Στην Κύπρο Κατά Την Αγγλοκρατία (1878-1960)*

The emergence of the bicomunal democracy through local newspapers, their role, hopes and quarrels

As it is known, the Zurich Agreement is the result of the United Nations' (recent) decision. The three (guarantor) states, knowing that the fulfilment of this decision is their duty, came to a conclusion and a new agreement emerged. As the people of Cyprus, we must be in line with the decision imposed on us. Leaving aside the arguments and criticisms, we must work tirelessly to bury the nightmare, which has been spreading fear and horror in the skies of Cyprus for years.²¹

This opinion article authored by the leader of the Turkish Cypriot community was published by *Halkın Sesi* a few days since the signing of the London Agreement. Dr Fazıl Küçük pointed out to the members of his community that under the circumstances, the task of all Cypriots was to complete the decolonisation process through the transfer of power from the island's colonial administration to the Republic of Cyprus. At the time of Dr Küçük's article, the widespread decolonisation process characterised the post-war scene. A similar procedure emerged on a global level leading local political elite to assume the control of the institutional sovereignty of the ex-colonies.²² On several cases, the new governments of the former colonies made an effort to keep the political and the national unit congruent. In extend, the notion that there is a unity of culture and territory was the basis of their legitimacy.²³

In Cyprus' case, the cultural composition of the island along with the political and geostrategic balances of the period forced the implementation of an original formula. The signatories of the final settlement aimed at the 'political and constitutional communal segregation' attempting to appease the nationalist aspirations of both Greek and Turkish Cypriots.²⁴ The final settlement granted to the majority the sense of control under an independent state and at the same time offered constitutional equality to the minority. Also, the founding agreements furnished the

(The Censorship of the Press in Cyprus During the British Occupation (1878-1960)) (Nicosia: En Typois, 2014).

²¹ Fazıl Küçük, 'Zaman Gösterecektir' (Time Will Show) *Halkın Sesi* (Nicosia: 2 March 1959).

²² McIntyre, (no. 12) 8.

²³ Dane Keith Kennedy, *Decolonization: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

²⁴ Faustmann (no. 13)

three guarantor powers with significant rights for perpetuating the constitutional balance. During the first months following the signing of the Treaty of London, this compromise strengthened the hopes for the success of the new bicomunal democracy. *Halkın Sesi* appeared to be in harmony with the Greek and English language newspapers on two issues summarised below.

First, despite initial disagreements, the dialogue between the two community leaders in the Transitional Committee was fruitful. *Halkın Sesi* wrote that the Turkish Cypriot community was pleased to see Archbishop Makarios elected to the Presidency of the Republic of Cyprus.²⁵ *Eleftheria* for its part, reassured all citizens that the Greek Cypriot leadership was determined for the success of the republic.²⁶

Secondly, a similar climate of cooperation was also observed in the thorny issue of revising Great Britain's position in Cyprus. The former colonial power, which was also one of the guarantor powers, secured under the founding agreements the perpetuation of its presence in the island through its two military bases in Dhekelia and Akrotiri.²⁷ In the final phase of the complicated negotiations in the London Joint Committee²⁸, the two communities joined their forces and overcame transient disagreements regarding the British Bases. The Greek Cypriot side faithful to its anti-colonial agenda tried to limit both the territory and the effect the bases would have on the daily lives of the local population.²⁹ The British on the other hand insisted on a bases area of 120 square miles.³⁰ Despite several attempts to settle the issue, the impasse between the two lasted until the mid-1960s, causing a delay in the republic's establishment.³¹ During the deadlock, the Turkish Cypriot leadership

²⁵ Şafi Alper, 'Makarios Kazandı' (Makarios Won) *Halkın Sesi* (Nicosia: 16 December 1959).

²⁶ 'Η Συγκληθείσα Χθες υπό του Εθνάρχου και του κ. Κιουτσούκ Δημοσιογραφική Σύσκεψις' (Yesterday's Press Conference of the Ethnarch and Kutsuk) *Eleftheria* (Nicosia: 5 July 1959).

²⁷ Costas M Constantinou and Oliver P Richmond, 'The Long Mile of Empire: Power, Legitimation and the UK Bases in Cyprus' (2005) 10 (1) *Mediterranean Politics* 65–84; Faustmann (no. 13)

²⁸ 'Müşterek Komite İlk Toplantısını Yaptı' (Joint Committee Held Its First Meeting) *Halkın Sesi* (Nicosia: 24 March 1959).

²⁹ 'Ο Εθνάρχης εις Μακράν Συνομιλίαν του μετά του Σάντυς Υπεγράμμισε την Άποψιν του Λαού, Όπως Μη Περιληφθούν Κατωκημένα Περιοχά εις τας Βρετανικάς Βάσεις εις Κύπρον' (The Ethnarch after his long conversation with Sandys underlined the people's opinion that inhabited areas should not be included in the British Bases) *Eleftheria* (Nicosia: 25 April 1959); 'New Plan for Bases Put up in London' *Cyprus Mail* (Nicosia: 6 October 1959); 'Urgent Talks on the Bases- Pyla Camp to Be H.Q. of Permanent Brigade' *Cyprus Mail* (Nicosia: 22 April 1959).

³⁰ 'İngilizlerin Son Teklifleri de Kabul Şayan Bulunmadı' (The Last Proposals of the British Were Also Not Accepted) *Halkın Sesi* (Nicosia: 25 November 1959).

³¹ 'İngilizler Londra'da Yeni Teklif Yaptı' (British Made New Offer in London) *Halkın Sesi* (Nicosia: 23

which supported the Greek Cypriot proposal for a British bases area of 36 square miles³² intensified its contacts with the two sides.³³ In this context, the Turkish Cypriot leadership submitted in April 1960 a compromising proposal of 100 square miles.³⁴ Despite the initial British veto, the proposal opened a window of opportunity for compromise.³⁵ In mid-June, Turkey's military command, which overthrew Turkey's government in a military coup a month earlier, announced that it was in favour of the compromise proposal.³⁶ Soon after the two communities which deployed a common front in the negotiations signed the 99-square-mile agreement approved by all parties on 2 July 1960.³⁷

It should be noted that during the transitional period, the national radios of Turkey and Greece also supported the dialogue and cooperation of the two communities. Local newspapers often reproduced these broadcasts which through their interventions helped set the political and diplomatic agenda on the Cyprus Issue. In general terms, the interventions of the two foreign radios were in favour of the bicomunal Republic of Cyprus. The foreign radios urged the two communities to remain focused on the aim of cooperation, suppress all the 'troublemakers (boz-guncular)', and be faithful to the agreements.³⁸

October 1959); Yavuz, 'Hala Mı Tarafsızlık' (Still Neutral?) *Halkın Sesi* (Nicosia: 23 October 1959); 'Οι Τούρκοι Συνετάχθησαν με τους Βρετανούς επί του Θέματος της Υπηκοότητας – Κρίσις εις την Μικτήν Επιτροπήν του Λονδίνου.' (The Turks sided with the British on the issue of citizenship – Crisis at the London Joint Committee) *Eleftheria* (Nicosia: 23 June 1959).

³² 'Üslerle İlgili Müzakerelere Cumartesi Günü Başlanacak' (Negotiations for the Bases Will Begin on Saturday) *Halkın Sesi* (Nicosia: 1 April 1960).

³³ 'Tabiiyet ve Üstler Mevzusunda Görüşme Yapıldı' (Discussions on Nationality and Superiors) *Halkın Sesi* (Nicosia: 17 November 1959).

³⁴ 'Dr. Fazıl Küçük Üsler Mevzuunda Yeni Bir Uzlaştırıcı Teklif Sundu' (Dr. Fazıl Küçük Submitted a New Conciliatory Proposal on Bases) *Halkın Sesi* (Nicosia: 3 April 1960).

³⁵ '100 Mil Kare Yerine 99 Mil Kare Mi?' (99 Square Miles Instead of 100?) *Halkın Sesi* (Nicosia: 13 April 1960).

³⁶ 'Rum Siyasi Çevrelere Göre: Kıbrıs Cumhuriyeti Temmuz'da İlan Edilecek. Başbakan Orgeneral Gürsel Bir Formül Göndermiş' (According to Greek Cypriot Political Circles: The Republic of Cyprus Will Be Declared in July. Prime Minister Gen. Gursel Sent a Formula) *Halkın Sesi* (Nicosia: 13 June 1960.)

³⁷ 'Kıbrıs Meselesinde Halledilmemiş Bulunan Mevzularda Anlaşmaya Varıldığı İlan Edildi' (It Was Declared That an Agreement Has Been Reached on Unresolved Issues in the Cyprus Issue) *Halkın Sesi* (Nicosia: 2 July 1960).

³⁸ 'Ankara Radyosu Ne Diyor? Cumhuriyet Kurulacak ve Selamlanacaktır' (What Does Ankara Radio Say? The Republic Will Be Established and Greeted) *Halkın Sesi* (Nicosia: 5 November 1959); 'Ankara Radyosu Bozgunculara Ne Diyor?' (What is Ankara Radio Saying to the Defeatists?) *Halkın Sesi* (Nicosia: 4 November 1959).

During the transfer of power from the colonial government to the republic, despite the positive attitude of Ankara and Athens and the agreement of the two leaderships on at least two issues, *Halkın Sesi* disagreed with the Greek and English language newspapers of Cyprus on a variety of topics. Furthermore, the existing problems in the bicomunal relations were affected by the local newspapers' standpoint which functioned as a 'magnifying glass'.

In this context, *Halkın Sesi* often republished brief quotes from the local Greek language newspapers which then used to criticise the Greek Cypriot positions on various issues. For instance, the newspaper claimed that due to the Greek Cypriot side's stance, the prospect of partition remained:

We have a cinema. It is called Taksim. We have a football field, and its name is the same. They are so annoyed by that name. If a third Taksim is born from the Enosis and Ohi, heard from their mouths, then they should not blame anyone.³⁹

From *Halkın Sesi's* point of view, *Eleftheria* was against the 'Turkish-Greek cooperation' in Cyprus.⁴⁰ Also, it cultivated the illusion that the Turkish Cypriots were aiming to seize the whole of Cyprus⁴¹ and it rejected the principle of political equality:

The 'Eleftheria' claims that concessions granted to Turks increase their appetite and that they have come up with new demands. The paper tells us that "Zurich has given you three deputies, which we have to accept, but we will make these deputies puppets". Although the Zurich Agreement eliminates the concept of the majority and states that the two communities should govern Cyprus jointly, the Greeks still talk about majority rights and respect of the minority.⁴²

For *Halkın Sesi*, the agreements established the political equality of the Turkish Cypriots, and this provision had to be applied at all levels of the bicomunal democracy stretching from the presidency to the lowest-level government posts.⁴³ As the newspaper mentioned, *Eleftheria* aimed instead to exclude Turkish Cypriots from important government posts.⁴⁴ *Halkın Sesi* also exchanged accusations with

³⁹ 'Hepsi de Aym Kafada' (All with the Same Mentality) *Halkın Sesi* (Nicosia: 5 April 1960).

⁴⁰ Şafi Alper, 'Rum Basımının Sakat Görüşleri' (The Crippled Views of the Greek Cypriot Press) *Halkın Sesi* (Nicosia: 18 May 1959).

⁴¹ Şafi Alper, 'Eleftheria Saçmalıyor' (Eleftheria's Nonsense) *Halkın Sesi* (Nicosia: 4 June 1959).

⁴² 'Artık Yeter' (It's Enough) *Halkın Sesi* (Nicosia: 23 June 1959).

⁴³ 'Bir Açıklama' (An Explanation) *Halkın Sesi* (Nicosia: 22 September 1959).

⁴⁴ Yavuz, 'Yersiz Bir Müdahale Daha' (Another Pointless Intervention) *Halkın Sesi* (Nicosia: 21 October 1959).

other Greek and English language newspapers of Cyprus. In mid-1959, the Turkish Cypriot newspaper attacked *Fileletheros*, *Alitheia* and *Kypros* using particularly harsh language⁴⁵. Besides, *Halkın Sesi* accused *The Times of Cyprus* that it did not respect the Turkish Cypriots' cultural characteristics⁴⁶. The Turkish Cypriot newspaper was also opposing the restoration of the Cypriot communist movement to legal political action. The opinion was that Cypriot communists after strengthening their position were ready to cooperate with those political forces of the Greek Cypriot community that rejected the agreements.⁴⁷ The newspaper wrote that 'It should be a duty for every Cypriot to prevent on our island the significant damages the Communist scourge (brings) on the world'.⁴⁸

During the transitional period, *Eleftheria* used strong language to respond to the above positions of the Turkish Cypriot side. The language and style adopted by *Eleftheria* just weeks after the signing of the London Agreement are noteworthy:

It would be scandalous if the Greeks were to be asked to pay for the broken and blackmailed politics of others—no Greek region in the Turkish section, not a penny to the Turks. We opposed Turks as friends, even if they do not do the same to us. We always leave the door (for cooperation) open.⁴⁹

From *Eleftheria*'s point of view, the Turkish Cypriots should not ask for more than what a minority should claim. Moreover, the 'Turks' of Cyprus have no choice but to come to terms with this reality and use the 'door' opened by the Greek Cypriot side in favour of cooperation. It is worth noting that the archival material suggests that *Cyprus Mail*, unlike *Eleftheria*, used a more restrained language regarding the inter-communal relations. Also, the English language newspaper, as opposed to *Halkın Sesi*, supported the lifting the ban against the local communist party AKEL. According to *Cyprus Mail*, this decision of the transitional government was dictated by the values of democracy and political freedom.⁵⁰

⁴⁵ R. R. Denктаş, 'Fileletheros'a Ne Oluyor?' (What Happens to Fileletheros?) *Halkın Sesi* (Nicosia: 24 May 1959); H. Bedevi, 'Ethnos'un Gülünç İddialarını Cevabımız' (Our Answer to Ethnos' Ridiculous Claims) *Halkın Sesi* (Nicosia: 27 June 1959); 'Anayasa Komisyonu Alithya ve Kypros'a Cevap Verdi' (Constitutional Commission Replied to Alitheia and Kypros) *Halkın Sesi* (Nicosia: 2 June 1959).

⁴⁶ 'Times of Cyprus'a Ne Oluyor?' (What Is Happening to the Times of Cyprus?) *Halkın Sesi* (Nicosia: 14 May 1959).

⁴⁷ Yavuz, 'Fırsattan İstifade' (Grab the Opportunity) *Halkın Sesi* (Nicosia: 25 November 1959).

⁴⁸ F. Çetin, 'Selametimiz Bakımından' (For Our Salvation) *Halkın Sesi* (Nicosia: 5 December 1959).

⁴⁹ 'Μία Ευκαιρία' (An Opportunity) *Eleftheria* (Nicosia: 29 March 1959).

⁵⁰ 'Comment' *Cyprus Mail* (Nicosia: 2 November 1959).

***Halkın Sesi*'s confrontation with local Greek and English language newspapers regarding the fundamental aspects of the bicomunal republic**

A few hours had passed since the proclamation of the Republic of Cyprus when *Halkın Sesi* made a resounding statement. According to the newspaper, the Turkish Cypriot community was ready and willing to work for the success of bicomunal democracy on the condition that it would safeguard its interests. However, if the Greek Cypriot side violated the rights of the Turkish Cypriots, then the 'republic would collapse immediately'.⁵¹ This statement is of particular importance for two reasons. First, the official mouthpiece of the Turkish Cypriot leadership reminded the Greek Cypriots that it continued to hold a distinct understanding of the bicomunal cooperation framework. Second, as in the transition period, after the establishment of democracy, the local press continued to be one of the leading platforms for exchanging political messages between communities.

According to the findings of our research, during the transitional period Cypriot newspapers approached various aspects of the new bicomunal republic with skepticism. In this framework, *Halkın Sesi* repeatedly expressed its concerns regarding the provisions of the Zurich and London Agreements. The main questions posed in this chapter are first, why did the Turkish Cypriot newspaper have these reservations? How did the Greek Cypriot stance affect the newspaper's position, and also, how did other local newspapers address *Halkın Sesi*'s concerns?

As seen in the following articles from the period, the answer to the above questions lies in the analysis of the various aspects of the defunct bicomunal democracy initiated by the Zurich and London Agreements.⁵² During the transfer of power from the colonial government to the Cyprus Republic, *Halkın Sesi* focused on four problematic aspects of the young democracy. First, the reports of the Turkish Cypriot newspaper in conjunction with the thesis of other local newspapers argued that the Zurich and London Agreements failed to overcome Cyprus' ethnic problem which was at its peaked in the mid-1950s. In other words, the founding agreements

⁵¹ Cemil Turanlı, 'İşte Cumhuriyet!' (Here Is the Republic!) *Halkın Sesi* (Nicosia: 17 August 1960).

⁵² Furthermore, as Adamides and Constantinou mention 'the status quo after 1974 has brought about only a resemblance of liberal peace for it often displays of illiberal forms.'. Constantinos Adamides, Costas M. Constantinou 'Comfortable Conflict and (Il)liberal Peace in Cyprus', in Oliver Richmond and Mitchell Basingstoke (eds) *Hybrid Forms of Peace: From Everyday Agency to Post-Liberalism* (Palgrave Macmillan: 2012), 242-259, 247

did not provide a final solution to the ethnic division through the allocation of power. Second, the local economy did not undergo a radical transformation and the two communities continued to pursue the aim of strengthening their economic structures separately. Separate economic agendas deprived Cyprus of a united middle class, whose interests would be identical to those of the new republic. Third, the basic principles of the constitutional order were violated, resulting in the infringement of the rule of law. Fourth, two separate electoral democracies were created as an outcome among other of the inheritance of the ongoing ethnic divisions. As Stubbs and Taşeli put it, the terms of the agreements ‘served to cement divisions between the two communities, thus legitimising the ethnic segregation of the island and further marginalising the smaller Armenian, Maronite and Latin populations’.⁵³

The founding agreements aimed at managing the issue of nationalism and securing the congruency of the political and the national unit.⁵⁴ Thus, they allocated the power between the communities providing the Greek Cypriots with the former colonial power’s leading role in the island’s governance, and the Turkish Cypriots with constitutional equality. *Cyprus Mail* underlined that the Constitution was a formula which provided ‘Greeks a sense of untrammelled independence’ and the ‘Turk’s iron clad guarantees against any discrimination’.⁵⁵

However, the two communities interpreted the allocation of power based on their own interests. Severe disputes between the two communities’ understanding of their rights and obligations under the agreements emerged during the first days of the transitional period. *Halkın Sesi*’s articles shed light on the decisive stance taken by the Turkish Cypriot leadership towards the provision of political equality in the Zurich and London Treaties. The newspaper insisted that the island had two separate communities, the bicomunal republic was not a Greek Cypriot state and the young republic was based on the communal autonomy and cooperation of the ‘dominant elements (hakim unsur)’.⁵⁶ *Eleftheria* on the other hand, rejected *Halkın Sesi*’s view and put forth the argument Cyprus did not have two equal ethnic com-

⁵³ Jonathan Stubbs, Bahar Taşeli ‘Newspapers, Nationalism and Empire’, (2014) 20(3) *Media History* 284-301, 293

⁵⁴ Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Cornell University Press, 1983).

⁵⁵ ‘Creating a Nation’ *Cyprus Mail* (Nicosia: 24 February 1959).

⁵⁶ Gazioğlu, ‘Anayasa ve Türk Hakları’ (Constitution and Turkish Cypriot’s Right) *Halkın Sesi* (Nicosia: 10 April 1960); Cemil Turanlı, ‘Ortak İdare’ (Joint Administration) *Halkın Sesi* (Nicosia: 7 July 1960).

munities, the Turkish Cypriots were a minority, and the establishment of a system based on dualism was neither possible nor just.⁵⁷

The Turkish Cypriots evoked on the letter of the agreements to support that the Vice-President had indeed enhanced powers.⁵⁸ Also, in the Constitution Committee, Turkish Cypriots insisted on the consolidation of Turkish Cypriot Vice-President's veto right.⁵⁹ From the Turkish Cypriots' point of view, there were 'two Presidents' who would decide together on 'matters affecting Cyprus as a whole'.⁶⁰ The Greek Cypriots thought the highest political power belonged to the President, while the Vice-President would have 'some explicit forms of executive power'.⁶¹ Although a final compromise on the Vice-President's position was achieved in April 1960⁶², the Turkish Cypriots warned that a collapse of the agreements would cause the partition of Cyprus.⁶³

Besides the segregated justice system⁶⁴, the power-sharing disputes extended also to the staffing of the state mechanism and the local government of the bicomunal republic. In this context, the two communities disagreed on the distribution of public posts. Under the founding agreements, Greek Cypriots would compose the 70% of

⁵⁷ 'Προς Τούρκους' (To Turks) *Eleftheria* (Nicosia: 15 October 1959).

⁵⁸ According to the 5th article founding treaties, 'the Executive authority shall be vested in the President and the Vice-President. For this purpose, they shall have a Council of Ministers composed of seven Greek Ministers and three Turkish Ministers. Decisions so taken shall be promulgated immediately by the President and the Vice-President by publication in the official gazette. However, the President and the Vice-President shall have the right of final veto and the right to return the decision of the Council of Ministers.' in 'Cyprus History: Zürich Agreement' <http://www.cypnet.co.uk/ncyprus/history/republic/agmt-zurich.html> accessed 31 July 2020.

⁵⁹ 'Anayasa Heyetimiz Dün Geldi' (Our Constitutional Committee Arrived Yesterday) *Halkın Sesi* (Nicosia: 7 April 1959); 'Constitutional Commission First Meeting – Goodwill on All Sides: Delegates Optimistic Success' *Cyprus Mail* (Nicosia: 14 April 1959); 'Anayasa Komisyonu'nda İhtilaf Mı Var?' (Is There Any Dispute in the Constitutional Commission?) *Halkın Sesi* (Nicosia: 13 August 1959); 'Taviz İstemiyoruz Hakkımızı İstiyoruz. Londra ve Zürih Anlaşmaları Değiştirilmeden Aynen Tatbik Edilmelidir' (We Don't Want Concessions, We Want Our Right. London and Zurich Agreements Must Be Applied Unchanged) *Halkın Sesi* (Nicosia: 20 August 1959).

⁶⁰ '120,000 Turks Would Fight to the Last Man – Dr. Kuchuk Hints of Partition – Not Even the Slightest of Concessions' *Cyprus Mail* (Nicosia: 21 August 1959).

⁶¹ 'Το Επίμαχον Θέμα των Εκτελεστικών Εξουσιών' (The disputed issue of executive powers) *Eleftheria*, (Nicosia: 15 October 1959).

⁶² 'Kıbrıs Anayasası Dün Tamamlandı' (Cyprus Constitution Was Completed Yesterday) *Halkın Sesi* (Nicosia: 5 April 1960).

⁶³ 'Hepsi de Aynı' (no. 37).

⁶⁴ 'Rum İtirazları' (Greek Cypriot Objections) *Halkın Sesi* (Nicosia: 23 June 1959).

the civil service and Turkish Cypriots the 30%.⁶⁵ As *Halkın Sesi* argued, this provision should involve the entire public sector, including security forces, Electricity and Telecommunications Authority, Customs, Cyprus Airways, Radio and Television.⁶⁶ *Eleftheria* on the other hand, mentioned that ‘much of the EOKA fighters have already been “used for a fee” in various positions of the forthcoming Cyprus State and the rest will be absorbed soon’.⁶⁷ The two newspapers also disagreed on the issue of local authorities.⁶⁸ *Eleftheria* opposed the separate Turkish Cypriot municipalities arguing that there was no geographical separation of communities.⁶⁹ *Halkın Sesi* on her part continued to support the Turkish Cypriot’s rights to separate municipalities.⁷⁰

The archival material available to this study suggests that, apart from the discrepancy in the distribution of power, public posts, and local government, the two communities also had separate agendas on another issue which has been overlooked by modern scholars. According to *Halkın Sesi*’s articles the bicomunal republic was seen as a golden opportunity for the distinct economic development of the two communities of Cyprus. Instead of focusing on the creation of a united middle class and the improvement of the daily lives of all citizens of the young republic, the Turkish Cypriot leadership aimed at developing the financial status of its community separately.⁷¹ The archival material sheds light to the role of economic nationalism, as analysed by Nakano, in the Turkish Cypriot leadership’s political agenda during the tran-

⁶⁵ ‘Cyprus’ (no. 56).

⁶⁶ ‘Üç Dört Yıl Sadakane Hizmet Eden Türk Elektrikçilerinin Polemitya’daki Vazifelerini Bir Emirle Son Verildi’ The Duties of Turkish Cypriot Electricians in Polemitia, Who Had Served for Three or Four Years, Were Terminated with an Order *Halkın Sesi* (Nicosia: 7 July 1959); ‘Türkler Aleyhine Tayin ve Terfiler Berdevam’ (Appointments and Promotions against the Turkish Cypriots Continue) *Halkın Sesi* (Nicosia: 21 August 1959); ‘Elektrik İdaresindeki Türk İşçiler Hemen Takviye Edilmelidir’ (Turkish Workers in the Electricity Administration Should Be Reinforced Immediately) *Halkın Sesi* (Nicosia: 22 August 1959); ‘Poliste Kilit Mevkiler Rumlara Veriliyor’ (Key Positions in the Police Are given to Greek Cypriots) *Halkın Sesi* (Nicosia: 23 August 1959); ‘Ehliyet Meselesi’ (Qualifications Issue) *Halkın Sesi* (Nicosia: 11 April 1960); ‘Polis ve Gümrükler’ (Police and Customs) *Halkın Sesi* (Nicosia: 4 May 1960); Cemil Turanlı, ‘Televizyonda Çifte Ölçü Siyaseti’ (The Double Standard Policy in Television) *Halkın Sesi* (Nicosia: 21 July 1960); ‘CITA’da Haksızlıklar Hala Devam Mı Ediyor?’ (Are There Still Injustices at CITA?) *Halkın Sesi* (Nicosia: 14 July 1960).

⁶⁷ ‘Ο Μακάριος Ομιλεί δια τον Γρίβαν’ (Makarios speaks about Grivas), *Eleftheria* (Nicosia: 17 July 1959).

⁶⁸ According the founding agreements ‘separate municipalities shall be created in the five largest towns of Cyprus by the Turkish inhabitants of these towns.’ in ‘Cyprus’ (no. 56)

⁶⁹ ‘Μια Ευκαιρία’ (no. 47).

⁷⁰ ‘Yine Mi Suç Bizde?’ (Is It Our Fault Again?) *Halkın Sesi* (Nicosia: 29 December 1959).

⁷¹ Fazıl Küçük, ‘İktisaden Yükselme’ (Economic Advancement) *Halkın Sesi* (Nicosia: 20 March 1959); R. R. Denктаş, ‘Türk Çarşısında Yenilikler’ (Innovations in the Turkish Market) *Halkın Sesi* (Nicosia: 17 April 1959); ‘Turkish Aims- Self-Sufficiency- Five Million, Four-Year Plan’ *Cyprus Mail* (Nicosia: 27 June 1959).

sitional period. Turkish Cypriots approached the new state as a necessity for creating a national market and promote development.⁷² Aiming to ‘national unity, autonomy and the augmentation of national power’, Turkish Cypriot leadership saw the free trade and new economic opportunities, e.g. foreign financial assistance, as tools that increased distinctively its ‘national power’⁷³. As the Turkish Cypriot leader Dr. Küçük mentioned one month after the signing of the Treaty of London,

The island of Cyprus is getting a new form of administration. Both communities will have separate assemblies to defend and protect their national identities while on the other hand, they will deal with all matters of interest through their separate councils. Referring to the (communal) rights, (we should stress that) equality is essential in all respects. Until today, there has been no progress in many areas, as the Turkish community has been neglected for many years, and the (colonial) administration could not understand the Turkish community. The low economic status of the Turkish community within the government that will be formed in the future will cause disruptions in the administration.⁷⁴

According to Küçük, the Turkish Cypriots, as one of the ‘hakim unsur’ of the island, were determined to use all available means to balance or even overcome the Greek Cypriot’s economic dominance. Aiming at their economic development and the creation of an independent middle class, the Turkish Cypriot leaders urged their community to increase domestic production.⁷⁵ It is important to note that the separate economic agenda of the Turkish Cypriot leadership alarmed the Greek Cypriots. The Greek and English language newspapers understood this agenda to be an essential boycott.⁷⁶ The Greek Cypriot side’s belief that the Turkish Cypriots imposed an economic boycott on their products was a critical factor that hindered the economic cooperation between the two communities. Moreover, it prevented the emergence of a united middle class, whose interests could be linked to those of the bicomunal democracy.

⁷² Takeshi Nakano, ‘Theorising Economic Nationalism’, (July 2004) 10 (3) *Nations and Nationalism*, 211-229, 222

⁷³ Ibid. 224.

⁷⁴ Küçük (no. 69).

⁷⁵ Şafi Alper, ‘Rahat Günler Özlerken’ (Missing the Comfortable Days) *Halkın Sesi* (Nicosia: 22 May 1959); R. R. Denkaş, ‘Tutunmak ve Yükselmek’ (We Are Determined to Hold on and Rise) *Halkın Sesi* (Nicosia: 18 March 1959).

⁷⁶ ‘Kuchuk Denies Trade Boycott-In Favor of Trade Relations and Full Cooperation’ *Cyprus Mail* (Nicosia: 25 June 1959).

During the transitional period, the climate of bicomunal distrust was already established.⁷⁷ Thus, the new constitutional order was further jeopardised by the fact that both communities chose to resolve political disagreements with guns. Throughout this period several outbreaks of violence, often among the supporters of left- and right-wing organisations, and an arms race transpired between the two communities.⁷⁸ For instance, as *Cyprus Mail* stated, a group of former EOKA fighters ‘were committed to undertaking a series of assassinations [including that of Makarios] and striving for the annulment of the London agreements’.⁷⁹ On their part, both *Eleftheria* and *Cyprus Mail* feared that Turkish Cypriots could impose their positions on fundamental constitutional articles by the use of arms. The two newspapers were particularly alarmed by the notorious ‘Deniz’ case, the attempt to smuggle ammunition from Turkey to Cyprus, obstructed by the Royal Navy.⁸⁰ Armed attacks and the mobilisation of army troops completed the puzzle of violence.⁸¹ On the other hand, the perpetuation of the climate of civil conflict within the Greek Cypriot community unsettled *Halkın Sesi*.⁸² Furthermore, the newspaper was worried by the slow process of disarmament and attacks made against them for which they blamed on the Greek Cypriots.⁸³

⁷⁷ Nicholas van der Bijl, *The Cyprus Emergency: The Divided Island 1955-1974* (Barnsley: Pen & Sword Books, 2014).

⁷⁸ ‘Right-Left Clash: One Killed – Flare-up at Livadhia Cinema Now’ *Cyprus Mail* (Nicosia: 22 April 1959.)

⁷⁹ ‘Makarios Assassination Plot. Plan to Provoke Civil War Disclosed to Meeting of Edma Leaders’ *Cyprus Mail* (Nicosia: 12 September 1959).

⁸⁰ ‘Ammunition Find on Vessel Sunk after Seizure’ (Nicosia: 19 October 1959); ‘73 Cases Full of Ammunition Still Missing – Police’ *Cyprus Mail* (Nicosia: 20 October 1959); ‘Η Ελληνοκυπριακή Ηγεσία Ενδέχεται να Διακόψει Διαπραγματεύσεις μετά των Τούρκων προς Εφαρμογήν των Συμφωνιών Λονδίνου και Ζυρίχης Κατόπιν Τουρκικής Απόπειρας Λαθραίας Εισαγωγής Όπλων και Πυρομαχικών’ (The Greek Cypriot leadership may stop the negotiations with the Turks about the implementation of the London and Zurich agreements after the Turkish attempt to smuggle weapons and ammunitions) *Eleftheria* (Nicosia: 21 October 1959).

⁸¹ ‘Another Killing – So Dr. Kuchuk Will Visit Villages Today’ *Cyprus Mail* (Nicosia: 27 September 1959); ‘Army Send Troops between Villages to Keep Peace’ *Cyprus Mail* (Nicosia: 29 September 1959).

⁸² ‘Adadaki Sakin Havayı Rumlar Yine Bozdu’ (Greek Cypriots Spoiled the Calm Again) *Halkın Sesi* (Nicosia: 25 April 1959); ‘Vali İle Makarios Pratik Çare Arıyor’ (Governor and Makarios Seek Practical Remedy) *Halkın Sesi* (Nicosia: 31 March 1959).

⁸³ ‘Ömerge Cami Taşlandı’ (Ömerge Mosque Was Stoned) *Halkın Sesi* (Nicosia: 23 March 1959); ‘Vazifesini Yapan Türk Polis Tecavüze Uğradı’ (Turkish Cypriot Police Who Did His Duty, Was Assaulted) *Halkın Sesi* (Nicosia: 5 May 1959); ‘Böyle Dostluk Olmaz’ (There Is No Such Friendship) *Halkın Sesi* (Nicosia: 13 May 1959); ‘Lefke’nin Su Yolu Rumlar Tarafından Berhava Edildi’ (Lefke’s Waterway Was Destroyed by the Greek Cypriots) *Halkın Sesi* (Nicosia: 3 August 1959).

The violation of the basic principles of democracy, such as the protection of life and property, was on everyone's minds when both community leaders moved to build two separate electoral democracies. With the term 'separate electoral democracy' we refer to the establishment of distinct electoral processes for the two communities. In this framework, Greek and Turkish Cypriots were to elect the members their communities entrusted with the tasks of government and management of community affairs.⁸⁴ According to the agreements, the two communities were to elect the President, Vice-President, members of the House of Representatives and the Communal Chambers separately. As Stepan argues, in the presidential system introduced into the political life of Cyprus by the Treaty of London, the office of President 'is necessarily occupied by one person, from one nationality, for a fixed term'.⁸⁵ This system limited the political bargaining between the two communities and the possibility of other parties, composed of other nationalities, helping to constitute the ruling coalition. Under these circumstances, the two communities were politically distinctly developed.

Against this background, the Greek Cypriot leadership, in its separate political sphere, contended the nationalist forces challenging the founding agreements.⁸⁶ The Turkish Cypriot leadership on the other hand, clashed with opposition groups and moved on to cultivate its cooperation with Ankara.⁸⁷ In their separate confrontations with political rivals, the two leaderships did not join forces to create a common democratic front. In other words, the political-electoral segregation prevented the development of bicomunal cooperation.

⁸⁴ Michael. MacKuen and George. Rabinowitz (eds), *Electoral Democracy* (University of Michigan Press, 2003); Richard S. Katz, *Democracy and Elections* (Oxford University Press, 1997); J. J. A. Thomasen (ed.), *Elections and Democracy: Representation and Accountability*, (Oxford University Press, 2014)

⁸⁵ Alfred Stepan, 'Comparative Theory and Political Practice: Do We Need a 'State-Nation' Model as Well as a 'Nation-State' Model?', (28 March 2008) 43 (1) *Government and Opposition* 1-25, 9.

⁸⁶ 'EDMA National Group Formed' *Cyprus Mail* (Nicosia; 3 April 1959); 'Makarios Dervis ve Kleridis'e Cevap Verdi' (Makarios Replied to Dervis and Kleridis) *Halkın Sesi* (Nicosia: 17 November 1959); 'Aday İlk Günden Anlaşmalara Hücum Etti' (The Candidate Attacked the Agreements from Day One) *Halkın Sesi* (Nicosia: 27 November 1959).

⁸⁷ R. R. Denктаş, 'Seçim Faaliyetleri Mi?' (Election Activities?) *Halkın Sesi* (Nicosia: 14 May 1959); 'Liderimiz Dr. Küçük ve Rauf Denктаş'ın Gönderdikleri Telgraflar' (Telegrams Sent by Our Leader Dr. Küçük and Rauf Denктаş) *Halkın Sesi* (Nicosia: 29 May 1960); 'Rum Cemaat Meclisi İçin Bugün Seçim Yapılıyor. Türk Cemaati Milli Birlik ve Beraberliğini Bir Kere Daha Isbat Etti. Cemaat Meclisi İçin 'Milli Cephe' Adaylarına Muhalif Namzed Çıkmadı' (Elections Are Held Today for the Greek Cypriot Community Council) *Halkın Sesi* (Nicosia: 7 August 1960).

Conclusion: The four major weaknesses of the Republic of Cyprus through the eyes of *Halkın Sesi*

This article attempts to add to the limited yet very informative knowledge regarding the period in question and fill a gap in modern Cypriot historiography. The article has discussed the role of *Halkın Sesi* in the establishment of bicomunal republic and has focused on the interaction of the Turkish Cypriot newspaper with the other local media. From this process, the article puts forth five assumptions.

First, the role played by the local newspapers in the process of transferring power from colonial administration to the Cyprus Republic was significant. Local newspapers starred in the process of the emergence of the new democracy, by magnifying the problems that overshadowed the relations of the two communities. Within this framework, *Halkın Sesi* focused not only on the hopes for the bicomunal democracy but also on the four problematic aspects of the founding agreements.

Second in analysing *Halkın Sesi*'s news and opinion articles retrospectively, we arrive at the assumption that it had beforehand advised its readers to contemplate on the failure of the bicomunal Republic of Cyprus. The articles of *Halkın Sesi* and its disagreements with the Greek and English language newspapers adds to the argument that the Zurich and London Agreements failed to definitively close the chapter of the ethnic division in Cyprus.

Third, the articles published by *Halkın Sesi* promote the hypothesis that the Turkish Cypriot community lacked a middle class whose interests were intertwined with the new state at the time of the republic's establishment. In this context, the community did not develop bonds and affiliations with the young republic that would ensure the future prospects of both.

Fourth, the archival material indicates that during the transition of power from the colonial forces to the new democracy, the violation of the basic constitutional principles overshadowed the cooperation of the two communities.

Finally, articles from *Halkın Sesi* and other local newspapers of the transitional period (1959-1960) make mention of the emergence of two separate electoral democracies. This is a development that limited the radius of joint political action and cooperation between the two largest communities in Cyprus. Ergo, the two communities failed to safeguard their republic from the problems which were manifested throughout the transitional period.

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