



大会
经济及社会理事会

Distr.
GENERAL

A/41/991
E/1987/106
28 May 1987
CHINESE
ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

大会
第四十一届会议
议程项目 43
塞浦路斯问题

经济及社会理事会
1987 年第一届常会
议程项目 17
人权问题

1987 年 5 月 26 日

塞浦路斯常驻联合国代表团临时代办

给秘书长的信

尽管我们过去曾对散发土耳其占领区伪政权所谓代表的非法函件多次提出抗议，但是，土耳其仍能违反安全理事会各项庄严的决议，特别是第 541 (1983) 号 and 第 550 (1984) 号决议，滥用联合国设施，妄用联合国的确十分匮乏的资源，使 A / 41/989-E/1987/104 号文件得以散发，实在令人感到遗憾。

我国代表团于 1987 年 5 月 21 日在经济及社会理事会第二 (社会) 委员会会议上的发言肯定惹恼了土耳其代表。 我们的非常具体的控诉是对他的国家提出的，因为土耳其在塞浦路斯犯下了滔天大罪，近代史上有案可稽。

他们不作答复，却重操其尽人皆知的伎俩：转移视线，歪曲历史事实。我不打算对上述函件所载的指控一一驳斥，因为这些说法已多次被驳得体无完肤，最近一

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次的反驳见我们于1986年11月19日给你的信(A/41/858-S/18466)。

上述土耳其函件中有两条毫无根据的指控弄虚作假，歪曲事实，严重到需要再次反驳。

首先，我们要明确驳斥的是，不论在1975年8月维也纳第三轮谈判还是在任何其他地方，都没有达成任何形式的“人口交换”协议。任何这种暗示都是毫无根据的，都要毫不客气地予以驳斥。什么有200,000名希族塞人难民自愿迁移到塞浦路斯共和国自由地区，这种说法至少是令人啼笑皆非的。他们背井离乡是被迫的，是因为他们怕被屠杀，怕被杀害，怕土耳其的凝固汽油弹和坦克，怕被强奸，怕土耳其人的所有残暴行径。土耳其称之为所谓的“人口交换协定”文件是联合国于1975年8月2日在维也纳发表的关于塞浦路斯谈判的公报，载于S/11789号文件。这是很明白的一项人道主义协定，它规定土族塞人享有移动和定居的自由，指出要改善被占领区飞地内希族塞人的生活，提出要向他们提供教育和医疗设施，要让联合国驻塞浦路斯维持和平部队享有移动自由，确保联塞部队能够自由并正常地接触被占领区内的希族塞人居民，以便制止进一步驱逐他们让希族塞人重返家园，与家人团聚。土耳其一方公然违反了此项文件的人道主义规定。况且，他们提出什么应该放弃200,000名难民重返家园这一不可剥夺的权利，作为8,033名土族塞人移往被占领区的“交换条件”，这种建议真是匪夷所思，只有精神错乱的侵略者才能炮制出来。提出这种建议，是把联合国采取难民返回世代家园权利的一系列决议的基本概念和要求置之不顾。

其次，关于土族塞人在1963—1974年遭受所谓压迫和苦难的荒诞说法，只需援引当时联合国秘书长的报告中的两段话就足够了，这两段话驳回了土耳其的指控，使其哑口无言（在附件一中，我援引了秘书长的报告和联合国塞浦路斯问题调解员加洛·普拉萨先生的报告中的若干其他段落，这些段落指出是谁造成了土族塞人的苦难——是极端主义的领导集团，是分裂主义者，是土耳其在塞浦路斯的分

裂政策)：

“……然而也有人相信土族塞人不在彼等区域之外活动，亦受政治目的之支配，此即为加强彼等之主张，除非在某种地理隔离之情况下，欲求两主要社区在赛岛和平共处，势所不能。(S/5764，第113段)；

“土族塞人领袖坚持顽固立场，反对可能使两个族成员共同生活和工作的任何措施，反对可能使土族塞人不得不承认政府代表权威的任何措施。事实上，由于土族塞人领导集团决意将两族的实际和地理分隔作为政治目标，它大概就不会鼓励土族塞人进行可以被解释为旨在证明另一种政策的优越性的活动。其结果就是土族塞人从表面上看来在实行蓄意的自我隔离政策”(S/6426，第106段)。

上述两段引文都不用再加解释。我只想再重复一点，土族塞人受苦受难的诬告过去就有，但是，自从土耳其1974年入侵以来，重复这些言论的理由和动机就更加明显：其用意是为在道义、政治和法律上都不能接受的土耳其侵略和占领制造论据，并采用恶人先告状的手法来说明这种侵略和占领的必要性。此外，这种诬告还揭示了土耳其拼命为其侵略和占领军对塞浦路斯平民犯下的暴行辩护，为他们违背全体塞浦路斯人民的意愿而犯下分裂、瓜分、分割被占领地区并将其土耳其化的滔天罪行进行辩护。

在这方面，应该指出，土耳其早在其捏造土族塞人“受压迫11年”的谎言之前很久就制定了对塞浦路斯的扩张主义政策。自从1950年代初期以来，土耳其政客就暴露了土耳其对塞浦路斯的分裂主义和扩张主义意图。当时的外交部长佐尔洛先生于1955年8、9月间在伦敦召开的塞浦路斯问题三方会议上发表了这样一番话：

“塞浦路斯之所以对土耳其重要，其原因不只一个，其重要性是历史、地理、经济和军事战略需要的必然结果，是每个国家最神圣的权利即生存和安全

权利的必然结果，简言之，是天理的必然性”。

至于土耳其企图表白他们是在促进解决塞浦路斯问题的虚伪说法，我在下面选录土耳其官员的一些言论，这些言论赤裸裸地揭露了侵略者的真正意图——维持他们对塞浦路斯的控制，不是为了伸张正义，而是促进其分裂主义和扩张主义计划：

“对于一个关心本国国防的国家来说，塞浦路斯有如右臂，非常宝贵又如果这个国家有扩张主义目的，则对于它这种目的来说，塞浦路斯犹如股肱一般，价值极大。

“

“许多国家在一定程度上出于自己的本国利益，都想将塞浦路斯问题看作是我们要保护塞岛的土族塞人，而实际问题是祖国四千五百万土耳其人和塞岛土耳其人的安全问题，是维持中东均势的问题”（土耳其外交部长图兰·古恩斯在入侵时的讲话，刊登于1980年7月20日《自由报》；

“土耳其军队从未被笔杆子赶离他们用枪杆子进占的地方我们在这里不仅是履行任务，我们还有使命在身；我们的使命就是使塞浦路斯成为我们祖国的领土”（土耳其外交部长伊赫桑·萨布里·查拉扬吉尔的讲话，刊登于1980年2月14日《Hulkin Sesi》；

“塞浦路斯岛象一把刺刀刺向土耳其的正中。从我国的安全看来，它是极端重要的。塞浦路斯岛不能落入敌人手中。土耳其人在塞浦路斯北部的存在是这方面的一种保障”（土耳其总理图耳古特·厄扎尔的讲话，刊登于1983年12月3日《国民报》。

我们在经济及社会理事会第二（社会）委员会发言谴责土耳其在入侵和持续占领塞浦路斯共和国近40%的领土期间犯下的残暴罪行，谴责土耳其精心策划的试图将被占领区彻底土耳其化的计划（把人们逐出家园，从安纳托利亚移殖居民，改

换地名，破坏和亵渎宗教和文化遗产等等）。对于我们的发言，土耳其代表无法作出答复。

按照1948年《防止及惩治灭绝种族罪公约》第二条分析土耳其的行为，即表明土耳其对希族塞人犯下了一种形式的种族灭绝罪。土耳其蓄意破坏希族塞人的生活条件，试图消灭一部分希族塞人，并将其余所有希族塞人彻底永远驱赶出被占领区，目的是在被占领区消灭希族塞人这一种族和宗教集团。下列活动为这些意图推涛作浪：

大规模杀害希族塞人，不仅在实战中杀人，还轰炸平民目标和医院，

冷血无情地杀害投降者和非战斗人员，妇孺也不能幸免；

用酷刑、不断殴打和集体强奸等手段，蓄意在肉体上和精神上严重伤害希族塞人。

土耳其不仅蔑视灭绝种族罪公约所载列的国际法，还无视《联合国宪章》、联合国决议、关于人权的各项国际公约、海牙法规、1949年各项日内瓦公约》（规定了武装冲突时及其后占领时期对士兵和平民的最低待遇标准）和《欧洲人权公约及其决定书》。

唯一可向它申诉证明土耳其多次违反国际人权法的有效机制是《欧洲人权公约》的机制。因此，塞浦路斯于1974年9月、1975年7月和1977年9月请求欧洲人权委员会行使裁判权。结果，欧洲人权委员会这一公正不偏的法庭经仔细评价证据后，裁定土耳其从1974年起在塞浦路斯犯了严重侵犯人权罪。我在附件二中附上欧洲人权委员会的结论。裁判结论原载于该委员会1976年7月10日通过的报告*第163—第167页。该委员会的报告谈到土耳其从1974年7月20日至1974年8月16日的入侵，谈到它在所有敌对行为停止后21

* 仅有英文本。

个月内不断展开的占领行动和在被占领区的行为。

外国报刊也揭露了土耳其在塞浦路斯犯下的和仍然在犯的各种暴行和罪行。我在本函附件三中附录了一些文章**，这些文章清楚地说明了土耳其入侵时和土耳其占领13年内塞浦路斯受破坏的程度和人们受苦的情况。

关于1987年3月11日人权委员会通过的第1987/50号决议，这是一项划时代的决议。它的效力当然不需要由侵略者批准，也不需要由侵略者在占领区内的代理人批准。委员会的成员有责任就局势发表意见，土耳其有责任执行此项决议的规定。土耳其对联合国决议的态度是人所共知的。土耳其违反了联合国宪章所规定的义务，不仅拒绝执行，还公然违反联合国关于塞浦路斯问题的大量决议，特别是安全理事会庄严的强制性的决议，因而破坏了争取公正和持久地解决塞浦路斯问题的所有努力，并继续对整个地区的和平与安全构成严重威胁。

请将本函及其附件作为大会第四十一届会议议程项目43的文件和经济及社会理事会1987年第一届常会议程项目17的文件散发为荷。

临时代办

阿塞娜·季亚马塔里斯（签名）

** 原文照录。

附件一

S/6253 (联合国塞浦路斯问题调解员加洛·普拉萨先生的报告, 1965年)

“72. ... 总而言之, [土族塞人] 希望同希族彼此实际分开。他们的第一倾向曾经是直接将塞浦路斯划分给土耳其和希腊两民族, 从而实现分离, 因为他们认为土族社区和希族社区是两民族的延伸。然而, ‘考虑到希腊和希族塞人不会赞同这一做法’, 他们将这一概念改为在两族实际分离的基础上建立一个联邦国家。”

“73. 他们的建议涉及强制性地交换人口, 以便实现一种状况, 使两族各自占据塞岛的部分土地 ... ”

普拉萨先生驳斥了此项建议, 他说:

“事实上, 主张在联邦政府制度之下两族在地理上分隔的论点并没有说服我它不会必然导致瓜分……”

“但我认为, 出于经济、社会 and 道义方面的理由而提出的其他反对意见本身也是此项建议的严重障碍。这项建议似乎需要强迫迁移有关的人——双方均有无数这样的人, 这违背了当代所有的文明原则, 包括《世界人权宣言》中规定的原则……”

S/8286, 第127段

政府在相当长的时间内均在鼓励难民返回他们的家乡, 向他们保证回去以后的安全, 并在某些村庄修理或重建被放弃的土族塞人房屋, 想借此吸引一些土族塞人家庭返回故乡 ... 大家知道, 土族塞人领袖不赞成难民返回目前位于政府控制地区内的家乡。为了辩护此种立场起见, 土族塞人领袖强调难民安全及保障方面的考虑。不过, 毫无疑问, 这种态度的一项重大理由乃是政治性的……”

S/7611, 第139段

“但是土族塞人领袖不赞成难民返回家乡，并防止他们返回村庄，理由是必须解决根本的政治问题……”

S/6228, 第17段

“……土族塞人自我孤立的政策导致该族走向背离常理的方向。”

附件二

1976年7月10日欧洲人权委员会报告的结论*

The Commission,

Having examined the allegations in the two applications
(see Part II above);

Having found that Art. 15 of the Convention does not apply
(see Part III);

Arrives at the following conclusions:

I. Displacement of persons

1. The Commission concludes by thirteen votes against one that, by the refusal to allow the return of more than 170,000 Greek Cypriot refugees to their homes in the north of Cyprus, Turkey violated, and was continuing to violate (1), Art. 8 of the Convention in all these cases (2).

2. The Commission concludes by twelve votes against one that, by the eviction of Greek Cypriots from houses, including their own homes, by their transportation to other places within the north of Cyprus, or by their deportation across the demarcation line, Turkey has equally violated Art. 8 of the Convention.

3. The Commission concludes by thirteen votes against one that, by the refusal to allow the return to their homes in the north of Cyprus to several thousand Greek Cypriots who had been transferred to the south under inter-communal agreements, Turkey violated, and was continuing to violate (1), Art. 8 of the Convention in all these cases (4).

4. The Commission concludes by fourteen votes against one with one abstention that, by the separation of Greek Cypriot families brought about by measures of displacement in a substantial number of cases, Turkey has again violated Art. 8 of the Convention (5).

II. Deprivation of liberty (6)

1. "Enclaved persons"

(a) The Commission, by eight votes against five votes and with two abstentions, concludes that the curfew imposed at night on enclaved Greek Cypriots in the north of Cyprus, while a restriction of liberty, is not a deprivation of liberty within the meaning of Art. 5 (1) of the Convention (7).

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- (1) As of 18 May 1976 (see para. 5 above).
- (2) See para. 208.
- (3) See para. 209.
- (4) See para. 210 in fine.
- (5) See para. 211 in fine.
- (6) See also para. 88 in fine.
- (7) See para. 235.

* 仅有英文本。

- (b) The Commission, by twelve votes with two abstentions, further concludes that the alleged restrictions of movement outside the built-up area of villages in the north of Cyprus would fall within the scope of Art. 2 of Protocol No. 4, not ratified by either Cyprus or Turkey, rather than within the scope of Art. 5 of the Convention. It is therefore unable to find a violation of Art. 5 insofar as the restrictions imposed on Greek Cypriots in order to prevent them from moving freely outside villages in the north of Cyprus are imputable to Turkey (1).

2. "Detention centres"

- (a) The Commission, by thirteen votes against one, concludes that, by the confinement of more than two thousand Greek Cypriots to detention centres established in schools and churches at Voni, Gypsou and Morphou, Turkey has violated Art. 5 (1) of the Convention (2).
- (b) The Commission, by thirteen votes against one, further concludes that, by the confinement of Greek Cypriots to private houses in Gypsou and Morphou, where they were kept under similar circumstances as in the detention centres, Turkey has equally violated Art. 5 (1) (3).
- (c) The Commission, by ten votes against two with two abstentions, finally concludes that, by the confinement of Greek Cypriots to the Kyrenia Dome Hotel after 14 August 1974, Turkey has again violated Art. 5 (1) (4).

3. "Prisoners and detainees"

- (a) The Commission, by thirteen votes against one, concludes that the detention of Greek Cypriot military personnel in Turkey was not in conformity with Art. 5 (1) of the Convention (5).
- (b) The Commission, by thirteen votes against one, concludes that the detention of Greek Cypriot civilians in Turkey was equally not in conformity with Art. 5 (1) (6).
- (c) Considering that it was unable to establish the imputability to Turkey under the Convention of the detention of 146 Greek Cypriots at Saray prison and Pavlides Garage in the Turkish sector of Nicosia, the Commission, by ten votes against two with two abstentions, does not consider itself called upon to express an opinion as to the conformity with Art. 5 of the detention of Greek Cypriot prisoners in the north of Cyprus (7).

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- (1) See para. 236.
(2) See para. 285.
(3) See para. 286.
(4) See para. 288.
(5) See para. 309.
(6) See para. 310.
(7) See para. 311.

- (d) The Commission, by 14 votes against none, with two abstentions, has not found it necessary to examine the question of a breach of Art. 5 with regard to persons accorded the status of prisoners of war (1).

4. Final observation

The Commission, by seven votes against six with three abstentions, decided not to consider as a separate issue the effect of detention on the exercise of the right to respect for one's private and family life and home (Art. 8 of the Convention).

III. Deprivation of life (2)

The Commission, by fourteen votes against one, considers that the evidence before it constitutes very strong indications of violations of Art. 2 (1) of the Convention by Turkey in a substantial number of cases. The Commission restricted the taking of evidence to a hearing of a limited number of representative witnesses and the Delegation, during the period fixed for the hearing of witnesses, heard eye-witnesses only concerning the incident of Elia. The evidence obtained for this incident establishes the killing of twelve civilians near Elia by Turkish soldiers commanded by an officer contrary to Art. 2 (1).

In view of the very detailed material before it on other killings alleged by the applicant Government the Commission, by fourteen votes against one, concludes from the whole evidence that killings happened on a larger scale than in Elia.

There is nothing to show that any of these deprivations of life were justified under paras. (1) or (2) of Art. 2.

IV. Ill-treatment

1. The Commission, by twelve votes against one, finds that the incidents of rape described in the cases referred to and regarded as established constitute "inhuman treatment" and thus violations of Art. 3, for which Turkey is responsible under the Convention (3).

2. The Commission, by twelve votes against one, concludes that prisoners were in a number of cases physically ill-treated by Turkish soldiers. These acts of ill-treatment caused considerable injuries and at least in one case the death of the victim. By their severity they constitute "inhuman treatment" and thus violations of Art. 3, for which Turkey is responsible under the Convention (4).

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- (1) See para. 313.
(2) See paras. 353-355.
(3) See para. 374.
(4) See para. 394.

3. The Commission, by twelve votes against one, concludes that the withholding of an adequate supply of food and drinking water and of adequate medical treatment from Greek Cypriot prisoners held at Adana and detainees in the northern area of Cyprus, with the exception of Pavlides Garage and Saray prison, again constitutes, in the cases considered as established and in the conditions described, "inhuman treatment" and thus a violation of Art. 3, for which Turkey is responsible under the Convention (1).

4. The Commission, by twelve votes against one, concludes that the written statements submitted by the applicant Government constitute indications of ill-treatment by Turkish soldiers of persons not in detention (2).

V. Deprivation of possessions

The Commission, by twelve votes against one, finds it established that there has been deprivation of possessions of Greek Cypriots on a large scale, the exact extent of which could not be determined. This deprivation must be imputed to Turkey under the Convention and it has not been shown that any of these interferences were necessary for any of the purposes mentioned in Art. 1 of Protocol No. 1. The Commission concludes that this provision has been violated by Turkey (3).

VI. Forced labour

The Commission, by eight votes against three votes and with one abstention, finds that the incompleteness of the investigation with regard to the allegations on forced labour does not allow any conclusions to be made on this issue (4).

VII. Other issues (5)

1. The Commission, by twelve votes against one vote and with three abstentions, considers that no further issue arises under Art. 1 of the Convention (6).

2. The Commission, by thirteen votes against one vote and with two abstentions, has found no evidence that effective remedies, as required by Art. 13 of the Convention, were in fact available (

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(1) See paras. 404 and 405.

(2) See para. 410.

(3) See para. 486.

(4) See para. 495.

(5) See also para. 88 (complaints concerning searches of homes and interference with correspondence).

(6) See para. 498.

(7) See para. 501.

3. Having found violations of a number of Articles of the Convention, the Commission notes that the acts violating the Convention were exclusively directed against members of one of the two communities in Cyprus, namely the Greek Cypriot community. It concludes by eleven votes to three that Turkey has thus failed to secure the rights and freedoms set forth in these Articles without discrimination on the grounds of ethnic origin, race and religion as required by Art. 14 of the Convention (1).

4. The Commission, by twelve votes with four abstentions, considers that Arts. 17 and 18 of the Convention do not raise separate issues in the present case (2).

Secretary to the Commission

President of the Commission

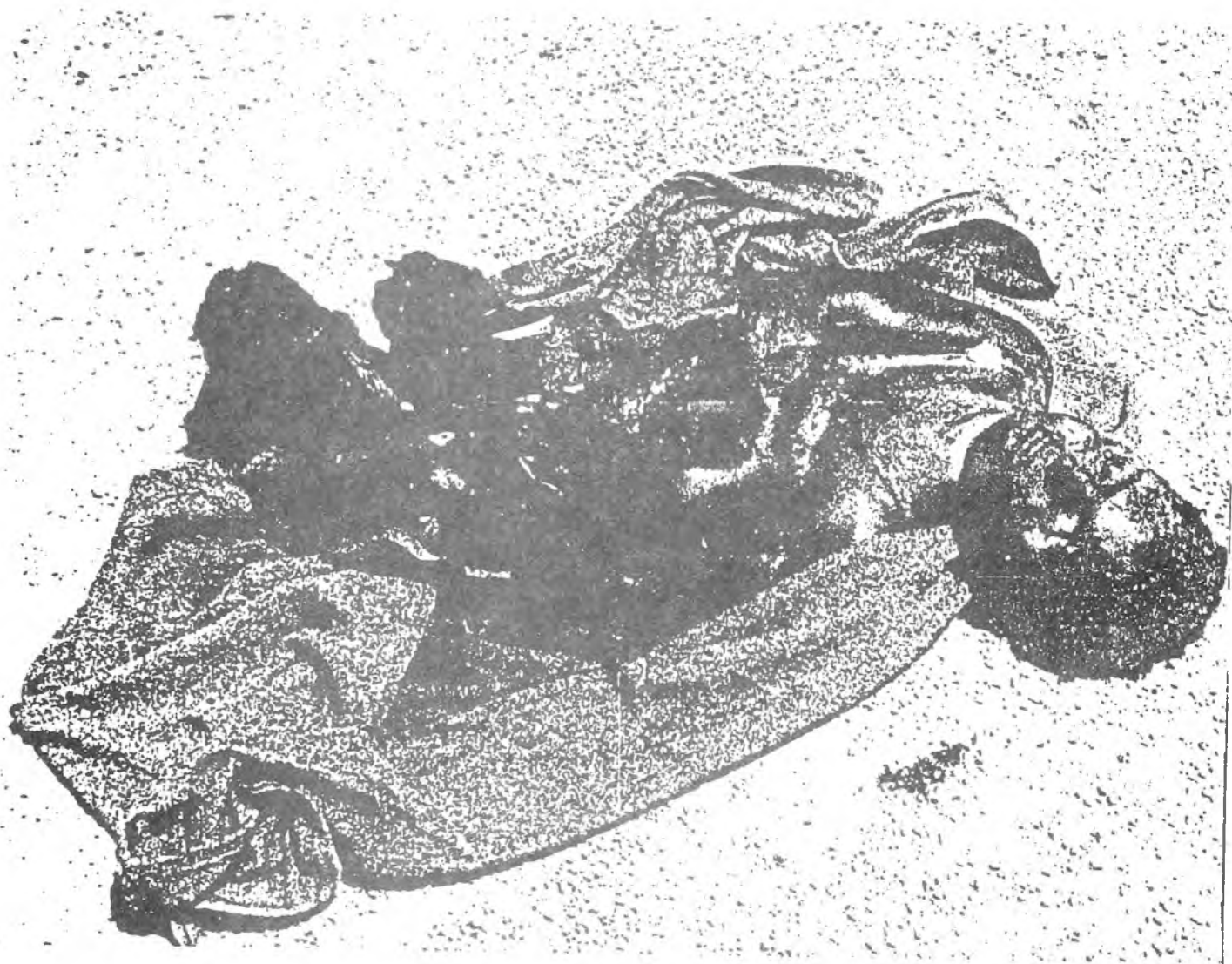
(H.C. KRÜGER)

(J.E.S. FAWCETT)

(1) See para. 503.
(2) See para. 505.

附件三

新闻剪报 *



A child killed by Turkish nepalm bombs—20th cent. A.D.

* 原文照录。



FORWARD WITH THE PEOPLE

Monday, August 3, 1974

Sun reporter Iain Walker sends a shock report from Cyprus on the Turkish invaders



BARBARIANS

NICOSIA, SUNDAY

A HORRIFYING story of atrocities by the Turkish invaders of Cyprus emerged today.

It was told by weeping Greek Cypriot villagers rescued by United Nations soldiers.

THEY TOLD of barbaric rape at gunpoint . . . and threats of instant execution if they struggled.

THEY TOLD of watching their loved ones tortured and shot. The villagers are from Trimithi, Karmi and Ayios Georgios, three farming communities west of the holiday town of Kyrenia, directly in the path of the Turkish Army.

Sheltered

They had been trapped since the fighting began two weeks ago and were only evacuated to Nicosia by the UN on Saturday.

And today at a Nicosia orphanage they told their tales — simply and without any prompting.

A 20-year-old girl in a pretty yellow and white dress sat under a painting of Jesus tending his flock as she described how she was raped.

She had been visiting her fiancé who worked in a hotel near Kyrenia when the Turks attacked.

For the first 24 hours she sheltered with other villagers in a stable until they were discovered by Turkish soldiers.

She then watched as her fiancé and six other men were shot dead in cold blood — only a few minutes after they had been promised that they would not be harmed.

She said: "After the shooting, a Turkish soldier grabbed me and pulled me into a ditch. I struggled and tried to escape but he pushed me to the ground."

"He tore at my clothes and they were ripped up to my waist. Then he started undressing himself."

Baby

"Another Turkish soldier who was watching us had a nine-month-old baby in his arms and, trying to save myself, I shouted that the child was mine."

"But they laughed at me and threw the baby to the ground. I was then raped and I fainted soon after."

"When I came to my senses I saw 15 other soldiers standing round watching. The first soldier was taking off my watch and engagement ring. Others

My fiancé and six men were shot dead. The Turkish soldiers laughed at me and then I was raped.

GREEK CYPRIOT GIRL AGED 20

were going to rape me — when one of them objected and told them not to be animals."

"I will never forget him for saving me. He was quite unlike the rest — more like an Englishman with blond hair and blue eyes. He spoke to me in English."

"He helped me to my feet and said, 'All is OK now.'"

"The others tried to stop him, but he pulled out his gun and pushed his way through and gave me back to the other women."

"When I had recovered, after a few hours, I went to where the bushes had been burned by the shelling and rubbed charcoal over my face and hands, so I would be ugly

and they would not do that to me again."

The girl, too ashamed to reveal her name, added: "I cannot put into words the horror I feel at what happened to me. I think I would have preferred it if they had shot me."

Mrs Elena Mateidou, aged 28, was questioned by Turkish soldiers at Trimithi.

She said: "My husband and father were told to take off all their clothes and they walked us down a dry river bed."

"Then the soldiers separated the women and children and ushered us behind some olive trees. I heard a burst of shooting

The Turkish soldiers cut off my father's hands and legs. Then they shot him while I watched.

GREEK CYPRIOT WOMAN AGED 32

and knew that they had been killed."

"Later they took us back to the village with our hands tied behind our backs. Two soldiers took me into a room in a deserted house where they raped me."

Bodies

"One of them held a gun at my head while it was happening and said if I struggled he would shoot."

"Afterwards, a soldier took off my wedding ring and wore it himself."

Mrs Mateidou added: "I saw another woman being pulled into a bathroom, where she too was raped."

"Later I went back to the

olive groves and found the bodies of my husband and father along with five other men. My father had been stabbed and my husband shot in the belly."

Later, United Nations soldiers brought the villagers food. "The Turks took it away and ate it themselves," said Mrs Mateidou.

Another woman who had been an intended rape victim was Miss Phrosi Moutani, aged 32.

She said: "When I saw what was happening, I ran as quickly as I could. I saw the soldiers pointing guns at me, but I was too frightened to care."

"I hid in the olive groves and tried to get back to

They shot the men. My friend's wife said 'Why should I live without my husband?' A soldier shot her in the head.

GREEK CYPRIOT FARMER AGED 51

where I had been separated from my father."

"I watched from the bushes as they cut off his hands and legs below the knees with a double-edged cutting knife."

"At first he screamed and beat at them with his fists, but then he became quiet and did not utter a word. Then they shot him in the stomach while I watched."

Farmer Christos Saura Drakos, 51, saw his wife and two sons murdered.

"I was watering my orchard when the bombs started to explode," he said.

Shooting

"With the rest of the village we tried to run away through the groves and river beds but the Turks caught us and we surrendered."

"They searched us but no one had a gun."

"Then the shooting started. It was one by one to start with and I heard my friend, an old boy Georgios, saying in a calm voice 'Daddy, they have shot me.'"

"I pulled him down and he fell behind a rock. He died there in my arms."

"An officer had been standing by the shooting area."

Continued on Page Seven

THE SUN SAYS Shame on them

AS THE POLITICIANS vie to take credit for bringing a "ceasefire" to Cyprus, reports of appalling atrocities are filtering through from that tragic island.

For, while the peace talks went on, Turkish soldiers were killing and terrorising innocent civilians. The behaviour of these troops will

shock the world. As they are in Cyprus in the name of Turkey, that nation must immediately take action against the animals that wear its uniform.

If Turkey fails in this duty it will be stained with the same guilt as the Greek officers who set Cyprus alight again in the first place.

A HORRIFYING STORY OF ATROCITIES

IAN WALKER, OF "THE SUN", LONDON, REPORTS ON AUGUST 5, 1974

An attractive 20 year-old Greek Cypriot girl yesterday relived an hour of terror with the Turkish army when she was dragged into a ditch and brutally raped at gunpoint.

The girl was one of six villagers who gave the first horrifying eye witness accounts of their encounters with Turkish soldiers, after being rescued by United Nations soldiers.

Young wives told how they also had been raped, after being threatened with execution if they struggled.

A farmer wept as he described how his 16-year-old son was shot at point blank range and died in his arms.

A daughter watched Turkish soldiers cutting off her father's hands and legs before murdering him.

A four year-old girl showed reporters a bullet wound in her thigh when she was caught up in a firing squad.

The villagers are from Trimithi, Karmi and Ayios Georghios, three farming communities west of the holiday town of Kyrenia, which were directly in the path of the Turkish invading army. They have been trapped since the fighting began two weeks ago (20.7.74), and were only evacuated to the city of Nicosia by the United Nations on Saturday.

Yesterday at a press conference in a Nicosia orphanage they told their stories simply and without any prompting.

There is no direct confirmation of their horrifying experiences but it was clear to the international reporters who questioned them, that the stories of these ordinary peasant people, the women dressed in black with headscarves, were not faked or rehearsed and that their tears were genuine.

The 20-year-old girl wore a pretty yellow and white dress and sat under a painting of Jesus tending his flock as she described how she was raped.

She had been visiting her fiance who worked in a hotel near Kyrenia when the Turks attacked.

For the first twenty-four hours she sheltered with other villagers in a stable until they were finally discovered by Turkish soldiers.

She watched as her fiance and six other men were shot dead in cold blood. Only a few minutes after they had been solemnly promised that they would not be harmed.

"After the shooting a Turkish soldier grabbed me and pulled me into a ditch. I struggled and tried to escape but he pushed me to the ground. He tore up my clothes and they were ripped up to my waist, then he started undressing himself.

Another Turkish soldier who was watching us had a nine month old baby in his arms and trying to save myself I shouted that the child was mine. But they laughed at me and threw the baby to the ground. I was then raped and after a few minutes I fainted.

When I came to my senses I saw fifteen other soldiers standing round watching. The first soldier was taking off my watch and engagement ring.

Others were going to rape me too, when one of them objected and told them not to be animals.

I will never forget him for saving me. He was quite unlike the rest — more like an Englishman with blond hair and blue eyes — and in fact he spoke to me in English. He helped me to my feet and said all is O.K. now.

The others tried to stop him but he pulled out his gun and pushed his way through and gave me back to the other women.

When I had recovered after a few hours I went to where the bushes had been burned by the shelling and rubbed charcoal over my face and hands so that I would be ugly and they would not do that to me again. I cannot put into words the shame and horror I feel at what happened to me. I think I would have preferred it if they had shot me afterwards."

The girl was the only one of the six who pleaded with us not to reveal her identity or take her photograph so she would not be shamed further.

Farmer Christos Savva Drakos (51) told us how he had seen his wife and two sons killed by the Turks.

"I was watering my orchard when the bombs started to explode.

With the rest of the villagers we tried to run away through the groves and river beds but the Turks caught us up and we put our hands up and surrendered. They searched us but no-one had a gun. My friend had a box of cigarettes which they split up between them.

Then the shooting started. It was one by one to start and I heard my sixteen year old boy Georgios saying in a calm voice 'Daddy they have shot me.'

I pulled him down and we fell behind a rock, he died there in my arms.

An officer had been attracted by the shooting and he run up to see what was going on.

He was furious with his men and ordered them to stop.

He found me hiding behind the rock and he embraced me and washed my face with water. I saw the rest of them lying on the ground.

My wife and my other boy Nicos who was only 13 were also dead. My friend's wife was terribly, badly injured and she told the officer: "Why would I live without my husband. Shoot me."

The officer shrugged his shoulders and walked off and a soldier shot her in the head."

When the old man finished his story he was helped gently to his feet and went into a corner and cried.

I saw him trying to light a cigarette and his hand was trembling like a leaf.

When the Turkish authorities deny these allegations — which they will, I will remember the drawn face of that old man cowering in a corner, his body racked with tears.

This clearly was no actor or a man who had been ordered to lie for political propaganda. He was a poor man who had lost everything he ever possessed or loved in the world.

FRANK THOMPSON, OF THE "DAILY MAIL", LONDON, REPORTS ON AUGUST 10, 1974

Red eyed with weeping, women survivors of the Turkish invasion of northern Cyprus, today told their horrifying tales of murder, torture and rape as the heavily armed Turks swept through Greek Cypriot mountain villages.

One girl told of seeing her grandfather shot after his hands and legs were cut off by the Turks.

Another described how her fiance was shot, the engagement ring ripped from her finger and how she was raped by a soldier watched by a dozen others.

And a little girl, named Stella, dressed in a bright flowered dress was brought before newsmen with a bullet wound in her leg: She was, it was claimed, in the arms of her uncle when he was shot dead.

The people who described the brutalities, were among five hundred villagers — mostly women — from the villages of Ayios Yeorgios, Trimithi and Karmi just a few miles from the Kyrenia bridgehead where thirty thousand Turkish troops poured ashore.

They said, their husbands had been rounded up by the invaders, many of them tied hand and foot, and most of them shot in front of their families. Most of them quizzed by the press were simple peasants who had never strayed far from their homes in the hills.

Today, as they told their stories in the orphanage where they are now staying in Nicosia, Cypriot President, Glafcos Clerides, sent appeals to the leaders of fifty countries including Britain begging support against atrocities and the actions of the Turks since the ceasefire agreement was signed.

B.B.C. BROADCAST, 08.00 HRS, AUGUST 23, 1974

David McNeal has sent to B.B.C. the following report:

"Soldiers from the Swedish contingent have taken reporters to the village of Tavrou, on the Panhandle, where they were shown the body of a 17-year old Greek Cypriot girl, who had been shot dead. A B.B.C. colleague, who saw the body, said he was told, the girl had been shot after she and her two sisters had resisted attempt by Turkish soldiers to rape them."

KNOCK AT DOOR— THEN 'TURKS SHOT MY HUSBAND'

By A. J. McILROY in Kyrenia

A LONDON housewife yesterday described how she watched Turkish soldiers line up seven unarmed Greek Cypriot men and shoot them dead with pistols. It happened after the Turkish invasion of northern Cyprus when she ran and hid for 72 hours to save herself and her four-year-old son.

Mrs Margaret Gavrielides, 36, of Streatham Hill, whose Greek husband, Vrasidas, 45, is a tax accountant in London, is among more than 600 refugees, most of them Greek, held by the Turks under United Nations supervision in the Dome Hotel at Kyrenia.

After she had sent her son, Andrew, to play with other children "because I don't want him to have to be reminded of what happened," Mrs Gavrielides said: "I was staying on holiday with my husband at the Klearchos Hotel, some six miles outside Kyrenia, with three other English couples.

"On the Saturday morning at 5.50 my husband went to the window of our room and said 'My God, they are bombing Kyrenia.' We saw the smoke. We took what we could and carried Andrew out of the hotel.

"We saw the bombs falling from the Turkish jets as we ran into the bushes. We lay down. I was terrified and my husband shouted we had better run again because he had seen the big ships turning and ready to bombard us.

"The shelling started and we got separated from the others. We don't know what happened to them and I think now that my husband is dead. But that happened later.

"We found a place to hide in the lemon groves. The shells were coming and it was so noisy. We found a house while others passed us and ran on towards the hills. Because of Andrew we decided to stay in the house.

"There was food and water, and next morning we heard sounds of stamping feet and a knock on the door, on which we had hung a Union Jack to show we were British.

'Pieces of arm blown away'

"My husband opened the door and they shot him. I saw pieces of his arm and shoulder blown away. The blood poured out and when I told them I was British they let me bandage his wound. But the blood was all over me.

"The soldiers were still advancing and those who shot my husband left us. We got outside into the lemon groves again, sat down and he was in a bad way.

"Some old women, Greeks, came and there was water and grapes. Some Greek men came, too, and the English-speaking Turkish officer was good to us. But he went away and other soldiers came. They walked over to us clicking their fingers as they walked.

"They got the men out and

lined them up. Six or seven of them, there were. I knew what was going to happen and I turned Andrew away. The soldiers — no officer was there — took out their pistols and shot the men dead.

"I could not stop there. I saw them aim at me as I ran away with my boy. I threw myself down to try to hide and was separated from my husband. The Turkish soldiers motioned me to come back.

"I saw someone lifting a gun, to aim, but we ran on and I lost contact with my husband. I haven't heard from him since.

"I knew Turkish soldiers were near. I could hear them and see their boots through the undergrowth.

"I decided then I had to try to get back to the hotel. We went towards the town and almost reached the hotel when we heard the sound of the heavy march of soldiers and I thought I could go no longer.

"There was an outburst of firing from the shore and I knew they were trying to clear out any snipers from the groves. A Commander in a camouflaged helmet saw us and I shouted 'please God help us. I am English.'

"He came towards us and then into the hotel himself to find our passports.

"I kept thinking about my husband as I tidied Andrew up. Then by stages they got us through by jeep to Turkish marines and then to the United Nations, who brought us."

Ceasefire broken by Turks

THE Turkish side violated the ceasefire yesterday for the second time in 24 hours, setting fire to Greek shops along the green line dividing the Greek and Turkish sectors of Nicosia, the Cyprus government claimed.

A U.N. peace force spokesman confirmed that Turkish tanks and infantry advanced to enter the Greek Cypriot village at Athina less than a mile from the British sovereign base area of Dhekelia, in South Cyprus on Wednesday.

The spokesman said the situation continued to be quiet throughout the island.

EVACUATION

He added that in continuing efforts in the humanitarian field the peace force helped evacuate 66 elderly Greek Cypriots to a geriatric home in Larnaca.

More than a third of Cyprus's population are now refugees, a U.N. spokesman said in Nicosia.

Out of a total of 226,000 refugees, 183,800 are Greek Cypriots and 42,800 are Turkish.

EASTERN DAILY PRESS.
August 30, 1974

JUNGLE LAW RULES ON HORROR ISLAND

1114516

The laying waste of Cyprus is almost complete. Which ever way you turn the landscape resembles some second-rate science fiction horror story.

The desolation and destruction is frightening.

Deserted villages, empty and looted houses, abandoned cars, badly damaged buildings, withering crops, dead and dying animals and thousand upon thousand homeless and despairing people.

Nowhere is more symbolic of the mass desecration of this once idyllic island than the town of Kyrenia — the northern port famous for its cyclo-

men and fir-covered hills, scenic views and ancient buildings. The holiday brochure describes a first visit there as unforgettable experience . . . and it still is but for vastly different reasons. The holiday overlooks the town, blackened and charred by fire, the buildings

empty husks crumbling and falling after the onslaught of war. The lush lemon groves wilt for lack of water, and hardly a house or shop remains untouched by the looters. The only people moving in the area are soldiers. The only lorries dare to move slowly. The roads are strewn with beginning to die. Dead

cats, and chickens too weak to move out of the way litter the roads like confetti and by the roadside donkeys and cattle lie down in the shade breathing slowly and deeply as the life ebbs from their skinny carcasses.

During 14 days on this tragic island it is all too easy to become blasé.

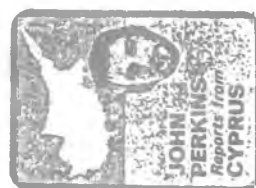
about such ailing sights because they are so commonplace, but some will remain for ever razor sharp in the memory.

The despair of the refugees is written indelibly on the faces of the people squatting in their makeshift shelters in the Athia Forest.

Rich and poor gather straw from nearby fields for their bed, and fight and bribe each other for one empty beer can in which to carry water and soup.

But perhaps the saddest aspect of the war is the looting. To see people stripping the homes of other people who were once their neighbours, to see the wanton destruction of a family's possessions out of sheer hate says little for the future of the island.

LIVERPOOL ECHO, August 31, 1974



Turk rejects Prince's plea for shot boy

From Stephen Cook

A TURKISH lieutenant today refused to allow Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan to take a Greek Cypriot boy with a bullet in his head to hospital.

The Prince, the United Nations High Commissioner for refugees, had driven through difficult terrain to reach the village of Voni.

There in a church he talked to refugees, including the boy, 14-year-old Georgilasis.

He said he had been shot and still had a bullet in his head. His head was bandaged. The Prince decided that he should go to the hospital, and told him to get into a car.

But Lieutenant Coshar took hold of the boy's arm and pulled him away and told him to go back into the church.

The Prince had moved away to talk to some children and women who were being held by the Turks.

When told that the boy had been stopped from getting into the car, he argued with a colonel and the lieutenant.

"The boy needs medical treatment," said the Prince. "We will take him, have the bullet removed and bring him back. You have my guarantee. I just want him treated."

The Prince pointed to the lieutenant: "If he had a bullet in him, we would even treat him — if he gave his permission."

But it was no use — the officer was adamant and eventually the Prince agreed that permission should be sought and that a joint UN and Red Cross team would return to collect him.

Guarantee

The bargaining went on in the grounds of the school where the children were held. The sun was getting lower.

"Tomorrow the boy sees a doctor again — I guarantee," said the colonel.

The Prince then pointed out that it was a humanitarian matter and that he wanted the boy to have the bullet taken out.

The lieutenant still said no. So it was agreed that the team should return the next day.

The Prince turned to the lieutenant as he left: "I hope you never have a bullet in the head."

The lieutenant's mouth gaped and he could only grunt.

We drove with the Prince for most of the afternoon before reaching the village. Once we had to turn back after torrential rain turned a track into a quagmire. His car nearly became stuck.

Then, later at another village it was discovered that refugees he wanted to see had been moved. It took almost an hour to get permission to move on to Voni because of the constant need to get military permission to move in certain areas.

The Prince is in Cyprus to assess the refugee situation on both sides and check on their needs.

Turks stop UN food convoys

SOUTH WALES ARGUS, July 30, 1974

About 1,000 Greek Cypriots and thirty Britons are holed up in the Dome Hotel in Turkish-held Kyrenia on the north coast of the island.

Some of them have been trapped there since the Turks invaded ten days ago and others have crept for safety through the Turkish lines during the night.

They are reported to have sufficient food for the moment but things could get worse if the convoys are not allowed through from Nicosia.

Refugees

The UN spokesman said the Turks refused to allow a food and water convoy through on the road to Kyrenia yesterday, and the lorries had to return to Nicosia.

The Turks told the UN that they would take over the delivery of the supplies themselves, but the UN declined.

Apart from the refugees stranded in the Dome, a big white-painted hotel on the sea-front which has long been a favourite with British tourists, there are about 2,000 Greek Cypriots at the village of Bellapais on the mountainside above Kyrenia who are surrounded by Turks.

TURKISH forces in Cyprus have stopped the United Nations sending convoys of urgently-needed food, medical supplies and drinking water to refugees cut off by the fighting a UN spokesman in Episkopi said today.

A few miserable survivors of their families wandered in fear and trembling, among the ruins of churches, their hiding places.
ST. AUGUSTINE (604 A.D.)





PEUPLE, 18 Septembre 1974

Deux Cypriotes sur cinq ont acquis désormais le statut de réfugié

(De notre envoyé spécial à Chypre)

L'OCCUPATION par l'armée turque du nord de Chypre a entraîné l'exode de 200.000 Cypriotes grecs environ, selon les chiffres de la Croix-Rouge internationale. Cela veut dire, les Cypriotes grecs représentant 80 p.c. environ d'une population de 600.000 habitants, que deux Cypriotes sur cinq ont tout abandonné devant l'avance turque et ont acquis le statut de réfugié.

L'exode, qui a commencé le 14 août, lorsque l'armée turque entreprit de tracer la fameuse « ligne Attila », qui divise Chypre d'est en ouest, n'est pas encore terminé. Des taxis bondés et des camions transportant tout

un bric-à-brac continuent d'emprunter la grand-route de Nicosie à la côte méridionale, grand-route que l'armée turque ne s'est pas soucieuse d'occuper. Et le flot d'émigrés s'en va grossir ainsi la population et les camps de Limas-

sol dont le nombre d'habitants a quasiment doublé en quelques jours. Le gouvernement et la Croix-Rouge entreprennent alors un lent et pénible recensement puis la distribution du pain, du raisin et des boîtes de conserves.

Le nombre total de grecs est estimé par la Rouge internationale à deux cent mille. Leur nom évidemment, impossible à officialiser. Echapper, exemple aux fiches officielles.



*They regarded neither the infirmities of age nor of sex, neither the dignity of the noble nor the sanctity of the priest.
ST. AUGUSTINE (604 A.D.)*

réfugiés qui se sont installés timidement dans les banlieues de Limassol, dans des jardins ou des terrains vagues, sous les arbres. C'est là, dans l'ombre, agglutinés en petits groupes comme des animaux étranges, qu'ils attendent chaque jour l'eau et la nourriture de leurs nouveaux voisins. C'est de dessous ces arbres que s'attache à les débusquer la Croix-Rouge pour les acheminer dans le camp, leur donner la couverture de la Croix-Rouge internationale.

Leur situation est toujours précaire. Leur dénuement est commun à tous les camps de réfugiés. Dépendant en tout désormais de la charité des autres, leur fierté se réfugie maintenant dans leurs

origines. Ils sont Grecs de Famagouste, de Kyrenia, de Lefka, de Morphou, de Nicosie ou vous épelent les noms de leurs villages avec application.

Lorsque les Turcs lancèrent leur seconde offensive, un docker de Famagouste passa quatre jours dans les collines entourant le port, puis il se résigna enfin à gagner Limassol. « Nous avons peur des soldats turcs, dit-il au nom de tous. Nous vivions en paix avec les Turcs et j'ai des tas d'amis dans le port. Je travaille avec eux. Nous ne voulons que vivre en paix. Que les soldats turcs, grecs et britanniques s'en aillent. » Il revient en courant pour ajouter : « Je veux le retour de Makarios ». L'âge d'or désormais...

A Limassol, les camps, contrairement à ce qu'on pourrait peut-être imaginer, ne bourdonnent pas de récits d'horreur, d'atrocités de l'armée turque. Le bruit du canon, l'approche de la fusillade ou la rumeur publique ont suffi à déclencher l'exode car dans la Chypre grecque, rien ne paraît aussi contagieux que la peur et la haine du soldat turc. A cette peur est venue s'ajouter l'incertitude. Personne n'ose évaluer la durée de son séjour dans l'école, l'église, le couvent des bonnes sœurs. On sait simplement que l'armée turque ne permettra pas aux exilés de retourner dans leurs villes et leurs villages aussi longtemps que la crise n'aura pas trouvé de solution au moins

provisoire. Ils savent que le bétail abandonné meurt dans les campagnes mais ils se racontent l'histoire de ces quatre Cypriotes grecs qui osèrent retourner et furent abattus.

La plus terrible incertitude se lisait sur les visages de ces quatre enfants et adolescents étendus sur une couverture en dessous d'un olivier. Les mouches ne leur laissaient pas de répit à la plus jeune, une petite fille de six ans. Ils viennent de la région de Kyrenia, d'Assomatos, dans les collines de Pendtakylos. Ils racontent comment ils mirent deux jours pour traverser à pied toute l'île, du nord au sud, laissant derrière leurs parents - qui, eux, ne savaient pas courir... X. G.

Une course contre la montre pour loger les 234.000 réfugiés de Chypre avant les froids

Nicosie, 17 (A.P. et A.F.P.)

Le problème des 234.000 réfugiés de Chypre est le plus dramatique que l'on ait connu depuis la Deuxième Guerre mondiale, a déclaré un des experts américains engagés, avec les équipes de la Croix-Rouge, dans une course contre la montre pour nourrir et loger cette foule de déshérités.

Des Etats-Unis à la Chi-

ne, des dizaines de nations ont fourni des aliments, des lits, des couvertures et de l'argent. Le pape Paul VI a dépêché deux envoyés spéciaux. Le prince Sadrudin Aga Khan, haut-commissaire des Nations Unies pour les Réfugiés, a installé un bureau à Nicosie.

Dans la zone occupée par les Turcs, les envoyés de la Croix-Rouge Internationale

doivent parfois utiliser des haut-parleurs pour rassurer les Cypriotes d'origine grecque qui se terrent par peur des troupes d'occupation.

Le gouvernement cypriote estime qu'il faudrait environ dix millions de francs belges par jour pour loger et nourrir les réfugiés. Les Nations-Unies ont lancé un appel à la solidarité inter-

nationale pour recueillir un milliard de francs belges. L'Organisation a elle-même fourni l'aide la plus importante, évaluée à quelque 25 millions de FB.

De nombreux réfugiés sont déjà logés sous des tentes, mais il en reste encore des milliers qui n'ont pas trouvé d'abri.

— Nous pouvons fournir des tentes, mais il va bien-



tôt faire très froid et je ne sais pas ce que nous pourrions faire si les réfugiés n'ont pas pu regagner leurs maisons d'ici là, a déclaré l'un des experts américains.

LA SOLUTION N'EST PAS PROCHE

Pourtant, le drame ne semble pas proche de son dénouement. Certains parlent même d'un « problème à la palestinienne », car ils craignent que les camps de réfugiés ne deviennent permanents comme ils le sont depuis un quart de siècle au Proche-Orient.

Des dons en provenance de dizaines de pays sont attendus avec impatience dans l'île. La France a fait déjà parvenir 21,5 tonnes de lait en poudre, deux tonnes d'aliments pour enfants, 150 tonnes d'aliments ri-

ches en protéines, 8.192 lits de camps, 20 tonnes de médicaments et 110.776 couvertures.

La coopération internationale fonctionne sans heurt, de l'avis des secouristes de la Croix-Rouge. Mais sur place, les problèmes abondent.

Ainsi, les chauffeurs dent. Ainsi, les chauffeurs de camions turcs et grecs ne peuvent-ils pas franchir la ligne de cessez-le-feu, et ce sont les envoyés de la Croix-Rouge qui sont obligés d'acheminer les secours.

Dans la zone turque, l'armée contrôle sévèrement les déplacements, et il est le plus souvent nécessaire de faire distribuer l'aide internationale par le canal du Croissant Rouge turc.

Récemment encore, les Turcs interdisaient l'accès

de certaines zones à la Croix-Rouge.

Les opérations de secours aéroportées ne peuvent utiliser que l'aéroport militaire britannique d'Akrotiri, car l'aéroport international, endommagé par des bombardements, est fermé depuis deux mois.

Tous les moyens sont bons pour aider ces milliers de malheureux, et les missions internationales viennent de demander au gouvernement cypriot d'ouvrir les hôtels abandonnés par les touristes, ce qui permettrait déjà de loger dix mille sans abri.

M. CLERIDES PEU ENCOURAGEANT...

Le président de la Communauté cypriot grecque,

M. Glafcos Clerides, a averti, mardi, les Grecs de l'île qu'une « longue lutte » restait à soutenir, car peu de progrès avaient été faits dans les discussions de Nicosie et l'on refusait toujours, du côté turc, d'autoriser les réfugiés grecs à retourner dans leurs maisons du Nord.

M. Clerides a précisé qu'il n'y avait pas « la moindre chance » qu'une solution pacifique soit trouvée si quarante pour cent de l'île doivent rester aux mains des Turcs, et 200.000 personnes être « réduites à l'état de réfugiés permanents ».

D'autre part, les Cypriotes grecs ont été appelés à « faire des sacrifices, en oubliant le niveau de vie auquel ils étaient habitués ».

LA CÔTE LIBRE, 27 Août 1974



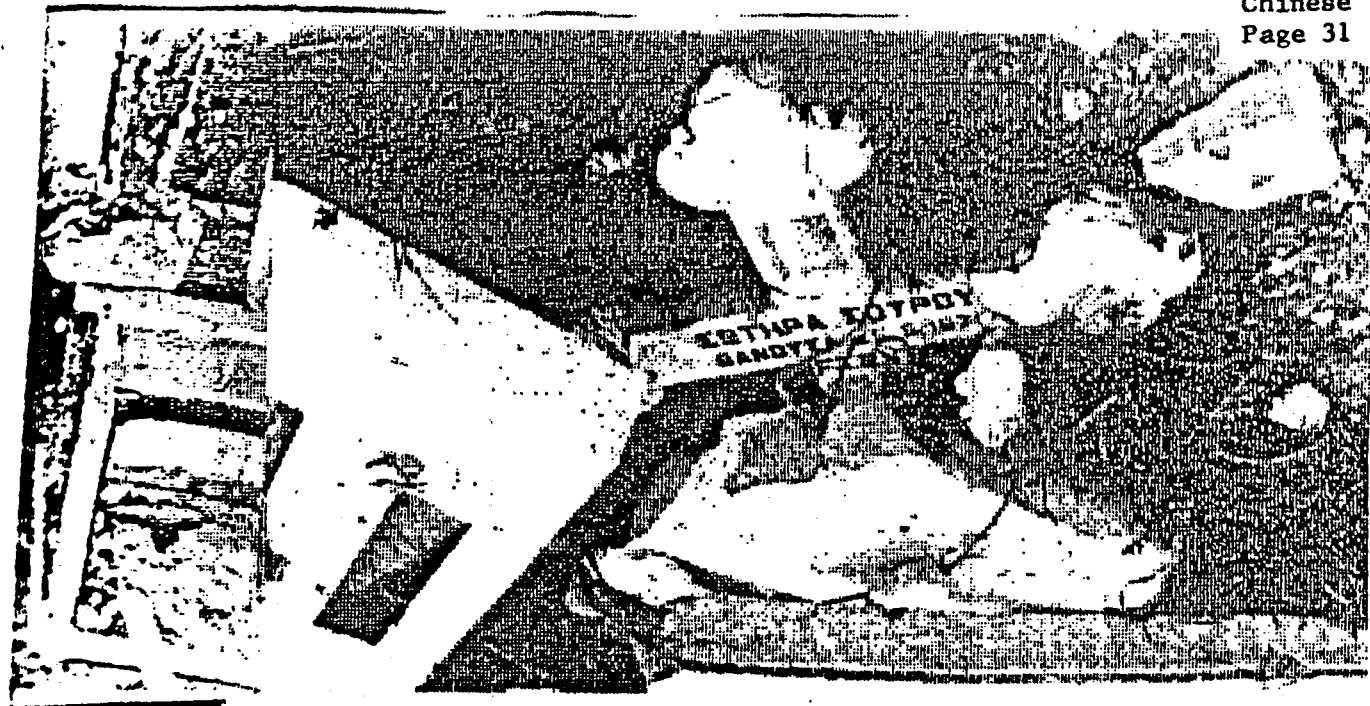
THE GUARDIAN

THURSDAY MAY 9 1987 50p

The rape of northern Cyprus



The Crucifix from the church
of St. Procopios at the village of Synglassi.

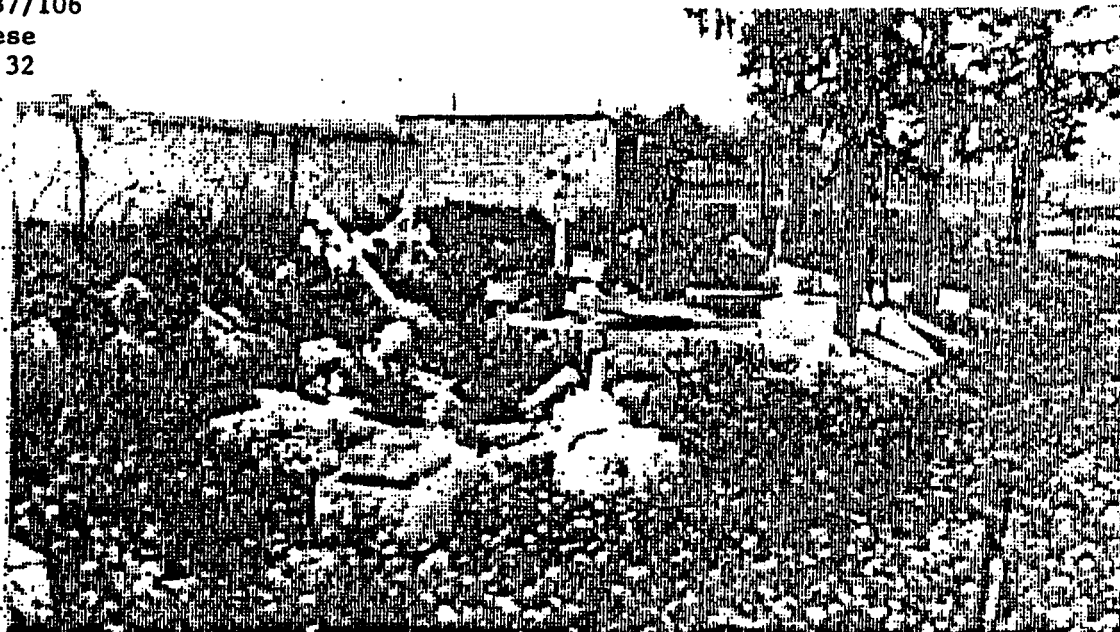


the north coast village from which every remaining Greek was forcibly removed one night last year, we found a particularly brutal example. En route, in the mountains to the south, we found the chapel of Ayios Demetrios at Ardhana empty but for the remains of the altar plinth, and that was fouled with human excrement.

At Syngaris, the church interior was smashed beyond recognition, littered with the remains of icons, pews, and beer bottles. The broken crucifix was drenched in urine. At Ayios Yeorgios north of Famagusta the church tower was apparently in process of demolition, with one of its four pillars knocked away. The roof was holed and windows smashed.

At Lefkoniko, the church furniture was piled outside in the ruin, and half a dozen icons strewn across the rubble in the churchyard. One of the churches in Limnia was utterly wrecked apart from the four walls. In a corner lay a stinking pile of household refuse. The church at Piyi was a mass of wrecked furniture, glass, and icons, so was the impressive church at Peristerona, a mile away. Gaidhauras church had apparently taken three direct shell hits, although nothing else in the vicinity showed signs of battle. The interior was a shambles, overlooked by an armless Christ on a smashed crucifix.

Tombs gaped open wherever we went. Massive marble slabs weighing several hundredweight had simply been tossed aside or broken into

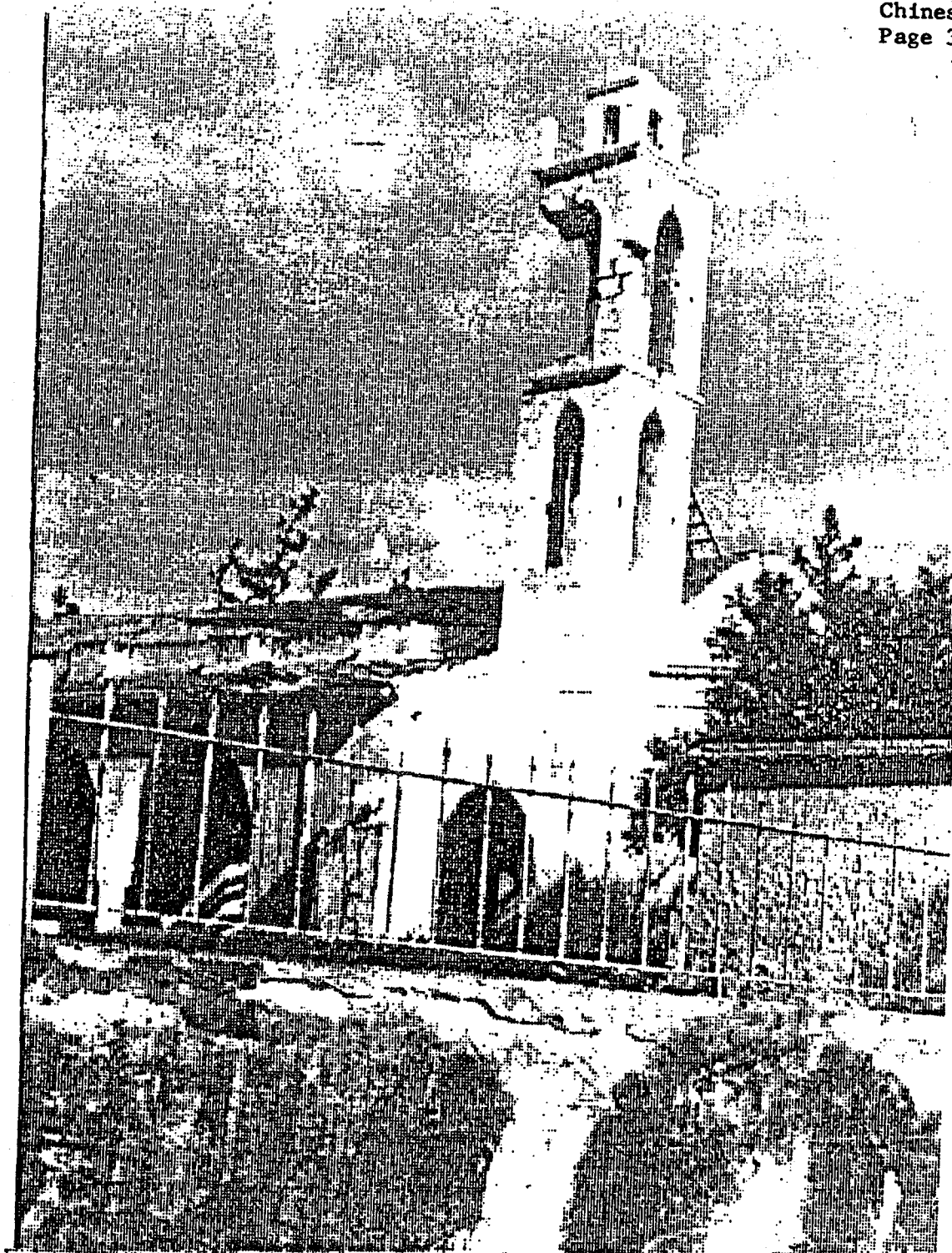


tiny fragments. Crosses bearing the pictures of those buried beneath--and usually reinforced with steel inside the stone--had been flattened and destroyed. We found the most extensive desecration at Piyi, Stylios, Ayios Sergios, Syngrosis, Gypsos, Trikonio, Lapithos, Ardhana, Dhavlos, Prastio, Gaidhouras, Milca, Pyrga, Limnia and Palekythra. In many instances the grass had not yet grown over the rubble, suggesting that the blame cannot be laid, for instance, on the anger of the invading Turkish army.

Unaware of our discovery, Rauf Denktash, President of the *de facto* Turkish Federated State of Cyprus, told me blandly. "I think religious places should be guarded and protected. We are doing our best to protect religious property on our side as far as we can. It means keeping it closed, so that there is no access to the church, and naturally if there is a need for repairs someone has to look after it. The first thing we did was to put locks on the doors or nail them down"

We found perhaps the most upsetting sight at the tiny Antiphonitis Monastery, miles up an unmade track in the fragrant pines of the Pentadaktylos Mountains. Doors were battered in, eleventh and twelfth century treasures looted, fifteenth century frescoes plastered with asbestos cement, the newer icons smashed, fires had been lit, and the floor was strewn with bottles and filth. All this needed a special measure of depraved dedication, for it requires time and effort just to make the climb. Before departing, someone chalked the date--March 6, 1975 on the wrecked iconostasis.

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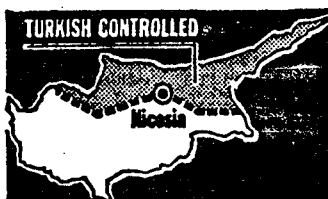


A church at Prastio, Messaoria.
(It was fiercely bombarded by the Turks.)



What secret
report tells
about Turk
atrocities

The terrible secrets of the Turkish invasion of Cyprus



The plight of Cyprus, with 40 per cent of the island still occupied by Turkish troops who invaded in the summer of 1974, is well known. But never before has the full story been told of what happened during and after the invasion. This article is based on the secret report of the European Commission of Human Rights. For obvious reasons, Insight has withheld the names of witnesses who gave evidence to the Commission

INSIGHT

Killing

Relevant Article of Human Rights Convention: Everyone's right to life shall be protected by law.

Charge made by Greek-Cypriots: The Turkish army embarked on

a systematic course of mass killings of civilians unconnected with any war activity.

Turkish Defence: None offered, but jurisdiction challenged. By letter dated November 27, 1975, Turkey told the Commission it refused to accept the Greek-Cypriot administration's right

to go to the commission, "since there is no authority which can properly require the Turkish government to recognise against its will the legitimacy of a government which has usurped the powers of the state in violation of the constitution of which Turkey is a guarantor." No defence therefore offered to any other charges either.

Evidence given to the commission: Witness Mrs K said that on July 21, 1974, the second day of the Turkish invasion, she and a group of villagers from Elia were captured when, fleeing from bombardment, they tried to reach a range of mountains. All 12 men arrested were civilians. They were separated from the women and shot in front of a Turkish officer. Some of the men were holding children, three of whom were wounded.

Written statements referred to two more group killings: at Trimitli eyewitnesses told of the deaths of five men (two shepherds aged 60 and 70, two masons of 20 and 60, and a 19-year-old plumber). At Palekythron 36 Greek Cypriot soldiers being held prisoner were killed by their captors, according to the second statement.

Witness S gave evidence of two other mass killings at Palekythron. In each case, between 30 and 40 soldiers who had surrendered to the advancing Turks were shot. In the second case, the witness said, "the soldiers were transferred to the kilns of the village where they were shot dead and burnt in order not to leave details of what had happened."

Seventeen members of two neighbouring families including 10 women and five children aged between two and nine were also killed in cold blood at Palekythron, reported witness H, a doctor. Further killings des-

cribed in the doctor's notes, recording evidence related to him by patients (either eye-witnesses or victims) included:

- Execution of eight civilians taken prisoner by Turkish soldiers in the area of Prastio, one day after the ceasefire on August 16, 1974.
- Killing by Turkish soldiers of five unarmed Greek Cypriot soldiers who had sought refuge in a house at Voni.
- Shooting of four women, one of whom survived by pretending she was dead.

Further evidence, taken in refugee camps and in the form of written statements, described killings of civilians in homes, streets or fields, as well as the killing of people under arrest or in detention. Eight statements described the killing of soldiers not in combat; five statements referred to a mass grave found in Dherydia.

Commission's verdict: By 14 votes to one, the commission considered there were "very strong indications" of violation of Article 2 and killings "committed on a substantial scale."

Rape

Relevant article: No one shall be subjected to torture or to inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

Charge by Greek-Cypriots: Turkish troops were responsible for wholesale and repeated rapes of women of all ages from 12 to 71, sometimes to such an extent that the victims suffered haemorrhages or became mental wrecks. In some areas, enforced prostitution was practised, all women and girls of a village being collected and put into separate rooms in empty houses where they were raped repeatedly.

In certain cases members of the same family were repeatedly

raped, some of them in front of their own children. In other cases women were brutally raped in public.

Rapes were on many occasions accompanied by brutalities such as violent biting of the victims causing severe wounding, banging their heads on the floor and wringing their throats almost to the point of suffocation. In some cases attempts to rape were followed by the stabbing or killing of the victims, victims included pregnant and mentally-retarded women.

Evidence given to commission: Testimony of doctors C and H, who examined the victims. Eye-witnesses and hearsay witnesses also gave evidence, and the commission had before it written statements from 41 alleged victims.

Dr H said he had confirmed rape in 70 cases, including:

- A mentally-retarded girl of 24 was raped in her house by 20 soldiers. When she started screaming they threw her from the second-floor window. She fractured her spine and was paralysed.
- One day after their arrival at Voni, Turks took girls to a nearby house and raped them.
- One woman from Voni was raped on three occasions by four persons each time. She became pregnant.

● One girl, from Palekythron, who was held with others in a house, was taken out at gun-point and raped.

● At Tavru, Turkish soldiers tried to rape a 17-year-old schoolgirl. She resisted and was shot dead.

● A woman from Gypsoou told Dr H that 25 girls were kept by Turks at Marathouvouno as prostitutes.

Another witness said his wife was raped in front of their children. Witness S told of 25 girls who complained to Turkish officers about being raped and were raped again by the

officers. A man (name withheld) reported that his wife was stabbed in the neck while resisting rape. His granddaughter, aged six, had been stabbed and killed by Turkish soldiers attempting to rape her. A Red Cross witness said that in August 1974, while the island's telephones were still working, the Red Cross Society received calls from Palekythron and Kaporta reporting rapes. The Red Cross also took care of 38 women released from Voni and Gypsoou detention camps: all had been raped, some in front of their husbands and children. Others had been raped repeatedly, or put in houses frequented by Turkish soldiers.

These women were taken to Alotiri hospital, in the British Sovereign Base Area, where they were treated. Three were found to be pregnant. Reference was also made to several abortions performed at the base. Commission's verdict: By 12 votes to one the commission found "that the incidents of rape described in the cases referred to and regarded as established constitute 'inhuman treatment' an *actus violatus* of Article 3 for which Turkey is responsible under the convention."

Torture

Relevant article: see above under Rape

Charge by Greek-Cypriots: Hundreds of people, including children, women and pensioners, were victims of systematic torture and savage and humiliating treatment during their detention by the Turkish army. They were beaten, according to the allegations, sometimes to the extent of being incapacitated. Many were subjected to whipping, breaking of their teeth, knocking their heads against walls, beating with electrified clubs, stubbing of cigarettes on their skin, jumping and stepping on their chests and

Written statements by eye-witnesses of looting were corroborated by several reports by the secretary-general of the United Nations. Verdict of Commission: The commission accepted that looting and robbery on an extensive scale, by Turkish troops and Turkish Cypriots, had taken place. By 12 votes to one, it established that there had been deprivation of possessions of Greek Cypriots on a large scale.

Other charges

On four counts, the commission concluded that Turkey had also violated an Article of the Convention asserting the right to respect for private and family life, home and correspondence. The commission also decided that Turkey was continuing to violate the Article by refusing to allow the return of more than 170,000 Greek Cypriot refugees to their homes in the north.

On three counts, the commission said Turkey had breached an Article laying down the right to liberty and security of person by confining more than 2,000 Greek Cypriots in schools and churches.

Finally, the commission said Turkey had violated two more articles that specify that the rights and freedoms in the Convention shall be secured without discrimination on any ground, and that anyone whose rights are violated "shall have an effective remedy" before a national authority.

In a number of cases physically ill-treated by Turkish soldiers. "These acts of ill-treatment caused considerable injuries and in at least one case, the death of the victim. By their severity they constitute 'inhuman treatment' in the sense of Article 3, for which Turkey is responsible under the convention."

Looting

Relevant article: Every natural or legal person is entitled to the peaceful enjoyment of his possessions.

Charge by Greek Cypriots: In all Turkish-occupied areas, the Turkish army systematically looted houses and business premises of Greek Cypriots.

Evidence to commission: Looting in Kyrenia was described by witness C. "... The first days of looting of the shops was done by the army, of heavy things like refrigerators, laundry machines, television sets" (verbatim record).

For weeks after the invasion, he said, he had watched Turkish naval ships taking on board the looted goods.

Witness K, a barrister, described the pillage of Famagusta: "At two o'clock an organised, systematic, terrifying, shocking, unbelievable looting started. We heard the breaking of doors, some of them iron doors, smashing of glass, and we were waiting for them any minute to enter the house. This lasted for about four hours."

hung by the feet over the hole of a lavatory for hours.

● A Turkish second lieutenant who used to prick all prisoners with a pin when they were taken into a yard.

Evidence from Dr H said that prisoners were in an emaciated condition on their return to Cyprus. On nine occasions he had found signs of wounds.

The doctor gave a general description of conditions in Adana and in detention camps in Cyprus (at Pavlides Garage and the Saray Prison in the Turkish quarter of Nicosia) as reported to him by former detainees. Food, he said, consisted of one-eighth of a loaf of bread a day, with occasional olives; there were two buckets of water and two mugs which were never cleaned, from which about 1,000 people had to drink; toilets were filthy, with faeces rising over the basins; floors were covered with faeces and urine; in jail in Adana prisoners were kept 76 to 'cell with three towels between them and one block of soap per eight persons per month to wash themselves and their clothes.

One man, it was alleged, had to amputate his own toes with a razor blade as a consequence of ill-treatment. Caught in Achina with another man, they had been beaten up with hard objects. When he had asked for a glass of water he was given a glass full of urine. His toes were then stepped on until they became blue, swollen and eventually gangrenous. (The other man was said to have been taken to hospital in Nicosia, where he agreed to have his legs amputated. He did not survive the operation.)

According to witness S, "hundreds of Greek Cypriots were beaten and dozens were executed. They have cut off their ears in some cases, like the case of Palekythro and Trahoni. . . ."

(verbatim record)
Verdict by commission: By 12 votes to one, the commission concluded that prisoners were

hands, pouring dirty liquids on them, piercing them with bayonets, etc.

Many, it was said, were ill-treated to such an extent that they became mental and physical wrecks. The brutalities complained of reached their climax after the ceasefire agreements; in fact, most of the acts described were committed at a time when Turkish armed forces were not engaged in any war activities.

EVIDENCE to Commission: Main witness was schoolteacher, one of 2,000 Greek Cypriot men deported to Turkey. He stated that he and his fellow detainees were repeatedly beaten after their arrest, on their way to Adana (in Turkey), in jail in Adana and in prison camp at Amasya.

On ship to Turkey: "That was another moment of terrible beating again. We were tied all the time. I lost the sense of touch. I could not feel anything for about two or three months. Every time we asked for water or spoke we were being beaten."

Arriving at Adana: "... then, one by one, they led us to prisons, through a long corridor ... Going through that corridor was another terrible experience. There were about 100 soldiers from both sides with sticks, clubs and with their fists beating every one of us while going to the other end of the corridor. I was beaten at least 50 times until I reached the other end."

In Adana anyone who said he wanted to see a doctor was beaten. "Beating was on the agenda every day. There were one or two very good, very nice people, but they were afraid to show their kindness, as they told us."

Witness P spoke of:
● A fellow prisoner who was kicked in the mouth. He lost several teeth "and his lower jaw came off in pieces."
● A Turkish officer, a karate student, who exercised every day by hitting prisoners.
● Fellow prisoners who were

THE SUNDAY TIMES, JANUARY 23 1977



The grief of Cyprus. It is July, 1974, and a Greek-Cypriot mother has just learnt of her son's death in battle

"Tilt" toward Turkey continues

By Senator Edward M. Kennedy

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There is also good reason to believe that Turkey is continuing to increase its civilian population on Cyprus. The "colonization" policy of Ankara, which brings mainland Turkish nationals to Cyprus, has been an open secret for many months - and, in fact, was confirmed to me in a recent exchange of correspondence with the foreign minister of Turkey. According to some reports more than 40,000 Turkish nationals have moved to Cyprus so far. And, although the movement of large groups of Turkish civilians has apparently ended for now, the colonization policy continues - as does the expulsion of Cypriot Greeks from their homes and lands in the occupied area.

THE SPECTATOR, 16.9.1978, (Britain)

By Richard West

"In spite of past hatreds, many Turkish Cypriots say they regret the exodus of the Greeks and even that they feel more affinity with these fellow Cypriots than they do with the mainland Turks, especially the Anatolians. We call them A.A. for Anatolian Apes" said one local sophisticate. The mainlanders are accused of boorishness, arrogance, looting and not going away.

"Some mainland Turks reciprocate the hostility of the Cypriots. An Istanbul businessman, Mustafa Yucad, who has been on a holiday, said to me: 'We are not very popular here. If I was a minister I would say we should get out. The Cypriots don't like us and they can get on without us. They don't even look like us. They are small, many of them are diseased with rickets from intermarriage. To me they look like Greek Cypriots, they are the same people'."

LA CROIX, 11.7.1980**Cyprus six years after**

It is a real process of colonisation which has been carried out in the north of Cyprus with the arrival of thousands of settlers from Turkey; 50,000 according to Greek Cypriots, 5,000 assures Denktash! These settlers were given land and properties belonging to Greek Cypriots, chased away in the south. In a few days they were allocated Cypriot nationality so that they could vote during the elections in favour of Denktash's administration and their behaviour, rapes, thefts and dealing in drugs were overlooked.

For whether honest or not, they come to bolster the Turkish minority in the island justifying in advance the efforts by Denktash to secure, in a future federal state, at least 35.8% of the territory of Cyprus and a near equality of power with the Greek Cypriots.

The colonisation by the continental Turks, is denounced by the Turkish Cypriots themselves who suffer from its consequences. There are numerous articles in the press which vehemently attack these illiterates, with a criminal record who have been poured into Cyprus and who are not at all capable of participating in the effort to put the economy right.

MAGAZINE: AL HOURRIAH, 24.6.84

Eight political parties, but the real ruler is the Turkish Army.

All these though do not alter the nature of the political life, which is dictatorship. In other words in the political life of the land dominates "the master".

In the referendum which had been carried out in order to decide division, many Turkish Cypriots who do not agree with the partition did not take part in the referendum, however Denktash allowed the Turks whom he brought over from Turkey and the families of the Turkish military to vote and indeed in favour of division.

LE MONDE, 19.5.1979

The Cypriot crisis:

Shaking off the general indifference

In the Turkish occupation zone, according to reliable testimony, the economy has low growth rates. The Turkish Cypriot population begins to find unbearable the presence of the occupants; military forces on the one and settlers on the other hand. About 30,000 were transplanted from the deprived areas of Turkey.

NOTICIERO UNIVERSAL, (Spain), 17.1.85

A slow agony scourges the "Island of Love"

By Nati Gutierrez

From the 200,000 refugees - nearly one-third of the total population - around 18,500 remained enclaved in the Turkish region and were under sustained pressure to abandon their homes. Thus in their place 50,000 Turkish settlers from Anatolia have been accommodated, who altered the demographic character of the occupied territories and obtained titles of "permanent" ownership of these properties. Today, according to the data of September 1984, the number of the enclaved has been reduced to 1,500. The number of the missing persons exceeds 1,600.

NRC-HANDELSBLAD, 4.7.1979 (Netherlands)

Trick conceals flood of Turks to Cyprus

By Michael Stein, editor

"By this change of names the Turkish Cypriot authorities are attempting to cover up the enormous emigration of Turks from the mainland to the island since 1974. The number of Turks brought to the north east of Cyprus in the last few years in order to increase the Turkish population of Cyprus is unknown. Turkish Cypriots, who generally have very bad relations with the far more backward newcomers, believe that more than 100,000 mainland Turks have already moved into previously Greek-Cypriot houses. This is an enormous increase when one considers that the original number of Turkish Cypriots was 120,000 of the total Cypriot population of 600,000.

THE TIMES, 27.5.1978

Turk settlers "Making Cyprus hell"

By *The Times* correspondent in Nicosia

Dr. Fazil Kuchuk, a former Vice-President of Cyprus and one of the leaders of the Turkish Cypriot community, has launched a bitter attack on the settlement policy of the Turkish Government. He is complaining that settlers brought to the Turkish-

occupied part of Cyprus from the mainland "have transformed this paradise island into hell".

In a series of articles this week in his own newspaper, *Halkin Sesi*, Dr. Kuchuk appealed to Mr. Bulent Ecevit, the Turkish Prime Minister, to have undesirable settlers repatriated "so that this island that they have liberated will not be turned into a grave". He said: "The sooner they are sent back, the sooner the Turkish Cypriots and the decent newcomer settlers will find peace".

It was the first public protest from a leading Turkish Cypriot since Turkey began sending settlers to the island, soon after its invasion in the summer of 1974.

The Cyprus Government has been complaining regularly about a "reign of terror" by the Turkish settlers in the occupied area, directed at forcing the few remaining Greek Cypriots there to abandon their homes and flee to the Greek Cypriot-controlled part of Cyprus in the south.

The Government claims that as many as 40,000 settlers have been brought from the mainland in an attempt to change the demographic character of Cyprus and the balance of its population, which until the Turkish invasion consisted of 120,000 Turkish Cypriots and 500,000 Greek Cypriots.

Turkey and the Turkish Cypriot leader, Mr. Rauf Denktash, maintain that there is no settlement policy and that only about 4,000 Turks form the mainland have been brought to the north as "seasonal workers".

However, Dr. Kuchuk spoke clearly in his protest about "the wrong and lame settlement policy being followed in the past four years". While the decent settlers inspired hope "we observed that jailbirds, rapists, parasites, gamblers and drug smugglers were also being provided with similar facilities, despite our warnings to the authorities. But they turned a deaf ear and did nothing.

"On the contrary, the newcomers were given houses, land, food and money. They were even given bonuses amounting to tens of thousands of Turkish lira under the cover of settlement credits. They were so spoilt by this bounty that they started referring to those of us, who had enough dignity to tolerate these thugs, as Cypriot asses".

The tolerant attitude of the authorities led to crime on an unprecedented scale, "so that the people were left with no courage to go out into the streets", Dr. Kuchuk said.

The outburst by Dr. Kuchuk and other complaints in the Turkish Cypriot press were provoked by the kidnapping of a 17-year-old Turkish Cypriot girl from the village of Ayios Andronicos, in the Karpass peninsula, by two mainland Turkish settlers.

Before the invasion the village had a mixed population of 2,000 Greek and 500 Turkish Cypriots, but Turkish journalists who visited the village after the kidnapping reported that 1,000 mainland Turks have been settled there since the departure of the Greek Cypriots.

The journalists quoted the Turkish Cypriots of Ayios Andronicos as telling them that there was a tense situation in the village, that there was no contact between them and the settlers, and that they even used different coffee shops during their leisure time.

THE SUNDAY TIMES 7.3.1976

Torture damaged man's spine

By Tony Rocca

The first substantial support for claims that Greek Cypriot prisoners of war were tortured by their Turkish captors after the 1974 invasion of Cyprus is contained in a medical report prepared for Amnesty International by three Dutch doctors.

They say that a man examined by them long after the fighting ended showed symptoms compatible with his account of electrical shocks which he claimed he and other Greek PoWs had been given in jails on the Turkish mainland. X-rays confirmed spinal damage and "we have no other explanation for the malformation of the vertebrae, other than torture", says Dr. Jeanne Smeulers, the report co-author.

The story of the man, a 29-year-old sailor, whose anonymity Amnesty wants to preserve, will heighten the anxiety on the Greek side of a committee of parents and relatives of people who were lost after the fighting. The committee says that of a total of 2,197 underclared prisoners and missing people, between 600 and 1,000 are still held in Turkey. (This charge has been denied regularly by Turkey; and it has not been substantiated by the International Committee of the Red Cross).

The man, who is married and has a two-year-old daughter, was captured on August 14, 1974, and was held for six days with other National Guard prisoners in one of several "separation centres" established by the Turks on the island to sort out their captives.

On August 20, handcuffed and blindfolded, he and several others were shipped to Adana on the Turkish mainland. There, he told the doctors, he was imprisoned with between 400 and 500 others in a vast cellar, the floor of which was more than an inch deep in water. Each prisoner had one blanket, but sleep was impossible. Those who were known to have killed Turkish soldiers during the fighting were removed.

The rest were all blindfolded and handcuffed for the first week. Then, he says, the torture began.

After 13 days of a diet of olives and filthy water, during which the prisoners' urine turned red, it was his turn. The report says "an iron band about an inch thick was clamped around his neck. It was impossible for him to move his head. Then they gave an electroshock of about 20 seconds' duration. His whole body was trembling".

Seventeen days later, on September 19, he was transported back to Cyprus with the others, and on October 17 they were returned to the Greek side in a prisoner exchange.

The sailor then went to Athens to seek help from the Greek authorities. But he was told by officials of Premier Karamanlis's party, preparing for the first election after the overthrow of the junta, that the best they could do would be to offer him a train ticket to west Europe.

When the doctors examined him in Rotterdam he complained of a tingling sensation in his fingers, severe headache, stomach pains and such chronic sleep disorders that he could not sleep in bed — he had to use a chair or sleep standing up, and even then he always had nightmares. X-rays showed two vertebral joints "tilted in a very strange way" and concluded that there was a high probability of a fracture, with arthritis as a secondary problem.

The report says: "We are convinced that the above-mentioned method of torture can be very dangerous, especially when there are for instance congenital or other malformations of the vertebrae. Fractures of vertebrae resulting in paralysis or even death are not impossible when this terrible sort of electroshock is given".

It adds: "The patient said most of the prisoners received an electro-shock in the same way... Afterwards, a lot of them had neck and back complaints and it is most probable that a lot of these young men have an irreversible injury."

In Holland last week Dr. Smeulers, of Rotterdam University Hospital, added: "He realised we couldn't do much for him in Holland and though we wanted him to stay for physical rehabilitation he felt he had to go back to Cyprus".

In London an Amnesty spokesman said: "This particular man was not an officer and he had no information of value to his Turkish captors. There was no reason other than terror for the torture".