

HUMAN RIGHTS
in
CYPRUS

Turkish Cypriot Human Rights Committee

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INTRODUCTION

Violations of the natural and inalienable rights of human beings instinctively arouse passions and feelings of disgust among fellow human beings.

A great deal has been said and written about violations of human rights in Cyprus ever since the Cyprus problem came into being as a result of the Greek-Greek Cypriot campaign to bring about the union of Cyprus with Greece.

Because of the extremely sensitive nature of the subject of human rights, it is a matter which can easily be exploited for political purposes and readily lends itself to cheap propaganda. It can be used by unscrupulous politicians as a political weapon in order to obtain support from well-meaning but ill-informed persons for their particular goal or object.

It is common knowledge that intercommunal strife has continuously taken place in Cyprus ever since the EOKA terrorist campaign for the union of Cyprus with Greece was launched in the mid-1950's. Both during the two decades of intercommunal conflict in the years immediately before and after independence and also during the hostilities precipitated by the Greek engineered coup on 15th July 1974 - which constituted the culmination of Greek efforts to achieve the Union of Cyprus with Greece - humanitarian suffering inevitably took place in Cyprus.

However, it is important to differentiate between violations of human rights which took place during the so-called "normal period", from 1963 to 1974, and incidents which inevitably occurred during heavy fighting which followed the coup of 15th July 1974. The former consisted of violations perpetrated deliberately by the so-called "Cyprus Government" against the Turkish Cypriot population of Cyprus, while the latter were the side effects of a war situation.

It is indeed ironic that the Greek Cypriots, seemingly oblivious of the fact that they have ever since 1963 pitilessly violated every conceivable human right of the Turkish Cypriot population contrary to each and every article of the international human rights covenants, and would have certainly continued to do so had Turkey not intervened in July 1974, are now complaining about violations of human rights in Cyprus and trying to cover up their past disreputable record in this field.

Having wantonly killed hundreds of Turkish Cypriots, including women and children, throughout the years 1963 to 1974, having destroyed no less than 103 Turkish Cypriot villages thus making one-fourth of the Turkish Cypriot population homeless refugees, having ousted by force all Turkish Cypriots from the government, civil service and public authorities - thus rendering almost half of the Turkish Cypriot population unemployed - and having used their *de facto* superiority until 1974 as the so-called "Government of Cyprus" as an instrument of tyranny and oppression against the Turkish Cypriot Community, the Greek Cypriots have assumed the role of victims in an effort to re-acquire the illegitimate power they enjoyed over the Turkish Cypriots from 1963 to 1974. Thus they have persistently misrepresented the true situation in Cyprus regarding violations of human rights.

It would be impossible to cover, let alone elaborate in detail, in a publication of this kind the full extent of the violations of Turkish Cypriot human rights during the past two decades. It will suffice merely to highlight some of the more glaring examples of the human tragedy suffered by the Turkish Cypriot Community. This publication deals in particular with the violations of the human rights of Turkish Cypriots during and after the events of July 1974.

However, in order to understand the question of human rights in Cyprus in its proper perspective, it is impossible to isolate the past from the present. Therefore, it is felt that a brief account of the period prior to 1963 would help the reader to appreciate the true nature of the question of human rights in Cyprus.

What has happened in Cyprus in the recent past, particularly since the Greek Cypriot onslaught against the Turkish Cypriot Community in December 1963, has a direct bearing on the situation which prevailed on the island during and after July 1974. This fact is acknowledged by impartial foreign observers. Mr. Franz Karasek, the General Rapporteur of the Political Affairs Committee of the Council of Europe stated in his report on Cyprus (Doc. 3600, 19th April. 1975, para. 11):

"Economic, social and educational inequality, as well as insecurity during the last eleven years, were the origin of the intercommunal mistrust and fears of political tension and regional as well as communal isolation between the Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot populations. This created in the Turkish Community the feeling of being underprivileged and oppressed... Humanitarian suffering was at the origin of an eleven year-long Cyprus crisis."

Another eminent authority, the late Professor Ernst Forsthoff, who was the neutral President of the Supreme Constitutional Court of Cyprus between the years 1960-63, stated in an interview he gave to UPI Correspondent on the 30th December, 1963:

"All this has happened because Makarios wanted to remove all constitutional rights from Turkish Cypriots."

"From the moment Makarios started openly to deprive Turkish Cypriots of their rights - the present events were inevitable."

The fact that the Greek Cypriots, through their leader Archbishop Makarios trampled upon the human rights of Turkish Cypriots is also confirmed by Lord Home, who was the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom at the time of the Greek-Greek Cypriot armed onslaught against the Turkish Cypriot Community in 1963. At page 242 of his book entitled "The Way the Wind Blows" Lord Home states:

"I was early convinced of the view that... Archbishop Makarios unless he could bring himself to treat the Turkish Minority! as human beings, was inviting the invasion and partition of the island."

The first open move in the series of violations of Turkish Cypriot rights in Cyprus came with Archbishop Makarios' attempt to unilaterally amend the Constitution of the Republic through his 13-point memorandum. His proposed amendments, which would have, in effect, eliminated all the basic rights of the Turkish Cypriot Community entrenched in the Constitution, were aimed at destroying the bi-national character of the Republic and thereby paving the way to union of Cyprus with Greece.

When the Turkish Cypriot side objected to such an arbitrary amendment of the Constitution, the Turkish Cypriot Community became the target of armed attacks in late December 1963. Parallel to these attacks the Turkish Cypriot members of the Government, including the Turkish Cypriot Vice-President, were forcibly ousted from their offices and never allowed to return. This was in line with the infamous Akritas Plan to dissolve the Republic of Cyprus through pre determined stages and methods and thus bring about the union of Cyprus with Greece.

For over twelve years the Turkish Cypriot Community was treated in its own State as completely and utterly stateless, to the extent that although thousands of Turkish Cypriots were killed, wounded or maimed, and 25,000 ousted from their homes for twelve years, not a single Greek Cypriot was punished by the so-called "Government of Cyprus"; on the contrary many were rewarded for their "nationalism" or "heroism"!

For twelve years arbitrary arrest, murder, rape, restrictions in the freedom of movement, economic blockades and innumerable other hardships became daily occurrences, which Turkish Cypriots had to suffer.

The right of the Turkish Cypriots to life, liberty and security of person which undoubtedly constitutes the most fundamental right of any human being, was almost non-existent between the years 1963-74.

Indeed the planned periodic attacks against the Turkish Cypriot Community by Greek Cypriot armed elements, in collusion with Greece, who had virtually occupied Cyprus after the events of 1963, through over 20,000 armed troops, were undoubtedly the most inhuman and violent aspect of the Greek Cypriot drive for Union of Cyprus with Greece-ENOSIS. The policy of ENOSIS, which was pursued in complete disregard of the rights of the Turkish Cypriot Community led to the loss of many Turkish lives and untold human suffering.

As made public by the notorious Akritas Plan, soon after independence in 1960, secret armies were formed by the Greek Cypriot leadership, in collaboration with Greece, with the object of exterminating the Turkish Cypriot Community and imposing ENOSIS by force.

The existence of this plan, which was published by the Greek Cypriot daily *Patris* of 21st April 1966, has never been denied by Greek Cypriot leaders, including the late Archbishop Makarios.

Just two quotations from different periods would suffice to indicate the mentality of the Greek Cypriot leadership that prepared this plan. In a sermon at Panayia village, on 4th September 1962, Archbishop Makarios said:

"Unless this small Turkish Community forming a part of the Turkish race is expelled, the duty of the heroes of EOKA can never be considered as terminated."

Ten years later in an interview with Karin Kaemmerer, of the German weekly, "*Bunte Illustrierte*", Makarios said:

"The Union of Cyprus with Greece required the extermination of the Turkish Cypriot Community."

Between December 1963 and the coup of 15th July 1974 over 500 Turks - innocent civilians, including women and children - were murdered and thousands maimed or wounded in the name of ENOSIS. Some were shot in their homes, others were rounded up in periodic purges never to be seen again. (The appendices of this publication contain reports of the United Nations Secretary General and international press accounts describing these horrifying events.)

The worst massacres, however, took place following the coup d'etat of 15th July 1974. No sooner had the Turkish operation commenced, the Greeks proceeded to attack Turkish Cypriot villages with unparalleled savagery. This was in line with a pre-determined plan of action: (1) Turkish Cypriots would be attacked, harassed and forced to bow to Greek Cypriot will so that the bi-national character of the State and of the Government was converted into a Greek character; (2) if the Turkish Cypriots resisted then they would be wiped out or so brutally treated that they would realize it was no use resisting the Greek Cypriots; (3) in case Turkey moved to save the Turkish Cypriots then, within the shortest time,

the Turkish Cypriot population would be destroyed so that Turkey found no Turkish Cypriots to save! And, that, would be the end of the Cyprus problem because there would be no Turkish Cypriot element to object to ENOSIS. Indeed, this was not the first time the Greeks had planned to settle the Cyprus problem through the extermination of the Turkish Cypriot Community. This is evidenced from the following interview the late Archbishop Makarios had with Oriana Falaci in New York in November, 1974:

"One day he (Brig. Ioannides) came to see me with Sampson, to suggest a project that would have settled forever the problem of Cyprus. He kissed my hand respectfully and said: Your Beatitude, here is my project: To attack the Turkish Cypriots suddenly everywhere on the island and eliminate them to the last one'."

This publication attempts to give an idea of the violations committed against the human rights of Turkish Cypriots during and after the events of July-August 1974, as well as giving background information where appropriate pertaining to the period 1963-74. Clearly no such account can be comprehensive but it is hoped that the true situation in Cyprus regarding violations of human rights will thus come to light.

PART I

1. The Greek Cypriot Administration is not the Government of the whole of Cyprus:

Invariably reports prepared by the so-called "Government of Cyprus" regarding violations of human rights in Cyprus are based on one-sided evidence and false assertions provided by the so-called witnesses of this administration. Furthermore reports prepared by the so called "Government of Cyprus" are presented in such a manner that this government purports to speak for the whole of Cyprus. This is very far from the truth.

The so-called "Government of Cyprus" is no other than the Greek Cypriot Administration whose jurisdiction extends only over the area of the island under Greek Cypriot control in the South of Cyprus. The area invariably referred to by the Greek Cypriot Administration as being under the "military occupation of Turkey" is in fact the territory of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus in the North of the island, this area being under the full control and authority of the Turkish Cypriot Community, the co-founder partner of the Republic of Cyprus.

As is common knowledge the Republic of Cyprus was established in accordance with the Zurich and London Agreements of the 11th and 19th February, 1959 as a bi-national state based on the existence of two national communities. The Constitution of the Republic provides for the joint participation of the two communities in the Executive, Legislative and Judicial organs of the state and the two communities have equal rights in the sovereignty and territory of the Republic.

Lawful authority in Cyprus is, therefore, based on the joint will of both the Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot Communities and this authority can neither be assumed nor exercised by either one community without the consent of the other.

However, following the Greek Cypriot armed onslaught against the Turkish Cypriot Community in December 1963, aimed at eliminating the Turkish Cypriot Community and thus uniting the island with Greece, the Turkish Cypriot members of the Government and the public service were forcibly ousted from their offices and never allowed to return. Their positions were subsequently filled in by Greek Cypriots and the machinery of government of the Republic of Cyprus was thus illegally usurped by the Greek Cypriot element of the bi-national State.

The continuous violation of the 1960 Constitution by the Greek Cypriot side ever since 1963 had rendered the so-called "Government of Cyprus" illegal and unconstitutional, and its writ never ran over areas in which Turkish Cypriots lived and controlled. Yet due to its *de facto* superiority over the Turkish Cypriot Community which was achieved through force of arms and the inhuman oppression of the Turkish Cypriots, the Greek Cypriot Administration managed to pose to the world as the "Government of Cyprus".

The Greek engineered coup d'etat of 15th July 1974 constituted the culmination of Greek Cypriot efforts to unite the island with Greece and represented the final blow to constitutional order in Cyprus. The ensuing Turkish intervention, carried out in accordance with the Treaty rights and obligations of Turkey to preserve the independence of Cyprus and to protect the Turkish Cypriot Community, put an end to the *de facto* superiority of the Greek Cypriot Administration and two autonomous administrations each exercising exclusive control and authority over two distinct regions of the island came into being.

The existence of two separate administrations in Cyprus was unequivocally recognized by the three guarantor powers -Turkey, Greece and the United Kingdom- by the Geneva Declaration of 30th July 1974¹ and also acknowledged by the Resolutions of the United Nations.

It is thus abundantly clear that ever since the Greek Cypriot aggression against the Turkish Cypriot Community in 1963, there have existed in Cyprus and, in the absence of a mutually agreed final political settlement, there will continue to exist, two separate administrations in Cyprus. Following the events of July-August 1974 these two administrations gained further autonomy and equality and they have been exercising exclusive control and authority over their respective regions.

Under the circumstances, the so-called "Government of Cyprus" cannot claim the right to represent or speak for the whole of Cyprus, but can only represent or speak for the Greek Cypriot Community and the Southern part of the island. The Turkish Federated State of Cyprus is the sole competent authority which can speak for and represent the Turkish Cypriot partners of the Republic of Cyprus and the Northern part of the island.

2. Turkey intervened in Cyprus under her Treaty rights and obligations and is not present in the island as an occupying force.

The Greek Cypriot Administration invariably argues at international fora that the crisis of Cyprus stems from Turkey's "occupation" of the island and that as a result of this occupation the Greek Cypriot partner of the Republic of Cyprus has been subjected to untold suffering and pain. The Greek Cypriot Administration fails, however, to explain what caused Turkey to take action in Cyprus in the first place as a guarantor state.

¹ Appendix 1

It is pertinent to point out that the intervention of Turkey in Cyprus following the Greek engineered coup d'etat of 15th July 1974 was not an act of aggression but an act to end the eleven-year long aggression of Greece and the Greek Cypriot Community against the Constitution and bi-nationality of Cyprus. Had Turkey not intervened in time in her capacity as one of the guarantor powers, in accordance with her rights and obligations under the Treaty of Guarantee of 1960, the result would have been the final destruction of the bi-communal independence of Cyprus -which had already been partially destroyed by the Greek Cypriot onslaught of December 1963- and the Union, within a short time, of Cyprus with Greece in complete disregard of the rights of the Turkish Cypriot Community.

Accordingly there is no "invasion" or "occupation" of Cyprus by Turkey as alleged by the Greek Cypriot Administration, but rather a liberation of part of Cyprus for and on behalf of the Turkish Cypriot co-founder partner of the Republic of Cyprus - the Community which has equal rights in the territory and sovereignty of Cyprus and would have been completely eliminated had it not been for the timely intervention of Turkey. By coming to Cyprus the Turkish army in fact pushed back the Greek Cypriot and Greek mainland forces of conspiracy, which had been waging a war against the very existence of the bi-national independence of Cyprus since 1963.

The Turkish forces are present in Cyprus today solely to maintain peace and stability pending the final solution of the Cyprus problem. The Turkish Government has repeatedly stated officially and at the highest level that Turkey would withdraw her forces from the island once a settlement acceptable to both communities is found. It will be appreciated, however, that before a final solution to the Cyprus problem, effectively guaranteeing the security of life and property of the Turkish Cypriot Community is achieved, the complete withdrawal of the Turkish forces is not possible. Today the presence of the Turkish forces on the island is the only effective guarantee for the safeguarding of the lives and property of the Turkish Cypriots, who were the sole victims of relentless Greek armed attacks between the years 1963-1974 during which time the island was under the virtual occupation of over 20,000 Greek mainland troops who had clandestinely entered the island to assist the Greek Cypriots in the ENOSIS campaign.

Nevertheless, as evidenced by the recent reports of the United Nations Secretary-General to the Security Council there have already been substantial withdrawals of Turkish troops from the island, the total number withdrawn being no less than 17,500, and this process will no doubt continue parallel to normalization on the island and improvements in the security situation.

Thus Turkey's role in Cyprus is confined solely to peace-keeping operations as the guarantor of the bi-national independence of Cyprus and of the rights, status and lives of the co-founder partner Turkish Cypriot Community. The only concern of the Turkish forces in Cyprus is to assist the Security Forces of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus in ensuring the security of life and property of the Turkish Cypriot Community until a peaceful solution is found to the Cyprus problem through the medium of the intercommunal talks. Neither Turkey nor the

Turkish Forces in Cyprus are involved with the political, administrative, legislative and judicial matters or the daily affairs of the Turkish Cypriot Community, or of the Greek Cypriots and Maronites who chose to stay in the Turkish Cypriot controlled region. These matters are the direct concern and responsibility of the lawful organs and authorities of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus in accordance with its Constitution which was approved by a referendum held on 8 June 1975. This aspect has also been confirmed by the ruling of the Court of Appeal of England in the case of *Hesperides Hotels Ltd. and Another v Aegean Turkish Holidays Ltd. and Another*. (Times Law Report, May 23, 1977) ²

The Cyprus crisis did not suddenly start in July 1974 with Turkey's decision to intervene. The intercommunal troubles date back to 1963 and even before the proclamation of the Republic in 1960. The records of the United Nations provide ample evidence of the history of the Cyprus problem which dates back to the demands of Greece and the Greek Cypriots for ENOSIS in the mid-1950s. The 1963 onslaught against the Turkish Cypriot Community constituted one of the many attempts of the Greek Cypriot side to eliminate the Turkish Cypriot Community and achieve the Union of Cyprus with Greece.

Following the Greek Cypriot onslaught against the Turkish Cypriot Community and the usurpation of the machinery of Government by the Greek Cypriots, the Turkish Cypriot Community continuously resisted the unconstitutional rule of the so-called "Government of Cyprus" and its writ never ran in Turkish Cypriot areas or for, or in respect of, the Turkish Cypriots, as confirmed by the extracts from the Report of the United Nations Secretary-General No. S/6102 of 12 December 1964). ³ The Turkish Cypriot co-founder partner of the Republic of Cyprus was deprived of all its rights and received nothing from the Budget of the Republic as from December 1963.

If the question of human rights in Cyprus is to be considered in any international forum, it will be futile to deliberate on the matter without taking into account the past history of the Cyprus problem. A one-sided presentation of the situation in Cyprus by the representatives of the Greek Cypriot Administration purporting to represent the whole of Cyprus, without consideration of the Turkish Cypriot view point does not make an objective and balanced appraisal of the question possible.

3. A Brief Review of the Cyprus Problem between 1963-74

On 21 December 1963 Greek Cypriot armed elements, i.e. Greek Cypriot personnel of the bi-communal Police and Gendarmerie, Greek Cypriot elements of the bi-communal Cyprus Army, in accordance with a previously planned prog-

2 Appendix 2

3 Appendix 3

ramme known as the notorious AKRITAS PLAN⁴ joined the secret armies under the command of the then Minister of Interior, Mr. Plycarpos Yiorgadjis, Dr. Vasos Lyssarides, Mr. Tasos Papadopoulos and others and launched their well-timed attack on the Turkish Cypriot Community with a view to destroying the bi-communality of the State by abrogating the International Treaties which brought about the Republic of Cyprus and thereby uniting the island with Greece. Thus, overnight all vestiges of law and order ceased to exist. Turkish Cypriot elements in the legitimate Government of Cyprus, viz. the Vice-President of Cyprus and the three Turkish Cypriot Cabinet Ministers, the Turkish Cypriot members of the House of Representatives and all Turkish Cypriot members of the Civil Service of the Republic were prevented by brute force from attending their offices. Greek Cypriot leaders expected the Turkish Cypriot co-founder partner of the Republic to submit to this brute force in order to destroy the bi-communality of the State and thus open the way to union with Greece, otherwise, the Turkish elements of the legitimate Government of Cyprus would not be accepted back.

On this point the Reports of U.N. Secretary General to the Security Council dated 10 September 1964 under reference S/5950, para. 108 and S/6569 of 29 July 1965, paras. 7-11 are relevant:

108. (1) "UNFICYP authorities from the beginning of the mandate in Cyprus gave serious consideration to this question and on several occasions they raised it with the Cyprus (Greek Cypriot) Government. All negotiations on the possible re-employment of the Turkish Cypriot Government civil servants in Nicosia and their financial compensation from January 1964 have ended in a deadlock up to now, as it is considered by the (Greek Cypriot) Government to be a highly political matter linked closely with the final settlement of the Cyprus question..."

7. "The Turkish Cypriot members requested UNFICYP to extend its good offices to enable them to receive information about the time of meeting of the House, and to make arrangements for the Turkish Cypriot members to attend such meetings in safety. They specified that, if officially invited and notified about matters to be considered, as required by the constitution, they would be prepared to attend Parliament on all questions, not only on the two bills now pending.

8. " The Special Representative conveyed this position to Mr. Clerides, the President of the House of Representatives, who stated that the Turkish Cypriot members could attend provided agreement were reached beforehand on the following points:

(a) The Turkish Cypriot members would resume their seats permanently rather than only for the purpose of the present debate;

(b) The Turkish Cypriot members would accept that the laws enacted by the House of Representatives would be applied to the whole of Cyprus, including the Turkish areas, by the Government using the normal authorized administrative organs;

(c) While the Greek Cypriot members would regard attendance at the House by the Turkish Cypriot members as implying recognition by them of the present Cyprus Government, the Turkish Cypriot members would not be called upon to make a statement to that effect, and the Greek Cypriots would likewise refrain from making any such statement on the record of the House;

(d) It must be understood that the provision in article 78 of the constitution concerning separate majorities had been abolished and every member of the House would have one vote for all decisions.

9. "Mr. Clerides informed UNFICYP that he was prepared to discuss the situation during the afternoon of 22 July with a group of Turkish Cypriot members of the House. He subsequently indicated, however, that he would not receive this delegation if they came escorted by UNFICYP soldiers, though he would not object to their being brought to his office in an UNFICYP automobile driven by an UNFICYP employee. Finally, Mr. Clerides stated that unless the Turkish Cypriot members accepted the conditions laid down by him, he found it pointless to supply to them copies of the pending bills.

10. "The Special Representative transmitted the position of the President of the House to Vice-President Kuchuk and to certain Turkish Cypriot members of the House. The Turkish Cypriots considered that the conditions laid down by Mr. Clerides would eliminate the constitutional rights of the Turkish Cypriot members and of their community. They emphasized in particular that, under the constitution, only the President and Vice-President jointly could challenge the constitutionality of a law (article 140). In the case of legislation deemed contrary to the interests of his community, the Vice-President was entitled to institute action (article 141). However, since the Government had stated that it no longer recognized Dr. Kuchuk in his capacity as Vice-President, this latter provision of the constitution was inapplicable in practice.

11. "During the afternoon, the Turkish Cypriot members visited the President of the House, who reiterated the substance of the points set forth in paragraph 8 above. He made it plain that, unless agreement was reached on these matters, he would not permit the Turkish Cypriot members to attend the House. Mr. Clerides also stated that the constitutional provisions concerning promulgation of the laws by the President and the Vice-President were no longer applicable. He subsequently stated that in his opinion the Turkish Cypriot members had no legal standing any more in the House."

Thus, a purely Greek Cypriot Administration took over by force of arms, the legitimate bi-communal Government of Cyprus. The sole objective of the Greek Cypriot Administration was -from December 1963 to July 1974- the non-implementation of the 1960 Constitution, thus leaving the Turkish Cypriot Community, forming almost one-fourth of the population of Cyprus, outside the protection of the Constitution of Cyprus in all respects but specially so in respect of all aspects relating to Human Rights.

4. In a move to legalize the domination of the island by the Greek Cypriot Community through the pre-planned onslaught against the Turkish Cypriots the then President of the Republic, Archbishop Makarios, declared on 1st January 1964 the Treaty of Guarantee and the Treaty of Alliance signed by Turkey, Britain, and Greece in 1960 null and void -Treaties upon which the Republic of Cyprus was established. On 2 January 1964, the London Times wrote under the title "This is shocking Cynics":

"The behaviour yesterday of President Makarios was appallingly irresponsible. The first statement he gave to the world was that his government 'had decided' to abrogate the Treaty of Guarantee with Britain Greece and Turkey and the Treaty of Alliance with the two last.

A second statement converted the 'decision' into a declaration of intention. Even this watered-down version is a match tossed into a powder keg."

Under the title "No Shelter For Double-Crossers", The Daily Telegraph wrote the following on the same day:

"It has been impossible to discern in the attitude of President Makarios during the present crisis those urbane qualities of prelate-politician that marked his first years in power. His actions have become impulsive and contradictory..... Yesterday afternoon he announced that his government had decided to abrogate the Treaties of Guarantee and Alliance. Two hours later he corrected himself, saying that "it is our desire to secure the termination of these treaties". But whose desire? The President knows that Vice-President Kuchuk is able to veto any of his actions. It seems very unlikely that the Turkish-Cypriot Community will want to relinquish the ultimate protection of Turkey. The Greek Cypriot Community should not assume however, that the British military presence can or should secure them against Turkish intervention if they persecute the minority. We must not be a shelter to double crossers."

On 2 January 1964, Reuters quoted independent newspaper Die Welt of Hamburg as saying:

"Archbishop Makarios is playing with fire in his handling of the present conflict in Cyprus. By deciding to abrogate the treaties the President

has brought about the danger of an international conflict. The countries which have signed the 1959 agreement, Britain, Greece and Turkey, cannot be satisfied with the steps taken by the Archbishop. The abrogation turns the back on all those who nearly five years ago worked for an agreement that opened the way for independence of the island. It also disappoints all those who in the past few days have been making efforts to reach a peaceful solution."

Dr. P.N. Vanezis, a Greek Cypriot, in his book "Makarios-Faith and Power" (Pages 156-157) also confirms that Makarios had intended to unilaterally abrogate the Treaties of Guarantee and Alliance:

"On 1st January 1964, while Mr. Sandys (British Secretary for Commonwealth Relations) was still in Cyprus, the Cyprus Government (i.e. Archbishop Makarios) announced that it had abrogated the Treaty signed in London with Greece, Turkey and Britain... Mr. Sandys immediately descended on the Archbishop and his (Greek) Cabinet in session. Sandys said to Makarios: 'You can't do this!' Makarios replied calmly: 'Well, I've done it.' Sandys then said: 'If you don't retract, the Turks will be here in twenty-four hours and everyone will think they were quite within their rights. What consultations did you have before doing this?' Makarios replied: 'I have written to all heads of Governments in the world'. Sandys, taken aback asked: 'All of them including the British Government?' 'Well, not quite all. I didn't send notes to the British, Turkish and Greek Governments because I thought they were all too closely involved.' Sandys retorted to this: 'You've got to eat your words, and there is no time to be lost.' The Archbishop replied to this proposition: 'I never eat my words.' 'I am afraid you have no option and I will do my best to help you find a formula' (said Sandys). They then went on to produce the following piece of prose:

" 'In my telegrams today to heads of Governments I stated that we have decided to abrogate the Treaty of Guarantee and Alliance. This may have given the impression that we had abrogated these Treaties. I wish to make clear that the meaning intended to be conveyed was that it is our desire to secure the termination of these Treaties by appropriate means.'

"After this little exhibition, Makarios tried a face saver by saying to Sandys: 'This was all a misunderstanding. It was the fault of the translation from Greek. You see, the Greek word doesn't mean abrogate but only desire to abrogate.' Sandys then turned to the Cyprus Foreign Minister and asked: 'Which was the original text, Greek or English?' Kyprianou, obviously caught out, blushed and said: 'The English.' "

The then Vice-President of Cyprus, Dr. F. Kuchuk, in a letter^S to all Heads of States on 5 January 1964 appealed for support to the Turkish Cypriot

Community in its struggle for survival against very heavy odds. Dr. Kuchuk's letter summarizes in brief the pain and suffering the Turkish Cypriot Community had to put up with during the early stages of the Cyprus conflict.

Professor Forsthoff, the former President of the Supreme Constitutional Court of Cyprus, who resigned because of his disapproval of the attitude of Archbishop Makarios and his supporters, told AP in Heidelberg early in January that the Greek Cypriot side was resorting to every possible means to achieve its objective. He stressed "the fact that the decision of the Constitutional Court was not to be implemented was made quite clear to me and as it turned out it was not in fact implemented"

As the former President of the Supreme Constitutional Court, Professor Forsthoff's observations have a bearing on the current state of affairs in Cyprus.

5. Despite the deployment of British troops in the island the Greek Cypriot onslaught against the Turks did not cease. Armed Greek Cypriot units continued to harass isolated Turkish Cypriot villages, set up road blocks and search Turkish Cypriots, and abduct members of the Turkish Cypriot Community whenever they happened to be travelling or working alone. Less than two months after the commencement of the Greek Cypriot onslaught it had been established that 150 Turkish Cypriots had been mercilessly murdered in cold blood. The then Vice-President, Dr. Kuchuk, in his telegram 7 to Heads of States and international organizations on 11 February 1964 protested against the mass killing of Turkish Cypriots and expressed the sorrow of his Community in the face of such inhuman tragic events.

6. As a result of the pre-planned Greek Cypriot attack on the Turkish Cypriots, 25,000 of them vacated 103 villages and took refuge in the nearest relatively safer Turkish Cypriot areas and continued living as refugees in their homeland. (Their bitter experiences will be explained in the ensuing sections.)

7. The failure of the Greek Cypriot plans to subdue the Turkish Cypriot Community through the use of brute force to accept the usurpation of its rights and the domination of the island by Greeks and Greek Cypriots intensified Greek Cypriot pressure on the Turkish Cypriot co-founder partner of the Republic in economic, social and military fields. The aim was to reduce the Turkish Cypriot Community into the status of a mere minority. A mere minority which would not hamper Greek-Greek Cypriot efforts to destroy the Republic and unite Cyprus with Greece.

6 Appendix 6

7 Appendix 7

8. Any attempt to describe in detail the ways and means the Greek Cypriot leaders used to usurp and violate the constitutional and human rights of the Turkish Cypriot Community would fill several volumes. A few photographs,⁸ however, would suffice to indicate the extent of the Greek Cypriot violations of the human rights of the Turkish Cypriots.

9. Irrespective of the presence of British troops and the subsequent intervention of the United Nations Peace Force (UNFICYP) in Cyprus, the Greek Cypriot move to achieve ENOSIS continued at the expense of the Turkish Cypriots. Numerous Turkish Cypriot villages were burnt and destroyed by the so-called 'legal forces' of the island before the eyes of UNFICYP. Greek Cypriot atrocities had forced thousands of Turkish Cypriots to become refugees living in caves, tents, stables, and schools. Hundreds of Turkish Cypriots were brutally murdered. Hundreds more were missing. And, all this was forced upon them in the name of ENOSIS. This state of affairs is also confirmed in the Reports⁹ of the U.N. Secretary-General to the Security Council. The world turned a blind eye to Turkish Cypriot appeals for help. No one, no organization, raised a voice against the violation of the rights of the Turkish Cypriots. Turkey did whatever it could to prevent the Turkish Cypriot Community from total annihilation by the so-called Greek Cypriot National Guard and Greek Army units illegally brought over from Greece with the blessing of Archbishop Makarios. Greece's military involvement is also confirmed by the U.N. Secretary-General in his Reports to the Security Council.¹⁰ The U.N. Secretary-General in his reports to the Security Council also depicts the Greek Cypriot atrocities and violations of human rights against the co-partner Turkish Cypriot Community between the years 1963-68, despite Turkey's efforts - as a guarantor power - to prevent such violations." 11

10. Violation of the Constitution:

One of the most outrageous violation of the Republic's Constitution by Archbishop Makarios, toward which neither Greece nor Britain took a stand as guarantor powers, nor did the United Nations body as the peace keeping force in Cyprus, was the oath he took during his investiture in the House of Representatives on 28 February 1973. The following is the oath taken by the then President of the Republic of Cyprus as quoted in Para. 17 of the U.N. Secretary-General's Report to the Security Council No. S/10940 of 31 May 1973:

8	Appendix 8
9	Appendix 9
10	Appendix 10
11	Appendix 11

"I do solemnly affirm faith to and respect for the Laws of the Republic of Cyprus in force for the time being and that I will exercise the functions of the Office of the President of the Republic in accordance with them."

The original oath prescribed in Article 42 of the Constitution of the Republic of Cyprus is as follows:

"I do solemnly affirm faith to, and respect for, the Constitution and the laws made thereunder, the preservation of the independence and territorial integrity, of the Republic of Cyprus."

The laws referred to in the oath Archbishop Makarios took in 1973 were the laws of the jungle for the Turkish Cypriot Community. The following is a brief outcome of the laws referred to by Archbishop Makarios in force since December 1963.

The Courts of Law, as envisaged by the Constitution became non-existent by the enactment of 'The Administration of Justice (Miscellaneous Provisions) Law, 1964' by the Greek Cypriot House of Representatives, thus depriving the Turkish Cypriots of their right of protection against abuse of power and illegal practices.

As a result of this gross violation of the Judicial system in the country from 1963 to 1974, not a single Greek Cypriot was prosecuted or punished for all that was done to the members of the Turkish Community by Greek Cypriot policemen, armed personnel and others.

Although over one thousand Turkish Cypriots were killed, maimed or wounded by the Greek Cypriots during the period December 1963 to July 1974 no one was prosecuted for any such offence.

The vast destruction of Turkish-owned property in 103 villages, pillage of movables and flocks of sheep, unlawful dispossession of hundreds of Turks of their motor vehicles, tractors, etc. brought no recrimination from the Greek Cypriot authorities against the culprits.

Although by law all contributing persons were entitled to Old Age Pension under Social Insurance Law after attaining the age of 65, hundreds of Turkish Cypriots were denied this right by arbitrary orders of the "Ministry" involved.

Turkish Cypriot farmers were paid 15-20% less than what was paid to Greek Cypriot farmers for their produce.

Denial of postal services to the Turkish Cypriots; refusal to supply Turkish villages with water or electricity; refusal to pay the salaries of thousands of Turkish Cypriots in the employ of the Government are but few of the examples of *discrimination* against the Turkish Cypriots on grounds of racism.

11. Greek-Greek Cypriot Coup of 1974:

Although Greek Army units were sent over from Greece to help Archbishop Makarios and the rest of the Greek Cypriot leaders to achieve ENOSIS, the failure of the endeavour due to Turkish Cypriot resistance, however, created distrust and animosity between Greek Cypriot leaders and Greek Officers in the island. By 1974 the distrust and animosity between the two factions were so great that Archbishop Makarios felt the need to make representations to the Greek President, General Gizikis, about the state of affairs in the island's Greek sectors. The letter¹² he wrote to the Greek President dated 2 July 1974 constitutes concrete evidence not only of the Greek-Greek Cypriot collaboration to achieve ENOSIS but also of involvement of Greek Officers in illegal activities, conspiracies, and other inadmissible situations in Greek Cypriot sectors of the island between 1963 and 1974.

Archbishop Makarios' letter to General Gizikis brought the wrath upon him of the supporters of the Greek officers in Cyprus. In a telegram to the Greek President, General Gizikis, Premier Andrutsopoulos, General Denisis, and the Greek Ambassador to Nicosia on 7 July 1974 the Coordination Committee for ENOSIS, ESEA, said:

- a) The Hellenic Cyprus is an inseparable part of the Nation.
- b) The defence of Cyprus is within the defence system of Greece.
- c) The frontiers of our country extends from the River Maritsa upto the Karpass region of Cyprus against the eternal enemy of our Race.
- d) The National Guard is part of the glorious Greek Army.
- e) That Greek Officers who defend Cyprus against internal and external enemies remain in Cyprus is essential and a must.
- f) The withdrawal of Greek Officers from this most southern part of Hellenism will excite the appetite of others.
- g) No Greek Cypriot will fail to take up arms in the event a pan-Hellenic struggle is waged for the survival of our Race.
- h) Weakening Greece's defence power and the National Front constitutes National Treachery.

Archbishop Makarios did not receive a reply from the Greek President immediately. The Greek response came on 15 July 1974. The National Guard commanded by Greek officers staged a coup against him. Archbishop Makarios barely saved himself by fleeing from the island.

12. The coup not only meant the overthrow of Archbishop Makarios, it also meant the abrogation of the independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus. It meant direct union with Greece. Nothing can explain this situation more explicitly than the address¹³ delivered by Archbishop Makarios at the U.N. Security Council on 19 July 1974, four days after the Greek coup. The once President of the Republic, Archbishop Makarios, described the coup as an open violation of the independence of Cyprus by Greece and a clear attack from the outside.

13. For Archbishop Makarios the 15 July Coup was a premature destruction of the Republic. It meant a direct union with Greece. Makarios' policy was somewhat different. He believed any direct move to achieve ENOSIS would force at least one of the Guarantor powers to take action. This would mean the failure of ENOSIS, therefore, it was inadmissible that anyone should move to bring about the union of Cyprus with Greece prematurely. The operation should be done gradually through the subjugation of the Turkish Cypriot Community in a manner that none of the Guarantor powers would have the opportunity to react. Thus the name Makarios would enter the annals of Cyprus history in golden letters. Greece's direct move to achieve ENOSIS undermined the plans of Archbishop Makarios. On 15 July 1974 he was confronted with whatever he feared most.

14. Nicos Sampson, the leader of the Greek Coup, used the period between 15 July 1974 and 20 July 1974 to convince the world that the action taken was completely an internal affair; that it was against the oppressive regime of Archbishop Makarios; and that the new administration upheld the independence of Cyprus and believed in the necessity of maintaining talks with the Turkish Cypriot Community. The following is an extract from Nicos Sampson's press conference on 18 July 1974 during which he made unbelievable disclosures about the Archbishop's regime (the text of the press conference was carried by the Greek Cypriot press on 19 July 1974:

"I am glad that I have found the opportunity to meet you today. I have found it necessary to talk to you about the change of government and enlighten the people of Cyprus and the world public on the matter through you.

"First of all I would like to assure you that we are in control of the island from one end to the other. Not even a single inch of Cyprus territory is controlled by the former President who exiled himself.

"The situation and life is returning to normal. The important thing now, however, is to re-establish the unity among the people and between the ranks of the army. We resorted to this action aimed at preventing a civil war after the exhaustion of our tolerance. The overthrown government had brought the island to the verge of a civil war. Human Rights were openly trampled upon. There is adequate evidence on this matter. We have intervened together with the Armed Forces of Cyprus to restore Human Rights and Law and Order. This intervention has been successfully carried out and the people are enjoying tranquillity. Even the fanatic supporters of the former President are expressing support for the government and helping it to execute its duties.

"The former President who has exiled himself is responsible for setting up a private regime. This regime has brought oppression to the country. This regime has been overthrown through the indignation of the people and by the young soldiers of Cyprus. The people were being oppressed by the regime set up by a few individuals. These people were endeavouring to eliminate every political opponent of the former President through every possible means.

"Apart from this, those who have undertaken the administration of the country today, have discovered evidence categorically proving that the former regime was a corrupt administration. There is evidence proving that whatever the people of Cyprus earned through toil and sweat was being wasted in a most scandalous way. The main objective of those who administered the country until last week was to promote their own interests. The people were the victims of a small group of unscrupulous individuals. The people are not responsible for what had happened. On the contrary, the people suffered from what had happened.

"I would like to repeat that the Turkish Cypriot Community should not feel any anxiety about the change. This is an internal affair of the Greek Cypriots. I would also like to point out that we are honouring all our international obligations. The Republic of Cyprus is bound by the international conventions and agreements it has signed."

15. Nicos Sampson's statement may seem sincere to those not well acquainted with the Cyprus problem. Whether it was true that life was returning to normal in Greek Cypriot sectors of the island on the third day of the coup and whether the Makarios regime was actually corrupt as Sampson accused it to be, was a matter concerning the Greek Cypriot Community. That the change, the coup, was an internal affair as alleged by Sampson, however, was quite unfounded. It was carried out by the Greek armed units in Cyprus, the presence of which was a flagrant violation of the Republic's Constitution. The Greek Army's presence in the island since 1963 and even before also meant the occupation of Cyprus by Greece, one of the guarantor powers which was supposedly guaranteeing the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic.

Nicos Sampson's remark that the Republic would continue to be bound by the international agreements it had signed was equally unfounded. The following statement he made at Aylandja village on 25 March 1974 (carried by the Greek Cypriot daily, Makhi, on 30 March 1974) is proof of his true intentions:

"... We would like to warn those concerned that if the illegal groups supporting the State were to continue their activities, we shall react with the assistance of Greece and in the way Greece will show us. Victory will be ours. In the end we shall create the conditions appropriate for the materialization of our Self-Determination, ENOSIS aspiration. The day will come when those who oppose Greece will find themselves before public courts. Let Greece live in your hearts. Support the respectable Greek Army Officers and be sure that when the day comes they will unite us with our Motherland."

Moreover, following the take-over of the Greek Cypriot Administration by Nicos Sampson, Greek Cypriot radio broadcast began referring to the Republic of Cyprus as the "*Hellenic Republic of Cyprus*."

Indeed, the day Nicos Sampson spoke about came three months later as a result of the coup. Therefore, the Republic he spoke about at his press conference on 18th July 1974 was no more existing. Something non-existing therefore could not be bound by any agreement.

16. Greek Cypriots were subjected to torture by the Makarios Administration.

Another significant fact the coup brought to light was that the Makarios regime was not only oppressive against the Turkish Cypriot Community but it was also brutal against members of its own community. Soon after the coup, the torture victims of the Makarios Administration were interviewed on television. They were also questioned by foreign journalists. Their story was indeed regrettable not only from the point of view that they were Greek Cypriots suffering in the hands of their own compatriots but also from the point of view that they were being tortured upon the orders of an administration headed by a prelate, an Archbishop, who until then, was respected not only for his worthiness in ecclesiastical office but also for his diplomatic capability in temporal duties. The members of the press, both foreign and local, were astonished when the Sampson administration displayed the articles used in the torture chambers of the Makarios regime. This incident alone proved how the champions of democracy violated human rights in secret in an endeavour to achieve their objectives.

The Sunday Times report ¹⁴ on torture in Greek Cypriot sectors by Philip Jacobson on 4 August 1974 based on the report of Geoffrey Garrett investigating the case on behalf of Justice, the British end of the International Commission of Jurists is a glaring example of violation of human rights by Greek Cypriot leaders.

Torturing human beings was however only one of the secret aspects of the oppressive Makarios regime. The offensive of the coupists against the Archbishopric brought to light the fact that even religion was being used as an instrument to promote the interests of the Greek Cypriot leaders. When the Archbishopric was taken over by the Sampson followers, it was discovered that the center was being used as an arsenal. Daily Mesivriini wrote the following on 18 July 1974:

"New arms, most of them manufactured in Czechoslovakia, have been discovered in the cellars of the Archbishopric. It is estimated that there are about 20-thousand arms. The counting of the arms continue."

17. Greek Cypriots killed during the Coup.

Foreign journalists were very keen on establishing the number of Greek Cypriots killed during the coup. The following is a short excerpt from Nicos Sampson's press conference:

"Question: Can you give us an estimate on the number of people killed during the coup?

Answer: Less than one hundred.

Question: There is talk about hundreds being killed?

Answer: This is the illusion of those who start such rumours.

Question: Wounded or dead?

Answer: There are both wounded and dead."

(As published by the Greek Cypriot Press
on 18 July 1974)

18. Although Nicos Sampson regarded the talk about hundreds of lives lost during the coup as an illusion, members of his own community did not agree with him. The brutality and inhuman behaviour of the coupists which they witnessed had forced them to retaliate. The revealing disclosures made to a correspondent of the Greek Newspaper "TA NEA" of Athens by a Greek Cypriot cemetery priest named Papatsestos about the burial of truck-loads of dead Cypriots in mass graves without any record and without any attempt to identify the bodies provided ample evidence not only of Greek Cypriot atrocities even against their own kin but also of the fate of missing persons. The following are highlights of Papatsestos' interview with the correspondent of "TA NEA" which was reproduced in all local Greek Cypriot dailies on 28 February 1976:

'Papatsestos: Two days after the coup, on 17 July, I witnessed something which has perhaps never been witnessed by any mortal before. I saw a young Greek Cypriot buried alive. That was when two Junta Officers came to my house and ordered me to accompany them to the cemetery. I thought they were going to kill me, but they said they only wanted me for burying some dead people.

"In the cemetery there were two open graves and two bodies lying beside them. I went to see if I could recognize them. One was dead. But the other, a curly haired, fair complexioned 18-year-old youth was moving. Startled, I turned back and shouted: 'But officer, this man is alive!'

" 'Shut up you dirty priest, or I will shut you up for good', the officer retorted. Then the youth was pushed into the open grave which was filled with earth. 'I swear to God that they buried this youth while he was still alive!'

"Pointing at the cemetery, Papatsestos said: 'Here people were buried like dogs by the Junta. There were also bodies which had been dumped outside the cemetery. As a priest my conscience is troubled, but they were holding a pistol to my head at the time.

"I remember the day they first came to me. They said 'father, we have some dead bodies which we want you to bury'. 'With pleasure', I replied and asked how many bodies they had. 77 they said."

The full text of Papatsestos' disclosures¹⁵ provide ample evidence as to the fate of Greek Cypriots as well as of the Turkish Cypriots during the 15 July 1974 Coup.

19. Members of the Turkish Cypriot community were also the victims of the coupist elements. Father Papatsestos, in his interview¹⁵ with the Greek daily "TA NEA" disclosed the following when asked whether there were Turks among the dead as well:

"Only about 10. We did not know who they were and where they were found."

Father Papatsestos was not the only one talking about murders committed during the coup. On 22 November 1975, the editor of the local Greek Cypriot daily 'Haravghi' Mr. Costas Partassides, disclosed in an article in his paper:

"Innocent Turkish Cypriot women and children together with *thousands* of democratic elements among the Greek Community were wantonly killed by EOKA hordes during the coup."

Mr. Partassides also bitterly complained¹⁵ that persons responsible for these terrible crimes were free and that no action had been taken by the authorities to punish the culprits.

Neither Father Papatsestos nor Costas Partassides were the only ones talking about inter-Greek Cypriot atrocities. In August 1976, Mr. L. Loucaides, Deputy Attorney-General of the Greek Cypriot Administration, stated before the Greek Cypriot Assize Court in Nicosia, where the trial of Nicos Sampson was taking place, that "the military operations were extended on 15 July in the same well-organized manner, with the help of tanks and other heavy or light weapons, to the other towns except Paphos. Most of these armed attacks *ended in blood baths due to the number of injured and killed among the 'lawful' security forces and civilians. Material damage was enormous.*"

Additional evidence regarding Greek Cypriots killed during the coup is contained in a letter, dated August 31, 1974, written by a Greek Professor to Prof. Alper Orhon, in which he describes the events at the time of the coup in the following terms:

"I was there (Cyprus) during the coup d'etat too! Ah! it was awful. They were fighting all day and all night. I was in Limassol then. At my sisters. Makarios' residence and the Archbishopric are burned to the ground. There were quite a few dead; close to 1,000. Imagine that they used to bury them in the fields, gardens etc. with the "buldozers"! well, one thing that the Turks can always count on is that the Pro-Makarios and the Pro-Grivas ranks will never cease fighting each other. I guarantee, that that is a safe assumption to go by.

Anyway. After the first round of the war I managed to get out of Cyprus. I came here exactly 2 weeks ago. Things down in Cyprus are very bad. A lot of dislocation, economic depression, uprooting from homes of both sides, and plenty of dead. I mean plenty of dead. Businesses as well as the economic life of Cyprus came to a standstill. The worse is to come with the winter settling in. A lot of people suffer and the worse is to come. And neither the Americans nor the Greeks nor the Turks are going to pay for it: Only the Cypriots. And alas to them. Sometimes when I think what happened to this sweet land I go crazy. It never had a moment of peace from way back. Yet, ironically enough, they learned *nothing* from their past. Nothing."

The Greek Cypriot negotiator, Mr. Tassos Papadopoulos, speaking at a press conference on 12 December 1977, announced that according to information in the hands of Greek Cypriot authorities, the number of Greek Cypriots killed in the coup was approximately 504. The following is an extract from his statement at his press conference as published by the local English language daily "Cyprus Mail" on 13 December 1977:

"The number of Greek Cypriots who lost their lives during the short-lived coup in July 1974 did not exceed 504, the Greek Cypriot negotiator Mr. Tassos Papadopoulos said yesterday.

He gave the figure during his press conference yesterday to refute Turkish allegations that there were no undeclared prisoners or missing and that any missing should be looked for among those who were killed in the coup.

But, Mr. Papadopoulos said, according to information in the hands of the authorities, the number of people killed in the coup is approximately 504 and not one of them is included in the list of missing persons. They were either executed during the coup or were killed in armed confrontation.

'How would it be possible for people to be killed in the coup and be included in the lists given by the Turks themselves to the Greek Cypriot side for exchange as prisoners of war? If they were killed in July it would be impossible for them to be captured by the Turks and listed by them in August', Mr. Papadopoulos explained...

Mr. Papadopoulos also challenged the Turkish Cypriot figures about their own missing persons dating from the hostilities of 1963 and later. The Turks claim that the Turkish missing numbered 800. But, Mr. Papadopoulos said, according to the Greek Cypriot estimates this number does not exceed 450 and this includes Turkish Cypriots missing from 1964 to 1974."

This was the first time the Greek Cypriot side officially gave figures about the men who lost their lives in the coup or the number of Turkish Cypriots regarded by the Greek Cypriot side as actually missing.

In fact these figures are a gross underestimate of the true numbers. Mr. Papadopoulos has not only misled his own community but he has also deliberately tried to give the impression that missing persons are included in the list of prisoners of war prepared by the Turkish authorities. In fact this has been proved to be untrue by the statements of the ICRC to the effect that all prisoners of war taken by the Turkish side have been subsequently delivered to the Greek Cypriot authorities. This can be seen in the statements and reports of the ICRC in paragraphs 72-73.

20. Another disclosure of the tragic fate of young Greek Cypriots in the hands of the coupist forces of Sampson appeared in the Greek Cypriot daily "TA NEA" of 2 November 1976 under the heading 'Our Dead Demand a Purge'. The following is an English translation of this disclosure:

'OUR DEAD DEMAND A PURGE'

A purge must be carried out. This is what the victims of the coup d'etat demand. I want to relate the following on this matter. After three days of curfew we were allowed on the third day of the coup to get out of our houses.

Amongst those who did not return to their homes since the first day of the coup, was also my son, who was a secondary school student. I telephoned to all possible place where he could have been, in order to trace him.

Although the police and the military authorities knew that he joined the fight against the coupists and that after he had surrendered in Limassol, he was taken a prisoner and sent to Polemidhia, they persistently denied any knowledge as to the whereabouts of my son.

In the meantime, rumours were in the air that a great number of people were being buried in mass graves and that dead bodies were continuously being transported. My wife who had fits of hysteria went to hospital in order to see the wounded.

My son's name was not on the list. He was not on the list of the dead either. A member of EOKA B who was there, was uttering words of insult and brandishing his gun at those present.

In the meantime Napoleon Christophi removed all the personal effects from the dead-bodies and left the hospital. I wanted to have a look at these goods to see if any of my son's belongings were among them, but he refused to allow me to do so with the air of someone triumphant.

Later on they permitted a member from each family to enter the mortuary in order to identify the corpses. In the mortuary I saw a scene which I will never forget. There were 10 bodies there. They were all naked and their ages ranged between 20 and 28. I stooped beside a body which resembled that of my son.

Because the face was totally deformed, I tried to find a sign on the body. There were two bullet wounds in his abdomen and a hole in his right eye. I nearly fainted. In the meantime I heard the firing of arms. They ordered us to get out of the mortuary or else they would open fire on us.

When I returned home I was not sure whether the dead body belonged to my son or not. Towards the evening a soldier friend rang up to inform me that my son was a prisoner in the hands of the coupists at Polemidhia camp.

Later on it was rumoured that my son was brutally executed by the vile EOKA B terrorists. The EOKA B traitors who murdered these young men are now leading a majestic life and probably are members of civil service drawing high salaries.

The State is rewarding them for their betrayal. But what would be the reply of the State to the demands of these 10 young men crying for justice from their graves?

In order not to find ourselves in the same situation, the State must punish the traitors."

21. None of the above disclosures and complaints has, however, moved the Greek Cypriot authorities to make a formal statement on the subject or to take any action on the known culprits. Needless to say that the Greek Cypriot authorities' silence and inaction about the murders and atrocities committed during the coup, are quite incompatible with the noisy propaganda they are making about missing Greek Cypriots who are claimed to have disappeared during the Turkish Peace Operation between 20 July and 16 August 1974. Despite formal assurances from the highest level, that no Greek Cypriot is detained as a P.O.W. or under any other pretext, in Turkey or in the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus, the Greek Cypriot authorities are encouraging the families and relatives of the missing persons to believe that these persons are alive and being kept in some secret "Work Camps" in Turkey or in Cyprus, which is, a wicked and immoral lie.

The Greek Cypriot authorities' ostensibly conflicting behaviour on the issue of Greeks claimed by eye witnesses to have been murdered during the coup, and those merely alleged to have disappeared during the Turkish Peace Operation, may confuse the foreign observer. But there is actually a logical connection between the two patterns. The issue of missing persons is, in fact, only a smoke screen for covering the terrifying cost in human life during the Sampson coup.

So far the Greek Cypriot authorities have not announced the correct number of persons killed during the coup. It was only after great public pressure on 12 December 1977 that Mr. Papadopoulos admitted that Greeks were killed during the coup and gave the number as 504. The number of Turkish Cypriot missing persons was stated by him to be 450! It is obvious that Mr. Papadopoulos, who saw no objection to reducing the number of Turkish Cypriot missing persons by almost 50%, would see no objection, but on the contrary quite a benefit for his community, in reducing the number of Greek Cypriots killed during the coup so that he could add the rest on the so-called missing persons list in order to create a public outcry against Turkey... Indeed, the fact that his figures are false becomes

obvious when considered in the light of Makarios' statement at the U.N Security Council a few days after the coup, calling for immediate intervention to end the tragedy 'because the number of losses is great', and, also, taking into account the casualty figures quoted (in thousands) in the foreign press, as supplied by eye-witnesses, including Greek Cypriots feeling vengeance of the coup leaders, it can be safely assumed that most of the Greek Cypriot casualties occurred during the Sampson coup.

22. Inter-Greek Cypriot strife and discord did not cease after the fall of the Sampson regime as a result of the Turkish intervention. Lawlessness in Greek Cypriot sectors continued well after 20 July 1974. The following adequately depicts the picture in the Greek sectors of Cyprus at the time:

Greek Cypriot weekly 'ALITHIA' wrote on 5 August 1974:

"Several abandoned Greek Cypriot owned shops close to the Turkish Quarter (Green Line) are being looted by Greek Cypriots. The Greek Cypriot authorities should take measures to put an end to this intolerable looting of Greek property by Greeks themselves."

In one of its news items, the same paper quoted Bishop Anthimos of the Holy Synod as saying:

"We, the three Bishops of Cyprus have made a disastrous mistake by allowing Makarios to stay in power too long. He has made an equally serious mistake by insisting to remain in power. This has led to bloodshed and misery. The four of us must therefore be hanged at Metaxas Square."

On 24 August 1974, Greek Cypriot daily 'Haravghi' wrote the following:

"Greek Cypriot civilians in commando uniform continue to terrorise the inhabitants of Larnaca. These men set up road blocks whenever they so decide and wherever they like, and search vehicles and the public. These are all young men at conscription age. To stay away from their units is illegal. To wear commando uniforms and carry out police duties are equally unlawful. But they still appear to lay down the law. The people of Larnaca vigorously protest this situation and demand immediate and effective measures to end it."

Amongst the people so terrorized were also the defenceless Turkish Cypriot inhabitants of the town, where the menfolk had been rounded up and piled in a small school building in their hundreds, not knowing when they would be lined up and shot - the fate meted out to hundreds of Turkish Cypriots in the South between 15th July and the end of August 1974.

The Greek Cypriot daily 'TA NEA' carried a similar report on the same day:

"A Greek Cypriot reservist on leave was stopped by armed and bearded men while travelling to Akhna village a few days ago. When he was ordered to open up his car for a search, he disclosed his identity saying that he, too, was a soldier and added that he was going to gather volunteers for the "Green Line". When the bearded men heard this they started running away saying 'they did not tell us they wanted men for the Green Line so that we should go.' "

A gruesome atrocity story was published by daily 'Haravghi' on 24 September 1974. It revealed a completely new depth in the barbaric disposition of Greek Cypriots. "Cannibalistic" would be a more apt word, because the atrocity reported by the Greek Cypriot daily -- the mouthpiece of AKEL -- shows how a young Greek Cypriot was shot and fatally wounded before the eyes of a friend during the 15 July 1974 coup and how his this friend was forced to *drink his blood*.

According to the account of Haravghi, a certain Greek Cypriot youth, Costas Mishaoulis (a member of the AKEL Party), was shot in cold blood and critically wounded before the eyes of his friends by some armed elements during the Sampson coup. Haravghi claims that while Mishaoulis was writhing on the ground with pain and bleeding profusely, his friend was forced to kneel down and drink his blood.

If that is not cannibalistic savagery, what is? The revolting, fiendish crime could be regarded as an isolated case because of its rare novelty. In fact, Haravghi revealed it to illustrate the extreme savagery of the "Sampson Crowd" during the coup. But, nevertheless, it is a fact that many cases of mass murder were perpetrated during the coup in the Greek sectors and that these have been confirmed by eye-witness accounts in the foreign press. One should never lose sight of the fact that the so-called "Sampson Crowd" were part and parcel of the Greek Cypriot armed elements who attacked the Turkish Cypriot Community in combination with the Greek Cypriot Police and Greek Army personnel in December 1963 and committed all the crimes against the Turkish Cypriots and their properties throughout the years 1963-1974. These people continue to be part of the so-called Greek Cypriot National Guard.

A report in the Sunday Telegraph on 28 July 1974 quoted Britons flown home from Cyprus the day before as saying:

"People who were told by Makarios to lay down their arms were shot out of hand by the National Guard and buried in mass graves."

Lawlessness in the Greek Cypriot sectors of Cyprus after the Turkish intervention had indeed created an appalling state of affairs. Due to animosities between Greek Cypriot factions, security of life and property was down to nil. Greek Cypriot dailies confirmed this situation on 30 August 1974 when they reported the attempt made on the life of Dr. Vassos Lyssarides, the leader of the leftwing Greek Cypriot EDEK party.

The attack was organized by four gunmen. The car in which Mr. Lyssarides was travelling was riddled with bullets. He escaped with light injury but his driver was killed immediately. The attack was a retaliation by the underground terrorist organization, EOKA, against Dr. Lyssarides' article in the daily TA NEA a few days before the incident strongly criticising EOKA activities.

23. Massacre of Turkish Cypriots:

Turkish Cypriots were not exempt from the terror in Greek Cypriot regions. Soon after Turkey's intervention aimed at preventing the union of Cyprus with Greece, reports on mass murder of Turkish Cypriots began coming into the Turkish sector of the island. Greek army units, National Guardsmen, and Greek Cypriot underground terrorists were rounding up and killing Turkish Cypriots from villages and towns.

24. The worst part of the sad tale of the Turkish Cypriot Community, which started in December 1963, began on 20 July 1974 with the Greek Cypriot attack on Alaminos village. 14 Turkish Cypriot male inhabitants of this mixed village were rounded up by Greek and Greek Cypriot soldiers and were shot in cold blood with their hands tied behind their backs.

On 21 July 1974 Greek Cypriot National Guardsmen attacked the Turkish Cypriot village of Gaziveran. The result was 6 killed. Four of the dead were women. More reports came in the same day on Greek Cypriot atrocities in Limassol. Greek Cypriot National Guardsmen commanded by Greek Officers attacked the Turkish quarter of the town and killed 26 unarmed men, women and children. 1,800 Turks were taken as hostage.

On 23 July 1974, Daily Mail published a self explanatory news item on Greek Cypriot atrocities:

"A girl of 15 who escaped from Cyprus with tears streaming down her face, Kezban Derviş, told how she saw murder, rape, looting and indiscriminate shooting of women and children.

The Turkish Cypriot school girl's story was confirmed by Greek and British refugees who were flown home from the island - she said:

'I was living with my uncle and soon after the shooting started the National Guard came and took everyone away. I ran into a house and I saw a woman being attacked by soldiers. They were raping her and then they shot her in front of my eyes. I ran away again and some Turkish men and women looked after me'.

Kezban was taken to the Limassol General Hospital where she met Mrs. İlkay Osman wife of a British airman who said: "All the Turkish community had taken refuge in the hospital. They finally surrendered by holding up a white flag. I met a woman a few minutes after she had been assaulted".

Londoner Mehmet Besim, a 26 year old Civil Servant who was staying with relatives in Limassol said: "Greek soldiers were shouting to the women in the hospital whose men had been taken away: we are going to enjoy you tonight."

On 23 July 1974, the Turkish Cypriots of Angolemi village were attacked. Eight people, including women and children, were tortured and then murdered in cold blood by Greek and Greek Cypriot armed elements.

On 13 August 1974, Greek Cypriots of Kithasi village beheaded Niyazi Mehmet and his wife Naciye Niyazi with an axe. They stole their flock of sheep after they were killed.

On 14 August 1974, all able-bodied male Turkish Cypriot inhabitants (fifty in number) of the mixed village of Tokhni were taken by the Greek Cypriot National Guard soldiers to the outskirts of Ayia Phyla village in Limassol District where they were massacred and buried in a pre-opened pit together with about 40 Turkish Cypriots from Tatlisu village (Mari). This mass grave has been located by the United Nations Peace Force in Cyprus in Palodha village near Ayia Phyla, but the Greek Cypriot National Guard soldiers have prevented them from carrying out necessary investigations.

Massacre of Turkish Cypriots continued on the 14th and 15th of August. 57 of the 60 inhabitants of the Turkish village of Aloa were massacred and buried in a mass grave. In Sandallaris, the whole population of 57 and at Maratha 82 Turkish Cypriots were lined up and shot dead and buried in mass graves. Amongst the victims there were elderly people, women, children and even 14-day-old babies. It has been possible to identify the following victims only:

<u>NAME</u>	<u>AGE</u>		
Emine Hasan	31	Soncan Mehmet Naci	14
Ahmet Hasan	3	Şükran Mehmet Naci	22
Bahire Hasan	1	Sadiye Şadan	48
Tülây Süleyman	27	Ülkü Şadan	25
Hasan Süleyman	9	Fatma Şadan	18
Kemal Süleyman	6	Betül Hüseyin	15-month old
Okkan Süleyman	3	Rahme Cemal	57
Gürhan Ali Çerkez	12	Hatice Derviş	22
Ayşe Hasan	55	Fatma Mehmet Tavukçu	35
Narin Hasan	15	Talât Mehmet Tavukçu	4
Kıymet Hasan	20	Mustafa Mehmet Tavukçu	10
Hasan Kara Hüseyin	73	Ayşe Mustafa	50
Şifa Hasan Kara Hüseyin	60	Olkay Mustafa	16
Nadir Hasan Kara Hüseyin	24	Halil Hüseyin Kasap	65
Meral Hasan Kara Hüseyin	20	Emine Halil	55
Fatma Mehmet Naci	50	Muallâ Ali Faik	28
Erünsal Mehmet Naci	11	Gülden Ali Faik	4

Özlem Ali Faik	2	Nadir Süleyman	65
Selden Ali Faik	16-day old	Şifa Mehmet	60
Fatma Tahir	40	Hüseyin Osman	93
Emine Tahir	22	Ayşe Hüseyin	50
Fatma Kâmil Meriç	26	Erdoğan Aziz	70
Vedi Kâmil Meriç	6	Fatma Erdoğan	65
Yonca Kâmil Meriç	4	Kadriye Erdoğan	12
Ozan Kâmil Meriç	3	Ahmet Erdoğan	10
Hakan Kâmil Meriç	2	Zehra Erdoğan	11
Kahân Kâmil Meriç	18-month*old	Ayşe Erdoğan	3
Dudu Ali Osman	65	Hüseyin Erdoğan	6
Nazım Hüseyin	4	Ayşe Süleyman	50
Cemaliye Hasan	35	Dinnevas Süleyman	18
Özcan Hasan	3	Temray Mustafa	20
Uğur Hasan	7	Türkel Mustafa	16
Sevgi Hasan	10	Tacay Mustafa	13
Ersoy Hasan	12	Raziye Hasan	74
Ayşe Hasan	17	Enver Hüseyin	58
Rahme Hasan	20	Emine Mehmet	79
Aziz Fikri	11	Naziyet Mehmet	54
Derviş Sadık	70	Emine Rüstem	35
Havva Derviş	60	Sezin Rüstem	20
Zalihe Süleyman	16	Mustafa Rüstem	13
Emine Süleyman	14	Erbay Rüstem	12
Havva Süleyman	12	Sibel Rüstem	10
Aliye Süleyman	10	Güldane Mehmet	15
Gültekin Süleyman	58	Serpil Mehmet	19
Hasan Sadık	80	Sevil Mehmet	16
Mustafa Hasan	35	Mustafa Mehmet	17
Havva Mustafa	40	Semral Mehmet	14
Emine Bayram	35	Yaşar Mehmet	12
Halil Bayram	8	Savaş Mehmet	13
Eren Bayram	6	Cengiz Mehmet	10
Mustafa Bayram	5	Sevgül Mehmet	8
Ayşe Bayram	3	Emine Hüseyin	44
Zehra Bayram	1	Mehmet Hüseyin	16
Fatma Arif	35	Ertan Hüseyin	23
Sevim Arif	15	Erdoğan Hüseyin	14
Seval Arif	12	Seval Ahmet	17
Hüseyin Arif	11	Rasime Osman	48
Yüksel Arif	10	Sezay Osman	18
Göksel Arif	8	Rahme Hasan	73
Hayriye Arif	4-month old	Hasan Hüseyin	79
Şeniz Arif	5		
Zalihe Hüseyin	55		
Mehmet Osman	80		
Üfret Mehmet	75		

Not a single day passed without new reports on Greek Cypriot atrocities against the Turks. The following is a summary of another brutality which befell a young Turkish Cypriot family who tried to cross to the North in order to escape being treated as a hostage in Greek Cypriot hands for eleven years:

"On 12 November 1974, two Turkish Cypriot housewives, their two daughters and a teenage girl namely: Ulfet Osman (21), Nevin Mahmut (24), Şenay Osman (3), Tijen Mahmut (8), and Meryem Niyazi (16) were murdered in cold blood by a Greek Cypriot taxi driver who deceived them with the promise of transporting them to the Turkish Cypriot controlled region of Cyprus where the rest of their families lived. The culprit was tried for murder and sentenced to death; but his sentence was later commuted to life imprisonment by Archbishop Makarios. Perhaps the man has since been let out from the back door. After justice was presented 'to have been done' there remained no more reason to punish a Greek for killing a Turk!

The only reason why this particular Greek Cypriot driver was taken to Court, while hundreds of others who had killed Turkish Cypriots were decorated as heroes, is due to the presence in Cyprus of the Turkish Peace Force and the inter-communal talks were at the time continuing between Mr. Denktaş and Mr. Clerides.

Horrifying and hair raising Greek Cypriot atrocities committed against the innocent Turkish Cypriots can be seen in the pictures¹⁶ taken by local and foreign correspondents in the presence of UNFICYP during the disinterment of bodies from mass graves.

25. The Turkish Cypriot Community could not but defend itself against such Greek - Greek Cypriot violations of human rights in the island. While their fellow countrymen were being killed or subjected to inhuman treatment, Turkish Cypriot leaders appealed to the United Nations and the Heads of States of all countries to intervene and put an end to the agony of the Turkish Community who were stranded in Greek Cypriot areas. In a message to the Security Council on 4 August 1974, the Acting Vice-President of the Republic and Acting President of the Turkish Cypriot Administration, Dr. Necdet Ünöl, gave the following examples of all kinds of atrocities committed by the Greek Cypriot National Guard in flagrant violation of all the articles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and all principles of the U.N. and human decency:

"(1) As has already been confirmed by the UNFICYP authorities and international journalists, 14 male inhabitants of the mixed village Alaminos were rounded up by the Greek Cypriot National Guard, their hands were tied behind their backs and they were murdered in cold blood. As all communications between Nicosia and other Turkish areas still continue to be cut, it has not been possible to confirm reports of similar acts of genocide and murder having being committed against Turkish Cypriot civilians in many other parts of the island.

(2) Essential and basic human requirements such as water have been cut off since the 20th July in many areas of the island inhabited by Turkish Cypriots. It is regrettable that although two weeks have already elapsed, some areas, such as Stavrokonno village, are still deprived of such an essential human requirement as drinking water.

(3) In all areas of the island Turkish Cypriot civilians are being deprived of essential basic food supplies, medicines, essential fuel supplies which are required for baking bread etc., under the flimsy pretext that these Turkish Cypriots although unarmed, have been resisting their captivity by the Greek Cypriots.

(4) When Turkish areas were overrun by the Greek Cypriot National Guard, such as the towns of Limassol, Lefka, Larnaca and Paphos and various rural areas, all male inhabitants were rounded up, arrested (although they had committed no offence) and detained as hostages in various detention centres such as Limassol Stadium, schools and camps, under inhuman condition. At Limassol Stadium, some 1,700 Turkish Cypriots males are held in temperatures of up to 40 degrees centigrade without adequate food, water, and other basic requirements in human and unhygienic conditions. As a result of the rounding up of the male population, Turkish Cypriot women and children in these areas were completely deprived of male protection and were left in fear of their lives at the mercy of the Greek Cypriot hordes. We regret to state that many reports have been received of inhuman acts having been committed against these defenceless women and children.

(5) Even places of worship, such as mosques and humanitarian institutions such as hospitals have not escaped the wrath of the Greek Cypriot hordes. A specific example of the desecration of a mosque was the burning of the mosque at Evdhimou/Limassol. With regard to inhuman acts against hospitals, one specific example is the destruction of the Hospital at Iamagusta. In addition to these inhuman acts there are reports of many defenceless homes being looted and set on fire in almost all Turkish Cypriot areas which are now occupied by the Greek Cypriots unlawfully and in contravention of all elementary principles of human rights. We need hardly point out that all these atrocities and inhuman acts which are being committed against Turkish Cypriots, the specific examples of which have been mentioned above, can no doubt be verified by the UNFICYP and by the representatives of the International Committee of the Red Cross, are in complete violation both of the Security Council Resolutions regarding a cease-fire in Cyprus and of the Geneva Declaration of the 30th July, 1974, concerning such cease-fire.

26. Foreign press on the situation in July-August 1974

Dr. Necdet Ünel's letter to the Security Council is only one of the many

documents in U.N. files about Greek Cypriot atrocities against Turkish Cypriots. Let us now, however, see what the foreign press had to say.

Washington Star-News on 22 July 1974 wrote:

"Bodies littered the streets and there were mass burials during the fighting on Cyprus, Britons flown home from the Mediterranean island reported today.

"Derek Reed, a businessman, was vacationing in the south-eastern town of Paphos when the shooting started last Monday, and the Greek Officers of the National Guard overthrew President Makarios.

"People who were told by Makarios to lay down their arms were shot out of hand by the National Guard and buried in mass graves."

"John Harris, vacationing with his family in Famagusta at their seaside apartment said warships shelled him out of his house and he and his family fled on foot.

"University student Argiris Kyriakides, a 21 year old naturalized Briton, said he saw bodies of Makarios supporters thrown into a mass grave four at a time near Limassol. He said they were from a column of pro-Makarios soldiers who came to Limassol from Paphos to help others holding out in the town.

"Kyriakidis said he saw the Greek Cypriots killing on a large scale.

" 'There were 14 Turkish Cypriots who fled to the safety of a school and barricaded themselves in,' said Kyriakidis, 'They were surrounded by the National Guard and when they surrendered they were all killed.' "

Jean Neuvencelle reported the following in FRANCE SOIR, July 24, 1974:

"I saw with my own eyes the shameful incidents. The Greeks burned Turkish mosques and set fire to Turkish homes in the villages around Famagusta. Defenceless Turkish villagers, who have no weapons live in an atmosphere of terror, created by the Greek marauders, and they evacuate their homes and go and live in tents in the forests. The Greeks with their bazookas create total chaos in the Turkish villages. The Greeks' actions are a shame to humanity. Those Turks who can save their lives run to the nearby hills and are to do nothing but watch the callous looting of their homes."

Washington Post wrote the following on 23 July 1974:

"In a Greek raid on a small Turkish village near Limassol, 36 people out of a population of 200 were killed. The Greeks said that they had been given orders to kill the inhabitants of the Turkish villages before the Turkish Forces arrived.

Radio Belgrade broadcast the following on 23 July 1974:

"The Turks' humanitarian attitude on Cyprus is meeting a treacherous response from the Greeks. The Greeks open fire on civilians, especially in those regions where the foreigners are. By using hospitals and hotels as military headquarters, they wish to provoke the Turks and humiliate them in the eyes of the world public opinion."

The United Press International reported the following on 23 July 1974:

"A huge crowd was gathered in the courtyard of the Limassol prison, and many children were crying. A little Turkish girl was crying in the arms of her mother. A Greek soldier shouted at the mother 'If you don't make her stop, we'll kill her'. The mother pleaded that there was nothing she could do; but the soldier shot the child." An eye-witness continued: "The Greeks have shot many women and children on the streets; the wounded ones are crying. The Greek soldiers waited like vultures to enter the homes and kill the women."

On 25 July 1974, Combat wrote:

"It has been confirmed that during the days following the coup in Nicosia at least 2,000 supporters of Makarios have either been killed in the fighting or executed."

Peter Arnett, Associated Press, said on 13 August 1974:

"There is Barbarism on Cyprus after all. Alaminos village is a scene where Greek Cypriots exhibited their skill in horror..."

This is a mixed village of Greeks and Turks, but it is the Greek side that dominates here, having overrun the few Turkish defenders on the first day of the war. But for all their spick and span uniforms and friendly smiles the young Austrians patrolling Alaminos are obviously no match for the escalating calamities that have befallen this picture post-card village that sits all shimmering while amid burnished hills.

".... Alaminos village has already been in the news because a massacre of 13 Turkish Cypriots was discovered there three weeks ago. A U.N. investigation indicated the 13 were killed by firing squad.

"For the few Turks left in the village, the future is sombre.

All these constitute concrete evidence by foreign observers. It will, however, suffice to bring to the knowledge of the reader the existence of military plans¹⁷ prepared by the combined Greek-Greek Cypriot armies for the total extermination of the Turkish Cypriot population in the island as a whole. The photo-copies of the original documents together with their English translations have been published by the Public Information Office of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus in the form of a book entitled "Cyprus Question and Greek Extermination Plans" in March 1977. Whatever has been put down in this publication, constitutes only a minute part of evidence in Turkish Cypriot hands against the Greek-Greek Cypriot side. If the reader feels the need for more information, the Turkish side is prepared to furnish further documentary evidence on Greek Cypriot atrocities committed against the Turkish Cypriot Community.

"The young United Nations lieutenant, who declined to give his name, said: There are only six of us. We have no authority to prevent the Greek troops shooting or looting. We can only wait and see what happens and report back to headquarters."

27. In an effort to mislead world opinion on the tragedy of the Turkish Cypriot Community, Greek Cypriot leaders unleashed a propaganda campaign alleging that the members of the Turkish Peace Force were engaged in many wrong-doings in the island. Mr. Glafcos Clerides, the then President and interlocutor in the intercommunal negotiations, was the spearhead of this unfounded campaign. On 12 August 1974, the Vice-President of the Republic and President of the Turkish Cypriot Administration, Mr. Rauf Denktaş, sent the following letter to the United Nations, Heads of States, and international organizations refuting groundless imputations made by the Greek Cypriot leader, Mr. Clerides,

"I was surprised to read about the complaint lodged with your organization by Mr. Glafcos Clerides against the alleged wrong-doing by members of the Turkish Peace Force in Cyprus. It is my duty as the Vice-President of Cyprus to inform you that these allegations are utterly untrue. The Turkish Peace Keeping Force landed in Cyprus in order (a) to prevent the mass murder of Greek Cypriots by the Greek Junta Officers and their Greek Cypriot associates, which had begun on July 15 and was continuing in full swing, (b) to obstruct the Junta Officers from implementing their final plan of destroying the independence and sovereignty of Cyprus, and (c) to safeguard the lives and political rights of 140,000 Turkish Cypriots who form %20 of the population of Cyprus.

"Those Greek Cypriots who believe in the continuation of the independence of Cyprus and who were horrified at the mass murder, mutilation and violence perpetrated by the Junta men against their Greek Cypriot fellow-men welcomed the Turkish intervention as an act of grace. Those who opposed (and continue to oppose) the Peace Keep-

ing Force in its mission of bringing full security and law and order to the Island, are the EOKA B irregulars who have now joined the Greek Junta Officers and their stooges in Cyprus.

"The violence, looting and indiscriminate killing of innocent Turks, the wilful destruction of Turkish properties, including mosques and schools, the imprisonment of thousands of Turks for days in open-air camps under the gruelling sun, the holding of all Turks who live in Greek areas as hostages and refusal to allow food and other essentials to be taken to nearly 35,000 Turks, and the indisputable fact that 20 thousand Turks have been driven away from their homes, whose houses, properties and flocks have been looted, are glaring realities of life in Cyprus which no artificially created complaint against the Turkish Peace-Keeping Force can obliterate.

"Acts of massacres so far perpetrated against the Turkish Community (and fully verified by foreign journalists in their eye-witness accounts) are:

- a) The lining up of 14 civilians against the wall and shooting them down at Alaminos.
- b) The indiscriminate shooting into a school compound where women had gathered (at Gaziveren) and killing of 6 women one at the verge of giving birth.
- c) The lining up of 4 civilians and shooting them down at Angolemi.
- d) Firing of mortar bombs into civilian areas and thus killing 44 civilians, mostly women and children.

"I look upon Mr. Clerides to help the Turkish Peace Keeping Force in its difficult task to impose law and order in Cyprus which has seen no law and no order for the last 11 years. The best way of stopping military activity in Cyprus is to call upon EOKA B gangsters and Greek Junta Officers who are in Cyprus illegally to stop firing upon the Turkish Peace Keeping Force and to remove the encirclement of all Turkish areas all over Cyprus in accordance with the Geneva Declaration¹.

"The illegal and unconstitutional Greek Cypriot Administration in its eleven-year-old attempt to destroy the bi-communal Republic of Cyprus and unite the island with Greece has caused 22 thousand more Turks to be uprooted from their homes.

"Turkish property in 76 villages have been looted and destroyed causing economic devastation to the Turkish Cypriot Community which

had been trying to rehabilitate 24 thousand Turkish displaced persons of the 1963-67 period, during which 104 Turkish villages had been wantonly destroyed by the Greeks who forbade 25,000 Turks from returning to their homes for 11 years.

"Today, 35,872 Turks are virtual captives in the hands of Greek armed elements, who defy all human rights to these Turks, forcing themselves into Turkish homes, molesting women, threatening all Turks.

"Massacre of unarmed Turks at Alaminos, Gaziveran, Angolemi and firing mortar bombs amongst civilians killing 44 women and children, wholesale looting of Turkish property and the non-existence of any authority for imposing law and order in Greek Cypriot areas, the continued encirclement of Turkish towns and villages by armed Greek Cypriots and Greek mainland elements call for immediate condemnation of the eleven-year-old Greek Cypriot atrocities by all peace-loving peoples of the world.

"The Turkish Cypriots of Cyprus and indeed all Cypriots who have any love for independence are grateful for the timely intervention in Cyprus of the Turkish Peace Keeping Force. Documents discovered in Greek fortifications which fell into our hands and statements made by Greek Army Officers who have been captured prove beyond doubt that but for the intervention a three-hour massacre plan of Turks all over Cyprus would have been put into effect at the end of July and Enosis declared immediately afterwards."

The massacre plan ¹⁷ was indeed put into effect by Greek Cypriots.

28. On 21 August 1974, after the mass graves of Turkish Cypriots were found in the villages Maratha, Sandallaris, and Aloa, the President of the Turkish Cypriot Administration, Mr. Denктаş, told the following to foreign journalists:

"... trying to solve the Cyprus problem by killing Turks was a futile attempt.

"Because even if half of the Turkish population is killed we shall still be here. We shall still have our geographical base to live in security. Cyprus will still have a bi-communal independence, and Turkey will still be a guarantor of Cyprus. It follows that massacre of Turks by Greek Cypriot troops will change nothing, in fact it will only worsen the situation. It's imperative that all concerned remain cool-headed, make a realistic evaluation of the situation, use their brains and avoid emotional outbursts.

"... We feel that as the curtain lifts many more such outrageous killings may come to light.

"... The mass graves tell the pathetic story of yesterday. They illustrate the bitter facts of Cyprus; new discoveries of such graves will not change the situation. But if today or tomorrow we receive news that Turkish villages in Greek areas are encircled, attacked and unarmed Turks are being murdered en mass that is not something the Turkish army will merely watch from a distance.

"... I cannot sit and talk a peace plan with Mr. Clerides because the latest Cyprus situation has been brought about by what Greece and Greek Cypriots have done jointly in the island. It is not only a Greek Cypriot affair. It is also an affair of Greece and we saw this combination continuing in Geneva. I am, therefore, in the defensive position and I cannot talk peace without Turkey being at my side. This is a clear fact of Cyprus."

29. Greek Cypriot barbarity was not only directed against defenceless Turkish Cypriot towns and villages. Frenzied Greek Cypriots also attacked foreign missions. On 19 August 1974, Greek Cypriot demonstrators encircled the American Embassy chanting anti-American slogans. The U.S. Ambassador, Mr. Rodger Davies was shot dead by the armed elements among the demonstrators within the precincts of the Embassy. An Armenian woman secretary was also killed by the hail of bullets that murdered the Ambassador.

News about the murder of Ambassador Davies broke out while Mr. Clerides, the then Greek Cypriot leader, was holding a press conference, attended by both local and foreign journalists, where he disclosed the murder of six Turkish Cypriots by Greek Cypriot armed elements. The Ambassador's murder coming almost instantaneously with his news conference most certainly put Mr. Clerides in a ridiculous position.

As if the murder of Ambassador Davies was not enough, Greek Cypriots attempted to set fire to the Embassy and even burned the American flag.

30. Nothing could quench the thirst the Greek Cypriots felt for Turkish blood. On 23 August 1974, a Turkish Cypriot, Mr. Suat Huseyin of the mixed village of Tokhni, told the tragic story of the menfolk of his village:

"On August 14, some 20 Greek soldiers entered the village (Tokhni, Larnaca District) and gathered 83 Turkish Cypriots between the ages of 14 and 50. They had been patrolling the town daily.

"On August 15, they selected 50 from among the 83 to take them to Limassol. I was one of the 50 who boarded a bus guarded by four Greek soldiers armed with automatic weapons.

"We passed Limassol, arriving at the Ayia Phyla-Palodhia road junction. Our captors ordered us down and told us to walk towards the isolated countryside. When we were told to stop, I noticed that the earth had been dug in places. These, I grasped then, were our graves.

"The four soldiers offered each Turkish Cypriot a cigarette. It was, I think, at the third puff that the bullets came. I fell; I was shot in the belly and legs. I fell with the others; pretending to be dead. I then heard the leader of the four soldiers speak in a mainland Greek accent: That concludes it, let's now go and bring a bulldozer to cover them.

"When they were safely away I gathered all my strength and crawled to the trees nearby. No one else appeared to have survived. Later, I watched a bulldozer bury my fellow-villagers.

"I hid in the hills for six days, managing in the end to go to the village of Moutayiaka. Gradually my wounds were getting worse. I was then taken by a U.N. ambulance to the Episkopi British Base."

Suat Hüseyin is the sole survivor of a gruesome massacre by frenzied Greek-Greek Cypriot soldiers. The sad tale¹⁸ of women from Tokhni and Zyyi villages may be found at the Appendices section of this publication.

31. On 3 September 1974, the President of the Turkish Cypriot Administration, Mr. Denktaş, while being interviewed by a BBC News Correspondent, told the following on the massacre of Turkish Cypriots:

"What can one's reaction be to the mass murder of the entire population of villages - including women, babies and elderly people? Especially if these people are people that you knew well; ordinary village folk with whom you worked together to build those little houses so that they could have a roof over their heads after their homes had been set on fire again in 1958 during the EOKA period; people with whom you had lunch, you shared their joys and their sorrows. I am deeply shocked."

Asked whether he would object to an independent inquiry, Mr. Denktaş said:

"Of course not. We need a lot of inquiries in Cyprus and one is just near the Yerasa village in Limassol District, where about 90 Turks are buried and where Mr. Clerides' police are refusing to allow the United Nations to dig out the dead (The mass grave told about by Suat Hüseyin, the sole survivor of the menfold of Dokhni village). Inquiries yes, but not with that kind of police."

"Mr. Suat Hüseyin has since shown the place to the U.N. Force but they can't dig because the Greeks won't allow them. Where is an independent inquiry? What independent inquiry does Mr. Clerides want? Bodies of machine-gunned Turks are there; Turks who had been taken prisoner and were supposed to be on their way to a prison camp."

32. Despite the Greek Cypriot atrocities against Turkish Cypriots and despite the discovery of mass graves at Maratha, Sandallaris and Aloa villages, the Greek Cypriot leadership continued its efforts to present the Turkish Peace Force and the Turkish Cypriot Community as barbarians. The President of the Turkish Cypriot Legislative Assembly took a strong exception to the usage of the word "barbarians" for the Turks by Greek Cypriot leaders in general and by the Greek Cypriot House President in particular. On 1 October 1974, while addressing the first session of the Legislative Assembly after the summer recess, the President of the Assembly, Dr. Necdet Ünel said the following:

"If civilization is to murder unarmed civilians, women, children, and elderly alike, and bury them in mass-graves, keep such civilization to yourself Mr. (Greek Cypriot) President.

"If civilization is the desecration of mosques, the destruction of holy shrines, and minarets - such as the Bairaktar Mosque in the Greek sector of Nicosia and Hala Sultan Tekke in the Greek side of Larnaca - if it is to insult all Muslims by burning or dirtying the copies of the Holy Qouran, then you may keep this civilization, Mr. President.

"If civilization is to ban the return of 25 thousand Turkish refugees to their homes for eleven years, to separate defenceless unarmed people from their families and to keep them under inhuman conditions, if it is to murder innocent envoys at their offices, if it is to torture even ones own brothers, then keep this civilization to yourself Mr. President.

"If it is part of the Greek civilization to commit all these crimes and to attempt to force ordinary village folk into political submission by cutting off their water and food supplies, then no one wants any part of such civilization Mr. President."

33. The tragedy of the Turkish Cypriot Community caused by Greek-Greek Cypriot barbarism will be told by many generations to come. Still the separation of the two communities has helped the Turkish Cypriot to live in peace and security. Since Turkey's intervention in 1974, intercommunal clashes have ceased. Both communities enjoy the blessings of the island on an equal footing. This, however, should not be misleading. The Greek-Greek Cypriot endeavour to Hellenize the island has not ceased. Through their world-wide propaganda campaigns, the Greek-Greek Cypriot joint front has been able to

convince the world that Cyprus was paradise until 1974 and Turkey's intervention turned it into Hell. To back up their argument they say Turkey's intervention destroyed the island's independence and sovereignty. If the island was a paradise before 1974, it was so only for the Greek Cypriots. As for the island's independence and sovereignty, they were only Hellenic independence and sovereignty and not what the Constitution of the Republic stipulated.

Whatever has been put on paper in this publication can be verified with U.N. records. The next section defines the conditions under which Turkish Cypriots lived before they were finally transported to the Turkish sector of the island in accordance with the Population Exchange Agreement¹⁹ reached between the leaders of the two communities, Mr. Denktaş and Mr. Glafcos Clerides, at the 3rd Round of the Vienna Talks which took place between 31 July - 2 August 1975.

PART II

34. Difficulties faced by Turkish Cypriots enclaved in Southern Cyprus.

Following the military operations of July-August 1974, approximately 65,000 Turkish Cypriots were stranded in the Greek Cypriot controlled region of the island in the South. For over a year these Turkish Cypriots lived as virtual prisoners in the hands of the Greek Cypriots in fear of their lives and in misery suffering untold hardships. The agony suffered by just one family, the Çakır family, would suffice here to illustrate the plight of Turkish Cypriots enclaved in Southern Cyprus.

Akile Çakır is a Turkish mother who lost three sons to Greeks; Ali Çakır died at the Turkish defence line in Nicosia, the other two were sought out at home in Paphos by the Greeks on the 14th August, 1974.

Akile Çakır's daughter, Melek İbrahim, an eye-witness, recalls the day her two brothers were brutally murdered by the Greeks:

"It was the 14th August, 1974. All the family including brothers and sisters gathered together at my brother's, Erdoğan Çakır's, home. My brothers were marked men by the Greeks. My brothers knew that they could be murdered at any time so much so that an hour before he was shot Mustafa made his last wish saying 'know very well that the Greeks will murder us. When I die let the inscription, Long Live the Mother-land, God Protect the Turks, be written on my tombstone.'

"Soon the Greeks attacked the Turkish quarter. They walked directly to Erdoğan Çakır's home and knocked hard at the door. The Eoka men told my brother to open the door otherwise they would use force. My younger brother Mustafa opened the door. The Eoka man at the door unloaded his gun into him. Mustafa fell down in a heap at the doorway. Erdoğan who was standing behind was fired on. He did not die instantly. Other members of the family started coming out. The women hid my remaining brother, Mehmet, among themselves in order to save him. When all the Turks in Paphos were herded to the playing field Mehmet was taken prisoner.

"U.N. Peace Keeping Force took my two brothers, Erdoğan and Mustafa, to the Greek hospital. Erdoğan was still alive. The following day when the bodies were handed in Erdoğan was in an unrecognizable condition. They had tortured him to death.

"Together with the other Turkish victims of the 14th August, 1974 my two brothers were buried after a moving funeral service. Their tombstones were inscribed as Mustafa had wished. The last words uttered by Erdoğan when he was wounded was added to the inscription, "We Died Before We Could See The Victory."

Further details²⁰ relating to the suffering of Turkish Cypriots stranded in the South, may be seen at the Appendices section of this publication.

35. In a panel discussion on Greek Cypriot TV on 29th May, 1975, even two prominent Greek Cypriot leaders acknowledged the fact that Turkish Cypriots had never been treated fairly by the Greek Cypriot Administration. During the said panel discussion Mr. Clerides, the present leader of the Democratic Rally Party said the following:

"We must, in a practical way, solve the problems of the Turkish Cypriots in the South. This we should have done long ago.

"The budget of the Republic, for example, should include a provision for improving the living conditions of the Turks living under 'government' control. This was not done in the past. The Turkish Cypriots must feel that they enjoy security of life and property. But this is not enough. They must also work. They must be given an opportunity for economic development. They must enjoy freedom of movement in the region under the control of the Republic, because they should be able to sell their produce.

"The state should solve these fundamental problems of the Turks. We should educate our National Guard soldiers so that they should not look upon the Turkish Cypriots as the national enemies" -- or natural enemies -- of the Greeks."

"Mr. Papaioannou, the leader of AKEL, the Communist Party in Cyprus said:

"Turks in the South should be given a feeling of security, so that they consider themselves as equal citizens of the Republic.

"We must begin, as a State, to treat them in the same way as we treat the Greek Cypriots...

"The Turks must enjoy the same rights as the Greeks. When their security is endangered, those who violate the laws, those who are involved in the activities against the Turkish Cypriots, must be severely punished."

36. Although the overwhelming majority of Turkish Cypriots stranded in the South were yearning to cross to the Turkish Cypriot controlled Northern region of the island in order to regain their liberty, they were prevented from doing so owing to the restrictions imposed on their freedom of movement by the Greek Cypriot Administration in flagrant violation of all principles of human rights²¹.

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37. In order to prevent Turkish Cypriots from crossing to the North, the Greek Cypriot Administration had taken all kinds of restrictive measures, including the enactment of legislation making the transportation of Turkish Cypriots to the North a criminal offence punishable by heavy fines, imprisonment and/or confiscation of the vehicles involved²².

These measures constituted grave examples of inhuman discrimination against Turkish Cypriots in the South.

38. Greek Cypriot authorities also established check-points on all roads leading to the North and manned them with armed personnel with orders to shoot at any vehicle which failed to stop. This is illustrated by the following news item which appeared in the Greek Cypriot owned English language daily "Cyprus Mail" of 2 April 1975:

"Shots fired at car in Nicosia

National Guardsmen near the CYTA round-about in Nicosia on the Green line, fired two shots at a car from which three Turkish Cypriot women alighted to walk into the Turkish controlled region of Nicosia. The car sped towards the Pedhios bridge and disappeared."

39. The discriminatory and inhuman measures of the Greek Cypriot Administration forced Turkish Cypriots to pay exorbitant sums of money to Greek Cypriot taxi drivers in order to be able to regain their liberty and join their families in the North. For example, as reported in the Greek Cypriot press on 28 February 1975, a National Guardsman, Panikos Demetriou and two brothers from Oriklini village (Andreas and Charalambos Georghiou - as well as Vasos Georghiou of Larnaca) have been detained for transporting 30 Turkish Cypriots to the North. They had received C£ 400. (Cyprus Pounds) of which, C£'20 would be paid to the National Guardman, as a bribe, at the check-point.

40. During the latter part of 1974 and 1975 hundreds of Turkish Cypriots who tried to cross to the North were intercepted by the Greek Cypriot police or the so-called "National Guard" and returned to their villages after lengthy interrogation and torture at Greek Cypriot police stations. On several occasions sentries at Greek Cypriot check-points fired at vehicles, causing in one instance the death of a four month old baby and seriously wounding her mother. This incident was reported in the Turkish Cypriot press in the following terms:

"MASSACRE OF 4 MONTH OLD BABIES

On March 13, 1975 a Turkish women was seriously wounded and her four-month-old baby was riddled with bullets from an automatic weapon (near Mazoto village in Larnaca district) fired by a Greek Cypriot mobile patrol which had ambushed the car in which the mother and her baby were travelling to the Turkish region.

This wanton murder of a four-month-old baby which shocked foreign observers as much as the Turkish Community, was not committed by an irresponsible person, but a member of the Greek Cypriot security forces. According to the mother's statement the patrol chased the car and deliberately fired upon it.

After the incident, the Greek Cypriot police were trying to trace the Greek Cypriot driver 'for interrogation in connection with illegal transportation of Turkish Cypriots' a ridiculous and completely unlawful excuse. Nobody was looking for the man who had fired the fatal shot which killed the baby. For the Greek Cypriot authorities killing a Turk is not as important as transporting him to the Turkish region!"

The same incident was also reported in the Greek Cypriot press of 15 March 1975 as follows:

"TURKISH CHILD KILLED

A Turkish baby was killed and his mother wounded when police opened fire on a Greek Cypriot car near Mazoto. They were being taken to the Turkish region. The driver of the car has escaped.

Police who set up roadblocks on the same road stopped 3 Greek owned cars and arrested their owner-drivers for transporting 38 Turkish Cypriots from Mari village to the Turkish region."

41. Another similar incident which took place in November 1974 shows that the extent of Greek Cypriot hatred and racial discrimination against the Turkish Cypriot is such that it even manifests itself in their administration of justice. The following is a report from the Greek Cypriot owned daily, "Cyprus Mail", of 25 November, 1974:

"On 12 November 1974, Yiannis Vouniotis, a Greek Cypriot taxi driver, received C£ 200.- (two hundred Cyprus Pounds) to transport two Turkish Cypriot women, Mrs. Ülfet Osman (23) and Mrs. Nevin Mahmout Sadık (27) a teenage girl, Meryem Niyazi (15), and two small children, Tijen Mahmout Sadık (8), and Şenay Osman Mehmet (3), from Limassol to the Turkish region in North Cyprus.

"On the way he drove them to a lonely spot on the Troodos Mountains and shot them in cold blood with an automatic weapon.

"The Turkish Cypriot leadership, on being informed about what had taken place, lost no time in taking it up with Mr. G. Clerides, the Greek Cypriot leader at the time. In the end, the Greek Cypriot side was forced to take the taxi driver, Vouniotis, before the court and stage a sham trial.

"In the course of this trial Vouniotis confessed saying: 'My intention was not to carry them to Nicosia. I drove all five of them to the old Alassa road and told them to get out of the car. Two of them obeyed but the one with the small girl remained in the car. I then took the Czechoslovak gun of Makis Ioannou and first shot and killed those out of the car and then those in the car.'

" 'I dragged the bodies away from the car and covered them with branches. I then burned their suitcases at a place I will show you.'

" 'I killed them. They were women and children but they were Turks.' "

As reported in the "Cyprus Mail" of 23rd May 1975 Vouniotis was subsequently pardoned for his crime:

" Vouniotis was found guilty and sentenced to death.

"An appeal to the Greek Cypriot Supreme Court failed. But the court deferred to May 27, 1975 the day set for the execution.

"Later Archbishop Makarios commuted the death sentence to life imprisonment."

According to unconfirmed reports, after the lapse of about six months Vouniotis, the murderer, was set free as a result of a special pardon and has been practising his profession as a taxi driver in South Cyprus ever since.

42. Other Turkish Cypriots risked their lives and crossed to the North over mountains and through forests in order to escape Greek Cypriot persecution. This is evident from the news item which appeared in the Greek Cypriot daily "Agon" of 21 March, 1975:

"TURKISH WOMAN DIES

A Turkish Cypriot woman who was travelling on foot, together with her husband and 2 children to the North, has fallen off a cliff and died near Kykko-Drodisa area.

Meanwhile, 2 bus loads of Turkish Cypriots were intercepted on the Palekhori-Klirou road by the police who had set up road-blocks. They were all travelling to the Turkish region from Limassol. They have been forced to return to Limassol."

43. Finally at the Third Round of the Intercommunal Talks at Vienna (August 1975) an agreement¹⁹ was reached for an exchange of populations as a result of which all Turkish Cypriots left the South and moved to the North. Thus 65,000 Turkish Cypriots became refugees after the events of 1974. Together with 25,000 Turkish Cypriot refugees from the 1963-1974 period, over 90,000 Turkish Cypriots had to be rehabilitated in Northern Cyprus²³.

44. Press reports, photographs, and eyewitness accounts relating to the suffering of Turkish Cypriots in Greek Cypriot controlled regions of the island in the South and the difficulties they faced in trying to cross to the North may be seen at the Appendices section²¹⁻²⁴.

45. Greek Cypriots who have committed crimes against Turkish Cypriots have never been punished by the Greek Cypriot Administration.

Throughout the history of the Cyprus problem, Greek Cypriots who have committed crimes against Turkish Cypriots have never been punished by the authorities of the Greek Cypriot Administration.

46. It is very significant that those who claim to be the "Government" cannot show a single case of any Greek Cypriot tried and punished in the courts of Cyprus between 1963 and 1974, despite the fact that during this period hundreds of Turks were murdered in cold-blood, thousands were maimed, Turkish Cypriot property in no less than 103 villages was completely destroyed and all the constitutional rights and liberties of the Turkish Cypriots flagrantly were violated.

47. The Greek Cypriot Administration being responsible for law and order throughout most of the territory of the island during this period had no purpose other than giving a free licence to all Greek Cypriots to attack, by all means available to them, members of the Turkish Cypriot Community. The so-called "Government" itself actively participated and collaborated in the commission of these crimes.

48. The perpetrators of these crimes were not only left unpunished but in most instances were even praised by the Greek Cypriot authorities. This is evident from the statement made by U.N. Police Inspector Grossa and published in "Neu Osterich" of 5th May 1964. Inspector Grossa, who served in Cyprus with the

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Austrian Police unit attached to UNFICYP (United Nations Force in Cyprus) during a comparatively calm period said:

"When we determine the identity of a Greek culprit and inform the Greek police, we hear the police praise the culprit. When at our request the culprit is arrested, he is set free the next day and everyone who witnesses these incidents makes fun of us. These are the reasons why we no longer wish to continue our duties in Cyprus."

49. One of the specific incidents which caused Inspector Grossa to make this statement was the case of a 9-year-old Turkish Cypriot boy who was shot dead with "dum-dum" bullets by the so-called Greek Cypriot "Security-Forces of the State" on 23rd April 1964, Turkish Children's Festival Day, while playing outside his house in Nicosia.

50. Following the events of summer 1974 the Greek Cypriot Administration pursued the same policy with regard to Turkish Cypriots enclaved in areas under Greek Cypriot control, and the perpetrators of violent and inhuman crimes against Turkish Cypriots living within Greek Cypriot jurisdiction were invariably left unpunished. Indeed, as was the case during the period before 1974, in many cases these crimes were committed by agents of the Greek Cypriot Administration. One of the innumerable Turkish Cypriot victims of such crimes is Hüseyin Mehmedali, a 17-year-old boy, who opted to remain in the South at Dhali village (prior to 1974 a mixed village) after the population exchange in 1975, and suffered terrible ordeals in the hands of Greek Cypriots. Talking to reporters at his new home in Akçay Mahmedali said:

"Leaving my home for ever seemed impossible for me until last Sunday, when I understood that I could no longer endure the systematic Greek oppression..." he said.

Asked if he would say what kind of oppression he was subjected to, Mr. Mehmedali said:

"Well... Every kind of it... You know they miss no opportunity to insult you, to cheat you, or to beat you..."

"And, when you complain to the police they'll advise you to choose a Greek name if you would like to become a happy citizen."

Mr. Mehmedali said that the Greek youth who continuously harassed him was called "Doros." "He is pro-Makarinos. He was a member of the Greek Cypriot National Guard during the Turkish Peace Operation. He is from Podamia... He forced me to work for his father, a cow breeder, for the last seven months. And believe me, I was paid nothing in return for my work. And each time I mentioned it I was badly beaten up, and warned that unless I became a Christian I would be used as a slave..."

51. On the other hand any Turkish Cypriot who commits any crime against a Greek Cypriot in areas under Turkish Cypriot control is always subject to legal action by the appropriate authorities of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus. A sample list of cases in which Turkish Cypriots who have been punished for committing crimes against Greek Cypriots living within the jurisdiction of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus can be seen at the Appendices section²⁵.

52. Photographs depicting some of the Turkish Cypriots who have become the victims of Greek Cypriot criminal activities can be seen at the Appendices section 26.

Greek Cypriots living in Northern Cyprus

53. Greek Cypriots living in Northern Cyprus enjoy the same rights and freedoms as Turkish Cypriots, including freedom of movement subject only to minimum security precautions in accordance with the situation prevailing on the island, and the Government of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus is doing all in its power to ensure the well-being of the Greek Cypriot citizens living in the Turkish Federated State ²⁷.

54. Needless to say all measures which were necessarily imposed in the aftermath of the 1974 hostilities have been gradually relaxed parallel to normalization on the island and this process will continue with further improvement in the situation.

55. The fact that the living conditions of Greek Cypriots in the Northern Cyprus are perfectly satisfactory can be confirmed by eye-witness accounts and press reports²⁸.

56. The representatives of the International Red Cross also have free access to each and every area where Greek Cypriots reside in Northern Cyprus and are free to contact every Greek Cypriot they wish to speak to - a fact that can be verified by the Red Cross if called upon to do so. Visits are made to areas inhabited by Greek Cypriots by representatives of the International Red Cross, freely and unaccompanied by Turkish Cypriot authorities, on a routine basis. This can also be verified by letters²⁹ exchanged between ICRC and the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus in this connection.

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57. Greek Cypriots living in Northern Cyprus enjoy full religious freedom and are able to visit churches, religious shrines and monasteries as they wish. Greek Orthodox priests living in the area are able to conduct religious services and cater for the religious needs of the Greek Orthodox Community in Northern Cyprus. This is also confirmed by the U.N. Secretary-General in his reports to the Security Council. For example in his report of 31 May 1978 (S/12723) he states the following:

"32. As indicated in my last report, there appears to be no restriction on freedom of worship in the North wherever the services of a priest are available." 30

Greek Cypriot Churches in the North are also taken care of. Apart from minimal damage which inevitably occurred during the hostilities of summer 1974; all churches situated in Northern Cyprus remain intact. This is evident from the reports of the World Council of Churches, and in this connection one cannot do better than cite the following passage from the report of the World Council of Churches dated 19th February 1975:-

"The Turkish authorities again arranged for the visiting staff member of the World Council of Churches, together with Rev. Peter Cowen of the Middle East Council of Churches, Service Department, to travel wherever they desired in the North of the island. They saw several mosques under reconstruction and they visited many churches. The Church of the Savior at Akanthou and the monastery of St. Barnabas near Famagusta were found to be untouched; at the latter monastery the elderly resident monks were being regularly visited and provided for by the Red Cross; the Mufti kindly offered to try to facilitate reconnection of their electricity and the despatch of ikons painted by the monks and already paid for by foreign visitors.

"The important ikon collection and ikon workshop at Tremethousha were found to be under the control of the authorities. The local Turkish army commander expressed his awareness of the 'heritage for humanity' which these ikons represented and stated his willingness to accept and to follow expert advice about the proper preservation of the priceless ikons there.

"A visit to the famous church of Aheropiitou (Not build with hands') at Lambousa near Lapithos - the subject of a recent allegation in the press concerning the demolition of churches - allowed the inspection team to establish that the two chapels were intact and secure. It is difficult to imagine how this allegation could ever have been made. A visit to Kyrenia Castle gave confirmation that some ikons were being kept there and would soon be on public display."

58. Greek Cypriots living in Northern Cyprus also have access to excellent health services, and well equipped schools are available for primary education in Greek with Greek teachers. Any impartial observer can vouch for the existence of such facilities. Indeed, the availability of impressive health services to Greek Cypriots without discrimination has been repeatedly confirmed by the representatives of the International Red Cross who have visited the area as well as by the Reports of the Secretary General of the United Nations. For example paragraph 28 of the U.N. Secretary General's Report to the Security Council of 31 May, 1978 (S/12723) states that:

"28. Medical care available to Greek Cypriots in the North is as good as that provided to Turkish Cypriots in the same area. Greek Cypriots may obtain permission for temporary visits to the South in order obtain medical treatment, provided that a Turkish Cypriot medical board certifies that such treatment is not available in the North." ³¹

Paragraph 29 of the same report states:

"29. Two Greek Cypriot primary schools are operating in the North. Both are in the Karpass area: one in Ayia Trias and the other in Rizokarpaso. The school in Ayia Trias operates with one teacher for 62 pupils. In Rizokarpaso there are five teachers and 155 pupils. Since there are still no Greek Cypriot secondary schools in the North, some children were transferred during the current year in order to attend such schools in the South. Through UNFICYP's good offices, permission was granted by the Turkish Cypriot authorities for 122 Greek Cypriot schoolchildren who are attending schools in the South to spend the Christmas holidays in their homes in the Karpass area."

59. Moreover the Greek Cypriots themselves are fully satisfied with the treatment they receive from the authorities of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus.

In the field of agriculture, for example, they are paid good prices for their produce and all necessary incentives such as advance payment for the tobacco crop, are provided to all inhabitants without discrimination. ³²

60. The fact that the conditions of Greek Cypriots living in Northern Cyprus are satisfactory is also evident from the number of Greek Cypriot students who apply to visit their families in the North during their holidays. ³³

Surely if the living conditions of Greek Cypriots in the North were as alleged by the Greek Cypriot side these students would not wish to spend their holidays in the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus.

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61. The reports of the United Nations Secretary General to the Security Council also provide ample proof of the fact that the conditions of Greek Cypriots living in the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus have vastly improved³⁴ since the cessation of hostilities at the end of 1974.

62. As to repeated Greek Cypriot allegations regarding expulsions from the North, one need only look at the most recent reports of the Secretary-General which categorically state that machinery exists under United Nations supervision to verify that all Greek Cypriots going South do so voluntarily. For example paragraph 16 of the United Nations Secretary General's report 2 November 1978 (A/33/348) states that:

"16. In January 1977, a new procedure was introduced under which UNFICYP monitors and controls the departures to the South of Greek Cypriots residing in the North, and ascertains from each Greek Cypriot whether he is moving voluntarily. This procedure continues to work satisfactorily."

Paragraph 14 of the United Nations Secretary General's Report to the Security Council of 31 May 1978 (S/12723) states:

"14. UNFICYP continue to have access to Greek Cypriot habitations in the North. Officers making liaison visits, in performance of humanitarian talks, have enjoyed improved freedom of movement in the Karpass peninsula and also a better opportunity to speak with Greek Cypriots in privacy." 35

63. Needless to say, as in the case of all humanitarian questions, the complete normalization of the living conditions of Greek Cypriots living in the North ultimately depends on the final political solution of the Cyprus problem.

64. Documents and photographs depicting and describing the life of Greek Cypriots living in the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus can be seen at the Appendices section. 27-36

65. Missing Persons

The problem of missing persons is common to both the Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot Communities, and it was the former who first experienced the agony of this problem. During the Greek Cypriot onslaught against the Turkish

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Cypriot Community in December 1963 and the many years of Greek oppression that followed it, hundreds of innocent Turkish Cypriots were abducted from the roads and their places of work never to be seen or heard of again. Reports of the United Nations Secretary-General provide ample evidence of the misfortunes suffered by the Turkish Cypriots since December 1963.

66. The inhuman and unscrupulous way in which the freedom of movement of the Turkish Cypriot population was unlawfully and arbitrarily restricted by the Greek Cypriots and instances of arrests and abductions can best be understood from the general observations made by the reports of the United Nations Secretary-General and press accounts during the relevant period.

"18. The incident, (i.e. the Famagusta incident) was followed by a wave of hostage-taking, a total of 32 Turkish Cypriots being abducted from Famagusta and the surrounding District by Greek Cypriots. None of these has been traced, and little hope remains that they are alive. Up to the date of this report, no action is known to have been taken to bring those responsible to trial. Immediately following the incident, a Turkish Cypriot was shot and wounded on a main road outside the town by Greek Cypriots travelling in a Police landrover. In spite of repeated communications by UNFICYP to authorities at all levels, including a letter to the President, to trace the whereabouts or the remains of these persons, there has been no progress at all in locating them."

The following report published in the Daily Mail of 16th May 1964 is also very revealing:

"General Gyani, the United Nations Commander, spoke out sharply against Greek Cypriots today in front of President Makarios.

"The two men were walking through Famagusta dockyard next to the walled Turkish quarter; President Makarios commented 'it's all right here', and the theme was taken up by Greek Cypriot district commissioners in the party.

"The General spun around on them and barked: 'it is not. Do not always complain about the other side. No Turk is safe in the Greek quarter and the incident at the Naafi demonstrates that' ".³⁷

67. Reports of the United Nations Secretary-General also provide ample proof of the fact that over 200 Turkish Cypriots missing since December 1963 were never accounted for.

Paragraph 117 of the United Nations Secretary-General's report to the Security Council dated March 1965 states that:

"209. Turkish Cypriots are still missing... Efforts to trace these persons have been continued by the ICRC and UNFICYP without result and there is little prospect of finding them alive."

Paragraph 76 of his report to the Security Council a year later, dated 10th June 1966 (S/7350) states that:

"only one case of 212 Turkish Cypriots listed as missing has been closed since my last report, a man now found to have been killed in April 1964."

68. After the Greek engineered coup d'etat of 15th July 1974 the number of missing Turkish Cypriots further rose to about 800, the vast majority of these being civilians including women and children.

69. To this day the Greek Cypriot authorities have persistently declined to account for the fate of these people. However in view of the fact that the bodies of about 300 Turkish Cypriot missing persons were subsequently exhumed from mass graves which were discovered in Atlılar (Aloa), Muratağa (Maratha) and Sandallar (Sandallaris) it is not too difficult to guess the fate of the remaining Turkish Cypriot missing persons. These mass graves were unearthed in the presence of foreign journalists and observers, including members of UNFICYP, in the latter part of August and early September 1974. Eye-witness accounts describe the horror of these graves.

The following are eye-witness accounts of these and other mass graves:

"Every hour new ditches and numerous corpses are being discovered; it is very difficult to endure the job."

(UPI, 20th August, 1974)

"In a Greek raid on a small village near Limassol, 36 people out of the population of 200 were killed. The Greeks said they had been given orders to kill the inhabitants of Turkish villages before the Turkish forces arrived."

(The Washington Post, 23rd July 1974)

"In Alaminos village near Larnaca, 14 Turks between the ages of 25 and 53 have been killed and buried in the earth by a bulldozer."

(The Washington Post, 30th July 1974.)

The Voice of Germany on 30th July, 1974 reported the following interview given by a German tourist, Mrs. Ingrid Habel:

"The human mind cannot comprehend the butchery of the Greeks. In the villages around Famagusta region the Greek National Guard have displayed unsurpassed examples of savagery. Entering Turkish homes, they ruthlessly rained bullets on women and children. They cut the throats of many Turks."

The London Times wrote:

"After the invasion of the island, thousands of Turks were held as hostages. Turkish women were raped and Turkish children killed on the streets. The Turkish quarter in Limassol was burnt down. The incidents have been confirmed by Greek Cypriots." (22 July, 1974)

70. The existence of another mass grave where the entire male Turkish Cypriot population of Taşkent (Tokhni) is known to have been buried has been confirmed by UNFICYP, but permission for its opening has been refused by the Greek Cypriot authorities.

71. We know beyond any doubt that all persons missing since the hostilities of August 1974 are dead. Indeed, both sides have enacted legislation providing that such persons are to be presumed dead for marital and inheritance purposes. Yet the Greek Cypriot side chooses to make political propaganda of this question.

72. The Greek Cypriot side should refrain from making a political issue of the question of missing persons and should instead, as befits the gravity and humanitarian nature of the problem, direct their efforts towards the solution of this problem. The continued exploitation of the question of missing persons certainly does not help efforts to alleviate the agony suffered by the relatives concerned.

73. The question of missing persons has been the subject of numerous discussions between the representatives of the two communities both at the inter-communal talks and at higher levels. During these discussions the Turkish Cypriot side made it clear, time and again, that there were no Greek Cypriot "missing persons" and/or detainees either in the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus or in Turkey. The International Red Cross has also confirmed that all prisoners of war taken to Turkey had been delivered to the Greek Cypriot side. In its report dated March 18, 1977, the ICRC states:

"In the implementation of the Declaration which was signed on July 30, 1974 in Geneva by the Foreign Ministers of Greece, Turkey and United Kingdom, the Greek Cypriot and Greek (mainland) prisoners held in Turkey were repatriated under supervision of delegates from ICRC, and liberated in the territory under Greek Cypriot control.

"The first five prisoners from Turkey were repatriated on compassionate grounds on August 8, 1974. The subsequent repatriations were carried out between September 16 and October 28, 1974, each convoy being accompanied as stated above by delegates from ICRC priority being given on humanitarian grounds to the sick, the wounded and aged prisoners as well as those under 18 years of age.

"At the same time as the prisoners returned home, nominal lists of all those repatriated were handed over to the Greek Cypriot authorities. These were drawn on the basis of information concerning their identity given by the prisoners themselves, and also information supplied by the competent Turkish authorities."

Furthermore on the 5th March, 1976 the representative of the ICRC in Cyprus categorically stated in the presence of the United Nations Secretary-General's Special Representative in Cyprus that all prisoners of war taken to Turkey had been returned to the island and delivered to the Greek side. This fact was subsequently reaffirmed by Mr. Vescey, the head of the missing persons department of the ICRC.

74. Incidentally it is pertinent to point out that the International Red Cross, having completed its work in the island has since closed its offices in Cyprus and returned to Geneva.

75. The question of missing persons was taken up and discussed in detail at the highest level during the summit meetings held between President Denktas and the late Archbishop Makarios. As a result of these discussions an agreement was subsequently concluded for the establishment of an investigatory body for the tracing of missing persons. Unfortunately, however, the Greek Cypriot side never desired the setting up of such a committee and persistently frustrated efforts for the establishment of the investigatory body, preferring instead to keep the issue alive and exploit it for propaganda purposes ³⁸.

It should be emphasised that the question of missing persons would have been settled long ago, had the Greek Cypriot side been sincere about settling it, instead of exploiting it for political propaganda purposes. The Turkish Cypriot side accepted the establishment of a Missing Persons Committee, within the framework of General Assembly Resolution 32/128, even though it was not represented or heard either in the Third Committee of the General Assembly. Unfortunately, however, the Greek Cypriot side has insisted on referring the matter back to the Third Committee in order to keep the issue alive for propaganda purposes, in spite of the existing arrangements for a settlement of the issue, and in spite of the repeated calls of the Turkish Cypriot side for a bi-lateral meeting to resolve the outstanding differences with regard to the establishment of the Missing Persons Bureau.

Relevant in this context is the following statement made by His Excellency Rauf R. Denктаş on 24 October 1978, with regard to this humanitarian question:

"... the Greek Cypriots have resorted to shameful intrigues on the establishment of the joint Committee to trace missing persons. While pretending to favour the establishment of such a Committee, they resorted to all sorts of intrigues to prevent the setting up of such a Committee.

"We immediately agreed to the setting up of a Committee with the participation of the International Red Cross as soon as the Resolution was adopted by the Third Committee of the United Nations last year. Regarding the procedure to be followed by the Committee, the then U.S.A. Ambassador Mr. Crawford mediated between the two sides. There was full agreement on every paragraph. The Greek Cypriots, however, were insisting on majority vote for decisions. We argued that this would have drawbacks. In the end, the Americans took up the issue with the International Red Cross Headquarters in Geneva. The Americans brought us and to the Greek Cypriots information from the International Red Cross that they would not participate in voting. Thus the question of voting was also resolved and the agreement was ready for initialling. The Greek Cypriot side did not accept this. Voting has never been an accepted procedure in humanitarian issues. Interested parties act in a spirit of mutual help. Since both communities have missing persons, insistence on voting was a course adopted to impede the establishment of the Committee.

"In April 1978, the United States Representative mediated between Mr. Kyprianou and myself once again. Agreement was reached on every paragraph of the document regarding procedures which was presented to both sides. Upon this I called for a meeting with Mr. Kyprianou to initial this agreement. I extended my call through the intermediary and I also disclosed it to the press. Mr. Kyprianou did not accept the invitation. During my last visit to New York, I repeated my invitation through the United Nations Secretary-General, Dr. Kurt Waldheim, and also informed the press about it. These are the facts.

"The Greek Cypriot leadership is pretending as if none of these developments took place and as if no agreement has been reached on all aspects, except the question of voting. As a matter of fact the International Red Cross has itself stressed that voting cannot take place. These facts are well known by the United Nations Secretary-General and the American officials who mediated in Nicosia and New York. If the Greek Cypriot leadership feels the need to deceive even its own people despite these facts, this concerns them and does not affect us."

It is apparent that the whole difficulty on the matter is due to the efforts of one party to exploit this humanitarian issue for political purposes. This is borne out by the insistence of the Greek Cypriot side that the third member of the investigatory Committee, originally and ICRC representative as envisaged by General Assembly Resolution 32/128, should have the decisive vote in the event of

disagreement between the Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot members of the Committee; whereas the Trukish Cypriot side wants all decisions to be taken by consensus, so as to prevent the exploitation of this humanitarian issue for political purposes. On this point the views of the Turkish Cypriot side and those of ICRC, as also presented in paragraph 43 of the United Nations Secretary-General's report S/12946, of 1 December 1978 in the following terms are identical:

"ICRC, though willing to take on functions conferred upon it by agreement of both sides, was not prepared to be placed in the midst of political controversy."

The justified refusal of the ICRC to be dragged into political controversy over the question meant that decisions of the Committee would be taken on a "no-objection basis," and not by majority vote as the Greek Cypriot wanted, and that the Greek Cypriot side would be unable to use the Committee as a forum where it could disseminate further anti-Turkish propoganda. This is the reason the Greek Cypriot side found it necessary to take the question back to the Third Committee. As repeatedly stated by the Turkish Cypriot side before, the Turkish Cypriot side is ready to set up the Committee as envisaged by the Third Committee resolution of 12 December 1977, which was subsequently adopted by the General Assembly on 16 December 1977 (Resolution 32/128), with the participation of the ICRC.

As regards the resolution adopted by the Third Committee on 12 December 1978, which was later approved by the General Assembly resolution 32/172 of 20 December 1978, it should be emphasized that the Turkish Cypriot Community does not consider this resolution as acceptable or binding, as was made known in a letter addressed to the United Nations Secretary-General on 13 December 1978, by the Representative of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus in New York (UN document A/33/499 and S/12967 of 13 December 1978). The clause urging the establishment of an investigatory body "under the chairmanship of a representative of the Secretary-General" who "shall be empowered, in case of disagreement to reach a binding independent opinion which shall be implemented," is particularly unacceptable since it does not ever conform with established international practice with regard to settlement of disputes of this nature. It is relevant to note here that the legal advice sought from the United Nations in this respect states that in the absence of the explicit consent of both sides, the General Assembly cannot confer upon the Secretary-General, and for that matter, upon his representative, the role of a compulsory arbitrator, that there is no precedent for conferring such a role upon the Secretary-General in the absence of the consent of both parties, and finally that established international practice in the matter of dispute settlement attaches primacy to the consent of the parties. It also states that such consent must be express and not implied.

76. It is also relevant to state that the number of Greek Cypriots killed by Greek Cypriots and Greek mainland military personnel during the inter-Greek fighting at the time of the coup is very high.

77. So far the Greek Cypriot side has adamantly refused to come up with the names or even disclose the approximate number of those killed during the Greek engineered coup d'etat of 15th July, 1974.

78. It is, however, an indisputable fact, as confirmed by Greek Cypriot and foreign eye-witness reports, that over 2,000 Greek Cypriots were killed during the fighting among opposing Greek Cypriot factions at the time of the coup, even before the Turkish operations commenced. At the same time many innocent Turkish Cypriots were killed. ³⁷

79. The late Archbishop Makarios himself acknowledged in the statement he made before the United Nations Security Council on 19th July 1974, that:

"The coup caused much bloodshed and took a great toll of human lives. I am afraid the number of casualties is large and the material destruction is heavy."

80. Furthermore, the Deputy Attorney-General of the Greek Cypriot Administration, Mr. Loukaides has categorically and officially stated during the trial of Nicos Sampson on 23rd August 1976 that armed attacks during the coup resulted in much bloodshed and in the death of many civilians and security forces ³⁹.

He declined, however, to give their identities or the exact number lest this should create internal difficulties on the Greek Cypriot side.

81. Subsequently Mr. Tassos Papadopoulos, the former Greek Cypriot negotiator, acknowledged that over 500 Greek Cypriots were killed during the coup, but the figure he gave was a gross underestimation of the realities and again he declined to disclose identities.

82. There can be no doubt whatsoever that most of the so-called Greek Cypriot missing persons, the responsibility for whose disappearance the Greek Cypriot side conveniently tries to attribute to the Turkish side, were actually killed by the Greeks themselves. However, despite the overwhelming evidence in this regard, the Greek Cypriot Administration has persistently and deliberately refrained from disclosing, even today, the exact number and the identities of those Greek Cypriots killed during the coup. Repeated calls from the Turkish Cypriot side for their disclosure have remained unanswered.

37 Appendix 37

39 Appendix 39

83. We are certain that if such disclosures were made, the true fate of the great majority of those Greek Cypriots whom they claim to be missing would be revealed and many of the Greek Cypriot families who are at present suffering would be relieved of their agony.

84. What moral justification can the Greek Cypriot side possibly have for blaming the Turkish side on the question of missing persons when they are persistently and deliberately withholding information not only as to the fate of hundreds of Turkish Cypriots missing since 1963 and during 1974, but also as to the fate of thousands of Greek Cypriots killed in their own areas during the coup?

85. The Turkish Cypriot side is always ready and willing to co-operate with genuine efforts to trace missing persons⁴⁰.

CONCLUSION

The question of human rights, fundamental as it is, does not exist in a vacuum and in Cyprus, perhaps more so than anywhere else, human rights questions cannot be taken up in isolation from the other aspects of the Cyprus problem. This fact is acknowledged by reputable authorities on the question as well as by eminent statesmen. For example, President Carter of the United States in his report on human rights in Cyprus in 1978 states that:

"Perhaps more so than elsewhere, human rights questions in Cyprus cannot be treated in isolation from political considerations. As a consequence of past intercommunal troubles and the events of 1974, they constitute an integral element of the Cyprus problem and will no doubt figure largely in any settlement reached between the two communities."

In his report the following year in 1979, the President of the United States, Mr. Carter states:

"As noted in last years report, human rights questions resulting from past intercommunal troubles and the events of 1974 are an integral element of the Cyprus problem and will no doubt figure prominently in any settlement reached between the two communities."

The British Minister of State For Foreign Affairs, Mr. Frank Judd has also reiterated that the human rights problems in Cyprus were an inseparable part of an overall settlement of the Cyprus problem. Mr. Judd was answering a question in parliament by Mr. James Lamond, a Labour Member of Parliament, that the violation of human rights in Cyprus should not be ignored.

Mr. Judd said that claims by Mr. Lamond were not correct and efforts were continuing in the international field for their solution, but the British Government was of the view that these problems were part of an overall solution of the Cyprus problem. (See News Bulletin of 20 February 1979)

Accordingly, although great efforts have been made to alleviate humanitarian suffering in Cyprus, any remaining humanitarian questions are inevitably linked with an overall political solution.

This is not to say observance of human rights is or should be subservient to political or other considerations. However, it would be oversimplistic not to acknowledge the complex interrelationship between human rights and the political aspects of the Cyprus problem.

The Greek Cypriot Administration would have the world believe that the Turkish intervention was carried out for purely political reasons. It fails to mention, however, that it was the repeated and flagrant violations of human rights of the Turkish Cypriots for eleven consecutive years that prompted the Turkish interven-

tion in the first place, and overlooks the fact that in the absence of a political settlement the Turkish forces in Cyprus are the only guarantee for the protection of the human rights of the Turkish Cypriot Community.

There is a tendency, albeit an erroneous one, to pivot the Cyprus question on 1974 and present it as a problem which came into being following the Turkish intervention of 20 July, 1974. In fact had it not been for the justified and timely intervention of Turkey on 20th July 1974 following the Greek engineered coup d'etat of 15th July 1974, today Cyprus would have been a mere colony of Greece governed by the Junta in power there at the time, and there would have been no Turkish Cypriot Community to speak of.

Nevertheless, the Greek Cypriot Administration persists in presenting the Cyprus problem as a question of foreign intervention and/or occupation, there by claiming that if the Turkish forces were to withdraw all would be well with the island once again.

Such a misrepresentation presupposes that the island was a veritable paradise prior to July 1974. What is more, a paradise in which the two communities of the island were living in peace and harmony when all of a sudden, Turkey decided to "invade" Cyprus whereupon misery and suffering befell the island and its peoples!

This could not be further from the truth. The Cyprus problem and humanitarian suffering on the island did not in fact start in July 1974 and it is impossible to understand or appreciate the complexities of the present situation on the island unless one takes into account the situation prevailing on the island prior to 1974.

The problem of Cyprus is one which has a long and turbulent history going back to the 1950's, or even before, when, following the annexation of Cyprus from Turkey by Britain in 1914, the Greek speaking population of Cyprus began their agitation for ENOSIS -the Union of Cyprus with Greece. This movement was opposed by the Turkish Cypriot population because it would mean servitude for the Turkish Cypriots.

In the mid 1950's the ENOSIS movement took a turn for violence, ostensibly against the British, but in actual fact with the object of uniting the island with Greece at the expense of the Turkish Cypriot population. Parallel to Greek Cypriot agitation on the island Greece made several attempts to utilise the United Nations as an instrument by which to achieve ENOSIS under the disguise of "self-determination".

The attempts of Greece to achieve "ENOSIS" through the United Nations having failed, and the British, in the face of EOKA violence, having agreed in principle to relinquish sovereignty over the island, the interested parties, that is Turkey, Greece, the United Kingdom and the two Cypriot communities com-

menced negotiations and subsequently agreed in early 1959 to the establishment of an independent, bi-communal sovereign state based on the equality and partnership of the two communities.

In August 1960 the independent Cyprus Republic was established and it had appeared at the time that the opposing aspirations of the two Cypriot communities had been finally reconciled and that all parties concerned were satisfied with a solution based on the permanent independence of Cyprus.

It did not however take long for the Greek Cypriots to relapse into their former ENOSIS psychosis, and it later transpired that they had all along regarded independence as merely a stepping stone to Union of Cyprus with Greece.

Less than three years after independence, that is in 1963, a violent armed attack was launched by the Greek Cypriot element of the government against their Turkish Cypriot co-partners whereupon the Turkish Cypriot Community was ousted from the government machinery and deprived of all its citizenship rights as well as their inalienable human rights protected under the Constitution. During the whole of the period between 1963 and 1974, the island was under the virtual occupation of Greece.

This unfortunate state of affairs culminated with the Greek engineered coup d'etat of July 1974, and with the final take-over of the island by the Junta in Greece. The coup of 15 July, 1974, constituted in fact the final step towards the materialisation of ENOSIS.

For eleven years, between 1963 and 1974 the Turkish Cypriot Community suffered untold misery and hardships.

Hundreds of Turkish Cypriots were ruthlessly murdered, almost 600 vanished, never to be seen again.

Houses in no less than 103 Turkish Cypriot villages were completely destroyed thus forcing over 25,000 Turkish Cypriots, that is almost a quarter of the Turkish Cypriot population, to become refugees.

The machinery of government having been usurped by the Greek Cypriot element of the bi-communal state, the Turkish Cypriots were reduced to second-class citizens.

And, with the exception of Turkey, the world community merely looked on, unmoved, and apparently condoned the "fait accompli" and the atrocities of the Greek Cypriot leadership.

For eleven years, the same concern now shown for Greek Cypriot humanitarian problems, was not, unfortunately, shown for Turkish Cypriot humanitarian suffering by the world community apart from Turkey.

Following the events of 1963 the Greek Cypriot leadership, aided and abetted by Greece, embarked upon a policy the object of which was to eliminate the Turkish Cypriot Community as a distinct entity in Cyprus. Although there were at times disagreements among the various factions of the Greek Cypriot leadership as to when and through what methods the Turkish Cypriot Community was to be finally eliminated the aim remained the same: the union of Cyprus with Greece.

That the goal of the Greek Cypriot leadership and Greece has been the realisation of ENOSIS through the elimination of the Turkish Cypriot Community is manifestly evident from the statements and conduct of Greek Cypriot persons in authority throughout the progression of the Cyprus problem. Furthermore, the disclosure in 1960 of the infamous AKRITAS PLAN (see Appendix 4), a plan of action for the elimination of the Turkish Cypriot Community, has proved beyond any doubt the true intention of the Greek Cypriot Community.

The massacres in 1963, and again in 1974 are also ample proof of Greek intentions in this regard.

For twelve years, in spite of immense internal pressures and humanitarian urge to act, Turkey exhibited remarkable restraint and patience. For twelve years she did all in her power to achieve a peaceful solution of the Cyprus problem. But her efforts were of no avail. Acting on the assumption that Turkey would not intervene or would be prevented from doing so, the Greek Cypriots felt sure that they could get away with anything, even mass murder, and intensified their aggression against the Turkish Cypriot Community.

However, the criminal coup d'etat of 15 July 1974 and the assumption of Nicos Sampson, a self-confessed murderer of Turks, to the "Presidency" of the Greek Cypriot Administration constituted the last straw for Turkey. She had no alternative but to intervene in accordance with her treaty obligations and with humanitarian considerations in mind, in order to save the independence of Cyprus and the lives of the Turkish Cypriots who were under imminent danger of being massacred. The Turkish intervention was not an act of aggression, but an act against the repeated aggressions of Greece and the Greek Cypriots.

Hence the Turkish intervention and the present situation on the island which is in fact no more than the natural conclusion of a trend dictated by past events and long-standing hostility between the two communities.

Accordingly humanitarian problems cannot be treated in isolation from the history of the long-standing Cyprus problem.

Furthermore, the question of human rights should not be treated as a means to an end but as an end in itself. It appears however, that the Greek Cypriot Administration is using the question of human rights as a means of disseminating anti-Turkish sentiments and for its own ulterior political objectives.

It should be stressed that had the Greek Cypriot Administration really subscribed to the noble principles embodied in international covenants on human rights, it would not have violated all the fundamental human rights of the Turkish Cypriot Community since 1963. Even today the Greek Cypriot Administration continues to violate the right of equal representation of the Turkish Cypriot Community at international fora, and engages in imposing a vicious economic embargo against this Community. Having been prevented from discriminating against Turkish Cypriots within Cyprus itself, the Greek Cypriot Administration has resorted to a malicious economic blockade of Northern Cyprus, thereby inflicting severe suffering on the Turkish Cypriots, and to persistent hostile activity at international fora aimed at isolating the Turkish Cypriot Community. In line with this policy, Turkish Cypriot ports and airports are declared illegal and closed to international traffic, and those foreign nationals who defy this ban are prosecuted whenever the opportunity arises. The sale of citrus fruit and other agricultural products from the North of Cyprus to foreign countries is disrupted by court actions brought abroad by Greek Cypriots against Turkish Cypriot companies. Hotels and touristic installations in the North are similarly declared to be prohibited areas, and although the Greek Cypriots lose every legal suit they bring against the Turkish Cypriots in this respect in foreign countries, Turkish Cypriot tourism is seriously damaged by the propaganda and legal complications arising from such action. The Greek Cypriot Administration continues to do all in its power to incite international public opinion against the Turkish Cypriot Community and keeps the Turkish zone of Cyprus under a severe economic, social and political embargo.

It will clearly appear from all the above that the Greek Cypriot Administration, with its past record and present practice, is the least eligible institution to talk about violations of human rights in Cyprus today. He who comes to equity must come with clean hands! The world community should be aware that the Greek Cypriot Administration which pays lip service to human rights today, was busy violating these rights only in the very recent past and continues to do so at present.

The Turkish Cypriot Community maintains that the protection of human rights is too serious a subject to be entrusted to such an administration, and hence aspires to a solution in Cyprus that will effectively prevent the Greek Cypriots from repeating their past crimes against the Turkish Cypriot Community.



APPENDICES



**TEXT OF THE GENEVA DECLARATION OF 30 JULY 1974
MADE BY THE FOREIGN MINISTERS OF THE THREE GUARANTOR
POWERS, TURKEY, GREECE AND THE UNITED KINGDOM**

THE GENEVA DECLARATION OF THE 30TH JULY, 1974

1. The Foreign Ministers of Greece, Turkey and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland held negotiations in Geneva from 25 - 30 July 1974. They recognized the importance of setting in train, as a matter of urgency, measures to adjust and to regularise within a reasonable period of time the situation in the Republic of Cyprus on a lasting basis, having regard to the international agreements signed at Nicosia on 16 August 1960 and to Resolution 353 of the Security Council of the United Nations. They were, however, agreed on the need to decide first on certain immediate measures.

2. The three Foreign Ministers declared that in order to stabilize the situation, the areas in the Republic of Cyprus controlled by opposing armed forces on 30 July 1974 at 22.00 hours Geneva time should not be extended. They called on all forces including irregular forces, to desist from all offensive or hostile activities.

3. The three Foreign Ministers also concluded that the following measures should be put into immediate effect:

- a) A security zone of sizes to be determined by Representatives of Greece, Turkey and the United Kingdom in consultation with the United Nations Peace-Keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) should be established at the limit of the areas occupied by the Turkish Armed Forces at the time specified in paragraph 2 above. This zone should be entered by no forces other than those of UNFICYP, which should supervise the prohibition of entry.

Pending the determination of the size and character of the security zone, the existing area between the two forces should be entered by no forces.

- b) All the Turkish enclaves occupied by Greek or Greek Cypriot Forces should be immediately evacuated. These enclaves will continue to be protected by UNFICYP and to have their previous security arrangements.

Other Turkish enclaves outside the area controlled by the Turkish Armed Forces shall continue to be protected by an UNFICYP security zone and may, as before, maintain their own police and security forces.

- c) In mixed villages the functions of security and police will be carried out by UNFICYP.
- d) Military personnel and civilians detained as a result of the recent hostilities shall be either exchanged or released under the supervision of the International Committee of the Red Cross within the shortest time possible.

4. The three Foreign Ministers, reaffirming that Resolution 353 of the Security Council should be implemented in the shortest possible time, agreed that within the framework of a just and lasting solution acceptable to all the parties concerned and as peace, security and mutual confidence are established in the Republic of Cyprus, measures should be elaborated which will lead to the timely and phased reduction of the number of armed forces and the amounts of armaments, munitions and other war material in the Republic of Cyprus.

5. Deeply conscious of their responsibilities as regards the maintenance of the independence, territorial integrity and security of the Republic of Cyprus, the three Foreign Ministers agreed that negotiations, as provided for in Resolution 353 of the Security Council, should be carried on with the least possible delay to secure (a) the restoration of peace in the area and (b) the re-establishment of constitutional government in Cyprus. To this end they agreed that further talks should begin on 8 August 1974 at Geneva. They also agreed that representatives of the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot Communities should at an early stage, participate in the talks relating to the constitution. Among the constitutional questions to be discussed should be that of an immediate return to constitutional legitimacy, the Vice-President assuming the functions provided for under the 1960 Constitution. *The Ministers noted the existence in practice in the Republic of Cyprus of two autonomous administrations that of the Greek Cypriot Community and that of the Turkish Cypriot Community.* Without any prejudice to the conclusions to be drawn from this situation the Ministers agreed to consider at their next meeting the problems raised by their existence.

6. The three Foreign Ministers agreed to convey the contents of this declaration to the Secretary General of the United Nations and to invite him to take appropriate action in the light of it. They also expressed their conviction of the necessity that the fullest cooperation should be extended by all concerned in the Republic of Cyprus in carrying out its terms.

TURKISH CYPRIOTS' RIGHT TO LIVE VINDICATED

HESPERIDES HOTELS LTD. AND ANOTHER

V

AEGEAN TURKISH HOLIDAYS LTD. AND ANOTHER

**THE TIMES LAW REPORT,
MAY 23, 1977.**

**Hesperides Hotels Ltd. and Another V Aegean
Turkish Holidays Ltd. and Another**

**Before Lord Denning, Master of the Rolls, Lord Justice Roskill and Lord Justice
Scarman**

The English courts have no jurisdiction to entertain an action for the right to possession of land out of England or the recovery of damages for trespass to such land.

The Court of Appeal affirmed that long established principle in allowing an interlocutory appeal, in reserved judgements, by Mr. Omer Faik Muftizade, the London Representative of a body called the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus, from Mr. Justice May in chambers of April 6, when on the application of Hesperides Hotels Ltd. and Catsellis Hotels Ltd., companies incorporated according to the law of the Republic of Cyprus and presently situated in Limassol, he granted them an interlocutory injunction restraining Mr. Muftizade from conspiring or acting in any way whatever to procure, encourage or assist a trespass to two hotels owned by the companies in Kyrenia in the area now occupied by the Turkish regime.

The writ (which the judge refused to set aside) alleged that Mr. Muftizade had conspired with an English travel agent company, Aegean Turkish Holidays Ltd., to obtain advantage for themselves by the unauthorized use of the companies' hotels, the Hesperides (now known as Kyrenia Rocks), and the Dome, in Kyrenia.

Lord Denning, through concurring in the result, also considered the question whether, where her Majesty's Government had stated that it did not recognize the constituent parts of the community in Cyprus, the English courts, might differ from the executive in relation to a particular regime in a particular territory at a particular time.

Mr. Patrick Neill, QC and Mr. Gerald Davies for Mr. Muftizade; Mr. David Kemp, QC Mr. George Newman and Mr. Kenneth Parker for the companies.

The MASTER OF THE ROLLS said that Kyrenia, in the north of Cyprus attracted many visitors. Before 1974 the Hesperides and the Dome were owned by Greek Cypriots. The owner families ran them and lived there.

In July, 1974, the Turkish armed forces took possession of Kyrenia. The two hotel families fled to Limassol, where they still were. They could not return to the north, for it was sealed off by the Turkish forces.

In mid-1976 the families got to know that their hotels were occupied by Turkish Cypriots and were advertising in England for visitors. Brochures were issued by a body calling itself the "Turkish Federated State of Cyprus". In London a travel agency, Aegean Turkish Holidays Ltd., accepted bookings for the two hotels (among others). The families went to English solicitors, who found that the "Turkish Federated State of Cyprus" had a London representative, Mr. Omer Faik Muftizade, a man of distinction who held the Queen's Medal for Gallantry. The solicitors assumed that he had been a party to the issue of the brochures.

The solicitors decided to take action in England. They issued a writ against the travel agents and Mr. Muftizade, asserting that since August, 1974, the hotels had been illegally occupied by trespassers and that the defendants had conspired together to effect trespasses and to obtain advantage for themselves by the unauthorized use of the hotels. They applied to Mr. Justice May for an injunction. The travel agents submitted to a perpetual injunction, but Mr. Muftizade applied to set aside the writ against him. The judge upheld the writ and granted an injunction against Mr. Muftizade. Mr. Muftizade appealed.

His Lordship would summarize the rival contentions. Mr. Kemp, for the companies, said that the only lawful constitution of Cyprus known to English law was that established in 1960, pursuant to the Cyprus Act, 1960, that the only lawful sovereign was the Republic of Cyprus established by that Act; that the companies were the legal owners of the two hotels and had the right to possession of them and that having served Mr. Muftizade in England, they could sue him personally for the personal wrong done by him; that he was guilty of a personal wrong because he conspired with the travel agents and others to obtain bookings for the hotels and thus procured, encouraged and assisted trespasses to the hotels such trespasses being unlawful by the laws of the Republic of Cyprus.

Mr. Neill suggested that the original constitution of Cyprus had been supplanted in fact by two autonomous administrations, one a Turkish Cypriot administration in the north, the other a Greek Cypriot administration in the south. He said that the Turkish Cypriot Administration had requisitioned properties in the north which formerly belonged to Greek Cypriots there; that the Greek Cypriot Administration had requisitioned property in the south formerly belonging to Turkish Cypriots there; that it was open to argument at least that those requisitioned were lawful; and that the courts of England could not and should not pronounce them unlawful or issue any injunction on that footing.

The Foreign Office had issued a certificate that Her Majesty's Government did not recognize the administration -the "Turkish Federated State of Cyprus"- as being the government of an independent de facto sovereign state; nor did the Government "recognize or accord to Mr. Muftizade... any privilege and/or immunity under the Diplomatic Immunities Act, 1964".

Mr. Kemp submitted that the effect in law of the certificate was that the English courts could not recognize or give effect to any of the acts or laws of the so-called state. They were all nullities, and our courts could not even receive evidence of such acts and laws.

Mr. Kemp supported his submission by reference to authorities, including *Luther V. Sagor* ((1921) 1 KB 456), where Mr. Justice Roche accepted the law as stated by the United States Supreme Court in 1818: "No doctrine is better established than that it belongs exclusively to governments to recognize new states in the revolutions which may occur in the world: and until such recognition, either by our own government or the government to which the new state belonged, courts of justice are bound to consider the ancient state of things as remaining unaltered: "and other judicial statements by Lord Justice Diplock.

Mr. Kemp added most persuasively citations from the late Sir Hersch Lauterpacht's *Recognition of Government*, when he said that the correct rule was that both an unrecognized government and its act were a nullity. The doctrine there stated was said to be based on the need for the executive and the courts to speak with one voice. If the executive did not recognize the usurping government, courts should not. But others said that there was no need for the executive and the judiciary to speak in unison. The executive were concerned with the external consequences of recognition vis-a-vis other states; the courts were concerned with the internal consequences vis-a-vis private individuals.

The courts had repeatedly received evidence of the status of various administrations in a country, the most authoritative statement being that of Lord Wilberforce in the House of Lords in *Carl Zeiss* ((1967) 1 AC 853, 954): "Where private rights, or acts of everyday occurrence or perfunctory acts of administration are concerned... the courts may, in the interests of justice and common sense, where no consideration of public policy to the contrary has to prevail, give recognition to the actual facts or realities found to exist in the territory in question."

His Lordship had been ready to apply the principle in *In re James* (An insolvent) (Attorney General intervening) (*The Times*, October 23, 1976, (1977) 2 WLR 1, 11) about Rhodesia. If it were necessary to make a choice between the conflicting doctrines, his Lordship would unhesitatingly hope that our courts could recognize the laws or acts of a body in effective control of a territory, even though it had not been recognized de jure or de facto by our Government; at any rate in regard to the laws which regulated the day-to-day affairs of the people, such as their leases, their occupations and so forth; and furthermore that the courts could receive evidence of their state of affairs so as to see whether or not the body was in effect in control.

His Lordship reviewed the history of Cyprus since 1960. Since 1974 the evidence pointed clearly to there being two autonomous administrations in Cyprus. Negotiations were in process for a bi-communal federal state. If they succeeded provision would no doubt be made for the properties to be restored to their former owners or compensation paid. Meanwhile, however, under laws purported to be made by the respective administrations, the properties had been let or occupied by persons authorized by the relevant administration.

There was now an effective administration in north Cyprus which had made laws governing the day-to-day lives of the people. According to those laws the people who had occupied the hotels in Kyrenia were not trespassers. They were not asserting their ownership. They were occupying them by virtue of a lease granted to them under the existing laws or of requisitions made by the existing administration. If an action were brought in the courts of northern Cyprus alleging trespass to land or to goods it would be bound to fail.

It followed inexorably that their conduct could not be made the subject of a suit in England, even if one of the present occupiers himself came to England and was sued here, the courts would be bound to reject the claim. In order to be actionable in England it would have to satisfy the second condition in *Phillips v Eyre* (1870) LR 1 29: "The act must have been justiciable by the law of the place where it was done."

His Lordship thought that the case should be disposed of on broad ground of public policy. There was a divergence of view between two autonomous administrations in Cyprus. It was not the province of the English courts to resolve such a dispute. It was a dispute which should be settled by negotiations between the two administrations, aided one hoped. It was, indeed, his Lordship hoped, being settled at this very moment by negotiations in Vienna. If a settlement was reached it should deal with all questions relating to the taking of properties, compensation and so forth.

The dispute was not justiciable. The action should be struck out as unsustainable and the appeal allowed.

LORD JUSTICE ROSKILL said that Mr. Justice May had not only granted the injunction against Mr. Muftizade but also dismissed his application to set aside the plaintiff's writ for want of jurisdiction. Since no recognition was accorded to the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus as the *de jure* government of any part of Cyprus or as the government of an independent *de facto* sovereign state, it followed that Mr. Muftizade was sued as a private individual; indeed he could not be sued otherwise or in any relevant representative capacity. He did not possess, and before their Lordships did not claim to possess, any diplomatic privilege or immunity. Nor had he any official status. Accordingly if the plaintiff companies were to succeed in their claim against him they must prove that claim just as any claim for damages for conspiracy to trespass must be proved by any plaintiff against any other defendant, and if that claim fell within a class which the courts of this country had no jurisdiction to entertain not only ought the interlocutory injunction to be discharged, but the writ should itself be set aside.

Mr. Muftizade said that however the claim might be dressed up it offended against the principle of English law summarized in rule 79 of Dicey's Conflict of Laws: "Subject to the exceptions thereinafter mentioned, the court has no jurisdiction to entertain an action for (1) the determination of the title to, or the right to possession of, any immovable situate out of England (foreign land), or (2) the recovery of damages for trespass to such immovable."

That rule was founded on the House of Lords decision in *British South Africa Co v Companhia de Mocambique* ((1893) AC 602). If the submission were right both the writ should be set aside and the injunction ought not to have been granted. Had the judge had before him the evidence from Mr. Muftizade adduced before their Lordships we would not, his Lordship thought, have held as unhesitatingly as he did that the evidence showed an unlawful conspiracy between the travel agency and Mr. Muftizade to procure a trespass to the plaintiff's property. There was little evidence of the conspiracy alleged either against Mr. Muftizade personally and or of any tortious act by anyone for whom he could reasonably be said to be vicariously responsible.

But Mr. Neill was concerned to succeed on principle, submitting that however the claim might be disguised as one for damages for conspiracy to trespass, it offended against the *Mocambique* principle. The judge appeared to have thought that the principle, which was correctly stated in Dicey's rule 79, was limited to cases where title to land was in dispute and should not be applied where the title was not in dispute and the cause of action was "in truth the recovery of damages for trespass."

But while the plaintiff's title to their hotels was not in dispute, their right to immediate possession was strongly disputed by Mr. Muftizade, and as a matter of English law, it must be an essential prerequisite of their right to recover damages for the alleged conspiracy to trespass that they showed that the acts relied on as constituting the alleged conspiracy and as causing the alleged damage were actionable.

Mr. Kemp's main submission was that that was not a matter which the court could investigate because the only ground on which the claim to immediate possession could be defeated depended on alleged laws and actions of the so-called Turkish Federated State of Cyprus, and that since no recognition had been accorded by her Majesty to that body, those laws and actions were nullities to which no effect must be given in our courts.

Mr. Kemp appeared to accept that if the plaintiffs' action was limited to damages for trespass to their properties in Cyprus the court could not entertain that claim; but he contended that because the action was founded in conspiracy to trespass the position was different, at least where the overacts of the conspiracy took place in this country, even though the alleged damage might have been suffered abroad.

Mr. Newman, in addition, contended that there was sufficient evidence of damage suffered in this country by the plaintiffs by the mere making of a booking at the hotels which they had not authorized. Both counsel for the plaintiffs had argued that, assuming sufficient evidence of the relevant tortious acts by Mr. Muftizade within the jurisdiction, there was no reason in principle why English courts should not exercise jurisdiction against him in person and thus prevent the continuance of the alleged conspiracy to trespass against their property. It was said that nothing in the Mocambique principle prevented the court from so acting and that the policy underlying the decision was simply that the English court would not make orders which they could not enforce—the *brutum fulmen* principle; here it was said that the relevant order could be enforced against Mr. Muftizade.

In his Lordship's view that was the very argument which had failed in the House of Lords in *Mocambique*: see Lord Chancellor Herschell at pp 624/625. His Lordship found it impossible to see how, if our courts had no jurisdiction to entertain an action in respect of a trespass committed against land abroad, jurisdiction was suddenly acquired by dressing the claim up as an agreement between two or more people in this country to commit that trespass abroad.

It followed that the *Mocambique* principle presented a complete bar to the plaintiffs' claim and that their claim for damages for conspiracy to trespass could not be entertained in our courts. His Lordship would allow the appeal on that ground alone, discharge the injunction, and set aside the writ.

His Lordship would add that Mr. Neill had read to the court evidence giving one version of events in Cyprus. The plaintiffs had not had an opportunity to answer, and if they had had, no doubt much could have been said on the other side. History, especially recent controversial political history, was not one-sided. So far as the new evidence went it showed the profound wisdom of the *Mocambique* principle. The position in Cyprus both on the Greek and on the Turkish side, was at present evolutionary and continued to evolve and develop. Delicate international negotiations had taken place and were about to continue. In those circumstances for an English court to arrogate to itself the right at the present juncture to determine questions of the right to possession of land in Cyprus by entertaining an action for conspiracy to trespass was something which the court ought not to do.

His Lordship considered that in light of observations in the *Carl Zeiss* case in the House of Lords, in particular Lord Reid and Lord Wilberforce, it was clear that at some future date difficult questions might well arise as to the extent to which, notwithstanding the absence of recognition, the English courts would or might recognize and give effect to the laws or acts of a body which was in effective control of a particular area or place; but they did not arise for decision in the present case.

LORD JUSTICE SCARMAN, agreeing with the judgement of Lord Justice Roskill, said that any interlocutory injunction granted in the circumstances of the present case could well do more harm than good. An English court might sometimes have to make an order which to some would appear to be an unwarrantable intrusion by a municipal court into the world of international relations between sovereign states, but if it were asked to intrude its order into that world it should be very slow to grant interlocutory relief by way of injunction, bearing in mind the limitations of evidence and argument necessarily imposed by law on interlocutory proceedings.

Leave to appeal was refused.

Solicitors: Theodore Goddard and Co, Lovell,
White and King.

(From 'The Times' of 24 May 1977)

EXTRACTS FROM THE REPORT OF THE
U.N. SECRETARY-GENERAL No. S/6102
OF 12 DECEMBER 1964

"175. One basic set of obstacles stands in the way of the solution of such problems: the claim by the Government (Greek Cypriot Administration), on the one side, that Turkish Cypriots should submit to its authority and to the law; the position of the Turkish Cypriot leadership, on the other side, that, pending a final settlement or a return to the constitution, the authority of the present Administration ought not be recognized by members of its community.

"176. In other areas, towns or villages, Turkish Cypriots live with little or no contact with the Greek Cypriot population. As a result, the law and administration of the Government (Greek Cypriot Administration) are not recognized and local Turkish Cypriot services have sprung up in order to provide for a minimum of administration of these communities.

"180. The acknowledgement of Government (Greek Cypriot Administration) institutions is generally rejected by Turkish Cypriots, even when their services may be to the advantage of their community. For example, Turkish Cypriot farmers may refuse to complete applications in order to obtain diesel fuel simply because they are addressed to the Government's District Officer.

"197. The Turkish Cypriots, however, generally do not recognize the authority of the Government (Greek Cypriot Administration) institutions.

"238. In the meantime, while in certain areas controlled by Turkish Cypriots the Government (Greek Cypriot) administrative and other services have no access, UNFICYP continues its complex task of providing good offices and acting as the link and channel of communication between two communities which arbitrarily and irrationally have cut themselves off from normal communication with one another."

**THE
AKRITAS
PLAN**

WHAT IS AKRITAS PLAN?

It is the plan of a conspiracy to dissolve the Republic of Cyprus, in pre-determined stages and methods, and to bring about the union of Cyprus with Greece.

The plan was drawn up by the Greek Cypriot leadership in collusion with Greek Army officers in 1963. It provides, among other things, for the creation of an underground army which, as explained in the 'Plan' would suppress any resistance by the Turks, most forcefully, and in the shortest possible time and make the Greek Cypriots master of the situation *'within a day or two, before outside intervention would be possible, probable, or justifiable.'* The plan was signed by 'the Chief Akritas', It also explains the object of the 13-point proposal put forward by Archbishop Makarios for the revision of the Constitution.

This top secret document was first published by a local Greek newspaper - Patris - on 21 April, 1966, with professed intention of exposing the mis-handling of the Greek Cypriot national cause by Archbishop Makarios. In a series of articles published subsequently by the same paper, it was disclosed that Archbishop Makarios had assumed the responsibility for the implementation of the plan, and that he had appointed Mr. Polycarpos Yorgadjis, who was the Minister of the Interior at the time, to be the Chief Akritas, together with other top ranking Greek members of the Government as officers of the secret organization.

Certain parts of the English translation of the Plan presented here have been set in *heavy type* in order to underline those salient points which clearly show the relationship between the Plan and the various stages of the Cyprus crisis. This relationship is also very important from the point of view of the United Nations because it shows how the Greek Cypriot leaders, while paying lip service to the U.N. Charter and to its principles, were deviously trying to use the World Organization as a tool to attain their objectives.

AKRITAS PLAN

TOP SECRET

HEADQUARTERS

Recent public statements by Archbishop Makarios have shown the course which our national problem will take in the near future. As we have stressed in the past, national struggles cannot be concluded overnight; nor is it possible to fix definite chronological limits for the conclusion of the various stages of development in national causes. Our national problem must be viewed in the light of developments which take place and conditions that arise from time to time, and the measures to be taken, as well as their implementation and timing, must be in keeping with the internal and external political conditions. The whole process is difficult and must go through various stages because factors which will affect the final conclusion are numerous and different. It is sufficient for everyone to know, however, that every step taken constitutes the result of a study and that at the same time it forms the basis of future measures. Also, it is sufficient to know that every measure now contemplated is a first step and only constitutes a stage towards the final and unalterable national objective which is the full and unconditional application of the right of self-determination.

As the final objective remains unchanged, what must be dwelt upon is the method to be employed towards attaining that objective. This must, of necessity, be divided into internal and external (international) tactics because the methods of the presentation and the handling of our case within and outside the country are different.

A. METHOD TO BE USED OUTSIDE

In the closing stages of the (EOKA) struggle, the Cyprus problem had been presented to world public opinion and to diplomatic circles as a demand of the people of Cyprus to exercise the right of self-determination. But the question of the Turkish minority had been introduced in circumstances that are known inter-communal clashes had taken place and it had been tried to make it accepted that it was impossible for the two communities to live together under a united administration. Finally the problem was solved, in the eyes of many international circles, by the London and Zurich agreements, which were shown as solving the problem following negotiations and agreements between the contending parties.

- (a) Consequently our first aim has been to create the impression in the international field that the Cyprus problem has not been solved and that it has to be reviewed.
- (b) The creation of the following impressions has been accepted as the primary objective:
 - (i) that the solution which has been found is not satisfactory and just;

- (ii) that the agreement which has been reached is not the result of the free will of the contending parties;
 - (iii) that the demand for the revision of the agreements is not because of any desire on the part of the Greeks to dishonour their signature, but an imperative necessity of survival for them;
 - (iv) that the co-existence of the two communities is possible, and
 - (v) that the Greek majority, and not the Turks, constitute the strong element on which foreigners must rely.
- (c) Although it was most difficult to attain the above objectives, satisfactory results have been achieved. Many diplomatic missions have already come to believe strongly that the Agreements are neither just nor satisfactory, that they were signed as a result of pressures and intimidations without real negotiations, and that they were imposed after many threats. *It has been an important trump card in our hands that the solution brought by the Agreements was not submitted to the approval of the people; acting wisely in this respect our leadership avoided holding a referendum. Otherwise, the people would have definitely approved the Agreements in the atmosphere that prevailed in 1959.* Generally speaking it has been shown that so far the administration of Cyprus has been carried out by the Greeks and that the Turks played only a negative part acting as a brake.
- (d) Having completed the first stage of our activities and objectives we must materialise the second stage on an international level. Our objective in this second stage is to show:
- (i) that the aim of the Greeks is not to oppress the Turks but only to remove the unreasonable and unjust provisions of the administrative mechanism:
 - (ii) that it is necessary to remove these provisions right away because tomorrow may be too late:
 - (iii) (Omitted)
 - (iv) that this question of revision is a domestic issue for Cypriots and does not therefore give the right of intervention to anyone by force or otherwise, and
 - (v) that the proposed amendments are reasonable and just and safeguard the reasonable rights of the minority.

- (e) Generally speaking, it is obvious that today the international opinion is against any form of oppression, and especially against oppression of minorities. The Turks have so far been able to convince world public opinion that the union of Cyprus with Greece will amount to their enslavement. *Under these circumstances we stand a good chance of success in influencing world public opinion if we base our struggle not on ENOSIS but on self-determination.* But in order to be able to exercise the right of self-determination fully and without hindrance we must first get rid of the Agreements (e.g. the Treaty of Guarantee, the Treaty of Alliance, etc) and for these provisions of the Constitution which inhibit the free and unbridled expression of the will of the people and which carry dangers of external intervention. For this reason our first target has been the Treaty of Guarantee, which is the first Agreement to be cited as not being recognised by the Greek Cypriots.

When the Treaty of Guarantee is removed no legal or moral force will remain to obstruct us in determining our future through a plebiscite.

It will be understood from the above explanations that it is necessary to follow a chain of efforts and developments in order to ensure the success of our Plan. If these efforts and developments failed to materialise our future actions would be legally unjustified and politically unattainable and we would be exposing Cyprus and its people to grave consequences. Actions to be taken are as follows

- (a) The amendment of the negative elements of the Agreements and the consequent de facto nullification of the Treaties of Guarantee and Alliance. This step is essential because the necessity of amending the negative aspects of any Agreement is generally acceptable internationally and is considered reasonable (passage omitted) whereas an external intervention to prevent the amendment of such negative provisions is held unjustified and inapplicable.
- (b) Once this is achieved the Treaty of Guarantee (the right of intervention) will become legally and substantially inapplicable.
- (c) Once those provisions of the Treaties of Guarantee and Alliance which restrict the exercise of the right of self-determination are removed, the people of Cyprus will be able, freely, to express and apply its will.
- (d) It will be possible for the force of the State (the Police Force) and in addition, friendly military forces, to resist legitimately any intervention internally or from outside, because we will then be completely independent.

It will be seen that it is necessary for actions from (a) to (d) to be carried out in the order indicated.

It is consequently evident if we ever hope to have any chance of success in the international field, we cannot and should not reveal or proclaim any stage of the struggle before the previous stage is completed. For instance, it is accepted that the above four stages constitute the necessary course to be taken, then it is obvious that it would be senseless for us to speak of amendment (a) if stage (d) is revealed, because it would then be ridiculous for us to seek the amendment of the negative points with the excuse that these amendments are necessary for the functioning of the State and of the Agreements.

The above are the points regarding our targets and aims, and the procedure to be followed in the international field.

B. THE INTERNAL ASPECT

Our activities in the internal field will be regulated according to their repercussions and to interpretations to be given to them in the world and according to the effect of our actions on our national cause.

1. The only danger that can be described as insurmountable is the possibility of a forceful external intervention. This danger, which could be met partly or wholly by our forces is important because of the political damage that it could do rather than the material losses that it could entail. If intervention took place before stage (c), then such intervention would be legally tenable at least, if not entirely justifiable. This would be very much against us both internationally and at the United Nations. The history of many similar incidents in recent times shows us that in no case of intervention, even if legally inexcusable, has the attacker been removed by either the United Nations or the other powers without significant concessions to the detriment of the attacked party. Even in the case of the attack on Suez by Israel, which was condemned by almost all members of the United Nations and for which Russia threatened intervention, the Israelis were removed but, as a concession, they continued to keep the port of Eliat in the Red Sea. There are, however, more serious dangers in the case of Cyprus.

If we do our work well and justify the attempt we shall make under stage (a) above, we will see, on the one hand, that intervention will not be justified and, on the other hand, we will have every support since, by the Treaty of Guarantee, intervention cannot take place before negotiations take place between the Guarantor Powers, that is Britain, Greece and Turkey. It is at this stage, i.e., at the stage of contacts (before intervention) that we shall need international support. *We shall*

obtain this support if the amendments proposed by us seem reasonable and justified. Therefore, we have to be extremely careful in selecting the amendments that we shall propose.

The first step, therefore, would be to get rid of intervention by proposing amendments in the first stage. Tactic to be followed: (Omitted)

2. It is evident that for intervention to be justified there must be a more serious reason and a more immediate danger than simple constitutional amendments. Such reason can be:

- (a) The declaration of ENOSIS before actions (a) to (c).
- (b) Serious intercommunal unrest which may be shown as a massacre of Turks.

The first reason is removed as a result of the Plan drawn up for the first stage and consequently what remains, is the danger of intercommunal strife. We do not intend to engage, without provocation, in massacre or attack against the Turks. Therefore, (section omitted) the Turks can react strongly and incite incidents and strife, or falsely stage massacres, clashes or bomb explosions in order to create the impression that the Greeks attacked the Turks and that intervention is imperative for their protection. Tactic to be employed:- Our actions for amending the Constitution will not be secret; *we would always appear to be ready for peaceful talks* and our actions would not take any provocative and violent form.

Any incidents that may take place will be met, at the beginning, in a legal fashion by the legal security forces, according to a plan. Our actions will have a legal form.

3. (Omitted)

4. It is, however, naive to believe that it is possible for us to proceed to substantial actions for amending the Constitution, as a first step towards our more general Plan as described above, without expecting the Turks to create or stage incidents and clashes. For this reason the existence and the strengthening of our Organisation is imperative because: (a) if, in case of spontaneous resistance by the Turks, our counter attack is not immediate, we run the risk of having a panic created among Greeks, in towns in particular. We will then be in danger of losing vast areas of vital importance to the Turks, while if we show our strength to the Turks, immediately, and forcefully, then they will probably be brought to their senses and restrict their activities to insignificant, isolated incidents.

(b) in case of a planned or unplanned attack by the Turks, whether this be staged or not, it is necessary to suppress this forcefully in the shortest possible time, since, if we manage to become the masters of the situation within a day or two outside intervention would not be possible, probable or justifiable.

(c) The forceful and decisive suppressing of any Turkish effort will greatly facilitate our subsequent actions for further Constitutional amendments, and it should then be possible to apply these without the Turks being able to show any reaction. Because they will learn that it is impossible for them to show any reaction without serious consequences for their community

(d) in case of the clashes becoming widespread, *we must be ready to proceed immediately through actions (a) to (d), including the immediate declaration of ENOSIS, because, then, there will be no need to wait or to engage in diplomatic activity.*

5. In all these stages we must not overlook the factor of enlightening, and of facing the propaganda of, those who do not know or cannot be expected to know our plans as well as of the reactionary elements. It has been shown that our struggle must go through at least four stages and that we are obliged not to reveal our plans and intentions prematurely. It is therefore more than a national duty for everyone to observe full secrecy in the matter. Secrecy is vitally essential for our success and survival.

This, however, does not prevent the reactionaries and irresponsible demagogues from indulging in false patriotic manifestations and provocations. Our Plan would provide them with the possibility of putting forward accusations to the effect that the aims of our leadership are not national and that only the amendment of the Constitution is envisaged. The need for carrying out Constitutional amendments in stages and in accordance with the prevailing conditions, makes our job even more difficult. All this must not, however, be allowed to drag us to irresponsible demagogy, street politics and a race of nationalism. Our deeds will be our undeniable justification. In any case owing to the fact that, for well-known reasons, the above Plan must have been carried out and borne fruit long before the next elections, we must distinguish ourselves with self-restraint and moderation in the short time that we have. Parallel with this, we should not only maintain but reinforce the present unity and discipline of our patriotic forces. We can succeed in this only by properly enlightening our members so that they in turn enlighten the public.

Before anything else we must expose the true identity of the reactionaries. These are petty and irresponsible demagogues and opportunists. Their recent history shows this. They are unsuccessful, negative and anti-progressive elements who attack our leadership like mad dogs but who are unable to put forward any substantive and practical solution of their own. In order to succeed in all our activities we need a strong and stable government, *up to the last minute*. They are known as clamorous slogan-creators who are good for nothing but speech-making. When it comes to taking definite actions or making sacrifices they are soon shown to be unwilling weaklings. *A typical example of this is that even at the present stage they have no better proposal to make than to suggest that we should have recourse to the United Nations.* It is therefore necessary that they should be isolated and kept at a distance.

We must enlighten our members about our plans and objectives **ONLY VERBALLY**. Meetings must be held at the sub-headquarters of the Organisation to enlighten leaders and members so that they are properly equipped to enlighten others. **NO WRITTEN EXPLANATION OF ANY SORT IS ALLOWED. LOSS OR LEAKAGE OF ANY DOCUMENT PERTAINING TO THE ABOVE IS EQUIVALENT TO HIGH TREASON.** There can be no action that would inflict a heavier blow to our struggle than any revealing of the contents of the present document or the publication of this by the opposition.

Outside the verball enlightenment of our members, all our activities, and our publications in the press in particular, must be most restrained and must not divulge any of the above. Only responsible persons will be allowed to make public speeches and statements and will refer to this plan only generally under their personal responsibility and under the personal responsibility of the Chief of sub-headquarters concerned. Also any reference to the written Plan should be done only after the formal approval of the Chief of the sub-headquarters who will control the speech or statement. But in any case such speech or statement **MUST NEVER BE ALLOWED TO APPEAR IN THE PRESS OR ANY OTHER PUBLICATION.**

The tactic to be followed:- Great effort must be made to enlighten our members and the public **VERBALLY**. Every effort must be made to show ourselves as moderates. Any reference to our plans in writing, or any reference in the press or in any document is strictly prohibited. Responsible officials and other responsible persons will continue to enlighten the public and to increase its morale and fighting spirit without ever divulging any of our plans through the press or otherwise.

NOTE: The present document should be destroyed by burning under the personal responsibility of the Chief of the sub-headquarters and in the presence of all members of the staff within 10 days of its being received. It is strictly prohibited to make copies of the whole or any part of this document. Staff members of sub-headquarters may have it in their possession only under the personal responsibility of Chief of sub-headquarters, but in no case is anyone allowed to take it out of the office of sub-headquarters.

**The Chief
AKRITAS**

Dr. Kuchuk's Appeal to all Heads of States

(5 January 1964)

"To All Heads of States,

The Greeks of Cyprus, taking advantage of and abusing their majority strength in the Government and Security Forces of the Republic, have planned and put into execution an organized armed attack by the Greek Police and civilians on the Turks and Turkish property in towns and villages, including my own residence and office, since the night of the 20th December, 1963.

These attacks continued in a most brutal and barbarous manner until the intervention of the three Guaranteeing Powers. During these attacks Turkish houses in Nicosia and elsewhere have been broken into and many innocent Turks, including women and children, have been murdered in cold blood in their houses or driven away as hostages.

The Greek leaders, who are misrepresenting to the world the true facts, have, in complete disregard of our Constitution and Laws, illegally armed with heavy weapons the Greek members of the Security Forces and also thousands of Greek terrorists while Turks holding political posts have been prevented deliberately from exercising their powers and functions and Turkish members of the Security Forces have been disarmed and placed under detention.

At the same time, Turkish citizens have been labelled by the Greek leaders as "rebels" to be shot dead on sight if seen outside their houses or sectors.

Despite the cease-fire agreement, Turkish life and property are still in great and imminent danger in Cyprus.

Even after the cease-fire, Turks have been killed and kidnapped and many Turkish houses have been looted or maliciously set on fire by the Greeks. Turks both in towns and villages are still besieged and all means of communication have been cut off to them. Also, the normal supply of foodstuffs to Turkish citizens is no longer possible.

Reliable reports reaching us indicate that, even now, the Greeks are arming and preparing another onslaught for a general massacre on a larger scale than before.

The Greek leaders have made it abundantly clear that at the impending London Conference they will not back an inch from their policy of complete domination of the Turks and of placing them at their mercy. For this purpose Archbishop Makarios has already made it public that he is determined to abrogate the Treaty of Guarantee. His ulterior motive in so doing is clearly to prevent Turkey from coming to the rescue of the Turkish Community in Cyprus when the ultimate Greek design of complete domination or extermination of Cypriot Turks is finally put into execution.

It is inconceivable that such brutal atrocities could have been committed and that such a state of affairs can be allowed to continue at this advanced stage of civilization.

I, therefore, appeal to you and through you to all peace-loving nations of the world, who believe in the inviolability of human rights and liberties and who disapprove of racial discrimination, violence and genocide, to give their support, both material and moral, to the Turkish Cypriot Community in their struggle for survival against very heavy odds.

For the Turkish Cypriot Community,
Dr. Fazil Kuchuk,
Vice-President, Cyprus."

FORMER PRESIDENT OF THE SUPREME CONSTITUTIONAL COURT
OF CYPRUS, PROFESSOR FORSTHOFF, REPLIES TO QUESTIONS
BY AP CORRESPONDENT ON 5 JANUARY 1964

QUESTION: In the light of the recent events and having regard to the framework of the Cyprus Constitution, how do you view the intervention of the Turkish Government under the existing agreements? In your opinion, is it correct to regard this intervention as an act of aggression as stated by Makarios? In this connection what do you say about the assertions that the independence of Cyprus has been violated as a result of this Turkish intervention?

ANSWER: At the outset I want to point out that I consider it wrong to regard Cyprus under the present agreements and constitution as an independent State capable of ruling itself. These assertions do not accord with the correct position. The true fact is that these Agreements provide for the performance of certain guarantee functions by Britain, Turkey and Greece and these include also a right of actual intervention. There can be no guarantee without the right of intervention. Certainly intervention when necessary amounts to nothing more than the effective implementation of the guarantee. What I understand from the newspapers of the last few days is that Britain, Turkey and Greece are unanimous on the joint intervention.

QUESTION: The line followed by Makarios that the Cyprus Constitution cannot work is not something new which he has now discovered. It must be a plan to wreck the constitution which has been arranged long ago. In this connection, was there any direct or indirect interference during your term of office? Were you pressed to make any official statement to the effect that the Constitution could not function?

ANSWER: Yes, from the moment I commenced my duties I noticed that there were allegations to the effect that the Constitution was not capable of being implemented, that revision was necessary and the like. I faced these allegations with the following thought: Every Constitution can have its peculiar problems. There is no constitution in the world which has not got its particular difficulties and problems. This is primarily a question of good will. If there is good will a constitution can be implemented and this Constitution is capable of being implemented.

QUESTION: Can you briefly state the last incident in the chain of events which led to your resignation?

ANSWER: These criticisms against the Constitution increased as time went on and when the question of establishing separate municipalities in the five main towns was brought before the Court it was insisted that the establishment of such separate municipalities was not practicable. The Court formulated its decision with utmost care in order to make it possible for a compromise solution. I must add that a state does not cease to exist on account of any defect in local administration.

QUESTION: Has the Makarios Government complied with the decision of the Constitutional Court dated 25th April 1963 on the subject of Municipalities? Was the non-implementation of this decision expected before?

ANSWER: The fact that the decision of the Constitutional Court was not to be implemented was made quite clear to me and as it turned out it was not in fact implemented. Non-implementation of the decision of a Constitutional Court is sufficient reason to compel the resignation of its President.

QUESTION: Were you confronted with any other event in the nature of interference or pressure? For instance, it has been said that your assistant was threatened and shadowed and that there were unfounded allegations that he associated with Turks, accepted bribes and the like from them. Is this correct?

ANSWER: It is correct that unfounded allegations were made against my assistant, that he closely associated with Mr. Rauf Denktaş and that he even received bribes. It is also correct that he was threatened and shadowed. I am sure that all these allegations are unfounded.

QUESTION: Do you think that it would be possible for the Turkish and Greek Communities to live together in peace after the events of the last few days?

ANSWER: I tell you sincerely that it is not possible for me to give an answer to this question because it is difficult to see the true position in Cyprus today.

VICE-PRESIDENT DR. F. KUCHUK'S TELEGRAM TO HEADS OF STATES AND WORLD ORGANIZATIONS ON 11 FEBRUARY 1964:

The President, U.S.A.;
The Prime Minister, U.K.;
The Prime Minister, Turkey;
The Prime Minister, Greece;
The Secretary-General, U.N.O.;
The President, Security Council, New York;
The Secretary-General, NATO, Paris;
The President, Council of Europe Strasbourg;
The Secretary, European Commission, Human Rights Council of Europe, Strasbourg; and
The International Red Cross Geneva with a special request to enquire on the spot and to intervene in the interest of humanity.

"After protracted negotiations Greeks admitted that more than 150 Turks known taken by them as hostages before and after Cease-Fire Agreement are not in their custody. Extensive search failed produce result; therefore all must have been killed by Greeks in cold blood. Also women and elderly men amongst hostages. Tragic news sunk many families into deepest sorrow. The hope that parents, children or brothers were alive now vanished. Killing of innocent Turks, destroying and burning Turkish homes and properties have increased from day-to-day. Beseech immediate measures are taken rescue Turkish Cypriots form merciless Greek hordes of murderers, most of whom belong to so-called legal forces of State."

A FEW PHOTOGRAPHS DEPICTING DEFENCELESS TURKISH CYPRIOTS (INCLUDING CHILDREN, ELDERLY MEN AND WOMEN) BRUTALLY MURDERED, SEARCHED FOR HOURS ON END AT BARRICADES SET UP ON MAIN ROADS AND ENTRANCES TO TURKISH VILLAGES AND TURKISH QUARTERS OF TOWNS AS WELL AS TURKISH HOMES AND MOSQUES (MOHAMMEDAN TEMPLES) DEMOLISHED BY GREEK - GREEK CYPRIOT GUNMEN DURING THE PERIOD 1963 - 1974.







PICTURES OF TURKISH CYPRIOT CHILDREN, ELDERLY MEN AND
WOMEN MURDERED IN COLD BLOOD BY THE GREEK – GREEK
CYPRIOT GUNMEN













**PICTURES OF TURKISH CYPRIOT HOMES AND MOSQUES DEMOLISHED
BY THE GREEK – GREEK CYPRIOT ARMED ELEMENTS DURING THE
PERIOD 1963 - 1974.**



**DEVASTATED TURKISH CYPRIOT HOMES AT AYIOS SOZOMENOS
(ARPALIK) VILLAGE**



**DEVASTATED TURKISH CYPRIOT HOUSES AT OMORPHITA
(A SUBURB OF NICOSIA)**



DEMOLISHED TURKISH CYPRIOT HOMES AT DHEFTERA VILLAGE



**DEMOLISHED TURKISH CYPRIOT HOMES AT AY.EPIPHANIOS
VILLAGE**



**DEVASTATED TURKISH CYPRIOT HOUSES AT LAKATAMIA
VILLAGE**



DEVASTATED TURKISH CYPRIOT HOUSES AT LINO VILLAGE



DEVASTATED TURKISH CYPRIOT HOMES AT VAVILAS VILLAGE



DEVASTATED TURKISH CYPRIOT HOMES AT MORPHOU (GÜZELYURT)



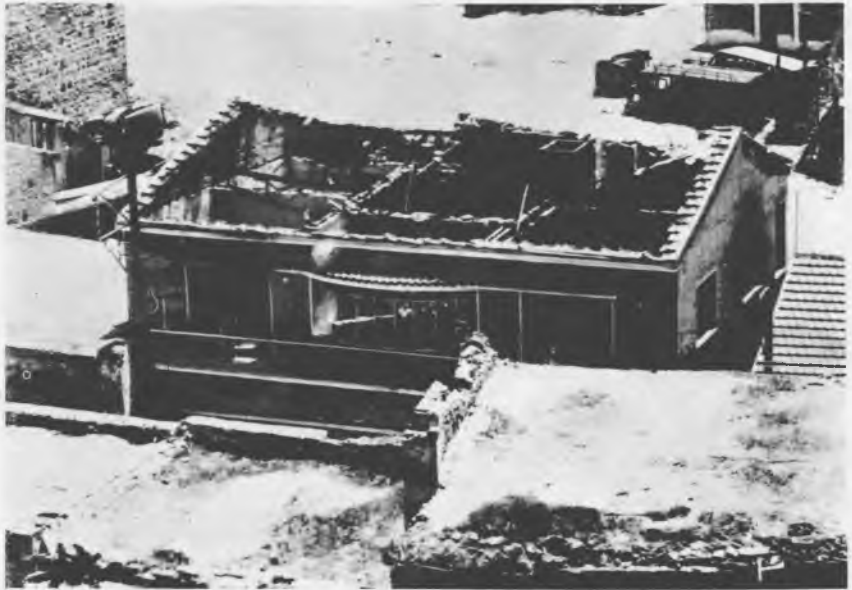
DESTROYED TURKISH CYPRIOT HOUSES AT TERRA VILLAGE



TURKISH CYPRIOT HOMES IN PERISTERONA VILLAGE



TURKISH CYPRIOT HOMES IN MINARELI KEUY



DEVASTATION OF TURKISH CYPRIOT HOUSES IN PAPHOS TOWN



DEMOLISHED TURKISH CYPRIOT HOUSES AT ALETHRIKO VILLAGE



**TURKISH CYPRIOT HOUSES DESTROYED AT KARAVOSTASI
(GEMİKONAĞI) VILLAGE**



DEMOLISHED TURKISH CYPRIOT HOMES AT LAPITHOS VILLAGE



DAMAGED AND ABANDONED TURKISH CYPRIOT HOMES AT PYRGA VILLAGE



DEVASTATED TURKISH CYPRIOT HOUSES AT AYIOS THEODOROS VILLAGE



DEVASTATED TURKISH CYPRIOT VILLAGE OF MATHIATIS



DEMOLISHED TURKISH CYPRIOT HOMES AT PANO KOUTRAPHAS



TURKISH CYPRIOT HOUSES DESTROYED AT SKYLLOURA VILLAGE



TURKISH CYPRIOT HOMES DESTROYED AT PHLASOU VILLAGE



DEVASTATED TURKISH HOMES AT ANAPHODIA (AKKOR) VILLAGE



DEMOLISHED TURKISH HOUSES AT DHIORIOS VILLAGE



DEVASTATED TURKISH CYPRIOT HOMES AT PYROI VILLAGE



DEVASTATED TURKISH CYPRIOT VILLAGE OF TRAPEZA



DEMOLISHED EVDHIMOU VILLAGE MOSQUE



MOSQUE UNDER ATTACK BY GREEK CYPRIOT GUNMEN



DEVASTATED MOSQUE AT TRAPEZA VILLAGE



MOSQUE SHELLED IN PAPHOS TOWN



**MOSQUE SHELLED AT ERENKEUY (KOKKINA) VILLAGE BY
GREEK-GREEK CYPRIOT ARMED ELEMENTS**

Bayraktar Mosque

BEFORE

(Bayraktar mosque was erected in 1571. It was destroyed three times: 1961, 1962 and finally in 1963! During the period 1963 - 74 a total of 110 mosques were devastated by the Greek Cypriots.)



and AFTER



CHATOS VILLAGE MOSQUE



MOSQUE AND SURROUNDINGS IN PAPHOS

**A FEW PHOTOGRAPHS DEPICTING TURKISH CYPRIOTS SEARCHED
BY THE SO-CALLED SECURITY FORCES OF THE GREEK CYPRIOT
ADMINISTRATION**



**U.N. SECRETARY-GENERAL'S REPORTS TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL
ON THE QUESTION OF MISSING PERSONS PRIOR TO 1974**

The following four passages from various Reports of the U.N. Secretary-General to the Security Council give authentic U.N. information regarding Turkish Cypriot missing persons prior to 1974:-

(a) "142. In my report of 15 June 1964, I indicated that as of 8 June, a total of 483 Turkish Cypriots and 52 Greek Cypriots were reported as missing. As a result of intensive searches effected since then, carried out with the assistance of UNFICYP and the International Committee of the Red Cross, 251 Turkish Cypriots and 9 Greek Cypriots have been found... Among those who remain missing are many persons who disappeared during the December 1963 events, and there seems little hope of finding them alive. The same may be said of all those who were abducted after the Famagusta incident of 11 May 1964."

(S/5950 of 10 September 1964)

(b) "93. In the report of 10 September, it was indicated that as of 1 September 232 Turkish Cypriots were missing, according to the list compiled by the Turkish Cypriot Missing Persons Bureau. Since that date, UNFICYP was informed that twenty-three Turkish Cypriots have been accounted for and their names have been deleted from the list of missing persons; this leaves 209 Turkish Cypriots still missing. Efforts to trace those missing will be continued by ICRC and UNFICYP, but there seems to be little prospect of finding them alive."

(S/6102 of 12 December 1964)

(c) "117. Figures supplied by the Turkish Cypriot Missing Persons Bureau as at 1 March 1965 show that 209 Turkish Cypriots are still missing. This figure is the same as that given in the last report (S/6102, para. 93-94). Efforts to trace these persons have been continued by ICRC and UNFICYP without result and there is little prospect of finding them alive."

(S/6228 of 11 March 1965)

(d) "76. In addition to co-operating with the Cyprus Police in investigations contributing to a normal state of affairs in matters affecting law and order, a continuing concern for UNCIVPOL has been the tracing of persons missing since the turbulent first months of 1964. Only one case of 212 Turkish Cypriots listed as missing has been closed since my last report, a man now found to have been killed in April 1964."

(S/7350 of 10 June 1966)

**DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE SHOWING THE INVOLVEMENT
OF GREECE IN THE AFFAIRS OF CYPRUS**

**(1) EXTRACTS FROM THE U.N. SECRETARY GENERAL'S REPORTS
TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL ON GREECE'S MILITARY
INVOLVEMENT IN CYPRUS**

"41. The UNFICYP observations have established that during the month of July the Cyprus Government imported large amounts of arms and equipment which came in the main through Limassol docks. In addition, an estimated 5,000 personnel entered the island in the same way presumably from Greece. It is believed that the imports of arms and military equipment were in excess of 3,000 tons of freight which left Limassol docks in some 1,000 loads....."

*(U.N. Secretary-General's Report,
S/5950, September 1964)*

"37. A great deal of additional material, however, much of it of strategic importance, has been introduced through the new port of Boghaz, some sixteen miles north of Famagusta. Unloading here and inland transport has taken place without informing UNFICYP as required by the 10 September 1964 agreement."

*(U.N. Secretary-General's Report,
S/6228, March 1965)*

"24. To the effective total strength of Government armed forces must also be added a substantial number of Greek officers and other categories of military personnel from Greece - apart from the Greek National Contingent - who are believed to be integrated into the National Guard."

*(U.N. Secretary-General's Report,
S/7191, March 1966)*

"19. UNFICYP has no precise information on the strength of Greek officers and other categories of military personnel from Greece who since my last report have been confirmed - in public statements concerning the command structure - as being members of the National Guard (S/7191, para 24)."

*(U.N. Secretary-General's Report,
S/7350, June 1966)*

"22. A number of Greek military personnel of all ranks who are not members of the Greek National Contingent continue to be present in the island. They wear the uniform of the National Guard, and no precise information as to their numbers is available to UNFICYP (S/7611, para 24). It is believed that the small port of Boghaz, north of Famagusta, has been used on several occasions for the purpose of rotating these Greek officers and men."

*(U.N. Secretary-General's Report,
S/7969, June 1967)*

"24. Earlier, on 11 July 1967, the House of Representatives passed a bill designed to give legal status to the Greek army officers and men serving, hitherto covertly, with the National Guard in Cyprus. This new law empowers the (Greek) Council of Ministers to authorize the Commander of the National Guard to appoint to the National Guard officers and men who are not citizens of the Cyprus Republic. Under the law, such officers and men are answerable to the Commander of the National Guard for administrative purposes but are not subject to trial by Cyprus military tribunals for disciplinary offences."

*(U.N. Secretary-General's Report,
S/8286, December 1967)*

"25. The Greek military personnel in Cyprus to whom the new law primarily applies are not part of the Greek National Contingent and UNFICYP has no precise information about their numbers or whereabouts but they have been an important element in the Government armed forces for some considerable time and are believed to be rotated through the small port of Boghaz, north of Famagusta where the same pattern of secretive land and sea activity as in the past has been observed by UNFICYP during the period covered by this report (see S/7969, para. 22)"

*(U.N. Secretary-General's Report
S/8286 December 1967)*

"25. The repatriation of the Greek national troops took place between 8 December 1967 and 16 January 1968, in pursuance of an agreement between Greece and Turkey arrived at in response to the Secretary-General's appeals of 22 November, 24 November and 3 December 1967 (S/8248/Add. 3, 5 and 6). Since the responsibility for the repatriation operation was assumed at the time by the parties themselves and did not strictly speaking, come within the UNFICYP mandate, UNFICYP undertook no independent observation in this connexion. It was evident however that several thousand Greek National troops had left the Island, taking with them a considerable amount of equipment and vehicles, including tanks. It is believed that most of the troops who were embarked came from former units that were serving as part of the Cyprus Government's armed forces. It is known however that Greek national army officers and men are

still serving individually in the Greek National Guard and on the headquarters staff, but UNFICYP has not been in a position to estimate their number."

*(U.N. Secretary-General's Report
S/8446, March 1968)*

(2) "MANEUVER OF TEMPORARY INDEPENDENCE"

Mr. Evangelos Averoff, former Foreign Minister and now Defence Minister of Greece has himself admitted that Greece had not abandoned Enosis. In 1957 the Greek Opposition Party accused the Greek Foreign Minister Averoff of abandoning the principle of self-determination which would open the way to Enosis, and of giving up the submission of the text of a resolution to the U.N. that would grant the people of Cyprus this right. In answer to this charge Averoff said that he had reserved the claim to the right of self-determination and added-

"The direction towards independence is not a Greek maneuver... But I ask you: If in order to reach Enosis one were obliged to make the maneuver of a temporary independence, would he who had done this deserve criticism?"

*(See F.53, "Cyprus Conflict and
Conciliation", 1954-1958 by
Stephen G. Xydis, Ohio University Press 1967)*

(3) GREEK MAINLAND TROOPS SMUGGLED INTO THE ISLAND FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE AKRITAS PLAN

"It will be possible for the force of the State (the Police Force) and in addition, friendly military forces, to resist legitimately any intervention internally or from the outside, because we will then be completely independent."

*(From "The Akritas Plan" as
published in the Greek Cypriot
newspaper Patris on 21st April 1966)*

"During the violent year of 1964, when the Greeks raised a conscript Army - the National Guard - to fight the Turks, and a military force of more than 10,000 men was clandestinely sent from Greece to resist a possible invasion from Turkey, there was little else that ordinary people could think and talk about than the 'national cause' "

*(From "The Cyprus Conflict, National
Identity and Statehood", by Zenon Stavrinides. P.67)*

(4)

GREECE SHIPPING TROOPS AND ARMS TO CYPRUS IN A CLANDESTINE WAY

Mr. Andreas Papandreou, a former Minister in the Cabinet of George Papandreou and presently leader of the Pan-Hellenic Socialist Party of Greece, in his book entitled "Democracy at Gunpoint": The Greek Front, reveals at page 100 how Mr. George Papandreou (his father and the then Prime Minister of Greece) agreed with Archbishop Makarios in April 1964 to send arms and troops to Cyprus clandestinely:

"In April the relations between Greece and Turkey reached the breaking point. UN mediator Tuomioja seemed to be unable to persuade the Turks to seek a peaceful solution of the problem. Incident followed incident, until we were at the brink of war. Makarios visited Athens in early April. He and my father, who was handling personally all aspects of the Cyprus problem, reached complete agreement on four principles: First, to seek a solution of the problem only through the UN. Both men agreed that acceptance of NATO's competence or bipartite talks between Greece and Turkey could only prejudice the Greek position. Second, that the ultimate target, the basic orientation, was enosis. Third, that every effort should be made not to provoke the Turks. In fact, concessions to the Turkish minority, some spectacular moves of pacification, were absolutely necessary either for preventing a confrontation or for providing the historical justification if enosis became inevitable. Fourth, that Greece would come to the aid of Makarios's government if Turkey attacked.

At the April meeting between Makarios and Papandreou an important, indeed a critical decision had been made. Cyprus was quite far from Greece. Greece's commitment to Cyprus, therefore, that it would come to its assistance in case Turkey landed troops did not amount to much. If Greece were really to be able to contribute militarily to the defence of Cyprus, it would have to do so before the Turks attacked. In fact, if Greece, by shipping troops and arms to Cyprus in a clandestine way, could raise the cost of a Turkish landing, it might well be in a position to prevent it. This was my father's proposal, and Makarios accepted it. A clandestine operation then began on a huge scale of nightly shipments of arms and troops, of 'volunteers' who arrived in Cyprus in civilian clothes and then joined their 'Cypriot' units. The process was not completed until the middle of the summer. No less than twenty thousand officers and men, fully equipped, were shipped to Cyprus. They provided a decisive defensive force that prevented the Turks from being able to 'promenade' to Cyprus. And they strengthened the Greek Government's bargaining position in Washington and New York."

(5) ENOSIS AND ONLY ENOSIS DEMANDED BY PROMINENT GREEK FIGURES

"Enosis the Only Acceptable Solution"

"It is enosis that all of us are demanding, and it is for enosis that we are

fighting and will continue to fight because enosis alone is the only, first, and historically acceptable solution."

(Colonel G. Papadopoulos, holder of the portfolio to the Greek Prime Minister's Office, during a visit to Cyprus on 12th August, 1967)

"Our Heroic Big Island"

"Today, when with God's blessing I have stepped for the first time on the sacred soil of our heroic big island, I confirm that only one national unity exists, only one glory, only one historic continuation: the glorified and eternal Greece."

(Archbishop Ieronimos, Head of the Greek Church in Greece, during a visit to Cyprus on 21st September, 1967)

"The Moment of Enosis"

"Mother Greece looks forward only to the moment when her daughter, Cyprus, will throw herself into her arms - that is to say, the moment of enosis. And indeed there can be no solution other than this. This is the inevitable, the historical evolution of events. It is there that developments will lead."

(General Spandidakis, Deputy Premier of Greece, during a visit to Cyprus on 21st October, 1967)

"Cyprus Must Become a springboard for the Dreams of Alexander the Great"

"All Greek Cypriots are for ENOSIS. Cyprus must become the springboard for the dreams of Alexander the Great in the Orient. Cyprus alone is a small island and cannot achieve such dreams, but united with Greece the Cypriot people will have the opportunity of performing its historic task in the Middle East."

(Mr. G. Papandreou, the Prime Minister of Greece in a speech at the University of Salonica on 27 October 1964)

"What History Dictates"

"The Unity of Hellens - both in Cyprus and in Greece-constitutes a pre requisite to Enosis. 'United for Enosis'. This is what history dictates."

(George Papandreou, Prime Minister of Greece, in a message to Greek Cypriots on December 1964 reported in the Greek Cypriot daily Patris of 22 December 1964)

"It was 'idiocy' to ask that the will of the people of Cyprus and Greece be tied forever and a day."

(Elias Tsirimokos, Deputy Premier and Foreign Minister of Greece, at the U.N. Twentieth General Assembly First Committee, 1412th Mtg. P.M., Press Release GA/PS/1278, 14 December 1965)

(6) "CYPRUS IS GREECE AND GREECE IS CYPRUS"

"You are fully aware of your mission. You know that you are not simple soldiers performing your military service. Each one of you is a defender and an ambassador of the whole nation. Each one of you is an ambassador whose duty it is to cultivate the essential idea that beats in the heart of every Greek, whether in Greece or in Cyprus, and that is the idea that Cyprus is Greece and Greece is Cyprus."

(Mr. Elias Tsirimokos, Deputy Premier and Foreign Minister of Greece, in an address to the Officers and men of the Greek Army Contingent in Cyprus on 18 November, 1965)

"Greece Bent on Enosis"

"In reply to my question, he asked that I declare that Greece would give up for ever a union of Cyprus with Greece. But this is the type of confusion into which we should not enter. I called for a statement that the Turkish Government could perfectly well make because it would be able to carry it out. What does he want me to do in this Committee or in the General Assembly, proclaim that for ever and ever the Greeks and the Cypriots would never unite? Well, on the one hand, this would be a political act, and on the other the act of an idiot. In effect to speak in the name of history and to bar the part of history is an act of idiocy of the first order. I am not prepared to do such things."

(Mr. Elias Tsirimokos, Deputy Premier and Foreign Minister of Greece, in reply to the Turkish Foreign Minister, Mr. Çağlayangil at the Twentieth Session of the U.N. General Assembly, First Committee, 1412th Meeting on 14 December, 1965, A/C.1/PV.1412)

(7) EVIDENCE ON GREEK ARMY'S INVOLVEMENTS IN ONSLAUGHT AGAINST TURKISH CYPRIOTS

Greek Army Contingent's Involvement in onslaught against the Turks in Omorphita

"... After half an hour the commander of the Greek Army Contingent in Cyprus Colonel Djuvelekis rang me up and spoke to me in an angry manner as follows: 'Is this your bravery? You refuse to go to Omorphita; is that so? Are you scared?'"

"I was astonished; I had not expected such a thing, 'My respectable Commander, who has told you such a thing?' I queried and added: 'I am waiting here

for the handing of arms to me. I'll personally go to Omorphita. My respectable Commander, what is going on? Please tell me.' Upon this, Col. Djuvelekis said: 'Is that so? I've insulted you, forgive me. Someone there rang me up telling me that you're scared and that you have refused to go to Omorphita. What a man!' I requested Col. Djuvelekis to tell me who it was that had told him this lie over the telephone. But he said: 'Let him go to Hell. The world is aflame but they're going ahead with their dishonesty. I'll not disclose to you who it was because I don't want killings. Let them go to Hell!' He then rang off."

(Nicos Sampson in a serialized account of the Greek Cypriot-Greek onslaught against Omorphita Turks in December 1963, as published in his own paper Makhi of 22nd December, 1964)

"Following our victory I rang up the General Headquarters and reported that no resistance posts at all had been left in Omorphita. I said, 'Omorphita is now wholly Greek.' I was warmly congratulated by the General Headquarters. We were highly praised. Later, I rang up General Perides and Col. Djuvelekis reporting to them everything in detail. They were indescribably excited and overjoyed. General Perides said, 'My dear Nicos I'm proud of you and of your men. You've saved the situation.' "

(Nicos Sampson in a serialized account of the Greek Cypriot-Greek onslaught against Omorphita Turks in December 1963, as published in his own paper Makhi of 1st January 1965)

"... Long before 19.10 hrs on Xmas day the first battalion under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Costakis had moved into action. In addition, the men of the Third Company attached to the second battalion under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Costas Sergas had, on Xmas day, moved into action under the command of Captain Marios Casperis and had taken up positions on the hill-tops between Yerolakkos and Geunyeli. These prove that the Greek Army Contingent in Cyprus had not remained as a mere onlooker in its camp. I wish to reveal, too, that a company of the Greek Army Contingent had, on that night, advanced to a spot close to Omorphita and had waited in readiness to come to our help just in case..."

(Nicos Sampson in serialized account of the Greek Cypriot-Greek onslaught against Omorphita Turks in December 1963, as published in his own paper Makhi of 3rd January, 1965)

"... Afterwards I spoke with General Perides on the other telephone informing him of the orders of the Headquarters. He said: 'Don't obey. I'm sending a company of the Greek Army Contingent, which is to remain a little distance away from Omorphita...' I thanked General Perides heartily. A little later, Colonel

Djuvelekis, the Commander of the Greek Army Contingent, rang up and said: The Greek Army Contingent is by your side... I'm sending a company to reinforce you."

(Nicos Sampson in serialized account of the Greek Cypriot-Greek onslaught against Omorphita Turks in December 1963, as published in his own paper Makhi of 3rd January, 1965)

"Greece Battling in Cyprus"

"Greece has been aiding Cyprus not as a friendly country. She has been struggling for Cyprus regarded by her as part of Hellenism. What Greece has done is incomparable with aid from any other country. The struggle being waged by her now for Cyprus is not different than that she would embark upon in case any other part of Hellenism were to be confronted with danger. The entire Greece, from her king, the Head of Government down to her last soldier, is today battling in Cyprus. Greece is battling in Cyprus."

(Polycarpos Yorgadjis, former Minister of the Interior of the Greek Cypriot Administration, in the course of a ceremony held on the occasion of the first anniversary of Greek Cypriot onslaught on Omorphita, Greek Cypriot press of 21st December 1964)

(8) MAKARIOS BLAMES GREECE FOR INVOLVEMENT IN CYPRIOT AFFAIRS

Extracts from Makarios speeches accusing the former Greek Junta:

(a) "By the coup, the wretched junta and its organs in Cyprus perpetrated an act of high treason and they are surrendered to history as new Ephialtae. The ruins of this Palace will symbolize the stones of anathema against the junta Ephialtae. Never in our history so few have harmed so many and caused such a great calamity. Some have argued that the Turkish invasion was predetermined and would have been carried out in any circumstances. I do not share this view. Favourable conditions for the invasion were created by the July 15th coup."

(Extract from Makarios's speech on the anniversary of the July 15 coup, from Greek Cypriot Public Information Office Press Release No.1 of July 15, 1975)

(b) "The coup did not come about under such circumstances as to be considered an internal matter of the Greek Cypriots. It is clearly an invasion from outside, in flagrant violation of the independence and sovereignty of the Re-

public of Cyprus... and from its consequences the whole people of Cyprus suffers, both Greek and Turks...

"The military regime of Greece has callously violated the independence of Cyprus without trace of respect for the democratic rights of Cypriot people. Without trace of respect for the independence and sovereignty of the Republic of Cyprus, the Greek junta has extended its dictatorship to Cyprus..

"I do not know the details of the Cyprus crisis caused by the Greek military regime. I am afraid that the number of casualties is great and that the material losses are heavy. Our immediate attention must be given to the ending of this tragedy.

"The coup was a flagrant violation of the independence and sovereignty of the Republic of Cyprus.

"If the Greek Army Officers did not carry out the coup, how is the fact of night flights of Greek aeroplanes carrying to Cyprus personnel in civilian dress and taking to Greece dead and wounded justified?

"The coup has cost much blood and many lives. It was confronted with the decisive resistance of the legal security forces and of the Greek population of Cyprus.

"What happened in Cyprus was not a revolution... It was an invasion which violated the independence and sovereignty of the Republic.

"The so-called coup was the work of the Greek officers staffing and commanding the National Guard. I must also underline the fact that the Greek contingent, composed of 950 officers and men stationed in Cyprus by virtue of the Treaty of Alliance played a predominant role in this aggressive affair against Cyprus. The capture of the airport outside the capital was carried out by officers and men of the Greek contingent camping near the airport...

(Extract from Makarios speech at the U.N. on 19th July, a few days after the 15th July coup of 1974)

(c) "... I say that cadres of the military regime of Greece support and direct the activity of the EOKA B terrorist organization..."

(Extract from Makarios letter sent to the President of the former Greek Junta, General Gizikis on 2 July 1974)

U.N. SECRETARY-GENERAL'S REPORTS EVIDENCING THE
VIOLATIONS OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF TURKISH CYPRIOTS
BY THE GREEK CYPRIOT ADMINISTRATION

Foodstuffs and other items not permitted into the Turkish Sectors:

192. "... Only after a series of negotiations initiated by UNFICYP did the Government authorize the free importation of some of the supplies brought in while duty had to be paid on others, and the remaining items were not allowed to enter the country at all, because they were considered as strategic materials, or were items produced in the country under subsidy. As the Turkish Cypriot community refused to pay duty on relief supplies, the only supplies unloaded were those which were exempt from duty. As a result, only 390 tons out of a cargo of 900 tons could be unloaded. The Government also insisted on control over the distribution of the relief supplies. Persistent representations made to the Government by UNFICYP and the International Committee of the Red Cross were unsuccessful. In spite of UNFICYP's effort to escort Red Crescent convoys carrying relief supplies throughout the country, obstructions were frequently placed on the movement of those convoys."

(S/5950 of 10 September 1964)

203. "... On 3 September a supply of fresh meat and cheese in authorized quantities was prevented by Cypriot forces (Greek) from entering the Turkish Cypriot sector of Nicosia, in violation of the understanding... The Government (Greek Cypriot) decided on 5 September to add the Turkish Cypriot sectors of Famagusta and Larnaca to the list of restricted areas."

205. "... Although no cases of starvation have been noted in the Turkish Cypriot areas, serious inconveniences have been caused to the people subjected to these restrictions and in some cases conditions have reached the hardship stage."

(S/5950 of 10 September 1964)

161. "In September 1965, the Turkish Cypriot leadership drew UNFICYP's attention to the general question of housing for refugees... A building scheme had been prepared (by the Turkish leadership)... However, as building materials were denied to the Turkish Cypriots the good offices of UNFICYP were requested with a view to the lifting of the ban imposed by the Government of Cyprus (Greek) on the shipment of such materials."

162. "The question of supplying the Turkish Cypriots with building materials for improving the accommodations of the refugees has repeatedly been taken up by UNFICYP with the highest authorities of the Republic (Greek), both as part of the general problem of the maintenance, repair and construction of houses and buildings in Turkish Cypriot areas (see Para. 125 above) and as a separate and special problem. Whatever the approach to the problem, the Government (Greek Cypriot) has not approved the release of building materials for the refugees."

(S/7001 of 10 December, 1965)

Restrictions on the Turkish Cypriots' Freedom of Movement

49. "... Turkish Cypriots, compelled for economic reasons to undertake journeys between the towns and outlying villages, are subjected to checks and searches by Greek Cypriot policemen and have little confidence as regards their personal safety."

(S/5764 of 15 June 1964)

103. "... The freedom of movement of Turkish Cypriots in the areas under the control of the Government, has in practice been restricted in those areas by reason of excessive checks and searches and of many unnecessary obstructions put in their way by the Government Police at check points, as well as by the feeling of insecurity and the fear of arrest or abduction."

(S/5950 of 10 September 1964)

50. "The fear and mistrust that followed the disappearance of the thirty-two Turkish Cypriot hostages after the incident in Famagusta on 11 May brought all Turkish Cypriot road movement to a halt. Since then, the only major movement undertaken by the Turkish Cypriot Community has been under United Nations escort."

(S/5764 of 15 June 1964)

100. "A serious restriction on the freedom of movement of the Turkish Cypriot population was imposed by the Government (Greek Cypriot) on 1 June when it closed off the Turkish quarter of Nicosia for three days, prohibiting the Turkish Cypriots from entering or leaving the quarter."

(S/7350 of 10 June 1966)

87. "Early on 31 October 1967, Mr. Rauf Denktash, the Turkish Cypriot President of the Cyprus Turkish Communal Chamber, who had been living in Turkey since 1964, attempted to enter Cyprus secretly by sea and was apprehended shortly after he had landed, together with two other Turkish Cypriots who had accompanied him from Turkey."

88. "Mr. Denktash, who had left Cyprus at the beginning of 1964 and was subsequently heard by the Security Council on the question of Cyprus has always contended that he is the victim of de facto banishment of the Cyprus Government (Greek).

108. "... The ban on the return of Turkish Cypriot students from Turkey continues to be enforced, and in practice any young Turkish Cypriot who goes to Turkey even for a short time may experience serious difficulties in re-entering Cyprus."

(S/8286 of 8 December 1967)

Denial of Postal Services to Turkish Cypriots

146. "... The Government (the Greek Cypriot Administration) has, since 25 April, 1964, sent no international or domestic correspondence or parcels, except for one category, across to the Turkish Cypriot Sector of Nicosia..."

(S/5950 of 10 September 1964)

20. "At present no mail is being delivered to areas under Turkish Cypriot control..."

(S/6102 of 12 December 1964 Annex II)

78. "Because of the disruption of postal services, certain social insurance benefits paid by postal draft have not been received by the addressees."

(S/5764 of 15 June 1964)

77. "... The Turkish Cypriot population should not continue to be deprived of postal services..... these should therefore be put into effect without delay."

(S/6102 of 12 December 1964)

163. "... a substantial number of Turkish Cypriots, in particular in Nicosia and Lefka, continue to be deprived of postal facilities."

(S/7001 of 10 December 1965)

Courts

152. "... Under the Administration of Cyprus (Miscellaneous Provisions) Law of 1964, a Supreme Court of Justice was created by a merger of the Supreme Constitutional Court and the High Court of Justice."

153. "The Turkish Cypriots considered the enactment of the new Law a violation of the 1960 Constitution."

154. "On 3 June, the Turkish Cypriot leadership reported that on the previous day the Cyprus police (Greek) enforcing the blockade of the Turkish Quarter of Nicosia had prevented Turkish Cypriot judges from going to their offices and one judge of the Nicosia district court, already on the court premises, had been ordered to go back to the Turkish Quarter under humiliating circumstances."

(S/7350 of 10 June 1966)

Turkish Cypriot Refugees

93. "Around Nicosia there exist three refugee camps where 1,500 persons are living in tents. Over half of them are children and there is great concern about their health during the summer months when the heat will cause dehydration, particularly in the very young and the old."

(S/5764 of 15 June 1964)

4. "... Many of the 600 refugees who had come to Kokkina from neighbouring localities were living in caves under sub-normal conditions which might present a health hazard in winter."

(S/5950/Add. of 2 September 1964)

190. "In addition to losses incurred in agriculture and in industry during the first part of the year, the Turkish community had lost other sources of its income including the salaries of over 4,000 persons who were employed by the Cyprus Government and by public and private concerns located in the Greek Cypriot Zones. The trade of the Turkish community had considerably declined during the

period, due to the existing situation, and unemployment reached a very high level as approximately 25,000 Turkish Cypriots had become refugees. Expenditure of the Turkish Communal Chamber on development and other prospects, as well as other expenditure, had dropped considerably as a yearly subsidy formerly received from the Government had ceased to be granted in 1964. Furthermore, a large part of its remaining resources had to be used for unemployment relief and other forms of compensation as approximately half of the population came to be on relief. In accordance with figures published by the Turkish Cypriot Communal Chamber, the number of persons receiving some kind of assistance from the Red Crescent relief amounted to about 56,000, including 25,000 displaced persons, 23,500 unemployed and 7,500 dependents of missing persons, disabled and others."

(S/5950 of 10 September 1964)

126. "... thousands of Turkish Cypriots fled from their homes, taking with them only what they could drive or carry, and sought refuge in what they considered to be safer Turkish Cypriot villages and areas."

(S/8286 of 8 December 1967)

Economic Restrictions and Movement of Supplies

111. "... The official list of restricted goods still comprises thirty-one items. Most of these goods, however, have extensive civilian use, such as building materials and automobile replacement parts. In addition, other items which are not on the official list but which qualify under similar headings are often subjected to seizure at Cyprus Police (Greek) checkpoints."

(S/7350 of 10 June 1966)

191. "Around the middle of July, at the time of Templos incident, described earlier in this report, the Government (Greek Cypriot Administration) took two steps which served to impose further hardship on the Turkish Cypriot Community. On 17 July, UNFICYP was officially informed that some twenty-five articles were considered as strategic materials, the purchase of which by Turkish Cypriots was forbidden.... These articles included building materials, cement, iron in bulk/iron rods, wire netting, electrical equipment, transistorized and other batteries, timber, large bags, automobile accessories and parts, tyres, sulphur and other chemicals, as well as fuel in large quantities..."

(S/5950 of 10 September 1964)

Restrictions on Red Crescent Relief Supplies

191. "... It (the Greek Cypriot Administration) imposed restrictions on the importation of Red Crescent supplies for the relief of the population."

(S/5950 of 10 September 1964)

Veritable Siege

221. "... Thus, in recent weeks, UNFICYP has been devoting major effort toward eliminating or lessening the hardship experienced by many Turkish communities in Cyprus by the economic restrictions which have been imposed by the Government (Greek Cypriot Administration) of Cyprus."

222. "... The economic restrictions being imposed against the Turkish communities in Cyprus, which in some instances has been *so severe as to amount the veritable siege*, indicated that the Government of Cyprus (Greek Cypriot Administration) seeks to force a potential solution by economic pressure as a substitute for military action."

(S/5950 of 10 September 1964)

LETTER BY ARCHBISHOP MAKARIOS
TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE GREEK REPUBLIC
GENERAL GIZIKIS

Nicosia, 2 July, 1974.

Mr. President,

It is with profound grief that I have to set out to you certain inadmissible situations and events in Cyprus for which I regard the Greek Government responsible.

Since the clandestine arrival of General Grivas in Cyprus in September, 1971, rumours have been circulating and there have been reliable indications that he came to Cyprus at the urge and with the encouragement of certain circles in Athens. In any case, it is certain that from the first days of his arrival here Grivas came into touch with officers from Greece serving in the National Guard from whom he received help and support in his effort to set up an unlawful organisation and allegedly to fight for Enosis. And he established the criminal EOKA B organisation, which has become the cause and source of many sufferings for Cyprus. The activity of this organisation, which has committed political murders and many other crimes under a patriotic mantle advancing Enosis slogans, is well known. The National Guard, which is staffed and controlled by Greek officers, has been from the outset the main supplier of men and material to EOKA B, the members and supporters of which gave themselves the nice ringing title of "Enosists" and "Enosis camp."

I have many times asked myself why an unlawful and nationally harmful organisation which is creating divisions and discords cleaving rifts in our internal front and leading the Greek Cypriot people to civil strife, is supported by Greek officers. And I have also many times wondered whether such support has the approval of the Greek Government. I have done a great deal of thinking and made many hypothetical assumptions in order to find a logical reply to my questions. No reply, under any prerequisites and assumptions, could be based on logic. However, the Greek officers' support for EOKA B' constitutes an undeniable reality. The National Guard camps in various areas of the island and nearby sites are smeared with slogans in favour of Grivas and EOKA B' and also with slogans against the Cyprus Government and particularly myself. In the National Guard camps propaganda by Greek officers in favour of EOKA B' is often undisguised. It is also known, and an undeniable fact, that the opposition Cyprus press, which supports the criminal activity of EOKA B' and which has its sources of finance in Athens, receives guidance and line from those in charge of the 2nd General Staff Office and the branch of the Greek Central Intelligence Service in Cyprus.

It is true that whenever complaints were conveyed by me to the Greek Government about the attitude and conduct of certain officers, I received the reply that I ought not to hesitate to report them by name and state the specific charges against them so that they would be recalled from Cyprus. I did this only in one instance. This is an unpleasant task for me. Moreover, this evil cannot be remedied by being faced in this way. What is important is the uprooting and prevention of the evil and not merely the facing of its consequences.

I am sorry to say, Mr. President, that the root of the evil is very deep, reaching as far as Athens. It is from there that the tree of evil, the bitter fruits of which the Greek Cypriot people are tasting to-day, is being fed and maintained and helped to grow and spread. In order to be absolutely clear I say that cadres of the military regime of Greece support and direct the activity of the EOKA B terrorist organisation. This explains also the involvement of Greek officers of the National Guard in illegal activities, the conspiracy and other inadmissible situations. The guilt of circles of the military regime is proved by documents which were found recently in the possession of leading cadres of EOKA B'. Plenty of money was sent from the National Centre for the maintenance of the organisation and directives were given concerning the leadership after the death of Grivas and the recall of major Karousos, who had come to Cyprus with him, and generally everything was directed from Athens. The genuineness of the documents cannot be called in question because those of them which are typewritten have corrections made by hand and the handwriting of the writer is known. I indicatively attach one such document.

I have always adhered to the principle and I have on many occasions stated that my co-operation with the Greek Government for the time being is for me a national duty. The national interest dictates harmonious and close cooperation between Athens and Nicosia. No matter which Government of Greece was in power it was to me the government of the mother country and I had to co-operate with it. I cannot say that I have a special liking for military regimes particularly in Greece the birth-place and cradle of democracy. But even in this case I have not departed from my principle about co-operation. You realise, Mr. President the sad thoughts which have been preoccupying and tormenting me following the ascertainment that men of the Government of Greece are incessantly preparing conspiracies against me and, what is worse, are dividing the Greek Cypriot people and pushing them to catastrophe through civil strife. I have more than once so far felt and in some cases I have almost touched a hand invisibly extending from Athens and seeking to liquidate my human existence. For the sake of national expediency, however, I kept silent. Even the evil spirit which possessed the three defrocked Cypriot Bishops who have caused a major crisis in the Church emanated from Athens. However, I said nothing in this connection. I am wondering what the object of all this is. I would have continued to keep silent about the responsibility and role of the Greek Government in the present drama of Cyprus if I had been the only one to suffer on the scene of the drama. But covering things up and keeping silent is not permissible when the entire Greek Cypriot people are suffering when Greek officers of the National Guard, at the urge of Athens, support EOKA B' in its criminal activity, including political murders and generally aiming at the dissolution of the state.

Great is the responsibility of the Greek Government in the effort to abolish the state status of Cyprus. The Cyprus state should be dissolved only in the event of Enosis. However, as long as Enosis is not feasible it is imperative that the state status of Cyprus should be strengthened. By its whole attitude towards the National Guard issue, the Greek Government has been following a policy calculated to abolish the Cyprus state.

A few months ago the National Guard General Staff consisting of Greek officers submitted to Cyprus Government for approval a list of candidates for cadet reserve officers who would attend a special school and then serve as officers during their military service. Fifty seven of the candidates on the list submitted were not approved by the Council of Ministers. The General Staff was informed of this in writing. Despite this, following instructions from Athens, the General Staff did not take at all into account the decision of the Council of Ministers, which under the law has the absolute right to appoint National Guard officers. Acting arbitrarily, the General Staff trampled upon laws, showed contempt for the decision of the Cyprus Government and enrolled the candidates who had not been approved in the Officers Training School. I regard this attitude of the National Guard General Staff, which is controlled by the Greek Government, as absolutely inadmissible. The National Guard is an organ of the Cyprus state and should be controlled by it and not from Athens. The theory about a common area of defence between Greece and Cyprus has its emotional aspect. In reality, however, the position is different. The National Guard, with its present composition and staffing, has deviated from its aim and has become a hatching place of illegality, a centre of conspiracies against the state and a source of supply of EOKA B'. It suffices to say that during the recently stepped up terrorist activity of EOKA B', National Guard vehicles transported arms and moved to safety members of the organisation who were about to be arrested. The absolute responsibility for this improper conduct of National Guard rests with Greek officers, some of whom are involved heads over ears and participants in the activity of EOKA B'. And the National Centre is not free from responsibility in this connection. The Greek Government could by a mere beckon put an end to this regrettable situation. The National Centre could order the termination of violence and terrorism by EOKA B' because it is from Athens that the organisation derives the means for its maintenance and its strength, as confirmed by written evidence and proof. The Greek Government, however, has failed to do so. As an indication of an inadmissible situation I note here in passing that in Athens also slogans were recently written against me and in favour of EOKA B' on the walls of churches and other buildings, including the building of the Cyprus Embassy. The Greek Government, even though it knew the culprits, did not seek to arrest and punish anybody, thus tolerating propaganda in favour of EOKA B'.

I have a lot to say, Mr. President, but I do not think that I should say any more. In conclusion I convey that the Greek officered National Guard, the plight of which has shaken the Cypriot people's confidence in it, will be restructured on a new basis. I have reduced military service so that the National Guard ceiling may be reduced and the extent of the evil may be limited. It may be observed that the reduction of the strength of the National Guard due to the shortening of the mili-

tary service, does not render it capable of carrying out its mission in case of national danger. For reasons which I do not wish to set out here I do not share this view. And I would ask that the officers from Greece staffing the National Guard be recalled. Their remaining in the National Guard and commanding the force would be harmful to relations between Athens and Nicosia. I would, however, be happy if you were to send Cyprus about one hundred officers as instructors and military advisers to help in the reorganisation and restructuring of the armed forces of Cyprus. I hope, in the meantime, that instructions have been given to EOKA B' to end its activities, even though, as long as this organisation is not definitely dissolved, a new wave of violence and murders cannot be ruled out.

I am sorry, Mr. President, that I have found it necessary to say many unpleasant things in order to give a broad outline with the language of open frankness of the long existing deplorable situation in Cyprus. This is, however, necessitated by the national interest which has always guided all my actions. I do not desire interruption of my co-operation with Greek Government. But it should be borne in mind that I am not an appointed prefect or locum tenens of the Greek Government in Cyprus, but an elected leader of a large section of Hellenism and I demand an appropriate conduct by the National Centre towards me.

The content of this letter is not confidential.

With cordial wishes

*(The Greek Cypriot PIO Press
Release No.1 of 6 July, 1974)*

MAKARIOS ADDRESSES U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL
ON 19 JULY 1974 AFTER BEING OUSTED BY
THE GREEK JUNTA COUP

"In the beginning I wish to express my sincere thanks to all the members of the Security Council for the great interest they have shown in the critical situation which has been created in Cyprus after the coup organised by the military regime in Greece and carried out by the Greek army officers who were serving in the National Guard and were commanding it.

What is happening in Cyprus as from last Monday constitutes a real tragedy. The Greek military regime has openly violated the independence of Cyprus. With no sign of respect to the democratic rights of the people of Cyprus, with no sign of respect to the independence and sovereignty of the Republic of Cyprus, the Greek Junta has extended its dictatorship to Cyprus. It is definitely a fact that from some time their aim was becoming obvious. The people of Cyprus had for a long time the feeling that the Greek Junta was organising a coup and this feeling had become stronger during the last weeks when the terrorist organization EOKA B which is directed by Athens started the act of violence again. I knew since a long time that this illegal organisation had its roots in Athens and was being maintained by Athens. I had information that Greek officers serving in the National Guard and commanding it were recruiting members for the organisation and were supporting it in various ways up to the point that the organisation reached as far as the armouries of the National Guard.

In the camps of the National Guard the Greek officers were conducting an open propaganda in favour of this illegal organisation. They had turned the National Guard from an organ of the state to a subversive organisation. When at times I was complaining to Athens for the improper conduct of the Greek officers of the National Guard, the reply was that if I had concrete evidence all those who would be found guilty would be withdrawn. From all their stand I formed the unmistakable impression that their usual reply was a pretence of innocence. Before a few days the Cyprus Police received information showing clearly that EOKA B was a tool of the Athens regime.

Amounts of money were being provided by Athens for maintaining this organisation and detailed directions were being given to it in connection with its actions. Then I considered it necessary to send a letter to the President of the Greek regime General Gizikis asking from him to give directions for the ending of violence and bloodshed by EOKA B and for its disbanding. I also requested from him to withdraw the Greek officers serving in the National Guard adding that my purpose was a reduction in the number of this force and to turn it to an organ of the Cyprus State. I was waiting for a reply. I had the impression that the Athens regime was not in favour of a reduction in the number of the force as such and the departure of the Greek officers.

The Greek Ambassador in Cyprus visited me on the instruction of his government to explain to me that a reduction in the number of the members of the National Guard or the departure of the Greek Officers would weaken the defence of Cyprus in case of danger from Turkey. This was a pretext which even if seen logical was not convincing because I knew that behind this pretext other interests were hidden. I replied that as events had developed I considered the danger from Turkey lesser than the danger from Greek army officers and it has been proved that my fears were justified.

On Saturday 13th July, a meeting was held in Athens under the presidency of General Gizikis which lasted for many hours. The meeting was attended by the Chief of the Staff of the Armed Forces, the Greek Ambassador to Cyprus, the Commander of the National Guard and other officials for the examining of the contents of my letter. As announced in the relevant announcement at the end of the meeting, the meeting was to continue on Monday the 15th July. The reference made in the announcement to a second meeting was deceptive. Because while on Monday I was expecting a reply to my letter, the reply came and this was the coup.

On that day I was returning from my summer house on Trodos where I had passed my week-end and at 8 a.m. I was in my office at the Presidential Palace. After half an hour I was receiving at the reception hall a group of boys and girls, members of the Cairo Greek Orthodox Youth Club who had come to Cyprus as my guests for some days. As soon as I had greeted them the first shots were heard. Within seconds the shots became more frequent and a member of the Presidential Guard informed me that armoured cars and tanks passed the walls of the yard and were in the yard of the Presidential Palace which was being shaken by mortar shells. Soon the situation became critical. The telephone lines were cut. The violent bombardment was becoming more increasing. How my life was saved is a miracle of the Divine Providence. When later I was found in the area of Paphos, I addressed the people of Cyprus from a local radio station informing them that I was in life and that I was going to struggle with the people against the dictatorship which the Greek regime was trying to impose.

On the second day of the armed attack the armoured cars and tanks were moving towards Paphos while at the same time a small warship of the National Guard started bombarding the bishopric of Paphos where I was staying. Under those conditions I found it wise to leave Cyprus instead of falling in the hands of the Greek Junta.

I am grateful to the British Government which has provided a helicopter to take me from Paphos, carry me to the British Bases and from there fly me to Malta and London. I am also grateful to the Special Representative of the General Secretary of the U.N. and the Commander of the UNFICYP for the interest they have shown in my safety. Had it not been for their help I would not be here today.

I do not yet know the details of the Cyprus crisis caused by the Greek military regime. I am afraid that the number of losses is great and that the material losses are heavy. Our immediate attention must be given to the ending of this tragedy.

When I arrived in London I was informed of the contents of the talks of the Greek Junta's representative at the United Nations. I was surprised for the way that they are making efforts to deceive the public opinion. Without blushing the Greek Junta is making efforts to simplify the situation claiming that it is not involved in the armed attack and that the developments of the last few days constitute an internal affair of the Greek Cypriots.

I do not believe that there are men who accept the claims of the Greek military regime. The coup did not take place under such conditions so as to be considered an internal affair of the Greek Cypriots. It is a clear attack from the outside and a flagrant violation of the independence and sovereignty of the Republic of Cyprus. The so-called coup was the work of the Greek officers who man and command the National Guard. I must also emphasize the fact that the Greek army contingent in Cyprus composed of 950 officers and men and stationed in Cyprus under the Treaty of Alliance played a leading part in this attack against Cyprus. The occupation of the airport outside the capital was carried out by the officers and men of the Greek army contingent who were camped close to the airport.

It is sufficient to say on this point that some photographs published in the international press show armoured cars and tanks belonging to the Greek army contingent stationed in Cyprus. On the other hand Greek officers serving in the National Guard directed the operations and they recruited many members of the terrorist organisation of EOKA B which they armed with the arms of the National Guard.

If the Greek officers serving in the National Guard were not involved how is the fact justified that amongst the losses at the clashes there were Greek officers whose dead bodies have been transferred to Greece for burial there? If the Greek officers did not carry out the coup, how is the fact of night flights of Greek aeroplanes carrying to Cyprus personnel in civilian dress and taking back to Greece dead and wounded be justified? There is no doubt that the coup was organised by the Greek Junta and carried out by the Greek officers of the National Guard and the officers and men of the Greek Force stationed in Cyprus and as such has been published in the world press.

The coup has cost much bloodshed and many lives. It was confronted with the decisive resistance of the legal security forces and of the Greek population of Cyprus. I cannot say definitely that the resistance and reaction of the Greek population of Cyprus against the plotters will end before the restoration of its independence and democratic rights. The people of Cyprus will never submit to the dictatorship although for the moment the brutal violence of the armoured cars and tanks may dominate.

After the coup, the agents of the Greek regime in Cyprus appointed a well known criminal, Nicos Sampson, as President who later appointed as Ministers people known as leading members and supporters of the terrorist organisation EOKA B.

It may be argued that what has happened in Cyprus is a revolution and that a government has been established on revolutionary justice. This is not the case in Cyprus, a case which might have been considered as an internal affair. It was an invasion which violated the independence and sovereignty of the Republic. The invasion is continuing as long as there are Greek Officers in Cyprus. The results of the invasion will be subversive for Cyprus if there is no return to the constitutional order and if the democratic freedom is not restored.

The military regime of Greece has announced yesterday the gradual replacement of the Greek Officers of the National Guard in order to mislead world public opinion. But the problem is not their replacement, it is their departure. The gesture of withdrawal has the meaning of confession that the Greek officers serving now in the National Guard were those who carried out the coup. These officers, in any way, did not act on their own initiative but upon instructions from Athens. Thus the National Guard will always remain an organ in the hands of the military regime and I am sure that the members of the Security Council understand this trick.

It may be argued that it was the Cyprus Government which led to the appointment of Greek officers to the National Guard. I am sorry to say that it was my mistake to give so much trust to these officers. They misused this trust and instead of helping in the defence of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the island, they themselves became invaders.

I am obliged to say that the policy of the military regime in Greece towards Cyprus and especially towards the Greek Cypriots has not been sincere. I wish to emphasize that it was a double faced policy.

For some time talks were being conducted between the Greeks and Turks of Cyprus for the finding of a peaceful solution to the Cyprus problem which has on many occasions occupied the Security Council and the General Assembly of the U.N. The representative of the Secretary General and two constitutional experts from Greece and Turkey followed the talks. The Security Council has repeatedly twice a year renewed the mandate of the UNFICYP expressing each time the hope that the problem would be settled soon. It cannot be said that the progress at the talks until now has been satisfactory. But how could there be any progress at the talks when the Cyprus policy of the Athens regime was double faced? It has been agreed by all the parties concerned that the talks would be conducted on the basis of independence. The Athens regime also agreed on this and on many occasions the Greek Foreign Secretary stated that the position of Greece on the matter was clear. If this was the fact how did the military regime of Greece establish and support the terrorist organisation EOKA B the purpose of which it was stated to be the Union of Cyprus with Greece and of which the members called themselves Enosists?

In the camps of the National Guard the Greek Officers were continuously accusing me that although union was possible its realisation was being prevented by me. When it was reminded to them that Greece had made her position

clear on this and that she was supporting independence, their reply was that no attention should have been given to the words of the diplomats. Under these conditions how would it be possible for the talks to reach a positive result? The double faced policy of the Greek regime was one of the main obstacles in the progress of the talks.

Under the conditions created in Cyprus I cannot foresee any prospects in the talks. I would rather say that no such prospects exist. Any agreement to which the talks would reach would be of no value as there is no elected leadership to undertake the matter. The coup of the military regime of Greece holds back any progress at the talks towards a settlement. In addition if the situation is allowed to continue even for a short time, this will be a continuous source of anomaly in Cyprus, the consequences of which will be heavy and will increase.

I call on the members of the Security Council to do what they can to bring to an end the anomalous situation created by the coup of Athens. I invite the Security Council to use all means at its disposal and all ways so that the constitutional order in Cyprus and the democratic rights of the people of Cyprus are restored without delay.

As I have already stated the events in Cyprus do not constitute an internal affair of the Greek Cypriots. The Turkish Cypriots are also affected. The coup of the Greek Junta is an invasion and from its consequences all the people of Cyprus both Greeks and Turks will suffer. The U.N. has a peaceforce stationed in Cyprus. It is not possible for the role of this peaceforce to be successful under conditions of military coup. The Security Council must invite the military regime of Greece to withdraw from Cyprus the Greek officers serving in the National Guard and to bring to an end its invasion of Cyprus.

I have no doubt that a suitable decision of the Security Council will bring the invasion to an end and will restore the violated independence of Cyprus and the democratic rights of the people of Cyprus. "

MAKARIOS AND THE DOSSIER OF TORTURE

This is a brief newspaper article based on the Justice report prepared by a London lawyer, Mr. Geoffrey Garrett, on torture in Cyprus by Makarios's forces, before the July 15 coup. Prepared after meticulous investigations, the Garret report shows clearly how Greek Cypriots suffered in the hands of fellow Greek Cypriots when in captivity.

Philip Jacobson wrote this in the Sunday Times of August 4, 1974, on Makarios and the dossier of torture:

THE ORDEAL of Victor Tsingis, a young Greek Cypriot, began - he says - when he was dragged from his car in the centre of Limassol and given a preliminary softening-up. Then he was hustled into Limassol central police station.

For almost six hours, Tsingis says he underwent a battering with fists, boots, the leg of a chair (which was broken on him), a knuckleduster and a leather whip. When he warned his captors that he suffered from stomach ulcers, they took turns to jump on his stomach. Half-conscious, Tsingis was taken to the notorious cell-block 9 in Nicosia central prison: the first thing he saw was another prisoner, Panicos Pericleos, being forced to run the gauntlet repeatedly between two lines of men who were battering his head and shoulders.

Pericleos was hurled into a cell near Victor Tsingis in block 9. Tsingis says he later saw him being whipped. Eventually, urinating blood from an internal injury. Pericleos was taken to the prison hospital and treated for six days.

These two accounts are based on personal statements from the men concerned to a London solicitor, Mr. Geoffrey Garrett, who was investigating alleged torture in Cyprus on behalf of Justice, the British and of the International Commission of Jurists. The accounts were buttressed by the evidence of other prisoners, and are typical of the experineces of young Greek Cypriots who fell into the hands of Archbishop Makarios's hated Auxiliary Police Reserve. They were included last September in a lengthy report to the International Commission of Jurists by Mr. Garrett.

Mr. Garrett received allegations of about 100 cases of brutality to prisoners. Almost half were accompanied by detailed written statements, which he was able to cross-check with some of the prisoners, with relatives and defence lawyers, and, occasionally, with prison and police officers.

The Justice report leaves no doubt that political opponents of President Makarios were frequently subjected to brutality after arrest, and that the police reserve - originally created to deal with attacks by armed EOKA men - was almost entirely responsible. In case after case, a sickening catalogue of beatings, kicking and whipping emerges: all the refinements of the torturer are present.

One prisoner, Evangelos Christophi was so badly burned with cigarettes that the scars were plainly visible two months later. Another Kimon Vrachimos, came to court with both feet bandaged to hide dreadful injuries. A third, Orthodoxos Epiphaniou, gave his statement in court sitting down because he could not stand on his mangled feet.

One technique popular among the police reserve torturers involved holding a man down in a chair with his legs pulled straight out in front of him: Someone would then jump or sit with his full weight on the outstretched legs.;

The Justice report was given added force by a Times article last week, in which a London barrister, Stephen Terrell, told of seeing a man whose toenails had been torn out, and of another who was carried into court because his legs appeared to have been broken below the knee.;

Mr. Garrett is adamant that Makarios knew what was going on. In one interview with the former President a year ago, Mr. Garrett described trembling with anger, how he had just seen 11 men on remand brought into Nicosia. One could not walk at all and was barely conscious. Five others were so badly hurt that they could not stand. Several tore off their shirts in court to show the terrible bruises and abrasions on their bodies.

Mr. Garrett reported later "The President admitted that he knew something or what had been happening, and he also admitted that he had seen photographs of the men I had seen in court, taken immediately after their arrest, showing them in good condition."

Makarios promised to "do the best he could" to restrain the police reserve, and things seemed to improve for a time. But in the last few months before the coup, when EOKA stepped up the tempo of its operations, reports reaching Justice suggested that nothing had really changed.

SENSATIONAL DISCLOSURES
BY A PRIEST

*'I swear to God
that they buried this youth
while he was still alive'*

A Greek Cypriot priest, Papatsestos of Nicosia, is reported to have made sensational disclosures to an Athens newspaper, 'Ta Nea', about Greek Cypriots 'killed and buried like dogs' during the Sampson coup in Cyprus in the Summer of 1974.

Papatsestos, who is described as a well-known priest in charge of the Nicosia Greek cemetery, is reported to have told a correspondent of 'Ta Nea' that truck loads of dead Greek Cypriots were hastily buried in mass graves without any record and without any attempt to identify the bodies.

'But the most horrible experience of my life was seeing a wounded young Greek Cypriot buried alive',

Papatsestos is quoted declaring. He is also quoted admitting that dead Turks were buried in the Greek cemetery.

The following are the highlights of Papatsestos's interview with the correspondent of 'Ta Nea', which was reproduced in all the local Greek newspapers on 28 February, 1976:

PAPATSESTOS: Two days after the coup, on 17 July, I witnessed something which has perhaps never been witnessed by any mortal before: I saw a young Greek Cypriot buried alive! That was when two Junta officers came to my house and ordered me to accompany them to the cemetery. I thought they were going to kill me, but they said they only wanted me for burying some dead people.

In the cemetery there were two open graves and two bodies lying beside them. I went to see if I could recognize them. One was dead. But the other, a curly haired, fair complexioned 18-year-old youth was moving. Startled, I turned back and shouted: 'But Officer, this man is alive!'

'Shut up you dirty priest, or I will shut you up for good', the officer retorted. Then the youth was pushed into the open grave which was filled with earth. *'I swear to God that they buried this youth while he was still alive'.*

*'Here people were buried
like dogs by the Junta'*

Pointing at the cemetery, Papatsestos said. 'Here people were buried like dogs by the Junta. There were also bodies which had been dumped outside the cemetery. They were not identified, and not claimed. As a priest my conscience is troubled, but they were holding a pistol to my head at the time.

I remember the day they first came to me. They said: 'Father', we have some dead bodies which we want you to bury'. 'With pleasure', I replied and asked how many bodies they had. 77 they said. An hour later a lorry arrived and I heard someone order: 'Dump them outside'. They were the dead bodies; they were all put in one common grave, without waiting for identification by their relatives. The Junta men produced some small crosses, (seven only!) wrote some names on them and put them on the grave.

The Junta men scornfully called 'muskos supporters', persons loyal to Makarios, and wanted to bury them 'like dogs', in a sheep-fold outside the cemetery. And that is what they did in the end. They dug two graves with excavators one inside and the other outside the cemetery. They buried their own dead (27) inside the cemetery and others (50) outside.

TA NEA: Father, about the young man buried alive, could he have been saved?

PAPATSESTOS: Of course he could have been saved. He had a wound in the right leg. I went to the hospital and asked a doctor there, if a dead man could move. The doctor laughed, I could not. But I was not the one who had buried him alive.

TA NEA: Could you recognize any of the Junta men?

PAPATSESTOS: They had all come from Greece for the coup. They were looting, and they even broke into my house. They entered houses on the pretext of searching for deserters but actually stole valuable articles from them.

*'All of them
to the last man,
must be killed tonight!'*

TA NEA: Have you witnessed any other atrocities?

PAPATSESTOS: I listened to telephone conversations between Junta men. In one case they were talking about the people resisting at Kaimakli suburb, and saying: 'Shoot them all, have no mercy at all!' I also noticed that in the hospital they were giving polluted water to the sick.

TA NEA: Father, could you swear that you have not secretly buried dead Turks in the cemetery?

PAPATSESTOS: Only about 10. We did not know who they were and where they were found.

TA NEA: How many bodies did you bury during the coup?

PAPATSESTOS: 127. Fifty of them were collected from the streets and they were buried outside the cemetery; the other 77 were buried inside.

TA NEA: If the Turkish invasion had not taken place, would more Greek Cypriots have been killed in the coup?

PAPATSESTOS: Oh yes, many more. They wanted to kill me too. It is rather a hard thing to say, but it is true that the Turkish intervention saved us from a merciless internecine war. They had prepared a list of all Makarios supporters and they would have slaughtered them all.

TA NEA: Now, father tell me sincerely, were people brutally killed in those days?

PAPATSESTOS: Yes, my son. Massacres were committed outside Kykko Monastery and in Limassol. I heard with my own ears the order:

'All of them to the last man, must be killed tonight!..

Those who have witnessed these crimes are afraid to speak. As a matter of fact most of them are Grivas supporters and they will never speak.

Finally, Papatsestos is reported to have declared that he would tell his story and worries to the Greek Premier, Mr. Constantine Karamanlis, because Makarios has done nothing about them.

COMMENT;

*'The young Greek Cypriot buried alive
in the Nicosia cemetery'*

It will no doubt be recalled that Papatsestos first told his story to Makarios when the latter visited the Nicosia cemetery soon after his return to Cyprus in December, 1974. The local Greek newspapers gave prominence (13 December, 1974) to Papatsestos's disclosure to Makarios that -

"There are five big graves (7ft, each) in and around the Greek cemetery in Nicosia in which bodies of soldiers, policemen and civilians (some seriously wounded but still alive) were dumped like old sacks!"

The local Greek press dropped the subject discreetly the next day and Makarios made no attempt to pursue the matter of *'the young Greek Cypriot buried alive in the Nicosia cemetery'*,

However, similar disclosures about the murders committed during the coup continued to come from other sources. More recently, on 22 November 1975, to be exact, the editor of the local Greek daily 'Haravghi', Mr. Costas Partassides, disclosed in an article in his paper that -

"Innocent Turkish Cypriot women and children, together with thousands of democratic elements among the Greek Community, were wantonly killed by EOKA hordes during the coup."

Mr. Partassides also bitterly complained that persons responsible for these terrible crimes were free and continued to intimidate the people with impunity. But Mr. Partassides' disclosures and complaints also failed to move the Greek Cypriot authorities to make a formal statement on the subject or to take action against known culprits.

The Greek Cypriot authorities' silence and inaction about the murders and atrocities committed during the coup, are quite incompatible with the noisy propaganda they are making about missing Greek Cypriots who are claimed to have disappeared during the Turkish Peace Operation between 20th July and 16th August, 1974, despite formal assurances from the highest level, that no Greek Cypriot is detained as a P.O.W, or under any other pretext, in Turkey or within the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus, the Greek Cypriot authorities are encouraging the families and relatives of the missing persons to believe that these persons are alive and being kept in some secret 'work camp' in Turkey or in Cyprus, *which is, a wicked and immoral lie.*

The Greek Cypriot authorities' ostensibly conflicting behaviour on the issue of Greeks claimed by eye witnesses to have been murdered during the coup, and those merely alleged to have disappeared during the Turkish Peace Operation, may confuse the foreign observer. But there is actually a logical connection between the two patterns. The issue of missing persons is, in fact, only a smoke screen for covering the terrifying cost in human life during the Sampson coup.

The Greek Cypriot authorities have never officially announced the number of names of the persons killed during the coup. But considering Makarios's statement in the U.N. Security Council a few days after the coup, calling for *'immediate intervention to end the tragedy'* because the *'number of losses is great and, also taking into account the casualty figures quoted (in thousands) in the foreign press, as supplied by eye-witnesses, including Greek Cypriots fleeing from the vengeance of the coup leaders, it can be safely assumed that most of the Greek Cypriot casualties occurred during the Sampson coup. The Greek Cypriot leaders know this to be true but they do not dare admit it to their community. So, they have artificially created a missing persons problem to create the impression that the Turks are responsible for Greek losses.*

In the final analysis, however, disclosures like those of Papatsestos, Mr. Costas Partassides and others, indicate where the Greek Community - and the whole world, for the matter- will have to look for the missing Greek Cypriots.

PICTURES OF MASS GRAVES
AT
AYIOS VASILIOS (AYVASIL), ALOA (ATLILAR)
AND
MARATHA (MURATAĀA) AND SANDALLARIS (SANDALLAR),
AND
MONUMENTS ERECTED IN THEIR MEMORY



THE MASS GRAVE AT AYIOS VASILIOS



A SHAME TO HUMANITY





**FOREIGN JOURNALISTS AT AYIOS VASILIOS MASS GRAVE
ESTABLISHING EVIDENCE OF GREEK-GREEK CYPRIOT
BARBARISM**

**EXHUMATION AT ALOA MASS GRAVE ON 20 AUGUST 1974
AND
AT MARATHA MASS GRAVE ON 2 SEPTEMBER 1974
IN THE PRESENCE OF FOREIGN JOURNALISTS, OBSERVERS
AND MEMBERS OF UNFICYP (UNITED NATIONS FORCE IN
CYPRUS)**



**PICTURES ABOVE AND BELOW SHOW THE TURKISH
CYPRIOT VICTIMS OF A MASS GRAVE NEAR THE VILLAGE
OF MARATHA WHICH WAS DISCOVERED BY THE TURKISH
AUTHORITIES ON SEPTEMBER 2, 1974**





**THE TURKISH VICTIMS OF A MASS GRAVE IN
ALOA VILLAGE, OPENED ON 20 AUGUST 1974**



**TWO MONUMENTS ERECTED IN MEMORY OF THE
 MASSACRED TURKISH CYPRIOTS AGED BETWEEN
 16-DAY-OLD BABIES AND 93-YEAR-OLD PEOPLE
 GREEK CYPRIOT BRUTALITY KNOWS NO END**



MONUMENT OF ATILAR (ALOA)



MONUMENT OF MURATAĞA AND SANDALLAR (MARATHA AND SANDALLARIS)



GREEK EXTERMINATION PLANS

Military Plans Prepared by Greeks for the Total Extermination of Turks in Cyprus.

Commander Haralambos Hios had started writing out his last order of the day in full peace of conscience. The date was July 3, 1974, and almost all the plans were ready. Only certain minor alterations were to be made concerning the annihilation of the Turks and the sites to be demolished. It was for this reason that he had made the following points clear in his "top secret" operational command: "The units shall work out the necessary modifications in the plans concerning their own sections of the operation and return them to me by July 10, 1974". Hios's order was forwarded to the following units: 222nd Battalion of Reserves, 256th Infantry Battalion, 261st, 316th, 321st, 306th and 366th Battalions of Reserves, 183rd Field Artillery Battalion, 172nd and 190th Anti-tank Artillery Battalions, 276th Infantry Battalion, 47th Communications Company, and other reserve forces. (Document No : 1)

Commander Hios made the last arrangements for the extermination of the Turks, the preparations for which had lasted for many years. On May 31, 1974 SAK had made certain alterations in the "Aphroditis 1973" plan and asked the units under his command to complete their preparations by June 10, 1974. On June 12, 1974 he ordered his units to be prepared according to their new deployment plan. (Document No : 2)

All the plans were developed throughout many years and all details were meticulously worked out. Even the officer in the smallest unit knew what he was expected to do when the operation was once started. The preparations were planned to annihilate at once the whole Turkish population on the Island and plans were made for the demolition of the predetermined targets. The units charged with arson and sabotage were assigned. Furthermore, the places where dynamite, TNT, baiting time-powders, and rags dipped in kerosene and petroleum would be used were specified, as well as the people who would position them.

These plans were prepared under the pretence of defense against possible "aggression". They were aimed at total annihilation of the Turks, military and civilian alike, with no discrimination between military targets and human beings. The units would isolate Turkish cantons and villages from one another, and wipe them out according to the plan. The manner in which the massacre was to be implemented was drawn up in detail back in 1973 in the 73 (SEA IFESTOS) prepared under the title of "domestic security plan". It was already decided which battalions would besiege and destroy which Turkish settlement centres and villages. When the command was given, every unit would go into operation of cleaning

up the Turkish villages assigned to it as its sphere of action. For example, the 391st Infantry Battalion would destroy the Turkish village of Bağlıköy (Ambeliku). The siege of the canton of Lefke, Erenköy (Kokkina), the banks of Yeşilirmak (Limnidi) was to be materialized by the direct supporting fire of the artillery. The 261st Infantry Battalion was charged with the duty of cleaning up the Kurutepe (Ksero) bridgehead.

Special plans were made to prevent a liason between Gaziveren, Doğancı (Elye), Taşpınar (Angolem), Bağlıköy (Ambeliku) and Akdeniz (Aya Irini) and to leave each Turkish settlement centre by itself. One of the plans was to be implemented by the 256th Infantry Battalion in Yorgos. This plan was part of the SEA IFESTOS 74 Plan which was prepared by the Second High Tactical Command in Omorfo. This plan No. 23, dated June 12, 1974 read as follows:

"1. The operations shall be initiated by the Greek National Guard upon approval of the Cyprus Government (Greek Cypriot) and the General Staff in Greece.

2. It is hoped that the United Nations Peace Force based in Cyprus will remain inactive."

Not only Plan No. 23 which bears the file number of 210/11/61, but all other plans prepared for the "annihilation of the Turks" were subject to the approval of the Greek Cypriot Government and the Greek General Staff for implementation. In fact, these plans were proofs of complete cooperation between the Greek Cypriot administrators and those in Greece. The implementation aimed at total extermination of the "Turks" would also come about as the fruit of this collaboration.

The Second High Tactical Command put in charge of operations in the region of Omorfo, Lefke, Yeşilirmak and Erenköy, made it clear in the second part of its plan already prepared on March 31, 1974 that "responsibility for initiating the operations would be undertaken by the Greek National Guard upon approval by the Greek Cypriot Government and the General Staff in Greece." The aim of the plan was stated as the "extermination of the Turks". (Document No: 4)

The implementation of yet another plan dated May 9, 1974 was also submitted to the approval of the Greek Cypriot Government and the Greek General Staff. It was clearly seen that the operations to be initiated in accordance with this plan should be made under the knowledge of both Greek Cypriot and Greek Governments.

Cooperation was expected between Greek Officers and Greek Cypriot civilians

But how was all this work to be accomplished? It is true that arms had been provided and necessary military training had been carried out for many years. Such an operation was beyond the capability of the Greek Cypriot army. It was for this reason that Greek officers were stationed in all units (Document No : 5) These officers had gone through special training. But despite all, collaboration of the Greek Cypriot civilians was also deemed necessary for the success of the operation. With this purpose in mind, it was demanded in the executory section of the plan dated March 31, 1974 that "people and organizations should psychologically be prepared in order to ensure their participation in the struggle and operations of cleaning up the Turkish regions" (Document No : 4) . Each unit was expected to prepare the Greek Cypriot community and policemen in its own area to fully cooperate with the armed forces in the attempt to annihilate the Turks and to avail of every opportunity for this purpose. The psychological preparedness of the Greek Cypriot peasantry in the villages was demanded in the plan dated as early as March 28, 1974. While, on the other hand, the plan dated June 12, 1974 emphasized, in addition to psychological preparedness, the need for organization and action was planned along these lines (Document No : 3). Prior notice would be given to the Greek Cypriot inhabitants in the region and necessary contacts would be established. They would clean up the Turkish villages with their military and police forces. The Greek officers in the Greek National Guard and the Greek regiment in Cyprus were also charged with this duty.

Silently and Rapidly

Due consideration was also given to the fact that the Turkish Cypriots would naturally want to defend themselves once they were aware of such an extermination attempt. Measures were taken against such an eventuality. For example, it was stated in the executory section of plan No. 23, dated June 12, 1974 that action should proceed quietly in the dark when the attack was launched on the canton of Lefke and the Turkish villages of Gaziveren, Doğançı (Elye), Taşpınar (Angolem) and Akdeniz (Aya Irini).

Measures were taken to cut off the electricity and the water supply together with the start of the offensive in disguise by Greek Cypriot soldiers, policemen and civilians alike. For example, the Second Company of the 356th Infantry Battalion would make the necessary preparations in the subsidiary power plant of Peristerona and would immerse Lefke and its vicinity in complete darkness at the start of the exterminatory operation. Arrangements to cut off the water supply were to be completed by the First Company in Lefke, by the Second Company in Gaziveren, Doğançı (Elye), Taşpınar (Angolem) and Çamlıköy (Kalohorio), and by the Third Company in Akdeniz (Aya Irini) (Document No : 3). It was only natural that the region of Girne (Kyrenia) could not have been neglected in the plan drawn up by the Greek General Staff and administrators for total extermination of the Turks. The plan for Girne was prepared by the Third High Military Tactical Command. This plan bears the ref. Number 210/12/76 and was dated April 18,

1974. Commando forces were to be made use of. It was stated in the plan that the United Nations Peace Force on the Island was believed to remain neutral upon the start of the operations to exterminate the Turks. New orders would be awaited from the Command only in the case of the Peace Force acting differently. Naturally, there was no hint in the plan that the soldiers in the Peace Force would also be annihilated together with the Turks; but it was a matter of course that the Greek General Staff and the Planning Staff of the Greek National Guards would not hesitate to crush any opposition once the operation started on the Island.

According to the operation plan the campaign would start with the cleaning up of the village of Zeytinlik (Templos) and the centres of resistance in Girne, to be followed by that of Ağırdağ - Kırmı. The second phase of the plan would develop in the direction of Kırmı - Fota, with the village of Fota as the next cleaning up target. The 251st Infantry Battalion was entrusted with the duty of purging the Turks in the village of Zeytinlik (Templos) and its surroundings. In the meantime, the 326 Battalion of Reserves would also perform the duties assigned to it. Attention was paid to the psychological preparation of the Greek civilian population of the region in the area of Girne, as was the case everywhere. This task was assigned to sections S - 1, 2 and 3 of the Tactical Group Command.

On the other hand, the Artillery of the Third High Tactical Command would primarily support the operation by 4/5 firing and other activities by 1/5 firing. In the "supposition" section of the plan due place was given to the possibility that the British forces stationed at the British Sovereign Bases on Cyprus might try to impede the extermination operations. Article 3 of this section read as follows : "It is probable that the British Forces might place themselves between the forces of the Greek National Guard and the Turkish Cypriots in order to impede the cleaning up operations."

Peace Force Uniforms

But there was another exceedingly interesting section in this plan No. 19, dated April 18, 1974. In one paragraph of the plan on "Instructions for Coordination" it said: "The Sections S - 2 and S - 3 of Tactical Group Command should prepare themselves essentially for the implementation of this plan in order to carry out activities such as wearing Peace Force uniforms and using their equipment, cutting off water supplies, electric currents and telephone lines, etc." (Document No : 6)

The plans took for granted that the Peace Force on the Island would not meddle in this business. But this was not enough for the Greeks. They had planned to make use of Peace Force uniforms to fool the Turks and even the whole world at the first instance. In fact, the same provision was also included in the March 31, 1974 plan prepared by the Second High Military Tactical Command to be applied in the regions of Omorfo, Lefke, Yeşilırmak and Erenköy. Mention was made in the "Supplementary Section" of this plan to "use the United Nations Peace Force uniforms and equipment" and this was envisaged as a possibility for an irregular operation. (Document No : 4)

On the other hand, a study was made and published by the Greek regiment in Cyprus and distributed to the units. It aimed at creating a negative attitude toward the Peace Force soldiers. Even five years after the dissemination of this report in which all kinds of degrading language were used for the members of the Peace Forces including bribery, plans were still made for the use of Peace Forces uniforms and equipment. (Document No : 7)

Were all these plans drawn up for the total extermination of the Turks during the first half of the month of July, restricted to military preparations alone? Were all these plans the work of the General Staff in Greece and the Greek National Guard alone? Were the Governments of Makarios and Athens never been informed of the preparations for the total annihilation of the Turks? Was the Government of Makarios ignorant of this preparation which lasted for so many years including, at the same time, military training for that purpose?

Duties Incumbent upon the Makarios Administration

It was evident that the Makarios Government was fully informed about the "Administrative Logistics" part of the "Afroditis 74" plan which was consummated as early as March 7, 1974. The plan was coordinated with the ministries of the Greek Cypriot Administration and certain tasks were given to these ministries. The plan was prepared by the Third High Military Tactical Command stationed in Nicosia. When the extermination operations began in the Turkish villages, the Greek population would join the operations conducted by the Greek soldiers. Women and children would be kept in their homes. But what would happen if this Greek population wanted to run away from the line of fire and if a wave of migration started? One section of the plan approved by the Makarios Government dealt exactly with this eventuality, by choosing the places where these migrating people would be settled, and the Ministries of Interior, Defence and Labour were entrusted with the duty of providing shelter, food and other necessities for these people. The health problems of the people would be taken care of by the Ministry of Health. The plan also designated the places where the bodies of the Turks to be killed would be buried. For example : It was noted in the plan which bears the signature of Georgitsis Michail, Commander of the Third High Tactical Command, that the bodies of the enemy would be buried in the vicinity of Turkish Cypriot cemeteries. (Document No : 8) The reason for this decision was certainly to hide their barbarous act by giving the impression that the graves contained the bodies of those dead at the end of their normal life.

Preparations made in the earlier years to train the personnel needed for the implementation of the plan had been realized with the knowledge of the Makarios Government. The Greek Cypriot Ministries of Interior and Defence were attaching great importance to training the expenditure of which was provided by the same Ministries. (Document No : 9)

Artificial Disagreement between Nicosia and Athens

Following the 1963 and 1967 massacres of the Turks under the Makarios

administration, still wider and more intensive preparations were initiated in 1971. Activities were now being planned for the massacre of the Turks all over the Island. While all these were planned jointly by the Makarios administration and the Government and General Staff in Athens, special care was being taken to produce a different image in the world opinion. Supposedly there was a wide divergence of opinion and a deep-rooted disagreement between Makarios and Athens so that Makarios was trying to defend himself against the Greek administration in Athens. It looked as if Makarios was endeavouring to protect the independence of the Island. The fact is, however, that the secret plans prepared during those years constituted ample proof for the existence of full understanding and close cooperation between the Makarios administration and Athens. The plan bearing the date of August 7, 1973 and providing for the training of officers of the Greek National Guard to act as commanders in Cyprus forms a concrete proof of this cooperation. Article 10 of this document bearing the signature of Lt. General Haralambos Haralambopoulos reads as follows : "Ministries of Defence and Interior are requested to extend all necessary aid, including advanced payments, to the officers under training in the Halikidos Infantry School." (Document No : 10)

All these documents have helped to prove the existence of a complete cooperation between the Makarios administration and Athens for the extermination of the Turks in Cyprus. But the existence of a disagreement between the Cypriot Greek administration and Athens was propagated to the world opinion. In reality, this tension between the two parties was totally artificial.

The expected Outcome of the Extermination of the Turks was ENOSIS

What was the reason for all these plans to be so meticulously developed through so many years of hard work? Why was it felt necessary to exterminate totally the Turks on the Island? The answers to all these queries can be found in the plans carrying the signatures of the Greek Generals. The reason why the total extermination of the Turks was desired had been thoroughly explained to the Greek military and civilian population of the Island for many years through conferences. Propaganda leaflets and public speeches delivered on public holidays.

Addressing the officers, junior officers and corporals of his unit, on the occasion of turning over the command of the Greek Regiment in Cyprus to his successor Kalanocpullo Georgion, the outgoing commander Brigadier Ionnis Paput-sas said: "Do not forget that you are the missionaries and pioneers of our national ideals in this great Island of Cyprus which still remains cut off from the mother-country. For this reason, remember always your noble responsibility to your nation."

On May 21, 1974 about 10 months after this event, Lt. General Georgios Denizis, the Commander of the Cypriot Army of National Guards, said in a speech he delivered on the occasion of the anniversary of the annexation of the Seven Islands to Greece: "The struggle waged today by the people in Greece and Cyprus for a complete merger of the two lands continues in a great national fervour. It will not be long before we realize this happy result." (Document No. 11).

The intent was the speedy annexation of Cyprus to Greece. All the plans necessary for the extermination of the Turks which were destined to begin in June 1974 were made already with the approval of the Makarios administration and Greece. With this aim in mind General Denizis was able to declare on May 21, 1974 that "it would not be long before they realized ENOSIS".

In fact, endeavours to bring about ENOSIS which meant the annexation of Cyprus to Greece, and the long dreamed-of creation of greater Greece, dated back to still earlier years.

As it was stated in the "history" section of the report drawn up on June 10 by the Greek Regimental Command, the incidents and massacres arranged by Makarios in 1963 carried the same purpose. (Document No. 12)

The message of the Cyprus Commando Forces Command which was read out to all commando units on June 9 ended in the following words: "What our history demands is the annexation of Cyprus to the motherland of Greece for which the EOKA struggle has been waged."

On the occasion of the anniversary of the annexation of Dodecanese islands to Greece General Giorgios Denizis, Commander of the Greek National Guard, said in a speech: "The struggle initiated by Greece and the Greek population in Cyprus for the annexation of the Island to Greece continues with ever increasing national fervour. The final realization is imminent. Therefore the day is not far off when we shall be able to celebrate the annexation of Cyprus to the motherland."

Dream for Istanbul and the Aegean :

There are several other examples to show the efforts on the part of Greek Cypriot administration and Athens for the annexation of the Island to Greece and for the declarations made to prepare the public for this cause. But, was the annexation of the Island of Cyprus the one and only aim and the final objective of Greece? Back in 1970 Captain Yorgando Constantini of the 31st Commando Battalion had made a declaration approved by the Commander of the Cyprus Commando Forces. This declaration which was read out to all the commando units on the evening of May 29, 1970 was addressed to all the Greeks and said :

"The principal target for the Hellenes should be a single one; we must recapture Istanbul, because it is a vital place for us. Greece has been accustomed to accomplish great deeds, she has to place her feet on both shores of the Aegean and reach the Danube." (Document No. : 13)

As a matter of fact, the Island of Cyprus has no historical relation to the capture of Istanbul. When Istanbul was captured from the Byzantines the Island of Cyprus was under the sovereignty of the Venetians. This has been admitted in a study made by the Greeks themselves, in the following words : "The people of Cyprus have never attained freedom in the course of their age old struggle and

never found themselves in the arms of the motherland." Plainly speaking, the Island has never lived under Greek sovereignty. But the administrators in Athens who wanted to continue the dream of the greater Greece did not even refrain from presenting, the city of Istanbul, to the Cypriot Greeks as the main target. And the Makarios administration, far from impeding the desire for ENOSIS and the capture of Turkish territories, was on the contrary approving it.

Other Territories Dreamt of :

For years the propaganda organs of the General Staff in Athens had been influencing the Greek Cypriots in this direction through speeches, messages and statements. These were entitled "National Aspirations of Greece". A series of lectures were given to the Greek Cypriots on this subject. This endeavour carried out under the title of "enlightening lectures" was preparing all the Greeks for ENOSIS and greater Greece which amounted to the "Megalo Idea" and, at the same time, stimulating the feelings of hostility against the Turks. It was made clear in the lectures that Greece would not make the slightest sacrifice from her aspirations. It was incessantly expounded that the two communities, namely the Turkish and the Greek communities, would never be able to live peacefully side by side in Cyprus, and that annexation to Greece was unavoidable. "Even though it may cost a lot of money and blood, struggle will always mean the rejection of concessions on matters that may hurt national pride" were the words used. The target of the struggle was explained in the section entitled the "sphere of activity of Hellenism". Greeks were offered four areas as spheres of activity. First among these were the old Greek settlements. The second was the Mediterranean Basin and the Black Sea. Next in the line were North Epirus and Cyprus. But unsatisfied with this alone, they continued to rave greedily : "Let us have a look at the lines to which our natural boundaries should extend. Ideally speaking Thrace, Macedonia and the whole of Epirus should belong to us; but it is impossible to realize this ideal because of the existing conditions which create extremely wide restrictions in Thrace, fairly wide in Macedonia and comparatively less in Epirus. Furthermore, in addition to our demand for Cyprus, we believe that the island of Sasso, Imros (Gökçeada) and Tenedos (Bozcaada) and certain territories in the Western region of Asia Minor should also be ceded to Greece." Thus, the image of a greater Greece was being incessantly inculcated to the Cypriot Greeks in the same way as it was done to the population in Greece, and psychological preparations parallel to secret military plans were being completed for the purpose.

Attempts were to be made first with the campaign in Cyprus, to be followed with the capture of the Western region of Asia Minor, in other words the Aegean coasts which is part of Turkish territory. But the administration in Athens was not satisfied even with this. A great dream dated back to foregone centuries required that certain territories presently under Bulgarian rule should also be seized. This was how it was explained to the Greek people. Naturally, there were certain things to be said about Macedonia : "One cannot rely upon an alliance of the Balkan countries with Tito's personal regime as it stands. Furthermore, Northern Epirus should also belong to Greece as it did in the past."

The following was said in the conclusion : "For the time being, we give priority to the questions of Northern Epirus, Sason and Cyprus and demand their speedy annexation to Greece. Next comes the solution of the question of the Arda borderland. It is deemed preferable to take up our other national aspirations at a later date. If, however, the opposite side demands any territory from us, we can certainly fulfill our long delayed aspirations."

Under the guise of enlightening the Greek National Guard and gathering the Greek Cypriots around the national ideals, the Greek General Staff was, in fact, exerting great efforts for the creation of the greater Greece.

Military and civilian preparations having been completed, the action was started with Cyprus; but it was said basically that the "world was being divided inappropriately", and Istanbul, together with the Turkish islands and coasts in the Aegean were shown as the targets in the second phase.

Greek Cypriot Officers Trained in Greece :

Thus, in order to attain this final goal the extermination of all the Turks on the Island of Cyprus had been deemed unavoidable, the plans to this effect had been prepared, and the month of July 1974 had been determined as the date of implementation. But it was not an easy affair to implement these plans. That was the reason why the preparations were started years back. For example, the questions of officers training was taken up in an order issued on August 7, 1973. This order signed by Lt. General Haralambos Haralambopoulos as chairman bears in fact, the scope of cooperation between the Greek General Staff and the Greek National Guard endorsed by Makarios and Athens. In accordance with this order, a special course was instituted on September 10, 1973 in the Halkidos Infantry School for training commanders to various units. The course was to continue until December 15, 1973 and regular Greek Cypriot officers were invited to attend. Because the course was arranged secretly, the officers embarking on the steamer A/B Kipros due to leave Limassol at 16.00 hours on September 5, 1973 had felt the necessity to wear civilian clothes. They were issued identity cards with their photos in civilian clothes. The names of the officers in the list which carried the signature of Pavlos Papadakis, the Chief of Staff of the Greek National Guard, ran in the following order : Major Marku Anasdasios of the 12th Tactical Group; Captain Dimitriu Andreas, Samaras Rigidos, Evstadiu Aristodelis, Fotiadis Andreas, Vironas Constantinos. With many other names to follow the list ended with the name of Lieutenant Panayotu Yokovas of the 89st Engineering Unit. (Document No : 10)

This course which was arranged in Autumn 1973 indicated that the Greek General Staff felt the necessity to employ Greek Cypriot officers together with Greek officers placed in the units of the National Guard to bring about ENOSIS. This measure on the part of Greece helps to prove how artificial the disagreement between Makarios and Athens was.

While officers from the ground force were dispatched to Cyprus after training in Greece, plans were also being made to supply the Island from the air. One of these plans dated March 7, 1974 concerned the Third High Tactical Command. Attached to the plan was a map of Cyprus to the scale of 1/100,000 and other maps to the scale of 1/50,000 of Lapithos, North Nicosia, South Nicosia, Lefkonikon, Aya Irini, and Polimetoko. Certain ministries were charged with special duties in this plan which was prepared in cooperation with the Ministries of Makarios administration. The most interesting part of the plan concerned the part which would take care of supplying the Island by air. The fact was that the air force under the command of the Greek National Guard was almost nil and totally incapable of carrying out an airborne supply. It was therefore evident that the implementation of this plan dated 1974 would be carried out by the Greek Air Force. (Document No : 14)

While plans were being made to supply Cyprus from the air by the Greek Air Force, the training of paratroopers was also taken into consideration. Even as early as February 13, 1974 it was said in the order No.330/7/25507 issued to the 31st, 32nd and 33rd Commando Units under the signature of Kombokis Constantinos, Commander of the Cyprus Commando Forces : "The following officers will participate in the first series of the six months training of the paratroopers : Major Katsanis Georgios, Major Basparakis Achilleus, Captain Halatsis Trasivulos, and Lieutenant Kadundas Nikolaus."

In addition, the names of five other officers were listed in the second group for training in the parachutists School. These were : Major Damaskinos Napoleon, Captain Stamadis Elefterios, Lieutenant Galinos Anasios, Lieutenant Papaspiru Andreas, and Second Lieutenant Kotsakis Hristos. (Document No : 15)

Orders were later issued on June 8, 1974 to send ten more officers for training in the parachutists school as the second and third groups. Adjutant Diblas Panayotis was also among the officers to be trained. (Document No : 16) Four more officers were to be dispatched for training in the school at a still later date. Meanwhile, an order was issued on June 5, 1974 entrusting Halatsis Trasivulos, Director of Department 4 in the Headquarters, with the task of arranging seminars on the subject of supply and communication.

All Set for Extermination :

All necessary preparations were thus completed by June 10, 1974 to put Commander Haralambos Hios at ease, there was almost nothing else to do from the military standpoint. The manner in which the Turkish Cypriots would be totally exterminated was planned in great detail and all necessary preparations for that purpose were completed. It was decided which unit would destroy which Turkish village. Furthermore, measures were also taken to ensure the assistance of the Greek civilian population in

the extermination act. Lectures and briefings were arranged for this purpose for many months. The Greek police force knew what they were expected to do once the operation started. It was necessary to carry out the operation secretly, quietly rapidly and in complete darkness to exterminate the civilian Turkish population in a short time, in order to achieve this and military units were assigned to capture power stations. Nevertheless, acting with due caution, the Greek and Greek Cypriot officers trained in Greece had to wear UN Peace Force uniforms and use their equipment. Thus, it was the Greek officers secretly trained in the Halkidos Infantry School who were to carry out this sinister business. It was planned in detail how the Greek Air Force would supply the Island. Cypriot Greek Commando officers were trained in leadership in the parachutists school to help the Greek Air Force.

While all this was taking place, the Greek General Staff was conducting a new evaluation in connection with instructions concerning conscription and distribution of new recruits. In fact, the Greek General Staff as well as the Chief of Staff of the Greek National Guard laid great emphasis on the identity of the personnel. Another field of activity for the total extermination of the Turks was the irregular warfare for which plans were made for many years. Forms of personnel for irregular warfare were studied thoroughly including those who had completed their regular military service and those beyond service age. This was done by the Greek Cypriot Commando units of the National Guard. The greater part of the personnel chosen for the purpose were members of the EOKA organization.

Personnel Chosen for ENOSIS :

The training of personnel of Greek origin to conduct the irregular warfare in Cyprus had begun as early as February 1972. In the ideological classification of the personnel to be trained as leaders preference was given to those with an inclination towards ENOSIS. These personnel had undergone five weeks of training at the irregular warfare training centre in Rendinis in Greece, and at the irregular warfare school in Iraklion, Crete. But they were previously trained in the Greek Commando Training Centre in Cyprus. All this work was done with the knowledge of the Ministries of the Interior and Defence of the Makarios Administration with necessary expenses paid by the same Ministries. (Document No : 9) It was thus clear who the real founders and administrators of EOKA - B were. All the necessary personnel were trained under the knowledge and approval of Makarios. The founders and administrators of EOKA - B behind the scenes were the officers from Greece stationed in the Greek Commando units, and Cypriot personnel trained in Greece.

Most interesting points were noticed in the secret files of the personnel where even the financial status of the chosen individuals was mentioned. For example, it was written in the personal file of Haralambos Irodotos, born in 1926 in Analyontas, that he had been an EOKA fighter since 1954. (Document No : 17) Stated in the file of Krukklaris Kiriapos, born in Tseri in 1924, was his fanatic attachment to the ideal of ENOSIS and his status as EOKA leader in the region. (Document No : 18) The secret file of Michalakis Eleftimis, aged 32, included the information that he was financially well off and that he had joined the ranks of EOKA at an early age. (Document No : 19) One of the chosen and trained leaders was Papa-haralanbos Georgios, aged 30. Following was this information written down in his file : "He is quite well to do. He has already taken part in EOKA activities, trained teams for the extermination of the Turks, and actually participated in the operations with his teams." (Document No : 20) Thus, all the villages were combed out, and the Greeks were classified according to the qualifications demanded by the Greek National Guard and the General Staff in Greece. There were sings like "Yes" or "Yes -i-" following the names of personnel in the files. Those chosen for training were generally of the educated class with good financial means. According to military plans already prepared these were to be in charge of exterminating the Turks.

CONCLUSION :

After all these exhaustive preparations, the incidents were triggered off on the morning of July 15, 1974 with the coup d'etat of Sampson

Following the capture of the power station in Nicosia the action of the Greek National Guard was turned in the direction of the real target which was the extermination of the Turks. The massacres of Atlilar and Muratağa are ample evidence of the fact that these plans had been put into effect.

Fortunately the intervention of Turkey as a guarantor state and the Peace Operation of the Turkish Armed Forces had prevented the total extermination of the Turkish Community in Cyprus.

NOTE : Authentic documents which are in Greek language are available at the Public Information Office of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus.

TRAGEDIES IN TOKHNI FROM THE MOUTHS OF SURVIVORS

Tokhni is a village situated in the north-east of Limassol, a sea port in southern Cyprus. Until the year 1974, five hundred Turkish Cypriots and about the same number of Greek Cypriots lived there in separate quarters. Massive tragedy struck the Turkish inhabitants of the village on the 14th August, 1974, when armed Greeks took away at gun point all the available able-bodied males of ages ranging from 13 to 74 and massacred them together with 15 other Turkish Cypriot men from the neighbouring villages of Mari and Zyyi. Only eighteen men managed to get away. They hid in the mountains until they could escape from the surrounding Greek areas into Kophinou, a Turkish Cypriot village, where they lay low until they could be singly smuggled to the Turkish quarter of Nicosia.

The women of Tokhni were evacuated on the 25th October, 1974, by UNFICYP to Northern Cyprus and the village has now been re-constituted at Vouno, 10 miles from Nicosia. Turks now call it "New Tokhni", in other words Yeni Taşkent, where women never smile but children grow up in security.

Below are the accounts of the tragic events that took place in Tokhni, as related by some of the survivors in their own words.

Zerin Mehmet of Tokhni recounts the tragedy of her life: "I was happily married with a loving husband and three little sons, and was seven months pregnant with my fourth baby. The 15th July, 1974, when opposing Greek camps assaulted each other, was the beginning of our misfortune. On that day we heard gunshots fired by some Greek gunmen of the village. We were terrified. Later we learned that some Eoka (Greek Cypriot underground movement) gunmen were celebrating their victory over the Makarios supporters. These shots signalled our future ordeal in the hands of the Greek Cypriot gunmen.

In early August 1974 my husband, whom I loved dearly, was collected from the village street by the Greeks. They wished to interrogate him about the arms and ammunition which they suspected to be in possession of the Turkish inhabitants of the village. They knew where the few arms that the Turks had were kept. In fact they had collected all the arms and ammunition that we had on 22nd July 1974. When interrogated, my husband told them the truth. One of the gunmen then commented: 'You are lucky you told us the truth, otherwise we would have shot you'. My husband knew how cruel these men were. He was caught and taken prisoner by them in 1963. We were not married then but he used to tell me how they arrested him on his way to work and how hard the Turkish authorities had tried to obtain his release, for which they had to pay a large sum of money.

In early August, 1974, armed Greek men arrested many Turkish Cypriot able-bodied men and tortured them with the purpose of extracting information about the imaginary weapons they possessed.

I shall never forget how our neighbour, Münir, suffered in their hands. He was a fat man. As he was very kind, we nicknamed him Ata (father). One day the Greek Cypriot gunmen arrested him too. He was taken away for sometime. When he returned, his back was as red as beetroot. He told us that they beat him with a hot iron bar. 'When the hot bar touched our bodies we cried our heads off' he said. Few days later he was to meet his death, the same fate as his fellow village men.

I vividly remember the 14th August, 1974. It was just before noon. We were sitting in the yard of the house of my mother-in-law, Sultan Kaşif. Her house was at a rather protected location. So, eleven men, many women and children, all relatives, gathered there. The men were digging a trench for the women and children to hide in, in case of a Greek assault on them. The women and children were eating grapes. Suddenly a gunshot was heard. We panicked. The men ordered the women and children to go into the trench they were in the process of digging. The Greek gunmen were already in the house. They made their way into the yard by jumping over the wall, breaking through the windows and doors, and jumping into the yard. There were six Greek gunmen led by Andrikko, a Greek Cypriot from our village. They ordered everybody to come out: 'If the men do not come out we'll shoot the women and children.'

The Greek gunmen fired shots in the air in the Turkish quarter of the village. It was doomsday for our village. Women and children were crying, children were embracing their fathers and mothers. Some women fainted and fell on the ground. The gunmen declared that they would take away the men only. My mother-in-law, horrified, clung to her 13 year old son. 'Leave him' she pleaded with the gunmen. 'You silly dog of a Turk, are you still breast feeding him?' was the shuddering reply. They took away her husband and for sons.

My husband's aunt had a sole son. She begged Andrikko not to take him from her. Our sorrow and horror met with their sinister laughter.

Just before they took him away, my husband Mehmet took me in his arms and said, 'Zerin, if I don't come back bring up our children with feelings of vengeance.' Then he kissed his three sons, the eldest, Kâşif, 5 years old. Kâşif ran after his father shouting 'Don't go, daddy, don't go, they will kill you!'. Even now Kâşif wakes up with a nightmare, shouting 'Mummy, don't let him go! Daddy, don't go!'

The women and children who were left behind stayed and waited together in the hope that they might return. The Greek gunmen patrolled the streets day and night. They broke into some houses and stole valuables. They picked up an old man of 76, İzzet Gönelli by name, and took him away too. Nothing has been heard of him since. We spent many fearful days. It was not until the third day after the abductions that some members of the U.N. Peace Force arrived at the village. They set up check posts at the access points to the Turkish quarter of the village. Although armed Greeks were not supposed to enter our quarter some EOKA gunmen disguised as policemen managed to enter.

For two weeks we had received no news about our captive men. We were so worried and anxious that some women slipped away in search of their men. I was then eight and a half months pregnant with my daughter Özlem. Dying to get some information about our men taken away I decided to make a point of my pregnancy to secure the assistance of the Red Cross in reaching Nicosia safely. At first objections were raised to my three children accompanying me, but upon my insistence they finally gave in and allowed my children to go with me. I reached Nicosia in the first week of September, and on the 15th of September I gave birth to my fourth child, a daughter. Poor thing, she was never to see her father."

THE FORCED PARTING OF A FATHER AND HIS CHILDREN

Mübeccel Raşit relates how she, her two brothers and two sisters were torn apart from their father.

"On the 22nd July, 1974, some armed men dressed in U.N. uniforms surrounded our village and collected the few guns that we had in the Turkish quarter. They were using U.N. cars, but one of them spoke perfect Greek. On the 6th August my father and some able-bodied Turkish Cypriot men were taken by the Greek gunmen to the police station of the nearest Greek village of Kalavassos, and subjected to torture by beating with hot iron bars. The Greek gunmen wanted to know if there were more guns in the village. In fact there were none left. After torturing my father they let him free. He was beaten so badly that he could not even lie down or drink the milk we offered him.

My father was a shepherd. The Greek gunmen kept pestering him. They mocked him saying 'You, there, look after your herd well; we'll need them all.

My father was 43 years old then. On the 14th August, 1974 heavily armed Greek Cypriots entered our village. They were firing their guns indiscriminately. We were frightened to death. My father, who suspected that they had come for the men of the village, hid away. They forced him out of his hiding place saying that they would kill us, his five children, if he did not come out. For fear that they would carry out their threat he emerged from his hiding place. He handed his watch and the money that he had in his pocket to me. His five children were all there. He looked at us earnestly and with tears in his eyes asked our next door neighbour to take care of us as my mother was stranded in another village. He was rushed away at gun point. He kept turning his head back and looking at us until he was completely out of sight.

The following day he was taken away from the village together with 68 other men from Tokhni. We have not heard from him since."

EXTRACTS FROM THE DIARY OF
MERYEM MEHMET, A GIRL
FROM TOKHNI.

21st July, 1974

..... Ill fate was menacing our village. The Greek gunmen demanded our surrender through the UN Peace Keeping Force. No one wanted to give in. It was getting dark. With the sunset our dark moments were to set in. That night all the women of the village gathered together at the centre of the village. We did not know what was going on. The men told us to be calm. Women and children we all spent a nightmarish night in the yard.

22nd July, 1974.

..... Some soldiers of U.N. Peace Keeping Force came back to ask us to surrender as we could not resist with the few guns that we had. So we surrendered our guns to the Greeks, who then left our village and went to the nearby village Mari.

Later fighting broke out at the village of Mari. The ground was shaking with heavy gunfire.. The villagers of Mari would not surrender although they were out-manned and outgunned by the Greeks. The fighting was still going on. Smoke over Mari could be seen at Tokhni. Suddenly we could hear no more gunshots. The village had surrendered before the cease fire arranged for 4 p.m.

Some soldiers of the U.N. Peace Keeping Force were on duty in the village. News reached us that by 4 p.m. all the Turkish men were required to be present at the village church in order to discuss certain matters. At 3.15 p.m. a gun shot was heard. It was intended to scare the Turkish villagers and was followed with more shots. In horror we waited for the end to come, for we had no weapons to defend ourselves with. Our only hope was the Turkish Peace Force.....

It was a horrifying night. We were left defenceless at the mercy of the merciless Greeks.

23rd July, 1974

..... The village was thrown into an instant confusion. News went round that the Greek gunmen would search our houses for weapons. Anxiety and fear gripped everybody. They eventually did search some Turkish homes but they could not find any weapons.

24th July - 12 August, 1974.

Everyday we were left face to face with new troubling incidents.
Many Turkish men of the village were taken away and beaten up with hot iron bars. One of the tortured men related: "The Greek gunmen arrested us and took us to Kalavassos. There they beat us mercilessly. Later they made us dig some graves and

in them buried us up to our necks. 'Tell us, do you have any more weapons?' they demanded. 'No' I answered. A shot was fired and whizzed over my head. 'Tell me if you have any, otherwise I will shoot you like a dog.' I heard a distant shot of fire. 'You see, we've just shot your friend. It is your turn next,' he said. 'I have no weapons' I replied. They dug me out of the grave. Exhausted I was dragged indoors. I had no hope for my friend. I thought he was really shot. They ruthlessly beat us up all one by one with hot iron bars until we were stiff with exhaustion."

14th August, 1974.

.....We were praying hopefully. At 10 a.m. we were glued to the radio, listening to the news. On raising our heads we found ourselves face to face with the Greek dogs of war." Any men in there?" One of them demanded in Greek. "Don't worry, we'll take the men to the school building for questioning." I understood him all right, but I said in Turkish, "We don't know Greek, What's that you said?" He repeated his question. He took away all our men there. They even took away my elderly father..... They were going round the houses. They broke down doors and wardrobes. They even smashed plates and stole money. Many of the men including Mustafa, Yüksel and Ahmet hid themselves but Andrikko, a local Greek gunman, was barking out: "Either all the men come out or I will kill anyone I find."

We were brought up to believe that prisoners came to no harm in the hands of their captors. All the ones they took they shut in the school which was surrounded by the Greek gunmen. Worried about the fate of our men we were in continuous tears. At nightfall we sent them food, cigarettes and blankets. We trusted them to God. We were praying God that He might at least take pity on the children.

15th August, 1974.

In the morning we sent some more food to the captives. Later we noticed a landrover full of men in black uniforms come to the village. We thought they were mainland Greeks. We were scared stiff and shut ourselves in our homes. We saw two buses come and take our men away. We were not sure where they were being taken. Some said they would be taken to Kalavassos and some to Limassol.

We gathered at Hürmüse's house and prayed for our captive men and for those who evaded capture and fled.

16th August, 1974.

..... We were left all alone in the village. Later some members of the U.N. Peace Keeping Force moved in and set up camp. Now we felt somewhat secure.

A BLOODY DAY IN PAPHOS - the 14th August, 1974.

Emboldened by the fact that the Turkish inhabitants of Paphos were unarmed, about 200 Greek gunmen attacked the Turkish quarter of the town on the 14th August, 1974. Walking or running in the streets the Greek gunmen fired indiscriminately at the windows and doors of the Turkish houses. The Turkish quarter of the town was thrown into instant chaos. Seven Turkish Cypriots including a three year old girl were mowed down. Detailed accounts of what happened on that day are presented from the mouths of the relatives of the victims.

Salih H. Kiral gives an account of the day when his daughter Rahme was murdered by the Greeks:

"The Greeks entered the Turkish quarter of Paphos on the 14th August, 1974. They gunned down the Turkish men that they lay their eyes on, and beat up the women and the old with the butt-ends of rifles. A few minutes later a Greek gunman called us to come out. We opened the door to come out. He moved us down instantly with an automatic weapon. We were bathed in blood. We were wounded, I on the head and the leg, my brother on the leg, my nephew on the belly and my daughter on the arm. The body of my other daughter Rahme who was 3 years old, was riddled with 40 bullets. A Greek who came in through the backdoor forced me and my daughter in my arms out although we were both wounded. A landrover belonging to UN Peace Keeping Force that was passing by halted on seeing us. Those in the landrover took us immediately to the Greek Hospital. After a few hours my daughter Rahme passed away. After bandaging my wound they took me to the prisoner's camp. Having spent five days there I was taken back to the Greek Hospital. My wounds were bleeding. As there was no vacant bed there I was sent to the Turkish hospital.

Five months later I was taken by the Red Cross to the Liberated Turkish Zone."

Zehra H. Kiral, recalls the day when her son Hasan and her grand-daughter Rahme were murdered by the Greeks:

"The barbaric Greeks encircling the Turkish quarter of Paphos entered it on the 14th August, 1974. They plunged into the streets of the Turkish quarter, gunned down the men, beat up the women and the old with the butt-ends of rifles. Faced with this situation we shut ourselves in our homes. Five or six minutes later a Greek named Ghatti having smashed the pane of the front door ordered us out. My son Hasan Kiral and myself came out into the yard to open the door. The Greek shouted out to my son, 'Come out, you dog.' 'Let me call the other inside' replied my son. But he forced my son out at gun point saying, 'Let the others come out later.' As my son stepped out he was seriously shot by the two bullets from the rifle of the barbaric Greek. Amidst the shots fired by the Greek I went to the open space, where the Turks were gradually gathering. The Greeks kept all the men there

and ordered women and children to go back home. When I got back home my son was lying on the ground in a pool of blood. I then learned that my other two sons Ismail and Salih and my grand children İlhan and Zehra were wounded and that my grand-daughter Rahme was murdered. Thereupon I lost consciousness."

Akile Çakır is a Turkish mother who lost three sons to Greeks; Ali Çakır died at the Turkish defence line in Nicosia, the other two were sought out at home in Paphos by the Greeks on the 14th August, 1974.

Akile Çakır's daughter, Melek İbrahim, an eye witness, recalls the day her two brothers were brutally murdered by the Greeks:

"It was the 14th August, 1974. All the family including brothers and sisters gathered together at my brother's, Erdoğan Çakır's, home. My brothers were marked men by the Greeks. My brothers knew that they could be murdered at any time so much so that an hour before he was shot Mustafa made his last wish saying 'I know very well that Greeks will murder us. When I die let the inscription, Long Live the Mother-land, God Protect the Turks, be written on my tombstone.'

Soon the Greeks attacked the Turkish quarter. They walked directly to Erdoğan Çakır's home and knocked hard at the door. The Eoka men told my brother to open the door otherwise they would use force. My younger brother Mustafa opened the door. The Eoka man at the door unloaded his gun into him. Mustafa fell down in a heap at the doorway. Erdoğan who was standing behind was fired on. He did not die instantly. Other members of the family started coming out. The women hid my remaining brother, Mehmet, among themselves in order to save him. When all the Turks in Paphos were herded to the playing field Mehmet was taken prisoner.

U.N. Peace Keeping Force took my two brothers, Erdoğan and Mustafa, to the Greek hospital. Erdoğan was still alive. The following day when the bodies were handed in Erdoğan was in an unrecognizable condition. They had tortured him to death.

Together with the other Turkish victims of the 14th August, 1974 my two brothers were buried after a moving funeral service. Their tombstones were inscribed as Mustafa had wished. The last words uttered by Erdoğan when he was wounded was added to the inscription, "We Died Before We Could See The Victory."

THE TRAGEDY OF ZYYI

THE DRAMA OF THE WOMEN WHOSE MENFOLK WERE ROUNDED UP AND TAKEN AWAY BY GREEK CYPRIOTS

The Turkish women of Cyprus have had some very harsh and painful experiences during the intercommunal conflict, but none so tragic and agonizing, as the abduction of their menfolk by Greek Cypriots.

In the following pages the reader will find a concise record of the abduction of 16 Turkish Cypriot males from the Zyyi village in the Larnaca district. These men -between the ages of 19 and 38- were rounded up from their homes and taken to an unknown destination by armed Greek Cypriots from the same village on 14 August, 1974. No one has seen or heard of these luckless men since the day they were marched off to their dreadful, unknown fate.

Zyyi is a small fishing village on the southern coast of Cyprus, situated between Cape Kiti and Akrotiri Bay. In 1960 there were 84 Turks and 86 Greeks in the village. But this numerical equality did not give any security to the Turks because the Greeks of Zyyi -like all Greeks in mixed villages- were armed by the Greek Cypriot authorities and thus were able to subdue and oppress their unarmed Turkish neighbours.

The Zyyi tragedy, compiled from the testimony of the wives or mothers of the victims, is not a unique or exceptional trauma for the Turks. The lives of thousands of Turkish Cypriot men and women have been permanently saddened with the indelible memory of a loving husband, or a dear son, or an affectionate brother carried off by force by Greek Cypriots -often their neighbours- at one time or another during the intercommunal strife from December, 1963 to August, 1974. Hundreds of Turkish Cypriots who were seen or reported to have been abducted from their homes or kidnapped on lonely roads, are still missing. They are assumed to have been murdered in cold-blood by their Greek captors.

The tragedy at Zyyi is one incident in an all-too-familiar pattern of suppression and brutality -including acts of genocide- which the Greek Cypriots inflicted upon Turkish Cypriots since the beginning of intercommunal conflict in December, 1963. And this grim record of aggressive violence and brutality epitomizes the fears and misgivings of all Turkish Cypriots and explains their insistence on full security and cast-iron guarantees.

Greek atrocities in Cyprus from 1963 until 1974 have left their scars on every Turkish Cypriot irrespective of their age and sex. Every Turkish Cypriot has a story of horror to tell how his wife, or her husband, or father and children were indiscriminately murdered in cold blood by Greek Cypriots... how Turkish Cypriot properties were razed to the ground...

Turkish Cypriots have had to pay a very high price for their liberty and they attained this only through the timely Turkish intervention which saved them from total extermination.

NACIYE TURGUT

Naciye Turgut (37) mother of 4 children; her eldest child being 11 and her youngest 2 years old.

She comes from Terazi (Zyyi). With tears running down her cheeks she narrates the story of her husband's abduction by the Greeks:

"On 14 August 1974 two Greeks from Tokhni village, Andricco Melani and Stasis Aradipiotis, and one from Maroni, Aghi, accompanied by Greek Cypriot National Guardsmen, came to my house and demanded to see my husband, Turgut Ahmet, 35. At the time my youngest child was only 13 days old.

"Having sensed what was coming and knowing that it would cost us dearly to resist, my husband tried to pacify me while he came out. They told him he was wanted for questioning.

"They also told me not to worry about my husband because he would be back soon.

"Together with my husband they also took away my twin brother, Arif Hüseyin Ahmet (24), and thirteen other men from our village, on similar pretences; we have never seen them again.

"Despite what he had done, Andricco Melani would often come to our village in search of more preys. Whenever we asked him about our menfolk he would say 'they are alive and would come back'. Much to the terror of the remaining villagers Greek Cypriot policemen also frequented our village and kept harassing us. If we dared inquire about our husbands they would say 'we are ready to fulfil your needs'.

"We left our village six months later each day waiting in agony for our beloved to return. During the period they came and took our car too. For six months we lived in utter misery and horror with humiliation as a daily routine."

MİHRACIYE HASAN

Mihraciye Hasan (27), mother of a child of 6.

Mrs. M. Hasan is also one of those unfortunate women who saw her husband, Hasan Hüseyin (28) being taken away from her never to be returned. She now lives on past happy memories bestowing all her care and love onto her growing child. She gives the following account about her ordeal:

"On 14 August 1974 a man called Andricco Melani from Tokhni village accompanied by Greek Cypriot National Guardsmen all equipped with arms broke into our house and dragged my husband out. We were horrified. My husband was not even allowed to bid us good bye. I kept following them until that beast Melani told me not to worry because my husband would be released soon after interrogation.

"My two brothers, Turgut and Erdoğan Hüseyin were also abducted together with my husband. I have not seen any of them since.

"Six months later we left our village and came to freedom. But during that six-month period which I pray to God Almighty that neither a friend nor a foe has to go through, we were harassed and terrified by both Greek Cypriot civilians and police. Our houses and properties were constantly being looted and above all they would not tell us about our husbands except to say sarcastically that they were ready to fill their place. I cannot describe my agony, please..." and Mrs. Hasan bursts into tears.

FATMA AHMET

Fatma Ahmet (53), mother of 9 children.

Her ordeal was similar to that of the other women of Terazi (Zyyi) whose husbands, sons or bothers were rounded up and taken away by the Greeks. She lost two sons during a raid on her house which she describes as follows:

"It was the 14th day of August 1974. A group of so-called National Guardsmen headed by Andricco Melani of Tokhni stormed into our house firing their guns in the air. My small children were terrified. Still they suddenly wake up crying in the middle of the night under the effect of that dreadful nightmare. My two sons, Ömer (24) and Hasan (20) were badly beaten and then taken away amidst our cries and calls for help. Foaming with rage, Andricco Melani kept yelling something about Turkish occupying Cyprus. 'Let them come this way also if they can and we shall give them a lesson' he was saying.

"Then came that agonizing period of six months during which we were subjected to all sorts of inhuman humiliation. I had a dreadful feeling that they killed my sons but I would still ask the Greek policemen and that bastard called Andricco each time I saw them, about the fate of my sons. 'Don't worry woman!' they would grin, 'they are hidden somewhere in Ktima'. Whenever I asked why hidden, the reply would be 'shut your bloody mouth, you are asking too many questions.'

KEZİBAN HÜSEYİN

Keziban Hüseyin (54), mother of 7 children.

She used to run a coffeeshop and restaurant in Terazi (Zyyi). This is how she relates what the Greeks did in the village:

"On 14 August 1974 Andricco Melani, Stasis Aradipiotis, Aghi of Maroni and a horde of National Guardsmen stormed into our village. They were looking for my children. Among them was also mechanic Maki Stávrou of Maroni, the former employer of my son Erdoğan (19) whom they took away. They also took away my two other sons, Turgut and Hasan from their homes. They abducted them all and I have never seen any of them again.

"On that night after the Greeks had left I gathered to my house all those whose husbands and sons had been rounded up and taken away, and many others. Towards midnight, Aghi of Maroni came to my house banging on the door and demanding Salih's wife 'in five minutes or else'... 'Bring Salih's sister-in-law too, together with her children.. I will throw the children into the well and take the woman. If you don't do as I tell you I'll kill all of you in there' he yelled. Looking through the window I saw he was armed. Then I managed to climb on to the roof and shout at the pitch of my voice. He fired his gun at me but missed. After that he left.

"Next morning he came again, this time, demanding that I should gather all the young girls between 12 and 25 years old and bring them to him. He said: 'We are 50 persons at Vassilikos and we want Turkish girls.' When I refused I was beaten up brutally. The women and children around me attacked him but he fired his gun whereupon his friends, not far off, came in...

"They chained up my uncle and took him away. The other elderly Turkish men were ruthlessly beaten up.

"After some months we insisted on seeing Makarios. Finally when we saw him he told us: 'Go home. I know those who have kidnapped your husbands.' So we secretly sent a letter to Mr. Denktaş through UNFICYP soldiers, informing him about our suffering and about the dangers that faced us. After a short period he sent for us and we were transported to freedom in UNFICYP vehicles. Thus our fears and oppression ended but the pain of my missing sons is sinking deeper and deeper in my heart."

KEZİBAN TURGUT

Keziban Turgut (35), mother of 5 children, the eldest being 18 and the youngest 11 years old.

She comes from Terazi (Zyyi). She describes the events as follows:

"On 14th August 1974 Andricco Melani of Tokhni, Stassi and the brothers of Andricco, accompanied by the Greek Cypriot National Guardsmen, came and kidnapped my husband Turgut Hüseyin (38).

"After he was taken away we went to the house of my mother-in-law and hid ourselves. I had young daughters. The Greeks used to molest us by yelling and saying that they wanted young girls and women. We used to hide ourselves in crevices and hollow places.

"We left our village six months later. Whenever we saw Andricco Melani in our village during this period we used to ask him about our men. He used to tell us that they were alive and that they would come back... During the said period of six months Greek policemen used to pay occasional visits to our village. We used to ask all of them about our missing persons. They used to make fun of us and say, 'don't worry, they are hidden in Ktima.'"

HAVVA MUHARREM

Mrs. Muharrem (24) agonizingly witnessed, at the prime of her youth the ruthless torture which her husband Muharrem Ekrem (24), was subjected to by the Greeks before they took him away.

"Greek Cypriot soldiers headed by a few civilians came to our house on 14 August 1974 and demanded to see my husband. They said they wanted him for questioning. When I told them he was not indoors they broke the door and came in. My husband tried to resist where upon he was brutally beaten up and then tortured by three burly soldiers. I passed out. When I recovered they were gone. I frantically looked for my husband. My neighbours came in also crying. They told me the Greeks had taken all the menfolk away and advised me to go and stay with them until my husband's return.

"Life after that was complete hell. My dear husband never returned although almost three years have passed over that ominous day."

AYSEL EKREM

Aysel Ekrem (27), mother of a child of 6.

Mrs. Ekrem's agony is three fold. They took away her husband, Ekrem Ahmet (29), her brother, Ahmet Mustafa (24) and her brother-in-law, Muharrem Ekrem (24), on the same day.

"For months we lived under the terror of Greek arms. But more than the arms, it was the treatment meted out to us, the daily insults, the beating up sessions of elderly people and the attempted assaults on us women that horrified us most. Add to this our anxieties about our missing husbands, sons or brothers and you get a complete picture."

**EXCHANGE OF POPULATION
AGREEMENT**

**EXCHANGE OF POPULATION AGREEMENT REACHED AT THE THIRD
ROUND OF THE INTER-COMMUNAL TALKS HELD IN VIENNA BETWEEN
31 JULY - 2 AUGUST 1975.**

It was agreed that:-

- (a) All the remaining Turkish Cypriots then living in the South should be allowed to move North and that this movement should be completed - with the assistance of UNFICYP - by the end of September 1975.
- (b) These Turkish Cypriots would have the right to bring with them essential belongings of a limited quantity; they would leave their tractors, buses, cars etc. under the control of U.N. in each area and these would be transferred North within a short time.
- (c) In return we would work out scheme for wetting Greek Cypriot applications for moving South, through UNFICYP, and for those who wished to stay in the North, facilities for education etc. would be improved.

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE SUFFERING OF TURKISH CYPRIOTS ENCLAVED IN THE SOUTH

Statements made by detainees describing the cruel and inhuman conditions in which they were held by the Greek Cypriots:

(a) STATEMENT MADE BY MR. M. ÇAĞATAY ALİ MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT AND ADVOCATE (NOW MINISTER OF FINANCE OF THE TURKISH FEDERATED STATE OF CYPRUS) TO THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF THE AUTONOMOUS TURKISH CYPRIOT ADMINISTRATION ON THE 1st NOVEMBER 1974 REGARDING CONDITIONS OF DETENTION OF LIMASSOL DETAINEES

"Extract from the Minutes of the 6th sitting
of the Legislative Assembly of the Autonomous
Turkish Cypriot Administration dated 1st
November 1974

M. ÇAĞATAY ALİ, (Limassol)
Honourable President, Dear Colleagues,

I consider it my duty and obligation to thank you all for the kind words you have spoken about me.

You are already aware that during the period 20 July 1974-28 October 1974 two thousand two hundred and sixty one Turkish Cypriots were held as detainees at Limassol. I was myself one of these detainees. With your kind permission I would like to relate to you some of the events which I consider to be of significance.

On 20 July 1974 when the Greeks were about to declare ENOSIS without heeding to Turkey's warnings, the Turkish Peace Operation was launched by Turkey in exercise of her rights and obligations under the 1960 Treaty of Guarantee, in order to protect the Republic of Cyprus and the Turkish Cypriot Community from destruction. In the early hours of the day the joyful, hope-inspiring and touching messages of the President of the Autonomous Turkish Cypriot Administration and of the Prime Minister of Turkey were being broadcast over the Radio. In Mr. Ecevit's message it was stated that the ports of Limassol and Larnaca were not going to be used for landing purposes. We were at first of the belief that had we, as Limassol Turks, acted more cautiously in the days immediately following the Turkish landing, we would have spared ourselves the situations in which we later found ourselves. But when we came to know the truth we realized that nothing would have changed even if we had acted otherwise. The Greeks had launched their attacks against Turks in all districts simultaneously and they had mobilized all their resources in order to materialise their ENOSIS plans which they had drawn earlier. Acting more cautiously would not have changed anything. We would, anyway, have fallen into the misfortune of accepting captivity in order to prevent the

wholesale massacre of our children who came under fire from all directions. As a matter of fact in the evening of the same day we were compelled to accept that very fate and the people began to gather in the yard of the hospital. I will relate to you only one of the many acts of violence and ill-treatment committed against the Turkish Community in the yard of the hospital. We shall never forget how they had forced one of our fellow brethren at gun point to burn the Turkish flag. After this action, to which only the Greeks would stoop so low as to resort, a group of Turkish Cypriots, including myself, were taken on foot to the Police Headquarters and from there to the stadium. It was the second night of our removal to the stadium. Darkness prevailed everywhere as in previous nights and we were forced to lie in the middle of the stadium and to keep dead silent. Armed Greeks surrounded us on all directions. One of our friends named Hasan Cafer, unable to bear this situation, took hold of a stick and singing the song "Dağ başını duman almış" walked towards one of the Greek soldiers. The soldier who was already waiting for such an opportunity shot and killed Hasan.

Again, it was, if I am not mistaken, four days after our detention when a Greek Officer informed us that we would have to answer two questions before we were released. The first question was: Do you accept to live under a Greek Administration to be set up in Limassol? The second question was: Are you pleased with us? According to this Officer those who would reply in writing to these questions in the affirmative would be set free immediately. We strongly objected to this and informed the Greek Officer that under the conditions in which we found ourselves it would not be fair to put such questions to us; that we were certain that all the replies would be in the negative but that even if they were in the affirmative they would not, under the circumstances, mean anything. We informed immediately all the detainees in the camp of this development and everybody agreed that it was necessary that we should act cautiously on this matter. The situation must have in the meantime developed in our favour that in the end they did not feel the necessity of asking these questions. This incident showed that there was need for a committee in the camp which was established immediately. The main duties of the Committee were to keep the morale of the detainees high, to secure harmony amongst them and to ensure that detainees performed proper exercises in order to remove the adverse effects on their bodies of having to sleep on the ground. We were kept in the stadium for eleven days under most unhygienic and adverse conditions. As a result of the pressure exerted by our Motherland and the Autonomous Turkish Cypriot Administration, we were later on transferred to schools where living conditions were comparatively better.

The first incident worthy of recollection took place here on the 14, 15 and 16 August. It will be recalled that the Greeks with their behaviour at the Geneva Conference assumed their usual intransigent attitude and giving the impression that they were being supported by a big power, reject all the offers of Turkey and refused to fulfill the provisions of the agreement reached. This situation compelled Turkey to launch a second operation. Throughout the second operation we were forced to sit on the floor and were not even allowed to look through the windows. We were permitted to go to the toilet only twice a day and while doing so we were manhandled and forced to run the distance to and from the toilet.

We were not allowed to turn on the lights during the night. We were beaten and tortured for no reason. One of the detainees had even a cigarette pressed on his tongue for putting it out. The Turkish Cypriots detained at Famagusta and Lefka who were also brought to the schools where we were being kept, were manhandled while being placed in their rooms. With the victory of the Turkish Peace Force, however, the Greeks started treating us in a comparatively better way.

Another incident worthy of recollection at the schools, took place in the middle of September. The Greeks, mostly through the officials of their District Offices made suggestions to some of us that if we wanted to regain our freedom, we should exercise pressure on Mr. Denktas and the Turkish Government by inviting press correspondents and T V and telling them that we were fed up with detention. The Committee considered that compliance with this suggestion would be harmful to our cause. So everybody in the camp was warned accordingly. At the same time in view of the possibility that the suggestion could have been a plot we went to the camp commandant, and in order to create the impression that we were prepared to stay in the camp as long as our cause necessitated, we informed him that if we were not released from captivity by the end of September we would start language lessons in the camps as from the month of October and that the necessary arrangements to this effect had already been made by our teachers. Upon this conversation the camp commandant could not hide his surprise.

Again towards the end of September a member of the Greek Cypriot Refugee Committee from Nicosia approached us and suggested that in order to help in humanitarian matters we should detail two or three members from our Committee to cooperate with them. He added that permission would be secured for those detailed for this duty to leave the camp and move freely in the Greek sectors. It was also suggested that we should exert efforts to enable the joint delegation thus formed to move freely in the Turkish Sectors, as well. We explained to this gentleman in a very polite way that to show activity in humanitarian matters has always been in our mind but that before doing so it was necessary that we should first be set free. We told him that our co-operation would be possible only after we were released from captivity.

Again, when agreement was reached for the release of all detainees, the Greek Cypriots through their teachers, officials and soldiers, spared no effort in their power in order to persuade Limassol detainees to opt to be released in Limassol. Their efforts were, however, in vain; after what had been done to us they were no longer able to deceive anybody. As you are already aware out of the two thousand two hundred and sixty one detainees only forty-five persons opted for various reasons to be released in Limassol (ten in Limassol town and the rest at the British Sovereign Base Area).

Dear Colleagues, the incidents enumerated above plus hundreds of others which took place during our detention required great patience and endurance. In the end we realized that it was the inherent force hidden in us that enabled us to withstand those hard times. We wish to believe that we shall benefit from this experience in our future lives and that we shall try to solve our problems with

the experience gained. Now, our only desire is that all efforts should be directed towards securing the transfer of all our brethren in the South to the North. Until the transfer of all our brethren to the North is realized it is essential that their requirements are promptly and fully met. I consider it my duty to draw the attention of the authorities concerned to these matters.

I should be failing my duty if I did not pay tribute to the Turkish Army and the Turkish Cypriot fighters for their victory and for the extensive possibilities they secured to the Turkish Cypriots; The sacrifices of the Turkish Army and of the Turkish Cypriot fighters are so great that they cannot be explained in terms of words. The Turks of Cyprus should show by their future actions that they are worthy of these sacrifices; and indeed they will. In my humble conviction it is our national duty to ensure that the order established or to be established after 20 July 1974 as well as the changes to be introduced in accordance with the prevailing conditions, should be of the best standard and performance."

(b) Statement made by Ziya Mehmet Rızkı, the Mayor of Kyrenia (formerly Member of Parliament) regarding conditions of detention of Limassol detainees, who subsequently took refuge in the British Sovereign Base Areas:

AN ACCOUNT OF GREEK AGGRESSION IN LIMASSOL ON 20 JULY 1974

At about 07.00 hrs on 20 July 1974 whilst I was in the Turkish District Office, Limassol, an Officer of UNFICYP arrived and asked whether the Turks of Limassol would attack the Greeks because of the Turkish Peace Operation. When the Turkish District Officer replied that there was no reason whatsoever for the Turks to attack the Greeks, he disclosed that he had been informed by the Greek Military Command that the Greeks would definitely not attack the Turks.

At about 08.00 hrs on the same morning, however the Greeks started firing on the Turkish sector from all directions using all sorts of heavy arms. Then indiscriminate mortar fire followed. As time went by the mortar shelling of the residential areas was intensified as a result of which a great number of houses caught fire and a great number of civilians including women, children and babies were either seriously wounded or killed. The firing was so intense that the wounded and the dead could not be moved to the hospital. Although the fire-brigade vehicle was parked opposite the District Office buildings because of intensive firing the firemen could not have access to it in order to extinguish the fires.

At about 11.00 hrs. a U.N. Officer arrived at the District Office in an armoured car. He informed us that a ceasefire had been arranged through UNFICYP. Although the Turks observed the ceasefire, the Greeks were continuing their indiscriminate firing and shelling of the Turkish quarter. Because of intensive Greek firing the U.N. Officer had to stay with us until 12.00 hrs. After 12.00 hrs. somehow he reached his armoured vehicle and left the Turkish quarter. Before

his departure we begged of him to take three of our very seriously injured Turkish Cypriots to the hospital but he refused to do so.

At about 12.30 hrs. the Turkish Police Commander arrived at the District Office and told us that the majority of the houses in the vicinity of his headquarters were on fire and that there were too many wounded civilians, including women and children.

Between 18.00 hrs. and 10.00 hrs. we were in telephone contact with the U.N. observation post situated in the Turkish quarter of the town. After 10.00 hrs. this line was disconnected as well. As time went by the situation around the Turkish District Office premises was getting from bad to worse. Therefore we decided to vacate the building and take refuge in a hairdresser's shop below the U.N. observation post. We set out one by one and had to run through very dangerous roads under heavy firing in order to reach our destination. As soon as I reached the UN post, I got in touch with the UN Officers and requested them to inform their Commander that the general situation in the Turkish quarter was tragic and that the Greeks were not observing the ceasefire. They accordingly passed the message to their Commander on the wireless. When I descended from the UN observation post I saw a huge crowd of elderly men, women and children crying in great panic uncertain of their future, holding white pieces of cloth which implied that they surrendered. There were white bed covers hanging over the front doors of all the Turkish Cypriot houses.

At 15.00 hrs. Greek firing comparatively subsided. I joined the crowd which was heading towards the Turkish hospital. On my arrival at the hospital I saw thousands of people in its yard.

At around 16.00 hrs. there arrived a U.N. Colonel and a Major. They told us that we should surrender all our fighters who would be taken immediately to the Greek Stadium by Greek soldiers in company of UNFICYP. The proposal of the UN officers was translated to the public present there. But the UN officer was flatly turned down by the people because they knew that the acceptance of such an offer would mean the massacre of the Turkish fighters in cold blood. The UN Colonel warned that he had no time to spare and that we had to come to a decision within 10 minutes or else the Greeks would resume firing with heavier arms. The people replied that they could not single out and surrender the Turkish fighters and that if the Greeks insisted, they could detain all the Turkish population. Upon this the UN Colonel threatened to leave the Turkish quarter and added that he would not accept any responsibility for the consequences. I then informed the Colonel that a group of males including myself were prepared to be detained for a specified period provided that the people would not be harassed by the Greek soldiers. He accepted my offer and proposed to walk with us upto St. Andrews street which was bordering the two sectors. He assured us that under the escort of Greek soldiers and U.N. observers we would be taken to the Greek football pitch and that our detention there would not last more than half an hour and that as soon as the arms in the possession of the Turkish Cypriots were collected

we would be escorted back to the Turkish sector. Twenty-two males including myself volunteered to join the group. When we reached the St. Andrews street, over 200 armed soldiers on either side of the road escorted us to the football pitch on foot. On our way the civilian Greeks insulted, spat at us and even some of them attempted to attack us.

At the football pitch they ordered us to sit on the ground. Though three hours elapsed since our arrival at the Stadium no one talked to us. Bearing in mind the assurance of the U.N. Colonel regarding our return, I approached a Greek Army Officer and asked him when we would be sent back to the Turkish quarter. In reply he told me that he had no idea about this arrangement and that he could take no action whatsoever unless otherwise instructed by his Commander. Later on, I put the same question to a U.N. Corporal who happened to be there. He told me that he was not in a position to answer my question. I went back to the Greek Officer and requested him whether he could get in touch with his Commander so as to give us a reply. In reply he said "Come on, get the telephone and talk to my Commander yourself." The Greek Commander ordered me over the phone to go to his Headquarters under the escort of his soldiers. He gave the same orders to his Officer as well. I went back to my friends and informed them of the developments. I told the Greek Officer that I would only go to their Commander together with two of my friends and under U.N. escort. Thus three of us in a Greek army vehicle and a U.N. vehicle following behind were taken to Dr. Josephides' Clinic which was converted into a military headquarters. There we were ushered into a room. A Greek Major from mainland Greece walked into the room and asked us what we wanted. I told him in detail what we had been told by the U.N. officers and asked him why we had not been returned to the Turkish quarter. In reply he said to me that I was not any longer entitled to ask questions and get replies but only to receive orders and obey them. Whilst the Greek Major was talking to us, a Greek Colonel entered the room. The Major explained to him why we were taken there. The Colonel told us not to waste time because he alleged that there were still Turks who did not surrender and that they had killed one of his soldiers. He ordered us to go under U.N. escort and fetch those Turkish fighters alive with their arms who had killed one of his men within 45 minutes. I tried to explain to the Colonel that it was not possible for us to trace the fighters in question. His reply to me was "You have got the power and influence to carry out this job and this is an order you must obey". In the circumstances I had no other option but say "OK. Let us go".

Three of us seated on top of two armoured U.N. vehicles set out to go to the Turkish quarter of Limassol via the Greek General Hospital's road. Whilst we were proceeding on our way, we saw hundreds of Turkish men, women and children walking towards the direction we were coming from. They recognised me but I was not in a position to speak to them as they were being escorted by hundreds of armed Greek soldiers. When we approached the Greek General Hospital we saw a great number of bearded Greek soldiers in guerilla uniforms. These Greek soldiers stopped us and asked our identity. One of my friends who was a primary school headmaster when tried to explain who we were and what our objective was, knocked down from the armoured vehicle with the butt of a gun. I, myself and my other friend was dragged down as well. I tried to explain them where we were

heading to. Then our U.N. escort tried to explain our position as well, but in reply they told us that they had no confidence in us. Whilst this conversation was going on a Greek Lieutenant approached us. Turning to his friends he asked, "Are these Turks?" After getting the reply from them that we were Turks he ordered us to go to the Greek hospital on the U.N. vehicles and that there they would give us an ambulance so as to collect two wounded Greek soldiers opposite the KEO Winery which was bordering the Turkish quarter of Limassol. In the meantime he told us that one of the wounded soldiers was his brother and warned us that if due to our negligence his brother died we should guess what would become of us. We had no other alternative but go to the Greek hospital. There the Greek Lieutenant left us in order to fetch the ambulance. The U.N. armoured vehicles were parked by the entrance gate of the hospital. The U.N. soldiers ordered us to sit on top of the vehicles. Availing ourselves of the absence of the Greek Lieutenant we explained to the U.N. soldiers that the Lieutenant's brother had been killed during the fighting and that our lives were in danger. We requested them to take us out of the hospital. U.N. soldiers appreciated our position and drove us out of the hospital. We were taken somewhere opposite the KEO winery. There were no Turks in the Turkish quarter. It was a deadly town. We, then, realised that while we were held as hostages in the Greek football pitch the Greek soldiers detained all the Turkish inhabitants of the town and removed them to an unknown destination. We told the U.N. soldiers that we were going to look for the Turkish fighter demanded by the Greek Colonel and that we would report back to them. Having thus deceived the U.N. soldiers we decided to go to the Sovereign Base Area of Akrotiri because we knew full well that if the Greeks caught us again they would kill us.

After having walked through fields and orchards for several hours in fear of being caught by the Greeks, we arrived at the entrance of the Royal Air Force Station, Akrotiri. There our request for entry into the Station was turned down but later on the RAF Police provided us with transport to take us to the RAF Station Episkopi. On our arrival at Episkopi we saw thousands of Turks from neighbouring villages of Episkopi, Evdhimou, Kandou, Ayios Thomas, Plataniskia and Alechtora. They were all taken to the sports grounds of Episkopi Station. We spent the night in the open. The above villagers had to take refuge in the Sovereign Base Area of Episkopi because their villages were under heavy artillery and mortar shellings. On the following morning the British authorities began setting up a refugee camp for these defenceless and helpless people by providing them with tents.

As for the plight of the Limassol Turks who were detained by the Greeks I used to receive information from the staff of the Limassol Turkish Hospital over the telephone and from those who miraculously managed to take refuge in the sovereign Base Area Episkopi. I had learnt that on the evening of 20.7.74 over two thousand Turkish males, females and children were taken to Dr. Josephides's clinic on foot. They spent the night in the yard of the said Clinic without being provided with any food. On the following morning they were thrown out of the fenced yard of the clinic to the adjoining fields. Later on they were transported to a Greek secondary school in lorries. On arrival there, men were separated from their wives and children. At about lunch time all the women and children were

taken back to the Turkish quarter of the town and the males were taken to the Greek Stadium on foot as detainees.

The majority of the Turkish population who could not be moved to Dr. Josephides's clinic on the evening of 20 July 1974 because of lack of space at the above clinic's yard were forced to spend the night in the Turkish hospital yard. There the Turkish flags were lowered and Greek flags hoisted in their place, including the minaret. The Greek soldiers also forced a Turkish youth to burn the Turkish flag. Throughout the night the Greek soldiers fired shots around the Turkish detainees. They also opened fire into every single Turkish house with the pretext that they were trying to get out Turkish fighters from them although every single Turkish house was vacated long ago. The firing continued on the following day as well. At about mid-day all the males even 13-14 year old boys were taken to the Greek Stadium as prisoners of war. Women and children were allowed to return to their houses but in fear of being harassed by the Greek soldiers they took refuge in houses adjoining the hospital only. When they returned to their houses they noticed that all their jewellery, watches, money, passports, radios, tape recorders, T V sets, washing machines, refrigerators were stolen and other furniture left behind riddled with bullets. The daily harassment of defenceless and helpless Turkish women and children continued for months on end.

Hundreds of Turkish cars were also taken away by the Greeks in the presence of their owners. Anyone who tried to prevent them from doing so was threatened with death.

The harassment, molestation and threats for rape of Turkish women by Greek Cypriot gunmen reached such dimensions that many families risked their lives and paid exorbitant sums to Greek Cypriot drivers for smuggling them into the Turkish Cypriot region in the North, some of whom with their children were murdered most brutally by the Greek drivers and others were smuggled in this way into the Sovereign Base Area Episkopi.

We had to live in tents provided by the sovereign Base Areas authorities under very adverse weather conditions. As the camp sites were exposed to strong winds and the area was all in mud, children and elderly people were unable to withstand the cold of the winter as a result of which a great number of them became sick and some died. We stayed in tents until January 1975 when we were flown to Turkey. On the day of our departure we handed over to the British authorities hundreds of tractors, buses, lorries, private cars, combine-harvesters, bulldozers, refrigerators, radios, cookers and other personal belongings worth over 2,000,000 on condition that they were going to be returned to us.

After having stayed for a while in Turkey we were sent to the Turkish Cypriot controlled area in the North.

Ziya Mehmet Rizki
Member of the Legislative Assembly
of the Autonomous Turkish Cypriot
Administration.

February, 1975

(c) STATEMENT MADE BY MR. ALPER FAIK GENC REGARDING
CONDITIONS OF DETENTION OF LARNACA DETAINEES

1st October 1974

In the morning of 20th July 1974 we were awakened by the sounding of sirens in Larnaca (Cyprus).

I was then 38 years old, married, with two small daughters and our house was situated near the "border" facing the Greek quarter. For better security, we decided to go to my fathers' house which was in the inner part of the Turkish Sector of Larnaca and I think it is right to state that Turkish Larnaca barely housed three thousand five hundred Turks in an area of less than one square mile; every house being an open target to anyone who might fire from a commanding position in the West which comprised of a small forest; a natural place overlooking the Turkish quarter.

Electricity and water supply was cut and Greek houses situated on the Green line were evacuated; its occupants giving way to Greek armed elements who took positions opposite the Turkish Sector. By then, we sensed that the Greeks were preparing for a large scale attack on the Turkish quarter.

At about 1 p.m. heavy firing began; mortar shells were falling all around and every Turkish house was riddled by bullets fired from the forest area, which was under Greek control.

The local U.N. soldiers withdrew to their barracks on the hills overlooking the Turkish quarter and were "observing" the pre-planned destruction of the Turkish quarter.

The Turkish defence was very weak and there was neither a civil defence organization; nor a fire-brigade.

At around 4.30 p.m. U.N. Officer-in-charge suggested that both sides cease firing. Our side agreed. We thought this would help to stop the onslaught. But the Greeks brought new reinforcements and heavy weapons and we later

realized that they had used the U.N. to gain time to bring in more soldiers and heavier guns, during that short period of ceasefire.

Our casualties increased as firing intensified. We had no surgeons, no appropriate place to take care of the wounded and no blood plasma.

Turkish quarter of Larnaca was burning as a result of incendiary shells the Greeks fired and women and children screamed hysterically. U.N. Officers kept on telephoning and pressing our side to surrender. Our side answered that Turks would only give up fighting if the Greeks stopped shelling the Turkish sector indiscriminately.

This dialogue continued until the next morning when our people realized that the Greek's aim was to destroy and burn the whole community; for they had started shelling the city with recoilless guns and incendiary shells which they fired at an increasing rate.

I, later heard that it was agreed Greeks would not enter the Turkish quarter if Turks would lay down their arms and let the U.N. collect them. It was also agreed that U.N. would supervise the ceasefire and guarantee our lives and property.

Our people were asked to gather at the cinema hall but as they run hastily, the Greeks began firing again and at least 5 mortar shells fell around the grounds. It was around 11 o'clock.

And in contravention of the agreement, the Greek forces began entering the Turkish quarter and humiliating molesting and threatening the people and ordering all the menfolk to gather at the St. Lazarus Church square.

Together with my aged father, uncle and brother I was taken prisoner from my house where I was trying to console my children.

They took us to the stadium, bodily searched us and later transferred us to a school-building where only about one hundred people could stay. We were 873 between the ages of 12-90.

U.N. brought us some water in a tanker and we lined up to drink from a rubber water-hose.

We were hungry and exhausted.

UNBEARABLE LIFE IN THE CAMP:

We had to sleep on the ground for the rest of our time in captivity.

There were two toilets for over 800 people and it was impossible to use them after the second day. The stench and filth was unbearable.

We dug trenches and built improvised toilets to keep privacy.

The fight for survival began. This fight was to live and endure the filth; the agony, the dreadful stench.

Apart from sleeplessness and stress, we had nothing to eat except five olives a day and a piece of bread. A thin piece of cheese was added to our daily portion and a tin of sardines was shared by six prisoners every other day.

There was no doctor. No medicine. Two of our people died as a result of "intestine-twisting" or that was the explanation given by Greeks who did not care to have an autopsy of the dead bodies. Several suffered diarrhoea as a result of cold and malnutrition.

We were supposed to be under the protection of U.N. but there were only 8 U.N. soldiers guarding about 1000 people. They were not older than 18. young men with soft beards and sometimes no beards at all... Innocent looking boys who couldn't hide their sympathy for us and the anger for their lack of authority. They were here to keep the peace-as they used to tell us but not to do it by force; to "observe" but not to stop bloodshed.

We asked for International Red Cross; but the Local Red Cross representative (Greek Cypriot) came to look around.

I met their leader; a respectable Greek Lady - a refugee from Asia Minor, and to my surprise my teacher for eight years in the American Academy. We took her around the camp, she couldn't bear the stench. She didn't say much; did not promise anything and all she did - or was allowed to do, was to send words to some of our families that we were still alive. For she happened to be a member of the local Greek Red Cross. We didn't blame her. We knew she couldn't do much; and she did her best. We realized her organization was "Blue-Cross".

There were diabetics, and people suffering from nervous break-down. They had no choice but to suffer and suffer.

TORTURE BEGINS:

Having heard that the ceasefire was in force and that the warring sides were to meet at a Conference; we were beginning to feel more relaxed when a man dressed in Greek Army Officer's uniform and a local Greek Police Officer came to the P.O.W. Camp in the afternoon of 26th July, 1974, around 4.30.

They said they wanted six Turks whom they named for "interrogation" and they warned that if these do not come forward, the whole camp will bear the consequences.

I was one of the six and we all volunteered to go and as soon as we came to the outer gate of the camp, we were delivered to five bearded men who kicked us into an old jeep which had no number plates.

As our vehicle sped away we noticed that the U.N. Landrover's (No. 18/EL/12) tires were deflated by these Greeks beforehand. This, we realized, was to prevent the U.N. from following us.

It was all well-planned and carried to perfection.

These bearded and armed men were members of the notorious EOKA-B organization.

We were taken to a remote building in the Turkish quarter, which was under curfew.

After asking out names and particulars they wanted our home address and names of our wives and children. Two of my friends responded; but I knew their intention was not good for they looked more than happy.

When I said that my family was not in Larnaca; I felt the butt of the machine-gun in my stomach and a kick which turned me pale.

They wanted many things. The name of "Leaders", the number of Turkish soldiers, the quantity of arms; etc, etc. In fact all they wanted to know, they already knew.

All the weapons which were abandoned for U.N. control were in their hands and all the defenders of the community were in the camp. They knew that there were no professional soldiers. They knew no one could escape anywhere; but they kept on asking and hitting us. Laughing and enjoying doing it. Then one of them, leader who is now detained in the South accused of being the murderer of a leftist, Georgios Fodiou in early 1973, asked me whether I knew who he was. I didn't, so said I didn't. It seemed to be a big guilt and I had my share for not knowing the name of this infamous murderer.

He introduced himself as Kyriacos Kuppis; "the drinker of Turkish blood". He did not hesitate to give information about what he had "achieved" before. Boasting, he said that he "had done away with" at least 50 Turks in the Larnaca District. He said, he had just come from the mountains and he said he knew how to kill better than any "butcher".

One of his friends who cautioned him not to give details and secrets was told by Kyriacos Kuppis, to "shut up". He said in Greek, that in any case, "these will go to hell. And that, "dead man do not speak".

EOKA "Hero" Kuppis ordered me to have a cigarette from his dirty

packet. "But he said, you are not going to smoke it." "First I will light it for you. You will put it in your mouth the wrong way. Then you will eat it." Which I tried, burning my mouth.

I could not swallow the bitter tobacco of the lighted cigarette but I was made to swallow when hard blows hit my nose which bled.

"I WILL TURN YOU INTO A DRACULA - LIKE MYSELF"

The Professional murderer ordered me to lick the blood pouring from my nose and he shouted jubilantly "Isn't it nice? Eh, try to get used to it and you will be a DRACULA like myself; only you will not rise from dead; for I will draw a bloody cross on your chest with this machine-gun." I knew I had no chance. May be not even one in a million. For a moment I thought of attacking him; but we might be saved, I said to myself if U.N. discovered this place. Better endure it with patience.

Kuppis said he will come back to me; he went to "interrogate" another friend. One of his friends who took over said, "Don't play fool with him. Do what he says; because he will kill you".

I said since they were going to kill us why don't they finish with it, once and for all.

He said there are several ways of dying. They are trying to find a hard way; and a slow way for us. The "whole night is ours. It is nice to watch people die slowly" he added and pointed at the fields behind the building where a yellow bulldozer was "ploughing the fields"... i.e. digging our graves...

It was almost night. They took one of my friends away with the jeep and we didn't know where and why. They brought him back bleeding.

Suddenly we heard the noise of some cars. Our kidnappers looked at each other and I thought they were going to pull those triggers they played with, at the last moment.

It was indeed a U.N. patrol and in it was the local U.N. Officer together with the Greek Lt. Col. of the area who was asked by U.N. to accompany them. He was known as Lt. Col. Zoppas. The Greek Officer talked to these men but they showed reluctance to let us go. We were astonished to see a Greek Army Officer arguing with 5 irresponsible men.

The U.N. Officer looked pale and impatient. It was later agreed among themselves that they will take us to the camp to "show" everyone that they had no ill intention and that U.N. vehicle would follow them.

On the way back, they did not give up the idea of pressing us to show our homes and "promised" us that they "will meet us again".

BACK TO THE CAMP LIFE:

After several weeks the International Red Cross (I.C.R.C.) sent some representatives and a name list was presented to their Chief, Mr. Laurent Marti. A few weeks later the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees H.H. Prince Sadruddin Agha Khan paid a visit to the Camp.

We did not know this before-hand. But a day before the visit we got an order from our "Keepers" that we were to clean the premises; burn all the refuse and tidy every place for the sake of our own health.

We thought this was a positive step and agreed wholeheartedly.

We were even promised to be given some disinfectant.

And two brand-new ambulances came and took position in front of the camp, each carrying several white-dressed smiling Greek sisters and male nurses.

And after about half an hour H.H. Prince Sadrutin Agha Khan arrived.

It was a good show put on stage by the Greeks. How considerate, how human were our keepers - this must be shown to the whole world. The cameras flashed and the prominent Prince came to see our condition.

We went around the "dormitories" and "lavatories" which had no much difference and I drew his attention to this inhuman; shameful treatment and asked His Highness' help. I also requested the distinguished visitor to compare our way of life and those Greek "prisoners" that were complaining because some had to share their beds in the Dome Hotel. I told him not even our sick had any beds to lie on.

As a result 47 camp beds were sent to the camp on the following days. Some blankets and a tin of powdered milk for each were the best gifts received through the courtesy of the Prince.

THREE DAYS OF NIGHTMARE:

I must admit that the camp life solved some of our problems. My ten-year-old backache was gone, as I had to lie on hard ground and most of us began getting used to wash with cold water without getting a flu but we used detergents instead of soap.

When we opened our tired eyes on the morning of the 14th August 1974, we sensed that something dramatic was going on.

I at once switched on my pocket radio which I had smuggled into the camp and we learned that Turkish Army was moving once again.

There was a mixed feeling of jubilation and fear; for we knew what a Greek could do to defenceless people.

It was indeed the first of the three longest days of our lives.

The Greek families had been ordered by armed gangs to leave their houses around the camp and in less than an hour there was not one Greek. Instead about 200-300 armed Greeks surrounded the camp pointing bazookas and machine-guns at the building. We had to lie down for three days in order not to be a target through the windows. The U.N. who had been guarding us was preparing to pack-up and they left the small tent near the building.

And to our horror we saw bulldozers digging trenches around the camp. Trenches, not deep enough to stand in; but wide and spacious enough to be used for dead bodies...

During all this pre-mediated act; we heard some more sensible Greeks advising them not to ... They used to shout in Greek, "If you kill these people; the Turkish Army's revenge will be catastrophic for all of us".

And thank God... It was around 3 p.m. When we saw two Turkish jets diving to the North of the town and black smoke coming up from the village of Goshi which was only 8 miles away. We heard later that the Greek convoy going to attack the Turkish village was hit and destroyed by those jets.

We saw Greek soldiers taking off their uniforms, breaking their weapons and running madly cursing their own leaders. We heard people screaming and telling us that they might come into the camp for better security. It was incredible "Security?" we asked, and "mutual security"?

Yes it was indeed mutual. The Turkish Army was bringing the Security not only to Turks but to Greeks as well who were fed up with the sound of bullets and bombs for the last twenty years or so.

The second and the third day passed - those days seemed like three centuries - for apart from the stress., we were without food and water.

The Greeks stopped delivering bread to the camp as soon as the second Turkish operation begun.

In the evening of the 16th August 1974 right after the ceasefire there was suspense.

Following days when Greeks were convinced that they could possibly do nothing except the facts; refugees from Kyrenia and Famagusta came around the

camp to ask "favours" from the prisoners. Some offered to exchange houses which they left in the North; some gave addresses and sent greetings to relatives whom they left behind and one - a certain Chief Medical Officer of the Larnaca Greek Hospital who was a hawk to our sick people turned into a dove requesting those Turkish prisoners who might go to Kyrenia to look after his house.

FOR WHOM THE BELLS TOLL - NOW:

Today I am happy under the security of the Turkiwh Federated State the security we longed for, ever since we first heard the Church bells tolling for ENOSIS; but achieving it not - Thank God for a million times.

(d) STATEMENTS MADE BY MR. ESAT FELLAHOGLU (THE THEN TURKISH DISTRICT ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICER OF PAPHOS)

REGARDING CONDITIONS OF DETENTION OF PAPHOS DETAINEES

"I, Esat Fellahoglou, the Turkish District Administrative Officer of Paphos, hereby give a short account of Greek atrocities to the Turks of Paphos in general and to me in particular.

It was the 20th of July, 1974, the day when the Turkish Army set foot on the Northern Coast of Cyprus in order to prevent the annexation of Cyprus to Greece which was the ultimate aim of the coupist forces of Sampson and the Junta of Greece and to give an end to the 12 years of Greek oppression and humiliation of the Turkish population.

In the morning of that day, the Greek National Guards were seen surrounding our part of the Paphos town, and making war preparations. Their intention was to attack us. The pretext for the attack was soon found. They demanded the surrender of our arms.

To surrender our arms meant the surrender of our lives, property, our dignity and freedom to them. It meant to watch with tied hands the butchering of our people by the Greek youth motivated by the hatred towards Turks, a hatred which was inculcated in them through their teachers at school, through priests in churches and through their mothers since they were a baby in the cradles.

Naturally we refused, and the attack followed. It was an indiscriminate attack with mortars and heavy arms, directed not to the men defending the area but to unarmed civilian people. The Turkish Sector comprised a very small portion of Paphos town. Mortar shells were falling everywhere, killing old people, maiming children and destroying homes.

At the harbour, 2 miles from the Turkish Sector there was a Greek warship disembarking soldiers and war materials, disguised as a Turkish ship by flying

the Turkish flag. The ship completed the disembarkation and turned her guns on our Sector. A fierce bombardment was added to the mortar shelling which continued for the whole day until dark. Firing with other weapons continued throughout the night.

There was not a single house which escaped a hit by a shell or mortar. There was not a single family which escaped injury. The hospital which was full of injured people was the main target of the warship. The staff of the hospital was trying desperately to treat patients who were there in hundreds (unfortunately the only Doctor of the hospital was out of the Sector, and could not return because of the Greek siege). There were not enough medical supplies, no means to operate the injured, no beds, not even means to stop bleedings. Patients were on the floors and blood was everywhere. Requests for medical help from U.N. authorities of the area were met with one and the same reply. "Surrender to the Greeks and let their doctors treat your injured."

Firing with smaller arms continued through the night. By 4 a.m. next morning mortars began to fall again in hundreds, on civilians. Civilian population was completely without protection against such attacks. All efforts to dig shelters for such eventualities, in the preceding years, were always prevented by UN Forces, and any one dug was filled in by the UN. Our appeals to the UN, on that day, for the protection of the civilian people or for an effort to stop the killing of innocent people was always met with counter appeals to us; "surrender". By 8 a.m. we agreed to negotiate a cease-fire. It was agreed that fire would stop, our arms would be surrendered to UN and that Greeks would not enter our Sector. The agreement was signed by myself, the Greek Commander of the N.G. and the Commander of the U.N. Force. The Turkish side honoured the agreement and handed over their arms. But the Greeks in spite of their signature and their undertaking not to enter our sector rushed in hundreds into it armed to the teeth. In spite of their undertaking not to touch any Turkish property, they looted everything they could lay hands on. In spite of their undertaking not to lay hands on any of the Turks, they took me as prisoner, and locked me into a cell as an ordinary criminal.

IN THE LOCK UP OF THE POLICE STATION

The lock up was composed of 3 separate rooms of reinforced concrete walls and roof, with one door each made of iron sheets, with no window and all three enclosed in a small courtyard. I was locked in one of these rooms 2 x 4 m. in dimension, the contents of which were only 2 blankets and nothing else. By the evening the door was unlocked and I was allowed to the small courtyard 3 x 12 m.

It was the evening of my 2nd day in the lock up, when 3 Turks were brought in. They were from Polis, a small town in the district. All three people whom I knew personally were almost unconscious. They were so wildly beaten up, their faces so swelled up, their arms and legs had so many wounds that I could hardly recognize them. When they gained consciousness they spoke of their suffe-

rings. They spoke how their tiny dwelling area was surrounded and mortared, how the Greeks entered the area shooting indiscriminately on civilian people how they gathered up all males in the school and how they beat them to exhaustion, and how this beating had continued for over 48 hours. 3 of them were brought to Paphos Police, while the others were kept at the school.

About 3 hours later, after the 3 men from Polis were brought in, the door of the courtyard of the lock-up was opened and 16 more Turks were pushed in with several Greek policemen kicking them, hitting them and swearing at them. They then forced them all into one of the rooms. They put me and the 3 men from Polis into the same small room and locked the iron door.

The condition of these 16 men was still worse than those 3 brought in earlier. They were so badly beaten that they could hardly walk or stand on their feet. The bodies of some of them deformed, their faces unrecognizable. They were 11 from Androliku village, a Turkish village in the North of the district. All respectable, well known people. Teachers, civil servants, university graduates, village headmen, farmers, young students. They could not stand on their feet but they could not lie on the floor either, because there was no room for them to lie down. 20 people were packed into the small room, we were all on one another even without enough air to breath. They could hardly talk.

The next day they allowed us out into the small courtyard. The Androlikou men talked about their torture in the hands of the Greeks. As in other Turkish villages Greeks attacked their village, they resisted, and during this resistance, which could not last long because of their limited ammunition and with the great force opposite them, one of the Greek policeman was killed. This made the Greeks furious and they launched the most cruel torture to these people. They gathered them all at the village and beat them to an extent beyond human endurance and then brought some of them to the Police lock up of Paphos, but their sufferings were not over as yet. Later in the day they took them one by one into a torture room in the Police station. They were trying to find out the name of the person with whose fire the Greek Policeman was killed. Of course, no one could tell or know. People were firing for the defence of their village and one of the attackers was killed. This was an unforgivable offence in the eyes of the Greeks. There were 4 National Guardsmen in that torture room. Each of the Turks was left in their hands for at least 20 minutes and were so badly tormented that when each of them was brought back and thrown into the lock up he was in the form of a heap of ruins of a human body. One could not but tremble with disgust at the sight of such a horrifying disregard of humanity and gross violation of human dignity.

This matter of affairs continued for a few more days. All of the Androlikou men had his turn in the torture room. On the 7th day we were all taken to Yeroskipos Prisoners Camp.

YEROSKIPOS PRISONERS CAMP

This was an old factory, the stores of which were used as dormitories. There were 4 dormitories for the prisoners each with a capacity of about 100 people. When we were taken there, there were about 150 other prisoners brought mainly from Mandria, Polis and other Turkish villages of the district. Others were brought in later. The dormitories were spacy enough. There were bunks. There were also mattresses of straw and one blanket with one pillow for each. This seemed to be a little more comfortable than what we endured in the lock up. But our troubles were to come yet.

All the detainees including myself were forced to lie in bed all day and night. We were not allowed even to walk in the dormitory. They grossly disregarded even the most natural human requirements. We had to pass water into the few buckets in the same dormitory, but the problem was with the other toilet requirements. There were 20 toilets in the yard of the camp. The 100 prisoners of one dormitory would be taken once a day out to these toilets, for only 10 minutes and all 100 men would have to use the toilets wash his face, wash his plate and fork and sometimes wash his clothes all in these 10 minutes. This was enforced by armed National Guardsmen. It was an impossibility and many had to do without toilets for many days, a cruelty which was not applied by civilised people even to animals.

One day a senior officer of the N.G. visited the camp and I asked him to prolong this time limit of 10 minutes. The result was a punishment. The national guardsmen did not like my complaint to his seniors. My punishment was restriction not to go to the toilets for 48 hours, and also to wash and clean all those toilets on the 3rd day of my punishment.

They enjoyed to watch a Turkish District officer humiliated in such a way.

The troubles of the Androlikou people were not over yet. Every now and then a national guardsman would call one or two of these unfortunate people and repeat the accusation of the killing of the policeman. Hitting them was something like a relaxation for them after a long and monotonous day of guarding work. They appeared to get a satisfaction from the moaning of these people under the pain they inflicted on them.

Our co-prisoners in the dormitory were mostly from Mandria village. They as well gave an account of their sufferings in the hands of Greeks. Their village was placed under siege subjected to mortar shelling and then entered into by force, as in the case of other Turkish villages. The inhabitants had gathered in an open space in the village and surrendered. But in spite of this the Greeks dropped scores of mortars on the gathered inhabitants as a result of which more than 30 people were killed and twice as many maimed.

Another sad story came from Ayyannis village - another Turkish village of the district. After the same pattern of attack, the Greeks entered the village and gathered inhabitants in the school. One of the Greeks asked whether there were any inhabitants who were wounded from the mortar shells, who required urgent treatment. An old man who had seen his son-in-law hit and lying in the open with his legs bleeding was delighted at this offer and took the national guardsman to the place where his son-in-law was lying. When they reached the place the national guardsman ordered the wounded Turk to stand up. Something which he could not do because of his wounds. The reaction of the national guardsman was to shoot and kill him in cold blood before the eyes of the father-in-law. The father-in-law began to cry and protest. The national guardsman ordered him to shut up but how could he stop crying when he saw how his son-in-law shot and killed in cold blood before his eyes. He was blaming himself for trusting a Greek and taking him to the place where his son-in-law was lying. But the national guardsman was still blood-thirsty. He turned his gun on the old man and silenced him to death. Another national guardsman when passing through a street in the village saw a Turkish flag flying on a mast on the office of the village co-operative society building he ordered an old Turkish man to lower it. The old man climbed the roof of the building to lower it, but the Greek national guardsman talking to his Greek friends said: "Let us see how nicely he will fall from up there" he shot him and enjoyed his fall to the ground - dead.

On the 14th of August, 1974 early in the morning I was called out of the dormitory and was made to walk amid 4 armed national guardsmen. This was unusual and wondered where they were taking me. We entered the headquarters building which was about 200 metres from the dormitories within the same camp complex. There I was locked in a small room without being told anything. This isolation was a severe blow to me. I was trying to find an explanation for this but without result. After a few hours I heard noises and discussions out in the corridor. From the talk and discussions a sentence made it clear as to why I was taken there: "one is not enough, you will execute 20". This was one of the sentences spoken outside my cell apparently by a senior officer to a junior. I guessed what they had in mind. After a short while I was taken out of this room and building and taken, in between two armed men, this time, to another small building about 250 metres away in the same camp. This walk was the hardest walk of my life. People of all sorts in the camp, civilians and uniformed, were kicking me, hitting me with the butts of their guns, with sticks, some throwing stones at me, some swearing and others calling out from a distance advising the armed men as to what part of my body he should shoot and how he should kill me.

All feelings abandoned me. I was walking without senses. I was looking around me but could not make up what was all about. I was led and locked in a small building which, I later found out to be the lock up of the camp. There were 19 more people in it. They were put in there just a few minutes before. They were all detainees from different Turkish villages. They were all respectable people. We could not talk to each other for some time but we all knew what would happen to us.

We knew how they collected Turks from the streets and roads during the passed 11 years, never to be heard of again. We would be added to those hundreds of Turks who were murdered in this way. This was not difficult for them. After all, Turkish life in their view, was worth less than a log but into a fireplace.

Hours passed, the day faded away, and the night as well, but nobody came to us. The fact that we were without food for 36 hours was not even remembered. There was no sleeping accommodation except for 5 blankets to be shared by all. In the morning my chronic stomach ulcer was active and I was in terrible pain. One of the detainee friends asked through the bars of the small window, the guardsman outside, for some tablets to ease my pain but the guardsman replied "Let the dog (meaning me) die". At noon some bread was sent in. It appeared that their plans for our execution were abandoned, and after another two days and nights we were taken back to our dormitories.

We did not know what had happened. We found out later that the 14th August was the day of the 2nd operation and that in view of the success of this operation and the news of the speedy advance of the Turkish army which could be at any moment at Paphos, executions were abandoned.

While we were going through the nightmare of the few days in mid August, some other more tragic events were taking place in our small sector at Paphos.

On the 14th August, 1974 Greek youth, armed with all types of guns and filled with hatred towards Turks, moved into the Turkish sector with the ease of knowing that the people they were to butcher were unarmed. They rushed into the sector like hungry wolves, thirsty to blood in a wild hysterical mood, shooting indiscriminately at closed doors and windows killing every Turk they could lay eyes on. They appeared to get special satisfaction when killing Turks of their acquaintance. To kill a Turk was a sacred duty for them. Did'nt their teacher tell them when they were young boys at school desks, that it was the duty of every Greek to kill as many Turks as he could. Did'nt the Priest in the Church tell them when they were in Church, that it was not a sin to kill a Turk. Did'nt their mothers tell them that their greatest enemy was the Turks. Now then was the time for killing them. These suggestions were the motive power that turned them wild and moved them to the sector.

They were about 200, and they dispersed into the streets looking for acquaintances but shooting at any one they could meet on the way. One group went to the house of Izzet Pamukoğlu, a Turkish Policeman with a family of 4. They took him out of his house by force and shot him dead as soon as they turned a corner. They then proceeded to the house of Hasan Kırıl. A head of a family of 3, and shot him in the doorway of his house wounding the others in the house. Another group was in the house of Erdoğan Çakır in the same street. They called him to get out or they would break the door. His brother Mustafa Çakır opened the door but was shot dead as soon as he opened the door. Erdoğan Çakır who was behind him met the same fate.

Another group went to the house of Salih Kiral. They broke the door of his house and began shooting indiscriminately in all directions. They wounded all the members of the house and killed his pretty daughter Rahme, who was only 3 years old. 40 bullets were extracted from her tiny body.

Someone among them had a better idea - to collect all of Turkish inhabitants to the football ground and shoot the males altogether in front of their families would be a very nice view to watch - to this they all agreed, and they began to call from door to door asking every one, man, woman and children to go to the football ground. Munir Dilaver, a young man who could keep his calmness, tried to talk them to reason, but they replied by hitting him badly with gun butts. But still this did not satisfy them. How could a Turk suggest them ideas They turned their guns and shot him dead in cold blood.

Özgül Mehmet, a university graduate engaged to be married, stopped to help an old woman on the way to the football ground. They called him to move on, but he could not understand them as he could not speak Greek. Their reaction was to pull the trigger. Poor Özgül was on the ground in the centre of the street. He was lying in a blood pool and calling for help. He could be saved if attended, but no one was allowed to approach him and he bled to death.

All males were placed inside the football ground and their families were left outside to watch through the iron bars of the fence. Guns were positioned. About 1000 men were to be machine gunned, before the eyes of their families, before the eyes of UNFICYP. The UN men were running from one gunman to the other making every effort to stop the massacre. They rushed to their wireless sets in their cars trying to find someone more senior, someone more reasonable, who could persuade the Greek youth to abandon this dreadful intention but all in vain. 1000 men were going to be killed and they were unable to stop it. Just at the zero hour a Greek arrived in a car. He was extremely excited. He spoke to the youth and they gave up their plans of massacre. We learned later on that he had informed them that the Turkish Army was moving in a great speed and that in a few hours time they might be at Paphos. This saved the lives of these innocent people, who were then transferred as detainees to the Yeroskipos Camp.

We, the prisoners at Yeroskipos Camp, learned of these tragic events later. We were completely separated from the outside world. We had a complete news blackout. We were not allowed to have a radio in the dormitory, nor could we get any newspapers. No visitors were allowed and we were completely in the dark as to what was happening. It was only in later days that we found a means from where we could get some news. The guards of the camp were using newspapers as toilet paper. They were using the same toilets as we so every one of us collected secretly those dirty bits of newspaper from the toilets and brought them to the dormitory. Thus we got bits of news from the outside world.

Our living conditions in the camp in the later stages became worse. Food was scarce and bad. No food was allowed from outside. Guards were ruthless in their treatment to us. The following incidents will show how ruthless they were.

To turn from your left to your right while sleeping was a crime. The guard would approach your bed and hit you with the butt of his gun while you were in deep sleep in the middle of the night. The guards were constantly walking in the dormitory all through the night. To look out of a window, or to possess a bit of paper or a pencil was a great offence punishable with isolation, beating and hunger.

The Red Cross had introduced a facility enabling detainees to send and get short messages to and from their relatives and friends on specially printed note papers. Thousands of these special note papers were given to the camp authorities for distribution to the detainees. In our dormitory where there were 100 detainees, we were given only 12 of these note papers about every week. In this way many of the detainees were unable to exchange messages with their relatives during the period of their detention. Likewise notes sent by relatives were not always delivered to the detainees. For example out of about 80 sent to me only 6 reached me.

A guard would sometime feel like beating a detainee for no reason at all. He would pick out at random one detainee, take him out of the dormitory, beat him mercilessly and then carry him back to his bed. He would carry him back because his victim could not walk after the ruthless beating.

(Esat FELLAHOĞLU)"

30th September, 1974

(e) STATEMENTS MADE BY :

- (1) Mr. Bora Atun (formerly a Councillor of the Turkish Municipality of Famagusta and now the Mayor of that Municipality) and
- (2) Mr. Ayhan Chiftchioglou (Advocate and now President of the Turkish Local Bar Association of Famagusta)

regarding conditions of detention of Famagusta detainees.

(1) "BY

BORA ATUN (Dip - Arch)
His Worship the MAYOR
Gazi Magosa (Famagusta)
Turkish Federated State of Cyprus.

... When the 15th of July 74 had arrived, instead of feeling happy and relieved one could not help but feel a deep sense of insecurity surrounding us.

Surely the coup against Makarios had removed one of the major obstacles to peace and prosperity for the Turkish Community in Cyprus. But, was it to be likely so? Because after all it was the greatest Turk and British hating and murdering organisation, the infamous EOKA B who had carried out the coup and by all accounts very successfully. As all old scores had been settled with the British and a kind of friendship existed between the British and the EOKA, as a Turk one could not help feel that it was a matter of "who else but us next"...

But as the Turks of Famagusta and of course the Turkish Community as a whole we knew that the soothing words of the EOKA leader Sampson, assuring us of our security etc. and assuring us that the coup was carried out only against Makarios and not directed towards us was only a vain attempt to create a sense of false security amongst us before as the whole world knows now, they would carry out their years old and meticulously planned attack on the Turkish Community for our total and final destruction, before anyone could intervene and help.

With these thoughts permanently occupying our minds we started getting ready for our turn which we were so sure was to come, sooner or later About mid-day the Greek National Guard and the EOKA B elements started attacking the Greek Police H.Q. of Famagusta. We silently but very determinedly sat tight and watched the brutal fight for survival between Greeks, taking shape and seemingly developing into a massacre as we could see the T 34 tanks of the Greek National Guard pounding the Greek Police H.Q. into submission. The constant crackle of small arms and machine gun fire was filling the air one could not believe humans could be so cruel to each other never mind to ones of their own kith and kin.

Suddenly out of the battle area came three fully armed battle dressed Greek Special Police Reservists who promptly surrendered to our authorities and asked for our protection. When asked why? Their answer was so simple yet unbelievable. "The EOKA boys are murdering us and we know you will treat us decently and properly", and with a begging look in their eyes, pleaded not to hand them back to the EOKA Boys which would mean certain death. As we had no intentions of getting involved in any way, we called in the U.N. officers and handed them over with a well prepared official U.N. report which was duly signed by all concerned.

I must also state here that they were given cigarettes, cold drinks and food before the hand over to the U.N. ... I always wondered what happened to those young Greek boys who were no more than 20-22 years of age, are they still alive or are they some of the missing Greeks for which Makarios still blatantly lies to the world and accuses us of keeping them to this date. Perhaps someone somewhere like the U.N. could ask about the whereabouts of these young Police men. If they are alive it most certainly proves that. The Turkish Community at all times has treated the Greeks humanely if they can not be traced it can be absolutely proved that the Greeks killed their own people in the coup and are now blaming us for it.

Then the Greek Police H.Q. surrendered and car loads of EOKA and National Guard members started patrolling the streets, brandishing their automatic Czech rifles. It was a very sad and unbelievable sight to see Andreas the waiter, George the petrol pump attendant, and Michael the engineer suddenly donned in their EOKA Officers uniforms and proudly carrying out their massacres against their own people. The following days we waited firmly, determinedly and watched the Hospital Ambulances filled with troops and EOKA members carrying out instant raids on the homes of MAKARIOS supporters and dragging the menfolk away with their wives and children screaming their hearts and eyes out. One could not help but feel this was only a beginning to clear the way for the real objective of Enosis in which the total destruction of the Turkish Cypriot Community was the number one objective. I felt so sorry for these Greeks whose only fault were being supporters of Makarios. As we saw these events carry on and watched in great anxiety, we were becoming more and more scared about our own safety and future. We kept on thinking, if this is what Greek would do to Greek, God only save us, because we were sure of what Greek would do to Turks given half the chance. As the Reports by foreign reporters were coming in through the B.B.C. and other various broadcasts it was becoming clear that this was the whole picture all over the island where Greek was killing Greek to settle some old scores, and perhaps getting ready to settle a final one with us later.

We calmly patrolled our own little settlements just outside the old City. As soon as the coup had started all Turks were told not to cross into Greek sectors of the town and to completely disassociate ourselves from all events. All the time, we pictured the past few days events in our minds and waited for our turn. But we were this time, very determined to defend our wives, children, homes and everything that was Turkish, as it seemed obvious that the talks in London were bearing no fruit and it seemed (and God did we pray for it) that at long last Turkey might intervene not only to safeguard our lives but also of the Greek Cypriots. How prophetic a thought it was, as the later events proved that if Turkey had not intervened there would have been no trace of the Turkish Community left on this Island, and I am sure, I for one would not now be putting these few words together.

We kept on observing troop movements of the Greeks; slowly but surely putting up check points here, barricades there, searching people and vehicles every where. The imminence of the Turkish intervention became clearer as news came out that British troops would start pulling their families out of Turkish Sectors. Now one thought if the final intentions of the Greeks were not directed towards the Turkish Community why would the British be thinking of pulling their families out?

In the night of July 19th, the eve of the Turkish intervention, I went home for the last time to see my wife and our only child, who on July the 12th had celebrated her first birthday. My wife who gave me a look of surprise asked me what I was doing at home, leaving my duties. I just did not have the heart to tell her that in the next few hours we would most likely be going into the final battle, and this might be our last look at each other, and that I may never see our baby, or

for that matter she might never see me and even in the days to come never remember her daddy. But then when one is going into a fight for the very existence and for the very being of ones self, and for everything that one had believed so firmly that was precious and beloved one did not have time really to get into and think about trivialities. As I left home I thought how ironic that an English girl (by the way my wife is English) would be massacred together with her one year old only child, just because she was married to a Turkish Cypriot. The 20th of July came as a hot morning, as we had not really slept the first few nights and had none during the previous one, every man who was on duty felt tired and sleepy. As we listened to the first broadcast by our President, Mr. Denktash, the atmosphere was one of great elation and excitement. How great it was to know that Turkey, our beloved motherland had at last come to protect her children. For the first time in years since I was a kid, I cried, I sat down and cried unashamedly, knowing that the day of reckoning had come, and we would, if we survived, live as free, and equal citizens in our country. No more spot checks by Greek Police, or abuse or violation, or missing relatives and massacres. But the next 29 days and the days following them were to prove that, even though the most of the lucky Turkish Cypriots were saved and free some not so luckily were imprisoned, and the unfortunate hundreds were missing or massacred and buried in mass graves.

Suddenly our thoughts were shattered by small arms fire followed by heavier weapons. This was it.... It had started and we all were going to get a share of what we were destined for. One always read and heard the most horrible wars are civil wars, fought amongst habited districts, where innocent women and children had nowhere to seek refuge but their homes.

As the battle went on hour after hour, and we were being hammered by Greek T 34 tanks, and armoured vehicles, recoilles rifles, and mortars, we were getting a taste of what was to become an everyday occasion for the next 4 weeks. All the time at the back of our minds were our friends, families, wives and children, who were only a few yards away trying to keep safe.

News was coming in from everywhere, I heard that the English family who lived in the block of flats next to us had their little boy shot and killed by a spray of Greek machine gun fire, because the Greeks thought they were helping Turkish neighbours. The only thing I could do was to defend with everything and pray for the safety of my family, friends, and the whole Turkish Community.

The T 34's kept on pounding our homes, shops, etc. Everything that was Turkish was being shot at. We were still defending when the high school fell with the block of flats and all its occupants in flight for their lives. And little Emre Sonay (a little girl of 2½) was killed in the arms of her 10 years old brother, by Greek bullets fired from the Central Hospital, while being carried to safety. This was the grim and shocking picture that was coming to light as the day wore on. Would we all be massacred before being saved by the Turkish Army? The night came suddenly with intermittent firing here and there, with the word that the U.N. would help us to evacuate our outer districts and pull into the relatively safer of the walled City of the Turkish Old Town. The long hours of waiting of women and children with

no one to help was nerve racking. What if the Greeks launched a surprise night attack and got us altogether and without cover? I was very proud of the orderly and quiet withdrawal into the old town through an underground tunnel which went undetected for a few years under the very noses of the Greeks. I had gone home and picked my wife. "Who was in tears of happiness for seeing me alive again" and my baby who behaved as good as gold. If anyone has stood for hours with a very excited crowd with a 1-year-old baby in ones arms, and got through enemy lines without a sound, they will realise it was a miracle. We had done a "Mini Dunkirk" withdrew our whole district into the safety of the Old Town with only the smallest of personal necessities allowed to be brought in. All I could think of was the baby, her food, milk and medical supplies and with 12 shillings in my pocket. We melted away into the darkness leaving behind our homes and everything in them. We melted into the night; battered, smashed, bloodied but still very proud for not having surrendered against very heavy attacks, and we were still free. The last look over the walls and garden fences to our bullet riddled, shattered, bombed and still burning homes and schools gave us a very good idea as to what was in store for us until the Turkish Army came to relieve us from this years-long struggle. The next morning was terrible, with 81 and 106 mm. mortars dropping into the old town, mercilessly, indiscriminately, almost to every square foot, with millions of rounds of machine gun and small arms fire pouring in from every direction almost like a constant hail storm. The Greeks we learned later had gone absolutely berserk for having lost their prey during the night and they were determined to get it at all costs. With wounded and dead everywhere we were being battered mercilessly. It was of course too much to expect the Geneva Convention to be taken into account by the Greeks at that time, for that matter, at any time, as they battered us and bombed us mercilessly, they also cut our water and electricity supply for good measure. Can you think of a population of 10,000 civilians except for a handful of local militia, hemmed into an area of 900 Yrds. by 600 yds. surrounded by thick ancient walls being battered into submission with no water or electricity and with almost no medical supplies to tend our wounded. As one of the very first buildings to be destroyed was our hospital with its operating theatre and medical stores, the plight of the sick and the wounded was inhuman and terrible. Water was shared out amongst the children, women, elderly, and the rest.... Under normal conditions July is a very hot month in Cyprus, where one's need for liquids is very great, under the conditions of those days with its do or die moments, water was an absolute necessity. How could you tell a 1-year-old baby that she could not drink as much as she wants, because our water supply has been cut off by the Greeks. With the loss of electricity all the frozen food in the fridges and cold-stores deteriorated very fast not only creating a food shortage problem but also the very dangerous and immediate problem of epidemics. As we could not dispose of the rotten dangerous and immediate problem of epidemics. As we could not dispose of the decomposed meat, chickens etc. We were not even allowed cease-fire to collect Greeks believe it was not a trick, but a simple request to bury our dead and pay them our last respect.

The bombing, mortaring and shelling went on under these circumstances. This was perhaps one of the greatest acts of genocide over a civilian population

carried out within the last few years. The concentrated shelling was unbearable, with news of civilians, women and children being killed coming from every corner of the town.

All we could do was to defend ourselves with very light weapons, against weapons and an army who were far superior in number and guns and ammunition. A comparison was out of the question. When the first offensive stopped, we heard that almost all of the small Turkish villages had been captured by the Greeks and there were very disturbing news concerning their safety. The whole world later learned of the inhuman and cruel fates of the villages of Murataga, Aloda, and Sandallar, where the defenceless people, whose only fault was being Turkish Cypriots, were brutally murdered in cold blood, where no distinction between, a 14-day-old baby, and expectant mother and a man of 80 was made away with. They were shot, burned and then buried in mass graves and covered up by use of the bulldozers. We always felt afterwards that the Greeks responsible for these murders should be forced to face international justice, instead of blaming us for the missing Greeks which we all know they also killed themselves.

The Second offensive began on the 14th of August and went on during the 15th. The intensity of shelling was much greater than the first round, this time for good measure the Greeks were using incendiaries and trying to burn the whole town to the ground. But this time we knew and were sure that we would be saved by the Turkish Army at last and our days of fighting for our very being and existence would be rewarded by being liberated. If..... If we could one survive these harrowing terrible last few hours. When the Greeks proudly had announced to the reporters between the offensives that "no living flies even survive in the Turkish Old Town, now that we have poured everything we have into it" little did they know that the determination of people to live and survive for freedom made them extra hard to crack. They kept on bombing and shelling, with everything, and we kept on defending now without almost anything, no food, water, electricity, medicine and ammunition. But we were determined as much, perhaps much more than the Greeks. After all if they lost they could all go to Larnaca, Limassol etc. but we had nowhere to go. This was our home and we meant to take everything thrown at us and meant to live to see our day of freedom. I think this is where the scales were tipped in our favour. We buried our dead, tended our wounded, went without food but we took everything. I personally, as a man who never believed in violence just could not believe as to what was being done to us by the Greeks, who a few weeks ago had assured that we had nothing to worry about.

Our hospital, our mosque, schools, homes everything that meant so much to us were being systematically destroyed. Square yard by square yard the shelling was directed, shifted and reshifted, there was no refuge from it none whatsoever. The docks were burning part of the town was burning. The Greeks were determined to do a thorough job of it and they were getting on with it. As if our troubles were not enough, we were all worried about our families and friends in the defenceless captured little Turkish villages dotted around the Island. We just could not believe that this could be happening at this day and age. To our pleas to the U.N. Officers to go and check on the small Turkish villages we were told that

the Greeks had promised that they would be treated properly and that there should be no concern as to their safety. Our reply was short and sharp". You don't know the Greeks like we do, this is not the first time this has happened, all our people will be massacred", which in the days to come was to be revealed to the world as prophetic words which had come to be very true.

This little episode of a few weeks of Greek terror had cost the Turkish Community in Cyprus the villages of Murataga, Aloda and Sandallar, villages which were murdered in cold blood; dead, maimed for life and wounded in the Turkish old City of Famagusta, and all over the Island. In retrospect when I think, it was not the Turkish Cypriot who has killed the Greeks, but the Greeks who have for years carried out a systematic attack of destruction and death. The problem of Cyprus did not just start out of the blue on July the 20th 74 by the Turkish intervention. It began many many years ago. Perhaps the sequence of events below will give you an idea on the problem.

1955	Start of EOKA terrorism for Enosis
1955	Greeks kill British
1955-1958	Greeks kill Greeks (for not helping the Cause)
1955-1958	Greeks kill Turks for opposing Enosis
1963-1964	Greeks attack and kill Turks 103 Turkish villages evacuated. 25,000 are made refugees. 1/5 of the population.
1967	Greeks attack Turkish villages and kill Turks.
1970	Greeks try to kill their President Makarios
1971	Greeks kill Yorgacis, their minister of interior, murderers never found.
1974	The Coup for Enosis Greeks kill Greeks Greeks try to kill their President Makarios again
1974	Greeks kill and massacre Turks. Greeks kill the American Ambassador to Nicosia.

With this we would like to ask one simple question. Who are the real killers and murderers and the destroyers of people and their freedom? Most certainly not the Turkish Community, but the Greeks. History and events however much are being twisted by people like the Greeks and Makarios, always have a way of coming out with the truth.

Like we said before, the problem of Cyprus did not just start by the Turkish intervention on July the 20th 74, but goes a long way back into history.

There is no way we are going to be branded as murderers and invaders, no one, not even the Greeks are capable of changing what is the truth and has now become a part of history. Someone some where should ask the Greeks to give a few answers for all their actions and killings listed above. Then the real truth about Cyprus and its recent history may at last come out.

We have defended our families, children, our land but most of all our freedom, and we are thoroughly thankful for being here alive and free.

Bora ATUN"

(2) "DECLARATION BY MR. A.M. ÇİFTÇİOĞLU

The President of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus Mr. DENKTAŞ had this to say inter alia on 28.2.1964 at the 1099th meeting of the Security Council held on 28.2.1964 pertaining to the bloody events created by the Greeks in Cyprus against the Turks of Cyprus on 21.12.1963.

"My community which has suffered more than 800 dead or wounded in a matter of two months twenty thousand of them have been rendered homeless and workless and look upon charity for their living. The whole Turkish Community has been living under virtual siege since 1963" and further down in the said speech he clearly depicts the tragic panorama of the brutality perpetrated against the Turkish Community of Cyprus by Archbishop MAKARIOS when he stated.

"While innocent Turkish women and children were being killed or wounded, Archbishop Makarios incomplete disregard of all that was going on in Cyprus refused to have an immediate peace-keeping force in Cyprus offered by the United Kingdom, the United States and by Greece or Turkey. Mr. Kyprianou has asked the council is it conceivable, is it possible that the Greeks should contemplate the annihilation of hundred thousand Turks? Well, it will take some time to complete the extermination of a hundred thousand Turks but may I say that it is not necessary that all of us should be killed; it is sufficient if life is made impossible for us in Cyprus and that is the object of attack on us.

On 20.7.1974 namely the date when Turkey in protection of the Turkish Community of Cyprus against the genocidal activities waged by the Greeks of Cyprus under the auspices of the then Greek Government and in the exercise of her rights conferred by virtue of section 4 of the treaty of guarantee embodied in the treaty of London and Zurich agreements giving rise to the establishment of the then Republic of Cyprus took Military action in Cyprus in the nature of a peace operation to save the Turkish Community from the genocidal acts of the Greeks perpetrated against the Turkish Community of Cyprus.

On 20.7.1974 at about 5 a.m. when the armed peace operation in Cyprus by Turkey started as a preliminary precaution against a probable attack by Greeks on our houses my family took refuge in the basement of a nearby house of my living quarter. As a member of the Turkish Community, I took refuge behind a barricade with other Turkish fighters in self-defence against the firing of Greek snipers from the nearby roof tops, occupied by the Greek soldiers and Greek irregulars.

At about 10 a.m. on the same day news came to us that strong armed Greek forces were proceeding towards Old Town of Famagusta, an exclusively inhabited town by Turkish Cypriots, on the Famagusta Nicosia Road. As the Greek armed forces which appeared later to be the armed forces of Greece approached nearer to the Old Town of Famagusta heavy firing started.

As the darkness fell up on the area of fighting, the exchange of fire bulled down a little and at this juncture I took shelter in the house of a neighbour named Mr. Mustafa İZZETOĞLU of Famagusta. Mr. Mustafa was standing near the kitchen door of his house at the back of his house. The Greek snipers started firing again and I thought it most reasonable in the circumstances to continue my shelter in my said neighbour's house and watch the development of the fighting.

On the early morning of 21.7.1974 Sunday, while I was still in the house of my said neighbour to my astonishment I heard Greek voices (I can speak Greek language fluently) which definitely bore the accent of Greeks from Greece. When I looked cryptically through a window of the house I noticed more than 100 armed Greek soldiers dressed in battle-dress rushing towards Baykal quarter where I was in shelter.

One of the soldiers who appeared to be a Greek officer was giving orders to his soldiers in loud voice "Be careful we are in Turkish quarter, take shelter under the verandahs of the houses. You should kill relentlessly and without pity; eath to the Turks." The Greeks were firing at random on to the Turkish houses in the quarter. My friend and myself were horrified and petrified at our imminent approaching death. We were unarmed and were worried about the fate of our families who took shelter in the basement of a nearby house as stated above. There was no chance for us to run or walk towards the walled city of Famagusta to save our lives as all the streets were guarded by armed Greek soldiers who were still firing towards the Turkish houses and even to the strayed dogs and hens and cocks in the streets. One of them shouted to his friend. "Shoot this hen and we shall cook it to-night and have a nice meal. The other Greek soldier retorted" you better save your bullet for a bloody Turk tomorrow. "

On 23.7.1974 heavy firing started at early morning and continued throughout the day. Our food completely ran short and we were confronted with starvation. During this period namely 21.7.1974 my friend and I were keeping guard at his house where we happened to take shelter.

On the morning of 24.7.1974 (Wednesday) the Greek irregulars started to break into a drapery shop nearby and loot the stuff inside; they brought with them 2 lorries with which they started to load the contents of the shop. At about 2.30 p.m. on 24.7.1974 the Greek soldiers, who appeared from their dress to be regulars and irregulars, started to break into the Turkish houses and looted the contents thereof. In the breaking in one of the houses, first the doors were broken with great force and smashed. The invaders appeared mainly to look for jewellery and the like material because from their loud conversation one of them

was shouting at the other in the following terms. "I found a lot of jewellery in this house;" The other fellow replied "Keep them safely until we divide them."

Our turn of breaking in came nearer when my friend and I heard the next-door of the neighbouring house being smashed to the ground and indeed our turn came when the front door was knocked down with a forcible push and then a strife of bullets into the sitting room of the house. I was naturally petrified at the scene and in horror and fear my companion and I ran outside from the back-side of the house from the kitchen door. I crawled to safety in a nearby ditch to another Turkish house in the quarter and in desperate condition. I took shelter in a hencoop in the yard of the house. The sun was blazing and the heat made it impossible for me to continue my shelter in a hencoop which was made of zinc. The heat inside was unbearable and I decided to climb on an orange tree in the yard nearby as I could see armed Greek irregulars rushing into the area and nearby house. I decided under this horrified condition to crawl to safety into the kitchen of a nearby house which I saw was open. So I did under Greek sniper fire which fortunately missed me. I crawled to safety into the said house but I could still hear shoutings in Greek "Somebody went into that house. Go and shoot him." I locked the kitchen door of the house into which I crawled for safety. Later after about 1/2 hour I heard knocks at the door which was forced with hits of feet and firing on the door started.

The invaders were Greeks as they were speaking in Greek language. I spent the night of 24.7.1974 in this house under horrified sense of facing death as I was armless and alone; I spent the day of 25.7.1974 at my new shelter until 9.10 a.m. when I decided to leave the house and use a bicycle which was in the yard of this house to cycle to the walled city of Famagusta for safety where nearly all the suburban inhabitants had taken shelter. As soon as I reached the main road leading towards the walled city a heavy firing from behind started towards me from a distance of about 100 yds. When I looked behind, I observed a soldier on a Turkish shop's roof-top holding a bren-gun and shouting to me in Greek: Are you a Greek or a Turk. You are a Turk because I saw you leaving a Turkish house." I continued cycling in desperation when the shots continued and one of them hit the tyre of my bicycle cycle and the tyre went flat. I fell down from the bicycle; the Greek soldier on the roof-top shouted in loud voice "come here with hands up otherwise I will shoot you." Under this desperate condition I left the bicycle on the road and with my hands raised up I approached the Greek soldier. When I approached him he shouted to his friends who were looting a super market with a car nearby. His companions, 2 of them came out of the shop. All appeared to be at the age of 20, 21, 22. One of them with an angry mood retorted to me "You are lucky you are not dead. You are a lawyer. I used to see you defending in Greek Courts in Varosha. You are now a prisoner of war." I implored him to let me free as I was a non-combatant and armless. He held me by the arm and by means of a walky wireless he informed his superiors about my captivity. After nearly 10 minutes an army-jeep arrived at the scene. I was pushed inside the car against my will; my captivator pushed me forcibly into the car near the driver's seat. My right ribs hit against the steering wheel of the car. I nearly fainted and breathless. I felt

that one of my ribs was broken. I implored my captivator again to let me free but with no avail. He was shouting "Death to you all Turks. I must take you to prison", and indeed he drove me to the police station situated on the main road towards Varosha. When we arrived at the Police Station my captivator ordered me to alight. So I did. He ordered a prison warder to open and unlock the prison locks. My captivator had a reddish long beard with stout disposition. He carried 2 revolvers one on each side of his belt and a stengun in his hands. He pulled me abruptly down and ordered me to walk into the prison cells. As it was very hot I implored my captivators to let me inside the iron railings of the prison so that I could have some fresh air. At this juncture he pulled me by the hair of my head and hit my head against the iron railings of the prison encampment. He pushed me through the prison corridor and forced me into a small prison room which appeared to accommodate only 1 person standing. I refused to enter the prison room. He held me again by the hair of my head and hit my head forcibly twice against the prison wall whereupon, I felt my brain was smashed and a severe laceration and bleeding occurred on my right forehead. I nearly fainted and fell to the ground. I used my handkerchief to stop bleeding. I was groaning, calling for water and help. I was nearly 15 minutes on the ground lamenting my unfortunate condition when from a nearby prison cell a voice addressed me in Turkish as follows "Are you Mr. Ayhan the lawyer". I replied in the affirmative and I stood up and held the iron railings of the prison cell when the voice continued in Turkish. "My brother and I have been in this prison since 20.7.1974, we are starving. The bread which they (meaning Greeks) gave us is hard like stone, and we hit it against the wall to break it into pieces. We are not given any water; we are dying because of ill-treatment". I recognised immediately the inmates of the prison from their voices who appeared to be 2 brothers from my quarter near my residential house and the other inmate was a student lawyer called Günaltay Mustafa from the village of Lithrangomi, who told me that he was taken a captive by the Greeks on 20.7.1974 by force of arms from his house at the village. After about one hour from the time I was imprisoned 2 police officers in civilian dress came near my cell and told me that after a while they would take a statement from me and the other prisoners and take us to a safer place. I was interrogated nearly one hour by the said 2 men who were Greek police officers dressed in civilian clothes. One of them was interrogating and the other was noting what I said. My interrogator started with abusive questions. "You bloody Turks, you deserve all death, because your leaders pushed you into this catastrophe." I replied "I do not agree with what you say gentlemen. You the Greeks are to blame for all this." Thereupon my interregator hit me on the head with a revolver which he was holding. My lacerated wound on the fore-head started to bleed again, whereupon I requested whether I could be allowed to wash my wound and face with water from a water fountain in the yard. They consented to my request whereupon I walked to the yard of the prison and washed my face and wound. My interrogator followed and accompanied me with a revolver in his hand. There were 3 more Turkish captives in the cell. My interrogators were very pertinent to know whether I, as a former member of Turkish Communal Chamber, I knew before-hand that Turkey would start an armed operation against Cyprus. I replied that the operation was mainly taken to save both the Greeks and Turks from the genocidal attacks of the Greek armed forces and EOKA forces. My inter-

rogator became more arrogant and asked me whether I share the views of the Turkish leader, Mr. Denktaş, that the Greeks and Turks cannot live together but side by side. I replied I shared this view of our leader more strongly now having regard to the present events which were mainly perpetrated by the EOKA gunmen led by Nicos Sampson. My interrogator then questioned me as follows:

QUESTION: Is it correct that you gave a T V statement to the Voice of America, Middle East representative to the effect that Makarios and Sampson are murderers ?

ANSWER: This is correct and I still hold this view. You know the true facts as much as I know them. My reply must have offended my interrogator.

When I was suddenly struck on the head with a hard instrument whereupon I fell down on the floor, I noticed a Greek irregular dressed in a squalid clothes holding a revolver in his right hand. I felt I was dying and again I implored my questioner "if you believe in God and Christ give me some water to drink." He replied "there is no water."

QUESTION: Is it not correct that you had coffee with Mr. Çağlayangil, the Foreign Minister of Turkey, when he recently visited Famagusta and what did you converse with him?

ANSWER: That is true our conversation mainly referred to the historical aspect of Famagusta town. No political aspect of Cyprus was discussed. I retorted. "I cannot understand the purpose of your questions. Please do not forget that I am a prisoner at your hands and the international agreement pertaining to prisoners of war will not allow you to ill-treat me in this manner. You are acting in violation of the said agreement to which Greece is also a signatory as a member of U.N. whereupon the other Greek fellow who was watching and taking notes of my questioning said: Let us stop our questioning. We cannot get anything from this lawyer. He is a shrewd man.

QUESTION: What kind of gun did you use on 20th July?

ANSWER: A sten-gun which I intended to use only in self-defence and the occasion never arose.

After the questioning of 4 other Turkish prisoners we were told that we should be taken to another place and 2 police constables, mounted a police car and warned. "If any one of you should attempt to escape all of you would be dead". Thereupon, I admonished my companions to be careful as this may be our last journey on earth. After a drive of about 15 minutes we were taken to Karaolos concentration camp which is nearly a mile far away from the Turkish walled city of Famagusta. We were taken to a barrack in which I observed nearly 80 other Turkish prisoners who narrated to me how they were inhumanly taken out by force from their houses and they were men, women, and children of 5-6

in this barrack. We spent the night on the cold cement floor. The children were shivering from fear. At the door of the barrack were posted 3 armed Greek soldiers who kept the door closed during all night. I would not stand or bear this inhuman treatment whereupon I requested in a very gentle manner the guards to open the door to let in fresh air. Upon this he replied "If you persist in your request and you are brave enough get out of the room so that you may be more comfortable in the next world."

I replied we were captives at the mercy of Greeks. The Greek fellow was holding a machine gun. We, about 83 Turkish prisoners, spent the night in this barrack in anguish and deep concern about our next fate.

In the morning of 25th July 1974, Thursday, orders were given to us, about 83 Turkish prisoners, to move to another barrack which was furnished with double iron-bedsteads, remnants from the English who used to camp as a base during the British administration of Cyprus. Women were forced to sleep in the same barrack which was a little more comfortable laying on a bed rather than on bare floor. On 26.7.1974 a prison guard asked the inmates of the barrack that they heard that there was a lawyer (meaning myself) amongst the prisoners and wanted to see him. Whereupon I introduced myself. He was a young Greek soldier of about 33 from Engomi village as he told me. He remarked to me holding an axe in his hands. He was brandishing the axe from left to right as I told him to be careful as he may hurt somebody. He seemed nervous at my remark and retorted in an insulting mood as follows:

The Yourouks (Yörüks meaning the Turkish soldiers) have invaded our mother-land. I was going to be married on 20.7.1974 (Saturday). Wedding has been postponed and further I lost nearly £5000 cash as gift". I said to him: "My dear fellow instead of accusing Turkey why don't you ask this question to Makarios and Nicos Sampson?" Whereupon he retorted "all of you here will die in the near future. He spread a false alarm to the inmates of the barrack that all would be shot dead.

We were completely separated from out-side world. No news media were allowed to enter the concentration camp. A young lady of the age of 20 was constantly being indecently manipulated by one of the Greek soldiers who alleged was given the charge of the kitchen for the prisoners. The Turkish inmates revolted strongly against this indecent behaviour of the said Greek soldier who, according to the complaint to me of the young Turkish girl, was threatening her with death if she refused sexual intercourse with him. I approached the soldier and reminded him of his indecent behaviour towards this young Turkish girl, and that I will report the complaint to the concentration camp governor. He became very abusive and started to manipulate his revolver and threatened to shoot me. I reiterated my complaint to him and told him not to molest the young lady

On 14.8.1974 at about 11 o'clock in the middle of the night we were awakened by a loud voice of a Greek soldier. He was yelling. "Wake up you are

leaving to-night'. When we woke up we were ordered to get into two empty lorries parked outside the barrack. We were 133 prisoners. The 2 lorries could not accommodate so many human beings. We were squeezed together in horror without knowing our next fate. Then we were driven to a suburb of Varosha called Dherinia. We were ordered to get off the lorries in the yard of a building which appeared to be an elementary school. We were ordered to accommodate ourselves in 2 small class rooms. We were hungry for the last 2 days. When we asked for water, we were told to wait until morning.

On 15.8.1974 at about 4 p.m. we were put in 2 empty lorries again and driven through 4 Greek villages situated at the south east of Famagusta District. The driver of the lorry was frantically yelling to the Greek villagers standing by the side of the road. "We are taking these animals, meaning us, to the slaughterhouse" to which the yelling Greek villagers spat to us and shouted at us. Death to all of you dirty dog Turks." We were under constant fear of death. The Greek mob was excited and some carried rifles. Then we were taken to the village of Ormidhia (a Greek village) and ordered to get into an orange grove which was full of wild bushes and sit on them. We reluctantly obeyed. After 1/2 hour we were ordered to file and walk up hill, with an admonition that any attempt by any one of us to escape would mean death to all of us. We were put into a goats fold which accommodated only 40 goats. We were 133 prisoners. The fold was full of animal dirt, stones and wild bushes. Then we were ordered to lie down. When I objected to sit or lie down I was told that I must be shot dead to learn how to obey orders. The EOKA men surrounded the fold and were watching us with threatening behaviour. One of them yelled to the other "we can finish these animals, meaning us the prisoner's, to night with 4 hand grenades which they were carrying. At nearly 11.30 p.m. we were again ordered to mount into 2 empty lorries which were driven outside the animal fold. We were driven for 3 hours in anguish, to a Greek village called Anglisidhes. We were taken to a Greek school and ordered to sleep in 2 small class-rooms which could not accommodate more than 30 people each. Most of us spent the time sitting on the ground with folded legs under the constant watch of armed Greek guards. When an old man of 75 requested to be allowed to go to W.C. to pass water, he was told to pass water into his hand and drink his urine. When I protested against this inhuman behaviour, I was told to keep quiet if I don't want to have death instantly. The situation was most agonising for a human being to suffer. Next-day the 16th of August 1974 we were transported again in 2 open lorries to Limassol concentration camp where more than 2000 Turks were kept under captivity in 2 secondary school buildings.

Life in this camp was most unbearable. Cruelty, hunger and insults were most unbearable. We were living in squalid circumstances. Most of the prisoners became psychologically sick. We were accommodated in class-rooms, 60 prisoners in each room. In the mornings we were given only a piece of bread and 4 dry green olives. This was our only sustenance until the evening when another piece of bread was given just to keep us alive. The food naturally was not sufficient to keep us alive. Hunger was only satisfied with drinking water. There was no day passed when one of the prisoners was not beaten up or maltreated. Malt-

reatment was a routine business for the Greek soldiers and irregulars who were detailed to keep guard at the outside of each room. On the smallest pretext, cruelty by beating was exercised with due skill. It was about the first week of September 1974 when an English Reporter visited the concentration camp. The reporter was a certain Mr. Robert Mackenzy, the chief editor of the famous weekly Economist in London to whom I introduced myself and narrated to him the sufferings and depravity of the Turkish prisoners. A civilian Greek official was closely watching my conversation with the said English reporter who was apparently horrified at the squalid living conditions prevailing in the camp. Later I was summoned to the room of the said Greek official and told that my narrative of our story to the English reporter would be most severely punished. I replied that the cruelties effected upon the Turkish prisoners were against the precepts of international law and human dignity. The cruel acts amounted to a crime which the international Law provided severe punishment. The Greek official was most insolent to me when he reminded me about the concentration camps of Hitler upon which I retorted that the NURENBERG trials for war crimes and crimes against humanity and peace must not be forgotten.

During my captivity at the Limassol concentration camp as stated above unreasonable pretexts were invented by the Greeks to penalise innocent people. One day a young Turk was singing in his room out of anxiety felt about his relatives. Upon this incident the whole inmates amounting to about 60 were ordered by the Greek soldiers to get into the yard under blazing sun and run 50 times in circle. Amongst the unfortunates there was an old man of about 70 who was suffering from heart failure. He could not keep pace with the others in running in a circle when he fell down unconscious. We rushed with a Turkish doctor who was also a prisoner to his help. Upon medical interference by the Turkish doctor the life of the old man was saved by miracle. The above incidents are but a few of the human atrocities perpetrated against the Turkish prisoners at the camp by the Greeks. One of the most cruel acts was not allowing to use latrines whenever necessary. Each room was supplied with a plastic bucket into which all the inmates of a room urinated and sometimes the contents overflowed on the ground. The stink made it unbearable to live with all the windows closed all day and night.

During my captivity at the Greek hands I developed hyper-tension which developed into a paralysis. I am now a hemiplegic due to my sufferings at the Greek hands.

Dated and signed this on the 13th day of January 1977 at Famagusta.

(Ayhan ÇİFTÇİOĞLU)
(Barrister-at-Law, President of the Turkish Local Bar
Association of Famagusta-Cyprus, former executive member
of the Executive Council of the former Turkish Communal
Chamber of Cyprus.)

OFFICIAL LETTERS REGARDING TURKISH CYPRIOTS IN THE SOUTH

(a)

"23rd January, 1975

Your Excellency,

I have been informed that Turkish Cypriots Selim Cemal and Ayer Hüseyin of Paphos were apprehended between Spilia and Koutrapha villages by the Greek Cypriot National Guard on 18th January 1975, following which they were hanged on a tree and beaten up severely for a period of six hours. Later they were taken to Evrykhou Police Station for interrogation, where they were also manhandled, and are now in very serious condition at their homes in Paphos.

In view of the fact that these people do not feel safe at their homes in Paphos and their condition requires urgent medical treatment, I shall be grateful if Your Excellency will use his good offices to enable their transport to the Turkish General Hospital in Nicosia.

Please accept, Your Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

(R.R. DENKTAŞ)
Vice-President
Republic of Cyprus"

(b)

"VICE-PRESIDENT'S OFFICE
NICOSIA

29th January, 1975

Your Excellency,

It has been represented to me that the Turkish Cypriot Community living in the Paphos District is being subjected to the following new harassments by Greek Cypriots, particularly the Greek Cypriot Police and the National Guard.

1) In the village of Polis, Greek Cypriot gunmen have created an atmosphere of fear and apprehension among the members of the Turkish Cypriot Community, through insults, direct threats on the lives of the residents, or by means of knocking on their doors at late hours of the night.

2) On 26th January 1975 at 15.00 hours, eight Greek Cypriot National Guardsmen drove into the village of Ayios Yeorghios in a Landrover and made threats on the lives of the Turkish residents.

3) Greek Cypriot shepherds have been grazing their flocks in the Turkish owned grain fields of Trimithousa (Paphos), Evretou, Magounda and Khrysokhou villages, causing extensive damage to the standing crops. Complaints made to the Greek Cypriot Police by the owners have so far been ignored.

4) A strict curfew has been imposed on the Turkish population of Akoursos village since last week. Even sick women and children have not been allowed to leave the village in order to go to Paphos Hospital for treatment. A truckload of food supplies sent by the Turkish inhabitants of Paphos to Akoursos for relief purposes was also confiscated by the Greek Cypriot Police, subjecting the one hundred Turks living in this village to virtual starvation.

5) Greek Cypriot gunmen patrolling the streets in the Turkish section of Paphos have been yelling out insults such as "When are you going North, you Turkish dogs!" at the Turkish residents they meet on their way. Solar heating systems are being torn-off from Turkish houses by armed Greek Cypriots by force.

6) Under the false pretence that they are searching for weapons Greek Cypriot armed elements have been entering Turkish homes at night and making indecent assaults on Turkish women and young girls.

Your Excellency will appreciate the fact that these incidents have made, and continue to make life all the more unbearable for the Turkish Cypriots living in the Greek-controlled South. I shall be grateful, therefore, if Your Excellency will ensure that UNFICYP takes necessary measures to prevent the recurrence of these acts of harassment.

Please accept, Your Excellency, the assurance of my highest consideration.

(R.R. DENKTAŞ)
Vice-President
Republic of Cyprus"

(c)

"VICE-PRESIDENT'S OFFICE
NICOSIA.

30th January, 1975

Your Excellency,

I have been informed by a reliable source that the five Turkish families (18 persons) who are still at Siliku village, Limassol, are being harassed by the Greek soldiers and police day and night. They have made life unbearable for these unfortunate people. Their houses are being searched at any time of the day or night and their goods are taken away forcibly.

Greeks of the village are also throwing stones to the Turkish houses at night and shouting to the Turks that "their days are counted".

A similar complaint has reached me concerning 150 Turks of Dimi village, Paphos. They even state that the Greek grocers at the village are not selling any provisions to the Turks of the village and their children who go out in the streets are beaten by the Greeks.

I shall be grateful if you would kindly investigate these cases and take the necessary measures.

Please accept, Your Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

(R.R.DENKTAŞ)
Vice-President
Republic of Cyprus"

(d)

"VICE-PRESIDENT'S OFFICE,
NICOSIA

7th February, 1975

Your Excellency,

According to an article which appeared in the Cyprus Mail on 2nd February 1975 under the headline "Drivers sent to jail for carrying Turks", the Greek Cypriot Supreme Court has increased the sentences of the two Greek Cypriot drivers, who had previously been sentenced to a fine by the lower Court pending appeal, to six months imprisonment.

The fact that this case has been made subject of an appeal to the Supreme Court shows that the Greek Cypriot Administration has intensified its illegal and inhuman efforts to restrict the freedom of movement of the Turkish Cypriots living in the South. Even the carrying of Turkish Cypriot passengers in Greek Cypriot-owned vehicles has been prohibited, as part of the Greek Cypriot policy to force Turkish Cypriots to remain in the South against their will.

It should be realised that these Turkish Cypriots who are attempting to move to the Turkish region for their safety, are doing so under very difficult conditions and leaving most or all of their properties and belongings behind and, as incidents in the past have proven, even at the risk of their lives. On one hand the Greek Cypriot armed elements are doing everything to make life more miserable for the Turkish Cypriot Community living in the South; on the other they are preventing them from moving North by all means possible including illegal arrests, beating and torture, confiscation of their goods and in some cases even murder.

At this point I wish to refer to a communication I have recently addressed to Your Excellency's Special Representative in Cyprus, Mr. L. Weckmann Munoz, in which I requested assistance for transportation to the North for urgent medical treatment of two Turkish Cypriots for the injuries they received after being hanged on a tree and beaten severely for six continuous hours by the Greek Cypriot National Guard. The Turkish Cypriots in question were residents of Paphos and were on their way to the Turkish region when they were apprehended by the Greek Cypriot National Guard following which they were subjected to such treatment and put into serious physical condition.

It is no surprise that the Turkish Cypriots living in the South continue to risk so much in order to come to the North. Those who have been forced to remain in the South for political bargaining purposes by over increasing restrictions imposed upon their freedom of movement, are being subjected to innumerable including insult, threats of mass massacre, indecent approaches on women and young girls and all sorts of atrocities, words fall short of describing.

I strongly protest these actions which are aimed at detaining the Turkish Cypriot Community, in violation of all human decency as well as the principles of the U.N. Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenants on Human Rights, as virtual hostages in the Greek controlled region of Cyprus in the South.

I shall be grateful if this communication is presented to the knowledge of all the Honourable Members of the Security Council by having it circulated as a Security Council document.

Please accept, Your Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

(R.R. DENKTAŞ)
Vice-President
Republic of Cyprus."

(e)

"10th February 1975

Commission on Human Rights
United Nations Organization
New York.

Subject: Turkish Cypriots stranded in Polis are being threatened with death by the Greek Cypriots.

Over one hundred Turkish Cypriots are still stranded in Polis. Most of them are old men and women and the 20 or so young people who remain, live in constant fear of death, and the sick remain deprived of treatment. Permission is not being given for the removal of the seriously ill. The Greek Cypriots show no understanding towards even the most urgent needs of the Turks, but oppress them with threats and moral pressure. The people of Polis are undergoing a very hard struggle for life. Greek soldiers and Greek Cypriot National Guardsmen, equipped with American weapons, have set up control positions in areas inhabited by Turks. Many Turkish houses have been burned, pulled down and are being looted. New Turkish houses have been forcibly vacated and handed over to Greek Cypriot refugees. Recently, a stream of Greek Cypriot refugees who have poured into Polis are looting Turkish houses and threatening the Turks with death. The Greek Cypriots, yelling threats of death to the Turks day and night, give our people no peace. The Turks, under constant fear because of these Greek Cypriot attacks, have been forced to gather in their houses in groups in order to keep up their morale and so pass these fearful and sleepless nights.

Especially on Sundays, drunk Greek Cypriot National Guardsmen and civilians attack areas inhabited by Turks, shout out threats against them and the Turkish Race, and so create the atmosphere and terror of a massacre. It is reported that these armed and insane Greek Cypriots recklessly fire their weapons in the streets, forcibly enter Turkish houses and hurl stones at their doors and windows at night.

On 21 October, 1974, during his visit to Polis, Clerides personally saw what the Greek Cypriots were doing to the Turks. He was ashamed at what he saw; and the Turks were witnesses to what he said there to the Greek Cypriot officials, who were present. It is impossible to explain the reasons for the continued cruelties against the Turks, having regard to Clerides's words on that occasion.

No thought is given to the fact that in any place where the Greek Cypriots are in the Turkish areas, such cruelties do not exist and cannot take place.

What is more, foreigners, deceived by false Greek Cypriot propaganda and thoroughly conditioned by it, close their eyes to the barbarity, of what can only be called the present day inquisition, which is still being practiced against the Turks in Cyprus.

The Turks of Polis who were able to attain their freedom but were forced to leave behind their aged relatives and near ones, vehemently protest before the civilized world against the unaltered situation of which Clerides was a witness, and against Makarios' intransigence over the attainment of their freedom by the Turks now in Polis. Those who think that the Turkish struggle for freedom will be abandoned under the pressure of political blackmail will soon have to pay the penalty for the wrongs they have committed.

We sincerely hope that a speedy solution to this non-political and humanitarian aspect of the situation prevailing in Polis will receive the careful consideration of the distinguished U.N. Secretary-General.

*I am, Your Excellency's
Most Obedient Servant*

*(Sgd.) MULAYİM NİYAZI
Acting on behalf of the
citizens named below*

- | | |
|-------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Ertoğrul Enver | 10. Nevin Enver |
| 2. Kemal Tahir | 11. Mustafa Enver |
| 3. Cemal Genuza | 12. Enver Diliri |
| 4. Mehmet Batsalo | 13. Artun Cahit |
| 5. Meryem Fuat | 14. Ülki Mehmet |
| 6. Selma Nazım | 15. Emine Ahmet |
| 7. Ahmet Gatsuri | 16. Ayşe Fuat |
| 8. Meryem Ahmet | 17. Emine Cafer |
| 9. Mehmet Ebe | |

(f)

'Nicosia
27th February, 1975

Your Excellency,

I wish to inform you of the following complaints brought to my knowledge on the living conditions of the Turkish Cypriots in the South especially of those living in Polis, Paphos area.

1. Turkish Cypriots living in the area are under great pressure and face daily insults by the Greek civilians, police, officials and soldiers. They are under constant fear of their lives and they do not have security of their properties.

Following are some examples:

(a) Greek Cypriot shepherds wilfully are grazing their flock in the potatoe field of Mr. Şemsettin Şaban of Magunda village. All his efforts and complaints to stop them from damaging his crops have not given a positive result.

(b) Water-well 320 feet deep, belonging to Mr. Raif Tahir of Antroliku village has been filled by stones and the theft of 1000 feet long water-

pipes have been reported to local Greek Police and United Nations civilian police, but the answer given by the Greek Police was that, it was the work of silly children.

(c) Water-pump and water-pipes belonging to Mr. Beyit Darbaz of Kato Arodhez have been stolen by Greek Cypriots. Turkish houses in the out skirts of the same village have been looted by Greeks.

(d) Two tractor-levellers belonging to Mr. Mustafa Salih and Mr. Emin Hüseyin of Kato Arodhes have been stolen by Greek Cypriots.

(e) Turkish Cypriot living in Polis, Paphos, are under constant threat of their lives. So, at night, they gather and stay together in more secure places but even then they do not feel secure because their houses are broken in and robbed by Greek Cypriots and their doors and windows damaged.

I, therefore, beg Your Excellency, to take any action you deem necessary to put an end to these inhuman acts of the Greek Cypriots.

Please accept, Your Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

(Sgd.) R.R. DENKTAS

President

Turkish Federated State of Cyprus."

(g)

"3rd May 1975

Your Excellency,

There are approximately 11,000 Turkish Cypriots in the South who are living as virtual prisoners in the hands of Greek Cypriots in fear of their lives and in misery. These people who are mostly elderly and infirm or members of broken families are being forcibly detained in the South as political pawns. They are yearning to cross to the North and regain their liberty but they are unable to do so in the ordinary way owing to the restrictions imposed on their freedom of movement by the Greek Cypriot Administration in flagrant violation of all principles of human rights.

In order to prevent these people from crossing to the North, the Greek Cypriot Administration has taken all sorts of restrictive measures including the enactment of legislation making the transportation of Turkish Cypriots to the North a criminal offence punishable by heavy fines, imprisonment and/or the confiscation of the vehicles involved. There is no doubt that these measures as

well as the legislation in question are in themselves glaring examples of inhuman discrimination against Turkish Cypriots living in the South. Greek Authorities have also established check points on all roads leading to the North and manned them with armed personnel with orders to shoot at any vehicle which fails to stop. I enclose extracts from the local Greek press showing evidence of such instances as well as punishments inflicted on Greek drivers by the Greek Cypriot Courts for transporting Turkish Cypriots to the North.

These discriminatory, ultra vires and inhuman measures of the Greek Cypriot Administration are forcing Turkish Cypriots to pay exorbitant sums of money to Greek Cypriot taxi drivers and to risk their lives in order to be able to regain their liberty and join their families in the North.

During the last two or three months over six hundred Turkish Cypriots tried to cross to the North but were intercepted by the Greek Cypriot Police or the National Guard and returned to their villages after lengthy interrogation and torture at Greek Cypriot Police Stations. On two occasions the Greek Cypriot sentries at the check points fired at the vehicles-causing in one instance the death of a four-month old baby and seriously wounding of her mother.

I need hardly stress that this attitude of the Greek Cypriot Administration violates all norms of human decency and breeds hatred and enmity between the two communities.

In the circumstances, I shall very much appreciate if Your Excellency will use your good offices for the removal of the discriminatory and inhuman restrictions imposed on the freedom of movement of Turkish Cypriots living in the South so as to enable these unfortunate people freely to join their families in the North.

I shall be grateful if Your Excellency will kindly have this communication circulated as a Security Council document.

Please accept, Your Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration

(Sgd.) Dr. Necdet Ünel
Acting President
Turkish Federated State of Cyprus."

(h)

"Nicosia
14th July, 1975

Your Excellency,

I wish to inform you that at a meeting of the Constituent Assembly of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus held on the 3rd July, 1975, the policy of the Greek Cypriot Administration viz-a-viz the Turkish Cypriots living in the South was strongly criticized. Speakers deplored the atrocities committed against Turkish Cypriots living in the South and the inhuman restrictions imposed on their freedom of movement. A comparison was made between the Turkish Cypriots living in the South and Greek Cypriots living in the North and it was pointed out that while the Greek Cypriots in the North enjoy full freedom of movement and are free to work and live as they please (this was personally confirmed by Mr. Glafcos Clerides during a visit he paid to the area); the Turkish Cypriots in the South are suffering all sort of atrocities, discrimination and inhuman restrictions imposed on their freedom of movement: Separated families, children, bedridden elderly and sick people are being prevented from joining their relatives in the North. Turkish Cypriot students, whose transfer to the North had already been agreed, are not being allowed to cross to the Turkish Cypriot region to continue their studies. Those who attempt to cross to the North secretly are intercepted by the Greek Cypriot Police and the National Guard soldiers and are subjected to lengthy interrogation and torture.

The speakers requested me in my capacity as the Acting President of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus and the Deputy President of the Constituent Assembly to bring to Your Excellency's knowledge the above-mentioned facts and to lodge a strong protest against these inhuman acts of the Greek Cypriot Administration.

It is earnestly hoped that Your Excellency will use your good offices so that an early end is put to the sufferings of the Turkish Cypriot in the South by ensuring the exercise of their freedom of movement.

I shall be grateful Your Excellency if this communication could be circulated to all the members of the Security Council as an official document.

Please accept, Your Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

(Dr. Necdet Ünel)
Acting President of the
Turkish Federated State of Cyprus and
Deputy President of the Constituent Assembly."

From a Doctor's Point of view:

WHY A BIZONAL FEDERATION

by Dr. Ayten S. BERKALP

Why do we not want to live together but side-by-side with the Greeks?... I do not want my readers to look at the title of this article and think that they are about to read yet another political dissertation. This is the story of a Turkish doctor who returned to Cyprus after having studied medicine in Turkey and her bitter experience in hospitals in the Greek sector of the island during the years of intercommunal strife between 1963 and 1974... It is the story of my life.

I spent the years 1961-1962 at the Nicosia General Hospital with friends and associates of Georgadjis and Papadopoulos; stayed with them at the same building and shared the same dining table... And suddenly I found myself in December 1963. Because of the incidents that took place on 19 and 20 December 1963 Turkish government officials had decided not to attend their duties in the Greek sector of Nicosia. But the two anaesthetists working at the General Hospital were both Turks. The Chief Medical Officer of the hospital, who was Greek, rang up Dr. Niyazi Manyera, the then Minister of Health, and said it was absolutely necessary that one of the specialist anaesthetists should stay on duty. Consequently after the meeting of the Turkish Medical Association on Saturday, 20 December 1963, the benevolent woman doctor was escorted to the hospital by some of her colleagues. At the time there were at least 80 Turkish patients as well as 25 Turkish nurses and 3 Turkish sisters staying at the Nicosia General Hospital. Surely the young woman doctor's life was not any more precious than theirs!

At 10.00 pm on Sunday night, 21 December 1963, I was on duty in the surgery of the hospital making the final preparations to de-anaesthetize a Greek patient who had undergone surgery for a gastric ulcer. In a few minutes the hospital was suddenly full of armed Greek soldiers and civilians. Some of them entered the surgery and stood all around me. As I was anaesthetizing the first wounded Greek there were three uniformed men in boots standing around me with their guns pointing towards me; whereas the doctors were busy tending to the patient, wearing sterile gloves, surgical caps and masks. When I stated that I couldn't possibly go on administering the anaesthetic at gun-point Dr. Marangos had to beg and persuade the soldiers to leave the surgery.

Wounded Greeks came in one after another. Yet I found an opportunity to call my doctor colleagues in the Turkish sector of the town and asked how they were getting on. They said they needed blood. Thinking that we could make use of the blood stock belonging to Turkish Clinics, stored at the Greek blood bank

I told them I might be able to supply them with some. As I could not leave the surgery I asked Dr. Fessas, the Chief Medical Officer to come to the surgery to discuss the matter. He came over accompanied by the Director-General of the Ministry of Health Dr. Vassilopoulos, and the Senior Matron Miss Türkân Aziz. I asked the Chief Medical officer to let us have 3-4 litres of blood from the stock belonging to Turkish Clinics so that we could send it over to the Turkish quarter where it was urgently needed. He retorted by saying: "Do you expect ME to send blood to the Turkish side? Why haven't Turkish doctors reported for duty?" He was furious, shouting at the top of his voice. I told him that all the streets were under fire, that there was no safe access to the hospital and that the Turkish doctors were doing their duty as best they could in the Turkish sector of the town. I pointed out that due to shortage of blood wounded Turks faced the imminent danger of death and said: "I am working and doing my best for you. In return I ask you to let us have some blood". Upon hearing this he got very angry and reprimanded me most severely. I insisted on my request and said that otherwise I would not be able to resume my duties. He got so furious that he threatened he was going to beat me. What else could one expect from Sampson's father-in-Law? Blinded with hatred and enmity towards the Turks he had, forgotten his "Hippocratic Oath" to run to the aid of all ailing men, irrespective of race, religion or nationality. I remember returning to the surgery in response to the Greek surgeon's call, silently murmuring the following prayer: "O God!, please leave no one at the mercy of a Greek! O God Almighty, please help the wounded Turks!"

The second incident is again related with blood. The same night I remember dashing to the wards, between two operations, to boost up the morale of Turkish nurses, sisters and patients. Whilst the Turkish personnel of the hospital were doing their best to be of service, the Greek personnel were grossly neglecting their Turkish patients. A patient operated by Dr. Kaya Bekiroğlu some time ago was suffering from severe shock due to loss of excessive blood. I had some trouble in persuading a Greek nurse to help me. I gave the patient a bottle of blood, fixing the transfusion drip with my own two hands. If I had known the consequence I might not have insisted so much; because I learned later that soon after I had left they had taken away the old father waiting beside the patient's bed to donate blood by force. Next morning we found his dead body in the morgue. His son's dead body was among those handed over later to the Turkish side. They had extracted too much blood out of the old father and not given enough to the son! "God save Turks from having to be left at the mercy of Greek hospitals."

The third incident is even more bitter and saddening than the rest, because this is tantamount to sheer crime and manslaughter.

On Monday morning, 21 December 1963, a Turkish male nurse named Veli, who all through Sunday night was busy tending wounded Greek patients and a young Teachers' College student named Menteş, who was being released from hospital with the excuse that routine operations could not, under the circumstances, be carried out, came looking for me at the surgery and asked me to take them over to the Turkish side in my car. There were road-blocks at the entry and

exit gates of the hospital and armed soldiers were standing guard. I tried to obtain permission from Dr. Fessas to run the two young men over to the Turkish side in my car. In reply they blocked our way out with an army truck. In the end I had no other alternative but to take the two young men over to my little bed-room just below the hospital's obstetric delivery ward. Before we had time to enter the room we were surrounded by armed Greeks. They searched the room and our bodies but they couldn't find anything, and eventually they left. I locked the two young men inside the room and returned to the surgery. At noon I took them something to eat and I asked sister Konoul, who had just come out of duty, and two other nurses to stay with them. They said that their door had been forced a few times but that no one had entered. I went back again to the surgery. Towards evening Dr. Fessas sent for me. He seemed upset and in a pensive mood. He began talking in a low voice, trying to look calm and composed. He said that having two young men locked up in my room together with girl nurses was attracting attention and unnecessary comment and said that since I couldn't possibly stay with them all the time it would be better for them to be removed elsewhere; preferably to Matron Türkân's room. I spoke to the Matron and the boys. During the last few hours they had been pestered a lot. They wanted to be removed to a safer place. They left me, accompanied by Matron Türkân, sister Konoul and the two other nurses. That was the last time I saw Veli and Menteş alive. I learnt later that as soon as they had entered the Matron's room they were surrounded by six armed men. Two of them took Matron Türkân out of the room saying they were taking her to the Chief Medical Officer whilst the remaining four gunmen shot down and killed the two young men whilst they were sitting down... "We do not want to live again with people who have gunned down and killed Turkish patients and nurses in hospitals. That's why we do not want to live together, intermingled with the Greeks."

The death of our two male friends in the hospital shocked us all; particularly Matron Türkân Aziz. All the Turkish personnel of the hospital had gathered together at the Nurses' quarters behind the hospital. The only ones left at the front building were I, Sister Şefika and a midwife named Gülsün. I was reasoning that so long as they needed us they wouldn't kill us. I was wrong; because they had already found a Greek anaesthetist who had been practising privately. Late at night the same Monday night, when I was alone in the surgery a Greek nurse rang me up saying that sister Şefika's life was in danger. I dashed out. She was hanging out from one of the windows of the women's ward, looking out. There were four armed men in the room behind her and one of the men had his gun pointing towards her. I grabbed Şefika by the arm and hastily pulled her out towards the surgery. They followed us from close behind, right into the dark surgery but didn't find time to kill us. A Greek surgeon who rushed in by sheer chance and coincidence ordered the gunmen out of the surgery and said to us: "Don't be afraid. You have been working for us for the last 24 hours. Nobody can kill you." One of the four men who had tried to take our lives was a civilian, and unfortunately he was a member of the hospital personnel. After a while we too were taken behind to the Nurses Quarters by the Greek Chief Matron and other nurses. We spent Tuesday and Wednesday locked up in two separate rooms. In the meantime, I had availed myself of an opportunity to ring Dr. Fazıl Küçük, the Vice-President

of the Republic, explaining our situation and telling him that some of us had been killed. The only people who looked us up and asked how we were getting along, were two sisters, from the British Red-Cross and St. John's Ambulance Association, who happened to be personal friends of Matron Türkân Aziz. We made an attempt to cross over to the Turkish sector in the car but Dr. Fessas again obstructed us. Unable to risk being shot in the back and upon the advice of the two English sisters we decided not to leave the hospital compound. On Wednesday, 24 December, 1963 we heard and stealthily observed from behind closed windows jets roaring past above our heads. We could tell by the sudden anxiety of the Greeks that these were Turkish jets and we felt relieved and somehow exhilarated.

Our first stop after crossing over to the Turkish side amid tears of relief was Turkish Colonel Dr. Nihat's house which is today the Museum of Barbarism. After the intense agony, excitement and fatigue of the last four days the tragic sight that stood before us almost sent me fainting.

They say that history is a repetition of the past. The same incidents were repeated in 1974, this time in Limassol. During this fighting that was taking place eleven years after my first bitter experience, I was in Limassol, in the Turkish Quarter of the town surrounded on all four sides by the Greeks. The fighting that began on 20 July went on till the early evening. Because the Turkish hospital was under constant and heavy fire from Greek machine-gun positions on top of KEO factory, we had had to evacuate the surgery and set up a make-shift one in the basement of a close-by coffee-shop. We had had to cram in 165 wounded men in a two-room ward with a capacity of only 30 beds, and we had piled up the dead in the Chief physicians office. Young girls trained as first-aiders were doing their best to help the wounded and the male personnel detailed for stretcher-carrying and similar heavier work were very conscientious and almost indefatigable. Women were competing with one another in the blood-donors' queue and they could be heard repeating: "Go on, take as much as you need. You may even take it all!" But this was a hopeless struggle. Towards five in the afternoon the whole Turkish population of the town began flocking to the hospital, gathering in the front yard that was customarily used for ceremonies. Armed, self-conceited and savage Greek soldiers were cursing and calling people improper names like "Bello Turko (silly Turk)" and they were lashing around, hitting people with their gun-butts, irrespective of whether their victims were women, young children or sick and elderly people.

Soon afterwards they hoisted Greek flags and blood-stained white sheets they had grabbed from the beds of the wounded on the flag-mast of the hospital and the Martyrs' Monument and on the nearby mosque minaret. Not sufficing with the above, they forced a young Turk at gun-point to burn his own flag, while a pompous commander was celebrating his victory (!) by dragging a Turkish flag tied behind his car. Children were crying with terror and older folks could be heard murmuring silent prayers. By God, it was a moving and tragic sight. "God save anyone from ever falling a victim or prisoner to a Greek!"

All through the night and until noon next day, all the Turkish population of Limassol were kept rounded up in front of the hospital. At noon all Turkish males between the ages of 10 and 70, including members of the House of Representatives, the Turkish District Officer, judges, doctors and all were detained as prisoners and taken away to a stadium. Turkish women and children were allowed to return to their looted houses with broken-doors and windows, on condition that they would stay indoors and that they would not leave the town. But towards nightfall almost all the women and children had come rushing back to the hospital, preferring to spend the night flocked together in the open yard so that they would not be pestered by Greek soldiers who forced their way into houses and assaulted defenceless womenfolk. But the condition of the hospital was not at all promising. For one thing there was no more flowing water and there was no electricity. As for conditions of 'sterility' there was no longer the slightest trace. There were armed Greeks all around the place to ensure, they alleged, that the wounded would not run away. The hospital personnel and assistants were being interrogated all night, right into the small hours of the day and some were being arrested and taken away for no apparent or valid reason. A Cypriot Greek named "Captain Stavros", with a black beret and a pistol in his belt-holder had turned into a menace, bent upon driving out our wits and life... He kept coming back to the hospital every now and again pretending he was looking for Turkish soldiers and Turkish Cypriot fighters, and every time he would yell and shout as if hell had been let loose.

At last on 16 August 1974 he came to take me away as well. He said that my cell and three policewomen were waiting for me at the police station. He accused me in the presence of advocate Mr. Ekrem Avcioglu, of helping and hiding Turkish fighters and said that he had come to arrest me. Although I proved to him by properly stamped and signed documents, the veracity of which was testified by the matron and the administrative officer of the hospital, that the assistant male nurses employed at the hospital had been put under my charge before the 20th of July he produced another document, obviously signed under threat and duress by a male nurse he had taken away the night before, and he insisted on arresting and taking me away. I told him that without a proper arrest warrant and unless the police commander himself came to the hospital I was determined not to go and that if he insisted he could only take my dead body. He was a bit alarmed and taken aback when I mentioned the police and he changed his mind. But nonetheless he kept pestering us until he was demobbed.

I cannot possibly relate here the sad saga of a turbulent year spent in the South. We spent every single day in fear, anxiety and uncertain anticipation. We were cursed at and felt humiliated; but as Turkish women we did not lose heart. Although we were alone and defenceless we struggled on, determined to cross over to the North. We managed to cross over to the North, sometimes in the boot of a car, having bought our passage to freedom from a money-loving Greek; sometimes having to walk for miles on end until our feet were sore and swollen; and sometimes having to fight our way through sea and darkness in small ramshackle boats. Some lost their lives on the road to freedom; women, young girls and babies were mercilessly killed, but all this could not and did not stop the march to freedom in the North.

Today, we are living in freedom, (a freedom we had longed for, for years) under our own flag; sure and secure under the watchful eye of the Turkish army - our own soldiers - praying for our martyrs who died for us and grateful to the Motherland and its able statesmen who helped save us. Of course it is impossible to forget the countless number of people like Veli and Nevin and children murdered in bath-tubs; or the mass murders committed by the Greeks in Ayios Vassilios, Tokhni, Maratha, Aloa and Sandallaris. The only safeguard to prevent their repetition is not to live again together with the Greeks. This is why we want a bizonal federation and why we insist on it.

APPENDIX 20 (iv)

GREEK ASSAULT TURKISH CYPRIOT

An elderly Turkish Cypriot living in Southern Cyprus, Fehmi Mustafa Galip 65, was attacked and robbed by a Greek Cypriot, Pambos Panayiotou 24, in Limassol, according to Greek Cypriot newspaper reports on 14 November.

It is reported that the elderly Turkish Cypriot was hit on the head with an iron bar and then he was robbed of 40 Cyprus pounds that he had in his pocket.

(News Bulletin 18 November 1977)

THE ORDEAL OF A GROUP OF TURKS WHO ATTEMPTED TO CROSS
NORTH BUT WERE INTERCEPTED BY THE GREEK SECURITY
FORCES AND SAVAGELY BEATEN UP ON 25 JUNE 1975

"Special News Bulletin" related the story of 48 Turks from the Paphos area as follows:

"The tension and indignation caused by the ugly incident created by the Greek Cypriot Police and the Greek National Guard-firing on a group of Turks trying to cross over to the Turkish region and then beating them up brutally - is still ranking among the Turkish population of Cyprus.

"The spokesman of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus criticized the Greek Cypriot authorities' claims that the incident was exaggerated, as complacent and frivolous. He disclosed that '17 Turkish Cypriots had received injuries, ranging from bruises to broken bones and multiple fractures. The condition of one of the victims, who had two broken ribs, a smashed nose and head injuries, continues to be serious. The most barbaric aspect of this atrocious incident is the behaviour of the so-called Greek Cypriot security forces - police and soldiers - who shamelessly beat up 4 women, one of whom is 59 years old. The injured women bore signs of kicking and of being hit with hard objects - pistol butts, perhaps!

The Turkish spokesman stated that the incident was being followed at the highest level. The U.N. authorities were investigating the case for compiling the relevant details for further consideration.

In a protest message to the U.N. Secretary-General the President of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus said:

"I would like to inform you that on the 25th June, 1975 forty-eight Turkish Cypriots, including women and children, who were trying to cross to the Turkish Cypriot region in the North over the Troodos mountains, were ambushed and severely beaten up by armed Greek Cypriot Police and National Guard soldiers near Kykko Monastery. Seventeen of them, including four women, received severe bruises, broken bones and multiple fractures all over their bodies as a result of the beating. The condition of one of the victims who had two broken ribs, a smashed nose and head injuries continues to be serious. The victims were transported back to Paphos and left in the streets without giving them any medical assistance. Another Turkish Cypriot was intercepted to-day near Xeros river, Paphos District, while he was travelling to Limassol and severely beaten up by the Greek Cypriot Police. He was later removed to the Paphos Greek hospital for treatment of the injuries he sustained.

These brutal actions of the Greek Cypriot Police and the National Guard are the direct result of the discriminatory, ultra vires and inhuman restrictions imposed by the Greek Cypriot Administration in order to prevent the 11,000 Turkish Cypriots, who are being forcibly detained in the South as political pawns, from regaining their liberty or joining their relatives in the North.

During the last six months hundreds of Turkish Cypriots, who tried to cross to the North in this way, were intercepted by the Greek Cypriot Police or the National Guard and returned to their villages after lengthy interrogation and torture at Greek Cypriot Police Stations. On two occasions the Greek Cypriot sentries at the check points fired at the vehicles causing in one instance the death of a four month old baby and seriously wounding of her mother.

I need hardly stress that these outrageous acts, committed by the Greek Cypriot Police and National Guard, in flagrant violation of all forms of human decency, serve no other purpose than to breed hatred and enmity between the two communities and to jeopardise the efforts which are being made through Your Excellency's good offices for finding a peaceful solution to the Cyprus problem through the medium of the intercommunal talks.

In registering my strongest protestation against these violent acts of the Greek Cypriot side, I wish to request Your Excellency to use your good offices for the removal of the restrictions imposed on the freedom of movement of Turkish Cypriots in the South and the immediate cessation of such acts of violence by the Greek Cypriot Police and the National Guard.

The names of injured Turks are given below for record:

1. İzzet Hüseyin of Vrecha
2. İzzet Emirali of Paphos
3. Savaş Ali of Anadhiou
4. Özey H. Ali of Anadhiou
5. Ziya Hulusi of Arodhez
6. Ali Mustafa Of Vrecha
7. Aziz Salih of Vrecha
8. Halit Kemal Of Vrecha
9. Ahmet Rifat of Meladhia
10. Cemal Kemal of Vrecha
11. Özey Seyyit Ali of Paphos
12. Riza Hulusi of Arodhez
13. Kemal Ramadan of Vrecha
14. Pembe Mehmet of Arodhez (Female)
15. Pembe Yusuf of Vrecha (Female)
16. Nermin Ahmet of Arodhez (Female)
17. Asiye Kemal of Vrecha (Female)

The following is the personal account of İzzet Emirali, one of the 48 Turks ambushed by the Greek Cypriot Police on a Troodos Mountain Road:

"We left Vrecha village as a group, all of us had one single thought: The freedom of the North!

"Near Milikouri village we were suddenly attacked by gunfire, and the next thing we knew, we were surrounded by the Greek Cypriot Policemen and National Guardsmen. We had no chance of escaping. Our captors immediately started insulting, kicking and hitting us. Women, children and old people, exhausted after a day's walk, were also beaten like the rest of us. We were marched to Kykkos Monastery and all the way beating continued. But at the Monastery it became worse. There each of us was taken to a room where 5 burly Greeks beat us until we were unconscious.

"When we were taken out of the Monastery, a large crowd of Greeks had already gathered in front of the gate. They formed a passage through which we were forced to pass; and as we did so, the crowd hit us mercilessly with what ever they had in their hands.

"By the time we were at the other end of the 'human passage (some of us could not make it) the world was dark and painful... We just could not move. We only heard sounds like snarling and howling..."

Emirali frowned and tried to remember...

"I suppose they were the wild wolves of Troodos still shouting and insulting us" he said.

**PUNISHMENT OF GREEK CYPRIOT FOR TRANSPORTING TURKS
TO THE NORTH**

(1) TURKS PREVENTED FROM MOVING

Seventy-three Turkish Cypriots were intercepted by the National Guard between Yerakies village and Kykko Monastery on Tuesday while they were trying to move to the Turkish occupied areas in the north.

They were escorted by police and UNFICYP back to the Turkish village of Ayios Nicolaos in the Paphos district. All of them come from various villages of the Limassol and Paphos District.

Another 35 Turkish Cypriots were also intercepted in the same area yesterday and were escorted back to Ayios Nicolaos under police and U.N. escort.

(Cyprus Mail, 21.11.1974)

(2) GREEK CYPRIOT FINED

Andreas Paraskevas has been fined 30 pounds and his driving licence suspended for 3 months for attempting to transport 2 Turkish Cypriots from the South to the North.

(Agon, 25.12.1974)

(3) SUMUGGLING OF TURKS

New arrests of those aiding the Turks in crossing over to the North were made yesterday. One of those arrested is a National Guardsman, named Panikos Demetriou, who connived at the crossing of Turks from the roadblock in return for £20 bribery. Other persons arrested were Vassos Georghiou of Larnaca and Andreas and Hambos Georghiou brothers of Oroklini village. These three men were caught as they were transporting 30 Turks with their belongings to the North for £400. £20 of this amount would be paid to the soldier at the roadblock as bribery. Phileleftheros reports that the smuggling of Turks to the North has become an organized job.

(Greek Cypriot Press, 21.1.1975)

(4) IMPRISONED

Christofis Nicolaou 48 of Limassol has been sentenced by the Larnaca District Court to 6 months imprisonment for transporting Turks from the South to the North. He was caught on the Gidi-Larnaca road.

Meanwhile 2 policemen have been arrested for questioning on a similar charge.

(Phileleftheros, 21.3.1975)

(5) JAIL FOR TRANSPORT OF TURKS

a) Andreas Constantinou and Christos Tuvas have been sentenced to 5 months jail for transporting Turks to the North.

Protromos Karvunyaris has been jailed for 3 months on a similar charge.

FAGOS claims that these men are new National Guardsmen.

b) FAGOS reports that Andreas Costas of Larnaca has been imprisoned for 6 months for transporting Turks to the North.

(6) JAIL FOR CARRYING TURKS

Christakis Spyrou, a plumber, 27, of Pretori, was sentenced to six months imprisonment by the Limassol District Court for carrying on payment two Turkish Cypriots to Turkish-occupied areas.

(Cyprus Mail, 3.4.1975)

(7) DRIVER JAILED IN LARNACA

The driver involved in the attempted smuggling of Turkish Cypriots from the south to the Turkish-held north last March, when a Turkish Cypriot woman was injured and her child killed, was sentenced to ten months imprisonment by the Larnaca District Court. He was found guilty of illegal transport.

(Cyprus Mail, 6.4.1975)

(8) GREEKS JAILED FOR SMUGGLING TURKS TO NORTH

Three Greek Cypriots have been sent to jail by the Nicosia District Court

for terms ranging from six to nine months and fined between them a total of £130 for acting in collusion among themselves for the smuggling of Turkish Cypriots from the south to the north.

The accused were: George Eleftheriou (23), Charalambos Ioannou (26) and Ioannis Tryfonos (29), all of Khandria village in the Limassol district.

(Cyprus Mail, 24.4.1975)

(9) SMUGGLING TURKS

3 Greek Cypriots have been arrested on charges of attempting to transport 4 Turkish Cypriots from the Paphos District to the Turkish region in the North of the island.

(Phileleftheros, 13.5.1975)

(10) TURKS ROBBED

A Greek Cypriot police bulletin, which appears in today's Greek Cypriot Press, says 14 Turkish Cypriots travelling to Lefka in a vehicle owned by Michail of Prodromos were intercepted by 3 masked and armed men near the village of Pomos and were robbed of their money, which totalled about 2500 Cyprus pounds.

The Turkish Cypriots were ordered back to Paphos. 10 were returned to Polis the other 4 were left near the village of Anatiu when a police check-point came into sight.

(Greek Cypriot Press, 24.12.1974)

(11) TURKS STONED

Turks trying to cross from the South to the North in a bus were stoned at the Greek Cypriot village of Avlona and their way was blocked by tractor. However, they managed to escape.

Georghios Eleftheriu and Charalambos Charalambou have been remanded in custody for 8 days for attempting to transport Turks to the North.

(Mahi, 15.4.1975)

(12) ARREST FOR SMUGGLING TURKISH WOMEN

A 26 year old Limassol man has been arrested by the Police at Limassol and will be brought before court today on charges of attempting to smuggle Turks into the Turkish-controlled region.

Police said they intercepted the man's car at the Yermasoya roadblock and found two Turkish women in a hiding place camouflaged under the driver's seat. One of them said they had paid the driver £275 and another £177 would be paid by her son when they arrived in Nicosia.

The driver has been arrested and the Turkish women were sent back to their homes in Paphos.

(Cyprus Mail, 2 April 1975)

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO TURKISH CYPRIOT REFUGEES AND
EXCHANGE OF POPULATIONS

THE QUESTION OF REFUGEES

The refugee problem is not a new experience for Cyprus, contrary to what the Greek Cypriot propaganda machine would have one to believe.

It first began in 1958, when EOKA terrorists attacked and destroyed 33 Turkish Cypriot villages rendering 6,000 Turkish Cypriots as homeless refugees.

During the Greek Cypriot onslaught which began in December 1963, 103 Turkish Cypriot villages were attacked and devastated, this time rendering 25,000 Turkish Cypriots as homeless refugees within a few weeks. These people had to live five consecutive winters in tents.

The U.N. Secretary-General referred to the plight of the 1963 Turkish Cypriot refugees in the following terms at paragraph 126 of his Report No. S/8286 of the 8th December, 1967 to the Security Council:-

"126. When the disturbances broke out in December 1963 and continued the first part of 1964, thousands of Turkish Cypriots fled from their homes, taking with them only what they could drive or carry, and sought refuge in what they considered to be safer Turkish Cypriot villages and areas ..."

Homes, household effects, shops, orchards and farms belonging to 25,000 Turkish Cypriots in 103 villages were plundered and destroyed by their Greek neighbours. Losses and damages to property amounted to millions of pounds sterling. The extent of this initial damage is summarised by the U.N. Secretary-General at paragraph 180 of his Report No. S/5950 of the 10th September, 1964 to the Security Council, as follows:-

"180. UNFICYP carried out a detailed survey of all damage to properties throughout the island during the disturbances, including the Tylliria fighting. It shows that in 109 villages, most of them Turkish Cypriot or mixed villages, 527 houses have been destroyed while 2,000 others have suffered damage from looting. In Ktima 38 houses and shops have been destroyed totally and 122 partially. In the Omorphita suburb of Nicosia 50 houses have been totally destroyed while a further 240 have been partially destroyed there and in adjacent suburbs."

The U.N. Secretary-General at paragraph 190 of his Report No. S/5950 of the 10th September, 1964 to the Security Council, refers to the refugee problem, as at that date, in the following terms:-

"190. In addition to losses incurred in agriculture and in industry during the first part of the year, the Turkish Community had lost other sources of its income including the salaries of over 4,000 persons who were employed by the Cyprus Government and by public and private concerns located in the Greek Cypriot zones. The trade of the Turkish community had considerably declined during the period, due to the existing situation, and unemployment reached a very high level as approximately 25,000 Turkish Cypriots had become refugees. Expenditure of the Turkish Communal Chamber on development and other projects, as well as other expenditure, had dropped considerably as a yearly subsidy formerly received from the Government had ceased to be granted in 1964. Furthermore, a large part of its remaining resources had to be used for unemployment relief and other forms of compensation as approximately half of the population came to be on relief. In accordance with figures published by the Turkish Cypriot Communal Chamber, the number of persons receiving some kind of assistance from the Red Crescent relief amounted to about 56,000 including 25,000 displaced persons, 23,500 unemployed and 7,500 dependents of missing persons, disabled and others."

At paragraph 93 of his Report, No. S/5764 of the 15th June, 1964 to the Security Council, the U.N. Secretary-General refers to the great concern felt about the health of the Turkish Cypriot refugees during the approaching summer as follows:-

"93. Around Nicosia there exist three refugee camps where 1,500 persons are living in tents. Over half of them are children and there is great concern about their health during the summer months when the heat will cause dehydration, particularly in the very young and the old..."

The scorching summer of 1964 came and went with no respite for the suffering refugees and this time at paragraph 51 of his Report No. S/6102 of the 12th December 1964, to the Security Council, the U.N. Secretary-General expressed concern regarding the health hazard which the conditions of the refugees presented in the then approaching winter of 1964-1965. This is what the U.N. Secretary-General said in his said Report:-

"51. On 26, 28 and 30 October, the Special Representative and members of his staff visited refugee camps and villages where Turkish Cypriots had taken refuge during and after the events of December 1963. As a result of the visits, the Special Representative felt that the 3,000 persons in tents at Hamit Mandres, just north of Nicosia and many of the 800 refugees in Kokkina who had made their homes in caves or holes in the hillside were in need of relief in the form of basic foodstuffs and clothing. Their conditions presented a health hazard in the approaching winter. The Special Representative therefore appealed to President

Makarios, in a letter of 30 October 1964, to grant permission for a Red Crescent shipment to enter duty-free, without prejudice to the Government's position on supplies from foreign sources."

This is how the U.N. Secretary-General referred to the plight of the Erenköy (Kokkina) refugees at para. 4 of his Report S/5950/Add. 2 of the 15th September 1964:-

"4. many of the 600 refugees who had come to Kokkina from neighbouring localities were living in caves under sub-normal conditions which might present a health hazard in winter ..."

In his Report No. S/7001, of the 10th December, 1965, the U.N. Secretary-General refers to the unsuccessful endeavours to save the refugees from spending a third winter in poor, uncomfortable, unhygienic and crowded conditions. This is what the Secretary-General has to say on this humanitarian subject in paragraphs 161 and 162 of that Report:-

"161. In September, 1965, the Turkish Cypriot leadership drew UNFICYP's attention to the general question of housing for refugees. In a letter addressed to my Special Representative, dated 18 September 1965, the Acting President of the Turkish Communal Chamber stated that, in an endeavour to save the refugees from spending a third winter in poor, uncomfortable, unhygienic and often crowded shelters of all kinds, a building scheme had been prepared for providing the refugee families with improved accommodations in the area where they were now living, and that a great part of the materials for the scheme would be provided by the Turkish Government. However, as building materials were denied to the Turkish Cypriots, the good offices of UNFICYP were requested with a view to the lifting of the ban imposed by the (Greek Cypriot) Government of Cyprus on the shipment of such materials. The Acting President of the Turkish Communal Chamber added that UNFICYP supervision would be accepted in order to ensure that the building materials required for the housing scheme would be used solely for the purpose for which they were intended.

162. The question of supplying the Turkish Cypriots with building materials for improving the accommodations of the refugees has repeatedly been taken up by UNFICYP with the highest (Greek Cypriot) authorities of the Republic, both as part of the general problem of the maintenance, repair and construction of houses and buildings in Turkish Cypriot areas (See para. 125 above) and as a separate and special problem. Whatever the approach to the problem, the (Greek Cypriot) Government has not approved the release of building materials for the refugees..."

For eleven years all efforts to rehabilitate the refugees in their homes and villages were frustrated by the obstructionist policy followed by the Greek side, which clearly indicated that it would not agree to the return of the refugees to their villages before a final settlement, it even hindered the U.N. from taking a more active role in the re-settlement of the Turkish refugees. The following extracts from the reports of the U.N. Secretary-General in 1972 and 1973 record the lack of progress and frustration felt regarding the re-settlement of the Turkish Cypriot refugees:-

"48. No progress has been made towards solving the general problem of Turkish Cypriot displaced persons. The request for resettlement of the Turkish Cypriot village of Vroisha in Lefka district (S/10664, paragraph 51) has been rejected by the (Greek Cypriot) Government on the basis that it would be economically unsound for the villages. This has led the Turkish Cypriot leadership to request relocation of the village and, at the time of writing, the matter is still under consideration by the (Greek Cypriot) Government..."

(S/10842 December 1972)

"67. Practically no progress has been made during the period under review towards a solution of the problem of the Turkish Cypriot displaced persons (S/10842, paragraph 48). There have been no negotiations on the general question for two years, but from time to time efforts are made to resettle abandoned villages..."

(S/10940 May 1973)

The following three extracts from the Greek Cypriot press in 1969 and 1973 are clear admissions by Greek Cypriots themselves of their obstructionist policy regarding the resettlement of the Turkish Cypriot refugees:-

- a) "We do not accept the absurd wishes of the Turks. As long as the Cyprus problem remains unsolved, we shall never accept the resettlement of the Turks in Omorphita."

(From a statement by the Greek Mukhtar of Trachona and Neapolis published in "Deleftea Ora" of July 1969)

- b) "As it is known, Turks want to use the mosque and the Elementary School of Omorphita. Functioning of these two institutions will mean that the Turks will return to this area. That must be prevented.

(From "Gnomi" of 15 June 1973)

- c) "Omorphita has been conquered by Greek arms; conquered lands can never be returned!"

(From "Makhi" of 17 June 1973)

A survey of damaged Turkish Cypriot property was carried out by UNFICYP in 1964, and is embodied in a report known after its author Mr. A. Ortega, as the "Ortega Report". Mr. Ortega states in his report that his survey deals only with housing destruction in 101 villages. Each village has been photographed from the air. Nearly 30,000 Turkish Cypriots (almost a quarter of the Turkish Cypriot population) fled from these villages and lived in tragic circumstances for eleven years.

All in all 465 village houses were found to be totally destroyed and 2000 looted. In Ktima town 38 houses and shops were totally destroyed, 122 partially destroyed; in Omorphita 50 houses were totally destroyed and 240 partially destroyed. In Mr. Ortega's view the repair of all these houses would have necessitated approximately C£ 900,000. But that was in 1964. For eleven years Turks were unable to return to their houses in all these villages which had become uninhabitable through the passage of time.

Financial assistance given to Turkish Cypriot refugees by the Turkish Cypriot Community between the years 1963-1974 was in the region of C£ 2,000,000.-

On the date of Turkey's intervention on the 20 July, 1974 the bulk of the 25,000 Turkish refugees were still without a home and a considerable part of the population of the Turkish Cypriot Community had become refugees three times in the past two decades. It is only in 1974 that the Greek Cypriots became a party to the endless refugee problem from which the Turkish Cypriots had been suffering for eleven years.

The following touching letter, which was written by a seventeen year-old Turkish Cypriot youth, Levent Hasan Ruso, to the Ambassador in Nicosia of the German Democratic Republic on the 25th December, 1976 explains with some feeling and in a sincere way the sufferings of this youth as a refugee, who was only four years old when he had to flee with his parents from the Omorphita area together with 6000 other Turks in December, 1963:-

*"Şehit Yüksel Ahmet Dereli Sokak, NO: 14,
Yenişehir,
Lefkoşa.*

25 December, 1976

*His Excellency the Ambassador,
German Democratic Republic,
Nicosia.*

Dear Ambassador,

We were very touched when we saw your picture in the Cyprus Mail handing out gift parcels to Greek refugee children.

I was four years old when I had to flee with my parents from Omorphita area together with 6000 other Turks. A few days later it was X'mas of 1963 and then we saw the New Year of 1964 through our rain-drenched tents. No one brought us presents although we lived under these conditions all through our (Moslem) Bairams, and your (Christian) Christmas'es and New Years during 1964, 1965, 1966, 1967, 1968, 1969, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973 and 1974

Today I am 17 and I am still waiting for our houses in Omorphita to be repaired. For all these years the Greek Cypriot Administration would not allow us to return to Omorphita. So, time added its own destructive element to what the Greek Cypriots had wantonly destroyed.

.....
I don't think anyone of you diplomats even know where Omorphita is. It is a suburb of Nicosia and for 11 years we lived 2 miles away from our homes unable to return to them because the Greek Cypriot authorities would not allow us to do so ...

Yes, Your Excellency! 11 years we lived under these conditions and we received not a single gift parcel, not a smile from diplomats in Cyprus because, I suppose, they were accredited to Makarios who was the leader trying to destroy us while managing to make the world forget that we existed in Cyprus.

This letter is neither recrimination nor a plea for gift parcels or even for your smiles! It is just a statement of fact!...

Yours respectfully,

(Levent Hasan Ruso)''

It is a fact that during the events of July 1974, for which the Greek Cypriots themselves and their collaborators in Greece must bare full responsibility, people on both sides left their homes and took refuge in what they considered as safer areas. This was the natural outcome of years of mistrust and hostility between the two communities, nurtured by the unjust and inhuman policies of the Greek Cypriot administration.

Between July 1974, and September 1975 Turkish Cypriots living in the Greek Cypriot controlled region of South Cyprus left some 134 inhabited areas (i.e. towns and villages) and took refuge in the security of North Cyprus. It is estimated that in all some 60,000-65,000 Turkish Cypriots moved from the South

to the North since July 1974. Of these, approximately 9,400 were the Turkish Cypriot refugees who had first taken refuge in the British Sovereign Base areas and who came to the North via Turkey in February, 1975. Some 8,097 Turkish Cypriot refugees came to the North during August-September 1975 in accordance with the "population exchange agreement" reached at the Third Round of the intercommunal talks held in Vienna between the 31st July and 2nd August, 1975. The remainder moved from the South to the North as a result of their own individual endeavours. Many of these took considerable risks in defying the unlawful Greek Cypriot ban on their movement to the North and some, including a four month old baby, even lost their lives in the attempt.

Following the concentration of the Turkish and Greek Cypriot populations in two separate regions of the island, which was finalized with the above-mentioned "population exchange agreement", the Turks did what the circumstances dictated them to do; they engaged in the immense task of re-settling and rehabilitating their displaced people some of whom had been refugees, in some cases three times over, for over twelve years. The Turkish Community has spent and continues to spend thousands of pounds on these refugees.

The Greeks on the other hand, did not show the same sincerity in their approach to the refugee problem. Instead, they embarked on a false propaganda campaign, which is still continuing, to exploit the refugee issue with a view to gaining the sympathy of the international public opinion.

As part of this propaganda campaign, they have grossly exaggerated the number of their displaced people which they claim to be as high as 200,000 and have continuously demanded the return of these people to their homes as a pre-condition to the settlement of the Cyprus problem.

As regards the number of the Greek Cypriot displaced persons, it has been established that the figure is far below 200,000. The Greek Cypriot press have their number as only 56,300 on 14th October 1975.* While Mr Criton

*The following figures were disclosed to Greek press by Mr. Pavlos Papageorgiou, Deputy Director General of the Committee for Greek Cypriot Refugees, at the meeting of the "Greek Cypriot refugees" held in Mimoza Cinema in Nicosia on 13th October, 1975; which appeared in the Greek Press on 14th October, 1975.

1.	Persons staying with relatives	10,000
2.	Persons trespassing in government and private buildings	5,000
3.	Persons in prefab houses	2,000
4.	Persons in expropriated houses	1,300
5.	Persons in half-completed buildings, storehouses, etc.	20,000
6.	Persons in tented camps	18,000
	TOTAL:	56,300

Tornaritis, Attorney-General of the Greek Cypriot Administration, indicated in his pamphlet entitled "Legal Aspects of the Problem of Refugees in Cyprus" that the entire Greek population of the north could not have possibly exceeded 129,000 prior to July, 1974.

Although it is difficult to determine the exact number of the Greek Cypriot displaced people, and although the Greek side has been very inconsistent on the matter, a census of evacuated Greek villages and houses has shown that the figure is in the vicinity of 90,000.

That the number of Greek Cypriot displaced persons is grossly exaggerated is also evident from the fact that foreign food aid granted to the Greek side has given rise to stockpiling. The Greek press has more than once reported that the food is being sold on the market at half price (Greek newspapers "Mesimvrini" and "Mahi" dated 5 Nov. 1974 and 13 May, 1975 respectively).

Impartial estimates confirm that the number of Greek displaced persons is around 90,000; approximately equal to that of the Turkish Cypriot displaced persons.

It is true that the displaced Turkish Cypriots have since 1974 been resettled and rehabilitated in the north, in houses and properties abandoned by Greek Cypriots. It is just as true that almost an equal number of Greeks have been similarly resettled and rehabilitated in the south, in Turkish-owned houses and properties.

If there are today 5 to 8 thousand Greek Cypriots still not properly settled and rehabilitated, the responsibility for this rests, not on the Turkish side, but on the Greek Cypriot leaders who are deliberately delaying their rehabilitation in order to exploit their plight for propaganda purposes and to justify their unrealistic demand for the return of refugees to their original places of abode.

This is what Mr. Bruce Love of the "Chicago Daily News" had to say in his article published in that paper of the 27th January, 1976, on the way in which the Greek Cypriots have been exploiting the so-called "refugee question" for political propaganda:-

"Hardly a week goes by without a visit by representatives of Congress and various charitable organizations. They are dutifully shown the 14,000 tent refugees!. They interview the same heart-breaking cases.

Needless to say, they are not told the refugees could be housed in some of the solid houses vacated by British troops.

Makarios wants at least some refugees under tents. As it is, the authorities have a hard time keeping the 14,000 from 'defecting' to more comfortable shelter."

In view of the bitter experiences of eleven years of oppression in the hands of Greek Cypriots, there is not a single Turkish Cypriot refugee who is willing to return to the south and go through the same ordeal once again. On the other hand the return of Greek Cypriots to the north, other than those envisaged in the exchange of population agreement referred to above, would not only endanger the security of life of the Turkish Cypriots but would also undermine the bi-zonal solution which constitutes the only basis for the peaceful co-existence of the two communities in the future.

APPENDIX 23 (ii)

PRESIDENT DENKTAŞ ON THE QUESTION OF TRANSFER OF POPULATIONS

Let us not forget that half of the Turkish Cypriot population have moved from the Greek Cypriot region in the South to the Turkish Cypriot region in the North facing, at times, Greek bullets and overriding at great loss Greek road-blocks. The last 10,000 of these were allowed to move North with the help of UNFICYP in September 1975. Only about 113 Turkish Cypriots, mostly old people, chose to stay in the South. We read in the Greek press that one woman was raped, a few have been taken to court for minor offences and apparently they are not very well off because some Greek papers urge the Greek authorities to be more generous with these Turkish Cypriots.

As part of the population exchange deal which was agreed in Vienna in July 1975, it was foreseen that Greek Cypriots who were still living in the North -and whose movement to the South was until then wanted not by the Greek Cypriot leaders- would now be free to move South if they so wished. No time limit was put on this movement, so, Greeks in the North chose their own time for moving South. Our people who chose to move North left almost everything behind and most of them came to us literally only with their shirts on while the latter 10,000 were allowed to bring a minimal quantity of actual needs. Greeks moving South -because there is no time limit for them- arrange their private affairs and move at the most opportune time.

Movement of population in both directions relates to the political developments of the past 12 years. Greek Cypriots have looked upon the Turkish Cypriots as impediments on the way to Enosis; as Archbishop told them Turkish Cypriots were the national enemy! Now, all of a sudden, Greek Cypriots found "the national enemy" in charge of the affairs in the North. This in itself is sufficient reason for the Greeks to wish to move South as it was sufficient reason for the Turkish Cypriots to move North to their region and their administration.

The pressure on Greeks to move South grows from day to day because they feel that if they don't move fast enough they will not be given any of the Turkish properties for rehabilitation. The realization that a settlement is not round the corner; the long-term struggle policy of their leaders with all that it implies; the resignation of Mr. Clerides; the awareness that Cyprus problem shall be settled on basis of bi-regionality are all factors of mental and psychological pressure on these people.

Then there is the feeling of not being wanted in the North. They get this from the Turkish Cypriots who moved North because of the same feeling which they had while they lived amongst the Greeks in the South.

Actual cases of wilful annoyance do occur and when reported immediate action is taken against the culprit. There is no organized pressure as alleged by the Greek Cypriots.

EOKA's terrorism for achieving Enosis, during 1955-1958 was nurtured on anti-Turkish sentiment and enmity for everyone who did not accept Enosis as a fair solution. For twenty years the two communities have looked upon each other with grave suspicion and mistrust.

The violence and bloodshed of the last eleven years did not enhance the chances of understanding. For the Turkish Community which had lost 103 villages and had to cope with the refugee problem of one-fourth of its population for 11 years (and for the second time in a decade) security and peace was equated with geographical separation.

Greek Cypriots made fun of these Turkish sentiments as long as Turks lived as hostages all over Cyprus. Now Greek Cypriots have chosen to move to their own communal territory for exactly the same psychological reasons. To try to stop this trend by propaganda is impossible.

*(From an interview with the
Middle East correspondent of
The Times of London on 13
December, 1976, which appeared
in the News Bulletin of 7 January
1977.)*

PHOTOGRAPHS RELATING TO THE SUFFERING
OF TURKISH CYPRIOTS STRANDED IN THE
GREEK CYPRIOT CONTROLLED PART OF
CYPRUS IN THE SOUTH

VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS RECORDED IN PICTURES

Η ΚΑΘΑΡΣΗ

την αστυνομία, την εθνική φρουρά, τους Τούρκους των χωριών και των πόλεων και τα κρυβάνα.
"Εμειναν βασικά όσα μετόπισθεν κι επιδόθηκαν στο πλιατσικό και στην εν ψυχρώ δολοφονία αθώων Τουρκοκυπρίων γυναικοπαίδων. Χιλιάδες πρόβατα, ζώα, τιμαλφή, οικιακά σκευη, έπιπλα, κλπ. πέρασαν στα χέρια τους. Κι' ενώ τα παι-

Clipping of a news item entitled:

"THE CLEANING UP OPERATION"

As published in a Greek Cypriot daily.

The combined Greek (meaning Greek mainland) - Greek Cypriot armed elements of the 15 July 1974 Coup d'etat, indiscriminately murdered innocent Turkish Cypriot women and children in cold blood. They also stole thousands of sheep, goats, cattle and other animals, valuables, household goods, furnitures, cars etc. belonging to Turkish Cypriots.

Article 8.

"(1) Everyone has the right to respect for his private and family life, his home and his correspondence.
....."

(European Convention on Human Rights)



Outside Turkish controlled areas no Turk was free from arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence.





This is how Turkish Cypriots were rendered homeless refugees in their homeland

and forced to live in caves



and tented camps



in comparatively safer Turkish areas for years on end in order to
escape Greek barbarity.

Article 14.

"(1) Everyone has the right to seek and enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution.

(2) This right may not be invoked in case of prosecutions genuinely arising from non-political crimes or from acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations."

(Universal Declaration of Human Rights)



Turkish Cypriots fleeing to Turkish areas.



Turks sought asylum in their own areas.



Turkish women and children herded to an unknown destination by Greek Cypriot armed elements.



Though Article 5 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights reads:

"No one shall be subjected to torture or cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment" between 1963-75 Turks were subjected to every conceivable form of cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment by the Greek Cypriot Administration.

Article 16 (1) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights states:

"The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State."



The Turkish family unit, like individual Turks, was given no protection by the Greek controlled State machinery.

No family rights for these victims.

The above picture depicts widowed mothers and orphaned children of Taşkent (Tokhni) village whose all but one of the male inhabitants were massacred on August 14, 1974.



Even Turkish hospitals and ambulances were shelled and riddled with bullets by the so-called security forces of the Greek Cypriots.

Article 13.

"(1) Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state.

(2) Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country."

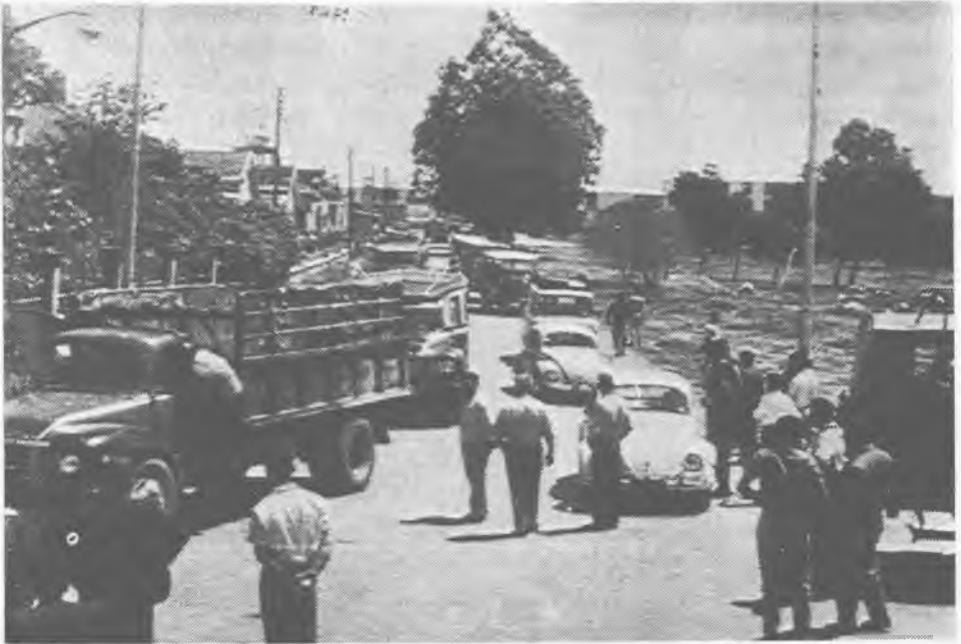
Article 2.

"Everyone lawfully within the territory of a State shall, within that territory, have the right to liberty of movement and freedom to choose his residence."

Article 9.

"No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile."

(Universal Declaration of Human Rights)



"Freedom of movement" was denied to Turks, particularly during the height of the "economic blockade" of 1963-68. Queues of lorries loaded with perishables and other items of foodstuff and cars waiting for hours, under all kinds of weather conditions, to be searched before being allowed to enter the Turkish sector of Nicosia at what came to be known as the "Barricade of Shame."

No Turk was safe from arbitrary arrest or detention during the years 1963-75.

**PUNISHMENT OF TURKISH CYPRIOTS WHO COMMIT CRIMES AGAINST
GREEK CYPRIOTS.**

Turkish Cypriots who commit crimes against Greek Cypriots are punished in the same way as those committing crimes against Turkish Cypriots by due process of law. This fact is illustrated by the following examples of recent cases before the Turkish Cypriot courts.

a) A Turkish Cypriot soldier who was accused of raping a Greek Cypriot girl on the 20th July 1975 was tried and found guilty. The offender was sentenced to a term of seven years imprisonment.

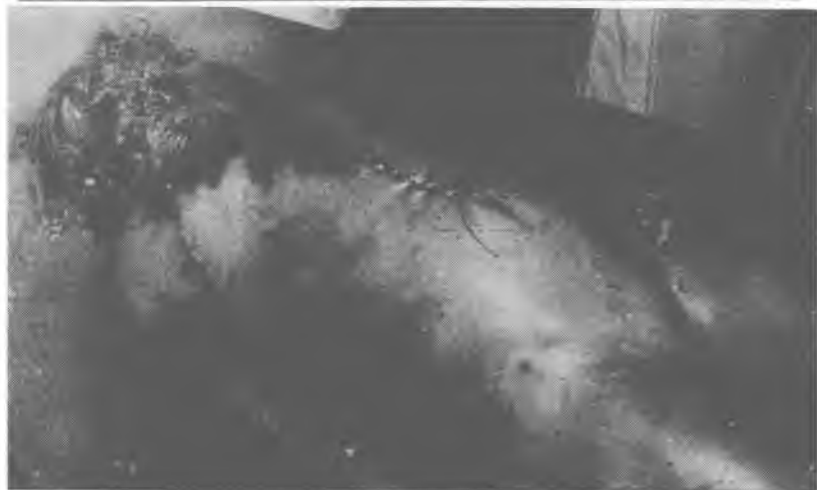
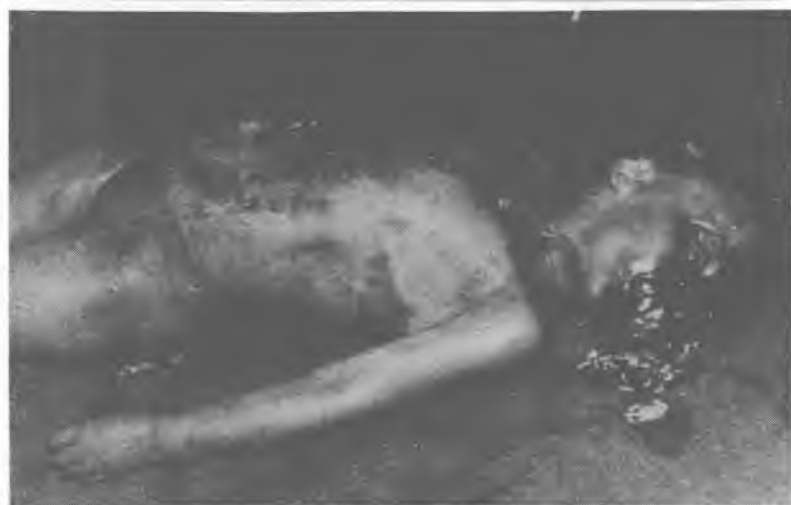
b) A Turkish Cypriot named Huseyin Mustafa who assaulted and stole £270 from a Greek Cypriot named Badrakis Modiston on the 11th February, 1975 was tried by the Famagusta district court and found guilty. The offender was sentenced to a term of two years imprisonment.

c) A Turkish Cypriot, named Şefik Mehmet Ormancı, who was accused of killing a Greek Cypriot named Kyriakos Georghiou on the 24th September, 1975 was tried and found guilty by the Famagusta District Court. The offender was sentenced to a term of 7 years imprisonment.

**A FEW PHOTOGRAPHS DEPICTING TURKISH CYPRIOTS
WHO HAVE BECOME THE VICTIMS OF GREEK CYPRIOT
CRIMINAL ACTIVITIES**

The horrifying fate of two mothers, Ülfet Osman (21), Nevin Mahmut (24), and their two daughters, Şenay Osman (3) and Tijen Mahmut (8), and a teenage girl, Meryem Niyazi (16) in the hands of a Greek Cypriot driver who deceived them with a promise to transport them to the Turkish controlled region of Cyprus on 12 November, 1974.





OFFICIAL STATEMENTS REGARDING GREEK
CYPRIOTS LIVING IN THE NORTH

A/33/111
S/12717
English
Annex, Page 2

(i) LETTER DATED 10 MAY 1978 FROM MR. OSMAN ÖREK TO THE
SECRETARY-GENERAL

I have the honour to refer to a letter dated 7th April, 1978 addressed to Your Excellency by Mr. Joseph J. Stephanides, the so-called Charge d'Affaires a.i. of the Greek Cypriot delegation to the United Nations, and circulated as document A/33/67-S/12635 of the General Assembly and of the Security Council respectively.

I do not feel that the letter in question, which abounds with preposterous and totally unfounded allegations in customary Greek Cypriot fashion, merits a comprehensive reply or even serious consideration. Nevertheless I would like to set the record straight with regard to certain gross misrepresentations, without, however, reciprocating in the same aggressive tenor of the representative of the Greek Cypriot Administration. Needless to say, the offensive and purely negative approach of the Greek Cypriot representatives cannot possibly contribute in the slightest degree to the creation of an atmosphere conducive to the resumption of the intercommunal talks, let alone accord with the alleged will of the Greek Cypriot side to achieve a peaceful solution of the Cyprus problem. Such futile rhetoric merely repeating ad-nauseam the same illusionary allegations cannot possibly constitute a serious and sincere effort to facilitate the solution of the Cyprus problem, but on the contrary serves to escalate tension and foster division.

As regards the allegations relating to the conditions of the Greek Cypriot inhabitants of Northern Cyprus, it is indeed ironic that such falsities should have been uttered and recorded as an official document of the United Nations on the very same days when two representatives of the International Red Cross, Miss Simonious and Mr. Grindling were visiting the exact areas referred to, freely and unaccompanied in the usual manner. The representatives of the International Red Cross had free access to each and every area where Greek Cypriots reside in Northern Cyprus, including areas where the alleged "medieval" conditions are said to prevail, and were free to contact every Greek Cypriot they wished to speak to - a fact that can no doubt be verified by the Red Cross, if called upon to do so. Indeed such visits are made to the area by the International Red Cross on a routine basis.

Contrary to Greek Cypriot allegations, the fact is that Greek Cypriots living in Northern Cyprus enjoy the same rights and freedoms as Turkish Cypriots, including the freedom of movement, subject only to minimum security precautions in accordance with the situation prevailing on the island. Greek Cypriots frequently travel from village to village within the Karpass area and have free access to their fields. Needless to say all security measures have been gradually relaxed parallel to normalization in the situation on the island and this process will continue with further improvement in the situation.

Greek Cypriots have access to excellent health services and well equipped schools are available for primary education in Greek. Any impartial observer visiting the areas where the Greek Cypriots are living can vouch for the existence of such facilities. Indeed the availability of impressive health services to Greek Cypriots without discrimination has been recently confirmed by the representatives of the International Red Cross who visited the area.

Moreover the Greek Cypriot inhabitants of Northern Cyprus themselves are fully satisfied with the treatment they receive from the authorities of the Turkish Federated State. In the field of agriculture, which constitutes the main occupation of Greek Cypriots living in the Karpass area, for example, they are paid good prices for their produce, equal to that paid to Turkish Cypriots, and all necessary incentives, such as advance payment for the tobacco crop, are provided to all inhabitants of the region without discrimination.

The fact that conditions for Greek Cypriots living in Northern Cyprus are perfectly satisfactory is evident from the number of Greek Cypriot students who apply to visit their families in the North during their holidays. Only recently 149 students crossed to the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus to spend their Easter holidays with their families. Surely if the living conditions of Greek Cypriots in Northern Cyprus were as described by Mr. Stephanides, these students would not wish to spend their holidays in the Turkish Federated State.

As to the repeated Greek Cypriot allegations regarding expulsions from the north, one need only look at the most recent report of the Secretary-General which categorically states that a machinery exists under United Nations supervision to verify that all Greek Cypriots going south do so voluntarily.

As to the allegations of the Greek Cypriot representative regarding so called "colonization by Turkey", it is pertinent to point out that these allegations have been refuted time and again by the Turkish Cypriot side and duly recorded in documents of the United Nations. Surely the settlement of Turkish Cypriot displaced persons and the return of Turkish Cypriots, previously forced to leave the island by the oppressive policies of the Greek Cypriot Administration, cannot be described as "colonization". In any case the Turkish Cypriot case is not based on the numerical strength of the two communities, had it been so, there would be no need to import "alien" population, for there are no less than 300,000 Turkish Cypriots or their immediate descendants living in Turkey, over 40,000 in the

United Kingdom and many thousands more in Australia, Canada and elsewhere who are always willing to return to their homeland if and when the opportunity arises.

It is unfortunate that the Greek Cypriot side attributes more importance to the prolongation of the Cyprus issue and the continuation of external pressures on the Turkish side than it does to the early solution of the Cyprus problem. Surely the Greek Cypriot side must realize that it serves no useful purpose, let alone contribute to the solution of the Cyprus problem, to come up with a series of fictitious allegations, merely because they desire the prolongation of the Cyprus problem for ulterior political motives, especially at a time when genuine peace initiatives have been made by the Turkish Cypriot side to bring about a settlement. Moreover the approach of the Greek Cypriot side is incompatible with the need to engage in meaningful negotiations in good faith with a view to reaching a just and permanent solution of the Cyprus problem.

(ii) "SHEER PROPAGANDA AND SLANDER"

A spokesman of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus has refuted Greek Cypriot allegations about the security of the Greek Cypriot inhabitants of Yaloussa village in the North.

The spokesman was commenting on Greek Cypriot press reports to the effect that officials of the Federated State would not bear any responsibility for the safety of the inhabitants of Yaloussa.

He described the reports as a sheer propaganda and a great slander, which did not even deserve to be denied.

The spokesman said everybody living within the Turkish Federated State was equal before the Law, and it was natural for the State to be responsible for the security of the Greek Cypriot inhabitants of Yaloussa too.

The spokesman concluded by saying that this showed once more how the situation was being exploited by Makarios administration in the case of Greek Cypriots, who cross over to the Greek region at their own free will.

(News Bulletin, 10 December 1976)

(iii) LETTER DATED 1 NOVEMBER 1977 FROM RAUF R. DENKTAŞ,
PRESIDENT OF THE TURKISH FEDERATED STATE OF CYPRUS
TO THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE U.N. SECRETARY-
GENERAL IN CYPRUS

I would like to refer to the recent complaints by Mr. Papadopoulos made to Your Excellency regarding the alleged mistreatment of the Karpass Greeks by the Turkish side. I must emphatically state here at the start that these accusations are of a sheer propaganda nature; and the very reason that they have ever been made is because the Greek Cypriot leadership wants them to be included in Secretary-General's report!

Senior officers from our District Administration have been frequently visiting the Karpass region, and have not received any such complaints from the Greek Cypriot residents themselves. Most recently in October, an ICRC Committee also paid a visit to this area and made contacts with the Greek Cypriots there. Finding their condition perfectly satisfactory, they thanked our authorities as well as me personally, in this regard (In confirmation of this fact please see the attached copy of a letter on the subject addressed by the Central Office of the ICRC in Geneva to the Cairo Office of the ICRC).

The Karpass Greeks are our citizens who have opted to stay in the Turkish region, and it is the duty of the Turkish Federated State Authorities to ensure their welfare, and deal with their complaints. Indeed, the TFSC Police have always promptly acted, whenever instances of petty theft or annoyance occurred. As long as the Greek Cypriot leadership continues to exploit the condition of these people for propaganda purposes, however, the Greek Cypriots in the North are bound to come under psychological strain.

We, for our part, have never chosen to make a propaganda case out of the living conditions of the 113 Turkish Cypriots who have stayed in the South on their own free will. Among these, a Turkish Cypriot young girl has been raped, and an 18-year old boy has been reported missing, as revealed by official Greek Cypriot sources and as also reported in the local Greek press. Furthermore, a number of these Turkish Cypriots have either been under constant surveillance or been prosecuted on various pretexts. We have recently been informed that a number of young girls have been forced into prostitution in Limassol! Under these circumstances and as we have been informed, many of these people would like to come to the North, but have not been allowed to do so by the Greek Cypriot authorities. We have, therefore, deemed it our duty to bring these complaints to the attention of the Secretary-General.

It is not our intention to go into Mr. Papadopoulos's accusations in detail here. Suffice it to say that it is the rule of Law, not anarchy, that prevails in the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus in which all citizens, Turkish or Greek, are subject to the same regulations. TFSC Courts are open to everybody, without discrimination.

Our continuing efforts to mingle the Turkish and the Greek Cypriots in the North have started to yield positive results. The impressions and remarks of the ICRC representatives have also been positive in this regard, as also indicated in the aforementioned attached letter. However, as long as the unfounded provocations of Mr. Papadopoulos continue, all efforts in this direction are bound to be adversely affected. It is in awareness of this fact that the Greek Cypriot residents in the North would, statedly, like to appeal to the Greek Cypriot leadership in South, to abandon its wrong attitude, which does more harm to them than good.

Please accept, Your Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

(Sgd.) RAUF R. DENKTAŞ
President of the Turkish
Federated State of Cyprus.

(iv) GREEK CYPRIOTS IN NORTH CYPRUS

The President of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus, Mr. Rauf Denktaş, has confirmed that 3 elderly priests of the St. Barnabas Monastery wish to move to South Cyprus.

A report by TAK News Agency says that the desire of the 3 priests to move to the South was confirmed in a letter sent to the authorities of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus by the President of the Orthodox Churches Hospitallers, which has its headquarters in London. The President of the Orthodox Churches Hospitallers had visited the 3 Greek Cypriot priests last week.

Church Without Community

In a statement on the subject, President Denktaş said:

"This Church has no religious community. In other words it is in the same position as our mosques and shrines in Southern Cyprus which have been left without a religious community. The priests in question are old. They expressed their will to cross to the South. We must fulfil their will. We cannot force any Greek Cypriot to remain in Northern Cyprus against their will."

Asked by the TAK correspondent to comment on Greek Cypriot press reports that the Monastery would be turned into a place of entertainment, President Denktaş said:

"The Monastery will be placed under the control of the Department of Museums and Antiquities, and will remain open to visitors as a historic place. The status given to the Moslem Shrine of Umm Haram Tekke in Larnaca by Greek Cypriots will apply to this monastery."

The President added that every help will be extended to the priests of the Monastery as long as they wished to remain there.

Vienna Agreement

Replying to a question on the alleged expulsion of Greek Cypriots from Northern Cyprus, President Denktaş said:

"The basis of the agreement reached at the third round of the Vienna talks is very clear: The Greek Cypriot Administration was preventing Turkish Cypriots in Southern Cyprus from crossing to the North. They were forced to end their ban and set a one-month deadline for Turkish Cypriots who wished to move to the North.

We accepted this because the Turkish Cypriots in South Cyprus were treated most inhumanly. Fifty-five (55) thousand out of the sixty-five (65) thousand Turkish Cypriots had crossed from the South to the North on foot, by bribing Greek Cypriot policemen, or by paying exorbitant amounts of money to Greek Cypriot drivers and by leaving behind all their belongings.

The agreement reached at the third round of the Vienna talks was for the last ten thousand Turkish Cypriots remaining in Southern Cyprus. While obtaining the agreement for these Turkish Cypriots to cross to the north, we raised the applications of Greek Cypriots living in North Cyprus and who wished to cross to the South.

Movement to the South

Until then the Greek Cypriot Administration was against allowing these people to cross to the South. We did not intend to imprison these people in our region through force of arms like the treatment accorded by the Greek Cypriot Administration to the Turkish Cypriots in Southern Cyprus.

"In the light of the incidents of the past 11 years, it is quite natural for people to want to join their community. Therefore, it was decided to allow Greek Cypriots wishing to move to the South to do so.

No Deadline

"However, we did not set a deadline to the Greek Cypriots to move to the South. People applied when they wished. Those who apply are allowed to cross to the South.

There is a difference in the approach. The Greek Cypriot Administration created difficulties about the belongings of those who moved from the South to the north. Yet we allow the Greek Cypriots to take their belongings (with the exception of agricultural equipment), with them.

"Now that the Greek Cypriots are moving to the South at a time of their choice and after having wound up their business, the Greek Cypriot leadership is exploiting the situation for propaganda purposes.

Their Choice

"If they want to have the Greek Cypriots wishing to move South to do so within a specific short period, they should inform us accordingly, so that we can look into the possibility of taking up the matter in this way.

No Pressure

"In my view there is no need for such a strict measure. Those who wish, should be able to apply whenever they wish and they must be sure that they will be given the required permit. Otherwise, if we are to say that those wishing to go or remain should do so within a specific period, then real pressure will be exerted in this way. But this is up to them. Up till now we have not adopted a hard attitude on humanitarian problems and we do not intend to do so now."

Xmas Arrangements

According to information, permission is to be granted to the Greek Cypriot and Maronite students wishing to join their families during Christmas to go South.

It is suggested that families wishing to have their children with them in the north should apply to the authorities concerned in their areas.

(News Bulletin - 30 November 1976)

(v) GREEK CYPRIOTS IN NORTH CYPRUS

The Greek leadership and press have increased their propaganda in connection with Greek Cypriots desiring to be transferred to the South. During these days when the Cyprus problem is due to be taken up by the United Nations Security Council, we consider this as quite natural.

In the past they used to attack us during such days in order to attract the attention of the United Nations.

1. The elementary schools opened for Greek children in the North are continuing their activities.

The secondary school pupils are attending their schools in the South and returning to their families in the North during holidays.

The Greek Cypriot Administration denied these rights to Turkish children for eighteen months and they were thus deprived of tuition for two school years.

2. All the produce of Greek Cypriots were purchased by Turkish cooperative Societies at current prices and their labour has thus been fully compensated.

It should be recalled that for eleven years the Greek Cypriot Administration paid for the produce purchased from Turkish farmers and vinegrowers 15-20% less than the price paid for similar produce purchased from Greek Cypriots.

3. As regards public health, our Health Services in the area and the Famagusta Hospital have been extending free health and medical services to Greek Cypriots without discrimination.

It should not be forgotten that in the Greek sector, until September 1975, there were cases of elderly Turks as well as pregnant mothers and their babies who died from lack of doctors and medical attention.

4. There has never been any restriction on any religious practice.

So far the Turkish Cypriot authorities have not received any complaint or demand from members of the Greek community concerning churches or religious services.

Only the three elderly monks of the St. Barnabas church have expressed the desire to be transferred to the South.

The President has given this matter his personal attention and arranged contacts between the aged monks and members of the foreign press. As the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus, it is out of question for us to reject the request made by these monks, on grounds of old age and ill-health, for transfer to another Monastery in the Greek sector where there are other monks and in this way deprive these elderly people of a natural right.

President Denktaş has requested the International Committee of the Red Cross authorities to get in touch with these elderly monks and help them in the fulfilment of their wishes.

The Minister of Interior, Mr. Bilgehan, and other authorities, who visited Greek villages last Sunday, have personally confirmed that in all churches the Greek Cypriots were carrying out their religious services freely.

5. Greek Cypriots who wish to be transferred to the South are allowed to take with them their household goods and private cars.

We would like to remind that of the 65,000 Turks who crossed from the South to the North, 55,000 crossed without bringing with them anything except the clothes they were wearing; that the remaining 10,000 who crossed to the North, following the population exchange agreement were allowed to take with them only a minimum amount of household goods; and that thousands of private cars, lorries, buses and tractors which were left in the South upon UNFICYP's guarantee and on the understanding and promise that they would be sent later on have not so far been returned to their owners.

The Greek Cypriot leadership, through their propaganda that "Greek Cypriots are being expelled from the North", want for political reasons to stop transfers to the South.

The authorities of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus will not prevent Greek Cypriots who wish to cross to the South from doing so.

It is quite natural that in Cyprus, which is composed of two communities, individuals should, under the present situation which is the natural outcome of the hostile policy adopted by the Greek Cypriot community against the Turkish Cypriots, wish to go to their own community and to their own administration.

Notwithstanding this, we have furnished the representatives of the I.C.R.C. with copies of applications submitted to the authorities of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus by the Greek Cypriots wishing to be transferred to the South, and requested them to help us in investigating the authenticity of the applications.

6. Greek Cypriots who own motor vehicles, are entitled to circulate within the area provided they complete the necessary formalities and obtain a circulation licence from the Turkish Federated State. The restrictions which were imposed for security reasons have been lifted. The obligation of the former prisoners of war to report to the Police has been reduced to a routine and nominal formality. The Greek Cypriots have been given freedom of movement within the area. The Greek Cypriot Administration under the guise of "Government" restricted the freedom of movement of Turks for years on end by setting up road-blocks and subjected our people to inhuman treatment and searches. The Greeks in the north do not have such problems.

There is, however, a fact which should not be overlooked. Those Greeks, whose applications for transfer to the South have been approved, made no preparations for the winter and have not sown their fields. These people who have already sold their surplus food stuff in their houses and their other goods and animals, are concerned lest they will not be granted a permit to be transferred to the South. These citizens, who have applied to the authorities of the Turkish Federated State anew and expressed the wish to be transferred to the South without any further delay, have been notified that no impediments whatsoever would be placed on their transfers to the South.

7. The complaints received from Greek Cypriots in the North are being expeditiously considered at the highest level and as far as security and order is concerned every necessary measure is promptly taken. The Turkish Federated State of Cyprus has recognized full equal citizenship rights to those Greek Cypriots in the North who opted to live within the boundaries of the Federated State.

(News Bulletin, 11 December 1976)

(vi)

COMITE
INTERNATIONAL
GENEVE
17, AVENUE DE LA PAIX
1211 GENEVE

DESTINATAIRE: CICR LE CAIRE
NOTE NOR : 2230 MBB/MW
EXPEDITEUR: CICR GENEVE

DATE : 11.10.1977

AUX BONS SOINS DE MONSIEUR MOSSAZ

A L'ATTENTION DE MONSIEUR JAQUINET

MONSIEUR HOFFMANN A ETE TRES BIEN RECU PAR L'AMBASSADEUR DE TURQUIE, S.E.M. ONHON. LE LT, GENERAL HAYDAR SALTIK, NOUVEAU COMMANDANT DE L'ARMEE TURQUE A CHYPRE, AINSI QUE PAR LE GENERAL DE BRIGADE, M. UNDUL, COMMANDANT DES FOROSJIG SOODL CYPRIOTES-TURQUIE. TOUS ONT MONTRE BEAUCOUP DE COMPREHENSION POUR LA MISSION DU CICR.

LE PRESIDENT DU "TURKISH FEDERATED STATE OF CYPRUS", MONSIEUR DENKTAS A EGALEMENT RECU M. HOFFMANN AVEC BEAUCOUP D'AMABILITE ET A DEJA DONNE SON ACCORD POUR UNE NOUVELLE MISSION EN JANVIER 1978.

MONSIEUR HOFFMANN A VISITE LA CARPASIE TROIS MOIS APRES LA DERNIERE VISITE CICR. EFFECTUEE PAR LE DELEGUE LENNARTZ. 11 Y A SEJOURNE DEUX JOURS ENTIERS ET UNE NUIT, UNE LEGERE DIMINUTION DE LA POPULATION A ETE REMARQUEE, DIMINUTION DUE AUX ELEVES QUI DESIRENT SUIVRE LES ECOLES SECONDAIRES ET LE GYMNASSE AU SUD. LA COHABITATION ENTRE LES COMMUNAUTES GRECQUE ET TURQUE PARAIT EN LEGERE AMELIORATION.

D'AUTRE PART, IL SEMBLERAIT QUE DE REGRETABLES COMMENTAIRES PUBLIES DANS LA PRESSE CHYPRIOT-GRECQUE AIT RECEMMENT AMENE DES MESURES PLUS RESTRICTIVES POUR LE PASSAGE DE LA "GREEN LINE (VISITES DE FAMILLES RETOUR DE MALADES AYANT ETE TRAITES AU SUD).

VOUS VOYES DE CE QUI PRECEDE QU'IL N'Y A ACTUELLEMENT PAS MATIERE A UNE INTERVENTION QUELCONQUE SOIT AUPRES DES AUTORITES, SOI AUPRES DU CROISSANT-ROUGE TURC A ANKARA. JE VOUS SAURAI TOUTEFOIS INFINIMENT GRE DE BIEN VOULOIR EXPRIMER AUX PERSONNALITES GOUVERNEMENT WES ET-OU DU CROISSANT ROUGE QUE VOUS RENCONTREZ, TOUTE LA RECONNAISSANCE DU CICR POUR L'ACCUEIL POSITIF ET AIMABLE QUI A ETE RESERVE AU DELEGUE DU CICR LORS DE SON DERNIER PASSAGE A CHYPRE.

AU CAS OU JE NE VOUS VERRAI PAS A GENEVE, JE VOUS SOUHAITE TOUS LES DEUX UN HEUREUX RETOUR AUS ETATS UNIS, J'ESPERE TOUTEFOIS AVOIR LE JOIE DE VOUS REVOIR ICI SOUS PEU.

MELCHIOX BORSINGER

LMCC. DIROP

**EYE - WITNESS ACCOUNTS AND PRESS REPORTS
REGARDING THE LIVING CONDITIONS OF GREEK
CYPRIOTS IN THE NORTH**

(1) KARPAS GREEKS

"The Turks have now started to adopt a far better attitude towards the Greek Cypriots. The Turks, who have informed the Greek Cypriots living at Rizokarpazo, Yaloussa and Ayiatrias that they are no longer to be expelled, have, in recent days, begun to engage themselves in friendly discussions with Greek Cypriots over the subject of 'the approaching solution to the Cyprus problem'. When Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots at a Karpas village heard over the radio the news about the meeting of Makarios and Denktas they were overjoyed.

In the meantime, the Turkish Cypriot police at Rizokarpazo has undertaken intensive investigations to bring into light cases involving the theft of various Greek properties."

*(From the Greek Cypriot paper
Ammohoustos of 3 February 1977)*

(2) "According to Apoyevmatini newspaper of 9 October 1978, last Friday (6 October 1978) four Greek Cypriots crossed over from the north in their own car to spend a few days in the south and stated that the Turks treated them well and they get on well with the Turks in the north."

(3) GREEKS IN NORTH GET GREATER FREEDOM

"Government sources confirmed that they had received information that during Easter, when Greek Cypriot students were allowed to spend holidays with their parents, there has been an easing of restrictions on movement."

"... Turkish Cypriots in their 'News Bulletin' this week said that Greek Cypriots in the North 'have started moving out of their villages and travelling to every part in the North Cyprus for business and other purposes'."

It added that "until recently they (the Greek Cypriots) acted in line with instructions they received from Greek Cypriot leadership in the South and rarely travelled out of their village in order to help the anti-Turkish propaganda."

"Commenting on this, official sources said it was gratifying that Greek Cypriots were allowed some freedom of movement..."

(Cyprus Mail, 7 May 1978)

LETTERS EXCHANGED BETWEEN ICRC AND THE AUTHORITIES OF THE
TURKISH FEDERATED STATE OF CYPRUS IN CONNECTION WITH
ICRC MISSIONS TO NORTH CYPRUS

True Copy

COMITE INTERNATIONAL DE LA CROIX-ROUGE

Geneva, May 26, 1978.

MBB/vh

Mr. President,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Your Excellency's kind letter of March 31, 1978 and to express here my gratitude for all the facilities which He and His Administration put at the disposal of the ICRC delegates during their recent mission to Cyprus in April 1978.

The ICRC has also taken note of the fact that Miss Simonius has had the opportunity to confirm to You personally the position of the ICRC concerning the problem of persons listed as missing which had already been communicated to Your representatives in New York in December 1977.

I take this opportunity to inform Your Excellency that, if this is convenient, the ICRC plans to undertake a further mission to Cyprus in September 1978. We shall of course, inform You, as usual, of the precise dates and of the names of our delegates as soon as they will have been designated.

Pray accept, Mr. President, the assurances of my high consideration and esteem and believe me

Yours very sincerely,

(Sgd.) Melchior Borsinger
Delegate General for Europe
and North America.

To His Excellency
Mr. Rauf R. Denktas
President
Turkish Federated State of Cyprus
Lefkoşa, Mersin 10
Turkey.

Miss Lix Simonius and Mr. John Grinling were thus enabled to carry out their mission under excellent conditions and to submit to all competent authorities of the Administration the various problems encountered in the course of their visit to Greek Cypriots living mainly in the Karpass.

True Copy

COMITE INTERNATIONAL DE LA CROIX-ROUGE

Geneva, September 21, 1978

Mr. President,

Upon our return to Geneva, I hasten to write and to thank Your Excellency for having so very kindly consented to receive me and my assistant Miss Lix Simonius, at such short notice on Monday, September 4, 1978.

I am indeed most grateful to you for your interest and support of our recent mission to your country. I have now reported to the International Committee of the Red Cross and they have asked me most particularly to convey their appreciation of your constant help and understanding in a difficult and delicate situation.

I am also deeply grateful to the Members of your Cabinet, Ministers Dr. Atakol and Vedat Çelik as well as to the Commander of Your Forces, Général Attila Erdogan, for the conversations I had the honour of having with them regarding questions of mutual interest and concern.

I am happy to be able to confirm that the International Committee envisages a similar mission to your country in early December this year, in the interests of all persons still requiring our assistance in every part of the country.

I shall, of course, not fail to let you have more precise information in good time concerning those who will undertake this mission and the date of the beginning of their stay in Cyprus.

Pray accept, Mr. President, the assurance of my highest consideration together with my best personal regards and believe me,

Very sincerely yours,

(Sgd.) Melchior Borsinger
Delegate General for Europe
and North America.

His Excellency
President Rauf Denktaş
LEFKOŞA, Mersin 10
Turkey.

True Copy

COMITE INTERNATIONAL DE LA CROIX-ROUGE

Mr. President,

November 14, 1978

As I had the honour to inform Your Excellency in my letter of September 21st, 1978, the International Committee of the Red Cross was planning a further mission to Cyprus in principle and with your agreement for early December this year. I am happy to be able to confirm that this mission can now start on Monday, December 4th, 1978.

It will be carried out by my assistant for European Affairs, Miss Lix Simonius, Regional delegate of the ICRC, who will take contact with Your secretariate upon arriving. I am confident that our delegate can again count on the friendly support of Your Government and of Your authorities for carrying out her tasks in Your country.

May I avail myself of this opportunity to thank Your Excellency once again for the excellent humanitarian cooperation now existing between us?

Pray accept, Mr. President, the assurances of my highest consideration and esteem and believe me,

Yours very sincerely,

(Sgd.) Melchior Borsinger
Delegate General for Europe
and North America.

His Excellency
President Rauf Denktaş
Lefkoşa, Mersin 10
Turkey.

True Copy

**TURKISH FEDERATED STATE OF CYPRUS
PRESIDENT'S OFFICE**

Lefkoşa, Mersin 10, Turkey

Ref: ÖR.60/78

Lefkoşa
22 December 1978

Dear Mr. Borsinger,

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter of November 14, 1978 in connection with the December mission to the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus of your assistant for European Affairs, Miss Lix Simonius, and wish to inform you that on completion of her mission Miss Simonius expressed her gratitude and appreciation for the assistance accorded to her by our authorities.

You can rest assured that our Government will continue to extend every facility and assistance to the venerable delegates of the ICRC in the performance of their humanitarian missions.

With warmest regards,

(Sgd.) Rauf R. DENKTAŞ
President

Mr. Melchior Borsinger
Delegate General for Europe and North America
International Committee of the Red Cross
7, Rue de la Paix
CH - 1211 Geneva
Switzerland.

COPY

COMITE INTERNATIONAL DE LA CROIX-ROUGE

Geneva,
December 28th, 1978

Mr. President,

Miss Lix Simonious, the delegate of the International Committee of the Red Cross who carried out the latest mission to Cyprus, has reported that, once again, the mission could take place under excellent conditions. I therefore wish to thank Your Excellency herewith for having so kindly given the necessary instructions as a result of which our representative was able to visit all villages with a Greek population and also to have all necessary contacts both with you and your administration.

As Miss Simonius has no doubt told Your Excellency, the ICRC thinks that the next mission to Cyprus might take place around May 1979 and we shall of course not fail to let you have the dates, as soon as they are fixed.

I avail myself of this opportunity to express the International Committee's very best wishes for the New Year and have the honour to remain, with the assurance of my highest consideration,

Yours very sincerely,

(Sgd.) M. Borsinger
General Delegate for Europe
and North America

His Excellency
President Rauf Denktaş
LEFKOŞA.

PRESS REPORTS REGARDING RELIGIOUS FREEDOM
IN THE NORTH

TRANSLATION

500 GREEK CYPRIOTS ATTEND RELIGIOUS SERVICE

All Christian Greek inhabitants of the Karpas, situated within the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus yesterday attended another routine religious service at Apostolos Andreas monastery in Northern Cyprus.

About 500 Christian Greeks travelling in private motor cars and buses gathered together at Apostolos Andreas Monastery at 9.30 a.m. and attended a special religious service.

The service at Apostolos Andreas Monastery lasted three hours. Christian Greeks who attended the service once again reiterated that the authorities of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus granted to them full religious freedom and declared their immense gratitude to the press.

In particular the representatives of the Greek Cypriot Community and the village headman of "Dip Karpas" village criticized the groundless allegations of the Greek Cypriot leaders and urged them to abandon this policy and continued:

"The unfounded allegations of the Greek Cypriot Administration to the effect that we are being persecuted within the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus is causing us embarrassment and shame among the Turkish population and the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus authorities.

They should not be so ungrateful to the Turkish Cypriots who have granted us every equal right. ... We declare once again the truth: We are happy and free in Northern Cyprus." 1

(Zaman 1st November 1978)

TRANSLATION

Now every Greek Cypriot who wants to go to Apostolos Andreas Monastery can do so. Before only a priest was given permission to go to the Monastery. Now the inhabitants of Karpas area can go to the sea shores for fishing and bathing. Now, Greek Cypriot farmers and shepherds can go to their fields and meadows for work without any obstacle whatsoever. The Greek elementary schools, on the other hand, have been functioning regularly since 29th October.

*(From the Greek Cypriot paper of
AMMOHUSTOS of 17th February 1977)*

**PRESS REPORTS AND U.N. SECRETARY-GENERAL'S REPORTS
REGARDING THE AVAILABILITY OF HEALTH SERVICES
AND SCHOOLS TO GREEK CYPRIOTS IN THE NORTH**

**SECRETARY-GENERAL'S REPORTS REGARDING MEDICAL SERVICES
AVAILABLE TO GREEK CYPRIOTS IN THE NORTH**

"35. Medical care available to Greek Cypriots in the north is as good as that provided to Turkish Cypriots in the same area. In a few cases, Greek Cypriots have obtained permission for temporary visits to the south in order to receive medical treatment after a Turkish Cypriot medical board had certified that such treatment was not available in the north."

*(S/12946
1 December 1978)*

"28. Medical care available to Greek Cypriots in the north is as good as that provided to Turkish Cypriots in the same area. Greek Cypriots may obtain permission for temporary visits to the south in order to obtain medical treatment, provided that a Turkish Cypriot medical board certifies that such treatment is not available in the north."

*(S/12723
31 May 1978)*

**SECRETARY-GENERAL'S REPORTS REGARDING AVAILABILITY
OF SCHOOLS TO GREEK CYPRIOT IN THE NORTH**

"33. Two Greek Cypriot primary schools are operating in the north. Both are in the Karpas area: one in Ayia Trias and the other in Rizokarpaso. The school in Ayia Trias, which has 58 pupils, still has only one teacher. Efforts to appoint a second teacher have, so far, not been successful. In Rizokarpaso, there are five teachers and 164 pupils. Through the good offices of UNFICYP, permission was granted by the Turkish Cypriot authorities for 111 Greek Cypriot children who are attending schools in the south to spend the summer holidays in their homes in the Karpas."

*(S/12946
1 December 1978)*

"29. Two Greek Cypriot primary schools are operating in the north. Both are in the Karpas area: one in Ayia Trias and the other in Rizokarpaso. The school in Ayias Trias operates with one teacher for 62 pupils. In Rizokarpaso there are five teachers and 155 pupils."

(S/12723
31 May 1978)

MEDICAL FACILITIES FOR GREEKS

The Ministry of Health, Labour and Social Affairs of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus has stated that all medical needs of the Greek Cypriots living in the Federated State were being met.

Officials of the Ministry said, that 502 Greek Cypriots had been treated at the Yialousa Poly-Clinic during the month of October.

They added that in the same period, 431 Greek Cypriots had been treated at the Poly-Clinics in the Rizo Karpasso region, and 81 Greek Cypriots in Hospitals of the Turkish Federated State, mainly at Famagusta.

All the above Greek Cypriot patients had fully recovered.

(News Bulletin,
25 November 1976)

GREEK CYPRIOTS IN KARPASS FULLY SATISFIED WITH TFSC

Greek Cypriots living in Karpass are fully satisfied with the treatment they receive from the authorities of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus, and they have recently started moving out of their villages and travelling to every part in North Cyprus for business and other purposes. Until recently the Greek Cypriots in Karpass acted in line with the instructions they received from the Greek Cypriot leadership in the South and rarely travelled out of their village in order to help the anti-Turkish propaganda of the Greek Cypriot Administration.

Agriculture constitutes the main occupation of Greek Cypriots living in the Karpass area. The main produce of the region is tobacco and the Turkish Cypriot authorities pay good price for the tobacco leaves and provide all the necessary incentives to all inhabitants of the region without any discrimination. One of the incentives is advance payment for the tobacco crop and all Greek Cypriots in the region benefit from this facility.

The price paid for the tobacco produced by Greek Cypriots in the region is now four times more than what was paid to them by Greek Cypriot authorities in 1974. In 1974, the Greek Cypriot Administration used to pay the Greek Cypriot producers 300 mils per oke for their tobacco leaves whereas the Turkish Cypriot Cooperative paid the Greek Cypriot producers 1,250 mils per oke for their tobacco leaves in 1977. The price for the tobacco leaves was 600 mils per oke in 1975, and 650 mils per oke in 1976.

Greek Cypriots in the Karpass region, encouraged by the good treatment they have been receiving from the TFSC authorities, the incentives for their agriculture, and the good price paid for their produce, are expected to increase their output during the current year.

(News Bulletin 5 May 1978)

NEWS ITEMS REGARDING VISITS OF GREEK CYPRIOT STUDENTS TO NORTH CYPRUS

(1) STUDENTS GO NORTH FOR CHRISTMAS

Greek Cypriot boys and girls from the north attending school in the south will be allowed to join their parents for Christmas under arrangements with the Turkish Cypriot authorities through the U.N. Peace Force.

A total of 127 students (42 boys and 85 girls) below the age of 15 will leave at 9 o'clock on Friday morning to spend ten days with their parents in the north, returning to their schools on January 3.

Of these, 87 will go to Rizokarpasso, 38 to Ayia Trias village (near Yaloussa) and two to Leonarisso.

*(Cyprus Mail,
December 22, 1977)*

(2) STUDENTS GOING NORTH FOR CHRISTMAS

Greek Cypriot boys and girls from the north attending school in the south will be allowed to join their parents for Christmas, under arrangements with the Turkish Cypriot authorities through the U.N. Peace Force:

*(Cyprus Mail,
23 December 1977)*

(3) SOFIANOS SEES OFF KARPASS STUDENTS

The Minister of Education, Dr. Sofianos, yesterday saw 121 boy and girl students-off to a visit to their enclaved parents and relatives living in the Karpass to spend Christmas.

The Minister said he was happy that they have been given the opportunity to visit their beloved parents and relatives, but he also felt grief because the tragedy of the people of Cyprus, Greek and Turkish alike, still continued.

Dr. Sofianos asked the students to convey his own, and particularly the interest of President Kyprianou and his government to "our enclaved brothers".

Peace and love

The struggle of the government, he said, was the struggle of the return of peace and love to all the Cyprus people, which was symbolised by the days of the birth of Christ and the coming year.

The chairman of the Cyprus Red Cross, Mrs. Stella Soulioti, and Mr. Matsoukaris, responsible for humanitarian matters, were also present.

Mr. Matsoukaris said that the students' visit to their families was the result of much effort supported by UNFICYP.

*(Cyprus Mail,
24 December 1977)*

(4) A total of 149 Greek Cypriot boys and girls, students of senior schools in the south, were taken under UNFICYP good offices to the North yesterday to spend Easter with their parents living in the Turkish occupied areas in the Karpass villages of Rizokarpasso, Ayia Trias and Leonarisso. This picture was taken before the group boarded the buses for their northbound journey.

*(Cyprus Mail,
29 April 1978)*

(5) 149 STUDENTS TO SPEND EASTER IN NORTH

This morning 149 Greek Cypriot boys and girls of senior schools in the South will cross to the North to spend Easter with their parents and families who stay in the enclaved Karpass region.

The arrangements were made through the good offices of the U.N. Peace Force, and the group will assemble at the Red Cross offices.

Of the 149 boys and girls who will be crossing this morning, 91 will be going to Rizokarpasso, 55 to Ayia Trias (near Yaloussa) and three to Leonarisso.

*(Cyprus Mail,
28 April 1978)*

(6) GREEK CYPRIOT STUDENTS HOLIDAYING IN TFSC

99 Greek Cypriot students were allowed into the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus yesterday. They are going to spend their holidays with their families in the TFSC.

Another group of Greek Cypriot students are expected to come to the Turkish part of Cyprus to spend their holidays within the next few days.

*(News Bulletin,
9 August 1978)*

(7) GREEK CYPRIOT STUDENTS AT XMAS

A spokesman of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus, has said that all the Greek Cypriot students who had applied to cross to the North and spend their Christmas holidays near their families had been given the necessary permits.

The spokesman was commenting on a report in the Greek Cypriot-owned English language newspaper Cyprus Mail, which alleged that no Greek Cypriot student had been allowed into the Karpass area, and those who had been permitted to cross over had been returned.

The spokesman said, that no restrictions had been made in the granting of permits and that all the students who had made applications had spent their Christmas holidays with their families in the north.

The spokesman stressed that the Greek Cypriots had again tried to exploit the good-will shown by the Turkish Cypriots, by disseminating false information.

*(News Bulletin,
5 January 1977)*

U.N. SECRETARY-GENERAL'S REPORTS REGARDING THE LIVING CONDITIONS OF GREEK CYPRIOTS IN THE NORTH**"G. HUMANITARIAN AND NORMALIZATION FUNCTIONS IN THE NORTH**

27. UNFICYP continues to discharge humanitarian functions and to promote normalization of the living conditions of the Greek Cypriots remaining in the north. Since my last report, UNFICYP has ascertained that the living conditions of these people have improved, particularly as far as their freedom of movement is concerned. Transfers to the south have remained at the same low level which has been in evidence since February 1977. All transfers continue to be monitored by UNFICYP to ensure that they have been undertaken voluntarily. The Greek Cypriot population in the north is now 1,731.

28. Medical care available to Greek Cypriots in the north is as good as that provided to Turkish Cypriots in the same area. Greek Cypriots may obtain permission for temporary visits to the south in order to obtain medical treatment, provided that a Turkish Cypriot medical board certifies that such treatment is not available in the north.

29. Two Greek Cypriot primary schools are operating in the north. Both are in the Karpas area: one in Ayia Trias and the other in Rizokarpaso. The school in Ayia Trias operates with one teacher for 62 pupils. In Rizokarpaso there are five teachers and 155 pupils. Since there are still no Greek Cypriot secondary schools in the north, some children were transferred during the current year in order to attend such schools in the south. Through UNFICYP's good offices, permission was granted by the Turkish Cypriot authorities for 122 Greek Cypriot school children who are attending schools in the south to spend the Christmas holidays in their homes in the Karpas. At Easter, permission was granted to 154 children, but on this occasion girls over 18 were also excluded. During the Easter holiday period, the visiting Greek Cypriot children were allowed access to beaches in the Karpas area and to Cape Andreas, a previously restricted area at the north-western point of the peninsula.

30. The same opportunity was granted over the Christmas and Easter periods to Maronite children attending school in the south whose families live in the north. Furthermore, Maronite adults residing in the south visited their relatives in the north in significant numbers over the Easter holidays. Maronites in the north may travel to markets in the larger cities, such as Kyrenia and Nicosia, for business and domestic purposes. Contacts between members of the Maronite group residing on opposite sides of the cease-fire lines are frequent.

31. In regard to agricultural activities, the recent relaxation of restrictions on freedom of movement in the Karpas area makes it possible for Greek Cypriots to have access also to some fields which lie at a distance from their villages (see S/12463, para. 29).

32. As indicated in my last report, there appears to be no restriction on freedom of worship in the north wherever the services of a priest are available."

(S/12723
31 May 1978)

"G. HUMANITARIAN AND NORMALIZATION FUNCTIONS IN THE NORTH

30. UNFICYP continues to discharge humanitarian functions and to promote normalization of the living conditions of the Greek Cypriots remaining in the north. Since my last report, there have been limited improvements in their living conditions: temporary visits to the south for family reasons have been made possible on an ad hoc basis, both directly and through the good offices of UNFICYP. However, requests by Greek Cypriots returning to the island from abroad to visit their relatives in the north have not been granted. The Turkish Cypriot authorities maintain that Greek Cypriots coming from abroad and wishing to visit the Karpas area should arrive in Cyprus through ports of entry in the north.

31. The recent improvements in pension and social welfare benefits provided by the Cyprus Government have also benefited the Greek Cypriots in the north.

32. Permanent transfers have increased during the period under review, the main reason being that, for lack of secondary school facilities, Greek Cypriot children in the north have had to move south to continue their education (see para. 33 below). Efforts aimed at setting up a class corresponding to the first year of gymnasium have not materialized. All transfers continue to be monitored by UNFICYP to ensure that they have been undertaken voluntarily. The Greek Cypriot population in the north is now 1,572.

33. Two Greek Cypriot primary schools are operating in the north. Both are in the Karpas area: one in Ayia Trias and the other in Rizokarpasso. The school in Ayia Trias, which has 58 pupils, still has only one teacher. Efforts to appoint a second teacher have, so far, not been successful. In Rizokarpasso, there are five teachers and 164 pupils. Through the good offices of UNFICYP, permission was granted by the Turkish Cypriot authorities for 111 Greek Cypriot children who are attending schools in the south to spend the summer holidays in their homes in the Karpas; however, boys over 16 and girls over 18 were excluded.

34. The same opportunity was granted to Maronite children attending school in the south whose families live in the north. Furthermore, Maronite adults residing in the south visited their relatives in the north in significant numbers over the summer period. Maronites in the north may travel to markets in the larger urban centres, such as Kyrenia and Nicosia, for business and domestic purposes. Contacts between members of the Maronite group residing on opposite sides of the cease-fire lines are frequent.

35. Medical care available to Greek Cypriots in the north is as good as that provided to Turkish Cypriots in the same area. In a few cases, Greek Cypriots have obtained permission for temporary visits to the south in order to receive medical treatment after a Turkish Cypriot medical board had certified that such treatment was not available in the north.

36. In regard to agricultural activities, there are no major complaints about freedom of movement, Greek Cypriots continuing to have access also to fields at some distance from their villages (see S/12463, para. 29, and S/12723, para. 31).

37. As indicated in my last report, there appears to be no restriction on freedom of worship in the north wherever the services of a priest are available."

(S/12946
1 December 1978)

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO VOLUNTARY TRANSFER OF
GREEK CYPRIOTS TO SOUTH CYPRUS

U.N. SECRETARY-GENERAL'S REPORTS REGARDING VOLUNTARY
TRANSFERS OF GREEK CYPRIOTS FROM THE NORTH TO THE SOUTH

(i) "All transfers continue to be monitored by UNFICYP to ensure that they have been undertaken voluntarily. The Greek Cypriot population in the north is now 1,572."

(S/12946, 1 December 1978)

(ii) "Transfers to the south have remained at the same low level which has been in evidence since February 1977. All transfers continue to be monitored by UNFICYP to ensure that they have been undertaken voluntarily."

(S/12723, 31 May 1978)

(iii) "Transfers to the south have remained at the same low level which has been in evidence since February of this year. All transfers continue to be carefully monitored by UNFICYP to ensure that they have been undertaken voluntarily."

(S/12463, 1 December 1977)

(iv) "On the other hand, since the high level meetings in Nicosia on 27 January and 12 February, the Greek Cypriot exodus to the south has been reduced to a few individual cases, carefully monitored by UNFICYP, which ascertains from each Greek whether he is moving to the south voluntarily."

(S/12342, 7 June 1977)

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ANNEX

LETTER DATED 7 SEPTEMBER 1976 FROM MR. NAİL ATALAY
TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

I would like to refer to documents S/12142 of 14 July 1976, S/12145 of 19 July 1976, A/31/152 of 11 August 1976, A/31/178-S/12179 of 18 August 1976 and S/12184 of 20 August 1976, all of which are letters from the representatives of the Greek Cypriot community, filled with open lies, baseless slanders and unfounded allegations directed against the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus and myself. Therefore, I am compelled, once again, to address Your Excellency and bring to your attention the realities in Cyprus.

As Your Excellency will recall, following the abortive coup for achieving Enosis (Union of Cyprus with Greece), Turkey intervened by invoking her rights under the Treaty of Guarantee. —a/ This action was not an act of invasion but, on the contrary, it was embarked upon in order to save the independence and sovereignty of Cyprus as well as to prevent the total annihilation of the Turkish Cypriot community.

As for the Greek Cypriots' baseless clamours that the Greeks living in the North are forcibly expelled, I must point out that this is merely a propaganda exercise designed to discredit the Turkish Cypriots in the eyes of world public opinion. Greek Cypriots themselves elect to go to the South and they present applications in accordance with an agreement reached, under your auspices between H.E. Mr. Rauf R. Denktaş and H.E. Mr. Glafcos Clerides, the then Greek Cypriot negotiator at the intercommunal talks. The Greek Cypriots accordingly made use of this option. As proof of this fact, I am attaching copies of some of the letters of UNFICYP written on behalf of these people.

As an example of the blatant lies contained in the letters of the Greek Cypriot representatives, let me point out, for instance, that Mr. Floros Savvides of Yialousa, who is claimed to have been expelled (Mr. Rossides makes this accusation on p. 12 of S/12145) from the North on 9 June 1976, is actually an American citizen. The United States Embassy in Nicosia had asked for his transfer to the South and subsequently, on 31 May 1976, UNFICYP formally requested the transfer. Mr. Savvides, with his car, left North Cyprus on 9 June 1976 to join his wife and children in the South. So much for the "facts" of the Greek Cypriot representative.

Moreover, the fact that there exist Greek Cypriots in the North wishing to go to the South to live with their kinsmen in their own region within a bi-zonal federation in itself lends support to the Turkish Cypriot case.

As for the Greek Cypriot representatives' allegations that in the Turkish part of the island there is a process of "colonization", this is simply not true. Turkey is not an "occupying", "colonizing" foreign Power; on the contrary, the Turkish Cypriot community owes its very existence to Turkey's timely intervention, made under international guarantees. Its presence is solely for the protection of the rights of the Turkish Cypriots which have been grossly violated for the last decade. Our sincere hope is that we shall reach an agreement with the Greek Cypriots, which would in turn give the Turkish troops the chance to return to Turkey.

Finally, I wish to reiterate once more that the senseless Greek Cypriot policy, that is, Enosis, for the achievement of which many Turks were killed, brutally attacked and subjected to innumerable forms of hardship, was the direct cause of the present de facto position. It was this futile policy which led to the setting up of two inimical Governments. In these circumstances, I wish to appeal to Your Excellency to use your good offices to try to secure the reaching of an agreement for co-operation between the two Governments in Cyprus.

I would be grateful if this letter were circulated as a document of the General Assembly, under items 69 and 76 of the provisional agenda, and of the Security Council.

*(Signed) Nail ATALAY
Representative of the
Turkish Federated
State of Cyprus.*

UNITED NATIONS NATIONS UNIES
FORCE IN CYPRUS

HQ UNFICYP
NICOSIA

Ref: Ops E/4471/5

25 June 1976

Subject: TRANSFER OF GREEK CYPRIOT TO THE SOUTH

I would appreciate if clearance could be given as soon as possible for transfer of Mr. Frangou Hadjimichael, aged 70, and his wife Christina Frangou Hadjimichael, aged 60, from VASILI. The man suffers from blood cancer and needs urgent treatment.

I would also appreciate if the transfer could be carried out by United Nations transport.

(Signed) G. O'SULLIVAN
Lt. Colonel
Chief Economics Officer.

UNITED NATIONS NATIONS UNIES
FORCE IN CYPRUS

HQ UNFICYP
NICOSIA

Ref: Ops E/4471/5

8 June 1976

Subject: TRANSFER OF GREEK CYPRIOTS TO THE SOUTH

According to information received from ICRC, I wish to request an urgent clearance for Mr. Andreas Ierocostas, 80, and his wife Maria, 70, from Bellapais.

Mr. Ierocostas is bed-ridden and in need of medical treatment.

I would also appreciate if the transfer could be carried out by United Nations transport and ambulance.

(Signed) G. O'SULLIVAN
Lt. Colonel
Chief Economics Officer

UNITED NATIONS NATIONS UNIES
FORCE IN CYPRUS

HQ UNFICYP
NICOSIA
3 June 1976

Ref: Ops E/4471/5

It is understood that the following Greek Cypriot persons living in Bellapais wish to come to the South, mainly on grounds of ill health.

1. Therodoros Yavropoulos
2. Ritza Yavropoulos
3. Christoforous Papasavvas

4. Maria Papasavvas
5. Sotiris Papasavvas
6. Kiriakos Hadjidemetris
7. Irini Hadjidemetris
8. Nicola Hadjidemetris

Their ages are NOT known. Perhaps you could arrange to confirm that they wish to be evacuated and provide clearance in due course.

(Signed) G. O'SULLIVAN
Lt. Colonel
Chief Economics Officer

UNITED NATIONS NATIONS UNIES
FORCE IN CYPRUS

HQ UNFICYP
NICOSIA

Ref: Ops E/4471/5

31 May 1976

Subject: TRANSFER OF GREEK CYPRIOT TO THE SOUTH

We have been informed that Mrs. Elena Zachariou, aged 70, from Rizokarpasso has a broken leg and has been in bed for three weeks. She lives alone and has no relatives in the village to take care of her.

I would appreciate if clearance to the South by United Nations ambulance could be arranged as soon as possible.

Please regard this case as very urgent.

(Signed) G. O'SULLIVAN
Lt. Colonel
Chief Economics Officer.

UNITED NATIONS NATIONS UNIES
FORCE IN CYPRUS

HQ UNFICYP
NICOSIA

Ref: Ops E/4471/5

31 May 1976

Subject: TRANSFER OF GREEK CYPRIOTS TO THE SOUTH

We have received information through ICRC regarding two urgent cases for transfer on medical grounds.

1. Mr. FLORIS SAVVIDES, aged 38, of YIALOUSA. He requested evacuation from the local Turkish authorities two months ago but to date has received no reply.
2. Mrs. DESPIAN PANAYI, aged 85, of KOMA-TOU-YIALOU. She is ill and in a very critical condition. She has also made her own application for transfer to the South some days ago.

Will you please regard these cases as urgent and if possible allow the evacuations to be carried out by United Nations transport.

(Signed) G. O'SULLIVAN
Lt. Colonel
Chief Economics Officer

UNITED NATIONS NATIONS UNIES
FORCE IN CYPRUS

HQ UNFICYP
NICOSIA

Ref: Ops E/4471/5

29 May 1976

Subject: TRANSFER OF GREEK CYPRIOTS TO THE SOUTH

I would appreciate if clearance could be given to transfer the following Greek Cypriots from Bellapais:

Demetrios Karacostas
Eleni Karacostas

Their son, who is in England, wishes to take them there.

I would be grateful if you could arrange the transfer and let me know in advance of their coming. I would be grateful if it could be arranged as soon as possible as I understand they are willing to come.

(Signed) G.O'SULLIVAN
Lt. Colonel
Chief Economics Officer.

UNITED NATIONS NATIONS UNIES
FORCE IN CYPRUS

HQ UNFICYP
NICOSIA

Ref: Ops E/4471/5

27 May 1976

Subject: TRANSFER OF GREEK CYPRIOTS TO THE SOUTH

I would appreciate if the following family from Rizokarpasso could get clearance and be transferred to the South by United Nations transport. The wife is ill and needs medical treatment.

Nicholas Evagora	M, 42
Andriana "	F, 40
Panos "	M, 15
Doroulla "	F, 13
Yiannakis "	M, 12
Savvakis "	M, 11
Demetroulla "	F, 10
Chamboulla "	F, 2

(Signed) G.O'SULLIVAN
Lt. Colonel
Chief Economics Officer

UNITED NATIONS NATIONS UNIES
FORCE IN CYPRUS

HQ UNFICYP
NICOSIA

Ref: Ops E/4471/5

20 May 1976

My attention has been drawn to the following cases of aged and infirm Greek Cypriots in Bellapais who are in need of evacuation to the South

1. Mr. Yiannakis and Mrs. Aphrodite Pavli, aged 90 and 85 years, respectively.
2. Mrs. Eleni Ovstayanni, aged over 80 years.
3. Mrs. Alisavvou Hadjisavva, aged over 100 years, and her daughter, aged over 60 years.

In view of their age, they would seem to require special care during evacuation. UNFICYP would be prepared to provide an ambulance but in any event I would be glad to be advised in advance of their evacuation so that adequate arrangements for their care and re-settlement may be made.

(Signed) G. O SULLIVAN
Lt. Colonel
Chief Economics Officer.

Mr. M. Hasan
Political Liaison Officer
Office of H.E. Mr. O. Orek
Nicosia

UNITED NATIONS NATIONS UNIES
FORCE IN CYPRUS

HQ UNFICYP
NICOSIA

Ref: Ops E/4471/5

17 May 1976

Subject: TRANSFER OF GREEK CYPRIOTS TO THE SOUTH

I would appreciate if clearance could be given to transfer the following Greek Cypriots from Bellapais:

1.	Theodoros Yiavropoulos	61, M
2.	Titsa Yiavropoulos	40, F
3.	Eleni K. Iosiph	80, F
4.	Georgios Ustayiannis	74, M
5.	Aspasia Ustayiannis	76, F
6.	Eleni Ustayiannis	43, F
7.	Katina Konstandinou	45, F

They have already applied to the Turkish authorities for transfer, but due to them being ill they regard their transfer urgent.

I would appreciate if transfer could be carried out by United Nations transport.

(Signed) G. O'SULLIVAN
Lt. Colonel
Chief Economics Officer.

Mr. M. Hasan
Political Liaison Officer
Office of H.E. Mr. O. Orek
Nicosia

UNITED NATIONS NATIONS UNIES
FORCE IN CYPRUS

HQ UNFICYP
NICOSIA

Ref: Ops E/4471/5

14 May 1976

Subject: TRANSFER OF GREEK CYPRIOTS TO THE SOUTH

I would appreciate if clearance for transfer to the South could be given for Maria A. Kayiatou, F, 16, from Ayia Trias.

She wants to come to the South, to be able to study and live with her brother.

I would appreciate if she could be taken out by United Nations transport.

(Signed) G. O'SULLIVAN
Lt. Colonel
Chief Economics Officer

UNITED NATIONS NATIONS UNIES
FORCE IN CYPRUS

HQ UNFICYP
NICOSIA

Ref: Ops E/4471/5

13 May 1976

Subject: TRANSFER OF GREEK CYPRIOTS TO THE SOUTH

I would appreciate if clearance could be given for KONSTANDIS KYRIAKOU, M, and ANDRIANI KONSTANDINOY, F, from Vokolidha to be transferred to the South.

I also would appreciate if they could bring all their own possessions and be moved by United Nations transport.

(Signed) G. O'SULLIVAN
Lt. Colonel
Chief Economics Officer.

UNITED NATIONS NATIONS UNIES
FORCE IN CYPRUS

HQ UNFICYP
NICOSIA

Ref: Ops E/4471/5

7 May 1976

It would be appreciated if clearance could be obtained for the transfer to the South of the following Greek Cypriots:

1.	Kyriakos Habeshi	M.	40	Upper	Kyrenia
2.	Eleni Habeshi	F.	38	"	"
3.	Christallou Papandreou	F.	60	"	"
4.	Xenis Fania	M.	95	"	"
5.	Nicola Onoufriou	M.	76	Neta	
6.	Athina Onoufriou	F.	68	"	
7.	Androulla Onoufriou	F.	26	"	
8.	Fountza Onoufriou	F.	24	"	
9.	Loucia Onoufriou	F.	22	"	

I would request that the transfer be carried out by United Nations vehicles (ambulance) and that the people be allowed to take all their belongings.

Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 4 are understood to be very disabled and will require special care. They have very little personal possessions.

(Signed) G. O'SULLIVAN
Lt. Colonel
Chief Economics Officer

UNITED NATIONS NATIONS UNIES
FORCE IN CYPRUS

HQ UNFICYP
NICOSIA

Ref: Ops E/4471/5

3 May 1976

Subject: TRANSFER OF GREEK CYPRIOTS TO THE SOUTH

It would be appreciated if clearance could be obtained for the transfer to the South of the following Greek Cypriots:

Theimosia Christofi Louca, Koma Tou Yialou
Kyriacou Demetri, Koma Tou Yialou

I would request that the transfer be carried out by UNFICYP vehicles, and that the people be allowed to take all their possessions.

(Signed) G. O'SULLIVAN

Lt. Colonel

Chief Economics Officer

(iii)

MOVEMENT OF GREEK CYPRIOTS TO THE SOUTH

The complaint of the Greek Cypriot Administration regarding the alleged forcible expulsion of Greek Cypriots from the North is totally unfounded.

All Greek Cypriots living in Northern Cyprus enjoy the same rights as Turkish Cypriots and have freedom of movement subject only to minimal security precautions.

It will be recalled that at the third round of the intercommunal talks in Vienna an agreement was reached for an exchange of populations, in accordance with which the Greek Cypriot side agreed to allow Turkish Cypriots living in the South to move to the North, while the Turkish Cypriot side would permit those Greek Cypriots who wished to go to the South to do so. Until then the Turkish Cypriots living in the South were under the greatest of physical and psychological strains. They were virtual hostages in Greek hands, denied every decent right including that of work and communication. Road-Blocks prevented them from coming to the North, but in spite of this, these people trekked their way to the North over the mountains facing death and arrest, humiliation and assault; but nevertheless they forced their way to the North to freedom which was denied to them for 12 years.

65 thousand Turkish Cypriots eventually moved North. This number is almost half of the Turkish Cypriot population in Cyprus. . . half of the Turkish population chose to leave their ancestral homes and lands and moved North. But no one took notice of this "tragedy", no one enquired what were the conditions which forced these people to go North. . . They chose to do so because life under Greek rule for 12 years had become unbearable. They longed for security and for freedom which they had lacked since December 1963. They did not want to join the 30 thousand Turks of 103 villages who had lived as refugees for 12 years. They did not want to become the next martyrs in mass graves.

It has been the policy of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus to allow those Greek Cypriots who have made applications for transfer to the South, either through the United Nations and the International Red Cross, or to the Turkish Cypriot authorities directly, to move in accordance with their wishes. This is also confirmed by the latest report of the Secretary-General.

Yet baseless Greek Cypriot allegations on this matter continue "ad nauseam".

The fact is that Greek Cypriots are moving South of their free will, having come to the conclusion that this would be in their best interest for the following reasons:

1. They see separation as a reality. They realise that any final solution to the Cyprus problem will be on the basis of a bi-zonal federation and therefore, they see a better future for themselves in their own region in the south.

2. They wish to join their families and fellow Greeks in the South with whom they have common cultural, social and economic ties.

3. The interruption of the intercommunal talks, the resignation and later the complete ousting of Mr. Clerides, the then Greek Cypriot negotiator, from the political scene dispersed hopes for an early settlement of the political problem.

Mr. Clerides's public statements criticizing the Greek Cypriot leadership for having followed an "unrealistic policy" and for having "lost many opportunities" for the solution of the problem intensified the desire of the Greek Cypriots to move south.

4. Makarios' call for a long struggle and the setting up of militia forces in the South have been causing them anxiety and prompting them to move to their own region where they would feel more secure should anything happen again in Cyprus.

In short they are going to the South for the very reasons that the Turks came to the North. This is merely the natural outcome of years of hostility between the two communities, nurtured by the Greek policy of Enosis and the treatment of the Turkish Cypriots as their natural enemy, to be hated and despised.

It is evident, however, that if any pressure does exist for Greek Cypriots to leave their homes in the North, and go South, as they do, this pressure is, as we have witnessed, circumstantial for which we cannot possibly be held responsible.

It is natural for the Greek Cypriots who have regarded the Turkish Cypriots as their natural enemies and have considered the commission of all manner of atrocities against the Turks for 12 years as normal, to want to go South, now that these very Turkish Cypriots whom they persecuted are in control of the North.

It is worth noting that the grouping of the two communities in two distinct regions today is no more than the natural and inevitable conclusion of an evolutionary process which began as long ago as the first decade of this century.

In 1911, for example, Turkish Cypriots lived in 230 mixed villages and 85 purely Turkish villages.

By 1946 the number of mixed villages in which Turkish Cypriots lived had fallen to 162, while the number of purely Turkish villages had risen to 110.

During the 1955-58 struggle Turkish Cypriots lost 33 villages; we returned to some of them after 1959.

By 1960 the year in which Cyprus became an independent State the number of mixed villages had fallen to 102, while the number of purely Turkish villages had risen to 130.

Following the Greek Cypriot onslaught of 1963, the Turkish Cypriot Community, for security reasons abandoned or was expelled from 103 villages. Thus the number of mixed villages was reduced to 48, while purely Turkish villages now numbered 105.

The above statistics indicate that the position today, whereby the Turkish Cypriots live in one region in the North and the Greek Cypriots in another region in the South, is merely the natural conclusion of a consistent trend which began many years before. The coup of 1974 further intensified the regrouping of the two communities. Had Turkey not intervened a further 33 Turkish villages would have been erased from the map of Cyprus. 15,000 Turkish Cypriots had become refugees in addition to the 26,000 of 12 years and where Turks had not left, they suffered intolerable hardship at the hands of their Greek Cypriot masters.

Despite the voluntary movement of the Greek Cypriots to the South statements are made alleging to the contrary that pressure is being exerted by the Turkish Cypriot authorities.

In actual fact, the following are the reasons for the movement of Greek Cypriots to the South and for statements thus made.

- 1) The Greek Cypriots under pressure from the Greek Cypriot Administration to remain in the North, for purely internal political reasons. Thus on arrival to the South, lest they be branded as traitors, these people feel obliged to state that they left under pressure from the Turkish Cypriot authorities.

Indeed, we are sometimes placed in a dilemma as the case of the three priests of St. Barnabas Church illustrates. These three bishops applied both to us directly through U.N., and also through international ecclesiastical organizations

to go to the South. Yet the Greek Cypriot press were printing headlines to the effect that these people were being forced to move to the South.

This is confirmed by the following passage from an article written by Robert Fisk which appeared in the London Times of 21 December, 1976

"The statement by the monks is in remarkable contrast to their attitude last week when they freely told The Times that they had applied voluntarily to leave the Turkish-held zone(The Times, December 16). Not only did they request at that time the help of Mr. Denktas̄ the Turkish Cypriot leader, in assisting their transfer to the South but President Makarios later confirmed personally that the three had written to him asking for permission to leave their shrine and go to Larnaca.

Soon after the monks were visited at the monastery by Mr. Denktas̄ last week, a Turkish Cypriot spokesman said. 'Now you know that the monks really want to leave of their own free will. But I promise you that as soon as they cross to the South, Greek Cypriot propaganda will say that they were forced to leave'. (The Times of 21 December 1976)

And this is what Baron Von Benningsen, Chancellor and Extraordinary envoy to Cyprus of the Most Sacred Order of the Orthodox Hospitallers said about the monks, which indisputably confirms the voluntary nature of their move to the South.

I, the undersigned, Brother Sergai, Baron Von Benningsen, OH Chancellor and extraordinary envoy to Cyprus of the order of the Orthodox hospitallers certify that on the 18th November 1976, being on special Mission I went to Saint Barnabas Monastery, Commandery of Saint Barnabas Monastery, of the priory of Cyprus of the order of the Orthodox Hospitallers, I was accompanied by Dr. Ayten Salih Berkalp and Mr. Said Erkin, and that during my inspection of the Commandery, the Rt. Rev. Igonmen, Commander of the Commandery, His brother and Themenc Nectarius, both Fathers of the Order, made a formal request to be urgently transferred to the Stavrovouni Monastery. This request was immediately passed by myself and the two witnesses to the competent Authorities.

The Greek Cypriot leadership may not want these people to go South for political reasons, but we cannot for that reason imprison them in the North against their will.

2) In view of the policy of the Greek Cypriot Administration to deny rehabilitation credits and other benefits to Greek Cypriots who leave voluntarily they have no alternative but to state that they were forced to leave by the Turkish Cypriot authorities.

Despite this and other direct and indirect pressures and intimidation employed by the Greek Cypriot administration, as confirmed by paragraph 31

of the latest report of the U.N. Secretary-General, (S/12253) almost a quarter of those who left the North applied directly through the United Nations and the International Red Cross.

However, in view of the allegations constantly being made regarding the expulsion of Greek Cypriots from the North, we would be only too happy for the voluntary applications of the Greek Cypriots to be investigated and verified by independent and impartial authorities.

Indeed, President Denktas, when he met Archbishop Makarios on 27 January, 1977 told the Archbishop that we would have no objection to applications going directly to him.

As confirmed by paragraph 33 of the Secretary-General's report, the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus has agreed to the establishment of an enlarged UNFICYP Liaison Team Centre in Yialousa and to arrangements that would enable UNFICYP personnel to speak freely and in private with any Greek Cypriot applying for transfer to the South, to verify the voluntary nature of the applications and to provide transport assistance where necessary.

Furthermore, until the agreement with UNFICYP is actually signed, we have authorised the International Red Cross to carry out such investigations in order to verify the voluntary nature of the migration.

(iv)

NO CREDENCE CAN BE GIVEN TO GREEK ALLEGATIONS

The authorities of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus have been permitting Greek Cypriots in the North who wished to go to the South on their own free will, to do so in conformity with the population exchange agreement reached at the third round of the inter-communal talks held in Vienna under the auspices of the Secretary-General of the United Nations Organization.

The Greek Cypriot leaders who are opposed to the transfer of Greek Cypriots from the North to the South for political means, have been exploiting, in complete disregard of the Vienna Agreement, this humanitarian action of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus by projecting it to the world as 'forced expulsion of Greek Cypriots from the North' and in this way trying to bring internal pressure to bear upon Turkey and the Turkish Federated State with the object of preventing such transfers.

The outcry raised over the recent transfer of the three elderly monks of the St. Barnabas Monastery to the South constitutes the latest example of the malicious misrepresentation and distortion of facts resorted to by the Greek Cypriot leaders for propaganda purposes. These monks had applied to the appropriate

authorities of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus for permission to go to the South on grounds of old age and ill health. They requested Mr. Denktas who visited the Monastery before their departure to give directions for the early approval of their petition. They repeated their desire for voluntary transfer to the South to Brother Sergei, Baron Von Beningsen, Chancellor and Extraordinary Envoy to Cyprus of the Most Sacred Order of the Orthodox Hospitallers who visited them on the 18th November, 1976 and to Mr. Robert Fisk of The Times (See The Times of December 16, 1976.)

Notwithstanding the fact that these elderly monks were transferred to the South on their own volition, on arrival in the Greek held South they were made to repeat the usual false allegation that they were forced to leave North. This unorthodox attitude of the monks induced Mr. Robert Fisk, the Nicosia Correspondent of the 'Times' who had visited them before their departure, to make the following remarks in the Times of 21 December, 1976:

"The Statement by the monks is in remarkable contrast to their attitude last week when they freely told The Times that they had applied voluntarily to leave the Turkish held zone (The Times, December 16). Not only did they request at that time the help of Mr. Denktas, the Turkish Cypriot leader, in assisting their transfer to the South, but President Makarios later confirmed personally that the three had written to him asking for permission to leave their shrine and go to Larnaca.

Soon after the monks were visited at the monastery by Mr. Denktas last week, a Turkish Cypriot spokesman said: "Now you know that the monks really want to leave of their own free will. But I promise you that as soon as they cross to the South, Greek Cypriot propaganda will say that they were forced to leave."

If the three elderly Greek Cypriot monks of St. Barnabas monastery can so easily be forced to tell lies in order to give Greek Cypriot leaders the opportunity to exploit their voluntary transfer for political ends, one wonders what credence can be given to the allegations of "forced expulsion" which every Greek Cypriot has to repeat as soon as he sets foot on the Greek Cypriot region in the South.

(EXCERPT FROM "THE TIMES" OF 21 DECEMBER 1976.)

MONKS OF ST. BARNABAS CROSS TO GREEK ZONE

NICOSIA, Dec. 20 - The three elderly Greek monks of the monastery of St. Barnabas in the Turkish-ruled zone of Cyprus were sent over the border into the Greek zone today.

It is worth noting that the grouping of the two communities in two distinct regions today is no more than the natural and inevitable conclusion of an evolutionary process which began as long ago as the first decade of this century.

In 1911, for example, Turkish Cypriots lived in 230 mixed villages and 85 purely Turkish villages.

By 1946 the number of mixed villages in which Turkish Cypriots lived had fallen to 162, while the number of purely Turkish villages had risen to 110.

During the 1955-58 struggle Turkish Cypriots lost 33 villages; we returned to some of them after 1959.

By 1960 the year in which Cyprus became an independent State the number of mixed villages had fallen to 102, while the number of purely Turkish villages had risen to 130.

Following the Greek Cypriot onslaught of 1963, the Turkish Cypriot Community, for security reasons abandoned or was expelled from 103 villages. Thus the number of mixed villages was reduced to 48, while purely Turkish villages now numbered 105.

The above statistics indicate that the position today, whereby the Turkish Cypriots live in one region in the North and the Greek Cypriots in another region in the South, is merely the natural conclusion of a consistent trend which began many years before. The coup of 1974 further intensified the regrouping of the two communities. Had Turkey not intervened a further 33 Turkish villages would have been erased from the map of Cyprus. 15,000 Turkish Cypriots had become refugees in addition to the 26,000 of 12 years and where Turks had not left, they suffered intolerable hardship at the hands of their Greek Cypriot masters.

Despite the voluntary movement of the Greek Cypriots to the South statements are made alleging to the contrary that pressure is being exerted by the Turkish Cypriot authorities.

In actual fact, the following are the reasons for the movement of Greek Cypriots to the South and for statements thus made.

- 1) The Greek Cypriots under pressure from the Greek Cypriot Administration to remain in the North, for purely internal political reasons. Thus on arrival to the South, lest they be branded as traitors, these people feel obliged to state that they left under pressure from the Turkish Cypriot authorities.

Indeed, we are sometimes placed in a dilemma as the case of the three priests of St. Barnabas Church illustrates. These three bishops applied both to us directly through U.N., and also through international ecclesiastical organizations

to go to the South. Yet the Greek Cypriot press were printing headlines to the effect that these people were being forced to move to the South.

This is confirmed by the following passage from an article written by Robert Fisk which appeared in the London Times of 21 December, 1976

"The statement by the monks is in remarkable contrast to their attitude last week when they freely told The Times that they had applied voluntarily to leave the Turkish-held zone(The Times, December 16). Not only did they request at that time the help of Mr. Denktas̄ the Turkish Cypriot leader, in assisting their transfer to the South but President Makarios later confirmed personally that the three had written to him asking for permission to leave their shrine and go to Larnaca.

Soon after the monks were visited at the monastery by Mr. Denktas̄ last week, a Turkish Cypriot spokesman said. 'Now you know that the monks really want to leave of their own free will. But I promise you that as soon as they cross to the South, Greek Cypriot propaganda will say that they were forced to leave'. (The Times of 21 December 1976)

And this is what Baron Von Benningsen, Chancellor and Extraordinary envoy to Cyprus of the Most Sacred Order of the Orthodox Hospitallers said about the monks, which indisputably confirms the voluntary nature of their move to the South.

I, the undersigned, Brother Sergai, Baron Von Benningsen, OH Chancellor and extraordinary envoy to Cyprus of the order of the Orthodox hospitallers certify that on the 18th November 1976, being on special Mission I went to Saint Barnabas Monastery, Commandery of Saint Barnabas Monastery, of the priory of Cyprus of the order of the Orthodox Hospitallers, I was accompanied by Dr. Ayten Salih Berkalp and Mr. Said Erkin, and that during my inspection of the Commandery, the Rt. Rev. Igonmen, Commander of the Commandery, His brother and Themenc Nectarius, both Fathers of the Order, made a formal request to be urgently transferred to the Stavrovouni Monastery. This request was immediately passed by myself and the two witnesses to the competent Authorities.

The Greek Cypriot leadership may not want these people to go South for political reasons, but we cannot for that reason imprison them in the North against their will.

2) In view of the policy of the Greek Cypriot Administration to deny rehabilitation credits and other benefits to Greek Cypriots who leave voluntarily they have no alternative but to state that they were forced to leave by the Turkish Cypriot authorities.

Despite this and other direct and indirect pressures and intimidation employed by the Greek Cypriot administration, as confirmed by paragraph 31

of the latest report of the U.N. Secretary-General, (S/12253) almost a quarter of those who left the North applied directly through the United Nations and the International Red Cross.

However, in view of the allegations constantly being made regarding the expulsion of Greek Cypriots from the North, we would be only too happy for the voluntary applications of the Greek Cypriots to be investigated and verified by independent and impartial authorities.

Indeed, President Denktaş, when he met Archbishop Makarios on 27 January, 1977 told the Archbishop that we would have no objection to applications going directly to him.

As confirmed by paragraph 33 of the Secretary-General's report, the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus has agreed to the establishment of an enlarged UNFICYP Liaison Team Centre in Yialousa and to arrangements that would enable UNFICYP personnel to speak freely and in private with any Greek Cypriot applying for transfer to the South, to verify the voluntary nature of the applications and to provide transport assistance where necessary.

Furthermore, until the agreement with UNFICYP is actually signed, we have authorised the International Red Cross to carry out such investigations in order to verify the voluntary nature of the migration.

(iv)

NO CREDENCE CAN BE GIVEN TO GREEK ALLEGATIONS

The authorities of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus have been permitting Greek Cypriots in the North who wished to go to the South on their own free will, to do so in conformity with the population exchange agreement reached at the third round of the inter-communal talks held in Vienna under the auspices of the Secretary-General of the United Nations Organization.

The Greek Cypriot leaders who are opposed to the transfer of Greek Cypriots from the North to the South for political means, have been exploiting, in complete disregard of the Vienna Agreement, this humanitarian action of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus by projecting it to the world as 'forced expulsion of Greek Cypriots from the North' and in this way trying to bring internal pressure to bear upon Turkey and the Turkish Federated State with the object of preventing such transfers.

The outcry raised over the recent transfer of the three elderly monks of the St. Barnabas Monastery to the South constitutes the latest example of the malicious misrepresentation and distortion of facts resorted to by the Greek Cypriot leaders for propaganda purposes. These monks had applied to the appropriate

authorities of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus for permission to go to the South on grounds of old age and ill health. They requested Mr. Denктаş who visited the Monastery before their departure to give directions for the early approval of their petition. They repeated their desire for voluntary transfer to the South to Brother Sergei, Baron Von Beningsen, Chancellor and Extraordinary Envoy to Cyprus of the Most Sacred Order of the Orthodox Hospitallers who visited them on the 18th November, 1976 and to Mr. Robert Fisk of The Times (See The Times of December 16, 1976.)

Notwithstanding the fact that these elderly monks were transferred to the South on their own volition, on arrival in the Greek held South they were made to repeat the usual false allegation that they were forced to leave North. This unorthodox attitude of the monks induced Mr. Robert Fisk, the Nicosia Correspondent of the 'Times' who had visited them before their departure, to make the following remarks in the Times of 21 December, 1976:

"The Statement by the monks is in remarkable contrast to their attitude last week when they freely told The Times that they had applied voluntarily to leave the Turkish held zone (The Times, December 16). Not only did they request at that time the help of Mr. Denктаş, the Turkish Cypriot leader, in assisting their transfer to the South, but President Makarios later confirmed personally that the three had written to him asking for permission to leave their shrine and go to Larnaca.

Soon after the monks were visited at the monastery by Mr. Denктаş last week, a Turkish Cypriot spokesman said: "Now you know that the monks really want to leave of their own free will. But I promise you that as soon as they cross to the South, Greek Cypriot propaganda will say that they were forced to leave."

If the three elderly Greek Cypriot monks of St. Barnabas monastery can so easily be forced to tell lies in order to give Greek Cypriot leaders the opportunity to exploit their voluntary transfer for political ends, one wonders what credence can be given to the allegations of "forced expulsion" which every Greek Cypriot has to repeat as soon as he sets foot on the Greek Cypriot region in the South.

(EXCERPT FROM "THE TIMES" OF 21 DECEMBER 1976.)

MONKS OF ST. BARNABAS CROSS TO GREEK ZONE

NICOSIA, Dec. 20 - The three elderly Greek monks of the monastery of St. Barnabas in the Turkish-ruled zone of Cyprus were sent over the border into the Greek zone today.

They said on arrival that they had asked the Turkish authorities to be allowed to finish their lives in the monastery. But under certain "pressures", like the breaking of monastery windows by unseen stone-throwers, they had signed a request to be transferred to the Greek zone. Father Stephanos, aged 82, the superior of the monastery, blamed the harassment on "Turks from Turkey."

An authoritative Turkish Cypriot source said that the monastery near Famagusta, where two of the monks had lived for 59 years, would be turned into a museum.

Robert Fisk writes: The statement by the monks is in remarkable contrast to their attitude last week when they freely told *The Times* that they had applied voluntarily to leave the Turkish-held zone (*The Times*, December 16.) Not only did they request at that time the help of Mr. Denktas, the Turkish Cypriot leader, in assisting their transfer to the South, but President Makarios later confirmed personally that the three had written to him asking for permission to leave their shrine and go to Lamaca.

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(News Bulletin, 2 March 1977)

(v)

FACTS ON GREEK CYPRIOTS IN KARPASS AREA

The recent decision of Greek Cypriots living in the Karpass area to ignore the instructions of the Greek Cypriot leaders in the South and to make proper use of the rights recognised to them by the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus has disturbed the Greek Cypriot leadership. The Greek Cypriot leadership's disappointment became obvious when they had to resort to lies and slanders as usual. The Greek Cypriot leaders attempted to misrepresent the situation to give the impression that these rights were newly recognised.

The Greek Cypriots living in the Karpass area have all along been quite satisfied with the treatment they have been receiving from TFSC authorities and the facilities available to them. Greek Cypriots continue with their agricultural activity and they are paid a good price for their produce. The price paid for their tobacco leaves is currently four times more than what was paid to them by the Greek Cypriot authorities just before 1974.

The following two United Nations documents aim at giving the reader a true picture of the situation prevailing in the Karpass area a year ago. On page two, the United Nations document speaks of information from "Greek Cypriot authorities" that a number of Greek Cypriots from Rizokarpasso would like to be transferred to the South and seeks permission to interview these persons. On page 3, the United Nations document reveals the outcome of the interview with Greek Cypriots who, as the "Greek Cypriot Administration" alleged, wanted to cross to the South. The true facts, as seen on the U.N. document, is that these persons WANTED TO STAY. The U.N. Document, dated 27 May 1977, proves that Greek Cypriots were satisfied with the rights and facilities recognised to them by the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus right from the beginning.

The Greek Cypriot leadership may be disturbed or may be beginning to feel embarrassed at the fact that their instructions are being disregarded. The Greek Cypriot leadership must realise that lies and slanders serve no useful purpose for the promotion of the interests of the two communities in the island. Unless the Greek Cypriot leadership abandons lies and slanders, more disappointments and embarrassment are in store for them!

(News Bulletin, 11 May 1978)

(vi)

MORE GREEK CYPRIOTS MOVE TO THE SOUTH

More Greek Cypriots have been allowed by the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus to move to the South.

The request for the transfer of 13 Greek Cypriots to the South was made by the United Nations authorities in letters dated 26 and 28 April. The United Nations letters said:

UNFICYP has received a request through the Greek Cypriot Authority from the relatives of the persons on the attached list to have those named persons transferred from the Karpas to the South.

"UNFICYP desires to ascertain the wishes of the said persons as regards such transfer.

"It is suggested that the persons be interviewed by members of UNFICYP, one of whom will be an interpreter. On certifying that these persons wish to be transferred the procedure as agreed will be undertaken."

It should be recalled that the movement of Greek Cypriots to the South, entirely on their own free will, and written application to the Turkish Cypriot authorities, sometimes through the United Nations authorities on the island, was exploited by the Greek Cypriot leadership, in its endeavours to slander the Turkish

Cypriot authorities through lies and cooked-up stories. U.N. Documents asking the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus for permission for the transfer of Greek Cypriots to the South, were published in the NEWS BULLETIN in the past too.

The latest group of Greek Cypriots granted permission to be transferred to the South following applications by the United Nations are:

1. Ioannis Nicola Hambi
2. Christina Ioanni Hambi
3. Liasis Nicola Tsourou
4. Christina Kyriacou Pysi
5. Anna Kyriacou Pysi
6. Charalambos Kyriacou Pysi
7. Stellu K. Mallupa
8. Styllou Georgiou Solomon
9. Nicolas Georgiou Kounnous
10. Andriana A. Karsa
11. Maria Nicola Kounnous
12. Annezou Ioanni Sporikou
13. Katina Christoforou Poni

(News Bulletin, 31 May 1977)

Document 1

UNITED NATIONS
FORCE IN CYPRUS

Ops E/4475

HQ UNFICYP
NICOSIA

30 May 1977

AIDE MEMOIRE

UNFICYP has been informed by the Greek Cypriot authorities that the relatives of the persons named on the attached list are desirous of having those persons transferred from Rizokarpasso to the South.

UNFICYP now wishes to ascertain if the said persons are willing to transfer and requests facilities to interview them.

In the event of those persons wishing to transfer UNFICYP is prepared to effect the transfer using its own vehicles.

List dated 30/May/1977 refers:

UNITED NATIONS
FORCE IN CYPRUS

HQ UNFICYP
NICOSIA

27 May 1977

AIDE MEMOIRE

REQUEST FOR TRANSFER OF GREEK CYPRIOTS FROM THE NORTH
TO THE SOUTH

1. On the 25 May 1977 UNFICYP interviewed the persons listed below to verify the voluntary aspect, in accordance with the procedure laid down.

2. Result of the interviews:

No:	NAME	REMARKS
1.	VARNAVAS ZACHARIOU VARNAVA	Wants to stay
2.	MARIA " "	" " "
3.	DEMETRA " "	" " "
4.	CHRISTINA LENOU " "	" " "

3. In consequence of para 2, UNFICYP will not make any arrangement for the transfer.

(vii)

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Yesterday we printed a report under the above heading, together with two U.N. Documents.

Today we print another similar document, also from the UNFICYP, stating quite clearly that Greek Cypriots who go to the South almost daily for permanent settlement, do so on their own free will and without any pressure whatsoever by the TFSC authorities.

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Today's Aide Memoire of 5 October 1976 was sent to TFSC authorities by UNFICYP.

It states that "UNFICYP has received a request for the transfer of the following Greek Cypriots to the South," and, like the other documents published yesterday, adds that "UNFICYP is prepared to supply transport for this evacuation."

On the first page of the said document, there were 24 Greek Cypriots listed. - 10 of them from the village of Yialousa, 2 from Ayios Andronikos, and the rest from Rizokarpasso - all three villages being in the Karpass peninsula of the Island.

Eight of the 24 were males, and 16 females.

The names of those listed are given below in the order mentioned on the document:

Sevasti Ioannou
Maria Pierroua
Despo Pieroua
Sotiris Pieroua
Stavroulla Kaloudi
Petroulla K. Kaloudi
Fanitsa Petrou
Zacharoulla Petrou
Fokas Neophytou
Marina Antoni Mita
Xenophon Protopapa
Petrou Protopapa
Sofoulla N. Vlasίου
Charis Papapios
Maria S. Kolatsi
Yiannakis Stylianou Gabriel
Georghoulla Vlasίου Georghalli
Michalakis Vlasίου Georghalli
Eleni Joannou Plisi
Yiannakis Kleanthous
Androulla Zacharia Taoushani
Maroulla Panteli Zacharia
Georghios Savva Paphiti
Niki Savva Paphiti

(News Bulletin, 26 November 1976)

LIVING CONDITIONS OF GREEK CYPRIOTS IN THE
NORTH RECORDED IN PICTURES



PICTURES ABOVE AND BELOW SHOW PRESIDENT DENKTAŞ
DURING ONE OF HIS PERIODIC VISITS TO THE GREEK CYPRIOTS
LIVING IN THE KARPASS PENINSULA IN NORTH CYPRUS
IN ORDER TO ESTABLISH WHETHER THEY HAVE ANY PROBLEMS



PICTURES DEPICTING NORMAL SCHOOLING OF GREEK CYPRIOT CHILDREN LIVING IN THE TURKISH FEDERATED STATE OF CYPRUS





CO-OP PROVISION STORE RUN BY GREEK CYPRIOTS



PICTURE DEPICTING GREEK CYPRIOT CO-OPERATIVE SAVINGS BANK





PICTURES ABOVE AND BELOW SHOW GREEK CYPRIOTS CARRYING
THEIR AGRICULTURAL ACTIVITIES IN THE NORTH



PICTURE DEPICTING GREEK CYPRIOT HAIRDRESSER'S



**PICTURE BELOW SHOWS GREEK CYPRIOT ORTHODOX CHURCH
THEY ENJOY FULL FREEDOM OF WORSHIP IN THE NORTH**



**U.N. SECRETARY-GENERAL'S REPORTS AND PRESS ACCOUNTS
REGARDING THE ABDUCTION AND MURDER OF TURKISH CYPRIOTS
AND GREEK CYPRIOTS KILLED DURING THE COUP OF 15 JULY 1974**

ABDUCTION AND SUBSEQUENT MURDER OF TURKISH CYPRIOTS

(i) "18. . . .The incident (i.e. incident at Famagusta of the 11th May 1964 referred to above) was followed by a wave of hostage-taking, a total of 32 Turkish Cypriots being abducted from Famagusta and the surrounding District by Greek Cypriots. None of these has been traced, and little hope remains, that they are alive. Up to the date of this report, no action is known to have been taken to bring those responsible to trial. Immediately following the incident, a Turkish Cypriot was shot and wounded on a main road outside the town by Greek Cypriots travelling in a Police landrover. In spite of repeated communications by UNFICYP to authorities at all levels, including a letter to the President, to trace the whereabouts of the remains of these persons, there has been no progress at all in locating them. The President of Cyprus has condemned the abductions in response to UNFICYP protests about them, has stated that such acts are harmful to Greek Cypriot prestige, agreed to release all hostages actually in the hands of the (Greek Cypriot) Government but there are serious fears for the lives of most of the hostages taken in and around Famagusta."

*(U.N. Secretary-General's report.
S/5764 of 15th June 1964)*

(ii) "50. . . .The fear and mistrust that followed the disappearance of the thirty-two Turkish Cypriot hostages after the incident in Famagusta on 11 May brought all Turkish Cypriot road movement to a halt. Since then, the only major movement undertaken by the Turkish Cypriot community has been under United Nations escort..."

*(U.N. Secretary-General's report.
S/5764 of 15th June, 1964)*

MAKARIOS LISTENS AS GYANI TURNS ON GREEKS

(iii) General Gyani, the United Nations Commander, spoke out sharply against Greek Cypriots today in front of President Makarios.

The two men were walking through Famagusta dockyard next to the walled Turkish quarter....

ABDUCTION AND SUBSEQUENT MURDER OF TURKISH CYPRIOTS

(iv) President Makarios commented 'it's all right here' and the theme was taken up by Greek Cypriot district commissioners in the party.

The General spun around on them and barked: 'It is not. Do not always complain about the other side. No Turk is safe in the Greek quarter and the incident at the Naafi demonstrates that.'

General Gyani was referring to a reprisal raid by armed Greek Cypriots in which they seized ten Turkish Cypriot workers from the British Naafi base. Another 23 have been taken hostage since."

*(Extract from 'Daily Mail' of
16th May, 1964) from John Starr*

GREEKS TRY GYANI'S PATIENCE

(v) "General Gyani, the United Nations Commander in Cyprus, was unable to conceal his exasperation over the recent kidnapping of 32 Turkish Cypriots when he met Greek Cypriot officials at the docks at Famagusta today.

As the President and the General walked through the docks, deafened at times by the roar of welcoming ships' sirens, General Gyani found himself listening to a recital of complaints against the Turks. He suddenly rounded on an official and said: 'Don't you talk to me about the Turks when the Greeks have been abducting them from the NAAFI. The Archbishop laid soothing hand on the General's shoulder, and General Gyani turned to him and said: 'I am sorry, sir, this man has got to be told.'"

*(Extract from "The Guardian" of
16th May, 1964) from Michael Parkin*

(vi) Makarios has at last admitted that eight of the missing 220 Turkish Cypriots are kept in the Nicosia Central Prisonfour Turks were kidnapped by armed Greeks on April 21 as they were grazing their flocks outside the village whilst the other three from Arapköy were taken from their homes by Makarios unlawful 'legal forces' on the night of April 24.

Mr. Debreli disappeared on April 23, travelling to Gaziköy (Aphania), from Nicosia in motor-car No. BU 548. The fate of his co-passengers, Osman Hüseyin Mani, is still unknown, as is the case with the other 212 Turks. '

*(Special News Bulletin of the
Communal Chamber of May 12th 1964)*

(vii) "Silent crowds gathered to-night outside the Red Crescent hospital in the Turkish sector of Nicosia, as the bodies of nine Turks found crudely burried outside the villages of Ayios Vassilios, 13 miles away, were brought to the hospital under an escort of the Parachute Regiment. Three more bodies, including one of a woman, were discovered nearby but they could not be moved. '

Turks guarded by paratroops are still trying to locate the bodies of 20 more believed to have been burried on the same site. All are believed to have been killed during fighting around the village at Christmas.

Family of seven.

It is thought that a family of seven Turks who disappeared from the village may be burried there. Their house was found burnt, and grenades had been dropped through the roof.

Shallow graves had apparently been hurriedly scooped by a bulldozer. The bodies appeared to have been piled in two or three deep. All had been shot.

One man had his arms still tied behind his legs in a crouching position and had been shot through the head. A stomach injury indicated that a grenade may have been thrown into his lap..."

(Daily Telegraph of the 14th January, 1964)

PRESS REPORTS REGARDING GREEK CYPRIOTS KILLED DURING THE COUP OF 15TH JULY

(i) "They are playing with suffering."

*(Haravi
11 February 1977)*

(ii) "Many Greeks murdered during 15th July coup."

*(News Bulletin
8 October 1977)*

(iii) Another Greek Cypriot arrested for murdering his kinsmen during 74 coup.

*(News Bulletin
18 December, 1977)*

TRANSLATION OF AN ARTICLE IN THE GREEK CYPRIOT
DAILY HARAVGI OF THE 11TH FEBRUARY 1977

"THEY ARE PLAYING WITH SUFFERING"

It is impossible for a person not to be indignant when he reads in yesterday's "Mahi" the heading "what has become of our children?" This heading has been placed on the text of an article stating that the relatives of the missing persons "with screams of suffering, wailing, mournful weeping and fainting" have again called a meeting for their demands etc. The reply to the implacable question of "what has become of our children" must first be given by the assassin coupists, the "President" and "Ministers" of the eight-day regime, the leaders of EOKA B and the other assassinations who buried Cyprus into grief. The question "what has become of our children" asked by "Mahi" of the eight-day regime is a provocation against the feelings of all the people and especially of the relatives of the missing persons. The other day, in the squares of the Cyprus capital, the relatives of the missing persons -with screams of suffering which moved even the organs of the coupists- were shouting amongst other slogans:

"We see the coupists living in luxury and entertaining themselves while we do not have our children which they have sent to massacre." While this is the case, the fascist newspapers are playing with feelings of suffering. This is both hypocrisy and impudence.

And further below in another article they speak against the "gangrene" of purge which "undermines the unity, brotherhood and the power of struggle of our people" meaning even that His Excellency "President" Sampson is "unjustly" held at the Central Prisons as a result of which the "Unity and the power of struggle" of our people is undermined!

(ii)

A Greek Cypriot Judge repeats:

"MANY GREEKS MURDERED DURING 15 JULY COUP"

A Greek Cypriot Judge, Mr. Stavrinakis, said while pronouncing sentence on a Greek Cypriot Sotiris Demetriades, for his part in the 1974 coup in Cyprus, that it was known that many Greek Cypriots lost their lives during the coup.

Judge Stavrinakis stated that during the coup, Sotiris Demetriades was the military commander of the Deftera area and his duties had included the collection of arms for delivery to coup activities. He added that some of the Greek Cypriots killed during the coup may have been killed with the arms collected by the accused.

The Judge then pronounced the maximum sentence of 15 years imprisonment on Sotiris Demetriades.

*(News Bulletin
8 October, 1977)*

(iii)

ANOTHER GREEK CYPRIOT ARRESTED FOR MURDERING HIS KINSMEN DURING 74 COUP

Greek Cypriot police have arrested another man in connection with the killings during the military coup against Archbishop Makarios in July, 1974.

He is Hristakis Filippu, the headman of Pendakomo village in Limassol district, who is accused of killing four people during the coup, including a policeman. Filippu was arrested and remanded in custody for eight days pending investigations.

The four men were killed and buried in a common grave near the village of Ayios Tyhonas. The place of the burial was only discovered a few months ago by the Greek Cypriot police, who acted on information.

10 people, including two policemen, have so far been arrested in connection with the incident.

*(News Bulletin
13 December, 1977)*

**TALKING PAPER ON MISSING PERSONS AND CHRONOLOGY OF THE
QUESTION OF MISSING PERSONS AND THE COMPARATIVE
ATTITUDES AND STATEMENTS OF THE TURKISH CYPRIOT
AND GREEK CYPRIOT COMMUNITIES**

TALKING PAPER ON MISSING PERSONS

1. As it will be recollected at the meeting between the late Archbishop Makarios and President Rauf R. Denktas̄ on 12th February 1977 in the presence of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, the establishment of a mixed committee for missing persons was discussed. President Denktas̄ had agreed to the establishment of such a committee to be composed of the representative of the Red Cross of Cyprus and the representative of the Red Crescent of Cyprus.

2. About three months later Mr. Papadopoulos informed the Special Representative of the Secretary-General that the Greek side would not agree to the establishment of such a committee if the Turkish side insisted on the representation of the Red Crescent in such a committee.

3. Later it was proposed that a representative of the ICRC should be incorporated in a mixed committee on missing persons. The Turkish Cypriot side agreed to the formation of such a committee as well.

4. On 12th December 1977, the Third Committee adopted without a vote the following Resolution which was subsequently also adopted by the General Assembly on 16th December 1977 (Res. 32/128).

"The General Assembly,

Concerned at the lack of progress towards the tracing and accounting for missing persons in Cyprus;

Expressing the hope that the informal discussions now taking place to establish a joint committee to trace missing persons are successful;

1) Requests the Secretary-General to provide his good offices through his Special Representative in Cyprus to support the establishment of an investigatory body with the participation of the ICRC which would be in a position to function impartially, effectively and speedily so as to resolve the problem without undue delay;

2) Invites the parties concerned to continue co-operating in the establishment of the investigatory body and work out the modalities with a view to activating it expeditiously "

to which the Turkish Cypriot Representative fully subscribed.

5. At this stage intermediaries helped for the preparation of the terms of reference of the committee to be formed. In the course of these deliberations the Greek Cypriot side proposed that the committee should decide all issues by voting. The Turkish Cypriot side maintained that voting should be unnecessary since both parties intended with goodwill to investigate and close this chapter of the Cyprus problem which affected both sides - the Turkish Community since 1963. But months passed and the Greek side continued to insist that voting should be a sine qua non of the formation of such a committee.

6. As a result of this insistence the ICRC was consulted by the intermediaries and were told that the ICRC could not participate in a vote on such issues. By that time the two sides had already agreed on a draft paper relating to the terms of reference of the committee to be formed with the exception of the voting factor.

7. In May 1978 President Denktaş reconfirmed in New York that he was prepared to initial Appendix A and requested a meeting with the leader of the Greek Cypriot Community Mr. Kyprianou for finalizing this issue. Mr. Kyprianou refused to meet President Denktaş on any issue whatsoever, including the question of missing persons.

8. All of a sudden the Greek Cypriot side produced a new "draft outline" for the establishment of a mixed investigatory body for the tracing of and the accounting for missing persons of both communities on 1st September 1978 through the Special Representative of the Secretary-General.

As will be seen from the contents, this paper not only ignores the agreements in principle reached by the two parties as set out in Appendix A, but also contravenes the Resolution of the General Assembly which requires the participation of the ICRC in an "impartial, effective and speedy" way.

9. It is of great significance in establishing the motivation behind this sudden change in the Greek Cypriot side to note that whereas they wasted more than a year arguing that voting in the committee was of the essence of the matter and that the ICRC should participate in the voting also, in their new paper (Appendix B, paragraph 6) they stated that no voting is required. It is obvious that the main motivating factor in the minds of the Greek Cypriot leadership is not to solve a humanitarian problem, but to use it as a means of propaganda in political fora.

10. As we have stated repeatedly the Turkish Cypriot side is and has always been, ready to have a meeting with the Secretary-General and the representative of the Greek Cypriot Community, in accordance with operative paragraph 2 of the General Assembly Resolution (32/128), in order to work out the modalities concerning the functioning of the investigatory body and with a view to activating it expeditiously.

This is also to confirm that the Turkish Cypriot side is willing to conclude the agreement reached and set out as Appendix A hereto.

(10 October 1978)

(ii)

**CHRONOLOGY OF THE QUESTION OF MISSING PERSONS AND THE
COMPARATIVE ATTITUDES AND STATEMENTS OF THE TURKISH
CYPRIOT AND GREEK CYPRIOT COMMUNITIES.**

TURKISH CYPRIOT SIDE

**1. GENERAL ATTITUDE OF THE
TURKISH CYPRIOT SIDE:**

The Turkish Cypriot side regards the question of missing persons as a purely humanitarian issue, as it should be, and has always aimed at dealing with this issue in a humanitarian manner, free from all political motivations. The primary aim at the Turkish Cypriot side has been to alleviate the agony suffered by the relatives of the missing persons of both communities.

2. PERIOD BETWEEN 1963-1974:

Although the problem of missing persons is common to both communities it was, in fact, the Turkish Cypriot Community who first experienced the agony of this problem. During the Greek Cypriot onslaught against the Turkish Cypriot Community in December 1963 and during the many years of Greek Cypriot oppression that followed, hundreds of innocent Turkish Cypriots were indiscriminately abducted from the roads and public places, never to be seen again. Reports of the Secretary-General during the relevant period prove the fact that over 200 Turkish Cypriots, missing since December 1963, were never accounted for.

GREEK CYPRIOT SIDE

**1. GENERAL ATTITUDE OF THE
GREEK CYPRIOT SIDE:**

For the Greek Cypriot side, the question of missing persons has always been a political issue. Indeed it is simply due to the fact that the Greek side has chosen to politicize and exploit this issue for propaganda purposes that it still remains unresolved and has been prolonged at the expense of the families concerned.

2. PERIOD BETWEEN 1963-1974:

To this day the Greek Cypriot side has adamantly refused to account for the fate of hundreds of Turkish Cypriots missing since December 1963, despite repeated calls from the Turkish Cypriot side to do so on humanitarian grounds. Indeed up to 1974 the Greek Cypriot side never considered that a problem of missing persons even existed in Cyprus.

3. FOLLOWING THE EVENTS OF 1974:

It is a well known fact that as a result of the attack of the combined Greek/Greek Cypriot armed forces on the Turkish peace force, many people on both sides were killed in the midst of fighting.

The subject of missing persons was discussed by the representatives of the two communities at the intercommunal talks, and at higher levels, where it became apparent that missing persons on both sides must be presumed dead. This is also evident from the fact that both sides have enacted legislation providing that such persons are to be considered legally dead for marital and inheritance purposes.

The Turkish Cypriot side having told its own people the painful realities, even offered to make public statements to the effect that all persons missing since the cessation of hostilities of July-August 1974, including Greek Cypriots, must be presumed dead.

4. GREEK CYPRIOTS KILLED IN COUP OF 15th JULY:

It is an indisputable fact, as confirmed by Greek Cypriot and foreign eyewitness accounts that over 2000 Greek Cypriots were killed during the fighting among opposing Greek Cypriot factions at the time of the coup, even before the Turkish operations commenced. The late Archbishop Makarios himself acknowledged in the statement he made before the United Nations Security Council on 19th July 1974 that the "coup took a great toll of human lives". There can

3. FOLLOWING THE EVENTS OF 1974:

The Greek Cypriot side chose to ignore the realities and embarked upon a campaign to exploit the issue of missing persons for propaganda purposes. Despite the declaration of the ICRC that all prisoners of war held by the Turkish side were released and that no Greek Cypriots were detained by the Turkish Cypriot authorities, the Greek Cypriot side persisted in claiming that over 2000 Greek Cypriots remained unaccounted for.

The Greek Cypriot side clearly wanted to keep the issue of missing persons alive in order to use it as a political weapon against the Turkish side.

4. GREEK CYPRIOTS KILLED IN COUP OF 15th JULY:

Despite the overwhelming evidence regarding Greek Cypriots killed during the coup, the Greek Cypriot side has deliberately and persistently refrained from disclosing the number and the identities of those Greek Cypriots killed during coup. Repeated calls from the Turkish Cypriot side for such a disclosure have remained unanswered.

If such disclosures were to be made, the true fate of the great major-

be no doubt whatsoever that most of the so-called missing Greek Cypriots, the responsibility for whose disappearance the Greek Cypriot side conveniently tries to attribute to the Turkish side, were actually killed by the Greeks themselves. The Turkish Cypriot side has repeatedly asked the Greek Cypriot leaders to disclose the number and identities of Greek Cypriots killed in the coup, so that the truth would come to light and the families of missing persons would be relieved of their agony.

5. SUMMIT MEETING OF FEBRUARY 1977:

The question of missing persons was taken up and discussed at the highest level during the summit meetings held between His Excellency Mr. Denktas and the late Archbishop Makarios in February 1977. As stated in the report of the Secretary-General in pursuance of Resolution 4 (XXII) of the Commission of Human Rights (E/CN4/1239/Add.1) dated 25 February 1977 an agreement was reached to establish a new mechanism covering the missing persons of both communities. Under this scheme the Greek Cypriot authorities were to make public statements regarding the fate of Turkish Cypriots missing during the period 1963-1974. The Greek Cypriots were also to furnish to the Turkish Cypriot side details of persons they claimed to be missing, something they failed to do upto now. (Incidentally, each and every such file submitted to the Turkish Cypriot Authorities has been duly investigated and finalized). Following this a committee was to be set-up consisting of two Turkish Cypriots and two Greek Cypriots from the Turkish Cypriot

side of those Greek Cypriots whom they claim to be missing would be revealed. It seems, however, that it does not suit the Greek Cypriot Administration to make such disclosures. Instead they chose to exploit the issue in order to discredit the Turkish Cypriot side and to ensure that the truth does not come out lest the responsibility to account for these is shifted to the Greek Cypriot side.

5. SUMMIT MEETING OF FEBRUARY 1977:

Unfortunately, the implementation of the Denktas-Makarios Agreement was frustrated by the petty political considerations of the Greek Cypriot side, in particular their refusal to recognize the Turkish Cypriot Red Crescent. Not only did they show a complete lack of willingness to cooperate with the Turkish Cypriot side for the establishment of the committee but they sought to internationalize the issue instead. Clearly, with ulterior political considerations in mind, the Greek Cypriot side did not desire the establishment of the committee. By prolonging the issue they hoped to exploit the issue and to use it as a "political stick" against the Turkish side. (Indeed, during the meeting between President Denktas and the late Archbishop Makarios in February 1977, the latter admitted that the Greek Cypriot side was exploiting the question of missing persons for propaganda purposes).

Red Crescent and the Greek Cypriot Red Cross respectively, to investigate, with UN assistance if need be, any outstanding cases of missing persons there may be.

6. PERIOD FOLLOWING THE
DENKTAŞ-MAKARIOS
AGREEMENT:

The Turkish Cypriot side did all in its power to implement the agreement reached between the two leaders. Throughout 1977 the Turkish Cypriot side repeatedly expressed its readiness to deal with the question of missing persons. On 26th November 1977, for example, President Denktaş declared yet again:

"We are prepared to take up the question of missing persons, to look into cases handed to us by the ICRC, within the framework I stated during my meeting with Archbishop Makarios."

7. 32nd SESSION OF UNITED
NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY:

Despite the uncompromising attitude of the Greek Cypriot side, the Turkish Cypriot side made serious efforts to reach an agreement on the establishment of an *ad hoc* committee to investigate the problem of missing persons on a purely humanitarian basis and to dissociate the issue from political considerations.

6. PERIOD FOLLOWING THE
DENKTAŞ-MAKARIOS
AGREEMENT:

No positive response to the calls of the Turkish Cypriot side from the Greek Cypriot leadership throughout this period. The Greek Cypriot side persisted in hindering all efforts to resolve the question of missing persons on a humanitarian basis and continued to exploit it for anti-Turkish propaganda purposes.

7. 32nd SESSION OF UNITED
NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY:

At the start of the General Assembly session, the Greek Cypriot side was adamant in taking the question to the Third Committee in complete disregard of the prior agreement between President Denktaş and late Archbishop Makarios. It was obvious that an acrimonious debate in the Third Committee would not have helped the solution of the problem of missing persons in the least, but apparently the Greek Cypriot side was more interested in keeping the issue alive for propaganda purposes.

8. RESOLUTION OF THIRD COMMITTEE:

As a result of the efforts of the Turkish Cypriot side and of intermediaries, the Greek Cypriot side was restrained and the Third Committee, in its wisdom, adopted a resolution based on the Denктаş-Makarios Agreement which envisaged the establishment of an investigatory body, with the participation of the ICRC, that would be in a position to function effectively and speedily so as to resolve the problem without undue delay. The Turkish Cypriot side expressed its intention to fully abide by this Resolution. This is evident from the following statement of President Denктаş on 15th December 1977:

"The Turkish Cypriot side has long ago announced its readiness to discuss the question of missing persons within the framework of the resolution adopted by the UN third Committee.

"Now it is upto the Greek Cypriot side to respond. If they refrain from turning the issue into a political matter and act from a purely humanitarian approach, the question of missing persons can be taken up.

"If the Greek Cypriots continue to make political propaganda on this subject, there will naturally be difficulties. I hope they refrain from this and they stop deceiving their people."

8. RESOLUTION OF THIRD COMMITTEE:

After the adoption of the Resolution of the Third Committee, it transpired that the Greek Cypriot side still preferred to prolong the issue of missing persons for propaganda purposes and persistently delayed the establishment of the Committee by putting forward unnecessary procedural difficulties. Greek Cypriots insisted that decisions should be taken by a majority vote. In fact the ICRC had stated that it is not its practice to vote on such matters. Consensus is the only feasible way of settling such issues. Very grave humanitarian problems were settled with the help of the ICRC on the basis of consensus in the past.

Nevertheless the Greek Cypriot side insisted on the voting of the ICRC and thus hampered the establishment of the investigatory body.

9. 1978:

In January 1978 President Denktaş in a letter addressed to the Secretary-General informed the latter that "the Turkish Cypriot side is ready and willing, as always, to set up the investigatory body with the participation of the ICRC, as envisaged by the Resolution of the Third Committee, immediately."

10. MAY - JUNE 1978:

In view of the persistent refusal of the Greek Cypriot side to co-operate for the establishment of the committee to investigate the missing persons of both communities, President Denktaş offered to meet the Greek Cypriot leader, Mr. Kyprianou, while both were in New York, in order to discuss issues of mutual interest, including the issue of missing persons.

11. AGREEMENT ON TERMS OF REFERENCE OF THE INVESTIGATORY BODY:

Subsequently, in late May 1978, intermediaries helped in the preparation of a draft paper setting out the terms of reference of the investigatory body to be formed, with the participation of the ICRC, to investigate the missing persons of both communities. Both sides agreed on this paper with the exception of the voting factor. Due to Greek insistence that the ICRC should participate in the voting, the ICRC was consulted by the intermediaries, who were told that the ICRC could not participate in a vote on such issues.

9. 1978:

No positive response whatsoever received from the Greek Cypriot side. The repeated calls of the Turkish Cypriot leadership fell on deaf ears.

10. MAY - JUNE 1978:

Mr. Kyprianou adamantly refused to meet President Denktaş to discuss the question of missing persons or, for that matter, any other issue, clearly demonstrating the lack of a genuine desire on the part of the Greek Cypriot side to resolve the question of missing persons.

11. AGREEMENT ON TERMS OF REFERENCE OF THE INVESTIGATORY BODY:

Although the Greek Cypriot side also agreed to the draft paper setting out the terms of reference of the investigatory body, they created an unnecessary problem regarding the voting of the ICRC. The Turkish Cypriot side agreed that the ICRC should be consulted on this matter, and when the ICRC indicated that it could not participate in a vote in such matters, the Greek Cypriot side decided to avoid the implementation of the agreement.

12. SEPTEMBER 1978:

Turkish Cypriot side declared that it abides with agreements reached between the two sides with regard to the question of missing persons, and expresses its willingness to co-operate for the establishment of the investigatory body envisaged by these agreements.

12. SEPTEMBER 1978:

Greek Cypriot side suddenly comes up with a new "draft outline" in complete disregard of agreements previously reached between the two communities concerning the issue of missing persons.

New paper aims at keeping issue of missing persons alive for propaganda purposes.

**REVELATIONS OF THE GREEK CYPRIOT DEPUTY ATTORNEY - GENERAL
ABOUT THE FATE OF THE MISSING GREEK CYPRIOTS DURING
THE SAMPSON TRIAL**

The warlike operations of the coupists continued from 8.20 a.m. on Monday 15th July, 1974, until the evening of Wednesday, 17th July 1974 "with undiminished intensity in all towns". This fact was verified by the Greek Cypriot Deputy Attorney - General during Sampson's trial on 23 August 1976. Here is what Mr. Loukaides, the Greek Cypriot Deputy Attorney - General stated in his opening speech before the Nicosia Greek Cypriot Assize court:

"To start with, the warlike operations against the lawful 'Government', which are set out in the indictment, and which were continuing as from 8.20 a.m. approximately, until the resumption by the accused of the Presidency, continued after his proclamation with **UNDIMINISHED INTENSITY IN ALL TOWNS** with his full knowledge and cooperation till the 17th July, when the last resistance by the organised 'lawful state' forces in the area of Paphos was overcome."

Indeed in the same opening speech Mr. Loukaides stressed that the coupist oppression and bloodshed had not ended on 17 July. He stated:

"It must also be stressed that during the whole period from the 15th July 1974 to 20th July 1974, when the Turkish 'Invasion' started, the forces of the coup continued uninterruptedly the job of policing for the suppression of any possible resistance and **REPEATED INCIDENTS OF SHOOTING BY THE SAID FORCES AGAINST CIVILIANS TOOK PLACE.**"

Even during Sampson's trial the Greek Cypriot Deputy Attorney-General took great pains to avoid the disclosure of the exact figure and the list of persons butchered during the coup. In citing one of the atrocities committed during the coup, Mr. Loukaides said in his opening speech before the Nicosia Greek Cypriot Assizes:

"There were of course also the victims of the various armed clashes of the coup on the one side and the 'lawful' resisting forces of the 'State' and citizens supporting the 'lawful government' on the other side. Pertinent on this subject is the evidence of the priest of the New Cemetery of Nicosia according to which on the 16th, 17th, 18th, and 20th July 1974 following orders of the members of the forces of the coup, with whom the accused was consciously cooperating since the 15th July 1974, he proceeded to the burial of a number of persons killed while they were 'lawfully' resisting amongst whom **ONE APPEARED TO HAVE BEEN BURIED WHILE HE WAS STILL ALIVE**".

Mr. Loukaides, however, deliberately refrained from giving the exact number of persons buried by the priest at gunpoint and the list of Greek Cypriots buried in this manner have never been released by the Greek Cypriot Administration which is trying to blame the Turkish Peace Operation for the Greek Cypriots killed during the coup.

There is no question that the death and destruction spread by the coupists was quite indiscriminate. A brief study of Mr. Loukaides's opening speech in the Sampson trial reveals several atrocities and here are some of them:

"A typical example of murder, and in particular murder of a civilian, committed after the accused had taken the oath, is the case of Rodosthenis Alexandrou who was fatally fired upon by members of the forces of the coup at 8 p.m. of the 15th July, 1974 while being a passenger with other persons in a car which was passing through the village of Kolossi."

"The result of the attack on the Presidential Palace was the complete destruction of the building, the loss of human lives that is on the basis of the known data, of a policeman, member of the Presidential Guard, and of TWO WOMEN FROM LIMASSOL WHO, AT THE TIME OF THE ATTACK, WERE VISITING THE PRESIDENTIAL PALACE."

"Similar organised military attacks were launched almost simultaneously on a wide scale in Nicosia against the Police Headquarters, the camp of the Reserve Police Unit, The Divisional Police Headquarters at Paphos Gate, The C.B.C.(Greek Cypriot Radio and TV station), the CYTA, the Central Prisons, The International Airport, and the Archbishopric.

"The military operations spread on the 15th July on the same organised way with the use of tanks, heavy and other weapons, to the other towns except Paphos.

"Most of the said armed attacks resulted in bloodshed in the form of death or wounding of a number of the 'lawful security forces' and civilians. The material damage was enormous."

STATEMENTS BY THE TURKISH CYPRIOT SIDE EXPRESSING
WILLINGNESS TO SETTLE THE QUESTION OF MISSING PERSONS

- (i) Letter of President Denktaş to Mr. Yüksel Söylemez of 17
November 1975.

Office of the Turkish
Cypriot Community
866 Second Avenue, 6th Fl.
New York, N.Y. 10017

Mr. Yüksel Söylemez
Turkish Representative
at the 3rd Committee
U.N. General Assembly
New York

17 November 1975

Dear Mr. Söylemez,

I appreciated the fact that you brought to my attention the draft resolution relating to the so-called missing persons in Cyprus which has been tabled at the 3rd Committee by the Greek Cypriot Delegation.

I see that, if this resolution is passed, we, as the Turkish Cypriot partners of the independence of Cyprus will be called upon to do certain things or help others in certain activities in North Cyprus.

It should be understood that as a matter of principle of justice we feel that such resolutions should not be passed in our absence without hearing us.

I had numerous discussions about the missing persons with Mr. Glafcos Clerides. As you know we have about 800 Turkish Cypriots who have been missing since the coup of 1974. 203 other Turks have been missing since March 1964. All that we have been told about them is a short paragraph in Secretary-General's report that "they must be presumed dead". None of these were combatants and 560 of the 800 missing since the coup of 1974 are all civilians including 17-day old babies and 90 year old men and women.

In Aloa, Sandallari and Maratha the mass graves of hundreds of these have been discovered. In Tokhni and Zyghi the Greeks carried away 94 Turkish Cypriots - all men-. We have eye-witness accounts about half of them. They were lined up, shot and buried in a common grave. I have been told by Mr. Clerides that the other half has also come to the same end but somehow the Greek Cypriot side will not come forward to make a public announcement that all these Turkish Cypriots have been killed. I had to tell my people that they should not expect good news.

On our part I have told Mr. Clerides that,

- a) We have none of the Greek Cypriots shown as missing on their missing persons list;
- b) None of these are kept in Turkey;
- c) They must be presumed dead;
- d) Mr. Nicos Sampson, the person responsible for the murder of about 2,000 Greek Cypriots should be questioned about the fate of these missing persons.

I also agreed with Mr. Clerides that if any concrete evidence was supplied we would give them all facilities for searching such areas as were indicated. On a few occasions I accompanied Mr. Clerides to any place which he wished to have examined and we came to the conclusion that "these informations" were being given by dishonest people who were trying to extract money from the relatives of the missing persons.

The question of the so-called missing persons is being used as a political propaganda cause by the Greek Cypriot side. A draft resolution as prepared at the 3rd Committee will only give false hopes to the parents of the missing persons and will prolong their suffering, because the Greek Cypriot "missing persons" list comprises of missing persons since the coup of Nicos Sampson. Here is what one Greek cemetery priest, Papatsestos, disclosed to the press on this issue:

"During the coup we buried several people who were still alive. There were five big graves, 7' by 20', at the Nicosia new cemetery. Beside lay 22 bodies. An EOKA man came along and ordered the digging up of another bigger grave. It was completed within 3 hours. Bodies of 54 National Guard and police were brought in a large lorry to be buried there. On that very day 78 people, including a baby, a young girl, soldiers and policemen were also buried. They were dumped into the graves like sacks. At Lakatamia 17 more bodies were buried in a similar grave. They were brought in nylon sacks in a truck." "This is an account Papatsestos told Archbishop Makarios when he visited the Nicosia Greek cemetery."

(TA Nea, 18.12.1974)

Furthermore, the Scandinavian press reported that at least 2000 Greek Cypriots had been killed during the coup of Nicos Sampson between 15 and 20 July 1974, long before the Turkish intervention in Cyprus. The persons directly responsible for this senseless massacre are still free and move about as "leaders", fully armed, among the Greek Cypriot Community in the South of Cyprus.

I should be very pleased if you would kindly bring this letter to the attention of the members of the 3rd Committee so that a decision can be taken to hear a representative of the Turkish Cypriot Community in the Committee before a vote is taken on the draft resolution regarding the question of the so-called missing persons in Cyprus.

Rauf R. Denktaş
Leader of the
Turkish Cypriot Community

(ii) Memorandum of the Committee of the Relatives of Turkish Cypriot Missing Persons to U.N. Secretary-General, Dr. Kurt Waldheim.

COMMITTEE OF THE RELATIVES OF TURKISH CYPRIOT MISSING PERSONS
7, KUBILAY ALTAYLI STREET
LEFKOŞA

MEMORANDUM

As the Committee of the Relatives of Turkish Cypriot Missing Persons, representing hundreds of Turkish Cypriot families of missing persons, we are taking the opportunity of Your Excellency's visit to our island to communicate to you our views and feelings on this humanitarian issue, which has grieved our Community for years on end.

As U.N. records also indicate, the Turkish Community of Cyprus was the first to experience the agony of missing persons. During the Greek Cypriot onslaught on our Community in December 1963, and the years of oppression that followed it, hundreds of Turks were abducted from roads, from their places of work, and even from hospitals where they were receiving medical treatment. According to paragraph 117 of the then U.N. Secretary-General's report S/6228 of 11 March 1965, the number of missing Turkish Cypriots was 209 at that date. The same sources later indicated that these people "must be presumed dead". At the time these people were abducted and murdered, there was no war in Cyprus and a cease-fire agreement was in force! After the Greek-engineered coup d'etat of 15 July 1974, the number of our missing persons rose to about 800. By far the great majority of these people were civilians, which included breast-fed babies and 90-year old elderly people. We later found that about three hundred of them had been killed by Greek Cypriot gunmen and buried in mass-graves in Aloa, Maratha and Sandallaris, in a most merciless manner.

It is to be deplored that, to this date, the Greek Cypriot Administration has taken no action to trace the missing Turkish Cypriots and bring to justice those responsible for their abduction and murder.

After peace and calm returned to our country following our liberation from Greek oppression, our leaders met with Greek Cypriot leaders to discuss among other things, the question of missing persons. At these meetings, which took place in the presence of Mr. J. Perez de Cuellar and Dr. R. Gorge, with the participation of ICRC representatives, it was confirmed that there were no missing persons, civilian detainees and/or prisoners of war either in Turkey or in the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus, who had not been returned to the Greek side. Mr. Clerides himself made several surprise visits to our region, accompanied by Mr. Denktaş, to find alleged missing Greek Cypriots here. Naturally he could not find any, since none exist.

We would now like to ask the Greek Cypriots: How can you blame us on the question of missing persons when you are the party responsible for the merciless killing of thousands of your own kinsmen during the coup d'etat of 15 July 1974? Your own priest, Papatsestos, has admitted to "TA NEA" newspaper of Athens that truckloads of Greek Cypriots were buried in mass-graves, some while still alive, without any record being kept! Your late leader, Archbishop Makarios, had admitted the magnitude of Greek losses during the coup, before the Security Council! Your own press has reported that your losses in terms of human life were 3 to 4 thousand during the coup! If you are genuinely interested in finding the fate of your missing, you should go to the most reliable (!) source, i.e. Nicos Sampson and his gang of criminals.

Alas! The Greek Cypriot side continues to regard this issue as a political issue, rather than a humanitarian one. This is evident from the minutes of the 12 February meeting between Mr. Denktaş and the late Archbishop Makarios held in Your Excellency's presence, which were released to press by Mr. Denktaş in view of intense Greek Cypriot propaganda on the subject. Your Excellency will recall that Archbishop Makarios had admitted that he was using this for political propaganda. His justification was that he had no other weapon!

The two sides have now agreed in principle on the establishment of an investigatory committee to look into this issue and finalize any outstanding matters relating to this humanitarian question. Naturally we, as the Committee of the Relatives of Turkish Cypriot Missing Persons will first of all demand that the Greek Cypriot side release, without further delay, all information about our missing persons both from 1963 and from 1974, if they are serious about settling this question once and for all. In the meantime we would like to point out to the Greek Cypriot side that any political propaganda on the matter will have a counter effect on efforts to get this committee started and will complicate matters even more.

(Dr. Oğuz Veli Beidoğlu)

Chairman

14 January 1978

Committee of the Relatives of Turkish Cypriot Missing
Persons.

(iii) President Denktas' statement on the question of missing persons.

Mr. Denktas conveyed to Mr. Cuellar his regrets over
Mr. Waldheim's Report

Greek Cypriot Allegations about Missing Persons
are unfounded

The President of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus, Mr. Denktas, received yesterday morning the U.N. Secretary-General's Special Representative in Cyprus, Mr. Perez de Cuellar, and had talks with him.

Answering questions by reporters after the meeting, Mr. Denktas said that he had exchanged views with Mr. Cuellar on the procedure to be followed at the Vienna talks. Mr. Denktas stated that he had availed himself of the opportunity to convey to the Special Representative the Turkish side's regrets over the contents of a report attributed to the U.N. Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, on missing Greek Cypriots which had appeared in yesterday's issue of Cyprus Mail. Mr. Denktas said the report was a document which created the impression that only the Greek side had missing persons.

Turkish Missing Persons

Pointing out that the Turkish side had missing persons since 1963, who were kidnapped from roads and from their homes, Mr. Denktas said that the number of Turkish missing persons together with those who disappeared in 1974 was over 800. President Denktas stated that 300 of the Turkish missing persons, including babies, had been discovered in mass-graves.

False Information

Mr. Denktas pointed out that at his meetings with Makarios, he had informed him (Makarios) of the necessity to disclose the fate of Turkish missing persons and that after he had done this he would agree to a study of files to be submitted to them by the representatives of the Red Crescent and the Red Cross Societies acting as a Committee. Mr. Denktas stated that the figure given by the Greek Cypriot side to the International Committee of the Red Cross in respect of missing persons was inconsistent with facts and added that this fact had been repeatedly pointed out at the meetings held with the Turkish side. Mr. Denktas further stated that all prisoners taken to Turkey had been brought back and returned to the Greek Cypriot side and that this fact, too, had been mentioned at the meetings and placed on record.

III-Intentioned

Mr. Denktas, reminding reporters of the fact that during recent meetings with U.N. authorities Makarios had openly admitted that he did not know the number of Greek Cypriots killed or missing during the Sampson coup, said: "The Greek Cypriot leadership's demand of their missing persons from us at a time when they themselves do not know the number of Greek Cypriots killed or missing during the coup, is nothing but an unacceptable and ill-intentioned method of propaganda".

We are not making Propaganda

The President of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus concluded his statement as follows:-

"We shall communicate our views to the Secretary-General again. We are not after propaganda. Nor do we have the intention of being involved in it. We treat humanitarian issues from a humanitarian angle. We did all we could and in a short time we managed to solve lots of things with Mr. Clerides. We did not make use of inextricable issues as a means of propaganda."

Mr. Cuellar's Statement

Meanwhile, the Special Representative of the Secretary - General, Mr. Cuellar, stated that the Turkish side had made proposals on the question of missing persons but that as Mr. Waldheim's report had already been prepared, it had not been possible to include these proposals in it. He added that the Turkish views would also be covered in a paragraph to be added to the report.

Mr. Cuellar reminded that the Greek Cypriot side had not yet submitted a document on the question of missing persons and stressed that no difficulties had been encountered in the contacts made concerning the Vienna talks.

(From Turkish Cypriot daily "Bozkurt"
of 9 March 1977)

(iv) MINUTES OF "TALKS ON MISSING PERSONS" BETWEEN DENKTAŞ AND MAKARIOS RELEASED

The President of TFSC, Mr. Rauf Denktas, authorized on Thursday, October 27, the release of the minutes of his discussion of the missing persons issue with the late Archbishop Makarios at their meetings of 27 January and 12 February 1977.

"The release of these minutes has become imperative in view of false propaganda waged against us by the Greek Cypriot leadership" said the President who pointed out that his offer to Archbishop Makarios to have the 23-24 cases investigated by a team of representatives from the Cypriot Red Crescent and Cypriot Red Cross was still valid but the Greek Cypriot leaders should first inform the world on the fates of:

a) 203 Turkish Cypriots who were rounded up by Greek Cypriot policemen in December 1963-1964 and early 1964 and who have not been seen alive since their "arrest";

b) The fate of the total Turkish population of Ayios Vasilios, 13 members of which were discovered by the Red Cross in Common Graves in 1964. The rest have not been found or accounted for;

c) The alleged arrest of all the young male population in 1974 of the villages of Tokhni, Zyyi and Mari. About 50 out of 113 of these young men were lined up and shot at the outskirts of Limassol by members of the Greek National Guard, the fate of the rest was never disclosed publicly by the Greek Cypriot leaders;

d) The fate of the total Turkish population of the villages of Aloa, Maratha and Sandallaris who were later discovered by the UNFICYP in Common Graves in 1974.

Mr. Denктаş, the President of TFSC, pointed out that all the above were acts of genocide perpetrated against unarmed people including newly born babies and centenarians. The names of some of the criminals were given to the Greek Cypriot leaders but no action was taken against them. On the contrary some of them were decorated for bravery for having destroyed Turkish civilians!

Following are the minutes of the talks on the missing persons between President Denктаş and late Archbishop Makarios:

The President of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus, Mr. Rauf Denктаş, gave the following statement on Oct. 27 to the Turkish Radio and Television correspondent in Nicosia on the question of the missing persons.

"For the Greek Cypriot leaders the question of Missing Persons is nothing but subject for sheer propaganda. During the two meetings I had with Archbishop Makarios on 27 Jan. and 12 Feb. he stated that he was obliged to keep this question alive for propaganda purposes. The following is the text of my conversation with Archbishop Makarios on this subject:

Makarios: Mr. Denктаş, after this meeting with you the families of missing persons will again come to me and ask whether I discussed the issue with you. What shall I tell them?

Denktaş: Tell them the truth. Stop exploiting this question for propaganda purposes. Do not deceive the suffering people by giving them false hopes. Why opt for propaganda rather than the truth?

Makarios: I have no weapon left to me other than propaganda...

Denktaş: Is it right that you should choose propaganda on this issue in spite of the facts? You are prolonging the suffering of the people. Tell them the truth.

Makarios: But what facts can I give them?

Denktaş: Do you know how many Greek Cypriots were killed during the coup and where they were buried?

Makarios: No, I don't know.

Denktaş: But you yourself are on record to have stated at the United Nations that the Junta had caused great bloodshed on the island. Don't you know the cost of life caused by this blood-shed?

Makarios: I assure you that I do not know the number of people killed or missing during the coup.

Denktaş: According to the Scandinavian press the number of dead exceeded two thousand. A letter written by a Greek Cypriot Professor in London to a Turkish Cypriot (Mr. Alper Orhon) in Nicosia, stated that he had seen hundreds of dead in the streets of Limassol. Our information confirms this. Then there is the statement by your own priest that appeared in your newspapers. The coupists were bringing the dead in lorryloads and were having them buried, including the ones who were still breathing, in mass graves. These are the facts. How can you ask me and Turkey to account for 2,000 Greek Cypriots without taking these facts into consideration? We examined these questions in dept with Mr. Clerides. The international Red Cross also assisted us in our work. In the end only about 30 cases remained as "pending." It was also established at our meetings that all Greek Cypriot prisoners of war taken to Turkey had been returned to you. Of the "pending" cases, which are about 30, we have already supplied information the first 8 or 9 cases. If you like I shall repeat it here.

Makarios: I know the subject. However can't we form an investigation committee for these 23-24 outstanding cases?

Denktaş: We can. The Turkish Cypriot Red Crescent Representatives from our side and Greek Cypriot Red Cross Representatives from your side can come together and investigate these cases by obtaining the help of the families of missing persons. We can help them. However, before embarking on this I shall request certain things from you.

Makarios: Please go ahead.

Denktaş: You are looking for 23 or 24 missing persons. These people became "missing" during a war. We want to learn from you the fate of 203 Turkish Cypriots who were picked up from the roads and work places by Greek Cypriot policemen during 1963-1974. Until 1978 the families of these Turkish Cypriots lived with the hope that you were keeping them as prisoners. When we started negotiations with Mr. Clerides in 1968, the first thing I asked him was the fate of these people. He told me that they were all killed. I acted differently from you on this issue. I told the families the bitter truth. Some fainted. However, they were relieved of expectation and suffering day after day, they adjusted their lives accordingly and they obtained their legal rights. They returned to normal life. The Greek Cypriot leadership has not made a formal announcement on this subject, yet. If you are going to start investigations about the fate of 23 or 24 missing Greek Cypriots you must first of all tell us by whom these Turkish Cypriots were annihilated. You must disclose where they are. These people were killed by your policemen and elements you armed yourself and you must explain why these people were not brought to justice.

Again in 1963 you exterminated the whole Turkish Cypriot population, including the children and women, of Ayios Vasilios village in December 1963. The Red Cross found the bodies of thirteen of them in mass-graves. Where are the others? We shall expect an explanation from you about them.

In 1974, 113 Turkish Cypriots were picked up from their homes in Tokhni (Taşkent), Mari (Tatlısu), and Zyyi (Terazi) by your policemen and soldiers and taken away. These Turkish Cypriots were lined up and shot dead near Limassol. This was the fate that befell the 40-50 Turkish Cypriots that were in the first bus. We know this because one of them pretended to be dead after he was wounded and then escaped to the British Bases and has given us a statement. Mr. Clerides has confessed that the passengers of the second bus met the same fate. I informed Mr. Clerides about the leaders of these crimes. No investigations were initiated about anyone and you made no official statement about the incident. If you now want to start investigations about the fate of 23-24 Greek Cypriots, you must announce who killed these Turkish Cypriots, why they were killed, and where their graves are. The question of missing Greek Cypriots is an issue that occurred during the war in 1974 and it involves 23-24 persons. Whereas the missing Turkish Cypriots were picked up from their homes and business places by your policemen and soldiers who took them away and never returned them.

Unless you account for these and clear yourself, we shall conclude that you are not seriously interested in the fate of 23-24 Greek Cypriots. The fact that you keep on talking about 2,000 missing Greek Cypriots in total disregard of the facts, proves that you are interested in nothing but propaganda.

As someone interested in missing persons, you should first of all investigate why and how hundreds of Turkish civilians were found in mass-graves after being sought for months as missing persons. Turkish Cypriots listed for months as

missing persons from Aloa (Atlılar), Maratha (Muratağa), Sandallaris (Sandallar), and Paphos were found in mass-graves. How and why were they killed? How can anyone ask us question on such issues without fulfilling his own obligations; what is more, in spite of all these we have furnished what we know about your people."

Mr. Denктаş said to the TRT Correspondent:

"At this meeting, I got the impression that Archbishop Makarios had accepted the idea of forming a committee by the Cyprus Red Crescent and the Cyprus Red Cross for examining the files of their 23-24 people (and our other files) to be handed to it. However two months later, a letter was sent by Mr. Papadopoulos through Mr. Cuellar to the effect that the International Red Cross should take charge of the investigation. Mr. Papadopoulos said that as "the government" they could not accept that Red Crescent Society existed in Cyprus. Thus confirming the fact that the main objective is not the fate of 23-24 Greek Cypriots but sheer propaganda for deceiving the world."

The President of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus added:

"The Greek Cypriots are asking us to account for the Greek Cypriots killed by the Junta... and in doing this they are acting in a most inhuman manner by giving false hopes to suffering people. The world must put an end to this."

Answering a question Mr. Denктаş said that President Carter's letter to Kyprianou must have been written in complete ignorance of these facts. "Truth can never be concealed" said Mr. Denктаş.

(v) **TURKISH CYPRIOT SIDE PREPARED TO DISCUSS
MISSING PERSONS ISSUE**

President Denктаş has stressed the Turkish Cypriot side's readiness to take up the question of missing persons within the framework of the resolution adopted by the Third Committee of the United Nations.

President Denктаş made the statement to a TRT correspondent following Greek Cypriot allegations that the Turkish Cypriot side had not yet replied to the proposal for the formation of an investigatory committee. The President said:

"The Turkish Cypriot side has long ago announced its readiness to discuss the question of missing persons within the framework of the resolution adopted by the U.N. Third Committee.

"Now it is up to the Greek Cypriot side to respond. If they refrain from turning the issue into a political matter, and act from purely a humanitarian approach, the question of missing persons can be taken up.

"In this respect, the Greek Cypriots, as announced by Mr. Tasos Papdopollos, will have to account for at least 450 Turkish Cypriots and state when, why, and by whom they were murdered. The Committee will also work on about 30 cases of Greek Cypriots handed over to the interlocutors by the International Red Cross."

In reply to a question, President Denktas pointed out that no agreement had yet been reached on how the Committee should take decisions and emphasized that this would be solved through negotiations. He added:

"The Third Committee resolution is explicit on the question of voting. The representative of the International Red Cross should maintain its effectiveness and impartiality. Therefore the International Red Cross Representative should not vote. This is quite clear and is inherent in the Resolution of the U.N. Third Committee."

President Denktas pointed out that the Greek Cypriot leadership was still trying to deceive even its own people, in spite of the clear facts and concluded by saying:

"If the Greek Cypriots continue to make political propaganda on the subject, there will naturally be difficulties. I hope they refrain from this and they stop deceiving their people."

(News Bulletin
16 December 1977)

(vi) **TFSC PRESIDENT'S PROPOSAL UPHELD**

The spokesman of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus has declared that the proposal made by President Denktas about a year ago on the question of missing persons has been upheld by the Third Committee of the U.N.

The spokesman was commenting on the resolution of the Third Committee at its meeting on Monday. The spokesman added that the proposal by President Denktas for the formation of a 3-party investigatory Committee was made during his talks with Archbishop Makarios on 12 February and this was exactly what was going to happen now, and a framework will be established for its procedures.

The spokesman added "The Greek Cypriots have therefore wasted about one year by not accepting the proposal at the time."

Replying to a question whether investigations of the cases of missing Turkish Cypriots should be given priority as it had been stated earlier, the spokesman said:

"This has been agreed in principle. This will certainly be included in the framework to be drawn up."

Asked whether identity of views had been reached on any other aspects, the spokesman said:

"There is agreement for the International Red Cross to be the third party. The Greek Cypriot side insists on the right of vote for the International Red Cross. The text adopted by the Third Committee stresses a procedure whereby the International Red Cross should maintain its impartiality and effectiveness. If the ICRC votes with this or that party, its impartiality and effectiveness will be substantially weakened. The decisions must be by consensus, not by voting. We do not see any drawback in this.

"300 out of the 800 missing Turkish Cypriots were discovered in mass-graves. Now the Greek Cypriots must tell us where the rest, about 500, are and how they were killed.

"The files of about 30 missing Greek Cypriots handed to us by the International Red Cross must be examined. Therefore the procedure is clear."

Asked to comment on Mr. Tassos Papadopoulos's revelation of figures about the coup victims for the first time claiming that the number of Greek Cypriots killed during the coup were 504, the spokesman said:

"Unless the list and the location of the Greek Cypriots killed during the coup is released it is impossible for us to say how many hundreds or thousands of the victims are still being concealed from the Greek Cypriots. It is a well-known fact that the Turkish Cypriot side was blamed by the Greek Cypriot side, for domestic political reasons, for the Greek Cypriots who disappeared during the coup. We have established this in many cases. We were asked to account for persons who disappeared before 20 July. Therefore we have to make a close scrutiny of the lists which we expect to be released.

"A consensus for decision is necessary for the investigatory committee which will be formed. This is the outcome of the Resolution adopted by the Third Committee."

(News Bulletin
14 December 1977)

(vii) STATEMENT ON THE 'MISSING PERSONS'

The Turkish Cypriot Spokesman has described Makarios' address to the families of "missing persons" as an unacceptable move from the point of humanity. He said, "Makarios is telling lies, giving false information and making a mockery of the agonies of the families of the missing, and using them as a propaganda stick."

The Spokesman added: "The Greek Cypriots must disclose the names, identities and whereabouts of the graves of those killed during the Sampson Coup.

They are demanding from us the graves of those killed during the fighting. Whereas they have, first of all, to announce where the mass-graves of Turkish Cypriots are: For instance:

1) Where are the graves of 203 Turkish Cypriots picked up from the main roads during the 1963-1964 period?

2) 900 Turkish Cypriots (women, children and elderly) were taken 'prisoners' in Omorphita but only 700 were returned later. Where are the remaining 200 who were not handed back?

3) Where are the graves of hundreds of Turkish Cypriots rounded up at Tokhni, Zygi and Mari who were lined up and shot outside Limassol?

We also wish to remind those who have committed these crimes, the Turkish Cypriots including women and children who were indiscriminately murdered and buried in mass-graves at Ay. Vasilos. All these too were on our missing persons lists for years. Their bodies were exhumed from mass-graves... Had the mass-graves of Aloa, Sandallaris and Maratha not been discovered those Turkish Cypriots too would have remained on the missing persons lists!

The clamours now about "the missing" aim at covering up their past and do not serve any purpose other than propaganda. But it is high time to think of the damage this propaganda causes to the families of the missing and to close this page, we believe."

Asked whether the Turkish side informed Heads of States, since Makarios revealed his appeal to the Heads of State on this question, the Spokesman said:

"Makarios has written about this subject to the Heads of States merely for propaganda. But our statements reveal the facts.

The Embassies in Cyprus too have seen the issue. There is no one affected by Makarios' propaganda any more.

In particular, Makarios' reference to Mr. Carter and his claim that Mr. Carter will take up this matter, is a good example of exposing Makarios and to what he can resort in order to deceive his Community."

(News Bulletin
23 December, 1977)

**(viii) PRESIDENT DENKTAŞ REITERATES EXISTENCE OF AGREEMENT
ON THE QUESTION OF MISSING PERSONS**

The President of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus, Mr. Rauf Denktaş, has reiterated the existence of an agreement regarding the solution of the question of missing persons.

On his return from New York last Friday, President Denktaş repeated his call to meet Mr. Kyprianou to initial the agreement reached following the mediation of friends. Yesterday, however, Greek Cypriot officials attempted to deny the existence of such an agreement. Asked to comment on the subject, President Denktaş said yesterday:

"I have seen the Greek Cypriots statement. This is a regretful development. As a matter of fact, the Greek Cypriots have resorted to shameful intrigues on the establishment of the joint committee to trace missing persons. While pretending to favour the establishment of such a committee, they resorted to all sorts of intrigues to prevent the setting up of such a committee.

"We immediately agreed to the setting up of a committee with the participation of the International Red Cross as soon as the Resolution was adopted by the Third Committee of the United Nations last year. Regarding the procedures to be followed by the committee, the then U.S.A. Ambassador Mr. Crawford mediated between the two sides. There was full agreement on every paragraph. The Greek Cypriots, however, were insisting on majority vote for decisions. We argued that this would have drawback. In the end, the Americans took up the issue with the International Red Cross Headquarters in Geneva. The Americans brought us and to the Greek Cypriots information from the International Red Cross that they would not participate in voting. Thus the question of voting was also resolved and the agreement was ready for initialing. The Greek Cypriot side did not accept this. Voting has never been an accepted procedure in humanitarian issues. Interested parties act in a spirit of mutual help. Since both communities have missing persons, insistence on voting was a course adopted to impede the establishment of the committee.

"In April 1978, United States Representatives mediated between Mr. Kyprianou and myself once again. Agreement was reached on every paragraph of the document regarding procedures which was presented to both sides. Upon this I called for a meeting with Mr. Kyprianou to initial this agreement. I extended my call through the intermediary and I also disclosed it to the press. Mr. Kyprianou did not accept the invitation. During my last visit to New York, I repeated my invitation through U.N. Secretary General Waldheim and also informed the press about it. These are the facts.

"The Greek Cypriot leadership is pretending as if none of these developments took place and as if no agreement has been reached on all aspects, except the question of voting. As a matter of fact the International Red Cross has itself stressed that voting cannot take place. These facts are well known by the U.N. Secretary General and the American officials who mediated in Nicosia and New York. If the Greek Cypriot leadership feels the need to deceive even its own people despite these facts, this concerns them and does not affect us."

(News Bulletin
25 October 1977)

