



Cyprus
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

26 April 1982

Dear John

Mr 27/4

h-a.

Cyprus

Thank you for your letter of 16 April enclosing a letter which the Prime Minister has received about the question of missing persons in Cyprus from Mr Denktash, the leader of the Turkish Cypriot community.

You will by now have received my letter of 20 April enclosing a draft reply to President Kyprianou's letter to the Prime Minister on the same subject. The proposed reply to President Kyprianou is worded in a manner to which the Turkish Cypriots cannot reasonably object. We do not consider a reply from the Prime Minister to Mr Denktash to be either appropriate or necessary. Not only is it a circular; Mr Denktash is writing in his capacity as "President" of the "Turkish Federated State of Cyprus", the existence of which we do not recognise.

Yours over,

(F N Richards)
Private Secretary

A J Coles Esq
10 Downing Street

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 1AA

26 APR 1982

11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31

SUBJECT

cc Mester
cps

THE PRIME MINISTER



10 DOWNING STREET

cypr
cc FCO
B
PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE
SERIAL No: 183/82

26 April 1982

Dear Mr. President,

Thank you for your letter of 29 March about the problem of missing persons in Cyprus.

I share your concern that so little progress has been made in resolving this serious humanitarian problem. The sympathy of the British Government is with all those in Cyprus who have suffered what you so eloquently describe as the agony of uncertainty about the fate of their loved ones. We welcomed the establishment of the Committee on Missing Persons in April last year as a major step forward in the process of resolving this difficult issue. It is certainly a matter of great regret that procedural difficulties have prevented the Committee from operating in the manner envisaged and getting down to the substantive task of investigating individual cases of missing persons.

Despite the problems encountered so far, I remain convinced that the Committee is the correct vehicle for tackling this serious problem and that the best course is to continue to try to make sure that it works effectively. To this end it is essential that both sides should make maximum efforts, on humanitarian grounds, to allow the Committee's work to proceed and not permit political

/ considerations

fu

considerations to impede progress. With flexibility and goodwill on both sides it should surely be possible to bridge the remaining differences over procedure.

Over the problem of missing persons, as in the case of the wider issue of the intercommunal talks, the United Nations Secretary General knows that we stand ready to assist him or his representatives in any way he would consider appropriate.

Yours sincerely
Nayant Shah

His Excellency Mr. Spiros Kyprianou



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

20 April 1982

*Please type letter**AR 21:
4**Dear John,*Cyprus

Thank you for your letter of 6 April enclosing one which the Prime Minister has received from Mr Kyprianou. I enclose a draft reply for the Prime Minister's signature.

The background to the very difficult problem of missing persons in Cyprus is complicated. Following the Turkish invasion in 1974, the Greek Cypriots claimed that some 2,000 persons were missing; the Turks, in turn, claimed that some 300 of their own people were missing from the period of intercommunal fighting in 1963-74. A number of unsuccessful attempts were made to deal with the problems between 1974 and 1980. In September 1980, with the resumption of the intercommunal talks on the wider Cyprus problem, a further attempt was made and, after a UN "shuttle" between the two sides, an Intercommunal Committee on Missing Persons (ICMP) was eventually set up in April 1981 under the Chairmanship of M. Pilloud of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC).

The newly established ICMP ran into procedural difficulties almost immediately. An unofficial group, representing Greek Cypriot missing persons' families, demanded the right of attendance at meetings. The Greek Cypriots insisted that they (and not just the ICRC) should be allowed into the Turkish area to investigate evidence submitted by the Turks. The two sides disagreed about how proceedings of the Committee should be recorded. And the Turkish side complained that the Greek Cypriots had leaked "confidential" Committee documents to the press. In addition, M. Pilloud fell ill, causing further delays.

In late November the Greek Cypriots tabled a draft resolution in the Third Committee of the UN General Assembly urging the ICMP to get down to work without further delay. The Turks saw this as essentially a move to pillory them internationally (they were probably right to see it in these terms). The resolution was adopted, but we abstained on the grounds that it was unnecessary (M. Pilloud had formally presented new proposals to break the deadlock) and unlikely to improve the atmosphere in the Committee.



Meetings of the Committee continued in the first months of 1982, but were bedevilled by the continuing inability of either side to agree on procedures. At the end of February the Turkish Cypriot side gave their agreement to procedures proposed in September 1981 by M. Pilloud, but the Greek Cypriots insisted that these had been superseded by new procedures proposed in November, which the Turkish side have not accepted. The ICMP is therefore for the moment in suspense, although the practical difference between the two sides on procedures does not appear to be very great, at least as regards supplementary investigations and record-keeping; the central problem seems to be the role of observers.

You should also know that in 1978 the UN Commission on Human Rights set up a Working Group to deal with the problem of disappeared persons throughout the world: the current Chairman, in his personal capacity, is Viscount Colville of Culross, the Leader of the UK Delegation to the Human Rights Commission. The Greek Cypriots have recently been pressing the Group to visit the island, but the Group has so far taken the line that the ICMP is the appropriate forum in which the matter should be pursued.

It is certainly regrettable that no practical progress has been made on the problem of missing persons in Cyprus. In part this is indeed due to what President Kyprianou describes as Turkish Cypriot intransigence. Nevertheless it is clear that the Greek Cypriot side have less interest in dealing with the practical humanitarian problem than in exploiting it to the maximum for propaganda purposes. The Turkish Cypriots could well argue that they have recently made substantive concessions over the procedures involved and that it is the Greek Cypriots themselves who have unilaterally declared that the proceedings of the ICMP are stymied. The situation is further complicated by the fact that M. Pilloud has lost the confidence of both the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot sides; a UN official is at present attempting to shuttle between them to save the situation.

We have an interest in seeing progress on the missing persons issue, both for humanitarian reasons and to prevent this problem further impairing the prospects for the intercommunal talks themselves. Any Greek Cypriot move to internationalise the issue again would have the latter effect as well as damage the chances for real progress on the missing persons issue. Any suggestion on our part that we support Greek Cypriot moves to place the issue before international bodies would be very ill-received by the Turkish Cypriots and lessen our ability to

/influence



influence them over the broader issue of the intercommunal talks. The draft reply is therefore cast in sympathetic but essentially non-committal terms.

Yours ever,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Francis Richards".

(F N Richards)
Private Secretary

A J Coles Esq
10 Downing Street

DRAFT: minute/letter/teleletter/despach/note

TYPE: Draft/Final 1+

FROM:

Reference

The Prime Minister

DEPARTMENT:

TEL. NO:

SECURITY CLASSIFICATION

TO:

Your Reference

Top Secret

Secret

Confidential

Restricted

Unclassified

His Excellency Mr Spyros Kyprianou
President of the Republic of Cyprus

Copies to:

PRIVACY MARKING

SUBJECT:

.....In Confidence

21 Thank you for your letter of 29 March about
the problem of missing persons in Cyprus.

CAVEAT.....

2. I share your concern that so little progress
has been made in resolving this serious humanitarian
problem. The sympathy of the British Government is
with all those in Cyprus who have suffered what you
so eloquently describe as the agony of uncertainty ^{about} ~~as~~
~~to~~ the fate of their loved ones. We welcomed the
establishment of the Committee on Missing Persons
in April last year as a major step forward in the
process of resolving this difficult issue. It is
certainly a matter of great regret that procedural
difficulties have prevented the Committee from
operating in the manner envisaged and getting down
to the substantive task of investigating individual
cases of missing persons.

3. Despite the problems encountered so far, I
remain convinced that the Committee is the correct
vehicle for tackling this serious problem and that
the best course is to continue to try to make sure ^{that}
it works effectively. To this end it is essential
that both sides should make maximum efforts, on human-
itarian grounds, to allow the Committee's work to
proceed and not permit political considerations to
impede progress. With flexibility and goodwill on
both sides it should surely be possible to bridge
/the

Enclosures—flag(s).....

50 163 1985

the remaining differences over procedure.

4. Over the problem of missing persons, as in the case of the wider issue of the intercommunal talks, the United Nations Secretary General knows that we stand ready to assist him or his representatives in any way he would consider appropriate.



20 APR 1982

File

R M

Mr. DENKTAS
closed 28/4

28/4

~~Kay~~
Danks
19/4

16 April, 1982

CYPRUS

I enclose a copy of a long letter which the Prime Minister has received from Mr Denktas about the question of missing persons in Cyprus. It appears to be a circular letter and was received here through the post. I should be grateful if you could consider whether a reply from the Prime Minister would be appropriate, and, if so, let me have a draft in due course.

F Richards, Esq
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

JSS



TURKISH FEDERATED STATE OF KIBRIS
PRESIDENT'S OFFICE

Lefkoşa, via Mersin 10, Turkey

Lefkoşa,

7 April, 1982

Your Excellency,

*John Rd. 16/4 via Post
against the Turkish
Embassy*

Recent press reports indicate that the Greek Cypriot Administration, under the guise of the Government of Cyprus and in close collaboration with the so-called 'Pancyprian Committee of the Relatives of the Undeclared Prisoners and Missing Persons', has embarked on a propaganda campaign, in various countries, concerning the issue of missing persons in Cyprus.

In this connection I should like to inform you that the question of missing persons in Cyprus concerns both communities in the island and it existed as an exclusively Turkish Cypriot problem between the years 1963-1974.

A joint Committee on Missing Persons in Cyprus was established, last summer, in accordance with the agreement reached by the two sides. The Turkish Cypriot side which considers the question of missing persons a solely humanitarian issue has, in good will, made persistent efforts to enable the CMP to fulfil its humanitarian task. There remains no procedural difficulty to prevent the CMP from taking up and investigating individual cases of the missing persons of both communities.

The Turkish Cypriot side has stated that it is ready to present its first case of the missing Turkish Cypriots to the CMP, to be followed by a Greek Cypriot case. Even this proposal has been rejected by the Greek Cypriot side which has, once again, deliberately obstructed the work of the CMP and preferred to internationalize this humanitarian issue with the intention of exploiting it for political propaganda.

Under these circumstances, to put the record straight, I feel it incumbent upon me to provide you with factual information on the issue of missing persons in its proper relation to the Cyprus problem.

The facts about the Cyprus problem and the question of missing persons in Cyprus are as follows :

H.E. Mrs. Margaret Thatcher,
Prime Minister of the United Kingdom
of Great Britain and Northern Ireland,
London.

1. The Cyprus problem arose as a result of the planned attack on the Turkish Cypriots by the Greek Cypriots in December 1963.

The aim of this attack was to destroy the 1960 Cyprus Agreements (which outlawed the policy of Union with Greece and guaranteed the intercommunal partnership state against such a union) with a view to annexing the island with Greece.

Turkish Cypriots strongly objected to such annexation and were thus declared to be "national and religious enemies" of the Greek Cypriots. Under the guidance of Archbishop Makarios and with the direct military help of Greece, secret armies had been formed in accordance with the notorious "Akritas Plan" and an attack was launched on the Turkish Cypriots on 21 December 1963.

2. As a result of this attack the Turkish Cypriot members of the Government of Cyprus (viz., the Vice-President, three Cabinet Members, all Civil Servants) and the Turkish Cypriot members of the House of Representatives, all the Turkish Cypriot members of the Police, Gendarmerie and of the Cyprus Army were forcefully ejected from their posts or prevented from performing their duties. The legitimate bi-communal Government of Cyprus was thus brought to an end and the Greek Cypriot elements of this Government illegally assumed the right to rule the country. The Turkish Cypriots defied this assumption and continued their resistance to this lawlessness at great risk to themselves.

103 Turkish Cypriot villages were destroyed. 30,000 Turkish Cypriots, the inhabitants of the destroyed villages, became refugees, half of the Turkish Cypriot population lived on aid received from Turkey as the whole Turkish Cypriot population (one fourth of the population of Cyprus) was cut off from the budget of Cyprus, hundreds of Turkish Cypriots were killed, more than 200 civilians were abducted from their homes, places of work and from roads, never to be seen again.

U.N. Secretary-General's reports on the missing Turkish Cypriots are pertinent. Relevant extracts from these reports are given in Appendix 1.

The whereabouts of these people are still unknown as the Greek Cypriot Administration refused to give any information about them.

3. From 1963 to 1974, the Turkish people of Cyprus lived in scattered Turkish Cypriot areas with the moral and material burden of 30,000 refugees without any help or assistance from the outside world (except Turkey) resisting the unlawful and merciless Greek Cypriot oppression at all levels.

By 1974 Archbishop Makarios, a Royalist, had fallen out with the Junta, which had earlier been given the care and training of 40,000 Greek Cypriot "National Guardsmen" (another unconstitutional body created for the suppression of the Turkish Cypriots!). On 15 July 1974, the Junta tried to overthrow Makarios and a blood-bath ensued. Foreign press reported "thousands of dead" in the Greek sectors of Cyprus. Various sources indicated that the number of the Greek Cypriots who perished during the coup of 15 July 1974 was very high (Appendix 2).

4. In view of the danger in which the independence of Cyprus stood together with the fate of the Turkish Cypriots, as a result of the coup, Turkey used her Treaty rights and intervened in Cyprus on 20 July 1974.

The so-called "President" of Cyprus, the notorious killer Nicos Sampson, immediately released all the Greek Cypriots, in their thousands, whom he had rounded up and put in custody as pro-Makarios and issued them with arms calling upon them through the Cyprus Broadcasting Corporation to unite in "throwing out the enemy back to the sea."

Thus, the Greek Cypriots in their thousands, were armed and put into action while the unconstitutional Greek Cypriot National Guard and the Greek Cypriot policemen (nearly 40,000 gunmen) with their heavy armoury turned against Turks!..

All the Turkish Cypriot inhabitants (all non-combatants) in Paphos, Larnaca, Limassol and Famagusta Districts were put under detention in stadiums and similar open-air detention camps under terrible conditions.

5. In Paphos, on 14 August 1974 a blood-bath took place when Turkish Cypriots, including a three year old girl, were shot in presence of their families and friends. On the same day about one hundred male Turkish Cypriots were

collected from their homes in Tokhni, Zyyi and Mari by the Greek Cypriot armed elements. These people have never been seen again. All the inhabitants of the villages of Aloa, Sandallaris and Maratha were rounded up and killed in cold blood on 14 August and buried in mass-graves which were subsequently unearthed in the presence of the UNFICYP and foreign correspondents.

Detailed accounts of some of these Greek Cypriot atrocities are presented from the mouths of the relatives of the victims (Appendix 3).

6. At the beginning of 1975 a bi-communal Committee was set up in the course of the inter-communal talks with the participation of the U.N. and ICRC representatives to deal with the humanitarian cases.

This Committee looked into all alleged cases of the missing and, by mid-1975, the ICRC handed over to me and to Mr. Clerides (the then Greek Cypriot negotiator) about 30 cases for further investigation as they had dealt with the rest of the cases. Later I provided the answer for about 8 of these cases to Mr. Clerides and to Archbishop Makarios.

7. At the summit meeting of 12 February 1977 between myself and Archbishop Makarios we agreed to set up an inter-communal committee to investigate the question of missing persons, subject to an all-out investigation in chronological order.

On 26 April 1977, however, the former Greek Cypriot negotiator, Mr. Tassos Papadopoulos, wrote to us to say that the Greek Cypriot side could not agree to such a course.

In 1977 the matter was raised by the Greek Cypriot side at the Third Committee of the U.N. and a unanimous resolution was passed on 12 December 1977, which was subsequently adopted by the U.N. General Assembly on December 1977 (Res. No. 32/129) to the effect that the ICRC should participate in the inter-communal Committee.

The Turkish Cypriot side accepted this and through the help of Mr. Crawford, the then U.S.A. Ambassador in Cyprus, the procedural aspect of the question was settled 95%. Appendix 4 incorporates this aspect in my letters which I addressed to His Excellency Mr. Kurt Waldheim on 9 February 1978 and 19 October 1978.

The whole difficulty was due to the insistence of the Greek Cypriot side that the third member of the investigatory Committee, originally an ICRC representative as envisaged by the U.N. General Assembly resolution 32/128, should have the decisive vote in the event of disagreement between the Turkish and Greek Cypriot members of the Committee. The Turkish Cypriot side on the other hand wanted all decisions of the Committee to be taken by consensus (as it is customary in such matters), so as to prevent the exploitation of this humanitarian issue for political purposes. On this point the views of the Turkish Cypriot side and those of the ICRC, as also presented in paragraph 43 of the U.N. Secretary-General's report S/12946 of 1 December 1978 in the following terms, are identical :

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

The justified refusal of the ICRC to be dragged into political controversy over the question meant that the decisions of the Committee would be taken on a no-objection basis, and not by majority vote as the Greek Cypriots wanted, and that the Greek Cypriot side would be unable to use the Committee as a forum from where it could disseminate further anti-Turkish propaganda. This was the reason why the Greek Cypriot side found it necessary to push aside this perfectly logical and constructive arrangement, and take the question back to the Third Committee of the U.N. in 1978. The resolution adopted by the Third Committee on 12 December 1978 and later approved by the U.N. General Assembly (resolution 33/178) on 20 December 1978 was not found to be acceptable by the Turkish Cypriot side which made this fact known to the Secretary-General in a letter addressed to him on 13 December 1978. The clause urging the establishment of an investigatory body “ under the chairmanship of a representative of the Secretary-General ”, who “ shall be empowered, in case of disagreement, to reach a binding independent opinion which shall be implemented ”, was particularly unacceptable, since it did not even conform with the established international practice with regard to the settlement of disputes of this nature. It is relevant to note here that the legal advice sought from the United Nations

in this respect stated that in the absence of the explicit consent of both sides, the General Assembly could not confer upon the Secretary-General and, for that matter, upon his representative, the role of a compulsory arbitrator, that there was no precedent for conferring such a role upon the Secretary-General in the absence of the consent of both parties and finally that established international practice in the matter of dispute settlement attaches primacy to the consent of the parties. It also stated that such consent should be express and not implied.

Later, in 1979, the then U.N. Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, proposed what he called a "mid solution" which I undertook to take to my Government and did so. The decision of the Government of the Turkish Federated State of Kibris was that the Turkish Cypriot side considered the 1977 unanimous resolution (32/128) as valid and workable and was prepared to set up the Committee in question in line with my letters to the Secretary-General (Appendix 4).

On 21 March 1980 the Turkish Cypriot side made certain proposals on the subject of "missing persons", through the U.N. Secretary-General, in the form of a "Talking Paper" (Appendix 5).

8. A 'Shuttle' was started on 12 December 1980 after the Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot sides agreed that paragraphs 3 to 13 of this Talking Paper, leaving out the date in paragraph 7 as an open question, should constitute the basis for the commencement of the 'Shuttle'.

At the successful conclusion of the 'Shuttle' which lasted for nearly four and a half months, from 12 December 1980 till 21 April 1981, an agreement was reached by the Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot sides on the Terms of Reference for the establishment of a Committee on Missing Persons in Cyprus (CMP). This agreement was formally announced at a press conference, held on 22 April 1981, by Dr. Hugo Gobbi, the Special Representative of the U.N. Secretary-General, in the presence of the representatives of the two sides (Appendix 6).

The CMP is composed of three members, one member from each side and Mr. Claude Pilloud, a retired ICRC official and a Swiss lawyer. Mr. Pilloud was first designated by the International Committee of Red Cross and appointed by the Secretary-General of the U.N. as the third member of the CMP with the approval of the Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot sides.

Following the appointment of its members the CMP, which functions as an independent and autonomous body, held its first meeting on 14 July 1981 and continued to meet in accordance with its schedule until 1 September 1981 when it decided to have its usual recess until 25 September 1981. Before leaving for this recess for his native Switzerland, however, Mr. Pilloud submitted to the two sides, on 2 September 1981, his compromise proposals on the outstanding procedural matters before the CMP.

In the morning of 25 September 1981 shortly before the CMP was to convene Mr. Pilloud was informed by the Greek Cypriot member that he could not participate in that morning's meeting (Appendix 7). Therefore the CMP could not hold its meeting pre-scheduled for 25 September, nor could it meet for many weeks to come due to the persistent boycotting of its meetings by the Greek Cypriot side, despite intensive efforts made by the other two members to convene the CMP.

In the meantime, on the Greek Cypriot side, a propaganda campaign was waged against both Mr. Pilloud and the Turkish Cypriot side and the CMP's confidential documents and material were disclosed to the public at a press conference held on 30 October 1981 (Appendix 8) in gross and deliberate violation of the Terms of Reference of the CMP.

While holding the work of the CMP in abeyance and thus preventing it from discussing the compromise proposals submitted by Mr. Pilloud on 2 September 1981, the Greek Cypriot side attempted to enter into unilateral consultations with the U.N. Secretariat in New York with the intention of securing the revision and modification of these proposals.

Finally, the Greek Cypriot side agreed to participate in a CMP meeting scheduled for 20 November 1981 amidst Greek Cypriot press reports that preparations were "in hand for an appeal to the Third Committee of the U.N." (Appendix 9). When the 20 November meeting had to be postponed due to Mr. Pilloud's sudden illness, which the Greek Cypriot side described as "political", a statement was issued by the United Nations Force in Cyprus on 21 November

1981 saying that Mr. Pilloud was indeed ill "undergoing medical attention and supervision" and that any suggestion made which was contrary to that actuality was devoid of truth (Appendix 10).

Long before the CMP met on 26 November 1981 the Greek Cypriot side had decided and made its preparations to submit a draft resolution to the Third Committee of the U.N. (Appendix 11). At the 26 November meeting, the Turkish Cypriot side, tried in goodwill to persuade the Greek Cypriot side to withdraw its draft resolution from the Third Committee of the U.N., pointing out that such a move would seriously harm the autonomous and independent nature of the CMP and put its future work in jeopardy. Nothing, not even the revised 2 September proposals submitted by Mr. Pilloud to the Committee at its 26 November meeting, could stop the Greek Cypriot side from taking the missing persons issue away from the CMP to the United Nations.

When the CMP reconvened on 10 February 1982 the calendar of its work pointed at 2 September 1981, the date on which Mr. Pilloud submitted to the two sides his compromise proposals which had not yet been discussed by the Committee. The Greek Cypriot side, however, flatly refused to enter into any discussion on the basis of 2 September proposals.

During the last session of the CMP the Turkish Cypriot side made intensive efforts to help the Committee to overcome its procedural difficulties and put forward useful suggestions that could enable the CMP to begin its humanitarian task of actual investigation of individual cases. To further help the CMP in its investigative task the Turkish Cypriot side accepted Mr. Pilloud's 2 September proposals on the method of investigations as well as on reports at the CMP meeting held on 25 February 1982. This acceptance was welcomed by Mr. Pilloud who remarked that the CMP was ready to proceed with its humanitarian task of investigating the individual cases of the missing. Mr. Pilloud's remark elicited an unjustified protest from the Greek Cypriot member who claimed that the CMP was deadlocked and prevented it from fixing a date for its future meeting (Appendix 12).

A few days later a delegation headed by the Director-General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Greek Cypriot Administration was dispatched to Geneva by the Greek Cypriot side to invite the members of the Working Group on Enforced and Involuntary Disappearances to Cyprus, in an effort to further internationalize the issue of the missing persons.

Now, the Greek Cypriot side refuses to participate in the CMP's meetings unless they are attended by the representatives of the so-called "Pancyprian Committee of the Relatives of Undeclared Prisoners and Missing Persons" (PCRUPMP).

The Turkish Cypriot side maintains that the question of missing persons is a humanitarian issue which can be best solved by the CMP established as a result of the agreement reached between the two sides. In the CMP's Terms of Reference there is no provision whatsoever which suggests even remotely that observers should be admitted to the Committee's meetings. On the contrary, its Terms of Reference states explicitly that no person directly involved in the issue of missing persons can assist any member of the CMP. Besides, the issue of observers has no bearing on the work of the CMP, itself, whose main task is to investigate the cases.

At the interview I had with Mr. Papachristophorou, the chairman of the 'PCRUPMP' on 26 March 1981, I promised to help him attend the CMP's meetings as an observer on the condition that the Greek Cypriot side should stop exploiting the missing persons issue for both internal and international propaganda. In proposing such a condition I was merely interested in protecting the CMP against any future propaganda. Stating that the representatives of the 'PCRUPMP' worked in close cooperation with the Greek Cypriot Administration Mr. Papachristophorou accepted my condition by saying "I guarantee that all propaganda will be stopped."

On the basis of my promise, the Turkish Cypriot side, trusting that Mr. Papachristophorou would keep his promise, agreed to discuss the question of observers at the meetings of the CMP, without first asking for an official confirmation about the condition accepted by Mr. Papachristophorou. As a matter of fact following its first meeting on 14 July 1981, the CMP took up the procedural matters, including the question of observers, on which both sides put forward their views. Later, too, the Turkish Cypriot side stated that it was ready to discuss, with a positive and constructive approach, all the issues

in Mr. Pilloud's compromise proposals of 2 September 1981, including that on observers. As a result of the boycotting of the CMP's meetings by the Greek Cypriot side for many weeks, however, the Committee could not discuss and finalize this issue as well as all other issues in Mr. Pilloud's 2 September proposals.

Acting contrary to his promise to me Mr. Papachristophorou was engaged as the chairman of the 'PCRUPMP' in the following activities harming the autonomous and independent nature of the CMP :

1. He lobbied in October 1981 at the United Nations in New York for propaganda purposes (Appendix 13).

2. He disclosed the CMP's confidential documents and material including its confidential Terms of Reference at a press conference he held on 30 October 1981 (Appendix 8).

3. He carried out propaganda activities at the Third Committee of the U.N. during November - December 1981 (Appendix 14).

4. He sent a propaganda memorandum, on 6 February 1982, to the Conference on European Security and Cooperation in Madrid, although it was earlier announced that the CMP would meet on 10 February 1982.

5. He lobbied in Geneva with the purpose of getting the Working Group on Enforced and Involuntary Disappearances of the U.N. Commission on Human Rights involved in the missing persons issue in Cyprus and thus rendering the CMP ineffective.

6. He made efforts to exploit the missing persons issue at Strasbourg.

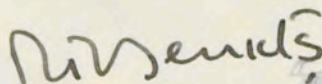
7. On many occasions he directed accusations against the third member of the CMP.

8. He made personal and insulting charges and accusations against the Turkish Cypriot member of the CMP.

From the above it is evident that Mr. Papachristophorou and his group have not kept the promise they made to me. They have not only made every effort to take the issue of missing persons to international fora but also acting in gross violation of the CMP's Terms of Reference disclosed it, together with other confidential documents and material related to the CMP. In doing so, Mr. Papachristophorou and his group have put the work of the CMP in serious jeopardy and thus proved to be unfit to become observers.

In fact all the available evidences indicate that the main interest of the Greek Cypriot side in the issue of missing persons originates exclusively from its desire to exploit this sensitive issue for political propaganda purposes rather than from humanitarian considerations.

Finally I should like to stress the fact that, within the framework of the CMP's Terms of Reference, the Turkish Cypriot side is ready, as it has been before, to help the Committee in performing its humanitarian task of investigating and finalizing the individual cases of the missing persons of the two sides without further delay.



(Rauf R. DENKTAS)
President
Turkish Federated State of
Kibris.

APPENDIX 1

U.N. Secretary-General's reports on the missing
Turkish Cypriots:

(a) "142. In my report of 15 June 1964, I indicated that as of 8 June, a total of 483 Turkish Cypriots and 52 Greek Cypriots were reported as missing. As a result of intensive searches effected since then, carried out with the assistance of UNFICYP and the International Committee of the Red Cross, 251 Turkish Cypriots and 9 Greek Cypriots have been found... Among those who remain missing are many persons who disappeared during the December 1963 events, and there seems little hope of finding them alive. The same may be said of all those who were abducted after the Famagusta incident of 11 May 1964." (33 Turkish Cypriots).

(S/5950 of 10 September 1964)

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

(S/6102 of 12 December 1964)

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

(S/6228 of 11 March 1965)

(d) "76..... Only one case of 212 Turkish Cypriots listed as missing has been closed since my last report, a man now found to have been killed in April 1964."

(S/7350 of 10 June 1966)

APPENDIX 2

That the number of those killed during the coup of 15 July 1974 was very high is evidenced by:

- a) An article in the local daily 'Haravgi' of 22 November 1975 in which a Greek Cypriot editor wrote:

" Innocent Turkish women and children together with thousands of democratic elements among the Greek Community were wantonly killed by EOKA hordes during the coup ".
- b) The disclosures made in an Athens newspaper, Ta Nea, by a Greek Cypriot priest, Papatsestos of Nicosia, who was forced to bury the dead, some of whom while still alive. (Appendix 15)
- c) The statement made to the Greek Assize Court in Nicosia, in August 1976, by Mr. Loucaides, the Deputy Attorney-General of the Greek Cypriot Administration. (Appendix 16)
- d) The contents of a letter, written on 31 August, 1974 by a Greek Professor to Prof. Alper Orhon, describing the "awful events" during the coup. (Appendix 17)
- e) Archbishop Makarios' address to the U.N. Security Council on 19 July 1974, in which, about the coup of 15 July 1974, he said "... I am afraid that the number of losses are heavy... The coup has cost much bloodshed and many lives."
- f) The statement made by the former Greek Cypriot negotiator, Mr. Tassos Papadopoulos, at a press conference on 12 December 1977 and published by the local English language daily "Cyprus Mail", on 13 December 1971, where the following extract comes from:

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

TRAGEDIES IN TOKHNI FROM THE MOUTHS OF SURVIVERS

Tokhni is a village situated in the north east of Limassol, a sea port in southern Cyprus. Until the year 1974, five hundred Turkish Cypriots and about the same number of Greek Cypriots lived there in separate quarters. Massive tragedy struck the Turkish inhabitants of the village on the 14th August, 1974, when armed Greeks took away at gun point all the available able-bodied males of ages ranging from 13 to 74 and massacred them together with 15 other Turkish Cypriot men from the neighbouring villages of Mari and Zyyi. Only eighteen men managed to get away. They hid in the mountains until they could smuggle themselves from the surrounding Greek areas into Kophinou, a Turkish Cypriot village, where they lay low until they could be singly smuggled to the Turkish quarter of Nicosia.

The women of Tokhni were evacuated on the 25th October, 1974, by UNFICYP to Northern Cyprus and the village has now been re-constituted at Vouno, 10 miles from Nicosia. Turks now call it "New Tokhni", in other words Yeni Taşkent, where women never smile but children grow up in security.

Below are the accounts of the tragic events that took place in Tokhni, as related by some of the survivors in their own words.

The Account of the 15th August, 1974 massacre related by Suat Hüseyin, an eye witness and the sole survivor, who got away miraculously:

"On August 14, 1974, some 20 Greek gunmen entered our village, Tokhni, and gathered 69 Turkish Cypriot men between the ages of 13 and 74. These gunmen had been patrolling the town daily.

"The following day, the 15th August, 1974, they brought to our village 15 more Turkish Cypriot men they had rounded up from the villages of Mari and Zyyi. They divided us into two groups. I was one of the 50 who boarded a bus guarded by four Greeks armed with automatic weapons.

"We passed Limassol, arriving at the Ayia Phyla-Palodhia road junction. Our captors ordered us down and told us to walk towards the isolated countryside. When we were told to stop, I noticed that the earth had been dug in places. These I grasped then, were to be our graves. The four gunmen offered each Turkish Cypriot a cigarette. It was, I think at the third puff that the bullets came. I fell, I was shot in the belly and legs. I fell with the others, pretending to be dead. My face was covered with blood and the spattered brain of another victim. I then heard the four gunmen speak in the mainland Greek accent. 'That is the end of them, let's now go and bring a bulldozer and bury them.'

When they were safely away I gathered all my strength and crawled to the trees nearby. No one else appeared to have survived. Later I watched the common grave of my fellow-villagers bulldozed over.

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

Zerin Mehmet of Tokhni recounts the tragedy of her life:

"I was happily married with a loving husband and three little sons, and was seven months pregnant with my fourth baby. The 15th July, 1974, when opposing Greek camps assaulted each other, was the beginning of our misfortune. On that day we heard gunshots fired by some Greek gunmen of the village. We were terrified. Later we learned that some Eoka (Greek Cypriot underground movement) gunmen were celebrating their victory over the Makarios supporters. These shots signalled our future ordeal in the hands of the Greek Cypriot gunmen.

In early August 1974 my husband, whom I loved dearly, was collected from the village street by the Greeks. They wished to interrogate him about the arms

and ammunition which they suspected to be in possession of the Turkish inhabitants of the village. They knew where the few arms that the Turks had were kept. In fact they had collected all the arms and ammunition that we had on 22nd July 1974. When interrogated, my husband told them the truth. One of the gunmen then commented: 'You are lucky you told us the truth, otherwise we would have shot you'. My husband knew how cruel these men were. He was caught and taken prisoner by them in 1963. We were not married then but he used to tell me how they arrested him on his way to work and how hard the Turkish authorities had tried to obtain his release, for which they had to pay a large sum of money.

In early August, 1974, armed Greek men arrested many Turkish Cypriot able-bodied men and tortured them with the purpose of extracting information about the imaginary weapons they possessed.

I shall never forget how our neighbour, Münir, suffered in their hands. He was a fat man. As he was very kind, we nicknamed him Ata (father). One day the Greek Cypriot gunmen arrested him too. He was taken away for sometime. When he returned, his back was as red as beetroot. He told us that they beat him with a hot iron bar. 'When the hot bar touched our bodies we cried our heads off' he said. Few days later he was to meet his death, the same fate as his fellow village men.

I vividly remember the 14th August, 1974. It was just before noon. We were sitting in the yard of the house of my mother-in-law, Sultan Kaşif. Her house was at a rather protected location. So, eleven men, many women and children, all relatives, gathered there. The men were digging a trench for the women and children to hide in, in case of a Greek assault on them. The women and children were eating grapes. Suddenly a gunshot was heard. We panicked. The men ordered the women and children to go into the trench they were in the process of digging. The Greek gunmen were already in the house.

They made their way into the yard by jumping over the wall, breaking through the windows and doors, and jumping into the yard. There were six Greek gunmen led by Andrikko, a Greek Cypriot from our village. They ordered everybody to come out: 'If the men do not come out we'll shoot the women and children.'

The Greek gunmen fired shots in the air in the Turkish quarter of the village. It was doomsday for our village. Women and children were crying, children were embracing their fathers and mothers. Some women fainted and fell on the ground. The gunmen declared that they would take away the men only. My mother-in-law, horrified, clung to her 13 year old son. 'Leave him' she pleaded with the gunmen. 'You silly dog of a Turk, are you still breast feeding him?' was the shuddering reply. They took away her husband and four sons.

My husband's aunt had a sole son. She begged Andrikko not to take him from her. Our sorrow and horror met with their sinister laughter.

Just before they took him away, my husband Mehmet took me in his arms and said, 'Zerin, if I don't come back bring up our children with feelings of vengeance.' Then he kissed his three sons, the eldest, Kâşif, 5 years old. Kâşif ran after his father shouting 'Don't go, daddy, don't go, they will kill you!.' Even now Kâşif wakes up with a nightmare, shouting 'Mummy, don't let him go! Daddy, don't go!'

The women and children who were left behind stayed and waited together in the hope that they might return. The Greek gunmen patrolled the streets day and night. They broke into some houses and stole valuables. They picked up an old man of 76, İzzet Gönelli by name, and took him away too. Nothing has been heard of him since. We spent many fearful days. It was not until the third day after the abductions that some members of the U.N. Peace Force arrived at the village. They set up check posts at the access points to the Turkish quarter of the village. Although armed Greeks were not supposed to enter our quarter some EOKA gunmen disguised as policemen managed to enter.

For two weeks we had received no news about our captive men. We were so worried and anxious that some women slipped away in search of their men. I was then eight and a half months pregnant with my daughter Ozlem. Dying to get some information about our men taken away I decided to make a point of my pregnancy to secure the assistance of the Red Cross in reaching Nicosia safely. At first objections were raised to my three children accompanying me, but upon my insistence they finally gave in and allowed my children to go with me. I reached Nicosia in the first week of September, and on the 15th of September I gave birth to my fourth child, a daughter. Poor thing, she was never to see her father."

THE FORCED PARTING OF A FATHER AND HIS CHILDREN

Mübeccel Raşit relates how she, her two brothers and two sisters were torn apart from their father:

"On the 22nd July, 1974, some armed men dressed in U.N. uniforms surrounded our village and collected the few guns that we had in the Turkish quarter. They were using U.N. cars, but one of them spoke perfect Greek. On the 6th August my father and some able-bodied Turkish Cypriot men were taken by the Greek gunmen to the police station of the nearest Greek village of Kalavassos, and subjected to torture by beating with hot iron bars. The Greek gunmen wanted to know if there were more guns in the village. In fact there were none left. After torturing my father they let him free. He was beaten so badly that he could not even lie down or drink the milk we offered him.

My father was a shepherd. The Greek gunmen kept pestering him. They mocked him saying 'You, there, look after your herd well; we'll need them all.

My father was 43 years old then. On the 14th August, 1974 heavily armed Greek Cypriots entered our village. They were firing their guns indiscriminately. We were frightened to death. My father, who suspected that they

had come for the men of the village, hid away. They forced him out of his hiding place saying that they would kill us, his five children, if he did not come out. For fear that they would carry out their threat he emerged from his hiding place. He handed his watch and the money that he had in his pocket to me. His five children were all there. He looked at us earnestly and with tears in his eyes asked our next door neighbour to take care of us as my mother was stranded in another village. He was rushed away at gun point. He kept turning his head back and looking at us until he was completely out of sight.

The following day he was taken away from the village together with 68 other men from Tokhni. We have not heard from him since."

EXTRACTS FROM THE DIARY OF MERYEM MEHMET, A GIRL FROM TOKHNI

21st July, 1974

..... Ill fate was menacing our village. The Greek gunmen demanded our surrender through the UN Peace Keeping Force. No one wanted to give in. It was getting dark. With the sunset our dark moments were to set in. That night all the women of the village gathered together at the centre of the village. We did not know what was going on. The men told us to be calm. Women and children we all spent a nightmarish night in the yard.

22nd July, 1974.

..... Some soldiers of U.N. Peace Keeping Force came back to ask us to surrender as we could not resist with the few guns that we had. So we surrendered our guns to the Greeks, who then left our village and went to the nearby village Mari.

Later fighting broke out at the village of Mari. The ground was shaking with heavy gunfire. The villagers of Mari would not surrender although they were outmanned and outgunned by the Greeks. The fighting was still going on. Smoke over Mari could be seen at Tokhni. Suddenly we could hear no more gunshots. The village had surrendered before the cease fire arranged for 4 p.m.

./...

Some soldiers of the U.N. Peace Keeping Force were on duty in the village. News reached us that by 4 p.m. all the Turkish men were required to be present at the village church in order to discuss certain matters. At 3.15 p.m. a gun shot was heard. It was intended to scare the Turkish villagers and was followed with more shots. In horror we waited for the end to come, for we had no weapons to defend ourselves with. Our only hope was the Turkish Peace Force.....

It was a horrifying night. We were left defenceless at the mercy of the merciless Greeks.

23rd July, 1974.

..... The village was thrown into an instant confusion. News went round that the Greek gunmen would search our houses for weapons. Anxiety and fear gripped everybody. They eventually did search some Turkish homes but they could not find any weapons.

24th July - 12 August, 1974.

Everyday we were left face to face with new troubling incidents..... Many Turkish men of the village were taken away and beaten up with hot iron bars. One of the tortured men related: "The Greek gunmen arrested us and took us to Kalavassos. There they beat us mercilessly. Later they made us dig some graves and in them buried us up to our necks. 'Tell us, do you have any more weapons?' they demanded. 'No' I answered. A shot was fired and whizzed over my head. 'Tell me if you have any, otherwise I will shoot you like a dog.' I heard a distant shot of fire. 'You see, we've just shot your friend. It is your turn next,' he said. 'I have no weapons' I replied. They dug me out of the grave. Exhausted I was dragged indoors. I had no hope for my friend. I thought he was really shot. They ruthlessly beat us up all one by one with hot iron bars until we were stiff with exhaustion."

./...

14th August, 1974.

.....We were praying hopefully. At 10 a.m. we were glued to the radio, listening to the news. On raising our heads we found ourselves face to face with the Greek dogs of war. "Any men in there?" One of them demanded in Greek. "Don't worry, we'll take the men to the school building for questioning." I understood him all right, but I said in Turkish, "We don't know Greek, What's that you said?" He repeated his question. He took away all our men there. They even took away my elderly father.They were going round the houses. They broke down doors and wardrobes. They even smashed plates and stole money. Many of the men including Mustafa, Yüksel and Ahmet hid themselves but Andrikko, a local Greek gunman, was barking out: "Either all the men come out or I will kill anyone I find."

We were brought up to believe that prisoners came to no harm in the hands of their captors. All the ones they took they shut in the school which was surrounded by the Greek gunmen. Worried about the fate of our men we were in continuous tears. At nightfall we sent them food, cigarettes and blankets. We trusted them to God. We were praying God that He might at least take pity on the children.

15th August, 1974.

In the morning we sent some more food to the captives. Later we noticed a landrover full of men in black uniforms come to the village. We thought they were mainland Greeks. We were scared stiff and shut ourselves in our homes. We saw two buses come and take our men away. We were not sure where they were being taken. Some said they would be taken to Kalavassos and some to Limassol.

We gathered at Hürmüse's house and prayed for our captive men and for those who evaded capture and fled.

16th August, 1974.

.....We were left all alone in the village. Later some members of the U.N. Peace Keeping Force moved in and set up camp. Now we felt somewhat secure.

A BLOODY DAY IN PAPHOS - the 14th August, 1974.

Emboldened by the fact that the Turkish inhabitants of Paphos were unarmed, about 200 Greek gunmen attacked the Turkish quarter of the town on the 14th August, 1974, Walking or running in the streets the Greek gunmen fired indiscriminately at the windows and doors of the Turkish houses. The Turkish quarter of the town was thrown into instant chaos. Seven Turkish Cypriots including a three year old girl were mowed down. Detailed accounts of what happened on that day are presented from the mouths of the relatives of the victims.

Salih H. Kiral gives an account of the day when his daughter Rahme was murdered by the Greeks:

"The Greeks entered the Turkish quarter of Paphos on the 14th August, 1974. They gunned down the Turkish men that they lay their eyes on, and beat up the women and the old with the butt-ends of rifles. A few minutes later a Greek gunman called us to come out. We opened the door to come out. He moved us down instantly with an automatic weapon. We were bathed in blood. We were wounded, I on the head and the leg, my brother on the leg, my nephew on the belly and my daughter on the arm. The body of my other daughter Rahme who was 3 years old, was riddled with 40 bullets. A Greek who came in through the backdoor forced me and my daughter in my arms out although we were both wounded. A landrover belonging to UN Peace Keeping Force that was passing by halted on seeing us. Those in the landrover took us immediately to the Greek Hospital. After a few hours my daughter Rahme passed away. After bandaging my wound they took me to the prisoner's camp. Having spent five days there I was taken back to the Greek Hospital. My wounds were bleeding. As there was no vacant bed there I was sent to the Turkish hospital.

Five months later I was taken by the Red Cross to the Liberated Turkish Zone."

Zehra H. Kiral, recalls the day when her son Hasan and her grand-daughter Rahme were murdered by the Greeks:

"The barbaric Greeks encircling the Turkish quarter of Paphos entered it on the 14th August, 1974. They plunged into the streets of the Turkish quarter, gunned down the men, beat up the women and the old with the butt-ends of rifles. Faced with this situation we shut ourselves in our homes. Five or six minutes later a Greek named Ghatti having smashed the pane of the front door ordered us out. My son Hasan Kiral and myself came out into the yard to open the door. The Greek shouted out to my son, 'Come out, you dog.' 'Let me call the others inside' replied my son. But he forced my son out at gun point saying, 'Let the others come out later.' As my son stepped out he was seriously shot by the two bullets from the rifle of the barbaric Greek. Amidst the shots fired by the Greek I went to the open space, where the Turks were gradually gathering. The Greeks kept all the men there and ordered women and children to go back home. When I got back home my son was lying on the ground in a pool of blood. I then learned that my other two sons Ismail and Salih and my grand children Ilhan and Zehra were wounded and that my grand-daughter Rahme was murdered. Thereupon I lost consciousness."

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

"It was the 14th August, 1974, All the family including brothers and sisters gathered together at my brother's, Erdoğan Çakır's home. My brothers were marked men by the Greeks. My brothers knew that they could be murdered at any time so much so that an hour before he was shot Mustafa made his last

wish saying 'I know very well that Greeks will murder us. When I die let the inscription, Long Live the Motherland, God Protect the Turks, be written on my tombstone.'

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

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

APPENDIX 4

9 February, 1978

Your Excellency,

When we last parted from your luncheon meeting in Nicosia, Mr. Kyprianou had said that he would study the question of setting up the joint investigatory body to resolve the problem of missing persons in Cyprus, as envisaged by the resolution of the United Nations Third Committee adopted on 12th December, 1977.

Unfortunately since then, the Greek Cypriot side has continued to exploit the question of missing persons with ulterior political motives, and a great deal of propaganda has been made on this matter thus causing an unnecessary delay in the setting up of the joint investigatory body.

In view of the delay caused by the Greek Cypriot leadership on procedural matters, this is to inform, Your Excellency, that the Turkish Cypriot side is ready and willing, as always, to set up the investigatory body with the participation of the ICRC, as envisaged by the Resolution of the Third Committee, immediately.

Please accept, Your Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

(Rauf R. DENKTAŞ)
President of the
Turkish Federated State of Cyprus

His Excellency, Dr. Kurt Waldheim,
Secretary General,
United Nations Organization,
New York,
U.S.A.

APPENDIX 4

19 October 1978

Your Excellency,

You will no doubt recall that operative paragraph 2 of the General Assembly Resolution (32/128), concerning missing persons in Cyprus, envisages the cooperation of the two communities to work out the modalities relating to the functioning of the investigatory body.

As we have stated repeatedly, and as I personally reiterated once again to Your Excellency on 7 October, 1978, the Turkish Cypriot side is, and has always been, ready and willing to have a meeting with the Greek Cypriot side, under Your Excellency's auspices in accordance with operative paragraph 2 of the above mentioned General Assembly resolution.

I would, therefore, be most grateful, Your Excellency if you could use your good offices to arrange a meeting of the representatives of the two communities, as envisaged by the said General Assembly resolution, in order to finalize the work on the modalities concerning the functioning of the investigatory body and with a view to activating it expeditiously.

Please accept, Your Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

Rauf R. Denktas
President
Turkish Federated State of Cyprus

H.E. Dr. Kurt Waldheim
Secretary-General of
the United Nations
NEW YORK.

TALKING PAPER ON
COMMITTEE ON MISSING PERSONS

1. A Committee on Missing Persons in Cyprus will be formed immediately consisting of three members; the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities will each appoint one humanitarian person to the Committee. The third member will be an official of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). His selection will be agreed to by the two other members of the Committee.

2. The decisions of the Committee will be taken by consensus.

3. Each of the Committee members can be assisted by up to two staff assistants as necessary. No other persons will participate in the deliberations or investigative work of the Committee. No person directly involved with the issue of missing persons may be appointed as staff assistant. The Committee will not request outside expert assistance.

4. The Committee will not have a chairman, but the meetings will be directed by the members on a rotation basis for a period of one month's duration; the first director will be the representative of the ICRC, to be followed by the Turkish Cypriot member or the Greek Cypriot member, to be determined at the first meeting by lot.

5. The three members of the Committee will meet immediately and will continue in regularly-scheduled sessions for as long as required.

6. All parties concerned shall cooperate with the Committee to ensure access throughout the island for the investigative work of the Committee.

7. The Committee shall look only into the cases of persons reported missing in the intercommunal fighting and in the events after July 15, 1974.

./...

8. The order of investigation of cases will be decided by the Committee, but it is agreed that the first investigative case will be put forward by the Turkish Cypriot member of the Committee. This will be followed by a case put forward by the Greek Cypriot member. The investigations will rotate to the extent possible until all cases have been examined.

9. The Committee's entire proceedings and findings will be strictly confidential. Any violation of this rule would place the work of the Committee in jeopardy.

10. The Committee will determine whether to issue public statements or reports without prejudice to Paragraph 9.

11. The Committee will not attempt to attribute responsibility for the deaths of any missing persons or make findings as to the cause of such deaths.

12. No disinterment will take place under the aegis of this Committee. The Committee may refer requests for disinterment to the ICRC for processing under its customary procedures.

13. The Committee will use its best efforts to draw up comprehensive lists of missing persons of both communities, specifying as appropriate whether they are alive or dead, and in the latter case approximate time of the deaths.

Text of the statement made by Dr. Hugo Gobbi, the Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General at Ledra Palace and simultaneously released in New York and Geneva

On behalf of the Secretary-General, I am very pleased to announce that agreement has been reached by the two sides on the terms of reference for the establishment of a Committee on Missing Persons in Cyprus.

The Secretary-General has asked me to thank both sides for their important co-operation which has made this agreement possible. In particular, I wish to thank the representatives of the two sides who, over the past few months, were engaged in intensive efforts to bring about the setting up of this Committee. The Secretary-General also wishes to thank the International Committee of the Red Cross for its co-operation in facilitating this significant achievement.

On the basis of this agreement it is possible now to proceed to the establishment of the Committee.

This development represents a very important step forward in the solution of a long-standing issue of great concern to the two sides.

Furthermore, we hope the efforts of the Committee on Missing Persons will strengthen the spirit of co-operation and the joint endeavour undertaken in the framework of the inter-communal talks.

APPENDIX 7

UNITED NATIONS FORCE IN CYPRUS

Office of the Spokesman

Nicosia, 29 September 1981

The following press statement is issued on behalf of Mr. Pilloud:

"Kypros" stated on 28 September 1981 that Mr. Claude Pilloud of the Committee on Missing Persons unexpectedly convened a meeting of that body under "strange conditions" on 25 September while, it said, the Secretary-General was continuing his consultations with the parties and after the Greek Cypriots had made it clear that they would not attend meetings until the problems of substance were solved.

The fact is that the 25 September meeting was scheduled at the tenth meeting of the Committee on Missing Persons, which was held on 1 September. Mr. Pilloud arrived in Cyprus for this prescheduled meeting of the Committee on 24 September. The prescheduled meeting was cancelled on 25 September because the Greek Cypriot representative said that he could not participate while consultations were going on in New York.

"Kypros" announced also in the middle of September that Mr. Pilloud was in New York for consultations with the Secretary-General. This is incorrect as Mr. Pilloud was in Europe from 2-24 September 1981 and never went to New York.

Extract from 'Cyprus Press Digest' of 30 October 1981, Page 5

MISSING PERSONS

ELEFTHEROTYPIA says while the Pancyprian Committee of Missing Persons is determined to give today the announced press conference at which it will reveal a number of confidential documents concerning the consultations for the functioning of the investigatory committee for missing persons, an authoritative source disclosed yesterday that the Greek Cypriot side has in its possession evidence that missing Greek Cypriots were alive at least a few months ago. The said source did not reveal this evidence nor did it comment on the report in an evening paper yesterday that missing persons have been seen in the occupied area. According to the evening paper MESSMVRINI, a Greek Cypriot accompanying a West European during a visit to the north said he had seen about 30 missing Greek Cypriots cleaning ditches by the side of the road under the supervision of Turkish troops. He recognised among them the relative of a friend of his. ELEFTHEROTYPIA says foreign diplomats are making efforts to prevent the holding of today's press conference of the Committee of Relatives of Missing Persons. It has been learned that the Committee will include in a special booklet all the documents it will disclose at the press conference within the framework of its decision to mount a campaign to enlighten world opinion,

APPENDIX 8

Attached is the first page of the 19 pages long memorandum, published by the so-called Pancyprian Committee of Undeclared Prisoners and Missing Persons, in which confidential documents and material related to the CMP, including its confidential Terms of Reference, were disclosed to the public at the Press Conference held on 30th October 1981 on the Greek Cypriot side.

MEMORANDUM

THE REAL FACTS REGARDING THE ESTABLISHMENT
OF THE INVESTIGATIONS COMMITTEE FOR MISSING
PERSONS IN CYPRUS

With this Memorandum the Pancyprian Committee of Relatives of Undeclared Prisoners and Missing Persons intends to place before you the actual facts regarding the Investigation Committee, on the basis of which, one can arrive at the right conclusions.

EFFORTS FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE INVESTIGATION COMMITTEE

From the beginning of 1976 the Greek-Cypriot side had made it clear that the question of the Missing Persons would be solved with the setting up of an Investigation Committee which would examine in depth the case of each of the Missing.

In this connection Rev. Father Christoforos and Mr. A. Fissentzides, representatives of our Committee, met with the United Nations Secretary-General Dr. Waldheim at Vienna in March, 1976. It was suggested to him that a three-member Investigation Committee, in which the two sides would be represented, should be set up within the framework and under the auspices of the United Nations Organization.

Dr. Waldheim found the suggestion realistic and practical and having elaborated upon by U.N. Secretariat it was officially proposed to the two sides. This U.N. proposal, which provided for the establishment of a three-member Committee consisting of a Greek-Cypriot representative, a Turkish-Cypriot representative and a representative of the International Red Cross, was accepted by the Government of Cyprus and Dr. Waldheim was accordingly informed by letter from the then Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr. J. Christophides. But the Turkish side rejected the proposal. Despite all the efforts made by the United Nations the Turkish side did not consent.

In an effort to secure a U.N. Resolution for the establishment of the Investigation Committee, on the lines suggested to the two sides by Dr. Waldheim, the Cyprus Government decided in September, 1977 to place the question before the Third Committee of the General Assembly of the United Nations. When this decision of the Cyprus Government became known mediation efforts began with a view to developing an acceptable scheme without recourse to the Third Committee. Consultations on such a scheme carried on till December, 1977 when it appeared that although the two sides agreed to most of the fourteen points of the revised scheme (copy attached as Appx. 1) yet there was disagreement on two very important points:-

Extract from 'Cyprus Mail' of 20 November 1981

Pilloud Ill

Foreign Minister Mr. Rolandis yesterday had a meeting with the U.N. Special Representative Mr. Gobbi at which the question of the Tripartite Investigatory Committee sessions was discussed.

The Committee was to have held a meeting today which had to be postponed because Mr. Claude Pilloud, the Swiss representative of the UN Secretary General, is ill and cannot return to the island in time. The meeting will now be next week.

The possibility of holding the meeting with a proxy for Mr. Pilloud was discussed.

Meanwhile preparations are in hand for an appeal to the Third Committee of the U.N.

APPENDIX 10

UNITED NATIONS FORCE IN CYPRUS

Office of the Spokesman

PRESS RELEASE: CYP/81/58
Nicosia, 21 November 1981

MISSING PERSONS COMMITTEE

The following was stated by the United Nations Spokesman in Nicosia:

Claude Pilloud, the third member of the Committee on Missing Persons, nominated by the International Committee of the Red Cross, is ill at home in Geneva, and undergoing medical attention and supervision.

Any suggestion made which is contrary to this actuality is devoid of truth.

Mr. Pilloud has suggested that, subject to his recovery in time, meetings resume on 26 November.

Extract from 'Cyprus Mail' of 22 November 1981

ROLANDIS TAKES PROBLEM OF MISSING PERSONS TO UN

Foreign Minister Mr. Nicos Rolandis has accused the Turkish side of systematic obstruction of progress in the Investigatory Committee for Missing Persons and announced that instructions have been given to Cyprus' permanent representative in New York to pursue the matter through the Third Political Committee of the U.N. General Assembly.

26.2.1982

STATEMENT BY THE TFSK MINISTER OF THE
INTERIOR, FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND DEFENCE,
DR. KENAN ATAKOL

The Greek Cypriot administration has unfortunately once again chosen to mislead both its own people and world opinion on the missing persons issue. The Turkish Cypriot side has, in a spirit of goodwill, exerted a lot of effort to get the Committee, for months boycotted by the Greek Cypriots, to resume its work and solve procedural matters. To this end, the Turkish Cypriot side has submitted proposals for surmounting these obstacles without delay and get down to examining actual cases. It has accepted in their entirety those parts of the proposals submitted to the two sides by Mr. Pilloud, the third member (from the International Red Cross) in September, 1981, which concern investigations and reports.

Furthermore, the Turkish Cypriot side has declared that it is ready to submit to the Committee forthwith the first missing person case for examination.

Unfortunately, the Greek Cypriot side has only sought political advantage at the latest round of talks which started on February 10, 1982, as has been proved by its action in taking out of its humanitarian context a direct matter between the two communities; in divulging secret information and documents concerning the Committee's work, on October 30, 1981, thus gravely violating the principle of secrecy - a basic element of the Committee's terms of reference; and in submitting the missing persons issue to the UN Third Committee.

The solution of procedural matters before the Committee and consequent examination of individual cases have deliberately been hampered by the Greek Cypriot side.

./...

It was also admitted by the third member, Mr. Pilloud, at yesterday's meeting of the Committee, that thanks to the constructive and conciliatory attitude adopted by the Turkish Cypriot side, a significant point had been reached. This would have ensured the holding of investigations in an effective manner to satisfy humanitarian needs, but the Greek Cypriot side deliberately hampered both the completion of the minutes and the fixing of a date for another meeting, obstinately blocking the Committee's work.

The attitude followed by the Greek Cypriot side, in spite of the call which the UN Secretary-General conveyed to the parties yesterday, concerning the continuation of its work and the suggestion made by him in this direction, is regrettable.

The conclusion drawn from yesterday's and earlier meetings is that the Greek Cypriot side lacks the will to solve the missing persons issue by talks between the two communities, so that it can continue political exploitation. Consequently the Greek Cypriot side has, unfortunately, chosen to break off a branch of the dialogue between the two communities.

The Turkish Cypriot side will, however, maintain its constructive approach in this matter as is the case in all other matters.

Extract from 'Cyprus Press Digest' of 4 October 1981

RELATIVES OF MISSING PERSONS IN NEW YORK

It was officially announced yesterday that a team of the Committee of Relatives of Missing Persons will visit New York to make efforts, in cooperation with the Foreign Minister, Mr. Rolandis, for the overcoming of the difficulties in the functioning of the Investigatory Committee for Missing Persons. TA NEA says it is expected that the UN Secretary-General will exert pressures on the delegation of relatives of missing persons to accept a compromise formula regarding the investigatory committee. In an effort to prevent a breakdown of the work of the committee Mr. Waldheim will submit to the two sides concrete proposals in the form of a formula which will refer to the manner of functioning of the committee. Circles close to the Committee of Relatives of Missing Persons stressed categorically that the Greek Cypriot side will not accept any compromise solution that would abolish the three points of the agreement already made which is being violated by the Turkish side with the tolerance of the United Nations. The same circles also said that if the present gulf in the missing persons issue is not bridged they will announce formally the collapse of the investigatory committee.

Extract from 'Cyprus Mail' of 9 December 1981

Relatives Committee in Athens

The members of the Committee of Relatives of Missing Persons gave a press conference in Athens yesterday about the work of the Tripartite Investigatory Committee and the reasons for the lack of progress so far.

The Chairman of the Cyprus Committee of Relatives, Father Christoforos, said that for the committee to lead to positive results, the Turkish side must be made to show genuine co-operation.

Father Christoforos had been in New York during the Third Political Committee's debate which ended in the passage of a resolution calling upon the "parties concerned" to facilitate, in a spirit of co-operation and goodwill, the Committee on Missing Persons in its attempt to carry out the investigative task.

The Third Political Committee resolution in its preamble reaffirms "the basic human need of families to be informed, without further delay about the fate of their missing relatives".

It also takes account of the agreement reached on 19 May 1979 during the high level meeting in Nicosia (Kyprianou-Denktash) under the auspices of the U.N. Secretary General, whom it requests to continue to provide his good offices "for the unhindered functioning" of the Committee.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

TA NEA: Have you witnessed any other atrocities?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

PAPATSESTOS: Yes, my son. Massacres were committed outside Kykko Monastery and in Limassol. I heard with my own ears the order: 'All of them to the last man, must be killed tonight!'

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

APPENDIX 16

In August 1976, Mr. L. Loucaides, the Deputy Attorney General of the Greek Cypriot Administration, stated before the Greek Cypriot Assize Court in Nicosia, where the trial of Nicos Sampson was taking place, that "the military operation were extended on 15 July in the same well-organized manner, with the help of tanks and other heavy or light weapons, to the other towns except Paphos. Most of these armed attacks ended in blood baths due to the number of injured and killed among the 'lawful' security forces and civilians. Material damage was enormous."

APPENDIX 16

In August 1976, Mr. L. Loucaides, the Deputy Attorney General of the Greek Cypriot Administration, stated before the Greek Cypriot Assize Court in Nicosia, where the trial of Nicos Sampson was taking place, that "the military operation were extended on 15 July in the same well-organized manner, with the help of tanks and other heavy or light weapons, to the other towns except Paphos. Most of these armed attacks ended in blood baths due to the number of injured and killed among the 'lawful' security forces and civilians. Material damage was enormous."

APPENDIX 17

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

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

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