

## **UNDER THE SHADOW OF THE EMBARGO KORKMAZ HAKTANIR\* Ankara, May 2001**

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### **A LATE SUMMER EVENING IN GİRNE**

The evening took its time, climbing up the slopes of the mountain range, which disappeared in misty shadows of violet and grey in the east. Down below, the coastline was lost in the twilight. The cicadas waited for the precise moment of sunset to fall silent. A breath-taking calm settled in.

Judging by the size of the verigos hanging from the vines above, traditionally overgrown to provide a cool sanctuary from the strong sun of the island, summer was slowly slipping by. Further up the road, the medieval abbey, a heritage from the distant crusader past, now restored to serve with its wonderful acoustics as a popular venue for concerts, was lit up in soft orange lights. I remembered the time I had once lived in the village beyond the abbey, in a house with an enclosed garden and a terrace overlooking the Mediterranean. A narrow street led up to it from the Tree of Idleness, called in Turkish, I think with greater respect for the environment, the Tree of Serenity.

Now sitting years later in our small group by the pool in this late summer evening, it was inevitable that the conversation would drift at one point from the secrets of growing water lilies to those sad and trying years, reminiscences of which people are usually hesitant to speak, perhaps in a subconscious resistance to those distressing experiences, but which would come back through the years to revisit them.

Fulya Hanım recalled travelling as a young girl with her family from the besieged Turkish quarter of Lefkoşa, the capital city with its Venetian walls and elegant Ottoman houses, to another besieged Turkish quarter in a southern town. By that time, the destructive wind of December 1963 had already blown in full force over the island. The peaceful coexistence and the political partnership of its two peoples had traumatically collapsed under the radical urges of one side. There was no freedom of movement on the roads for Turkish Cypriots. One travelled from one isolated Turkish enclave to another at his own risk, unless escorted by the UN. The Greek Cypriot paramilitary manning one of the endless roadblocks had discovered, in the humiliating bodily search they were subjected to, the medical chart of his diabetic father. Suspecting it was a secret Turkish Cypriot code, those armed thugs had kept them there until they could be persuaded, assisted by a small bribe, that there was nothing sinister about it.

Erdoğan Bey could go further back in time. The two peoples of the island had no common language, apart from the colonial import of English for those in the towns,

where they lived in their separate sectors. The villages were either Turkish or Greek, except for a minority of mixed villages, which were again divided into Turkish and Greek quarters. There were no mixed families. Each studied, lived and prayed according to its own national origin and culture. This was a particular way of life- separate but side by side- that arose naturally out of the different and distinct identities of the two peoples. Acute divisions that were to tear them apart then still lied in the future.

Greek Cypriots did not bother to learn any Turkish, but he spoke, like most other Turkish Cypriots of his generation, fluent Greek and had once worked in British colonial establishments with Greek Cypriots before the independence. He had even made a real friend, he thought. One day, he bitterly recalled, how his Greek Cypriot friend had burst into a crowded room where Erdoğan Bey was the only Turkish Cypriot, and had exuberantly announced to his audience that, according to a report on the radio, 'the Chinese have chopped the heads off of five hundred Turks in Korea!' It must have been the time of the Chinese intervention in the Korean War in the early fifties, perhaps precisely the date when the Turkish brigade held the line around the mining town of Kun-uri, at great cost to itself, so that allied forces could have a chance to withdraw and regroup. Who remembers the Korean War now? But Erdoğan Bey remembered his own shock and the eerie silence that fell on the room as his presence was discovered by his rejoicing Greek Cypriot friend.

That was before the Greek Cypriots had imported terrorism to the island from Greece and had blindly indulged themselves in their campaign of EOKA violence against the British and the Turks of Cyprus in their cruel prelude to enosis, annexation of the island to Greece. Greek Cypriot terrorism was soon to claim many innocent British and Turkish lives, including women and children, all shot at the back. Shooting people in the back was to be the trademark of this terrorist campaign. 'So much for Greek Cypriot friendship', he said that evening.

While sowing the seeds of separation and division, now arising out of a growing mistrust and antagonism, between the Turks and the Greeks, that campaign had failed to achieve its preposterous aim, because the world had recognized that the island was the homeland of not one, but two distinct peoples with their own identities, each equally having the right to freely determine its future.

There had been a short-lived interlude -the compromise settlement of bi- national independence in the form of a Turkish-Greek partnership republic. It had come in 1960 and gone in December 1963 under Greek and Greek Cypriot wholesale violence. Violence resting actually on a secret plan and on an underground political and military organization, with all the ingredients of a 'race war', tragically rehearsed so many times in the Balkans of the nineteenth and early twentieth century, at great cost in particular to Turkish lives. And the Turks of Cyprus, one of the two peoples and co-founding parties of the independence of the island, excluded by force from their own state and subjected to an ethnic cleansing operation, had suddenly found themselves squeezed into ghettos and enclaves, forced to abandon homes, lands and herds and taking with them only what they could drive or carry. 'Enclave' is a highly polite description. These really meant, for thousands of Turkish Cypriots, Red Crescent tents in either muddy or scorching refugee camps, slums and even caves in remote and isolated areas. In the words of the UN Secretary-General, a veritable siege and an illegal, immoral and inhuman embargo had been imposed on them to break their resistance against Greek Cypriot tyranny. 'Siege' meant that there were hostile forces around you. Whether you could go out or come in rested on their

whims. Whether you could receive relief assistance, in the form of basic food and basic medicine, sometimes something to wear on your back or on your feet or may be a blanket, also rested on their whims. There was no mail. You could not post or receive letters. There were no telephones. And no electricity whenever they felt like cutting it off. No pay or social security either. No freedom, outside your enclave - even to go to the cemetery to bury the dead...

His fluent Greek had helped him during those years. Erdoğan Bey recalled how he had reacted, when challenged at one of the Greek Cypriot roadblocks, by shouting at the thugs if they recognized who he was. He had been permitted to move on with apologies, thanks not only to his fluent Greek, but it seems also to his resemblance to a well-known EOKA figure. Not everyone was so lucky.

One could talk of these now with dark humour only, like painful realities concealed in dreamy fantasies. Because there had been nothing funny about roadblocks, bodily searches or living under siege, harassment, discrimination and fear without food or medicine. One could, of course, listen to the stories of only the survivors. There was nothing funny about all the Turkish villages and Turkish homes looted, vandalised, destroyed or burnt to the ground over the years. Nothing funny about all those children, mothers and fathers who were mass murdered in scores of villages or abducted never to return. Those crimes, atrocities and abuses, committed entirely against innocent civilians of all ages, were real enough and remained part of the lives and memories of the survivors. These were too shocking to be ever forgotten and similar abuses still persisted in a somewhat different, but equally cruel, immoral and extensive form against an entire people. What was worse, the perpetrators of those atrocities were still around, never held accountable for any of their hateful crimes.

### **HOW DID IT START? – I THE STORY OF TÜRKAN AZİZ**

How did it all start? There are so many stories to be told, but let us first look at the telling story of Türkan Aziz, who was in December 1963, the Chief Matron of Nicosia (Lefkoşa) General Hospital.

She recalls, in her memoir, sitting on the stairs of her house on the grounds of the hospital, shivering with shock and fear.

**“Behind me, in my living room, sat two young men, Turks, one a male nurse, the other a schoolteacher who had been waiting an operation, but it had been cancelled because of the wounded pouring in from the fighting in the city. I had left them there just minutes before, guarded by a Greek Cypriot man with a gun. When I returned, the guard had gone. The two young men were still sitting there, but they were dead. They had been machine-gunned. Through their tattered shirtfronts, the dark blood still welled. The staircase was riddled with bullets...”**

She never went back to her own house again.

**“It was just a few days before Christmas, 1963. The honeymoon of the independence of Cyprus, the island in the sun, was over. The Greeks had attacked their fellow islanders, the Turks, most savagely, most brutally and most foully. The so-called Christmas War was under way.”**

The shooting had started in the early hours of 21 December 1963 when Turkish Cypriots, returning home within the walls of Lefkoşa after a night out, had been ambushed by Greek Cypriot gunmen, killing a woman and a man, and wounding others.

**“Within seconds, Greek policemen, illegally armed, drove up and began shooting wildly. Then cars packed with Greek civilians, waving guns out of the windows and firing in the air, drove through the Turkish quarter. I, and everyone else I spoke to, had no idea of what was happening. But, as it turned out later, Makarios and his government did. For that very morning the Greeks announced that the Turks of Cyprus had begun an insurrection against the government and the ‘forces of law and order’ were putting down the revolt! What insurrection, what revolt? The Turkish population was not even armed.**

**But the murder of the two Turks that morning was no accident. To achieve union with Greece the Cyprus constitution had to be changed, for it specified there could be no enosis. The killings and the so-called ‘discovery’ of the - unarmed - Turkish rebellion was the first step in the dismantling of the constitution. The ‘revolt’ meant, in Greek propaganda at any rate, that the Turks were no longer fit to share power. So, after the Turks had been sufficiently punished, of course, and removed from every position of power they held, the enosis restriction would be scrapped and Cyprus would be part of Greece.**

**That Saturday and Sunday we at the hospital... knew there had been some shootings and deaths, but it was the constant barrage of propaganda from the Greek radio that was frightening. They were putting down a Turkish revolt (!) they said, and I really felt fear. When you put down a revolt that can only mean bloodshed. But what revolt?**

**... there were many Turkish patients in the hospital, in-patients who were there before the shooting started, and wounded who had been brought in since then. It was impossible to ascertain which patient was Turk, which was Greek. Perhaps that was what the gunmen were trying to find out. All the gunmen were Greek. They had even taken over the telephone switchboard, you couldn’t get a call out without their permission. It was frightening, very frightening. Some time that Christmas Eve, many of the Turkish patients disappeared.**

**An eye-witness, a non-Cypriot nurse, said later that a group of armed Greeks went through the wards asking for the Turkish patients. Many were recovering from surgical operations. She said the gunmen pulled back the blankets and sheets and ripped off the bandages. While the patients screamed or fainted, the newcomers blandly remarked that they were acting on information that the patients were concealing weapons beneath their bandages.**

**I did not learn of their horrendous fate until 25 years later. But a few weeks later, the world learned about another horrific story, the murder of another group of Turks...On January 13, 1964, British**

paratroopers escorted a group of Turks with spades to the little Turkish cemetery at Ayios Vasilios (Ayvasıl), a mixed Greek - Turkish village just a few miles to the west of Nicosia. The graveyard was supposed to contain the bodies of the hospital patients. The foreign press, who had arrived in Cyprus in droves, were there to watch. This is what they saw and reported:

'There were large patches of ground that had obviously been recently disturbed, and the digging began there. A few feet down they found the first bodies, three men thrown on top of each other. Then a boy whose body was crouched in a curious sitting position. On examination it was seen that his hands had been tied behind his knees. There were more horrors. Next came a little girl. Then an old man still dressed in his peasant-style baggy black trousers and high boots. And women. All of them piled on top of each other in several graves. Almost all of them were dressed, but none of them in hospital bed-patient garb. Many had their hands tied behind their backs. There were 21 bodies, but they were not the hospital patients. These were Turkish families who lived in Ayios Vasilios and neighbouring villages and, as it was learned later, had been massacred on Christmas Eve when EOKA gunmen, supported by the Greek men of the villages, had attacked the Turkish quarters.'

When news of the atrocity was flashed around the world by the international press, the Makarios government revealed what seemed at the time to be a new depth of sickness of the mind by insisting the exhumed bodies were, in fact, the hospital patients, who had died of natural causes, and that to call them otherwise was nothing but Turkish propaganda. A Greek statement was issued. It was headed, 'Turks distort the truth.'

So what had happened to the hospital patients? It was almost 25 years later that the truth came out. A British newspaper, The Guardian, told the story of a British naval intelligence officer, a Lt. Commander Martin Packard, who had been sent to Cyprus...The story, part of a secret report he had made to the British Government, had been 'leaked' to it by Packard, the paper said. It was brief. He had been told the story, he said, by a Greek Cypriot cabinet minister.

On December 23, 1963, about 25 Turkish patients at the Nicosia General Hospital disappeared from their beds....

One of Packard's first tasks was to try to find what had happened to the Turkish hospital patients. Secret discussions took place with a Greek cabinet minister. It appeared that the Greek medical staff had slit the Turkish patients' throats as they lay in their beds. Their bodies were loaded onto a truck and driven to a farm north of the city where they were fed into mechanical choppers and ground into the earth.

But Packard also revealed something (else). He admitted (later) for the first time that his source for the massacre story was no other

than the Interior Minister Polycarpus Yorgadjis (who was shot to death in 1970, on the orders of Makarios, it is said).

The terrorists had removed the hospital patients and secretly taken them, as Packard first reported, to a field where they were turned into fertiliser. Meanwhile, another, entirely separate group of killers reported to their superiors that they had buried 21 Turks at Ayios Vasilios.

On Christmas Day, around lunch time, three Turkish warplanes buzzed Nicosia at rooftop level. Their markings were clearly visible. To the Turks, it meant Turkey was ready to come to our rescue. In their rooms, where they were hiding, the Turkish nurses were dancing with delight. There was panic among the gunmen occupying the hospital and its grounds.

Unknown to me at the time...Makarios had little sleep that night. He had gone to the British High Commission and done a deal with Britain...He had asked that British troops, from the bases Britain had retained on the island by treaty, be brought in to bring peace...The British agreed, and fell into the trap Makarios had laid for them.

What Britain had unwittingly agreed to do was to prevent Turkey from landing troops to save the island's Turks from annihilation, and provide a smokescreen behind which the Greeks would continue the ethnic cleansing of those same Turks...

As soon as we arrived in the Turkish sector, we were taken to the office of Dr Küçük, still the Vice-President of Cyprus...The Minister of Health, Dr Manyera, came up immediately, and told me, 'Right, let the nurses go to the hospital.' I was surprised to hear this for there was no hospital in the Turkish part of Nicosia that I knew of - 'but I want you and the Red Cross and St. John's Ambulance representatives to come with me.'

We were driven somewhere to the outskirts of the capital, we didn't know where, and we got out of the car and crawled under fences and hedges until we came to the house the doctor wanted us to visit. We went inside and were shown the most disturbing and nerve-racking sight I have ever witnessed - a woman and her three children, bullet-ridden, lying in a bath. The world was to learn about this shortly afterwards. But to be introduced to this awful spectacle so suddenly brought us the reality of what was happening on the Turkish side. Up to then we just didn't know. The Nicosia Turkish enclave had no links to the outside world, no radio, and the telephone system had been disconnected by the Greeks. All we had been hearing was the constant Greek propaganda. What we saw introduced us to the horrors that the world still did not know about.

What we saw was the family of Major Nihat İlhan, the chief medical officer of the 650-man mainland Turkish military contingent stationed on the island under the terms of the Treaty of Independence.

**It had happened on Christmas Eve, and the major was away on duty. The woman was his wife Mürüvvet. The children were Murat, 7, Kutsi 4, Hakan, her six-month old baby. Of the others in the house, all visitors, one woman was shot dead and three others and a man were seriously wounded. The baby of one of them was wounded in the foot. She is Işın Mora, and walks with a limp today. She runs a small supermarket not far from where my sister and I live.**

**What happened was told by eyewitnesses. Over 150 armed Greeks, said to be one of the private armies of former EOKA terrorists, charged into the Turkish suburb of Kumsal, which is just northwest of the city walls. The Turkish major's house must have been picked out in advance, for they knew where it was and one group headed straight for it and started firing wildly at the building.**

**The major's family and the visitors rushed to the back of the house and all except one woman locked themselves in the bathroom. The gunmen smashed the front door and ran through the house, shooting everywhere. When they came to the bathroom and found it locked, they guessed there must be people hidden there.**

**A voice called out in Greek, 'How would you like enosis?', then automatic fire blasted through the door. Mrs İlhan and her children, standing up huddled together, were right in its path.**

**Throughout Kumsal, the Greek killers rampaged, charging into Turkish houses, beating whoever they found inside, dragging them into the streets. Another four died and 150 hostages were taken before the private armies left. Some of the hostages were never seen again.**

**A survivor of the Kumsal attacks said he heard a woman's voice above the gunfire:**

**'Will nobody help us, please?'**

**Nobody did. Nobody knew.**

**I had arrived in the Turkish sector of Nicosia on Boxing Day, the day after Christmas. Two days earlier, on Christmas Eve, the day before Christmas, the Greeks had launched an attack against the Turks of Küçük Kaymaklı. This was a mixed Greek-Turkish suburb...better known by its Greek name, Omorphita, That name was soon to be associated the world over with Greek savagery.**

**There were over 5,000 Turks. With a few rifles and shotguns they were holding their own against the armed Greek gangs firing at them. Then the mainland Greeks joined in the attack... They were expressly forbidden from interfering in the island's affairs. But that Christmas Eve the Greek contingent did join in - a clear breach of the constitution. Well armed and disciplined, they began the Omorphita massacre. The wounded piled up, there were no medical supplies, and**

**ammunition had almost run out. When darkness fell, the Turks realized it was time to escape.**

**The only direction to go was north. There was no way 5,000 people could break through the Greek lines between them and the safety of the Turkish quarter inside the Nicosia walls. But to the north there was a Turkish hamlet called Mandres, now named Hamit Köy. It was just a collection of a dozen mud shacks, many used as sheep pens, with a school and a mosque. It would be a long walk, a very long walk, but for the Omorphita Turks it was their only chance.**

**But there were many wounded, and it was impossible to carry the most seriously injured by foot to Hamit Köy. So these were piled into what cars and trucks they had, along with women and children, and a dash was made for Nicosia through the gauntlet of Greek guns. They went in little groups during the night...**

**The main body of some 5,000 did manage to reach Hamit Köy, but first the long column had to pass through the Greek sector of Omorphita which lay in their escape path...As the seemingly endless line of Turks, men, women, old people, children and the walking wounded, made its slow progress past them, their Greek neighbours, their friends so the Greek propaganda machine has relentlessly told the world, opened fire on them from above, from their windows and from gaps in the roofs where the tiles had been removed for that specific purpose...**

**From Hamit Köy the refugees watched as the Greeks set fire to their houses in Küçük Kaymaklı -Omorphita. 550 Omorphita Turks were cut off from the exodus and were taken hostage. These were taken to Kykkos School, empty now of its Greek students for the Christmas holidays. There they met the 150 hostages from Kumsal. When they were finally released, under great pressure from Duncan Sandys, the British Commonwealth Secretary, 150 of the 700 had vanished. Today they are posted as missing, presumed dead.**

**On Christmas Day, the refugees from Kumsal began pouring into the walled city through the Kyrenia (Girne) Gate. Their wounded, along with the injured from Omorphita, were taken to ... a makeshift hospital.**

**This, then, was the scene that greeted me when I, fleeing the Greek gunmen like the rest, arrived in the Turkish sector, now like the beleaguered Warsaw Ghetto, at that awful, bloody, Christmas 1963. (Türkan Aziz, The Death of Friendship)**

This was how it all began in the last few days of December 1963 in and around Lefkoşa. But the story of Türkan Aziz was only part of a much wider calamity which had engulfed the entire Turkish Cypriot people all over the island and which would continue to do so for a very, very long time.



## HOW DID IT START? – II FROM THE DIARY OF A CYPRIOT TURK

A diary kept by a Turkish Cypriot records the tragic events which have taken place in Cyprus between 21 December 1963 and 30 August 1965. He must have found it impossible to keep his diary going for nine more years, from September 1965 to July 1974. His last entry reflects his despair: ***"Our hearts are heavy with the thought of those who are no longer with us. Oh! Turkey, Turkey. Where are you? Why don't you end our strife? Don't you see that unless you end our strife, no one will?"*** He has, under those conditions, wished then to remain anonymous. I do not know if he and his family survived to see the end of the strife in 1974 and taste the new Turkish Cypriot freedom. I do not know if he is alive today, in 2001. If his little daughter Ayşe has survived, she must be in her late forties by now. But his diary sheds light on the harrowing Turkish Cypriot experiences in the early days and years of the Cyprus question.

His diary starts with the following entries:

**"I went to the Greek sector of Nicosia on the 20th (of December) and bought some toys for Ayşe - for the coming New Year. The shopkeeper was an old acquaintance. He asked me in a casual way whether the Turkish merchants were insuring their shops against riot. I said 'no' and asked him why. He told me that word had gone round to the Greek shopkeepers to insure themselves for riot.**

**When I came back to the Turkish quarter, I went and saw one of our leaders and told him the news. He told me that they had already received that information. 'The Greeks are up to something but we do not yet know what it is... we have been getting information of Greeks going around the villages drafting young men into some sort of a secret army... of secret arms practice... of changes in the Central Prison...Greek guards are issued with guns while no guns are given to the Turks...The Greek policemen and officers have had secret sessions in the absence of their Turkish comrades. The ex-EOKA detention camps have been repaired...We shall have to be very careful...'**

**I asked him whether the chap who had been kidnapped by armed Greek police three weeks ago while going to his house at Tahtakale quarter was found or not. He said 'no'.**

**I came home feeling very depressed. The toys I had with me were secretly put away for the New Year.**

**I woke up with a tumult in the street. Cars buzzing away and people running about. I got out. It was very cold. Time was about 3:00 a.m. They said that two Turks had been killed and five others injured at Tahtakale quarter by the Greeks...I dressed up and went out, telling my wife not to open the door for anyone, unless she knew who it was.**

**Dr Küçük and Osman Örek who went to the Paphos Gate police station to protest against all that had happened came back. They tell us that the police station has been sandbagged and armed Greeks are all around. Arms are being issued to the Greeks.**

**I was up till morning. Dr Küçük and Rauf Denктаş go around from place to place, advising Turks to keep calm and that they will pursue this matter through legal channels. As they do so, Greeks, fully armed, pass in police jeeps jeering the Turkish crowd and shouting 'EOKA, ENOSIS'.**

**Greek policemen fire on the school children who are playing in the courtyard of their school. We all rush there and see two injured boys being removed to hospital. The Greek jeep passes on and the Greeks wave to us. Dr Küçük and Rauf Denктаş push the boys back into the school. We must not retaliate. We must not retaliate. That is the message...**

**Funeral procession late in the afternoon. We bury our dead. The Mufti is unable to speak.**

**Home by 7:00 p.m. Just having a shave and getting ready for a decent meal, when shots are heard from Kyrenia road side. Automatic guns. I get out hurriedly. People gathered at Atatürk square. News comes in. Two car loads of Turks were shot at near Aspava Bar on the Kyrenia road, just beyond the traffic police station. A judge and a member of the Turkish bar were amongst those attacked. Several dead and wounded lie around, but it is impossible to approach the place... Young men rush around. Denктаş and Küçük try to stop them.**

**By the next day all roads leading to Nicosia have been barricaded. Greeks are well placed in attack positions from Ledra Palace, Hotel Cornaro, the Severis Flour Mill and the Cold Storage. Turkish cars come under attack as they try to come into the Turkish quarter.**

**The big offensive against us begins. I am cut off from my home, continuous firing from all sides. No telephone or telegraphic communication. Everything is cut off. The Cyprus Broadcasting Corporation announces that we have rebelled against the government and, the government forces are going to maintain order.**

**News of attacks. Greeks have home-made tanks, bulldozers converted into tanks, behind which Greek roughnecks hide and attack Turkish homes with guns and grenades in their hands. Refugees begin to come in. I search for my family. They are to be found nowhere.**

**Greek police commander telephones the police station. Unless we surrender, they will use heavy mortars against us, and many will die. They fire three mortars, as he puts down the phone.**

**At night time, Greeks take away Turks from their undefended houses. They go from place to place shielding behind women and children and drive them like flocks into the Greek sector. Turkish houses burn behind them.**

**The hospital is full of wounded and dead. Doctors work night and day. The dead are buried in a garden behind Dr Küçük's house. The road to the Turkish cemetery is in Greek hands.**

**Turkish jets fly over. Is it the beginning of the Turkish landing? Mr Denктаş came around to the Turkish posts to boost our morale... In a moment Nicosia is full of Turkish flags. Makarios agrees to talk about cease-fire arrangements... Mr Örek is taken to the British High Commission in an army ferret car. The attack stops and the British begin to patrol Nicosia. We have been spared.**

**I go to my house under British escort and find it in ruins.**

**Another three days pass. No news from my family.**

**Another two days or was it four? I don't remember. Prisoners delivered under the protection of the British soldiers. My wife is amongst them carrying Ayşe in her arms. Ayşe is wounded on her leg. They sob when they see me, and I cry like a woman.**

**Foreign diplomats and journalists who come to the Turkish Sector are horrified with what they see. 'Turkish rebellion?' asks one of them: 'Is this the rebellion we have been hearing about all this time? To hell with the Greeks.' What is the use? Refugees, the wounded, and the dead are all here....**

**Greek Government Hospital refuses to give blood to the Turkish Hospital from the blood bank. But for the blood sent from Turkey, many of the wounded would have died. In spite of the cease-fire, Turks are attacked everywhere.**

**News of the hostages killed by Greeks comes in. British eyewitnesses testify on the lining up of young men and their massacre by the Greeks.**

**The village of Mathiati is under siege. So are many other villages but it is impossible to communicate with them.**

**Turkish engineers set up a Turkish radio, which begins to broadcast news. At last we can hear ourselves...**

**The settlement and feeding of refugees is a colossal problem.**

**Dr Küçük's office, the Vice-Presidency, is looted by the Greeks. They occupy it, denying access to Turkish officers..."**

It is not possible to pursue further this engrossing diary here, but the following is what its author wrote in 1965 as an epilogue:

**"I lost a brother in this struggle. He was kidnapped by the Greeks and taken as a hostage in retaliation of some act allegedly done by another Turk 70 miles from where my brother was working. He has not been heard of since. His young wife and two under-aged children wait for him in vain. I know - from responsible authorities - that my brother has been murdered in cold blood along with 32 other Turks who were kidnapped on the same day..."**

**I have lost my house during this struggle. My home which was not even in the vicinity of any fighting...**

**My little girl aged nine was wounded, on the night our quarter was surrounded and attacked by Greek gunmen. She will stay a cripple for the rest of her life and yet I am grateful that her life has been spared.**

**My elder son is doing his duty for his community. He is one of those fighters who stand against the Greeks and prevent them from completely annihilating us. He has been defending our village for the last twenty months. I have not seen him at all since then, but I cannot complain. Thousands of fathers are in my position and we know that but for this gallant defence by our young men, Makarios would, by now, have subdued us into complete slavery.**

**My wife is a complete wreck of nerves. She never recovered from the shock she received, when she witnessed the shooting of our daughter and the murder of her aged mother by the Greeks. She escaped by feigning death.**

**From this wreckage I have saved... my hope in ultimate justice and my note-book..."**

### **HOW DID IT START? - III THE GENOCIDE FILES**

Harry Scott Gibbons was covering the Middle East for the London Daily Express from Cyprus. He had returned to Cyprus on Friday, 20 December 1963. "**Behind me,**" he wrote, "***I had left the border fighting between Somalia and Kenya...After all the death and despair I had been witnessing, the lovely island of Cyprus appeared like paradise on the starboard wing as I flew the last few miles of the journey across the grey, turbulent Mediterranean.***" He was spending a happy evening with friends in Lefkoşa "when the two ill-fated cars drove through the old walls of Nicosia, heading for the Turkish quarter."

**"At 2:10 a.m., on Saturday, December 21, 1963, two cars carrying ten Turkish Cypriots, six men and four women, drove through the Greek quarter of Nicosia...heading for their homes in the Turkish quarter. They were returning from dinner in Kyrenia (Girne)...They were almost at their destination.**

**They were actually inside the Turkish area when a group of armed Greek Cypriot civilians suddenly appeared in the headlights of the leading car and signalled it to stop. Both cars halted. The gunmen ordered everyone out of the cars. The ten obeyed, puzzled. A crowd of Turks from the overlooking houses appeared, awakened by the shouts.**

**As though on cue, a convoy of cars loaded with uniformed Greek Cypriot policemen, brandishing Sterling machine-guns outside the open car windows, turned a corner ahead and roared up the street towards them. The civilian gunman quickly stepped away from the cars.**

The first burst of machine-gun fire almost cut in two Zeki Halil Karabuluk, 25, married with three children, and Cemaliye Emir, 32, an attractive divorcee with a 12 year-old daughter.

Three of the Turkish bystanders, caught in the savage fire, fell wounded to the ground. The crowd fled, screaming. The civilian gunmen leapt into the police cars. The cars drove off.

Then they did another inexplicable thing, as puzzling as their sudden appearance and wanton killing. They stationed themselves at street corners and began shooting at every vehicle that approached...

Word of the shooting had spread, and gangs of Greek civilians apparently decided it was an official 'open season' day for shooting Turks, and by 4:00 a.m. they were roaring in cars up and down the streets of the Turkish sector of Nicosia, shooting from the open windows. Where these Greek civilians got their guns was never explained by the Greek authorities...

It was an offence to carry unlicensed weapons in Cyprus, and the only licensed weapons were sporting shotguns. Pistols, rifles and machine-guns were banned for civilian use. Yet these carloads of Greeks were armed to the teeth with the most unsporting of weapons.

The Christmas War had begun. But it wasn't a war. It was a brutal onslaught by the majority, and, as it emerged soon afterwards, heavily armed, Greek community against the smaller, virtually unarmed Turkish community. But the Greek side, in control of communications, labelled it an 'uprising' by the Cypriot Turks, and claimed the Greeks were only defending themselves and were therefore fighting a 'war' for their survival. Looking back later, it became clear that the Turks in those two cars had been expected to react either with fists or weapons, to the Greek provocation and set the plan for genocide in motion. That they did not mattered not at all. The Greeks simply went ahead with their plans to exterminate the Turks. It was supposed to have ended by Christmas, with Cyprus 'cleansed' of its Turkish population, as Greek documents later showed, but the international press arrived before this was accomplished, and these 'visiting firemen', as they were called by foreign correspondents based abroad, described the onslaught as 'inter-communal fighting.' This gave the impression that both sides were equally to blame for the bloodshed, in much the same way when, 30 years later, Bosnian Serbs attacked defenceless Moslem villages, towns and cities and raped and massacred their innocent inhabitants.

At 2:30 a.m., on Saturday, just 20 minutes after the first murders, the island's Vice-President, Dr Fazıl Küçük, and the Defence Minister, Mr Osman Örek, both Turks, went to the Paphos Gate police station to complain to the Minister of the Interior about the killings by the

**Greek police, the Tahtakale quarter was under siege and the dead and wounded left lying in the streets.**

**At the station they looked around in amazement. Apparently it had been heavily fortified with sandbag barricades even before the first shooting. Entering the station, they saw, the police armed with Sterling guns and rifles.**

**On Saturday, no Greek civil servants turned up for work in offices situated inside the Turkish sector of Nicosia.**

**The law courts inside the Turkish zone remained closed when Greek judges and advocates stayed away. Seeing this, and deciding that the situation was becoming more serious than the official announcements said, the Turkish civil servants did not go to their offices on the Greek side.**

**In the forenoon, the Greek members of the government took a decision ordering a general mobilization of the police and gendarmerie. They announced that the police were being issued with 'new' firearms 'to prevent new flare-ups.' Turkish police, those who were still on duty in Greek sectors, were not given weapons. This unilateral decision to mobilize was again a breach of the Constitution.**

**Turks, ordered by their leaders to do nothing to provoke the Greeks, watched silently from the balconies and sidewalk coffee shops as the police shouted, 'Long live EOKA' ... and 'Long live Enosis'.**

**At 9:30 a.m., shots from a passing police car injured two boys in the playground of the Turkish Boys Lycee near the Kyrenia Gate.**

**Omorphita, a suburb just north of Nicosia's walls, was regarded by the Greeks, as their press revealed much later, as the toughest nut to crack in the Turkish defence.**

**The 1960 census put the population at 5,126 Turks and 1,133 Greeks.**

**On that Saturday, the Omorphita Turks began preparing to defend themselves. They had been watching the signs of impending intensive Greek attacks and had decided, accurately as it turned out, that they would take place over the Christmas period.**

**On Saturday morning, armed Greeks in police uniforms began to patrol the streets of Omorphita. Many of them were immediately identified as former EOKA members who had certainly not been members of the police force the previous day.**

**In the Tahtakale quarter, cut off from the main Turkish area the night before by Greek police bullets, the residents watched with dismay as armed Greek civilians began moving into their sector. The men gathered to talk and decided to move out as soon as they could find a gap in the Greek siege.**

**Their chance came just before noon on Saturday, and a convoy of lorries crossed over from the main Turkish quarter. Wardrobes, beds and armchairs, mattresses rolled and tied with string, were trundled down the narrow staircases. Precious linen and hand sewn tablecloths. A canary in a gilt cage, excited into song by the bustle. Children with pots and pans and bewildered faces.**

**Neighbour helped neighbour as they waited their turn in the lorry removal relays.**

**The exodus from the Greek area of Nicosia had begun. Four days before Christmas, 1963, the three-year-old independent, democratic state of Cyprus saw its first immigrants. They came, not from some far-off colony or underdeveloped country, but from one sector of Nicosia, across Hermes Street, into another. They moved in with relatives and friends, and Cyprus' first ghetto was set up.**

**Greek youths, many of them students, began quietly moving into Greek-owned houses on the borders of the Turkish area. Police cars were seen driving up and handing out guns. Several strategic buildings, like the Cornaro Hotel, commanding the western approach to Nicosia, had been occupied, I learned later, even before the first fatal shots on Saturday. It was becoming clear to the Turks that a well-planned operation was being put into action, but as yet they could not guess the final objective.**

**Before noon, more cars drifted up quietly to these buildings and unloaded dozens of dark-faced young men already armed. Clutching Sterling guns dripping with black oil, they moved silently to the flat rooftops.**

**The oil was a giveaway. These were the guns of EOKA.**

**These weapons, now augmented by arms shipped in by the former EOKA gunman Polycarpos Yorgadjis, the sullen, bespectacled, Minister of the Interior, for his 'secret' armies, had been buried in secret caches, covered in oil and wrapped in rags, and had lain for years, awaiting the day when the call to shoot would again go out to EOKA. Now they were unearthed, and this time they were going to be used, not against the British, but against ...the Turkish Moslems.**

**...on Sunday afternoon, the funeral of the first two killed on the Saturday morning took place in the Turkish quarter of Nicosia. Over 10,000 Turks attended.**

**As the prayers were completed, Rauf Denktaş, President of the Turkish Communal Chamber, reiterated the appeal to remain calm.**

**His admonitions were received stolidly, and the mourners began to disperse, without outcry, to their homes.**

**...on Sunday night, a Turkish sandwich maker, Vasit Mustafa, was riding his motorcycle along the Kyrenia Road. As he passed the Aspava Bar between the Turkish village of Ortaköy and Nicosia, his motorcycle was raked by machine-gun fire, and he and his passenger tumbled into the road, dead.**

**Several cars following behind...drove into the hail of the bullets and five more Turks were seriously wounded...**

**Almost as if at a signal, firing opened up all over Nicosia.**

**In the Turkish areas, families huddled on floors with mattresses and wardrobes piled between them and the walls, as Greek rooftop snipers raked the ghetto with automatic fire.**

**At Omorphita, shooting had been going on since dawn. Unknown to the Turks – and the rest of the world – at that time, but revealed in a Greek language newspaper years later, the Greek plan had been to occupy Nicosia in three hours, Omorphita in six.**

**At noon, three bulldozers trundled up to the Turkish positions. They had been crudely armoured with steel plates and converted into makeshift tanks.**

**The six riflemen, their ammunition already perilously low, gathered quickly to meet the attack. They waited until the 'tanks' were within range. Then they opened up, carefully picking off the men partially concealed behind the steel plates. A few minutes of the deadly fire and the tank crews panicked, turned their vehicles around and ground back to safety, their dead sprawled inside, their wounded white-faced with the shock of the bullets.**

**By midnight on Monday, the Greeks were in position for the final onslaught against the Turks. All tall buildings in the Greek side overlooking Nicosia were occupied: the cold store, the Cornaro Hotel, the Nicosia Club... and the Severis flour mill, all northwest of the walled city near the Turkish village of Ortaköy on the Kyrenia Road, had been taken over by armed men.**

**Word came that the Greeks had started the long distance shooting up of Omorphita. We trudged back to the Cyprus Mail.**

**While there, I heard for the first time in Cyprus the boom of bazookas. The only people to my knowledge at that time to hold such weapons were the Greek and Turkish mainland contingents.**

**As the Turkish army would not be shooting at their own people, it meant that either the 950-man Greek mainland contingent was taking part in the battle...**

**It was only later that I learned for certain that the Greek mainland soldiers had in fact joined in the attack on the Turkish ghetto on Monday night. From then until Christmas Day they took part in**



massacres, which must surely have made every decent mainland Greek squirm with shame...

During the night of Monday/Tuesday, December 23/24, units of the 950-man mainland Greek army contingent based in Cyprus moved up to Omorphita.

They advanced up to the stretch of open ground in front of the Turkish defenders. There, only 60 yards away from the first Turkish positions, the mainland Greeks set up their firing posts. They brought up light anti-aircraft machineguns.

When the dawn came, their uniforms were easily recognizable at that distance. The voices of the officers, calling out their orders, were as different from the Greek Cypriot accent as a BBC announcer from London Cockney. The Turks knew now that that this was part of a well-organized plan, though they still did not realize its ultimate aim. Seeing the mainland Greek contingent however, convinced them that the Athens government of George Papandreou was colluding with Makarios.

The Greeks opened fire...this was no rabble to watch spraying the sky and each other in panic, while a sniper could take his time and choose his target. The mainland Greeks were trained and disciplined. Their marksmanship was good.

It was the turn of the Turks to be pinned down. Turkish casualties began.

The first to die was Muzaffer Selim, 28...He had served as an auxiliary policeman with the British colonial administration during the EOKA terrorist campaign. As the mainland Greeks drew closer, he was sitting in a chair in his hallway, thinking that was the safest place to avoid the bullets. He was shot dead through the front door... EOKA had the names and addresses of all the Turks who had fought against them during the pre-independence terrorist years...and that they were now taking their revenge.

Turks nearest the attackers were beginning to leave their homes and seek safety in the heart of Omorphita's Turkish quarter. Özer Cambaz was making his way to safety and Hasan Russo, a well-known schoolteacher, had just left his house and was some ten yards behind Cambaz when a bullet struck him. He died instantly.

It was at some point during the morning of Christmas Eve, Tuesday, December 24, 1963, that Nahide Oden, born and raised in Omorphita, remembers hearing the yelling and screaming. An army of Greeks was on the way to massacre them all.

She went outside to look for her parents and saw people running past her house, carrying babies and small children and whatever possessions they had grabbed as they fled their homes.

**'Run, run' they shouted at her as she stood there dazed. 'The Greeks are here!'**

**'I was absolutely terrified,' she told me over 30 years later. 'I knew the fighting was getting worse and that people were being killed and many were wounded, but we kept hearing about cease-fires and we were hoping that the shooting would stop at any time. But instead of ending, I was suddenly in the middle of a battle. There was shooting all around us. People were running past me, heading for the centre of Omorphita. The noise was awful. When people saw me standing there, paralyzed with fear, they kept shouting, 'Hurry, run! You'll be killed.'**

**In 1958, EOKA shot to death my uncle, Ali Mustafa Yorganci, and wounded his wife. Their small son was blinded by the gunshots. That was five years earlier, and now they were coming back to kill me, too.**

**'I saw a neighbour's daughter, Sibel, two and a half, wondering around helplessly, and, without thinking what I was doing, I grabbed her, slung her under my arm, and started to run with the crowds. The shooting never stopped. I ran blindly. I had no idea where I was going, where the crowds were going. I didn't know where my parents were. I was in a blind panic, just trying to outrun the bullets.'**

**Somewhere along that terror-stricken route, someone took a photograph of her and, like Nahide Oden, she has survived. She is the girl carrying the child in the centre of the photo...**

**'I never saw anyone taking pictures. I don't even know the other people in the picture.'**

**That photograph, like many taken during the Christmas Massacres, has been published around the world...**

**She remembers arriving at a big house around which the crowds were gathering, and there she found her parents.**

**Today Nahide Oden is a widow and a grandmother. She has a son and two daughters, the son and one daughter living in England...She will never forget that day, the day before Christmas, 1963, when she ran from the Greek guns:**

**'How can I ever forget? It was December 24. It was my birthday. I was 15.'**

**The Turkish hopes that the cease-fire might somehow be applied that day were finally dashed when the Nicosia Divisional Commander of Police, Michalakis Pantelides, spoke on the phone to his Turkish deputy, Kazim Nami.**

**According to Nami, Pantelides told him :**

**'Archbishop Makarios has directed that we should take police cars through the capital and announce over loudspeakers to the Turks that Greek police cars would soon be going round the Turkish quarter asking the people to surrender unconditionally.'**

**'If you do not' he added, 'an all-out attack will follow and 20,000 Turks will be annihilated!'**

**The census population of Turks in Nicosia at that time was 20,000.**

**On Christmas Eve, 1963, there were 120 Turks living in the mixed hamlet of Ayios Vasilios straddling the road between Nicosia and Myrtou in the northwest.**

**Some time that evening, cars and trucks drove into the village from the direction of Nicosia. Armed men poured out of the vehicles. They had a brief discussion at the coffee shop at one end of the village, then they moved purposefully towards the Turkish quarter.**

**Shots rang out, rifle butts smashed against locked doors, people were dragged into the streets.**

**A 70-year-old Turk was awakened by the sounds of his front door splintering. Tottering out of his bedroom, he found several young armed men inside the house.**

**'Have you any children,' they asked. Bewildered, he replied, 'Yes.'**

**'Send them outside,' he was ordered.**

**His two sons, 19 and 17 years old, and his granddaughter, aged 10, hastily dressed and followed the gunmen outside.**

**They were lined up outside the cottage wall. The gunmen, without another word, coolly machine-gunned them to death.**

**In another house, a 13-year-old boy had his hands tied behind his knees and was thrown on the floor. While the house was being ransacked, his captors kicked and abused him. Then a pistol was placed at the back of his head and he was shot.**

**Altogether, 12 Turks were massacred that evening in Ayios Vasilios.**

**The others were rounded up and kicked and punched along the highway to Skylloura, a few miles further in the direction of Myrtou, to seek refuge with Turks there. In night attire and bare feet, they stumbled along in the cold, the Greeks shooting after them in the darkness.**

**Then the gunmen turned their attention to the Turkish houses. They looted and destroyed and finally, exhausted, they set the houses on fire. The Greek inhabitants of the village, roused by the noise, stood watching the orgy of destruction. None protested.**

**After the gunmen had gone, they rushed to the Turkish houses and began to loot the remaining possessions of their neighbours before the flames took too firm a hold.**

**In isolated farmhouses in the same region, nine more Turks were murdered.**

**When the Turks of Skylloura saw the flames of Ayios Vasilios, they sent their women and children across the fields to Phota and Krini in the north.**

**As the Vasilios refugees arrived, they too were taken north. By midnight, Skylloura was also evacuated. Left behind were the Turkish houses, their possessions and their Greek neighbours. The long, ragged lines plodded wearily north. Seeking safety, sanctuary, respite from this terrifying savagery that had descended on them, stumbling along in the darkness of the cruel, cold, Christmas morn.**

**At the same time...armed Greeks descended on the Turkish suburb of Kumsal, northwest of the Nicosia walls near the Turkish village of Ortaköy which straddled the road to Kyrenia.**

**That evening, Hasan Yusuf Gudum, an elderly Turkish landlord, was visiting one of his clients in Kumsal.**

**With him were his wife, Feride, his neighbour Mrs Ayşe Mora with her one-year-old daughter, Işın, and her married sister, Növber.**

**They were paying a call on the family of Major Nihat İihan, the chief medical officer with the Mainland Turkish army contingent. The major was on duty that night with his unit. His wife, Mürüvvet, was with their three children, Murat, Kutsi and Hakan, aged seven, four and six months.**

**The nine were having supper in the dining room when one of the Greek private armies, augmented by workers from the Severis flour mill who had – willingly or under coercion – joined their ranks, crossed the dry Pedieos river bed.**

**The conversation around the dining table cut off abruptly when bullets began to spatter the outside walls, sounding like heavy rain.**

**The group rose hurriedly, the women dragging the children, and Gudum ushered them to the back part of the house.**

**They all, four women, four children and one man, went into the bathroom and closed the door.**

**The landlord's wife suddenly changed her mind, left the bathroom and went into the separate toilet where she locked herself in.**

**Mrs İlhan, the major's wife, stepped into the bath, and holding her baby stood facing the door, her other two children clinging onto her legs.**

**The two other women and Gudum crawled terrified into the corners beside the door. Mrs Ayşe Mora held her baby close.**

**There was a crash as the front door burst open and a continuous roar as machinegun bullets spewed through the house.**

**Footsteps came to the locked bathroom, an unknown hand impatiently rattled the knob, and a voice called in Greek, 'How would you like Enosis?'**

**Then a hail of bullets tore through the wood and Mrs İlhan and her children, caught directly in its path, were lifted off their feet and dumped on to the bottom of the bath.**

**The killers smashed the door lock and jumped inside. One of the major's children moaned and was scolded into permanent silence by a short peremptory burst. Then the raiders saw the others huddled on the floor. They played their guns on them like impatient children forced to water the garden flowers. The three Turks were all wounded, some seriously. A bullet struck the foot of the baby Işın. The locked door of the toilet drew the gunmen's attention to the landlord's wife. The door was beaten in by machinegun butts and the woman was dragged out whimpering. A pistol was placed to her head, one shot was fired, and she slumped to the floor, dead. The killers whooping and jeering, charged through the house, machine-gunning cupboards, smashing furniture, slipping and sliding on the dark red blood that crept out of the bathroom.**

**Işın Mora, the baby, survived, and after several operations her foot was saved. Today, aged 35, Işın is married with a young son...Her limp reminds her of the atrocity she was too young to understand.**

**In Omorphita, the Fighters ran out of ammunition. Only shotgun cartridges remained. When darkness fell, they made plans to evacuate the Turkish quarter. On Christmas morning the great exodus of over 5,000 people began.**

**The plan was to escape north to the all-Turkish hamlet of Mandres, now renamed Hamit Köy. It was a collection of 30 to 40 mud shacks, many of which were used as sheep pens, a school and a mosque. It was a long way, a very long way, but the route south was blocked by the Greek mainland contingent and Sampson's army of killers, and that was the route to the Turkish north part of the walled city. Thousands of people on foot would never have been able to pass through any concentrated Greek fire.**

**The wounded were an urgent problem. There were no medical supplies. They were carried on makeshift stretchers through the holes in the house walls until, hidden from the Greek guns, they could be**

brought out to the streets. It was decided that the most seriously wounded would be taken in the cars and trucks and a dash made for Nicosia.

The vehicles, crammed tight with families and the wounded, ran gauntlet of Greek guns into Nicosia. They went in groups while dark. Amazingly, all got through. The beleaguered Turkish quarter of the capital, its food stores almost gone after four days of fighting, took in a vast group of new refugees.

It was only then that the Turks of Nicosia, cut off from the rest of the world, learned what was happening to the Omorphita Turks.

Left behind, the great escape of thousands began. But they faced another problem, a serious one. To escape north to Hamit Köy, they would have to make their way through the Greek, and presumably now hostile, part of Omorphita.

Carrying only their most personal belongings, they started through the Greek quarter. A rearguard of Fighters took the remaining shotgun cartridges. They called out 'Hurry, hurry!' as men, bitter and angry, herded their families from their homes, chastising one child, consoling another. Grandparents clutched tiny children, women pushed perambulators filled only with the bare necessities - blankets, clothes, shoes. There was no food to take with them .

Özer Cambaz was one of the Fighters who went with the retreat through the Greek quarter.

'As the long column straggled past,' he told me, 'the Greeks went up to their lofts and removed some of the red roof tiles, not enough for themselves to be seen, just enough to stick a gun through. And then they began shooting down on those defenceless people. We had no ammunition left and had to take the punishment. For the Greeks, it was like shooting fish in a barrel. They were our neighbours, the same ones who say today that they had always lived peacefully with us. They were bastards, absolute bastards! There were many injured. But it could have been worse. We could all have died.'

If Sampson and his army had had the courage to attack us - as he alleged he did in his memoirs - he could have killed the 5,000 of us. We were completely defenceless by this time. We would have been at their mercy. And we were finding out, through those neighbours of ours, that the Greeks had no mercy.

The column, half carrying, half dragging the wounded, the rearguard Fighters catching up and sending the Omorphita Greeks scuttling down from their attics with their remaining shells, was finally clear of the Greek quarter and its deadly gauntlet and crossed into the fields beyond and started on the long walk to Hamit Köy. It seemed to go on forever. If a film had been taken of the exodus from Omorphita, it would have looked like the ones taken 30 years later when the Serbs of Yugoslavia turned their savagery on their defenceless, and

**innocent, neighbours and fellow countrymen, the Moslems of Bosnia.**

**'We crossed the north bypass road to Famagusta,' Cambaz went on, 'and staggered on to Hamit Köy, where the old people and children were taken to the school and mosque to sit and lie on the bare floors. The rest of us huddled where we could, in the mud pens with the donkeys and sheep or on the open ground. But we were exhausted, so anywhere we could find to collapse was acceptable.'**

**'There were 10 to 15 people to a sheep shed,' Nahide Oden remembers: 'For days there was no food, no milk for the babies. It was a nightmare.'**

**Some 500 could not escape from Omorpita that Christmas Day. They were the ones close to the Greek front line and were unable to leave their houses.**

**In Kumsal the destruction continued. Gunmen smashed down doors and charged into Turkish houses, clubbing and beating, cursing and punching.**

**The retreat from Kumsal began. Once again, like Europe reeling under the onslaught of the Nazis, the families were dragged from their homes into the cold streets, bewildered, terrified, while the crash of rifles and the rattle of automatic fire echoing loudly in their ears.**

**159 of the Turkish inhabitants of Kumsal did not escape that night. Four others besides the four in the bath and the landlady, died. 150 were taken hostage. Some of the hostages were never seen again.**

**From the windows of the British High Commission, the staff watched an old man being pursued across a field by several armed men.**

**The old man was a Turkish shepherd named Köse who lived near the Cornaro Hotel. When the shooting began, his two daughters asked him to move into a Turkish area. He refused. They rounded up his mixed flock of sheep and goats and drove them away, but still he stayed, making up a little campsite in a dry riverbed.**

**'The Greeks know me,' he told them. 'They will not harm me.'**

**Now the watchers at the High Commission looked on as the old man stumbled onto the road panting, the gunmen ran up shooting. The old man fell, riddled with rifle bullets. The young Greeks examined the body briefly, then turned away talking excitedly.**

**In the very early hours of Christmas morning, the Turkish Embassy in Nicosia tried to pass a message to Makarios. Turkey had warned that unless a cease-fire was implemented immediately, she would take action on behalf of the Turkish Cypriots.**

**Makarios could not be found but the message was finally delivered...to Glafcos Clerides at his house...near the headquarters directing the Nicosia fighting.**

**In reply, the Greek forces increased the shooting.**

**Refugees from Kumsal had begun staggering into Nicosia through the Kyrenia Gate. When their story was heard, a group of Fighters were sent to try to escort the rest of the Kumsal Turks to safety.**

**When they reached the area, the armed Greeks on the roofs of the Severis flour mill and the cold store opened up with withering fire on the streets. The Fighters managed to encourage the Turks cowering in their houses to go into the streets and crawl from doorway to doorway southeast to the city walls.**

**But the Fighters could not reach the tragic scene of the family in the bath, nor the others wounded in that house. Nor were they in time to prevent the abduction of the 150 hostages.**

**As dawn broke, ammunition was running low among the Turks inside the walled city. Refugees had been pouring in during the night, bringing mouths to feed, wounds to tend, but no ammunition.**

**There was only one Bren gun in the whole of the quarter. The Fighters carried it from position to position to give the impression of a well-armed enclave...**

**The situation was becoming desperate. Omorphita was almost evacuated. The Greek ring around the area was tightening. Food supplies were being fast used up, and thousands of refugees were jammed into public buildings. Few had brought blankets or even overcoats with them. There was no milk for the babies.**

**Clinics had been converted into hospitals, but the wounded lay without drugs, the tourniquets being tightened and loosened as they waited for medical supplies - from where no one knew - while the sheets and other rags used for bandages turned a disheartening red again and again.**

**In the houses, children wailed in hunger and fear, women sobbed.**

**Two Turks stepped into the hail of fire that morning and died.**

**In the empty lot behind Halkın Sesi newspaper office in Kyrenia Avenue, the spades began again.**

**...On the front line opposite the Greek positions (in Omorphita) several hundred Turks huddled in their houses, unable to escape through the steady hail of bullets spattering the streets and buildings...**



**At 11:15, Nicos Sampson made his attack. He attacked the undefended houses near the Greek mainland contingent's guns where the unfortunate inhabitants had been pinned down by the heavy firing and were unable escape north.**

**Keeping carefully to the area covered by their own guns, the Greeks moved from house to house, ordering, kicking and dragging out the inhabitants. Two men found alone were shot out offhand.**

**550 people were rounded up, mostly old men and women with children. They were herded behind the Greek lines.**

**The 550 were driven to Kykkos School on the airport bypass. At the school, the 550 met the 150 taken hostage at Kumsal the night before.**

**At Kykkos School 150 Turks were sorted out of the 700 hostages. Unless the Greeks tell it will never be known why these particular 150 Turks were selected - whether because of their age, their sex, or just for their looks.**

**In any event, they were taken in groups away from the view of the other hostages and lined up. Then they were shot. It was Christmas Day.**

**An English woman teacher at the school saw the shootings. Somehow she made her way to the British High Commission and told her story. She was put on the first plane for London. That woman was probably the only eyewitness besides the Greeks. She was sent home for her own safety, and her story was never made public.**

**...the murdered Turks had to be declared missing, and for many years hundreds of Turkish families in Cyprus awaited news of their loved ones, convinced they would one day return home. Perhaps some still do. But they are dead, murdered on Christmas Day. Their graves were never revealed.**

**Somewhere there is a report of what that woman saw. If she is still alive today, perhaps she might come forward and tell her story again.**

**In Nicosia, the first British units began to arrive on Friday, December 27, from the sovereign bases...**

**The international press, for the first time since the shooting started, was able to cross over into the Turkish quarter.**

**Pictures of Mrs İlhan and her children in the bath at Kumsal were taken and radioed across the world.**

**The first stories to reach the outside world were shocking.**

**'We went together into the sealed-off quarter of Nicosia in which 200 to 300 people had been slaughtered in the last five days.**

**We were the first Western reporters there and we have seen sights too frightful to be described in print - horrors so extreme that...'**

**The 5,000 who had escaped from the death town of Omorphita sat in Hamit Köy, waiting and watching. From the slightly higher ground where the mud hut village stood, they could see Omorphita. For three days they watched, then they saw their homes put to the torch by Nicos Sampson and his gang.**

**Özer Cambaz stayed in Hamit Köy for nine months. For thousands of the others, it became their home for eleven years, a refugee camp of mud huts, tents and shacks made of cardboard or any other scraps of material that could be scavenged. In the winters, the children played in the cold mud; the baking summers brought flies and mosquitoes...**

**On Tuesday, December 31, Duncan Sandys secured the release of the Turkish hostages held at Kykkos School.**

**Before they went, the Turks told Sandys how they had been ordered at gunpoint from their homes.**

**When the hostages were returned to the Turkish quarter of Nicosia to pathetic reunions, the Turkish leadership discovered there were 150 missing.**

**...all Nicosia Turks, their numbers swollen by refugees to 30,000, had received insufficient food for five days.**

**Eric Downton, of the London Daily Telegraph, emulating my trip from Nicosia to the northeast and also touring the west, wrote on January 2:**

**'EOKA, the para-military organization created during the rebellion against British rule, is obviously in control of much of the island. Areas through which we drove swarm with armed young men who wear no uniform and carry no badges.**

**They man scores of roadblocks and fortified positions. They have rifle point power of arrest and, presumably, of life and death.**

**They have their own command posts and arms depots. Besides ample supplies of rifles, shotguns and revolvers, they have many machine-guns.**

**Some have machine-guns and two-inch mortars. They possess plentiful supplies of hand grenades.'**

**He described the scene at Lefka, where the population of 5,000 Turks was being swelled daily with thousands of refugees pouring in from neighbouring hamlets where the Turks had been forced out at rifle-point and their houses burnt. He found Lefka surrounded by Greek gunmen and an acute shortage of food. In Ayios Vasilios, the scene of**

**the Christmas Eve massacre, he found the word EOKA scrawled in blue paint on a bullet pocked, bloodstained wall.**

**Incidents continued daily, with British troops dashing to and fro breaking up clashes. Their determination to keep the Greeks off the Turks and to remain impartial was causing increasing resentment among Greek Cypriots.**

**On January 12, Makarios conducted a wedding ceremony...in Nicosia.**

**As the 200 guests left the church, smoke was visible pouring from Turkish houses set on fire in the northwest suburb of Neapolis.**

**In the afternoon, two British paratroopers escorted a party of Turks to the office of Vice-President Küçük behind the Ledra Palace Hotel. They found the building ransacked and looted.**

**As they left, eight Greeks of the Cyprus army tried to prevent their departure. The paras calmly brushed aside the pointing guns and took the Turks back to their quarter.**

**Ever since Sandys had literally forced the Greeks to return the Turkish hostages from Kykkos School, Irene Checkley of the St. John's Ambulance Corps and the International Red Cross representatives on the island had been touring the country armed with a list of missing Turks. Among them were the names of the 21 patients who had vanished from Nicosia General Hospital.**

**Eventually, they received information that the patients had died and had been buried in the little cemetery at Ayios Vasilios.**

**On Monday morning, a group of Turks with spades were escorted by British paratroopers to the graveyard. The foreign press watched as the digging commenced.**

**The first spot chosen unearthed, only a few feet down, the first bodies. Three men had been thrown on top of each other.**

**The digging continued. A family was unearthed, a boy with his hands still tied behind his knees, a little girl.**

**They were all fully clothed, an old man with the black baggy trousers and high boots of the Cypriot peasant.**

**There was no guesswork in deciding the corpses were from Ayios Vasilios and the neighbourhood. The twenty-one patients had been in the hospital when the shooting started. They had not been fully clothed. By nightfall twenty-one bodies had been exhumed.**

**They were taken to the Turkish quarter of Nicosia for burial, some were identified immediately as the former residents of Ayios Vasilios. Some were never identified, so badly were they maimed.**

**The fate of those 21 in-patients was never revealed by the Greeks. But the revolting truth did come to light 25 years later..."**

### **THE EMBARGO STARTS**

When the Greek Cypriots failed to eliminate or subjugate the Turkish Cypriots in December 1963 and its aftermath by use of force, something which they had hoped to achieve within a day or two according to their infamous Akritas Plan, they adopted an equally destructive method of intimidation, discrimination, restrictions and economic embargoes against the Turkish Cypriots, in addition to their ongoing military attacks and violence. These were designed to break the will of Turkish Cypriots and impoverish them to such an extent that they would be forced to accept Greek Cypriot political conditions for turning the partnership republic into a Greek Cypriot state destined to be annexed to Greece - or simply to accept to go.

The UN Secretary-General reported on 10 September 1964 to the Security Council that:

**"...the conclusion seems warranted that the economic restrictions being imposed on the Turkish community in Cyprus, which in some instances have been so severe as to amount to a veritable siege, indicate that the (Greek) Government of Cyprus seeks to force a potential solution by economic pressure as a substitute for military action."**

**"Ever since the outbreak of violence on 21 December 1963," the UN Secretary-General went on in the same report, "a variety of restrictions which were described in my report of 15 June have been imposed upon the Turkish Cypriots. The isolation of the Turkish Cypriot community, due to the restrictions placed on their movement on the roads, brought hardship on the members of the community as well as serious disruptions of their economic activities.**

**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 dependent on relief. In accordance with the figures published by the Turkish 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, 23,000 unemployed and 7,500 dependants of missing persons, disabled and others."**

On 4 June 1964, UNFICYP Commander General Gyani himself stated that no Turk was safe outside purely Turkish areas. No less than 82 innocent Turks had been taken as hostages during only the first two months of UN operations in Cyprus, on streets and places of work in Greek areas and all indications were that they had been brutally murdered by the Greeks.

### **SOCKS AND SHOELACES AS "STRATEGIC MATERIAL"**

In July 1964, additional restrictions were imposed on the Turkish Cypriots. The UN Secretary-General reported that:

**"Around the middle of July, at the time of the Temblos incident, described earlier in this report, the (Greek Cypriot) Government 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 were forbidden without special authorization from the (Greek Cypriot) Ministry of the Interior. These articles included building materials, cement, iron in bulk/iron rods, wire netting, electrical equipment, transistorised and other batteries, timber, large bags, automobile accessories and parts, tyres, sulphur and chemicals, as well as fuel in large quantities. Secondly, it imposed restrictions on the importation of Red Crescent supplies for the relief of the population."**

One evening in 1964, Necati Münir Ertekün, then the Turkish Cypriot judge of the Supreme Constitutional Court of Cyprus, was returning to his home in the Turkish Cypriot quarter of Lefkoşa in his own car, when he was stopped at the roadblock put up by Greek Cypriots. After being subjected to the usual searches, he was asked how much fuel he had in the petrol tank of his car. He replied it might be half full. He was told to suck the petrol out as the purchase of fuel in large quantities by the Turkish Cypriots was forbidden! To drive home with a half-full petrol tank, he would have needed special authorization from the Greek Cypriot Interior Ministry, headed by the Chief Akritas, the notorious EOKA gunman, entrusted by Archbishop Makarios to lead the secret armed organization created to exterminate the Turkish Cypriots! Necati Münir Ertekün, not only a judge of the Supreme Constitutional Court of Cyprus, but one of the kindest persons one could ever meet in a lifetime, found a rubber hose and sucked the petrol from his car before he was released to go home, to the Turkish quarter of Lefkoşa, the prime target of the Chief Akritas and his thugs. That was the degree of tolerance of the application of the list of the so-called strategic materials denied to the Turks of Cyprus. By early 1965, this list was extended to cover 37 items including telephones, socks, shoelaces, raincoats, knitting wool, coal, stone, sand and gravel!

The UN Secretary-General reported on 10 June 1966 that:

**"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 Cypriot) checkpoints..."**

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The Turkish Cypriots would not even find nails for the coffins of their lost ones.

## **HOW TO STARVE A PEOPLE**

**"I had to do the cooking. 'Beans for a change', I said. No one liked the joke and most of them did not like my cooking.**

**Ayşe is determined to come back home. So home she comes. She cleans the house and sets the table, which reminds me there is nothing cooking. Our neighbour lends us some cooked beans and olives. Grateful.**

**Got paid again. Four pounds. Meat tomorrow. That will be a real treat. I feel like buying a packet of cigarettes. I buy a single cigarette instead.**

**A Turkish lorry full of foodstuffs destined for Lefkoşa was confiscated by Greeks, at Larnaca. Driver arrested. Baf suffers severely for lack of food. Turkish lorries bringing milk and vegetables under UN escort were turned back by Greek officials.**

**We eat dried bread crumbs. ( R ) brings some beans for lunch and dinner.**

**We live on the remnants of food from the Turkish hospital. It could be worse.**

**No car, no food allowed to enter Lefkoşa...Crows. I will get one today. They roost on the old walls at night-time. Easy to catch. I wonder why others did not think about it before.**

**Got two crows at last. I feathered them, cleaned them and took them home. 'Pigeons' I say. They look like it. Jolly good meal. I nearly quarrelled with some other people who were on the same expedition. So it was not an original idea after all. They tell me that it was easier to get them at first, but now they have grown wiser and fly out into the darkness.**

**Blockade worsens. Food situation getting worse.**

**Food, grapes, vegetables destroyed at Famagusta Gate barricade. Lorries came in empty. Their oil tanks were also emptied.**

**Ayşe wants pigeons again. I do not tell her that I tried hard last night, but could not get any.**

**Tomorrow is the anniversary of the Greek attack against us...I came home to find Ayşe waiting for me. She was given a piece of cake by some people who went around the streets distributing food for needy families. She had kept a piece for me and wanted to see me eat it...**

**...in comes 1965. Had a hot meal at the Hospital with Ayşe... But for Red Crescent help, we would have starved.” (From the Diary of Ayşe’s father)**

\* \* \*

“Since December 1963,” reported the UN Secretary-General on 10 September 1964,

**“...six shipments of emergency and relief supplies had been sent from Turkey through the Red Crescent for distribution by the Turkish Communal Chamber. They consisted mostly of medical supplies, flour and other foodstuffs. The first five ships arrived before July 1964 and the supplies they brought in were unloaded and distributed without difficulty. But when the sixth one arrived on 15 July, obstructions were placed on its unloading by the (Greek Cypriot) Government. Only after a series of negotiations initiated by UNFICYP did the (Greek Cypriot) 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 900 tons could be unloaded. The (Greek Cypriot) Government also insisted on control over distribution of the relief supplies. Persistent representations made to the (Greek Cypriot) Government by UNFICYP and the International Committee of the Red Cross were unsuccessful. In spite of UNFICYP’s effort to escort the Red Crescent convoys carrying relief supplies throughout the country, obstructions were frequently placed on the movement of these convoys.”**

Two glaring facts come out from this reporting of the Secretary-General: (a) The Greek Cypriots not only imposed a totally illegitimate and inhuman embargo on the Turkish Cypriots designed to cripple them, but also took the extreme step of actually blocking relief supplies to Turkish Cypriot areas, (b) No other country but Turkey is reported to have bothered to extend a helping hand and to send relief supplies to the Turkish Cypriots in their darkest hour of need. One can hardly decide which one of these were more immoral, but this certainly is not a record that should make the international community feel proud of. We shall see how this indifference to Turkish Cypriot lives in 1964 has parallels with present attitudes.

Leaders of the Turkish Cypriot people considered the new directives as nothing but a determination of the Greek Cypriots to condemn them to starvation and Dr Fazıl Küçük, the Vice-President of Cyprus, strongly protested against these policies. The UN Secretary-General reported that:

**“Aware of the serious consequences that the (Greek Cypriot) Government measures could bring about, UNFICYP drew the (Greek Cypriot) Government’s attention to the dangers which might result from the imposition of additional restrictions. At the same time, in close collaboration with the International Committee of the Red Cross, it worked out arrangements with the (Greek Cypriot)**

**Government for the distribution of already limited supplies. However, all this effort came to naught as fighting broke out in Tylliria on 5-10 August and relief to the Turkish Cypriot community was stopped. The shortage of food and other essentials became particularly critical in this area and in the entire Paphos (Baf) zone, and it was necessary for UNFICYP and the ICRC, on humanitarian grounds, to make renewed representations to the (Greek Cypriot) Government to allow emergency shipments of relief supplies to Lefka (Lefke) and Kokkina (Erenköy).**

**Immediately after the Tylliria fighting..., the (Greek Cypriot) Government announced that it would cut all movements of supplies into the areas controlled by Turkish Cypriots in Nicosia (Lefkoşa), Lefka (Lefke), Kokkina (Erenköy) and Limnitis (Yeşilirmak). Following this announcement, convoys of food and other essential supplies were prevented from reaching their places of destination. If such severe measures had been maintained, the situation of the beleaguered Turkish Cypriots would have become untenable, and probably led them to resort to desperate and violent action."**

In view of this situation, the Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General and UNFICYP Commander intervened to warn the Greek Cypriot side that any increase in economic restrictions would only lead to severe trouble. While the Turkish Cypriots were being starved, the Greek Cypriots were claiming that the Turkish Cypriots had enough food in store for many months! In view of this controversy,

**"UNFICYP carried out on 16 August a preliminary survey of the situation concerning food and other essential supplies covering 142 villages and five cities of the Turkish Cypriot population. The survey showed, at the time, that more than 40 percent of the villages had no flour, that some had bread for only a few days, that about 25 percent of the villages had flour for only one or two weeks, and that in any event the flour would only last up to a month in best of circumstances. The survey also showed that the need for milk and dairy products, rice and salt was acute, while kerosene was in extremely limited supply. Furthermore, medical attention in villages was notably low. In the cities, the survey showed that, although the situation was better than in the villages, it was deteriorating rapidly. One additional factor brought out by UNFICYP's survey was that the restrictions had brought about a shortage of currency and that this was causing unemployment and other hardships. UNFICYP also ascertained that the stock of relief supplies on hand was extremely limited. The restrictions placed on Turkish Cypriots, therefore, would bring severe hardships to them despite the agricultural products they could obtain from the resources in their own areas."**

Simply put, the Turkish Cypriots were being starved by the Greek Cypriots who were fooling the world, including the UNFICYP, which believed it had reached an understanding with the Greek Cypriots in the summer of 1964 for lifting the restrictions concerning the Turkish Cypriot areas other than Lefkoşa, Lefke and Erenköy. But,



**“on 3 September a supply of fresh meat and cheese in authorized quantities was prevented by (Greek) Cypriot forces from entering the Turkish Cypriot sector of Nicosia (Lefkoşa), in violation of the understanding. Reports received on 4 September from UNFICYP local units indicated that the local (Greek) Cypriot military authorities in certain areas were unwilling to implement the understanding, or interpreted it in an excessively restrictive manner. UNFICYP took this matter up urgently with the (Greek Cypriot) Government authorities in Nicosia (Lefkoşa). But far from easing the prevailing situation, the (Greek Cypriot) Government decided on 5 September to add the Turkish Cypriot sectors of Famagusta (Magosa) and Larnaca to the list of restricted areas. The (Greek Cypriot) Government further informed UNFICYP that it reserved the right to impose economic restrictions in other areas if circumstances made it necessary to do so for military, security and other reasons. This hardening of position was reflected on the local level at check-points where obstructions, harassment and actual confiscation of foodstuffs took place after 2 September.”**

This was nothing but a “policy of achieving enosis by economic strangulation.” (Pierre Oberling, *The Road to Bellapais*) “Authorized quantities” mentioned in the UN report was actually a list of essential foodstuffs based on a weekly number of calories per person.

**“...on being told by the UN that his policy of starving out the Turkish Cypriots could only shed a bad light on Greek Cypriots in international circles, Makarios relented, and essential foodstuffs based on a calorific minimum were allowed to the Turks. (When) these lists were checked (it was) found that the calorific minimum allowed to Turks was below the standards applied in the prisons of many civilised countries .” (Harry Scott Gibbons, *The Genocide Files*)**

On 16 September 1964, *The New York Herald Tribune* drew attention to the deplorable conditions of the Turkish Cypriots prevailing at the time in an editorial which stated that :

**“Blockade sounds like a relatively agreeable substitute for outright war until it is translated into terms of ‘degrading subhuman standards of life’ and the imminent threat of starvation. These conditions were found by Lt. Gen. K. S. Thimaya, the Indian commander of the UN forces on Cyprus, in the Kokkina (Erenköy) region of the island, where 1,500 Turkish Cypriots have been penned in by the Makarios government. His conclusions were confirmed by the Swiss head of the International Red Cross on the island, Max Stalder.”**

On 12 December 1964, the UN Secretary-General reported that:

**“51. On 26, 28 and 30 October (1964) 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 (Hamit Köy),**

**just north of Nicosia, and many of the 800 refugees in Kokkina (Erenköy) who had made their homes in caves or holes in the hillsides were in need of relief in the form of basic foodstuffs and clothing. Their condition presented a health hazard in the approaching winter."**

Turkish Cypriots in refugee camps and villages would have to spend, not only one but also the next ten winters under those conditions.

### **ATTEMPT TO COMMIT GENOCIDE**

This inhuman economic blockade was to continue with all its severity and without abatement for many years. There is no doubt that the intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a particular identifiable group, so unashamedly manifested in the Greek Cypriot Akritas Plan, and the acts committed for its execution as of December 1963 and over the decade that followed, constitute a typical case of the crime of genocide. These acts, committed with the intent to destroy the Turkish Cypriots, involved killing members of the group and causing bodily or mental harm to members of the group. ***"The indiscriminate killing of Turks was seen by independent observers, as well as by the Turkish Cypriots themselves, as part of a policy of genocide. A report in the Washington Post on 17 February 1964, for example, said: 'Greek Cypriot fanatics appear bent on a policy of genocide'." (Rauf Denktaş, The Cyprus Triangle)***

Furthermore, the economic embargoes imposed on the entire Turkish Cypriot people constitute an act of genocide under the UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, as these sought, in the language of the Convention, "to deliberately inflict on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part." The economic embargoes imposed on the Turkish Cypriots were, under the same Convention, punishable crimes as;

- ***Direct and public incitement to commit genocide,***
- ***Attempt to commit genocide,***
- ***Complicity in genocide***

by the Greek Cypriot leadership and by all those who participated in the commission of these acts. These embargoes were not simply a substitute for military action, but actually were systematically used to support the Greek Cypriot organized violence to neutralize the Turkish Cypriots in physical and in political terms until 1974. Not a single Greek Cypriot or Greek has ever been held accountable for his crimes and offences against the Turkish Cypriots for the duration of an entire decade.

The UN Convention further determines two other acts of genocide - imposing measures intended to prevent births, and forcibly transferring children of the group. Both of these acts of genocide aim at depopulating the group whose destruction is intended. Turkish Cypriot children, as the most vulnerable group to indiscriminate violence and the harsh conditions brought about by large-scale dislocation, including lack of food, medicine, and shelter, were among the primary victims of the Greek Cypriot extermination plan and its execution. To understand the toll of Greek Cypriot terrorism, one has only to look at the very high number of children lying at mass

graves. The conditions under which the rest survived is reported by the UN Secretary-General, for example, on 10 September 1964 as follows:

**“In refugee camps near Nicosia many hundreds of children living in crowded temporary quarters and exposed during the great heat of the summer months to the risk of dehydration survived without serious illness partly because an UNFICYP architect and military engineers planned and, with local help, built provisional matting roofs to give shelter from sun as well as open-air showers.”**

These sub-normal conditions are also depicted in a number of photographs of Turkish Cypriot children in refugee camps and actually living in caves in Erenköy (Kokkina), which received many refugees from neighbouring locations. One has to remember that those who survived were to endure these conditions for a whole decade.

All Turkish Cypriot children born after December 1963 were refused registration by the administration monopolized in the hands of the Greek Cypriots, in an attempt to artificially reduce the Turkish Cypriot population. Thus, no Turkish Cypriot citizen of the destroyed republic, including Turkish Cypriot infants, could escape Greek Cypriot discrimination, and the entire Turkish Cypriot people were pushed into a state of “statelessness”. These children did not exist so far as the Greek Cypriots, or for that matter, an indifferent world were concerned.

**“Do you remember those films from Bosnia when villagers were jammed in open trucks fleeing from the Serbs? And mothers and fathers would hand up their children, begging that they be taken to safety?”**

**Well, in a different way it happened to us. Sometimes, when an ambulance was leaving a village for Nicosia, a mother would rush up and hand over a sick child to the driver. But when the child had been treated and was ready to go home we were in a quandary. Who was this poor child? Where had it come from?**

**Once the UN brought some patients and the driver told me, ‘Look, I’ve brought a sick baby.’ Where was the mother? No mother. So we checked the clothing to see if there was a name. No name. Which village? ‘I don’t know. I was handed the child. It’s a sick child, so I took it.’ But where did he get it? ‘We were coming here from Kophinou in the south.’ And so we’d have to trace the child all along the route the ambulance had taken.**

**In the excitement of getting on the ambulance things would become a little confused. A mother would rush up and press her child on one of those in the ambulance. ‘The baby’s sick’, she would say. ‘Get her to hospital.’ Not saying the child’s name, the mother’s name, the address, nothing. Just get my child to hospital. But although we couldn’t return grownups to their homes, we somehow got these children back to their parents. In difficult times people stick together, and there was always someone who recognized the child or knew the village.” (Türkan Aziz, The Death of Friendship)**

Turkish Cypriot children who escaped extermination between 1963-1974 suffered the drastic conditions of Turkish Cypriot ghettos and enclaves described in the UN Secretary-General's reports. The Turkish Cypriot people experienced severe difficulties in not only sheltering and feeding their children, but also in educating them following the destruction of the partnership republic and the embargoes placed on them. Turkish Cypriot schools in 103 villages around the island, which had been the target of Greek Cypriot attacks, were wholly or partially destroyed or occupied by the Greek Cypriot National Guard -the unconstitutional underground military force created to carry out the Akritas Plan. With the suspension of the amount due to the Turkish Cypriot community for educational purposes from the annual budget, the salaries of over 2,000 Turkish Cypriot teachers could not be paid. Tens of thousands of Turkish Cypriot school children were deprived of school facilities, textbooks and other school supplies.

The entire Turkish Cypriot youth was involved in the defence of Turkish Cypriot villages and enclaves. The scene described below was a common experience for their fathers:

**"Casualty lists come at night time. We have lost 13 dead and 33 wounded. One missing. Names will be given in one hour's time. I went to the coffee shop. Everyone is up and about. No one can sit. No one talks.**

**Names at last. I am afraid to go near the list. I am sure that my son has died a hero's death. Mehmet Kasap shouts. My son's name is not on the list. I begin to cry like a child. This is not the cry of joy or of relief, it is a bitter, burning trickle of tears, which suddenly pour out. I am crying for the fathers who have knelt down now in agony shouting 'Oh my son, my son, why did you die, why did you die?' I don't know. I feel guilty that their son should die and mine continue to live."** (The Diary of a Cypriot Turk)

In a further attempt to depopulate the Turkish Cypriot areas of the island, the Greek Cypriots imposed a ban on the re-entry into Cyprus of Turkish Cypriot students who went abroad for higher education, while every facility was provided for them to leave the country, including free air tickets as far as for Australia. On 27 June 1965, the Greek Cypriot administration informed the Turkish Cypriot side through UNFICYP that students over the age of 15, male or female, would not be allowed to return to Cyprus from abroad where they had been studying and that if they did, they would be detained. Foreign travel for these students became, for all intents and purposes a one-way route, as indicated in the UN Secretary-General's Report of 8 December 1967:

**"108. As far as foreign travel is concerned the situation for Turkish Cypriots has undergone little change in the period under review. Turkish Cypriots are free to leave the island as Greek Cypriots, but 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."**

## DE FACTO BANISHMENT

Turkish Cypriot students were not the only ones affected by this ban on the freedom of movement of the Turkish Cypriots, as is amply evident from the following extracts from the same report of the UN Secretary-General:

**"87. Early on 31 October 1967, Mr Rauf Denktaş, 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 accompanied him from Turkey.**

**88. Mr Denktaş, 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 by the (Greek) Cyprus Government."**

Mr Denktaş had left Cyprus in 1964 to address the UN Security Council. Speaking in the Council on 28 February 1964, he had put the facts before the UN and had drawn the attention of the international community to the situation faced by the Turkish Cypriots. What he told the Council reflected only the initial shock suffered by the Turkish Cypriots in just the first two months. He had said :

**"Mr President, I thank you and I thank all the representatives for having given me the opportunity to address you on the tragic events in Cyprus. My community, which has suffered more than 800 dead or wounded in a matter of two months, will be most grateful. Twenty thousand of them have been rendered homeless or workless and look upon charity for their living. The whole Turkish community has been living under virtual Greek siege since 21 December 1963. All these people have been following the deliberations of your Council with anxiety...**

**Mr Kyprianou has asked the Council: Is it conceivable, is it possible, that the Greeks should contemplate the annihilation of a 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 the attack on us...**

**I shall not elaborate on the horror, which we suffered. For five days we were cut off from the world. Our telephones, including the telephone of the Vice-President, were disconnected. The radio was in the hands of the Greeks, and they issued bulletins continuously saying that a rebellion was going on and that they were dealing with the rebels. The wireless telegraph service was in their hands and no foreign correspondent could come to our side of the world as we were completely surrounded and cut off. It was after the fifth day, after a last appeal had been made by the Turks to all the Guarantor Powers calling for help for the last time - ...telling them that we had received an ultimatum...(that) if we did not all surrender they would smash us out from our homes with mortar bombs by next morning - it was after**

**that the Turkish contingent moved out of its barracks and took a position as the result of which the Greeks who were attacking us had to leave unfinished a work which they were doing thoroughly...**

**There is one very important factor which I should like the Security Council to understand. Innocent and unarmed people may die in a fight: that may be the result of any fight and it can be explained. But in our case, women and children have been killed deliberately and brutally in their houses. Seven hundred people were taken as hostages by the so-called security forces...**

**When we demanded the release of these people, we were told that they had been taken for safety purposes. Only 534 were returned to us. We asked what had happened to the others. The answer was: 'we have no others; that is the number we had.' But there were British eyewitnesses who saw some of these hostages lined up and shot. Later we saw several of them buried in mass graves, fully clothed, women and children included...We want to know what happened to the missing, the people who did not return to their homes, who have not been found, who have vanished. Their families are entitled, in the name of humanity, to know at least where the graves of these people are...**

**Turks that were ill have been removed from the hospitals. They have vanished. We want to know where they are, or at least where their graves are. In all humanity, we are entitled to know...**

**After the cease-fire and after foreign correspondents came into our sector and the horror was disclosed, there was no more fighting in Nicosia. But it is very significant that the houses of the 700 people and of other persons who had fled from the Greek sectors were completely destroyed, either gutted by fire or pulled down by bulldozers. This happened all over Cyprus. Wherever the Turks had to leave their homes, those homes were gutted or pulled down...**

**The other day Mr Kyprianou said that there is now little or no activity in Cyprus, that everything is normal, that in some parts Greeks and Turks have signed declarations that they will keep the peace. Well, my information from (Vice-President) Dr Küçük is that Turks continue to be under a state of siege. In some places they are running short of food. In some places they cannot get medicine. No one can go to work. Life is at standstill as far as the Turks are concerned...The question is: are we entitled to live in human dignity as free people in a land where we have lived for 400 years, or are we to be put at the mercy of the Greek Cypriots...? That is the main issue before the Security Council today."**

The Greek Cypriot administration was furious that its crimes had been exposed before the Security Council. On his way back to Cyprus, Mr Denktaş stopped over in Ankara for consultations. While he was in Ankara, the Greek Cypriot administration decided that he must be arrested and tried for offences against the state (!) and made its decision public. Mr Denktaş was thus forced to remain away from the island from 1964 to October 1967.

Shortly after his arrest by the Greek Cypriot military, certain whispering started going on within the Greek Cypriot leadership that it might be a good thing if Mr Denktas was shot while "escaping". In fact, two members of the Greek Cypriot leadership (Papadopoulos and Kyprianou) seem to have proposed that Mr Denktas should be immediately "disposed of" right after his apprehension. Makarios, while favourably inclined, is understood to have pointed out that already too many people knew that Mr Denktas was in the hands of the Greek Cypriots. But the option of an extra-judicial execution seems to have seriously occupied the Greek Cypriot leadership, operating under mafia style rules and procedures. "After a lot of thought," Mr Clerides reports, "it was decided to offer not to prosecute him if he agreed to leave Cyprus." (Glaucos Clerides, Cyprus: My Deposition)

Mr Denktas could return to Cyprus only in 1968.

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### **TURKISH CYPRIOT ATTEMPTS TO RETURN TO THEIR VILLAGES**

**"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." (UN Secretary-General's Report of 10 September 1964)**

This initial destruction of Turkish Cypriot property, recorded by the UN in 1964, went on throughout the decade. Turkish Cypriot homes were looted and destroyed, their lands laid waste or used by Greek Cypriots without any payment and their flocks, agricultural implements, tractors, lorries and cars taken over by the Greeks. The wave of vandalism did not even spare holy places. Every mosque, shrine and place of prayer in areas overrun by Greek Cypriot armed bands was desecrated and destroyed. This demonstrated the Greek Cypriots' hatred of Turkish Cypriots, not only as 'Turks' but also as 'Moslems'. (Rauf Denktas, The Cyprus Triangle)

**"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 endeavours to save the refugees from spending a third winter in poor, uncomfortable, unhygienic, and other 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 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.**

**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 building in Turkish Cypriot areas and as a separate and special problem of the maintenance, repair and construction of houses and buildings in Turkish Cypriot areas. Whatever the approach to the problem, the (Greek Cypriot) Government has not approved the release of building materials for the refugees..." ( UN Secretary-General's Report of 10 December 1965)**

Two years later, in his Report of 8 December 1967, the UN Secretary-General reported that :

**"The refusal of the Greek Cypriot authorities to allow the Turkish Cypriot refugees to return to their homes in conditions of safety, effectively frustrated persistent Turkish efforts to rehabilitate them. They also obstructed attempts to improve their living conditions."**

One of the most important developments which occurred in January 1969 and to which, according to Mr Glafcos Clerides,

**"unfortunately, the Greek Cypriot side responded too cautiously (!) to the request by the Turkish Cypriot leadership that the Turkish Cypriots, who had left their villages should be allowed and assisted to return to them."**

He had been informed by Mr Rauf Denктаş, as the President of the Turkish Communal Chamber, that the Turkish Cypriot side intended to take steps to encourage the return to their villages of all the Turkish Cypriot refugees from twenty villages around the island.

Mr Denктаş had also told him that :

**"This action we hope, if successful, will be conducive to the return of all remaining refugees to their villages in a short time. Much, of course, will depend on the reception these people will receive from the Greek inhabitants of the area to which they will be returning. We also hope that this action will dispel, from some Greek quarters, the mistaken belief that the Turkish side is concentrating its population in certain areas with a view to partitioning the island!**

**I shall be grateful to know whether without prejudice to the final settlement of any question of compensation etc., your side is ready and willing to render assistance to these villages or villagers in the form of:**



**(i) allocating to us immediately agreed sums of money for re-building or repairing all the houses, schools, mosques etc., which have been destroyed in these villages;**

**(ii) providing us with funds for destroyed or stolen movables of these villages with a view to enabling them to settle in their houses without delay (furniture, clothing, household utensils etc.);**

**(iii) rehabilitation assistance i.e. long term credit facilities at minimum rates of interest and financial help through cooperatives for acquiring seeds, fertilizers, flocks etc.;**

**(iv) a mixed committee of experts may visit these villages with a view to ascertaining what is needed.**

**Time factor is important as we have to decide for the final rehabilitation of these people as early as possible."**

The UN had prepared a plan for the return of Turkish Cypriot refugees to their former villages through a gradual, steady process of resettlement and re-adaptation. It made clear that an essential factor for the success of the resettlement plan was housing, which included not only the repair of all buildings but the erection of new ones (schools, mosques, recreation centres, etc.). It suggested that Turkish Cypriot refugees could be granted bank loans, according to the size of the family, for living essentials (furniture, working implements, working capital, etc.), and that a fund for their rehabilitation could be established. The UN plan finally said that :

**"The present plan aims at two important objectives: first, to integrate the resettled Turkish Cypriots into the economy of the island as a whole and, second, to attempt to re-establish between the two ethnic groups a level of trust and mutual confidence, which unfortunately does not yet exist, for close and loyal co-operation between the two segments of the island's population."**

According to Mr Clerides:

**"The Greek Cypriot side at first took the position that the Turkish Cypriots could not return to certain sensitive areas such as Neapolis and Omorphita. With regard to other areas it stated that it would welcome the return of the Turkish Cypriots to their homes, but took no further action, despite the fact the UN had prepared a plan for the resettlement of the Turkish Cypriots in their homes.**

**Makarios accepted the views of the hawks. i.e. that such a development was premature, and that it would ease the economic problem the Turkish side was facing. I strongly disagreed with that view. I believed that the Greek Cypriot side had committed an enormous error which would adversely affect future developments. For the first time since 1963, an opportunity was offered by the Turkish side to have the Turks return to their villages in areas under the control of the (Greek Cypriot) government... In other words we deliberately dragged our feet and eventually shelved a process which would have led to the dispersal of Turkish Cypriots from an artificially**

**(!) created concentration in the north of the island to their native villages throughout Cyprus.**

**The paradox was that, although we were rejecting groupings of Turkish villages for the purposes of local government, even if they had no geographical cohesion, out of fear that Turkish areas may thus be created, when they were offering to deconcentrate from the North and resettle in their villages, we did not respond eagerly and in a positive manner.” (Glafcos Clerides, Cyprus: My Deposition)**

Mr Clerides, while lamenting on the fanaticism of the “hawks” in the Greek Cypriot camp, carefully evades his own responsibility during those dark years. But one has to recall that it was Mr Clerides himself who said in July 1965:

**“We the Greek Cypriots are in full control of the government. All the ministers are Greeks. Our government is the one recognized internationally – why should we bring the Turks back in? The Turks control only three percent of the land. They have no rich resources and they are living through difficult times from an economic point of view. They will ultimately have to accept our point of view – or go.”**

In May 1973, the UN Secretary-General still reported that :

**“No progress has been made during the period under review towards a solution of the problem of the Turkish Cypriot displaced persons...”**

**“The Greek Cypriot leaders talked constantly about the necessity of rehabilitating the Turkish refugees and promised to provide financial aid for that purpose, but in fact they used every device to discourage or prevent the refugees’ return to their homes. A festering refugee problem for the Turkish Cypriot administration was in the political interests of the Greek Cypriot leadership. An international research report on Cyprus pointed out that ‘the world at large in general, paid little attention to the plight of Turkish refugees and gave them little in the way of sympathy or support’. The whole burden of the Turkish Cypriot refugees, ... was borne by Turkey and the Turkish Red Crescent Society for eleven years from 1963 to 1974.” (Rauf Denktaş, The Cyprus Triangle)**

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## **THE ECONOMIC TOLL OF EMBARGOES**

**“As a result of these restrictions, the Turkish Cypriot economy remained stagnant. In December 1966, the United Nations estimated that approximately one-third of the entire Turkish Cypriot population still needed some form of relief. The Red Crescent and the Turkish government offered all the help they could...Dr Volkan, who visited Cyprus in the summer of 1968, wrote that in Nicosia:**

**‘The contrast between one side of the green line and the other was impressive. The Turkish side looked as though it were in ruins; the streets were pitted, and poverty was evident everywhere. I learned**

**that the delivery of building material to the Turkish sector had been forbidden for a long time lest the Turks use it to fortify their enclaves, so nothing had been repaired.'**

As an authority on the psychological problems of refugees, Dr Volkan concluded that the Turkish Cypriots were

**'Interim survivors who had withstood the terrible stress of bloody days only to face dislocation, a reduced lifestyle, and the loss of loved ones and property. They had become prisoners, in spite of the fact that their 'prisons' lay within the neighbourhoods of their own people in which it was possible to conduct some semblance of normal life.'**

**During this time, the Greek Cypriot community was booming... Indeed Spyros Kyprianou was later to refer to these years as 'the happy years'." (Pierre Oberling, The Road to Bellapais)**

The UN Secretary-General urged the Greek Cypriot administration to relax restrictions imposed on the Turkish community but obtained no results. He made the following observation in his Report of 8 December 1966:

**"122. Economically isolated, the Turkish Cypriot Community has found itself in a backwater as far as trade, industry and employment are concerned, and does not participate in the economic expansion of the country or the development of its resources. Many of the estimated 20,000 refugees and displaced persons in the Turkish Cypriot enclaves are unemployed, and their enforced idleness emphasises the isolation of the community, whose economy is sustained by financial assistance and relief supplies from Turkey..."**

As there was no serious reaction from the Security Council to the gross violation of human rights and injustices exposed in the UN Secretary-General's reports, the Greek Cypriots left their Turkish "victims" to suffer in their beleaguered areas and continued to develop Greek areas through international aid and credits. (Rauf Denктаş, The Cyprus Triangle)

Greek Cypriot policies and practices against the Turkish Cypriots in the economic field included the following:

- a) Blackmailing of the foreign firms represented by Turkish Cypriot businessmen, leading to the renunciation of agency agreements;**
- b) Forcing Turkish Cypriots to pay direct and indirect taxes without benefiting from the budget;**

(As all ports and airports were under the control of the Greek Cypriot administration, for all Turkish imports customs duty was paid to the Greek Cypriot authorities which was used exclusively for the betterment of the Greek Cypriot economy. As their enclaves were scattered throughout the island, Turkish Cypriots had to make use of the roads which were under the control of the Greek Cypriots. This forced the Turkish Cypriot vehicle owners to obtain road circulation licences and driving licences from the Greek Cypriot administration. It was estimated that the Turkish Cypriot

community used to contribute between 15% to 20% to the annual Greek Cypriot budget without any corresponding benefits.)

c) Disconnection and limitation of electricity supply;

(Disconnection and limitation of electricity supply to the Turkish Cypriot quarters of towns and villages all over the island was a crippling practice. Continuous and deliberate power cuts became commonplace in the Turkish Cypriot areas. While with loans obtained from the World Bank electricity was supplied to all the Greek Cypriot villages and hamlets on the island, Turkish Cypriot villages and Turkish Cypriot sectors of mixed villages were left without electricity. In May 1974 there were still 94 villages with no electricity and all of them were Turkish Cypriot villages.)

d) Denial of social insurance benefits to Turkish Cypriots;

(With the onslaught of December 1963, the Greek Cypriot administration refused payment of all kinds of benefits to the Turkish Cypriot contributors. Yet, approximately 8,000 Turkish Cypriots employed by foreign banks, mining companies and the Sovereign Base Areas continued to contribute to the fund. Despite repeated representations through the UNFICYP for the restoration of this social right of the Turkish Cypriots, only benefits of a very limited number of persons could be restored after 1966- old age and widow's pensions.)

e) One-sided prosperity in tourism;

(Cyprus was on the way to becoming a major tourist attraction centre in the 1960s. Even this industry was used as a tool in reinforcing the Greek Cypriot side's economic sanctions. Tourists coming to the island were only taken to the Greek Cypriot areas and the existence of the Turkish Cypriot people in the island was suppressed. Tourists wishing to visit the Turkish Cypriot areas or establishments were given the impression that their lives would be in danger if they entered these areas.)

f) Deprivation of the Turkish Cypriot community from foreign aid;

(In spite of the fact that following December 1963 the bi-national government of the former republic did not exist and that its Turkish and Greek components had split in two, all financial and technical aid by the United Nations and its specialised agencies continued to be channelled through the Greek component which used UN economic and technical aid for consolidating its illegal de facto position.

Even the foreign currency sent as relief aid by the Republic of Turkey to the beleaguered Turkish Cypriot community, was withheld by the Greek Cypriot administration, and the Turkish Cypriot community was paid in local currency. In fact the Turkish Cypriot community was only able to obtain Cyprus currency if it paid the equivalent to the Greek Cypriot controlled "Cyprus Central Bank", in foreign currency.)

g) Denial of postal services to Turkish Cypriots;

(Postal services to Turkish Cypriot areas were discontinued after the events of 1963, and all mail, both internal and external, addressed to members of the Turkish

Cypriot community, including businessmen, were detained by the Greek Cypriot postal authorities. The UN Secretary-General reported this fact in his reports:

**“146. The (Greek Cypriot) Government 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...” (10 September 1964)**

**“20. At present no mail is being delivered to areas under Turkish Cypriot control...” (12 December 1964)**

**“From December 1963 until October 1966 many Turkish Cypriot controlled areas, including the Turkish quarter of Nicosia and the main enclaves were deprived of all postal services...”**

In October 1966 an ad hoc arrangement was made through the UNFICYP for the restoration of letter deliveries to the Turkish quarter of Lefkoşa and Lefke, but as the Secretary-General reported on 8 December 1967,

**“this arrangement covered only two areas, leaving many Turkish Cypriot villages still without postal services, and even in Nicosia and Lefka it did not provide for parcel post, postal drafts or post office box services.”**

All subsequent efforts by the Turkish Cypriot side and UNFICYP to have this partial normalization of the postal services extended to other Turkish Cypriot areas, yielded no positive results. In the circumstances the Turkish Cypriots were left with no other alternative but to try to render these services to their community with their own means through the establishment of their own postal administration.

## **DECEPTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY**

Mr Rauf Denktaş, speaking in the Security Council on 5 August 1965, exposed the deceptions of the Greek Cypriot side as follows:

**“Mr Kyprianou said that he had visited three Turkish villages in Greek areas and found all Turks happy. ‘No complaints,’ he said. I do not know whether that visit to Turkish villages was actually made; it was not trumpeted in the Greek press, so far as I know. But I suppose that an officer of the Gestapo who lived in occupied France during the war could similarly have reported to his superiors in Berlin that all Frenchmen in Paris were happy under German occupation because they had lodged no complaints with him. Backed up by an army from Greece, illegally imported into Cyprus and by an illegal Greek Cypriot army, Mr Kyprianou may well afford to visit Turkish villages in Greek-occupied areas. But he is not entitled to pronounce on the happiness of people whose political and constitutional rights he has so callously attempted to take away.**

**Mr Kyprianou objected to Greeks being called the aggressors. ‘We supply the Turks with free food, electricity and water. Are we the aggressors? We give them facilities to travel, and we help them economically. Are we the aggressors?’, asked Mr Kyprianou**

repeatedly. Yes, food which comes to the Turks - Turks who have been denied work and any earning possibilities for the past eighteen months - through the auspices of the Red Cross and Red Crescent, is allowed to go into the Turkish area, thanks to the good offices of UNFICYP, but only after a great deal of argument, delay and difficulties created by the Greeks. Blankets, clothes, shoes for 25,000 people who have lost their homes are refused clearance by Greek authorities on arbitrary grounds. When it suits Greek plans, a blockade can be put around Turkish areas, to the extent of causing the death of newly born babies because of lack of food and medicine. Electricity and water are allowed into Turkish areas only as a matter of policy. From time to time, Greeks demand payment for those facilities, threatening to cut off the supplies - payment from 50,000 Turks whose livelihood has been cut off since December 1963. Thanks to UNFICYP's intervention and the reaction of world public opinion to such inhuman measures, the Turks have been spared. No doubt the bills for the electricity and water which are supplied to the Turkish areas are strictly kept, and when the time comes we may set off these bills against the damages and destruction of Turkish property in nearly 100 villages...In places such as Paphos (Baf), water and electricity were cut off for weeks, and it was again through the good offices of UNFICYP that Turks got their supply of water and electricity.

'Taxes are not being paid, yet we help the Turks,' said Mr Kyprianou. But all Turks who, by force majeure, are obliged to resort to Greek authorities are forced to pay arbitrary sums as taxes and debts to the government before their affairs are attended to. Those Turks have legitimate defences against such demands, but the Greek authorities will listen to no one. Further you have to pay what you are asked to pay or you may be taken in for questioning - that is the least that may happen to you. People have been forced to pay such arbitrary sums at the airport just before departure. If they refuse to pay, they cannot travel. Execution without justice, without trial and without a court order thus goes on. And that, according to Mr Kyprianou, is justice, freedom and a sign of good-will on the part of the Greeks.

Thousands of Turkish employees have not been paid a penny since December 1963; the Turkish Communal Chamber has not been paid constitutional allotment of funds for years, thus leaving thousands more Turkish employees without pay. And yet Mr Kyprianou brazenly complains or boasts that Turks have not paid their taxes." (Rauf Denktaş at the United Nations, Speeches on Cyprus)

## **PROFIT FROM CONFLICT**

"One of the strange paradoxes of the Cyprus problem is that the Greek Cypriots benefited financially from their failure to resolve the intercommunal conflict. To begin with, a quarter of the population of the island, the entire Turkish community had been eliminated from the state budget. This alone saved the Greek Cypriots million(s of) Cyprus pounds (each) year. The financial aid from Turkey for Turkish Cypriots, which amounted to million(s of) pounds sterling (each)

**year...had to be transferred through the Greek-controlled Central Bank of Cyprus and this resulted in a substantial 'hard currency gain' for the Greek Cypriot treasury. The Central Bank paid the Turkish Cypriots in Cyprus pounds, all of which was spent in the Greek Cypriot market because all ports were in Greek hands and no other market was available for the Turks. The Greek Cypriots also pocketed virtually all of the money spent by UNFICYP in Cyprus. That is why Archbishop Makarios described the UN Peace-Keeping Force as his 'permanent tourists'.**

**By 1970 there was a real boom in Greek Cypriot trade and industry, particularly in the field of tourism. Greek Cypriot propaganda had been successful in projecting the island as a land of peace and opportunity. 'Turkish Cypriots are just a nuisance and time will solve that problem', they said. So, tourists and foreign capital poured into the Greek sectors. Tourists coming to the islands who were not allowed to cross into the Turkish sectors or to know what was happening to a quarter of the population of the island, believed Cyprus was still a fun-in-the-sun island. Life for the Turkish Cypriots was no fun at all, but a continuous struggle for survival. Their only hope lay in Turkey. The Greek Cypriot leaders knew this and they made every effort to demoralise the Turkish Cypriots and to shatter their hopes." (Rauf Denktaş, The Cyprus Triangle)**

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## **GREEK OCCUPATION IN CYPRUS**

Soon after the UN Security Council decided to send a peace-keeping force to Cyprus in March 1964, Makarios visited Athens in early April. According to Andreas Papandreou, then a Minister in the Cabinet of his father, George Papandreou, Prime Minister of Greece :

**"He and my father, who was handling personally all aspects of the Cyprus problem, reached complete agreement...**

**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." (Andreas Papandreou, Democracy at Gunpoint)**

Newsweek reported on 27 July 1964 that :

**"Before dawn each day the great iron doors of the port of Limassol are slammed shut...United Nations guards are barred. A few hours later, the doors swing open and covered lorries, weaving on heavily overloaded springs, roar out of the port and head northward towards the Troodos Mountains."**

The UN Secretary-General reported on 10 September 1964 that :

**“The UNFICYP observations have established that during the month of July the (Greek Cypriot) 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 lorry-loads. UNFICYP has some estimates on the details of these imports, but it is not the purpose of this report to disseminate military intelligence. ”**

He further reported the following three years later, in 1967:

**“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 (Greek Cypriot) National Guard, and no precise information as to their numbers is available to the Force. 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.**

**29. Over the past few months the Force has noticed increased signs of a tendency to identify the (Greek) Cyprus National Guard with the Greek Army. These include the widespread use of the Greek Army cap badge by the National Guard and the use of the Greek royal crown in flags and sign boards at many National Guard camps, while the oath taken by recent National Guards recruits on enlistment now incorporates allegiance to the King of Greece. (12 June 1967)**

**31. Another serious feature, to which I have already referred in previous reports (S/7969, para. 26) is that substantial quantities of war material, including heavy equipment, have continued to be introduced through the port of Boghaz, already mentioned in paragraph 25 above, where unloading is invariably carried out in the utmost secrecy, always under cover of darkness, with the National Guard attempting to keep UNFICYP patrols out of the area.” (8 December 1976)**

As this reporting makes clear, between April and August 1964, Greece illegally and clandestinely installed in the island large contingents from the mainland Greek army and introduced large quantities of arms and military equipment to Cyprus. This was done in complete agreement between Makarios and the Greek Prime Minister, resulting in a Greek military occupation. Previously, the Greek military contingent, stationed in the island under the Treaty of Alliance, had already been fully involved in the Greek Cypriot attacks against the Turkish Cypriots of Küçük Kaymaklı / Omorphita in December 1963. Now, EOKA fanatics were aided by these new Greek forces on the island in their onslaught against the Turkish Cypriots. The Greek Cypriot National Guard, commanded by Greek officers, comprised over 10,000 active soldiers and 20,000 reserves. As of the summer of 1964, an additional military force of “no less than twenty thousand men and officers” from Greece reinforced the Greek military presence on the island. These forces were armed with automatic weapons, artillery, armoured vehicles and tanks.



In comparison, the Turkish Cypriots were practically defenceless.

In August 1964, after the infiltration of Greek mainland forces had been completed, these forces were used in a massive attack on the Turkish Cypriot enclaves in Mansoura and Kokkina (Erenköy).

**“When General Kodendera S. Thimayya, who had succeeded General Gyani on July 8 as Commander of the UN Peace-keeping Force, complained to Archbishop Makarios about the troop build-up, the latter reassured him, asserting that no attack was being planned. However, on August 6 Grivas launched a major offensive against the Turkish Cypriot-held Kokkina salient, and Makarios announced that the struggle for enosis had entered its ‘final phase’.**

**The Kokkina salient included the little port of Kokkina, as well as the villages of Mansoura, Alevga, Selain t’Api and Ayios Theodoros Tyllirias. It had great strategic importance, for it controlled the vital coastal road and was the principal entry point of supplies from Turkey to the hard-pressed mücahits. The enclave was defended mostly by 500 youths who had been studying in Turkey and England and who had just returned home via Kokkina because they had been denied entry through Kyrenia and other harbours in Greek Cypriot hands.**

**As the attack began, the UN observation posts in the area were speedily overrun, and the officers and men of the peace keeping force were compelled to run for their lives. Grivas was determined not to allow the United Nations to stand in the way of total victory this time. On August 7, the bulk of Grivas’ army advanced towards Kokkina from the village of Pakhy Ammos, on the northwestern fringes of the salient. All day long Grivas’ artillery shelled Turkish Cypriot villages, and that evening a patrol boat opened fire on Kokkina and Mansoura from the sea...**

**The Turkish government was thoroughly aroused by the Tylliria offensive for, in Turkish eyes, the National Guard, led as it was by Greek officers and containing at least 9,000 Greek soldiers, was a Greek force. Hoping to discourage any further advance by the National Guard in the Kokkina salient by a mere show of strength, the Turkish leaders ordered warning flights to be made over the area. Accordingly on the evening of August 7 four Turkish F-100 fighter planes buzzed concentrations of National Guardsmen and fired rockets into the sea. But the next day the National Guard continued to tighten its grip on the dwindling Turkish Cypriot enclave, Makarios and Grivas were still utterly confident that world pressure would prevent the Turks from becoming militarily involved in the Cyprus conflict. Hence, when General Thimayya implored Makarios to put an end to the slaughter, he was rebuffed, and his commander in the Tylliria region, Colonel Jonas Waern, was not even able to arrange a temporary truce to allow some of his own men as well as a group of Turkish Cypriot women and children to be evacuated from an area under constant bombardment.**

By the afternoon of August 8, all the villages in the salient had fallen except Kokkina, which was crowded with some 700 refugees and was being shelled from both land and sea. It was now clear to the Turkish leaders that the warning raid of the previous evening had not had any effect and that more vigorous steps would have to be taken to save the population of Kokkina and its defenders. Consequently, a fleet of jets was once more despatched to Tylliria, but this time with orders to fire in earnest. The National Guard's positions around Kokkina were blasted with rockets, machine gun fire, bombs and napalm, and one of the patrol boats which had been shelling the Turkish Cypriots was spotted from the air and sunk.

...Premier Papandreou, upon hearing of the latest developments, became fearful that the conflict would now spread. He pleaded with Makarios to 'cease immediately' all military operations in northern Cyprus. However, Makarios defiantly replied that the Greek Cypriots would fight 'till death'.

On August 9, a new wave of Turkish aircraft bombed the National Guard's positions and several Greek Cypriot villages where reinforcements were being gathered for a final assault on Kokkina. This raid at last stopped the Greek Cypriot offensive. It also destroyed the Greek Cypriot leaders' dream of achieving enosis by means of a quick, dramatic victory. While the air raid was in progress, Makarios, in a paroxysm of grief and frustration, threatened that unless the Turkish Air Force left the scene within half an hour he would order the massacre of the entire Turkish Cypriot population. But when the horrified UN officials threatened, in turn, to order the immediate departure of the peace-keeping force, which would have left the island at the mercy of the Turks, he withdrew his ultimatum." (Pierre Oberling, *The Road to Bella Pais*)

In 1967, the Greek forces in Cyprus and the Greek Cypriot National Guard created a new major crisis by attacking the Turkish Cypriot enclave in Kophinou near Larnaca, in order to cut off the Turkish Cypriots in the south of the island from those in the north.

"In mid-November 1967 the notorious terrorist leader, General Grivas, who had been appointed Supreme Commander of the Greek and Greek Cypriot armed forces by Archbishop Makarios, launched an attack on the Turkish village of Kophinou and the Turkish inhabitants of the neighbouring village of Ayios Theodoros in the Larnaca District. The operation was ferocious in its intensity and effect. Within a few hours twenty-eight Turks were murdered and scores wounded. Turkish homes were ransacked and deliberately set on fire. Some of the wounded had kerosene poured over them and were then set on fire.

The timing of the Kophinou attack is very significant. The Greco-Turkish dialogue on Cyprus, which had started in May 1965 and continued after the military takeover in Greece in April 1967, had just come to an abrupt end as a result of the insistence of the Greek Prime Minister on Enosis at a meeting with the Turkish Prime Minister at

**Keşan on 9-10 September 1967. Archbishop Makarios had persuaded the military leaders in Athens that championing the Enosis cause would win them considerable public support in Greece and among Greek Cypriots in Cyprus. A few months earlier the Greek Cypriot House of Representatives Journal of 27 June 1967 reported that, on 26 June, the deputies had unanimously passed a resolution that the struggle for Enosis would continue until the union of Cyprus with the motherland, Greece, was achieved:**

**'Interpreting the age-long aspirations of the Greeks of Cyprus, the House declares that despite any adverse circumstances it will not suspend the struggle being conducted with the support of all Greeks, until this struggle ends in success through the union of the whole and undivided Cyprus with the motherland, without any intermediary stage.'**

**The Kophinou attack was, therefore, planned to demonstrate the fiery spirit of the Enosis struggle and to prove to Turkish Cypriots that Turkey could do nothing about it.**

**In his Report no. S/8286 of 8 December 1967 (para. 48), the UN Secretary-General stated that the Kophinou operation had 'caused heavy loss of life and had grave repercussions'. The brutalities committed during the Kophinou attack immediately provoked a very strong reaction from Turkey. An ultimatum to Greece demanded that the attack should cease immediately and a task force was held in readiness to go to Cyprus in case hostilities continued. Turkey and Greece were thus brought to the brink of war yet again. To avert a physical intervention by Turkey, which was fully justified in the circumstances, President Johnson sent his special envoy, Mr Cyrus Vance, to Cyprus. Shuttling between Turkey, Greece and Cyprus, Mr Vance succeeded in defusing the crisis. He secured an agreement whereby Greece agreed to withdraw her forces (whose number, according to Turkish Cypriot intelligence reports, had reached 20,000 over the years) together with George Grivas. Furthermore, Greek Cypriot administration undertook to compensate the Turkish inhabitants of the two villages.**

**However, it was discovered later that the withdrawal of Greek troops had been only partially carried out and several thousand mainland Greek troops and officers continued to be attached to the Greek Cypriot National Guard. When the UN took up this question with the Greek Cypriot leaders, the latter explained that these officers and men were on contract to train the Greek Cypriot National Guard, itself an unconstitutional force, and therefore were not covered by the withdrawal agreement. It is ironic that it was these 'instructors' who were to stage a successful coup against Archbishop Makarios in 1974. Needless to say, Archbishop Makarios also went back on his promise to compensate the Turkish Cypriot victims of the Kophinou attack." (Rauf Denктаş, The Cyprus Triangle)**

The UN Secretary-General reported this fact as follows on 3 January 1968:

**“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 connection. 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 formed units that were serving as part of the (Greek) Cyprus Government’s armed forces. It is known however that Greek national army officers and men are still serving individually in the National Guard and on the headquarters staff, but UNFICYP has not been in a position to estimate their number. ”**

It would be Makarios himself who would regret this situation most in 1974, as he stated before the Security Council on 19 July 1974, after barely escaping the island with his life.

#### **THE PERIOD OF 1974 HISTORICAL SYNOPSIS**

This period began with the coup on 15 July 1974 organized, as the final step towards achieving enosis, by Greece and put into effect by Greek officers serving in and commanding the unconstitutional Greek Cypriot National Guard, installing a convicted criminal as president. What triggered the coup was the fermenting dispute between Archbishop Makarios and the Greek junta over the method of achieving enosis and the form it should take.

Turkey consulted Britain and proposed joint Anglo-Turkish action under the Treaty of Guarantee, but the British government of the time declined joint action. On 20 July 1974 Turkey had to intervene alone, eleven years after the destruction of the 1960 settlement, under Article 4 of the Treaty of Guarantee. One day before, Makarios, who had escaped from the island with British help, denounced the coup in the Security Council, stating that :

**“The events in Cyprus do not constitute an internal matter of the Greeks of Cyprus. The Turks of Cyprus are also affected. The coup of the Greek junta is an invasion and from its consequences the whole people of Cyprus suffers, both Greeks and Turks.”**

Talks held in Geneva, while recognizing the existence of two autonomous administrations and the need for re-establishment of constitutional government, failed in the second phase firstly due to non-compliance with agreed security measures for creating a security zone between the opposing forces, evacuation of all Turkish enclaves occupied by Greek or Greek Cypriot forces, protection of other Turkish enclaves by an UNFICYP security zone and security and police functions being assumed by UNFICYP in mixed villages. Secondly they foundered on political grounds as Greece and the Greek Cypriots were interested in nothing but playing for time to put the clock back rather than facing the reality of the situation which called for agreement on a bi-regional or even a cantonal system based on the existence of

two autonomous administrations. This situation led to the continuation of the peace operation from 14 to 16 August 1974 as Turks of Cyprus remained under constant threat of massacres. While not being able to prevent all the massacres, it created a safe haven in northern Cyprus for Turkish Cypriots where they were able to move entirely through the implementation by the UN of the 1975 population exchange agreement.

Nicos Sampson, installed as president during the coup, was quoted later as saying :

**“Had Turkey not intervened I would not only have proclaimed enosis – I would have annihilated the Turks in Cyprus.”**

There is every reason to believe this convicted criminal who had a heavy hand in the violence in the island as of 1955 and after December 1963, as indeed such annihilation took place in many Turkish Cypriot villages under revolting circumstances.

The events of 1974 caused major social upheaval for both peoples of the island, but only geographical separation brought an end to bloodshed for the Turkish Cypriots, ending a very traumatic and dark decade for them and restoring their long lost security and freedom.

The Turkish Cypriots transformed their autonomous administration to a Federated State in 1975 with the declared intention of forming a federation with the Greek Cypriots. The search for a negotiated settlement, however, remained elusive as the Greek Cypriots continued to monopolise the titles of the 1960 partnership republic, and exploited international organizations from this position rather than committing themselves earnestly to the creation of a federation. The Greek Cypriots also persisted in their practice of an economic embargo against the Turkish Cypriots and undertook a program of rearmament.

These policies as an extension of the past Greek Cypriot practices led the Turkish Cypriots to declare independence and the establishment of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) in 1983. The Turkish Cypriots nevertheless kept the door open to a new partnership based on the equal status of the two parties. Draft agreements produced in the late 1980s and early 1990s, were rejected by the Greek Cypriot leadership.

\* \* \*

### **LAST VESTIGES OF DECEMBER 1963**

The geographical separation which came about in the summer of 1974, with a Turkish Cypriot north and Greek Cypriot south, and a buffer zone in between, saved at long last the Turks of Cyprus from living as hostages in their homeland and restored their long lost security and freedom. But not immediately and not for all of them.

On 20th and 21st July, 132 Turkish Cypriot enclaves over the island, including Turkish villages, Turkish quarters in mixed villages as well as Turkish quarters of Limassol, Larnaca, Baf (Paphos) and Magosa (Famagusta) were attacked and largely overrun by heavily armed Greek forces and the Greek Cypriot National Guard. Thousands of male Turkish Cypriot inhabitants were rounded up, either arrested and

detained as hostages in various detention centres under inhuman conditions or killed in cold blood. As a result of the rounding up of the male population, Turkish Cypriot women and children in these areas were completely deprived of any protection and were left in fear of their lives at the mercy of Greek and Greek Cypriot gunmen.

As of 20th July, the Old City of Magosa (Famagusta) and the three Turkish suburbs of Baykal, Sakarya and Karakol, came under heavy fire. Around 6,000 Turkish Cypriots lived in the Old City and another 6,000 in the three suburbs. They were hammered by heavy artillery, mortars, rifles and even Russian T34 tanks. During the night of 20th July, Turks living in the suburbs were quietly escorted into the Old City through a tunnel under the walls, leaving behind their homes and everything in them. Next morning, when the Greeks discovered what had happened, they resumed their attacks against the Old City, now crammed with 12,000 people. It was to go on for nearly a month. The horror of Greek attacks on Turkish Cypriot civilians in Magosa was reported throughout the world. A German tourist, Mrs Ingrid Hebil, who was in Magosa at the time, was interviewed by 'The Voice of Germany' a week later. She stated that :

**"The human mind cannot comprehend the Greeks' butchery. In the villages around Famagusta, the Greek National Guard has displayed unsurpassed examples of savagery. Entering Turkish homes, they ruthlessly rained bullets on women and children. They cut the throats of many Turks. Rounding up Turkish women, they raped them all. The defenceless Turkish women and young girls frantically tried to run away. These horrifying attacks are still going on in Famagusta and its environs. In a Turkish village, the Greeks rounded up Turkish men, women and children in a sports field and made them dig their own graves. Then they executed them all and dumped them in their graves. According to my estimate there were 100 such victims."**

On 20th July, the Greek Cypriot National Guard attacked the mixed village of Alaminos between Larnaca and Limassol. The Turkish quarter of the village was overrun and 60 men taken prisoner, 15 of whom were lined up against a wall and shot with automatic weapons. One who ran away from the firing squad was shot in the back.

Limassol was a particular scene of terror. The Turkish quarter of the town was attacked by the Greeks on 20th July and completely overrun.

**"It was several days before the full horror of the Greek onslaught against the Limassol Turks was revealed to the outside world, and this was through the eyewitness accounts of those whom the RAF at Akrotiri base had flown to England..."**

**Flown out to England, Cypriot born Ümit Hüseyin, 24, a London restaurateur, had been visiting his parents in Limassol.**

**'Greek soldiers came to the house on Saturday looking for people to fight for them. I showed them my British passport, but they tore it out of my hand, dragged me into the street and beat me to the ground. Everyone was beaten, young and old, women and children alike. They made us shout 'Viva Nicos Sampson'. I was put in prison and beaten again.'**

**A big crowd was standing in the prison yard and some people were weeping. This baby girl was crying in her mother's arms. A Greek soldier yelled at the woman, 'If you don't make her stop, we'll shoot her'. The mother pleaded that she couldn't help the child crying.**

**The soldier shot the baby.**

**Kezban Derviş, a 15 year-old Turkish Cypriot girl, landed at Brize Norton near Oxford. Parents missing, uncle shot, she arrived alone from Limassol. Her story was the first the British public, and perhaps the outside world, learned of the atrocities committed by the Greek Cypriots.**

**In a green dress and sandals she wept as she told my old colleague Frank Howitt of the London Daily Express how she had fled through streets littered with the bodies of Turkish men, women and children. As Greek National Guard marched off her uncle, he shouted to her, 'Run away! Escape!'**

**'I ran and ran through the streets. Soldiers were shooting all the time. There were many dead. I ran into a house. It was horrible. I saw soldiers raping a woman, and then they shot her - in front of my eyes.'**

**Kezban Derviş took refuge in the Limassol hospital and was looked after by İlkay Osman, the Turkish Cypriot wife of a British airman, who arrived in England with her and who said she'd seen a Turkish woman after she'd been raped.**

**'Many other women were assaulted. The National Guard marched away 1,000 Turkish men to the town gymnasium, saying they were going to shoot them. It is hell for everybody left behind.'**

**Turkish women were also used to supply blood for Greek wounded. Kezban Derviş rolled up her sleeve to show where Greek doctors had taken blood from her. İlkay Osman said the Greeks had taken a pint of blood from every woman they captured.**

**The scenes described by those who escaped were like those of Nazi Germany as shown in the film, 'Schindler's List.'**

**The London Times summed up the fate of the Limassol Turks in one sentence:**

**'Thousands of Turkish Cypriots were taken hostage (after the landings), Turkish women were raped, children were shot in the street and the Turkish quarter of Limassol was burnt out by the National Guard.'**

**Altogether, 1,750 Turkish men were confined in the Limassol's concentration camp, the soccer stadium, where they slept in the open. Later, 635 men from Lefke, and over 100 from Famagusta, were**

also taken there. Conditions were described by the prisoners as inhuman, with hunger, thirst and the cruelty of their captors making each day sheer torture.

In Larnaca, almost 900 males, from boys to old men, were imprisoned in a school. There were no beds and only two toilets. They slept on the concrete floor, and survived on a starvation diet of a few olives and a piece of bread a day. They were treated worse than animals, they said later.

The Paphos Turks had fought all night, but by Sunday morning they were surrounded. They surrendered and handed over their guns. The Greeks rounded up all the Turkish men, killing some of them in the process. The rest were taken to the soccer stadium, but after a few hours were released. They were rounded up again, herded to a square in the Turkish quarter and kept standing for confined to the Turkish quarter and not allowed to leave, even to visit their wounded in the Greek hospital, without special permits issued by the National Guard. Heavily armed irregulars of EOKA-B patrolled the streets.

5,000 Greek Cypriots with mainland Greek officers attacked Lefke again. They came from the west, south and east. The fight raged from nine in the morning until noon, when the Greeks once more pulled back and their heavy artillery opened up. Five Turks were killed, four fighters and a civilian.

'At noon, Danish UN troops came into Lefke and tried to persuade us to surrender' Mustafa Kolaç told me. We discussed the situation with them for four hours. They said 10,000 Greek soldiers were being gathered to kill all the Lefke Turks if we didn't surrender, but we'd be safe if we did. We were out of ammunition by this time, so we agreed to give in. The Danes went off to tell the Greeks and never came back to see what happened.

...the Greek army took over the town. They brought bulldozers and caterpillar tractors. They took all the men and made them lie face downwards on the roads. The women were rounded up and taken to the mosque, which was on fire. The Greeks began to push them inside and the mainland Greek commander said, 'lock them inside to burn to death.'

At that moment, a jeep came up with a middle-aged mainland Greek officer who shouted, 'Don't kill them, or the Turks will kill all their hostages in Kyrenia!' The women were released but the men spent all that night spread-eagled on the roads before they were allowed to go home the next morning. I found my house destroyed. Every night, they came round the houses, selecting a dozen or so of our young men and fighters.

So much for the safety the UN promised us." (Harry Scott Gibbons, The Genocide Files)



On 24th and 25th July, despite the cease-fire, the Greek Cypriots went on with their crimes. All the evacuated Turkish villages were being plundered and those who could not escape were being killed.

On 29th July Mr Ziya Rızkı of Limassol reported that :

**“The Greek Cypriots are burning the villages evacuated by the Turkish Cypriots. They plunder Turkish Cypriots homes and steal the animals. We are staying in the British base area. Another 600 Turkish Cypriots who were able to escape from their villages in the Limassol region are also here. There are no tents in the camp.”**

On 31st July Die Welt correspondent Friedrich Meichner reported that :

**“The Greek (Cypriot) driver, who took me from the Turkish sector of Nicosia (Lefkoşa) to the Greek sector, said that his two sons had been killed by the Greeks who carried out the July 15 coup. The driver, while cursing the Greeks, said nothing against the Turks.”**

Before 14 August 1974,

**“Thousands of Turkish Cypriots remained in captivity, some 80 villages remained in Greek Cypriot hands, and some 60 more villages remained cut off from the rest of the island...”**

Among the innumerable crimes committed by the Greeks and Greek Cypriots, the murder of Adem Yavuz, a 29 year old Turkish journalist, was a particularly monstrous act.

He had gone to Cyprus as a war correspondent with a group of his colleagues. On 14 August 1974, Adem Yavuz and his friends set out for Lefkoşa by car. As they approached the Turkish quarter, Greek forces opened fire on their car. Even after the correspondents had identified themselves, the firing went on. The driver was killed, a journalist was wounded and Adem Yavuz received light wounds.

The journalists were detained and taken to the Greek sector of Lefkoşa. There, they were being put on a car to take them to another district, possibly Limassol. As the Turkish journalists were entering the car, Greek soldiers armed with automatic weapons showered them with bullets, many of which entered Adem Yavuz’s body. The abdominal area of the young journalist was torn apart.

Fearing the reaction of world public opinion to such a wanton act against a journalist, Greeks took Adem Yavuz to a hospital where he remained for several days without medical attention. As a result of forceful representations by Turkey, Adem Yavuz was finally released and immediately flown to Adana for treatment. But it was already too late to save him. He died on 26 August 1974.

The incident caused general condemnation and the International Press Institute (IPI) issued a statement, labelling the shooting of Adem Yavuz as a barbaric act:

**“During the fighting in Cyprus, two journalists were killed and ten were wounded. These are the heaviest casualties suffered by the press since the war in South-East Asia. The IPI notes with regret that**

its efforts over the past years to reach an agreement on a system concerning the protection of journalists on dangerous missions have, as yet, yielded no results.

The death of the Turkish journalist, Adem Yavuz, is a tragic reflection of the consequences of the lack of such an agreement, since the evidence clearly shows that he was wounded by bullets fired into him after he was captured by the Greek Cypriot forces. The IPI condemns this barbaric act. On 26 August, the IPI applied to the 'acting president of Cyprus', Glafcos Clerides, requesting an official statement describing the circumstances in which this journalist was wounded. However, there has been no response to those representations. The IPI regrets this attitude of the Greek authorities which causes adverse comments."

The besieged Turkish Cypriot quarter of Magosa (Famagousta), with its 12,000 inhabitants and refugees was liberated only on 15th August.

**"As the Turkish army fought its way towards Famagousta, the National Guard and EOKA-B, in a paroxysm of anger and frustration, indulged in wholesale massacres of defenceless Turkish Cypriot villagers, which surpassed in brutality even the mass killings of the previous month.**

**On the morning of August 14, a group of National Guardsmen and EOKA-B terrorists entered the village of Aloa (Atlılar), northwest of Famagousta, and rounded up all the men, women and children they could find. They then took the 57 villagers in question to a nearby field and shot them with automatic weapons. Afterwards, they dug a ditch and buried the victims in it by bulldozing earth over them. When the corpses were unearthed a few days later, they were almost beyond recognition, for the bulldozer, while running over the dead villagers, had dismembered them. Arms and heads had been torn off, and the victims had been reduced to a heap of bones and flesh. Only three of the inhabitants of Aloa survived the massacre.**

**Meanwhile, a few miles away, another group of Greek Cypriot armed men made their way into the village of Maratha (Muratağa) and slaughtered its inhabitants. They then took the inhabitants of the nearby village of Sandalaris (Sandallar) to Maratha and executed them too. As in Aloa, the victims were buried in a ditch by means of a bulldozer. When the mutilated bodies of the inhabitants of Maratha and Sandalaris were unearthed from the common grave on September 1, as many as 88 corpses were counted.**

**Also on the same tragic morning, a group of EOKA-B men under the leadership of one Andriko Melani entered the Turkish Cypriot quarter of the mixed village of Tokhni (Taşkent), mid-way between Limassol and Larnaca, and rounded up 69 men between the ages of 13 and 74. On August 15, 'Andriko' and his men brought in 15 more Turkish Cypriot men they had picked up in Mari and Zyyi (Terazi). They then drove 50 of their captives by bus to a spot in the vicinity of Limassol, where a ditch had already been dug, and shot them. One of the**

**victims, though severely wounded, managed to crawl to safety and lived to testify as to the fate of his fellow-villagers. But nothing more was ever heard of the remaining 34 men who had been gathered together by the ferocious 'Andriko' in Tokhni. It is by now assumed that they too were shot on August 15.**

**In the Turkish Cypriot quarter of Paphos (Baf), the National Guard killed five men and a three-year-old boy on August 14. According to a U.N. observer, 30 to 40 bullet holes were found in the body of the child.**

**In the village of Ayios Ioannis, near Paphos, the National Guard and elements of EOKA-B killed five more men on August 15.**

**The massacres had the effect of strengthening the resolve of the 42,000 Turkish Cypriots, scattered in southern Cyprus, to move to the Turkish-controlled north. But the Greek Cypriot government strenuously opposed the exodus...**

**... the Turkish Cypriots in the south were all desperately trying to reach a safe haven in the north. Many succeeded in purchasing their freedom from corrupt Greek Cypriot government officials or leaders of EOKA-B. (For example, 860 persons from Mari purchased their freedom at the rate of 100 Cyprus pounds per head and 20 additional pounds per bag of clothes.) Others were spirited out by Turkish Cypriot guides... In January 1975, the British transported some 9,000 Turkish Cypriot refugees who had sought shelter at the sovereign base of Akrotiri to the Turkish-controlled zone. But in early June 1975 approximately 10,700 Turkish Cypriots were still stranded in the south.**

**...a group of Turkish Cypriot refugees, while crossing the Troodos Mountains, was intercepted by the Greek Cypriot police on June 25, 1975. The refugees, comprising 48 men, women and children, were brutally assaulted and then forced to mop up their own blood, after which they were simply dropped in a Paphos (Baf) street to fend for themselves...**

**In an attempt to defuse the new crisis, the Makarios government...allowed the 48 refugees to leave the south. Then, to avoid any further incident, it agreed to a comprehensive population exchange."**

Under the terms of the agreement signed in Vienna on 2 August 1975, the Turkish Cypriots in the south of the island would be allowed, if they want to do so, to proceed north with their belongings under an organized programme and with the assistance of the UN Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus.

**"As a result of the agreement, 8,033 Turkish Cypriots left the south during the months of August and September 1975." (Pierre Oberling, The Road to Bellapais)**

Finally united and secure in Northern Cyprus, the Turks were faced with the daunting task of rebuilding their shattered lives and their future, no longer under Greek Cypriot violence and repression, but for the first time in so many years, as a free people.

### **THE EMBARGO GOES ON**

But the Greek Cypriots had other designs. In what must be ranked as one of the greatest deceptions of history, international recognition as the government of Cyprus had remained in their hands - the party which had effectively destroyed that entity.

They could no longer use force and violence against the Turkish Cypriots who were not any longer squeezed into isolated enclaves held under siege. But they had not given up, despite all the suffering it brought to the island for so many years, their radical and racist urge which had created the Cyprus question in December 1963. They did not wish to admit, as they still have not done, the enormity of what they did to the Turkish Cypriots. They had no intention of changing any of their past policies and practices.

And they used that grand deception, masquerading as the government of Cyprus, to mount a wicked propaganda campaign in international bodies where the Turkish Cypriots could not be represented and to constantly interfere in the life of Turkish Cypriots through an illegal and immoral embargo on Northern Cyprus. The situation on the ground had changed irreversibly, but the fundamental Greek Cypriot idea was the same -to isolate the Turkish Cypriot people from the world economically and politically, and to pretend that they did not exist.

On 12 December 1974, the Greek Cypriots declared all ports and airports in Northern Cyprus to be "illegal" and "closed to international traffic". What was in fact illegal was not the ports or airports in Northern Cyprus through which the Turkish Cypriots had to travel and trade, but this Greek Cypriot declaration itself, because it did not rest on the authority of any UN Security Council resolution and the Greek Cypriots had no authority to claim to speak for or represent both peoples of Cyprus or the entire island. To enforce this illegal ban, the Greek Cypriots started to arbitrarily arrest and imprison captains of foreign ships, and even private yacht owners, if they had called at Turkish Cypriot ports of Magosa or Girne in the North before sailing into Greek Cypriot ports of Limassol or Larnaca in the South.

At the time I was still living on the island, one Danish captain, Knut Sorenson, was forced out of the cabin of his ship in July 1982 by the Greek Cypriot police and coast guard, to be charged and sentenced to imprisonment. Captain Sorenson went on a hunger strike in the Greek Cypriot prison and, under growing international attention, he had to be released with a fine. Greek Cypriots could not lay their hands on aircraft pilots who flew to the newly built Ercan airport in Northern Cyprus, but they were able to threaten and obstruct foreign cargo and passenger planes, and imprison foreign nationals entering Cyprus through the Ercan airport, if they ventured to the South.

The illegal arrest and imprisonment of masters of foreign vessels by the Greek Cypriots prompted strong reaction and expression of indignation against these vindictive practices. A Danish member of the European Parliament drew the attention of the EU (EEC at the time) Commission to this illegal practice, pointing out that the arrest of masters of foreign vessels by the Greek Cypriots represented a clear

violation of human rights. A British member of the European Parliament sent a message to the President of the Commission expressing his concern not only at the arbitrary and illegal imprisonment of ship masters by the Greek Cypriots, but also at the Greek Cypriot economic blockade and embargo against Northern Cyprus and the Turkish Cypriots, in violation of basic human rights and fundamental freedoms. He pointed out that this practice was in direct contradiction of the Association Agreement between the Community and Cyprus that these links should be to the benefit of both the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities. It contravened also both the principle of freedom of movement and basic human rights as guaranteed under relevant European conventions.

The British House of Commons Select Committee recommended in July 1987 that:

- **Ships' Masters who use harbours in the North should not be subjected to threats of legal penalties in the South,**
- **International commercial air services should be permitted to the North.**

Very little was done internationally to deal with this foolish injustice to the Turkish Cypriot people. But life took its own course. International travel agents no longer wish to discriminate against Northern Cyprus. Airlines have long ago started flying to Northern Cyprus from Britain and other European countries, despite the requirement for a stopover, without changing planes, in Turkey. There are direct regular shipping lines to and from Northern Cyprus. Greek Cypriots have remained stuck with their old animosity and perverted mentality, but times have changed - in favour of the Turkish Cypriots.

\* \* \*

### **PINNACLES OF IMMORALITY**

Greek Cypriot embargo against Northern Cyprus is aimed at:

- **Curtailling tourism and hampering Turkish Cypriot tourism industry,**
- **Curtailling trade and hampering Turkish Cypriot exports,**
- **Curtailling investments in Northern Cyprus and depriving Turkish Cypriots from international technical and financial assistance,**
- **Curtailling postal and telephone services between Northern Cyprus and the outside world,**
- **Hampering cultural and sporting relations between Turkish Cypriots and other countries.**

Greek Cypriots could no longer restrict and cripple the freedom of movement of the Turkish Cypriots after 1975 when the entire Turkish Cypriot population was united in Northern Cyprus and started living in security on their own territory, under their own state, their own government and their own administration. This past Greek Cypriot practice was now directed against foreign visitors, restricting their travel to Northern Cyprus from the Greek Cypriot south or refusing their entry to the south if they had

come to the island through the ports of Girne or Magosa or through the Ercan airport. Greek Cypriot activity outside the island against Turkish Cypriot tourism took the form of a vicious propaganda campaign, particularly in European countries from which tourists came to visit Northern Cyprus.

In 1996 a group of Greek Cypriot demonstrators, including politicians from Greek Cypriot political parties in power, blocked the Ledra Palace border gate in Lefkoşa for weeks to completely stop the travel of foreign tourists to the North, despite warnings by the UN that their activities were simply fuelling the tension in the island. The Greek Cypriot press ran a supportive campaign, encouraging the tightening of the restrictions against the North to 'strangulate' TRNC's tourism. There was jubilation in the end at the 'success' of the blockade for leaving the North a few thousand pounds 'poorer than before'.

Next year, a Greek Cypriot and his American wife were harassed by the Greek Cypriot police at the same place when they wanted to cross over to the TRNC. They were told that:

- ***the necessary procedure had not been followed,***
- ***they could not cross to the North without paying a fee,***
- ***they were required to take a guide for their safety,***
- ***those who crossed to the TRNC often came back 'with torn clothes and raped' or 'were even killed!'***

Upon a complaint by the couple against these slanders and lies, a diplomatic source in the South stated that "they were fully aware of the action and persuasion techniques adopted by the Greek Cypriot police at the Ledra Palace check-point."

Greek Cypriot activity and "persuasion techniques" of this sort, on and off the island, were unable to stop the flow of tourism to Northern Cyprus, but slowed down the development of Turkish Cypriot tourism industry, on which a major part of the population depended for income and for foreign currency. More strikingly, it was indicative of the persisting Greek Cypriot approach to the Turkish Cypriots, one of general hostility, which had not changed at all.

A Greek Cypriot recently wrote to The Mirror of London to complain about a travel article on Northern Cyprus and adverts for holidays in the TRNC. "Is it the paper's policy to support illegal 'occupations' and 'apartheid' regimes?" he asked. The travel editor of the paper replied on 24 February 2001 as follows:

**"Other Side of Cyprus**

**I have had several letters along the same lines.**

**I was even asked to lunch this week by the (Greek) Cypriot Director of Tourism for a friendly chat.**

**Firstly, I am a travel editor, not a political pundit, which would be far less fun...**

**The adverts you complain of have been appearing regularly in other newspapers such as the Sunday Times and the Telegraph.**

**I would be the last to promote an apartheid regime and this, as most people recognize, is simply not the case in North Cyprus.**

**I would have never written about South Africa as a holiday destination during the apartheid era. And at the moment, I wouldn't consider writing an article on Burma and would have misgivings about promoting China as a tourist destination.**

**I am a member of Amnesty International and I get regular reports of what is going on in these countries.**

**Indeed, if I had been travel editor of The Mirror between 1967 and 1974, I would not have run holiday articles on Greece, a beautiful country with charming people, which at that time was run by one of the most vicious regimes Europe had seen since World War Two.**

**As you will know, it was the disastrous attempt by this government to murder the (Greek) Cypriot leader Archbishop Makarios and install a known EOKA terrorist, Nicos Samson, in his place to unite Cyprus with Greece that led to the Turkish invasion.**

**It is a tragedy that Cyprus continues to be divided after all these years. But there is no reason, in my view, why Mirror readers should not see both sides of such a beautiful island.**

**I have found that Cypriot warmth and friendliness transcends politics...whichever side of the Green Line you go."**

It must have been with that warmth and friendliness, reserved for foreigners, that a Greek Cypriot journalist asked me at a conference on Cyprus whether it would not be a good idea to restore full freedom of movement between the South and the North. "It's a bright idea", I told her. "Why don't you start with tourists entering the island either from the South or the North? That would be a very good beginning." She did not reply. There was no warmth or friendliness from other Greek Cypriots as well.

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Greek Cypriot designs against Turkish Cypriot trade took the form of obstruction of agricultural exports from Northern Cyprus. The majority of the Turkish Cypriot population was farmers. Thousands of them had become refugees at least three times and they had been denied their lands for the past ten years. With a shattered past behind them, now they faced the difficult process of making a new beginning. Soon after 1974, the Greek Cypriots embarked on a campaign of political pressure and intimidation against foreign companies and countries for securing a boycott of citrus, fruits and other agricultural produce from Northern Cyprus. Legal proceedings were instituted against companies in Britain and the Netherlands. Although the Greek Cypriots failed to justify their claims in court, companies in question were intimidated to the extent of suspending their purchases from Northern Cyprus.

Citrus and other fruit exports from either the South or the North was a matter related to abandoned property in general, which was common to both the Turkish Cypriots and the Greek Cypriots. While they were trying to obstruct Turkish Cypriot agricultural exports, Greek Cypriots were exporting grapes and other fruits from vineyards and orchards in the south, which were owned by Turkish Cypriots. The extent of vineyards owned by Turkish Cypriots was no less than 40% of the total owned by both Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots. The Greek Cypriots were freely exporting not only the grapes from these Turkish Cypriot vineyards, but also related products such as sherry, wine and brandy to Britain and other European countries.

Citrus exports from Northern Cyprus were not the sole target of the Greek Cypriot economic embargo. In August 1982, Turkish Cypriot vine growers were badly hit when hundreds of tons of grapes destined for European markets were destroyed as a result of Greek Cypriot threats to importer companies and the prevention of the flight of the cargo plane hired for this purpose from a foreign company.

Similar obstruction of the export of other agricultural produce from Northern Cyprus, from innocent potatoes to livestock raised by the Turkish Cypriots, went on in the following years through the same demeaning Greek Cypriot methods, reminiscent of the days and years when they had actually attempted to starve the Turkish Cypriots in their enclaves. What was perhaps even more immoral was a judgment of the European Court of Justice in July 1994. It held that member states of the European Union could only import fruits and vegetables carrying certificates of origin from the "Republic of Cyprus", the Greek Cypriot entity masquerading under the usurped name of the long-gone Turkish-Greek partnership of 1960.

The Court brushed aside the argument of the Commission and the British Government that the Greek Cypriots would never grant certificates to Turkish Cypriot producers, and that to require such certificates would be to discriminate against the Turkish Cypriots in violation of Article 5 of the EU-Cyprus Association Agreement 1972. The Commission had made it clear that in its view a policy of non-recognition should not deprive the people of Cyprus of any advantages conferred by the Agreement.

**"The foolishness of the Greek Cypriot action was recognized in 'Alithia', a pro-government newspaper published in Southern Cyprus. On 17th July 1994, they wrote:**

**'The chance of reaching a solution hasn't increased following this court decision. If anything has increased it is the dependence of the North on Turkey. It should not be forgotten that before 1974 the Turkish Cypriots lived through a period many times worse than this and survived. Then, as today, we the Greek Cypriots had empty hopes due to the economic deprivation of the Turkish Cypriots and thought that they would melt with the economic problems they faced.**

**We caused the Turkish invasion by exerting pressure on the Turkish Cypriots before 1974. After 1974 we decided to exert more pressure. We imposed on them an economic embargo. We entertained the hope that the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus would collapse. The consequence of this has been the deepening of the gap between the two communities, and we have forced the Turkish Cypriots closer to Turkey'."(Michael Stephen, The Cyprus Question)**



This was one of those decisions of the EU bodies that made a mockery of quite a few things, including the concept of justice. The absurdity of Turkish Cypriot potatoes placed under embargo matched the absurdity of shoelaces proclaimed as strategic material in 1964.

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In an article in The Guardian on 15 June 1979, it was remarked that "Greek Cyprus must rank as one of the most subsidized nations in the world." As was the case after December 1963, all foreign economic and financial assistance to Cyprus ended in the hands of exclusively the Greek Cypriots after 1974. This led to a widening economic gap between the Turkish Cypriots and the Greek Cypriots. The South was able to achieve significant economic development by monopolizing foreign assistance at the expense of the Turkish Cypriots. The grants in aid received by the Greek Cypriots from the west and UN agencies, as well as soft loans made available to the South provided "a solid, if rarely acknowledged, base for the dynamic Greek Cypriot economy." Was this conducive to a settlement? Time has shown that it was not. In 1979, the conclusion in The Guardian was that, this situation

**"gives the Greek Cypriots no incentive for a settlement and tends to reinforce those hardliners who prefer the strategy of 'long struggle' which is really a strategy for the economic defeat of the Turkish zone. As a result it should be added that the Greek Cypriots have little economic incentive to come to terms with Turkish Cypriots."**

That conclusion was drawn 22 years ago and its validity has grown during that time. The Greek Cypriot hope for 'the economic defeat' of the Turkish Cypriots, to force them to accept unlawful Greek Cypriot faits accomplis, was best reflected by Glafcos Clerides when he said in 1965:

**"We the Greek Cypriots are in full control of the government. All the ministers are Greeks. Our government is the only one recognized internationally - why should we bring the Turks back in? The Turks today control only 3% of the land. They have no rich resources and they are living through difficult times from an economic point of view. They will ultimately have to accept our point of view - or go."**

As time has shown, Clerides gravely misjudged the situation in 1965. Time has proved him wrong on several points. There is no doubt that time will prove him equally wrong on other points in the future.

It should not come as a surprise that it was his daughter Katy Clerides who echoed the same mistaken expectation when she said in 2000 :

"Why should we give up the economic embargo now, just when it is achieving its objective?"

Maybe she does not remember. But his father and his like have made, through all these years and through their own misguided policies and practices, strong survivors out of the Turkish Cypriots. The Greek Cypriots will certainly fail in their hostile and counterproductive policies. One would only wish that this would happen before they create new tragedies.

\* \* \*

One area where the Greek Cypriot embargo has failed with certainty is postal and telephone services between Northern Cyprus and the outside world. Not because the Greek Cypriots gave up their practices of denying freedom of communication and correspondence to Turkish Cypriots, but because the Turkish Cypriots established, with the assistance of Turkey, their own postal and telephone services, as well as their own radio and television system. It is necessary for postal items for the TRNC to be addressed via "Mersin 10, Turkey", so that they do not end up in the South to be destroyed or 'lost'. It is also necessary to call any telephone number in Northern Cyprus by using the Turkish international codes - 00 90 392.

\* \* \*

Under the 1960 settlement, while a partnership state of Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots was created, matters relating to the distinct national, linguistic, religious and cultural identity of the two peoples were left exclusively to the autonomy of their own administrations.

The "Basic Structure" agreed at Zurich and London in 1959, which soon after became the "Basic Articles" of the 1960 constitution, included the following provisions in this regard:

**"Each community shall have its Communal Chamber composed of a number of representatives which it shall itself determine.**

**The Communal Chambers shall have the right to impose taxes and levies on members of their community to provide for their needs and for the needs of bodies and institutions under their supervision.**

**The Communal Chambers shall exercise authority in all religious, educational, cultural and teaching questions and questions of personal status. They shall exercise authority in questions where the interests and institutions are of a purely communal nature, such as sporting and charitable foundations, bodies and associations, producers and consumers cooperatives and credit establishments, created for the purpose of promoting the welfare of one of the communities..."**

Despite this legal background arising from and guaranteed by international treaties, the Greek Cypriots made it their business to interfere unlawfully and to try to disrupt and obstruct Turkish Cypriot cultural, educational and sporting activities. Such Greek Cypriot interference aimed at obstructing Turkish Cypriot participation in cultural activities organized abroad and cultural activities with international participation in the TRNC.

The Greek Cypriots have failed in their outrageous attempts to blackout the Turkish Cypriots in the cultural sphere. The TRNC has become a country of education and learning with its six universities and their international staff and student body. This is a great asset that the Turkish Cypriots have themselves created, in co-operation with Turkish and American universities of high standing, and an area in which the Greek Cypriots are poorly trailing behind. As could be expected, this academic activity in

Northern Cyprus has lately started coming under familiar Greek Cypriot attacks through the intimidation of foreign scholars who are invited to contribute to the work of the TRNC universities. But they are too late. There is no doubt that this indecent Greek Cypriot interference in the academic life of Northern Cyprus will not only fail, but also prove to be counterproductive for the Greek Cypriots themselves.

All Greek Cypriot claims stem from the obsession to project an image to the outside world that Cyprus is a Greek island, rather than the homeland of the Turks and Greeks of Cyprus. This racist approach motivates and underlies all their philosophy and actions.

I have yet to meet a Greek Cypriot who is able to speak or sing in Turkish, or has the slightest idea about Turkish culture, despite the fact that Turkish was one of the two official languages of the 1960 partnership republic and the mother tongue of the people with whom they had to coexist and co-operate.

The same monopolist Greek Cypriot mentality has led to totally illegal and immoral interference in Turkish Cypriot sporting relations and activities. This is what Prof. Mümtaz Soysal had to say on this point at a recent seminar in London:

**“Being in London today, I feel I should say this. When the Turkish intervention happened in 1974, and throughout the four years that followed, I was Vice-Chairman of Amnesty International. To me the Cyprus question was first an issue of international protection of the human rights of the Turkish Cypriot people whose human rights had been seriously violated for 11 years, during which time the world public opinion turned a deaf ear. Those rights continued to be violated after the intervention, by embargoes on Turkish Cypriot trade and communications, and still the world turns a deaf ear.**

**To me as a football fan, the most striking aspect of it was the impossibility of the youth in the North, playing even a football game with their motherland, Turkey. In 1983 Turkey recognized the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus officially and had earlier recognized the Federated State, but for a Turkish team to play a football game with a team from Northern Cyprus would lead to the exclusion of all Turkish football teams from all international federations and confederations of football. Why? Because they would have broken that embargo, which is not based on any UN resolution under Chapter VII of the Charter. The Security Council does not forbid this Republic to have cultural or sporting relations with the rest of the world. Setting aside the rest of the world, why should they prevent them playing a football game with their motherland, whose sons have died for their liberty? But that is the present situation.”**

We have yet to see the collapse of this immorality.

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## THE LAST MIXED VILLAGE IN CYPRUS

Out of the turbulent past, only one mixed village has survived in the island, where the Turkish Cypriots and the Greek Cypriots live in their separate quarters. It is peculiarly situated, neither in the South, nor in the North, or in the sovereign base areas, but in the buffer zone, that fourth territory controlled by the UN Peace-keeping Force. It is called Pile (Pyla), only a tiny spot on the map. But as the final mixed village, it is of immense interest for various reasons and, therefore its story deserves to be told separately at greater length.

What is of concern to us here is that the village of Pile has been a venue where one could see the extreme nature of the Greek Cypriot economic embargo against the Turkish Cypriots and deduce what really lay in store for the Turks of Cyprus if in 1974 geographical separation had not been achieved. It has also been a scene of abductions of the Turkish Cypriots by the Greek Cypriot police.

The village is accessible from both the North and the South, and therefore a visiting place for tourists and others. But it is punishable crime for either the Greek Cypriots or visiting tourists to buy anything from the Turkish Cypriots of Pile. Turkish Cypriots or others can also be brought to court and sentenced for "driving an unregistered vehicle without a recognized driving license or insurance cover", if they happen to accidentally cross to the South from the village.

Such bigotry produces many cases of dark humour, if it is humour you are looking for. Take for example the case of a Greek Cypriot restaurant owner in Pile who was arrested by the Greek Cypriot police for buying fish from the TRNC for his restaurant. (Haravgi, 17 May 1999). Or the case of four Greek Cypriots arrested by the Greek Cypriot police for trying to sell livestock to Turkish Cypriots in Dikelya (Dhekelia). (Fileleftheros, 4 May 1999). And the Greek Cypriot fined for buying cigarettes and T-shirts from a Turkish Cypriot shop in Pile. (Alithia, 19 January 1999). Or another Greek Cypriot detained for possession of three rabbits (!) which he had received from a Turkish Cypriot in exchange for car parts. (Fileleftheros, 2 December 1989). Similar practices continued in early 2001. Turkish Cypriot fish and rabbits as well as cigarettes and T-shirts would certainly be worthy additions to the Greek Cypriot list of "strategic materials", now prohibited in reverse order to their own community because they happen to come from the Turkish Cypriots.

When one goes over this strange list of cases in Pile, one can see that Russians, British couples, British soldiers, Pakistanis, Iranians, Americans and others have suffered for shopping at Turkish Cypriot stores in Pile and had their purchases confiscated. It was reported in the Greek Cypriot press in January 1998 that there was even a Greek Cypriot police squad specially trained for dealing with the crime of illegal trading with Turkish Cypriots!

A Greek Cypriot judge in the Larnaca District Court dealing with one of these strange cases in 1995 protested :

**"How can a person decide whether they are buying Turkish Cypriot or Greek Cypriot apples? The (Greek Cypriot) authorities should clarify whether talking to Turkish Cypriots or entering a Turkish Cypriot owned shop, or walking in Pyla for that matter where there are Turkish Cypriot inhabitants constitute crimes?"**

Identifying the nationality of apples might have proved difficult, but one assumes "Greek Cypriot authorities" might have been tempted to say "yes" to the latter queries of their judge in Larnaca. Because the Greek Cypriot minister for trade had branded in 1994 those who traded with the North as "traitors".

Dark humour these may sound from a distance, unless you happen to find yourself in South Cyprus with Turkish Cypriot rabbits or fish or apples in your hand, and personally experience the Greek Cypriot approach to Turkish Cypriots as their adversary, or in plain language, as their enemy.

On 1 December 2000, Ömer Gazi Tekoğul, a citizen of the TRNC and a resident of Pile, was abducted by Greek Cypriot policemen, concealing their identity and pretending to be "friends" until the day of the abduction. Tekoğul had started his car, parked outside a Turkish coffee shop in Pile, to go home when the two Greek Cypriot "friends" approached him and beckoned him to enter their car for a chat. As soon as Tekoğul entered their car, he was hit on the head and driven away from the village to the South, in the direction of Larnaca. Shortly, four other Greek Cypriot policemen joined them and Tekoğul was taken into custody while his car outside the coffee shop in Pile continued to run. Some hours later, the family was informed by neighbours about the car and Tekoğul's father took it away. As the village is under UN control, it should have been immediately informed, but this was not done in the case of Tekoğul and his family was informed of his "arrest" 12 hours after the abduction. Tekoğul's Greek Cypriot advocate stated on 28 December 2000 that he believed the police had lied when they claimed to have arrested Tekoğul in the Greek Cypriot area. If this was the case, "why didn't the police show us his car?" he asked. Tekoğul was subsequently charged and sentenced to ten years imprisonment for "possession of and intent to sell drugs". The defence argued that Tekoğul was a victim of entrapment by the two Greek Cypriot police officers who frequented his coffee shop before his abduction from Pile, but the Greek Cypriot court ruled in favour of the two police officers who simply denied the charges of abduction. Abduction of Turkish Cypriots was a well-known and long practiced Greek Cypriot policy of harassment. It appeared that this policy was coming back, in the only place where it could be put into practice – the last mixed village in Cyprus.

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## **A NEW WAVE OF RADICALISM AND ANIMOSITY**

In the spring of 2001 there was a marked escalation of Greek Cypriot radicalism and animosity against the Turkish Cypriots and the TRNC. Greek Cypriot obsessions which had created the Cyprus question in December 1963 seemed to be once again in full swing four decades later.

On 1 April 2001, the aging Greek Cypriot president of South Cyprus, Glafcos Clerides was reported to say that the Greek Cypriots were determined "to complete their struggle". This was his message on "EOKA day", the anniversary of the campaign of violence by the terrorist Greek/Greek Cypriot organization, back in 1955. That terrorist campaign was initiated to annex Cyprus as a Greek island to Greece, and here was the Greek Cypriot president of the South declaring exactly 46 years later their determination "to complete that struggle". No wonder. He had been a member of that terrorist organization, under his terrorist codename Hiperides. He was also one of the authors of the Akritas Plan, the Greek Cypriot plan of conspiracy against

the 1960 partnership republic and of extermination of the Turkish Cypriot partner of that republic.

Clerides clarified in his message what this unfinished business was. "The most serious responsibility we have" he said, "is to liberate our lands under occupation." He was referring, of course, to the territory of the TRNC, where the Turkish Cypriots lived and would always continue to live and rule themselves, free from the Greek occupation of 1963-1974. He was also publicly declaring the Greek Cypriot intention to use force against the TRNC.

Two days later, on 3 April 2001, he was reported as saying that the S-300 Russian missiles, diverted to Crete under international pressure, "could be transported to Cyprus at any time." He also said that South Cyprus "had reinforced its defence with other systems that he could not reveal in public." The visible part of that "reinforcement" was a fully operational military airbase in Paphos (Baf) for Greek fighter planes, under a joint military 'doctrine' with Greece.

In the higher ranks of the Greek Cypriot National Guard, the illegal and unconstitutional force created under the Akritas Plan and used against the Turkish Cypriots as of December 1963, commanded by a general from Greece, the "national objective" of this heavily armed military force was being described as not defending the South, but "to liberate the occupied territories". Even the Greek Cypriot Haravgi complained of the "Chauvinistic Slogans at the Greek Cypriot National Guard"-slogans of institutionalised hatred against the Turkish Cypriot people. "Turks, Turks, you will die. You will die in front of the blue and white flag" the Greek Cypriot military chanted in their routine training exercises. "All Turks must be driven out to sea", they sang. When questioned by an ordinary Greek Cypriot about the wisdom of using such chauvinistic slogans, the officer conducting these exercises defended this practice by even a more shocking remark: "What is it that bothers you?" he asked, "We shall, of course, kill all the Turks!"

Can one look upon these as alarming but isolated cases of extreme stupidity and shrug it off? Or does the problem go much deeper, to the point of a communal ideology in the Greek Cypriot camp, comparable in its intensity to that of Nazi anti-Semitism? It seems similar attitudes are wide-spread not only in the Greek Cypriot military, but perhaps more ominously in civilian life, notably in the teachings of the Greek Cypriot Orthodox Church and the Greek Cypriot education system. Archbishop Chrisostomos, as the head of this church, has achieved renown for frequently calling for a "crusade" to drive out "the national enemy" and for his other prejudicial remarks against the Turks. Greek Cypriot textbooks, particularly at the elementary school level, are replete with racist indoctrination of "pushing out all the Turks".

These will not sound unfamiliar to students of history.

**"With savage jubilation, (the Greeks) sang the words 'let no Turk remain in the Morea, nor in the whole world'. The Greeks were determined to achieve 'to Romaiko' (that is, the Romanic restoration) in the only way they new how: through a war of religious extermination."**

wrote Professor Dennis Skiotis of Harvard University, of the Greek War of Independence.

**“In the years following the Greek War of Independence, the deep-felt desire to achieve the Romaic restoration was raised by the Greek government to the status of a national ideology. This was the famous ‘Megali Idea’ or ‘Great Idea’...**

**Several times during the century following the Greek War of Independence, Greece attacked Turkey – in 1877, 1897, 1912 and 1919, and each time a wholesale slaughter of the Muslim population took place. For example, when Greece invaded Crete in February 1897, the 80 Muslim villages in the centre of the island were entirely destroyed, and when Aydin was occupied by the Greeks in June 1919, nearly ten thousand Muslims were killed in one day alone.**

**But Muslims were not the only victims of Greek nationalism. Jews were too. Under Ottoman rule, the important seaport of Salonica had become a largely Jewish city. When it was occupied by Greece in 1912, its character rapidly changed, for the Greeks’ policy of forced Hellenization caused an exodus of Jews from the city...This anti-Semitic attitude reached its peak in the so-called ‘Campbell Riots’, in which an entire Jewish neighbourhood was burned to the ground.**

**I am not saying that Greeks are a more cruel or violent people than any other. What I am saying is that their nationalism, because of its religious overtones, has promoted intolerance, aggressiveness and extreme ethnocentrism, and that it has, in areas occupied by Greece, inevitably led to what we today call ‘ethnic cleansing’.**

**The Greek debacle in Anatolia in the 1920s represented the first major obstacle to the fulfilment of the Megali Idea, and the population exchange that resulted from the Treaty of Lausanne robbed the Megali Idea of its ethnic basis in Anatolia. But there remained the island of Cyprus... (which had become) a British crown colony.**

**Because Cyprus was the last fragment of the former Ottoman Empire where there was an ethnic basis for the Megali Idea, all the remaining expensive energies of the upholders of that ideology were concentrated on it.” (Pierre Oberling, The Double Representation Conspiracy)**

It would seem that the upholders of that ideology are still at work in South Cyprus. Anything that would make the complete ‘Hellenization’ of the island an impossibility is unacceptable to the Greek Cypriots. That is why they are unwilling to understand the fundamental concerns of the Turkish Cypriots. These concerns, which arise from many years of painful experience, have not diminished in time, but have grown steadily in the face of the persisting hostile Greek Cypriot policies and practices, based on an intolerant, aggressive and extremely ethnocentric ideology.

The Greek Cypriot press also reported that Greece and the Greek Cypriots were planning, in talks held in Athens, for EU accession without a settlement. The current chairman of DISI, the political party that Clerides used to head, has been declaring in Athens and elsewhere that “EU membership meant enosis with Greece.” For some

years now, Greece and the Greek Cypriots have been precipitating a new crisis in Cyprus by using the European Union.

The "Daily Brief" published in the "Oxford Analytica" back in December 1994 had drawn attention to this danger.

**"If Greek-controlled Cyprus became a member" it said, "there would be two Greek votes and two potential Greek vetoes in the EU. These votes may well be deployed against the wishes of the other members of the EU, not only vis-à-vis Turkey, but also in Balkan affairs and other matters.**

**The most alarming aspect of this situation is that, because all the more fanatical exponents of Greek nationalism in both Greece and the Greek Cypriot state have come to realize that...membership in the European Union would, in fact, constitute their last chance to exert international pressure upon the Turks and the Turkish Cypriots to bend their will, and their last opportunity to intimidate them in a show of force. Therefore, there is an edge of desperation to their quest for membership which might well lead to another catastrophic miscalculation, like the 1974 coup, for they expect much more from the European Union than that body is likely to deliver in a showdown with Turkey and the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus." (Pierre Oberling, The Double Representation Conspiracy)**

Turkey, forty miles across the Mediterranean, has remained as the main natural outlet for the Turkish Cypriots in their connections with the world. These connections have now developed to an extent which would have been difficult to imagine in 1974.

A new commercial port for both passengers and cargo was built in Girne next to the old picturesque harbour. Girne is connected to the Turkish ports of Taşucu and Mersin as well as the tourism centre of Antalya through regular daily ferry and sea-bus services. The Magosa harbour was developed and modernised. It serves as the main commercial port of the TRNC with regular shipping lines to Turkish and European ports. Ercan Airport close to Lefkoşa and the air traffic services for Northern Cyprus were created from scratch 27 years ago.

Ercan was previously the location of a single deserted airstrip, which the British forces had used in their fateful Suez Canal operation in 1956. It is now a far cry from what it used to be back then. The Turkish Cypriots have established their own national airline. The modern airport, with its busy traffic of scheduled as well as charter flights to and from Europe and large Turkish cities including Ankara, İstanbul, İzmir, Antalya and Adana, now serves not only the Turkish Cypriots and visitors to the TRNC, but also the large staff and thousands of students of the six international universities of high standing in Northern Cyprus. A new university with a large compound, overlooking the Mediterranean and the green plain of Güzelyurt is on its way.

Whenever I see young boys and girls coming to study in Northern Cyprus, I remember my Turkish Cypriot colleagues from my years in the university in Ankara, who had to interrupt their higher education to come to the island to help defend their villages against Greek Cypriot attacks in the 1960s.



Every time I come to the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus through the Ercan Airport, I feel that the Greek Cypriots are miserably failing in their deeply misguided campaign to isolate the Turkish Cypriots. What matters now is the disturbed Greek Cypriot mentality and their intentions, expressed in the political slogans of an archaic ideology. This matters a lot because the Greek Cypriots, in the South of the island, do not seem to have any inclination to become good neighbours with the Turkish Cypriots in the North. Neither any inclination to live in peaceful coexistence, which can only be secured on the basis of sovereign equality.

I think they are missing a very important point - Turkish Cypriot lives are no longer expendable. Greek Cypriots, one day, may deeply regret their past and present mistakes. But then, it will probably be too late for regrets.

\* \* \*

The evening was getting late. A full moon slowly came up from behind the mountain range. Always an amazing spectacle under the Mediterranean sky. It was time to lay, in the silence of the night, the reminiscences of the past to rest, and be thankful that we could do so.

**“I will find water lilies for your pond,” Erdoğan Bey assured me,  
“when the season comes.”**

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