TMT: WITH BLOOD AND FIRE PART I

(First part, 13.1.2006 and second part, 20.1.2006)

GENERAL INTRO

STUDIO:

Ladies and gentlemen, good evening.
We begin as from today to put together a different kind of a programme, a programme of investigative journalism.
Our effort will aim at bringing to the surface what lay behind the big and interesting issues that interest and concern all of us in all fields. We shall aim at bringing to surface what cause the interesting phenomena which influence our lives and which we will be dealing with and shed as much penetrating light on them as it is possible. We will be dealing with social issues, with issues of political, economic and human interest, but also with historical events that have left their mark on the country and inevitably on our lives.
As each time, a lot of time consuming investigation into the issues will be required, there will not be a fixed and binding specific date for the presentation, but they will be presented whenever this investigation is completed.
We begin tonight with an issue which is little known and which has unfortunately played a critical role in formulating the developments which led to the present situation of semi-occupation and semi-partition.
We often hear that G/C and T/C used to live harmoniously together until foreign meddling provoked the conflict between them in order to serve interests

alien to the people of this island. It obvious that something like this would have not succeeded had it been for factors within both communities which proved willing to serve those foreign interests, with whatever excuse and pretext.

Tonight we will concentrate on how such a situation was promoted within the T/C community.

In the case of the T/C this was achieved through the establishment and action of TMT, or Turk Mukavement Teskilari, or in English, "Turkish Resistance Organisation."

With us in order to help us in this investigation is Spyros Athanasiades, Turkologist and author of the book "The case of TMT".

Good evening Spyro, there is a lot and very interesting issues to discuss tonight. But first let us have a look at the environment that existed within which the events that interest us took place.

PROGRAMME'S TITLE: TMT: WITH BLOOD AND FIRE

VTR 1.:

TMT was founded, manned, financed and guided by a decision of the Turkish government, the execution of which was given to the Special War Department of the Turkish General Staff. TMT's mission was the recapture of Cyprus and the strategic prepared for it was revealingly code named "Retaking Cyprus".

Immediately after the end of the Second World War, a process of decolonisation and national liberation had began. As it was to be expected this new wind has also

reached Cyprus, whose contribution to the great antifascist struggle was both significant and disproportional to its size. This contribution was a conscious option which was related to the Cypriots' post war expectations, concerning the future of their country. Expectations that were betrayed by the strong ones in the post war order. In particular by Britain who was also the colonial power controlling the island. And whose basic strategic aim was to retain its grip on island as part of its regional strategy.

The British policy planners have observed early enough the potential offered by the presence of the T/C minority in Cyprus, in promoting its control over the island. Encouraging Turkey to demonstrate an interest in the future of Cyprus was for the British government a strategic option. This was supported by a small nationalist elitist of the T/C leadership.

STUDIO:

In these circumstances, Turkey, for the first time since the signing of the Treaty of Laussane with which Turkey dropped any claim of any remnants of ottoman relations with Cyprus she could evoke, exhibits with British encouragement interest in Cyprus. The Turkish response to the British encouragement began to manifest itself –within the framework of British manipulations- in the early fifties.

-Spyro, under what circumstances did Turkey get involved, why until that moment, the beginning of the fifties Turkey did not demonstrate any interest in Cyprus. There were the British who instigated the

Turkish interest, we know that. From Turkey's point of view however, what did push Turkey to show so much interest as to form even underground organisations on the island?

- I can say Costa that Turkish interest on Cyprus is manifested since 1948, but it heightens after the establishment of EOKA on April the 1st, 1955. We have then the events of 5 and 6 of September 1955, when Turkey gets actively involved in the Cyprus issue, with the encouragement from England.

-All this on a diplomatic level.

-Exactly. The ordinary people in Turkey did not even know where Cyprus was, but the people were pushed by their leaders. The then foreign minister Fatih Zorlu, we shall see the role he played in setting up TMT. He was also responsible for the events of September 1955 in Constantinople, against the Greek community there. Since then… I was born to the generation of "ya taxim ya olum", "partition or death". We grew up in Constantinople with this slogan which spread all over Turkey, there was an explosion of nationalism.

-Was there an effort to turn the people's attention away from its problems, we are talking about a period when Turkey faced huge internal problems.

-Correct, Turkey had just joined NATO, conditions were very difficult for the government which was the first non military government of Turkey since 1923 when the Turkish Republic was established. Until 1950 all the governments were military governments, all the presidents were military, o Ismet Inonu, Ataturk and so on. From 1950 until 1960 we have the first non military government Jelal Bayar, Menderes and Zorlu.

-The order to set up TMT was given to the special warfare department.

-This is so but I must say a few words about the situation before TMT when there were smaller organisations, like Volkan.

-We will see this later. Let's examine how the order was given to set up TMT.

-The first TMT and I must again open a parenthesis here, the first TMT was established on 15 November 1957, by an officer of the Turkish Consulate, Denktash and Dabadoglu and we have the second TMT as from 1st of August 1958. On Ankara's orders to the department of special warfare, the ministry of foreign affairs.

-The special warfare department is an agency which had the responsibility to form conditions of guerrilla warfare in the case of soviet occupation of Turkey and it was an agency which the Americans had established in all allied countries.

-This agency was tested during the events of September 1955 and this is the reason it received the mandate to set up TMT. At the beginning of 1958 the then chief of staff Osali Chiosgun invites the head of the special war department Danis Karabelle and he tells him about this idea and asks him of his opinion whether it is possible.

-We shall see the details soon. Let's simply mention that through this Turkey gets involved in illegal activities in regards with the Cyprus colonial regime but also in relation to international law against Cyprus. Let us see yet another video on the Turkish preparations for this operation.

VTR 2:

The Turks divide TMT's history into two periods, before independence and after independence.
When the national liberation struggle against the British began, and before TMT appeared, there were many small autonomous groups which functioned on a local level. Their activity was usually centred on the circulation of leaflets with nationalistic content.

SOUNDBITE IN ENGLISH
CG= AHMED ANN / T/C RESEARCHER.

SOUNDBITE IN ENGLISH
CG=RAUF DENKTASH EX T/C LEADER

SOUNDBITE IN TURKISH
CG= ARIF TAHSIN EX TMT MEMBER
SUBTITLES:

Faiz Kaymak in 1954, when Greece brought the Cyprus issue before the United Nations with the request to recognise the right of self determination, Fazil Kaymak, Ahmed Said and Ahmed Berberoglu constituted a three member committee that visited Turkey. Adnan Menderes and Jelal Bayar, the prime minister and the president of Turkey, were at the time in Istanbul. They met first with the prime minister and then the president. Faiz Kaymak wrote later in his book that Prime Minister Menderes told them: "support England, otherwise they will fall. Go to England and

tell them not to leave Cyprus. However, look" and he pulled out a letter, "this was sent to me by the United States which says that there will not be enosis" and Kaymak read the letter.

They went to Jelal Bayar and he told them the same things. And from there they sent them to England, where they met with foreign minister who told that "it is a shame to ask England to stay on in Cyprus as colonialists… this time and age is a shame to ask for the return of Cyprus to its old master, to be given to Turkey"…

They told him, "Ok, we ask you to return Cyprus to its old owner" and he replied "it is no me you should say this but to the United States, you go to them and tell the United Sates". "But, they replied, we don't have passports, we don't have money, we don't have tickets" and he replied, "don't worry, I will fix it all and I will send them to you". So they went to the United States and when they were leaving, they asked, "Who should we tell in the United States". "I will arrange this," he said. So they went and told the Americans who responded by telling them to go and tell the Turkish representative… He said no. After that they talked to journalists as well and then they were sent to meet with Turkey's representative, but he refused to ask for the return of Cyprus in his speech at the United Nations, The English representative intervened and the following day the Turkish representative asked for the return of Cyprus to Turkey"

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STUDIO:

TMT through sword and fire and under the protection and cover by the British colonial administration had practically imposed itself on the T/C. The small and autonomous groups are forced to submit to TMT's authority and control.

At the same time, the British security forces provide members for TMT. The British, in the context of their policies, they set up an auxiliary police force made up entirely and exclusively of T/C which is used to put down the manifestations of the G/C against the British colonial administration. As a result, the two communities are pushed into a confrontation between themselves and they British presented themselves as peaceful intermediaries.

The question however is why G/C and T/C failed to see where the British policy was leading them to.

VIDEO:

SOUNDBITE IN ENGLISH

CG= AHMED ANN / T/C RESEARCHER.

STUDIO:

It is therefore clear that the two communities were set on a course of direct clash by British decisions.

-Spyro, Denktash referred to Volkan, to the organisations before TMT and said that they were disbanded in order to set up TMT. Denktas made

recently some statement about Volkan. What exactly did he say?

-Volkan was established by Kutshuk and Denktash could not tolerate that and he disbanded all the small organisations. Recently however, on November 29, 2005.

-A few days ago.

-Yes, a few days ago, you can see how this gentleman speaks with so much hate, Mr Denktash talked about the boys who risked their lives for Volkan and said that Volkan was established by the British, that its members were British agents, that all those who were members of Volkan were later sent by the British to Britain where they were given jobs and many other things. That it was not really a terrorist organisation, as we know them…

-In essence this confirms the role of the British again in instigating the whole affair.

-Clearly.

-As far as TMT is concern, what was its structure, was it purely military?

-Exactly. The second TMT…

-The organisation controlled by the special warfare department.

-Head of the organisation was Bayraktar, the Standard Bearer as he was known who controlled six sanjak…

-Bayraktar, was he a military officer from Turkey?

-He was a military officer from Turkey, he name Riza Vuruskan with the code name Boskurt, Grey Wolf.

-And his rank?

-Colonel. He controlled six sanjak. In other words the big cities plus that of Lefka.

-Under Turkish officers again.

-Turkish officers, yes.

-They would arrive illegally to Cyprus and presumable with Britain's tolerance.

-Of course. The late minister of Education Yiatmidzi, used to send them here as teachers, the interior ministry used to issue them passport under false identities. The sanjacks were then divided into kovan, hives.

-So in fact we are talking of regions.

-Yes, they were divided into hives, the hives into honeycombs, and the honeycombs into groups of bees each one of which was made up of five members which were known as cells. That was the organisational structure of TMT. All of them military and in the lower structures there were young T/C, or T/C students from Ankara who were sent here.

-and arms, money and control, everything from Turkey.

-Always from Turkey.

-How as money sent?

-Both money and arms were sent in many ways. Through the diplomatic vouch of the Turkish Consulate. On one occasion, they attempted to bring guns through the vouch but they thought it dangerous. Later on every fortnight, young T/C would be sent to Ankara to be trained in the training camps they ran in there.

-We saw some photos of these camps from Ismael Tansun's book.

-It was regular, every fortnight there ware new groups. Money was being sent with these people. There was also a fund called Fund for the Protection of Turkish Culture Abroad, this fund usually issued the money.

The minister of interior, finance, customs, foreign relations, and all the government participated in this fund.

-So, TMT enjoyed the political support of the Turkish government, its military support, its diplomatic and its economic.

Researching for this programme, we talked to many T/C ex TMT members and we have heard a lot. We have heard, for instance, that the organisation's executioners were named "hunters", because they were under standing orders to go out hunting for any Greek Cypriots to kill, the minute the leadership of the organisation gave the signal, usually after an event they thought was hostile.

We also observed that during Denktash's reign, it was fashionable for every one to tell fibs about their contribution to TMT. And myths and tales penetrated "official" history in a way, of course, that served the policies promoted by TMT and political wings.

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VTR 3.

This building in occupied Nicosia is not a normal building. Before TMT's uprising against the state, on Christmas 1963, the Austin cars agency used is housed here. Today it is the official offices of the Associations of TMT fighters. Which TMT, as Denktash once said, is a "moral force" in the T/C community. A force which is based on blind nationalistic fanatism.

The evidence of this nationalism is exhibited in public view in the offices of the Association, but also in its chairman's and members' statements.

STAND UP

TMT headquarters must have looked something like this. This room is used today as the conference rook of the council of the TMT Veteran's Association. Its decoration reflects exactly the strictly military nature of the organisation. We must also say that the building which was used by TMT as gun making factory and we were told that they made a total of ten thousand guns, here in the basement of this building.

The chairman of the Association Yilmaz Boran says that he was injured during the fighting in in Nicosia in 1963.

SOUNDBITE IN ENGLISH
CG= YILMAZ BORAN/ CHAIRMAN OF TMT ASSOCIATIONS

Ahmed Colgay is a journalist. He works for the largest circulation T/C newspaper, Kibris. He is also the author of several books in Turkish on TMT. He says that he served as a TMT member for five years.

SOUNDBITE IN TURKISH

CG= AHMED COLGAY/JOURNALIST ES TMT MEMBER

SUBTITLES:

After the birth of EOKA the T/C community was forced to defend itself and a few small local organisations sprang out. As a result of their activity, TMT was founded and since its establishment, it had relations not only with the media but also with all social groupings. At some point it became the administrative centre of the T/C community, it was not just a clandestine organisation… remember that the T/C was expelled from the joint administration and was secluded in the ghettos and therefore there was need for some sort of representative organisation. The only organisation that could secure this was at that time TMT.

I want to emphasise this. From what I understand, Mr. Yennaris sees TMT as a normal organisation, as a terrorist organisation.

Although our generation admits that TMT is a secret organisation, it does not accept that it was also a terrorist organisation. It was an organisation that kept the community upright, which managed and controlled all other organisations. When an organisation is institutionalised, it is natural that it would have some effect on the educational system, on the health system as well as in other fields.

With such dominant position, could TMT have cultivated racism, chauvinism and nationalism?

It was possible. But when a people who are under attack the only refuge available is nationalism. Within these environment nationalist sentiments, couldn't hatred have increased?

Yes, it was inevitable, because hatred was mutual. Now we are at peace, TMT is out of circulation but we see that they still refuse to give T/C their right to live and there is real danger that they will push the T/C in line with nationalism.

Certainly, I don't believe that TMT was a mistake or a crime in the T/C community. TMT was the product of political conditions. The T/C community had no other choice but to organise its defence against the attacks from the G/C community. Because the G/C not only threw us out of state but intended to submit our joint country to Greece. We were forced to defend ourselves and during our defence, we had no other option but to run to TMT I wish to stress again that TMT was established as a response to the needs of the T/C people. It was not established by Turkey, it was founded by the T/C themselves for their defence. For months, the T/C begged Turkey to take over the organisation and improve their protection.

SOUNDBITE IN TURKISH

CG= HASAN KESKI / EX FAMAGUSTA TMT COMMANDER

SUBTITLES:

What was your role in TMT?

I was a commander. I became commander in 1963 and continued until 1980.

What were your duties?

From 1958 until 1963, I was a member of the underground organisation. When the 1963 clashes took place, TMT came out in the open and began to

function like an army. In the process, the leaders became commanders. In this way, the organisation of the army had improved.

What were your duties in Famagusta?

I served in different positions, I served as platoon leader, I served in the regional HQ and later on as commander.

As a commander, you must have gone through some sort of training. Where did this training take place, here or in Turkey?

Both here and in Turkey.

Through what channels was training in Turkey arranged?

In the case of Turkey, TMT had offices there and they arranged everything. Training was carried out in specific areas and specific friends had specific trainers.

Was the training taking place in military camps of the Turkish army?

Both in military camps and elsewhere, as the training covered different fields. The training programme had a specific code name, it was "Nostalgia".

From 1958 until 1963 110 TMT members were trained in Turkey. The training programmes were prepared by the Special Warfare Department, and based on guerrilla warfare.

Was the Turkish government aware of the training?

Let's take it from the beginning. When EOKA appeared publicly, the T/C formed neighbourhood organisations, like VOLKAN, KARA CETE and 9th September. It soon became evident that these organisations were not enough so we went to Turkey, we talked to the leaders at the time and we ask to set up a more comprehensive and more disciplined organisation, under the

command of military officers from Turkey. When the Turkish government agreed with us, TMT was formed.

During your training, you must have financial needs, who covered those?

From 1963 to 1974, life went normally. Some T/C worked just like now in the Greek side, others had their own businesses and some others were students. Everyone had a job earning his living. I must stress that during TMT's period Turkey did not extend any financial help to TMT members.

In that case, what were the sources of your income?

Me personally, my family was well off. Let me add something else. During the transitional period, when TMT was being transformed into an army and serving in the army became obligatory, we started getting salaries.

When did you start getting a salary?

The army became regular in 1965 and our salaries began in 1965. Let me say this. Whatever was available was distributed equally among ourselves. If, for example Mr Denktash received 30 pounds a salary, the same salary was given to a soldier and a civil servant.

STAND UP AT THE TMT MONUMENT

This monument is dedicated to TMT. This is TMT's oath. Let's see in more detail this document. TMT's headquarters, date of establishment, 1958. This is for Famagusta. Date of establishment, 1958. Paphos, there is no establishment date. Limassol, 13th of February, 1964. Bogazi, 1964. The common feature in almost all of them is the presence of the Wolf, the Grey Wolf. Kokkina, 1964. This for an organisation in

Karpas, in a Turkish village in Karpas. Limnitis, 1964. !969, the Turkish village of Serdarli. And again the Grey Wolf. Larnaca, 1964. Again, the Grey Wolf and presumably the castle of the city is also depicted. Lefka, the Grey Wolf and 1958. And Nicosia, 1958.

STUDIO:

We must mention that TMT's museum, to which the chairman of the Association of TMT's veterans referred, is in a military camp and therefore we were not allowed to come even near it.

-What impressed me Spyro, Turkey, based on these confessions, actually maintain a whole army here, with arms, money, officers. Secondly, we are in fact peaking of two prongs of her tactics. Terrorising the T/C and the cultivation of hatred against the Greeks. To what extend these two aspects are reflected in TMT's oath.

- If you want I would read the oath.

-Yes please.

- TMT's oath goes like this: "I dedicate myself to resist against any attack from wherever it might come, which will threatens the lives, the freedoms, the properties and all that is sacred of the T/C. I will execute any duty given to me, even if it involves even my death. I will protect until the very end whatever I would see, hear, know or would be entrusted to me. I will not reveal anything to anybody. I know that revealing anything amounts to treachery the punishment of which is death. I swear in the name of honour, dignity and everything sacred that I will follow all the above."

This is TMT's oath Costa. But if you would allow me to respond to some of the points raised earlier.

One of the speakers said that membership was voluntary. It was not. It was compulsory.

-Keskin said that later.

-Yes, Keskin was right.

-Keskin who, by the way, is one of the main writers for the extreme right wing newspaper and the voice of the Grey Wolves, Volkan.

-He is very, very nationalist. So, this is cleared up now, the membership was compulsory and the fighters were paid peanuts. Keskin also talked of the training sites. The training was taking place in a Recruits Training Camp, 40 kilometres outside Ankara, in a place called ZIP, which was in a military area.

-We saw some photos of the place from Ismael Tansu's book. Ismael Tansu was the commander of the Special War Department of the General Staff to whom the order to establish TMT was given.

-He was the second in command. Carabel was the commander, but Tansu was the brains behind it, he drew up the plans code named "Recapturing Cyprus".

-Which had a specific code name, which was….

-"Recapturing Cyprus"

-In other words, occupation.

-Of course, here is his book. They may say that Turkey was not involved in setting up TMT, on the cover of the book the title reads: "TMT, a secret, illegal organisation with the state's blessings". By Ismael Tansu.

-With such structures, so many thousand members, who were forced to join and we will be showing later how the T/C were forced to participate, the ordinary T/C, did they have any possibilities to react?

-There was no chance or possibility of any response. Those who reacted went to exile. England was the

place where with the slightest pressure or blackmail, they went.

-Something else, the way the T/C were terrorised, there was pure terror, ware there any problems with the execution of dissidents, their punishment?

-Punishments varied and it was not only death. They began from the market places, Denktash mentioned it earlier. They used to buy it for three cents…

-Within the campaign "from Turk to Turk".

-Exactly. They used to buy something whose price was tree, five cent, two of them supposedly for TMT, but it was not clear where this money went. And we are talking of millions of pounds.

STUDIO:

Nationalism was Denktash's banner, ideology and weapon right from the start. His aim was to cultivate among the T/C and mainly among the young T/C fanatism to the extend that they could bare on their shoulders his schemes. There were no moral or any other obstacles or limitations as to the means employed to promote this. As a member of the colonial Attorney General's office, he used to collect the information secured through interrogation of EOKA members and channelled it to TMT's commanders. He had no moral objections in provoking clashes between the two communities and built walls of hate between them. He had no problems with his conscience when he acted ruthlessly against his political opponents within the T/C community itself. Always in the name of Kemal Ataturk, as is evident from the video that

follows. It is a speech he made in Nicosia 25 years after Ataturk's death.

SOUNDBITE IN TURKISH

SUBTITLES:

Father, today is the 25th anniversary of your death. On a day like this, you passed on to eternity and the civilised world commemorates you with respect.
The T/C, proud to belong to your race, commemorate you. They look for you with nostalgia for 25 years.
For everyone death means leaving this world and forgetfulness behind the heavy curtains of time. Your death changed this. With every passing year, nostalgia increases and deepens. With every passing year from your death, you grow older by 365 days and you create even greater epics.
For everyone death is a great end but your death is a new beginning, a rebirth, Father. You climbed to the top tip of existence, so that you can see how well your magnificent work is protected and you trusted the Turkish youth. You look from afar. You know very well that the Turkish youth believes in that, you are in every Turkish youth's heart. We as Turkish youth, as we respectfully commemorate you on this day every year, we feel that we are tested on your spiritual presence. We believe and we know that what you expect from us is not enthusiastic speeches and brilliant words in volumes of books. You expect from us bright acts in service of the motherland. You want us to work like you, tirelessly, without bending our backs and with faith. To face difficulties with no

compromises and with wisely. Whatever these difficulties may be, you expect to know how to overcome them for the protection of the motherland. You expect of the brave people who knows how to dismember with its nails its enemies who step on the motherland's head, to work day and night with science and contemporary technology to turn the heroic Anatolia into a paradise with the standards of contemporary civilisation. You expect your people to live in a way that honours its glorious history and past, so that Turkishness glows everywhere. You look for a youth with a faith similar to that of the youth during the national struggle, which will extend a hand to the pains of the motherland. You work with your comrades, with a thousand privations, day and night for the salvation of the motherland. You expect youth to turn the lands you have saved into a frontline country of civilisation. To secure their success what is needed is sacrifice. We know this Father. And we are trying to learn from your sacrifices for the motherland. You are the heart of the grateful Turkish people, the undying flame of the Turkish world and the faith in each Turk's heart. Rest assured that under any circumstances we will protect the independence democracy the honour and the rights of the Turkish people. You can be proud that the Turkish nation keeps you alive in its soul. God gave you to the brave and noble Turkish nation because the Turkish nation deserved only someone like you. Our eyes are in tears. On the anniversary of your death, we commemorate you with nostalgia.

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STUDIO:

In June 1958, the press office of the Turkish Consulate in Nicosia is blown up. Only a few minutes later hundreds of T/C flood the streets of the capital and attack G/C property. The British security forces appeared to be unable to control the riots. Years later Denktash would confess his role in the affair during an interview for a Granada TV documentary called "Britain's Grim Legacy". He confirmed what he said then this journalist in an interview in the year 2000.

SOUNDBITE IN ENGLISH

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STUDIO:

Years later, in 2000, in an interview to this reporter, Mr Denktas was asked specifically about this incident which indeed marked bloody and fierce clashes between the two communities. Let's see what Mr Denktash confessed then.

SOUNDBITE IN ENGLISH

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STUDIO:

-So many years later Spyro, has this chauvinism, this nationalism, this hatred cultivated by TMT and Denktash, penetrated the collective consciousness of the T/C?. Are there any remnants of that?

- It contuse to be cultivated Costa, by Denktash himself. Only recently, he wanted to establish TMT 2. He did not eventually do so, because there was uproar among the T/C. But instead the National Popular Front was set up which is the same thing. Even persons we saw tonight are members of this new organisation. It is TMT with another face. With your permission, I would like to comment on a statement by Denktash who said, "We placed the bomb at the press office because we wanted to show that we are here, that we exist". Exactly the same thing happened in 1955 when the Turks again bombed the house where allegedly, Ataturk was born and which was the signal for the events in Constantinople.

-The similarity is amazing and it perhaps demonstrates the common origin of the orders.

-They came from the same office. The special war department was the brains behind the riots in Constantinople and the same happened here with TMT, we saw the slogan, "ya taksim, ya olum".

-We will the opportunity to say more on the subject next week, when we will present more documents and revelations, including statements on CyBC's cameras, by T/C deserters who describe what they went through in the hands of TMT.

We will then be with you again next Friday for the second part of this investigation into the activities of TMT, Good night.

TMT: WITH BLOOD AND FIRE PART I

STUDIO:

Good evening.
We present tonight the second part of our report on TMT.
Last week we saw how this terrorist organisation was set up, how it was manned, how it was armed and how it organised provocations in order to bring the T/C community under its complete control.
With the assistance of Turkoslogist Spyros Athanasiades, who is again in the studio with us tonight, we will have a look at the resistance put up by the T/C against TMT and Ankara and how this resistance was dealt with.
Last week we talked about the official implication of Turkey in this conspiracy of the T/C leadership and of the military in Ankara against Cyprus However, were it a matter of the military alone, or were there implications of the political leadership in Turkey. If yes, at what level. The answer is being given by Spyros Athanasiades.

-Spyro, here we are again to talk about TMT. Was setting up the organisation a matter for the military alone, or was there political involvement as well and if

yes at what level? And at what stage, right from the start?

-Costa, instead of us as Greeks talking about the involvement of the official, military and political, Turkey, please allows me to translate a piece from the book penned by the brains of TMT Ismael Tansu.

-He was a member of the special war department of the Turkish General Staff and he was given the order to set up TMT.

-And he was the one who drew the plan code named "Recapturing Cyprus".

-Recapturing, like saying conquering Cyprus again.

-The whole of Cyprus. As we said last week, at the end of 1957 the idea is conceived at the General Staff and in April 58, with a delay of four months, the idea is approved and the Deputy chief of staff Tzeve Sounai invites to his office the man who later became the head of the Ankara branch of TMT and tells his the following: "Unofficially, you undertake a very important and thoroughly state mission..

-This is who?

-Tsenev Sunai, the deputy head of the Turkish armed forces. Good luck and god be with you. We trust you and I wish you every success". On that day, the head of the branch is given the go ahead by the primenister of the country Adnan Menderes. Listen to what he says: "The establishment of a secret armed organisation in Cyprus is approved with the aim of securing the (Turkish) state presence on the island. You can go ahead and implement the plan you have prepared and which will be implemented under extra ordinary conditions and clandestinely. The risks and difficulties of establishing such an organisation are

well known in country which under the control of the English. All preparations in connection with this issue should remained top secret and efforts should be exerted to avoid any leaks inside or outside the country. All those taking part in this operation should avoid statements or acts that would rate the suspicion that the organisation was set up with the consent of our government. The needs in arms, material, personnel and money will be met by our government and our armed forces. The leaders of the T/C community in Cyprus Fazil Kutchuk and Rauf Denktash are person enjoying the support and trust of our government. There should close cooperation with these persons who will assist in setting up the organisation. All officers who will get involved in the organisation will retain all their legal rights and would be considered on unlimited leave. We believe that the organisation will secure the security of life and property of the T/C people and will also contribute in promoting the policies on Cyprus followed by our government. I depend on the able officers who will shoulder this duty and I wish the every success."

It is not only this message by Menderes, TMT briefed regularly Menderes about the TMT and I hope we will have the chance to say more.

-This is indeed shocking. We have involvement of all the important actors of the Turkish state in this affair

-"We will always be on your side.

-Even the president of the Republic Jelal Bayar, but we will come to that.

STUDIO:

Chauvinism and fatatism were always the instruments used by both TMT and Debktash. It was the only way to impose their will on the T/C community. Those who with different views from those of TMT, face the …heroic fanatism of the members of the organisation. The victims of the official Turkish terrorism were many among the T/C, even though they may forget this today and in spite Denktash's denials.

SOUNDBITE IN ENGLISH

Denktash however is self-denied. And his self-denial is contained in a document found in a T/C minister's office -in the first Makarios government- after the open TMT revolt against the state in 1963 and which has been submitted to the United Nations Security Council. It was a document recommending to Ankara strategic planning for the promotion of the Turkish conspiracy against the Republic of Cyprus.
The document describes the situation prevailing among the T/C just before the outbreak of the revolt and it explains the reasons for the terrorist campaign it launched against the T/C in order to prevent the peaceful coexistence of the two communities.

It reads:

"The T/C will find themselves without a national cause because the process of "unification" has already begun to "cypriotise" the T/C. In other words, maximum cooperation with the G/C and no apposition to them,

normal symbiosis, show of understanding to every caprice in order to avoid difficulties. The result of this process is the neutralization of the T/C as a separate entity."

That's how the double aim of TMT is identified in its activity a mission: terrorising the T/C to cut off all contact with the G/C and provoking clashes between the two communities so that the demand for demographic and geographical separation is justified. And of course, there were no moral limitations as far as the methods used to achieve these aims were concerned. Assassinations, provocations and attacks were always in order.

The following is also contained in this document:

"The main lines of the national cause must be imposed on those who love to play opposition in the community. Dr Ihsan Ali who is an admirer and lover of the G/C and who has confirmed contacts with the British intelligence and with the G/C enosis leaders and his collaborator, sexual pervert Muzafer Gurkan and Ayhan Hikmet, who has confirmed connections with the communists, must be made to stop their activity and their writings in newspapers which serve the cause and the aims of the G/C. If they do not believe in the national cause they must shut their mouth."

SOUNDBITE IN TURKISH

CG= ARIF TAHSIN EX TMT MEMBER

On June 7, 1958, a bomb was placed at the Turkish press office and 20 years later Denktash said that the person who placed the bomb was a friend of his.

On January 27-28, 1958 the demonstrations against the English had began and there were 7 dead people. Sevim Uflet had followed events that day… she was an elementary school teacher; she was the sister of Ulfet who was killed while preparing a bomb. Later on, she described to me how the dead and the wounded were taken to Dalbadoglu's clinic. The Dalbadoglu brothers, Hasan and Halil had a clinic. And this lady was there when Denktas visited the wounded and told him –and I wrote this in my book while they were all alive and no one denied it- "why don't you give the order to these kids to stop the killing?" Denktash responded saying "we need these dead people, because only this way our voice will be heard."

SOUNDBITE IN ENGLISH
CG=YILMAZ BORAN / CHAIRMAN TMT ASSOCIATION

Reality of course is somewhat different. The list of T/C dissidents is long. And yet not all of TMT's have yet become known.
TMT's fierce wrath had fallen on cases which made a mockery out of the allegations of the T/C leadership about the supposed impossibility of the coexistence of the two communities. The trade union movement was the first target.

SOUNDBITE IN ENGLISH
CG= AHMED ANN / T/C RESEARCHER

SOUNDBITE IN TURKISH
CG= HASAN KESKI /EX TMT COMMANDER

SUBTITLES:

As commander, what did you do with those in your area who disagreed with TMT?
As I said, the struggled reached this stage because the T/C from the age of 7 up to 70 believed in it. We did no face many such cases. We had disciplinary bodies for such cases in the same manner that today you have court martial and these bodies imposed punishments.
What if those opposing you were civilians? Did you have authority over civilians?
I tell you, until 1968 when we became regular army, there were no civilians. They were all fighters, whether they were 80 or 90 years old, all contributed to the defence of the motherland. Let me give you an example. My father was 76 years old and he did guard duty, as I said there were no civilians. As all were part of the defence, all were subject to military discipline. Criminal cases were sent to civilian courts. The regional command was a local government in itself. With all its organs, courts, we had people who studied law, we had police. The T/C did not loose their democratic structures in the regional commands. The Famagusta command, for example was a local government.

PROGRAMME'S TITLE: TMT: WITH BLOOD AND FIRE

STUDIO:

-Spyro why did TMT turned so fiercely, at least during the first stage, against the T/C?

-This is because many, many T/C did not want to join this illegal organisation. Far too many T/C, refusing to obey the strict orders of TMT, immigrated to England. As was mentioned earlier, every T/C was obliged to go to the two newspapers existing then, Halkin Sesi and Bozkurt and state that he breaks off all relations with G/C. There was this case…

-Those T/C who belonged to the Trade union movement of PEO.

-Yes.

-It was, in other words s statement of repentance and declaration of faith in TMT.

-Yes, that they cut off all relations with G/C and that they won't have anything to do with joint organisations. I was saying about this particular case of a T/C, his name escapes me right now, who went to Halkin Sesi he paid for this kind of statement to be published in the following day's edition of the newspaper and on the same night he was executed by TMT. The strange thing is that in the following day's edition of Halkin Sesi the statement was published next to the announcement of his death which also carried his photo. So, no matter what they say even Nalbadoglu, one of the founders of TMT, even he was tortured by TMT after 1960, perhaps we get chance to talk about that later on.

-Yes, a close Denktash collaborator.

STUDIO:

Resistance against TMT and the extremist leadership which was imposed on the T/C was indeed a heroic affair. Literary, a matter of life and death. Trade

Unionist Ali Kavazoglu became the symbol of this resistance. Until he was murdered together with his friend and comrade Costas Misiaoulis.

Kavazoglu did not miss any opportunity to expose TMT's and Denktash's real intentions and inform the T/C of the consequences of the policy of hate.

At this point, we will show a staggering document from CyBC's archives. A really prophetic speech by Ali Kavazoglu in 1965.

SOUNDBITE IN TURKISH

CG= ALI KAVAZOGLU /TRADE UNIONIST

SUBTITLES:

My dear brothers, the great majority of the T/C community has shown in every opportunity that it wishes the peaceful coexistence of the two communities in Cyprus.

The T/C community wants our country to be governed based on democratic principles and human rights. Our community wants to have a say in what is going on in our country. This is an democratic and inescapable right of our community. It is a democratic and obligation of each citizen to have a say in the administration and his duty to participate in the decisions of his country. However, this does not mean that we have the right to hinder the proper functioning of the administration and the state, to undermine the mechanisms of administration.

Denktash and his likes, in order to satisfy their own political ambitions and to offer their services to their masters the colonialists, have lied to the people with

their demagogic references to “mass murders”. Exploiting the genuine national feelings of the people, they have uprooted 30,000 compatriots and have thrown them to such conditions.

My brothers, I consider it my patriotic and national duty to address in your presence, the democratic and progressive intellectuals, the healthy forces of the motherland. Children of Turkey, Kemalists, progressives of the 27th of March, democratic thinking and honourable children and brothers, because of Denktash’s and his likes imprudent policies which you know very well, the T/C have been driven to horrible calamity. From what we read in the Turkish press and from what we learn from colleagues in Turkey, this man and his likes in Turkey is trying to trap the healthy forces and create problems for the Inonu government. With his acts, he tries to push Turkey and the world to risk of a nuclear holocaust. In order to satisfy their political caprices, Denktash and his likes are prepared to drive the motherland back to the darkness of middle ages, exploiting the popular feeling in Turkey for the protection T/C and of supposed massacres of T/C.

My dear brothers from the motherland don’t allow these terrible activities of these demagogues. Enlighten the people in the motherland about the realities of the Cyprus problem. Explain to the people with facts that those harming the people of Cyprus and lead our community to calamities are none others than Denktash and his likes.

STUDIO:

On April 11, 1965, Kavazoglu was travelling in the same car with his friend G/C trade unionist Costas Misiaoulis. They were on their way to a trade union meeting. It was a Sunday, around ten thirty in the morning. On the main Nicosia-Larnaca road, near the T/C village of Louroudjina, people of unknown identified stopped the car and using automatic weapons; they shot and killed in cold blood the two trade unionists. They died in each others arms.
Forty years later Misiaoulis widow and daughter Eleni and Stella, recollect those difficult days.

SOUNDBITE IN GREEK
CG= ANDRIANI MISIAOULI

SUBTITLES:

On Saturday afternoon my husband told me –we had earlier arranged to go to our village, to arrange for looking after my father in law- so he came to me on that Saturday and said that we wouldn't be going to the village because he was asked by the party to accompany Kavazoglu to Larnaca. He asked of my opinion and I told him that I thought that it was our duty for him to go. On Sunday, it must have been around ten, or twelve, I can't remember clearly, they both left for Larnaca to a meeting where Kavazoglu would have been the speaker on the Greek-Turkish friendship. On their way, they waited for them outside Louroudjina village and killed them. The police came to tell me that something happened to my husband. I was

at home when they came, in fact I was at a neighbour's whose daughter came from Athens and I went to welcome her. My daughters came to tell me that I was wanted at home. I went home. Let me say that before my husband and Kavazoglu had left, Stella wanted to go with her father. He said no because as he said, it was not right. We all knew that TMT, even some members of the police, wanted to kill Kavazoglu. We knew it. And Kavazoglu in our neighbourhood was not known by his real name. Every one knew him as Alekos. The only people who knew that he was a T/C were me, my husband, Tzonis, Olympios, Fani, these people. The rest knew nothing. They knew him as Alekos. So because of the risks, my husband refused to take Stella with him, but promised both my daughters that when he would be back, we all go the cinema, new then in Akropolis. Stella agreed and they left. So past twelve, they call me to go home because I was wanted. It was a policeman neighbour of ours and some others. They asked me: "Mrs Andriani, where was your husband going today". I asked why they wanted to know. They insisted I tell them, so I told that he was going to Larnaca. Was he alone, was the next question. No he was not alone, he went with a friend. So they said that my husband was stopped and arrested because he was driving without a driving license. So I said, don't lie to me, because indeed he did get out a license only a few days ago. So I said, you are lying, has anything happened? He assured me that nothing had happened and I was in fact in a good mood. They left without telling me what had happened. Later on my brother in law came along and I thought he was very uneasy. As son as I saw the police earlier,

I thought that something bad had happened. So Petris said that something had happened. I replied that nothing had happened, thinking that if it had wouldn't the police have told me? The police said nothing. Petris had left and a little while later Evgenoula, Katsourides wife arrived. When I saw her I started suspecting the worse. I greeted her saying, what's up. She said, unfortunately soothing happened. They shot them, she said. You can imagine what happened then. After that, it was on the radio as well. The police came later on. Other members of the party came along as well but I remember Evgenoulla. I jumped on that policeman, I wanted to kill him, I shouted at him why he didn't tell me earlier that my husband was shot dead

SOUNDBITE IN GREEK
CG= STELLA MISIAOULI

SUBTITLES:

I remember that they tried to make us go to sleep very early, we refused, we were talking with some friends in our bedroom, and every now and then, we would get out. My mother wanted us near her and I remember when she pulled us in her arms and she was telling us "we lost your fathers my little girls, don't cry". All our friends were paying attention to us, they kissed us, and they wanted to be there for us.

SOUNDBITE IN GREEK
CG= ANDRIANI MISIAOULI

SUBTITLES:

Then they took them to the Hospital but they were both dead. They first shot Costis so that he would go on, outside Louroudjina, and then they shot Alekos and had fallen over Costis. There was this shepherd in the fields and he saw the whole thing. Someone made a signal for them to stop, they stopped properly on the side of the road and they were shot there. There was a little house in one of the fields there and.. The shepherd saw them but he never said anything, he saw them coming out of the little house and hen they stooped the car, but we never saw him again this man. But he was the only one who could say what happened. From what came out of it, there was a betrayal. Because on Saturday night Kavazoglu went out and he must have told friends of his from Louroudjina village his plans for the following day and they killers were waiting for them. It was not by chance, there was betrayal. Unfortunately, there was no testimony to confirm the whole thing. There was indeed treachery.

SOUNDBITE IN GREEK
CG= STELLA MISIAOULI

SUBTITLES:

Recently, in a meeting in Potamia, a village next to Dali, Mr Loukis Papaphilippou told me that he was the first person who saw my father and Kavazoglu dead in their car. For many years, I did not want to believe that my father was dead. I used to see him in my dreams

very often at the beginning and later on once a year and I believe it was always during the days of his murder. He used to come to me always secretly, and carefully, accompanied by another person, he would say to me that he was abroad and he was well, that he wanted us to be good at school, to love our mother, be good and all those fatherly advices that we would have heard from him if he were alive. My father's face was always with me at important moments in my life. And always, whenever I find myself in a funeral service, the first thing that comes to my mind was tha I too lost my father.

PROGRAMME'S TITLE: TMT: WITH BLOOD AND FIRE

STUDIO:

-Spyro do the T/C today know about Kavazoglu and about the other TMT victims?
-In the opposition press we often see reports on Kavazoglu and the other victims. And we also have references as by Tahsin to TMT's barbarities.
-Isn't there a collective consciousness in the T/C community about those who resisted TMT's plans?
-In the opposition, there is and they consider them heroes, while the Dekntashites considered them traitors and collaborators of the G/C side.
-Prior to the assassination of Kavazoglu and Misiaouli, we had the assassination of the top lawyers and journalists. Let's see the video and we will be back.

SOUNDBITE IN GREEK

CG=CHRYSANTHOS CHRYSANTHOU/ JOURNALIST

SUBTITLES:

These two people Ayhan Hikmet and Ahmed Muzafer Gurkan, both lawyers, were among the very few who believed that it was possible for the Republic of Cyprus to be successful. This why they published a newspaper with that name, Juhmuriet, Democracy. They meant the Cyprus Republic which could have been the umbrella, the joint roof for G/C and T/C to live together peacefully and prosper together.

Provocations was one of the instruments used to push towards the conflict and the burning of two mosques, the Bayraktar mosque and Merie mosque was a characteristic example. It was then rumoured that the fires were the work of G/C. The two lawyers came out in their newspaper warning that they knew who put the fires and it was those who are opposed to the G/C and T/C coexistence. On the 23 of April was the fateful edition of the newspaper. They came out asking all those who knew anything about the fires to speak and reveal those guilty, or at least confirm that it was the work of specific people who were against the symbiosis of the G/C and the T/C.

At some point, the police got involved and investigations had begun and the then minister of Justice Polykarpos Georgadjis, revealed that Gurkan had visited him in his office and gave him specific facts about the fires. It seems that Georgadjis, without the knowledge of Gurkan, had taped their conversation and later on presented it at the court. This was used by TMT and Denktash, by the extremist part of the

T/C community to discredit the two lawyers as Georgadjis' and the G/C "agents". It is indicative that the ambassador of Turkey, Dirvan, had invited Denktash and Kutchuk to his office and warned them than they had information about their involvement and if this so, they have no place in Cyprus. The result was that Dirvana was recalled by Ankara and lost his job as Turkey's ambassador to Nicosia. He was replaced by another Turkish ambassador who was functioning in the spirit of tension between the two communities. This is a very important fact which demonstrated that the deep state in Turkey has its own agenda that provides for pushing things to a clash until who reach the point we reached later on, in other words the intercommunal strife of 1963 and 1964.

VIDEO:

The murder of the two lawyers provoked an outcry in both communities. And everyone was pointing fingers in Denktash's direction. A criminal inquest was ordered in which Denktash was summoned. He attempted to present the murders as part of "womanizing practices" as he said at the time, obviously aiming at discrediting the two victims.

SOUNDBITE IN ENGLISH/DENKTASH

SOUNDBITE IN GREEK
CG=CHRYSANTHOS CHRYSANTHOU/ JOURNALIST

SUBTITLES:

-Has the repercussions of this murder in the T/C community ever been measured? Do we know what these murders meant for the T/C's perceptions about the situation at that time?
-I think there were two parameters, one being the climate of fear and terror that resulted from it, the other being that some people were convinced that these two people were indeed working for the interests of the G/C and it was in a way entrenched in part of the T/C community that those who support the coexistence are agents of the G/C. It was not like that. These people proved through their articles in their newspaper, their actions and their beliefs that their aim was the coexistence within the Republic of Cyprus, a new state, a new beginning which could work if there was good will on both sides and if there were no foreign interferences, from Turkey and other powers that invigorated the confrontation.

PROGRAMME'S TITLE: TMT: WITH BLOOD AND FIRE

STUDIO:

It is indeed amazing the ease with which Denktash distorts facts and creates myths in order to protect his own version of historical facts and on which he depends to justify his policies all these years. Crysanthos Chrysanthou investigated thoroughly the

murder of the two T/C lawyers and he has collected a lot and very interesting material.

-Spyro, I want to come back to the issue of the Turkish government's involvement. One might understand why perhaps the Turkish government would be interested in helping the T/C leadership in their illegitimate aims. We had though the London-Zurich agreements, in which the Turkish government participated. Why did this affair with TMT continued after the agreements?
-The people who were involved in those agreements and whose signatures are on them, worked for TMT. And I mean Menderes, prime minister, Zorlu, the foreign minister and I will read something. At a time when the leadership of TMT was concerned about whether they would be active even after the agreements, we are talking about a lot of money. They had bought a ship, they had extra arms, there was a lot of money involved and they did not want to disband TMT and they therefore asked for a meeting with Menderes. Let's turn to Tansu's book and look at a specific part. And Menderes says at some point replying to the questions put to him whether TMT would be disbanded:
"Your questions are very proper and I am glad. To start with, I must tell you that the power of the Turkish Contingent in Cyprus under the agreements will remain on the island as safeguard of our guarantor rights. Should there be any need we can land sufficient forces, we will not hesitate, and it is not easy what we have achieved through the agreements. I share your concerns and doubts. As for enosis, do not worry, no Turkish government will allow the surrender of the

island to Greece. There is a strong Turkey which will not allow something like this. Our population today is 25 million but in 10-15 years, it will reach 40 millions, in contrast with the population of Greece which is only 7-8 millions. It is a small and poor country in comparison with our country. It has stopped to dream about an invasion on our shores in the Aegean".

Menders said many things on that day. He says about TMT: "The organisation will continue to be strengthened and armed" – this took place on 6 September 1959.

-After the declaration of independence.

-In February we had the agreements and this meeting took place on September 6 1959. So, the organisation will continue to exist and be armed. "Its activities will not be suspended after the establishment of the partnership state. If there is a G/C attack on T/C, it will intervene immediately, on the initiative of TMT's commander. Our government will never refuse support to TMT. You continue your work as before. I am pleased with the distance we have covered during these two years".

A further word Costa, I remind you that except Menderes we had Jelal Mayar also, the president of the Turkish Republic. On the following day, they take a plane and go to Constaninople in order to meet with him. He told them: "Your mission is also our own state mission and no doubt, all of us will contribute to its success." All these in 1959.

- When the agreements had already been signed –with Turkey's participation- for the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus.

-Arming TMT continued and in October, we had the incident with the sinking of the ship "Elmas" which was currying 20 tones of arms.
-Something else very briefly. There was talk in Turkey, when Menderes was court martial led, that TMT's Turkey branch was in fact used by Menderes as praetorians?
-Yes indeed. The fear and terror of the revolutionary government of the 23 of May was this.
-They feared in other words an underground organisation.
-An underground organisation, too many arms, which controlled these arms. The opposition in Turkey did not know much, everything was moving in absolute secrecy. When the coup took place, there was fear also in TMT as how to explain the realities around the organisation

TMT is today glorified among the T/C. This glory relies on the myths and tales about its activity to such an extend that historical truth is covered completely and everyone seems to be demanding a share in that glory. How easy will it be for the future historian to uncover historical truth, is very difficult to say. We limit ourselves to presenting facts that substantiate the imposition through fire and blood on the T/C and its political godfather Rauf Denktash.
Tonight we present a number of significant testimonies as to the methods used by TMT to force the T/C to get involved in TMT separatist plans.

VIDEO:

As part of the rebellion against the state in 1963, the T/C civil servants, members of the police force and the Cyprus Army, were forced to leave their posts. This gentleman was a member of the Cyprus Army who manned TMT posts in Saint Hilarion Castle. He deserted his position on September 30, 1965 and to his great surprise, the government security forces did not execute him on the spot when he surrendered as all T/C were led to believe by their leadership. He was however being blackmailed by using his wife to make him go back. And he was in fact kidnapped when he walked his wife to a TMT post after she visited him in the government controlled areas.

SOUNDBITE IN TURKISH

SUBTITLE:

A month later two person from TMT came to take me to Yiaman. They took me to Bogazi where they handed me over to the man responsible there, Gurell. He told me that Yiaman asked for me and that I was going to go to St. Hilarion. At St. Hilarion Yiaman summoned me and insulted me in very strong terms. After that he told me that, I was going to do guard duties at St Hilarion and that my salary would be 11 pounds a month. I asked him why my salary was cut and how could I support my family with seven children on 11 pounds. He said that I should not forget that I had escaped to the Greek side and threw me out. A little while later, encouraged by some friends as well, I asked for an increase in my

salary. They refused. They also refused to allow me to practice my profession which is chair making. Not being able to stand hunger, lack of money and the mistrust with which I was faced with, I escaped and asked for the government's protection. No one trusted me at St Hilarion, even my weapon was given to me without any ammunition.

SOUNDBITE IN TURKISH

SUBTITLE:

They took me from my school to make me a soldier… let me explain to you the situation. They raped my sister who was 15-16 year old. The rapists were from Turkey. Their names were captain Husein, Kemal Ramadan and Ziyia. They came to our house at 8 o'clock in morning and they asked for my sister. I told them she was not in. The Turk, Husein, a sly man, drew his gun and told me: "your sister is in you wanker, go and fuck yourself you sissy." I asked the, what they were going to do and they replied, "we will fuck her". I told them they are not going to do that. We will, they said. At that moment, my sister came along and the Turk told her that they came to talk. "Why?" she asked. "Because your brother, they replied, does not want to join the army, that's why". Then they grabbed my sister, they tore her clothes off and the threw her on the bed. In front of my eyes, she was raped first by Husein, then Kemal Ramadan and Ziyia. When they finished they asked me, "Will you now join the army?" I said no. In that case, they said, we will be back tomorrow to use your other sister. Come, I said,

someday I am going to take my revenge. Then they left. The following morning they came at 9 o'clock and they used my elder sister in front of my eyes. They were Husein, Alpay Mahmoud and Guksel, all three of them took advantage of my sister in front of my eyes. When they finished they told me that if I did not join the army they would be back the following day to use my mother. And I told them that whatever happens, one day I will take my revenge. The following day we took my sister to the hospital in Nicosia and when we came back to the village, they came back; at noon during lunch, they forced their way into the house, without knocking on the door. My mother said to them, "you are welcome to have a piece of bread with us". Bon appetite, they replied. "We haven't come for lunch; we came to use your mother". My mother said: "you've used my younger daughter, you've used my elder daughter, come, don't make it difficult for yourselves, there is no need to pull your guns, use me as well." And that's what happened, they used my mother. Those who came to our house were Guksel, Alpay Topal, Mahmoud, Husein and blue-eyed Kasap Ahmed, they all used my mother and then left. As they were leaving Husein asked me again "will you now join the army?". No, I said, I will not. My mother asked to join but I refused again. "I'd rather die, I said, than stay with such a race and if I am forced to the mountains, I will still run away." My mother asked where could I go. I said I would surrender to the government and tall all about the situation there. And that's how they left our house.

PROGRAMME'S TITLE: TMT: WITH BLOOD AND FIRE

STUDIO:

As we are approaching the end of the second part of this report, I want Spyro to hear your assessment on two things. The first is, what sort of legacy did TMT leave to the t/C, how do the T/C perceive TMT today and how it affects their approaches to the Cyprus problem? And the second, to what extend is the Turkish policy different today from the policies of those who founded TMT? Is there continuity?

-TMT's worst legacy, Costas, is Denktash himself. In this way both questions are answered. We have heard how Denktash is in power for more than 40 years; we have heard how the T/C saw him 40 years ago and if you ask them today, the view of a very large segment of the T/C, it will no be different from what we have heard the deserters saying. You therefore can understand that there can be no change as long as Denktash remains on the political scene and in his own words, he says clearly that he is ready to set up TMT 2, unarmed this time, he says. This one is another statement by Denktash after a meeting with the military; here it is in the centre pages of the newspaper, in which he says that instead of a superficial agreement, our youth is ready to form a new TMT. When Turkish sources provide such information, you understand that there cannot be any change as long as there such fixed ideas as Denktash's.

-The criminal part of TMT is not accepted even in Turkey. Is this right?
-Since for 4o years they hear Denktash repeating all these about treason as so on, how is it possible to get away from it? Although over the years, something is being said, something is being heard, something is being written and this perhaps may lead to opening the eyes of some other T/C to penetrate further into these dark pages. Bear in mind that until by book on TMT came out in Greek, there was not even one book in Turkish and T/C journalists have criticised the regime in the occupied part that while the G/C have published something on TMT, whereas they have done nothing. We recently had Tansu' book in which he says that nobody was asleep.
-Spyros, I must thank you very much.

Before we complete this report, we will bring to light yet another stunning video.
Nurettin Seferoglu was one of the first T/C who consciously resisted the T/C leadership and the Turkish military plans. Since 1958 as a trade unionist comes out bravely and courageously against the separatist plans, drawing the anger of TMT. In order to save his life he moves to London but without pausing even for a moment in his fight against the attack on Cyprus.
He comes back to the island after independence and together with Kavazoglu and Ibrahim Aziz he establishes the Association of T/C Patriots to fight TMT. After Kavazoglu's murder, Nurettin is forced into exile once again to save his life. Before leaving he appeals in a dramatic a prophetic way to all T/C.

SOUNDBITE IN TURKISH

SUBTITLE:

Denktash who using undemocratic and fascist methods took over the leadership of the community, is trying, with extremely provocative ways, to lure the motherland into new adventures. With new statements to Huriet newspaper, he calls upon the T/C to severe all their relations with Makarios government and establishes their own Turkish Republic of Cyprus. He also calls on the motherland to recognise immediately the so called state and rush to its assistance. With his contradictory statements on the Cyprus issue, Denktash demonstrated that he is a faithful servant of the imperialists. Everybody know how shallow his views on the Cyprus problem are, how irrelevant to the realities in Cyprus they are and how no feasible they are. This is also demonstrated by the attitude of those responsible in Turkey and also by Dr Kutchuk's negative response to them. Therefore, they are not worth commenting on. What I wish to stress is that the Denktash's persistence to severe the T/C relations with the G/C, urging the T/C to set up a separate state, constitute the implementation of the principle of divide and rule, which for many years the imperialists are trying to impose on our country. In trying so persistently to dictate and impose his groundless and provocative views, Denktash demands form the motherland to recognise immediately the state he proposes and to run to its help. He calls, in other words on the motherland to start a deadly war

intervening in Cyprus. To spill blood and to cause more calamities so that the imperialist will be able to implement their plans. Denktash is indifferent to the dangers entailed by such an intervention. Will the motherland continue to adopt a passive stance on Denktash's games with the life of the nation? We want to believe that this will not happen. Denktash will not hesitate to develop further his provocative activity further. By unscrupulously distorting realities, Denktash and his likes that he unfortunately managed to find in Turkey also, alleges that the T/C are threatened by the G/C and that they live in constant fear. He also alleges that there is a dangerous situation for the T/C he supports Constaninople MP Ogus Oran in his call for the reconvention of the National Assembly in Turkey to discuss the situation in Cyprus. Denktash even had the nerve to ask for the postponement of the Turkish elections and for the setting up of a national unity government to solve the Cyprus problem. Answering questions on this issue, the Turkish prime minister, Mr Urgutlu said that there is no emergency situation which dictates the convening of the National Assembly, giving in this way a reply to Denktash's tricks and lies. The solution of the Cyprus problem will not be achieved with canons, guns and blood, but only with peaceful means. The Cyprus problem can be solved in a peaceful way through the United Nations on the basis on the Gaza report. Any solution outside the United Nations will be detrimental for both the G/C and the T/C. There is no other road that could lead to peace on our island.