

**An inquiry into how members of the Greek Cypriot  
Diaspora of Australia have coped with the issue of the  
Missing Persons of Cyprus.**

**An auto-ethnographical case study of relatives of Missing  
Persons from the 1974 Turkish invasion of Cyprus.**

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## **Dedication**

This is dedicated to my wonderful family – husband Marios and my two beautiful twin children, Christiana and Philip. You have been an inspiration.

I also dedicate this thesis to my parents who have been tormented by the Cyprus issue for most of their lives and for instilling my interest in fighting for human rights.

***From south of the ceasefire line that divided the island and shut our family off from their village, decades of campaigning, hoping and dreading began.***

***"The dead die once, the disappeared die every day,"***

***- Ernesto Sabato (Argentinian writer)***

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***([January 15, 1929 – April 4, 1968] An American clergyman, activist, and prominent leader in the African-American Civil Rights Movement)***

## **Acknowledgements**

This thesis would not have been possible without the assistance of many, and I would like to dearly thank the many friends, relatives, and supporters who have made this happen.

To my lovely family for tolerating this long journey; a big thanks to my parents, husband and children who inspire and encourage me to achieve my best. A big thank you also to the Cypriot refugees and relatives of the Missing Persons who have stood by me and allowed me to tell their stories, which has been a heartache for them over the decades. You are fabulous.

A very big thank you to my supervisors Dr Elizabeth Kefallinos and Associate Professor Chris Houston for their support; not only for their professional support but also moral support. Their guidance and understanding during the endless times of questioning how to tackle this sensitive topic has been invaluable; my respect and gratitude to them for their input on how to approach this ‘very delicate topic’.

Finally, thanks and special acknowledgement go to the International Studies Department at Macquarie University for providing fantastic support and encouragement, and to the Higher Degree Research Department for having faith in me and acknowledging that it was more than just a project to me and for offering me financial support so that this project could be completed.

Thanks to those who believed in me and my project, and those who have encouraged my intellectual curiosity. This work is dedicated to you all.

## Statement of candidature

**I certify that the work in this thesis entitled “An inquiry into how members of the Greek Cypriot Diaspora of Australia have coped with the issue of the Missing Persons of Cyprus. An auto-ethnographical case study of relatives of Missing Persons from the 1974 Turkish invasion of Cyprus.” has not previously been submitted for a degree nor has it been submitted as part of requirements for a degree to any other university or institution other than Macquarie University.**

I also certify that the thesis is an original piece of research and it has been written by me. Any help and assistance that I have received in my research work and the preparation of the thesis itself have been appropriately acknowledged.

In addition, I certify that all information sources and literature used are indicated in the thesis.

The research presented in this thesis was approved by Macquarie University Ethics Review Committee, reference number: **HE30OCT2009-D00170** on 17 November 2009.

### **SIGNATURE:**

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'A Stylianou', written in a cursive style.

**NAME:** Andrea Stylianou

December 2015

## **Publications/Conference presentations related to research from this project**

Stylianou, Andrea. “An investigation into how Greek Cypriots throughout the Hellenic Diaspora have been affected by the missing persons of Cyprus from the 1974 Turkish invasion”, A Journal for Greek letters Thinking Diversely: Hellenism and the Challenge of Globalisation, special edition of Journal of Modern Greek Studies, December 2012, Modern Greek Studies Association of Australia and New Zealand (MGSAANZ), pp. 133–150 (ISBN: 9771039283009).

Stylianou, Andrea. “Update on the missing persons of Cyprus from the 1974 Turkish invasion”, Greek Research in Australia: Proceedings of the Eighth Biennial International Conference of Greek Studies, Flinders University, June 2009, pp. 166–177 (ISBN:9780725811372).

Stylianou, Andrea. “Update on the Greek Cypriot Missing Persons of Cyprus from the 1974 Turkish Invasion”, NEO HDR Journal, 2010. (not referenced)

## **Abstract (Summary)**

This thesis investigates how the Greek Cypriot Diaspora in Australia has been affected by the Missing Persons of Cyprus from the 1974 Turkish invasion. This Cyprus humanitarian issue involves up to 1,464 Greek Cypriot and 502 cases of Turkish Cypriot Missing Persons — both military personnel and civilians, including women and children.

The Greek and Turkish leaders have met over the past four decades regarding the Missing Persons and a solution to this issue would greatly contribute to reconciliation on the island. This is still a current and ongoing international humanitarian problem.

Ethnographic interviewing is used to explore relatives' personal experience concerning their missing relatives. The thesis also has an intensely personal dimension, reflecting upon my family member's own experiences and following their personal journeys of wanting to find their loved ones. Historical research also gives input into people's experiences and circumstances so as to serve as a basis for recommending practical applications to somehow make improvements in our community.

The dissertation gives a voice to the relatives of Missing Persons and explores their personal experiences of the Missing Persons of Cyprus, with the hope that it will generate a problem solving model to assist community decision makers with taking a more responsible role in dealing with the issue of Missing Persons in warfare and conflict.

It explores issues such as experiences with authorities, psychological impact, opinions on how decision makers should have / could have resolved the issue decades earlier, and how things could be improved in today's society in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century. One question the thesis raises is whether the relatives of Greek Cypriot Missing Persons had adequate support to cope with being victims of warfare and conflict. How international conflicts may be handled better in future?

## **Introduction**

This thesis presents research into the relatives of Greek Cypriot Missing Persons from the Turkish invasion of Cyprus in 1974. Although Missing Persons refers to both Greek and Turkish Cypriots, the investigation and study is restricted to interviews with only Greek Cypriot relatives of Missing Persons in Australia. An additional case of a Cyprus based Greek Cypriot is used as a comparison to their thoughts and experiences.

The original purpose of this thesis aimed to investigate questions that have never been answered, nor published about, on the Missing Persons of Cyprus from the 1974 Turkish invasion. Such questions included: is there any evidence of where individuals were last seen? Is there any particular town or village which had a significant number of Missing Persons, and if so why? What reports have authorities issued to relatives (next of kin)? What is being done about Missing Persons as part of any proposed peace plan?

For various reasons, however, this programme of research was not possible. Instead this thesis offers an intellectual and humanitarian approach to what previously had been a political and emotional question. It focuses on the experiences of relatives of missing persons from the Cyprus invasion who are migrants in the Australian Diaspora. Their personal accounts are core contributions to this academic investigation as they offer their perspective and interpretation of events and issues. A common theme amongst the interviewees concerns their opinions and perspectives as victims of war. Interviews with relatives opened up dimensions of the Cyprus conflict that had previously not been well understood, such as the human and psychological impact the disappearances of loved one had on their families, especially if they had lost their main family support.



To understand the more general issues to do with Missing Persons in warfare the thesis also references cases of Missing Persons from other global conflicts to add a comparative aspect.

## **Chapter 1 – Research Methodology**

This dissertation seeks to gain an insight into, and accurately portray, the situation of the relatives of Greek Cypriot Missing Persons from the 1974 Turkish invasion of north Cyprus. Knowledge of their emotional and existential situation has never been compiled and there is no record of insights offered by the relatives of the victims, specifically those of the Australian Diaspora. One aim was to offer a ‘service to the Greek Cypriot’ community through a descriptive investigation that might reveal insight into the lives of the relatives of the Missing Persons.

The final chapter presents a ‘problem solving method’ for the serious issue of Missing Persons, an issue that faces many nations today wracked by warfare and conflict, particularly in Africa and the Middle East. Missing Persons from political conflicts is an international issue and it requires collaboration and detailed communication strategies to resolve it. This concluding chapter also aims to discover how effectively the issue of Missing Persons in conflict has been dealt with in other global conflicts in the international community.

Perhaps issues raised in this project might stand as a point of reference with respect to how the international community deals with the issue of Missing Persons in warfare and conflicts? Such conflicts include the Argentinean civil war from 1976 to 1983, where “official records show that 13,000 Argentines were killed during what became known as the Dirty War, although human rights groups say the figure was closer to 30,000”<sup>1</sup>, and about 90,000 Missing Persons from the 1992-95 war in Bosnian-Herzegovina.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> D. Schweimler, “Dirty War” haunts Argentina, BBC News, 14 January 2005, <<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/4174649.stm>>, accessed 12 March 2013.

<sup>2</sup> J. Zwierchowski, and E. Tabeau, The 1992-95 war in Bosnia and Herzegovina: census-based multiple system estimation of casualties’ undercount <[http://www.icty.org/x/file/About/OTP/War\\_Demographics/en/bih\\_casualty\\_undercount\\_paper\\_100201.pdf](http://www.icty.org/x/file/About/OTP/War_Demographics/en/bih_casualty_undercount_paper_100201.pdf)>, accessed 15 July 2011.

In today's global political climate there are massive numbers of Missing Persons from more recent conflicts including in Iraq, Afghanistan, Sri Lanka, Kashmir: India-Pakistan, Sierra Leone, Zimbabwe, Iraq, Libya, and Syria. An insight into the challenges of resolving the Cyprus Missing Persons concerns Cyprus' apparent lagging behind other nations when trying to solve its Missing Persons issue – Argentina has resolved the identity of most of their 30,000 missing; the former Yugoslavia (Bosnia and Herzegovina) resolved most of their 90,000 Missing Persons. One reason may be the commingling of dead bodies, as described in the following article:

*"It is a huge problem when the remains (of several people) are commingled," Kallis said. "The most tragic aspect is that the relatives will not get all the remains."*

*While a single DNA test is required to identify an intact skeleton, in commingled cases experts have to conduct 7 to 10 tests to reconstruct the remains of one person, a highly costly process.*

*The worse cases of commingled bodies are found in secondary burial sites: In some cases remains were dug up from their original mass grave and reburied, usually to conceal the original grave's existence, and with it the circumstances of its occupant's fate.*

*But the CMP has no mandate to investigate the cause of death or to attribute responsibility. Of the bodies found so far, nearly half were exhumed during the past year under the CMP's emergency program for sites judged at risk, mainly from imminent construction work. The rest were located previously by the Turkish Cypriots.*

*All the remains will be processed in the CMP's forensics lab at the defunct Nicosia airport, unused since fighting in 1974. A program of further exhumations and intensive investigations is expected to start soon.<sup>3</sup>*

As a researcher I find this explanation very interesting and it is an issue I had not considered when wondering why the Cypriot authorities had taken almost four decades to progress with the Missing Persons cases. Ethnographic interviews gave a first-hand understanding of the frustrations that relatives of Missing Persons have experienced when

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<sup>3</sup> G. Psyllides, Cypriots join forces, Scientists from both sides of divide try to identify remains of missing islanders', *Kathimerini* newspaper, The Associated Press, Nicosia, 1 July 2006. <<http://grhomeboy.wordpress.com/2006/07/01/cypriots-join-forces/>>, accessed 26 August 2012.

seeking to communicate with many Cypriot organisations or Government authorities about the Missing Persons.

This thesis builds upon qualitative research that aims to understand something of the experience and perceptions of the relatives of Greek Cypriot Missing Persons in the Australian Diaspora. I also undertake an extensive literature review on the topic of Missing Persons from other places of conflict to understand the issues people who live in those places face — from psychological trauma to fighting authorities for answers. The project includes analysis of published and unpublished research, academic journals and conference proceedings. Personal interviews were important in collecting data, followed by analysis to generate common themes of Missing Persons in warfare.

Secondary resources for this thesis included publications from global organisations dealing with the issue of refugees and Missing Persons in warfare, such as the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and from the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR).

### **1.1 Primary research sources**

Research takes many forms in order to explore new topics. The methodology and approach to this project includes sourcing primary resources, such as written oral testimonies as part of personal biographies of relatives of Missing Persons, and interviews with family of Missing Persons. As part of gathering primary resources, the research interview used both quantitative and qualitative methods.

Primary research sources included interviews with families of Missing Persons, which covered topics such as what they saw, eyewitness accounts, knowledge of corpses, burial mounds and suggestions as to what could have happened. A rigid procedure was followed and a set of pre-conceived questions were asked concerning what support relatives received and are continuing to receive, either from the Republic of Cyprus, Non-Government Organisations (NGOs) or even of psychological counselling. This method of collecting data was carried out in a

structured way to keep consistency between participants. To a significant extent, the output and end result of interviews primarily depends on the ability of how the participant answered the questions, such as how much detail they offered. To a lesser extent the interviewer's ability to question and interview, in attempting to generate answers by their line of questioning, is also important in the overall output of data collection. Counselling for relatives was considered significant as they were affected psychologically and emotionally; this is the case even decades later when the remains of their loved ones were discovered and they were notified about the identification. It should be noted that although counselling is important, many did not have such support.

Furthermore, despite the Committee of Missing Persons (CMP) (refer to Glossary of Terms) having obtained information from interviews conducted by authorities in 1974 and its relying mainly on these testimonies (gathered in the early years since the Turkish invasion) to exhume and identify Missing Persons in the early years after the Turkish invasion, these details are no longer reliable as more than three decades have passed — memories fade and the landscape changes. Remains were buried in areas including fields, olive groves and disused wells across the island. What was once open countryside could become a new tourist resort. That is why one initial research aim was to gather information — even the slightest new piece of information or evidence is significant as it could open up other avenues of investigation. The more wide-ranging and diverse the interviews, the more beneficial it may be for assisting in resolving the protracted issue of the Missing Persons of Cyprus. An example of how information could lead to discoveries would be testimony to, for example, the throwing of bodies in wells, rather than their being buried in graves. If testimonies by individuals did not happen there would be a very slim chance of finding the remains of the Missing Persons. Indeed as Xenophon Kallis, assistant to the Greek Cypriot CMP, says:

“It all depends on how accurate the testimonies are ... Even when a grave is located, reaching the remains is not always easy. During an exhumation near the east coast in June, investigators had to break through 8 meters (26 feet) of rock to reach remains lodged at the bottom of an old well.”

*“The ground structure made that one of the most difficult exhumations,” Kallis told The Associated Press.<sup>4</sup>*

As already stated, qualitative interviews were the most significant element of research, including analysis of words from interviews, photos or artefacts to gather information. The strength of qualitative data is that

*... they focus on naturally occurring, ordinary events in natural settings, so that we have a strong handle on what ‘real life’ is like. Another feature of qualitative data is their richness and holism, with the strong potential for revealing complexity; such data provide ‘thick descriptions’ that are vivid, nested in a real context, and have a ring of truth that has strong impact on the reader.<sup>5</sup>*

This approach constitutes a subjective evaluation of opinions, behaviour and attitudes gathered by personal insights and influences with information gathered from in depth interviews. The essence of qualitative research is summarised well by the following:

*Qualitative data, with their emphasis on people’s “lived experience”, as fundamentally well suited for locating the meanings people place on the events, processes, and structures of their lives: their “perceptions, assumptions, prejudices, presuppositions” and for connecting these meanings to the social world around them.<sup>6</sup>*

Qualitative research “attempts to shed light on a phenomenon by studying in-depth a single case example of the phenomena. The case can

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<sup>4</sup> G. Psyllides, 1 July 2006.

<sup>5</sup> D. R. Thomas, Collecting and Analysing Qualitative Data, Notes for HRMAS workshops, Health Research Methods Advisory Service, Department of Community Health, University of Auckland, 6 July 2000 pp. 3–4, <[http://www.fmhs.auckland.ac.nz/soph/centres/hrmas/\\_docs/collecting\\_and\\_analysing\\_qualitative\\_data.pdf](http://www.fmhs.auckland.ac.nz/soph/centres/hrmas/_docs/collecting_and_analysing_qualitative_data.pdf)>, accessed 5 May 2009.

<sup>6</sup> D. R. Thomas, p. 4.

be an individual person, an event, a group, or an institution.”<sup>7</sup> This form of study, as followed in this dissertation, includes interactive interviewing whereby people are asked to describe and sometimes write about their experiences. It also provides the opportunity to observe their behaviour while having face-to-face contact. "In communicating — or generating — the data, the researcher must make the process of the study accessible and write descriptively so tacit knowledge may best be communicated through the use of rich, thick descriptions.”<sup>8</sup>

In brief, the focus of the research changed from archival research to the qualitative social research method known as fieldwork.<sup>9</sup> Furthermore, auto-ethnography as research method is also used in this research project, as I include observations from my family’s direct connection with the topic. (Refer to next chapter on auto-ethnography).

## **1.2 Interview process: Open-ended Vs closed-ended questions**

Personal interactive interviewing has been extremely useful for this project as it is very flexible and can be used to collect a large amount of information. Interviewees were asked to verbally describe their experiences of phenomena. As a trained journalist and interviewer, I am experienced in guiding interviews and exploring issues as the situation requires. One-on-one interviews worked better than questionnaires as this is a very delicate and sensitive subject. The personal interviews also allowed the interviewees to show photos and letters and it was also possible for the interviewer to record their reactions and behaviour, understanding people’s thoughts and feelings. Specific questions were asked as were general questions to allow the interviewer to guide the

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<sup>7</sup> J. Neill, Analysis of Professional Literature, Class 6: Qualitative Research I. Outdoor Education Research & Evaluation Center website, 5 July 2006. <<http://www.wilderdom.com/OECourses/PROFLIT/Class6Qualitative1.htm#Types>>, accessed 15 August 2009.

<sup>8</sup> M. Myers, ‘Qualitative Research and the Generalizability Question: Standing Firm with Proteus’, *The Qualitative Report*, 4(3/4), 2000, <<http://www.nova.edu/ssss/QR/QR4-3/myers.html>>, accessed 20 August 2009.

<sup>9</sup> J. Neill.

interview. Notes were taken as well as a recording of the interview, which allowed the content generated to be studied later.

A combination of closed-ended and open-ended questions were asked. Open-ended questions, whereby anything goes, allowed for unexpected revelations and encouraged participants to be spontaneous and offer valuable information. The benefits of this were that the interviewees responded to answers in their own words. However, there are criticisms of qualitative research as “it is largely impossible to escape the subjective experience, even for the most seasoned of researchers”<sup>10</sup>. The research of human experience is regarded as highly ‘subjective’ and based on and influenced by personal feelings, and opinions. Researcher Margaret Myers explains why this criticism of qualitative research as leading to “generalised conclusions”, which is defined as the degree to which the findings can be generalised from the study sample to the entire population, is insignificant when compared to the benefits of gathering interview style facts to come to valid conclusions.

*...while qualitative studies are not generalizable in the traditional sense of the word, nor do they claim to be, that they have other redeeming features which makes them highly valuable in the education community. Partial generalizations may be possible to similar populations, but I feel that even this should not be a primary concern of qualitative research.<sup>11</sup>*

According to Adelman, Jenkins, and Kemmis (1980)<sup>12</sup>, the knowledge generated by qualitative research is significant in its own right. The authors argue that while the aggregation of single studies allows theory building through tentative hypotheses culled from single findings, the generalisations produced are no less legitimate when about a single finding.

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<sup>10</sup> J. Neill.

<sup>11</sup> M. Myers.

<sup>12</sup> C. Adelman, D. Jenkins & S. Kemmis, “Rethinking case study: Notes from the Second Cambridge Conference”, in Simons, H. (ed.), *Towards a Science of the Singular*. University of East Anglia, Centre of Applied research in Education, 1980.



*Problems related to sampling and generalizations may have little relevance to the goals of the study and the reality of the situation. In many situations, a small sample size may be more useful in examining a situation in depth from various perspectives, whereas a large sample would be inconsequential....small qualitative studies can gain a more personal understanding of the phenomenon and the results can potentially contribute valuable knowledge to the community.<sup>13</sup>*

It is clear from these discussions that a significant strength of the qualitative research method is the depth to which issues can be explored and descriptive facts gathering can be used to write detailed, rich and in-depth analytical accounts of personal experiences and a perspective to a situation as part of the case study. It aims to provide understanding and to generate detailed meaning about a specialised area and it has its own set of ways to contribute some form of knowledge to society and the general community.

### **1.3 Sample Size**

A sample of about 40 participants was originally considered, with a sample of 10 participants in Australia, Cyprus, United Kingdom (UK) and United States (US). However this changed as the data collected would have been enormous. Interviews were reduced to a limited scale with the focus on interviewing all the relatives of Greek Cypriot Missing Persons in the Australian Diaspora. All states of the Australian continent were explored and the sample attained was 16 persons willing to participate in the research project. This was a diverse sample of participants, which included, children, grandchildren and siblings of victims.

### **1.4 Ethics committee consent**

Ethical issues are significant in this research, and even more significant for such a sensitive and delicate subject matter where loved ones have gone missing during warfare and conflict. Understanding that this information gathering may be regarded as sensitive and upsetting for participants, a detailed ethics committee plan was put in place including

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<sup>13</sup> M. Myers.

provision for psychological counselling if an interviewee got upset from the anxiety of remembering the last time they saw their loved ones alive.

In summary, ethical principles were critical when dealing with relatives of Missing Persons. There was a significant responsibility to make a careful evaluation of ethical acceptability when interviewing participants; determining the degree of risk to each subject to avoid any stressful conditions from discussing such war crimes/events they may have witnessed. Face-to-face contact was important when seeking to obtain information from relatives.

Prior to conducting the research, I disclosed both my and their obligations and responsibilities, and then made the agreement more formal by completing an Information and Consent form, which confirmed their willingness to participate. It should be added that, interviews were taped with permission for the audio recording and all discussions were on the record and undertaken by honest means. Note taking was also done while interviewing and photographs were taken of interviewees. Importantly, most of the interviewees did not wish to be identified, instead wanting to use the name of 'their Missing Person'.

In summary, ethics considerations ensured:

- Any information or personal details gathered in the course of the study would remain confidential;
- No individual would be identified in any publication of the results;
- A code number or pseudonym replaced the participant's identification — unless participants agreed to be recognised and acknowledged.

*In some interviewing programs dealing with sensitive topics (such as abortion, gaol, experiences, political persecution or racial discrimination) people may be unwilling to participate under their own names. While anonymity should never be offered lightly, as it means that researchers will not be able to verify the interview, it is sometimes an appropriate option.*

*Pseudonyms should always be identified in print by the use of inverted commas around the name, or some other means, so as not to confuse researchers. It is also essential to discuss the option of anonymity before the interview so that a pseudonym, rather than the interviewee's name, is recorded during the interview.*

*Remind interviewees that if they want to be interviewed anonymously they should not place other restrictions that involve their written permission being sought as well.<sup>14</sup>*

Furthermore, while conducting interviews, the following procedures were observed:

Support referral information was provided along with the Information and Consent form. This list included psychologists in each city where participants were interviewed;

CMP has their own trained psychologists to reassure and assist traumatised victims;

Participants were informed at the outset that I was discouraging them from revealing anything legally sensitive;

I also clarified with the participants that if they do reveal anything legally sensitive I will use code names in place of their real names;

Many Cypriot relatives of Missing Persons and displaced refugees have already filed cases in the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR) against the Republic of Turkey. Some cases have been heard and thousands of other proceedings are already underway. I clarified if any of the details they were providing to me was involved in any legal proceedings.

As interviews and research were being conducted it was acknowledged that major problems might arise from the sensitive interviews, including:

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<sup>14</sup> B. M. Robertson, *Oral History Handbook*, (5th Ed.) Adelaide: Oral History Association of Australia, SA & NT, 2006, p. 17.

Participants may have raised matters that had not already been revealed about the 1974 Turkish invasion of Cyprus;

While there was a possibility that a participant may have revealed information of potential legal interest it was extremely remote and legal advice would have needed to be sought;

Furthermore, information and interviews were only conducted with the full knowledge of the interviewees and their consent and their expressed willingness was needed in writing. From the onset, interviewees were fully aware of the type of questions that would be asked and the information that was requested. Participants were fully aware of the aims of the research project, why the information was being sought and how they were expected to participate. It was made very clear that this was voluntary and without pressure and that they could end an interview at any time. Most were willing to cooperate as they knew the importance of the research conducted, which was relevant to their personal experiences.

In order to gather names of relatives of Missing Persons, participants were identified through publicly available information, such as website searches, approaching NGOs and associations affiliated with the Missing Persons of Cyprus. Also approached were the Cyprus community associations throughout Australia, Cypriot migrants to Australia for information through their networks and contacts, word of mouth and people whose names appeared in the media through recent revelations and public Court documents as judgements.

The NGOs and associations affiliated with the Missing Persons of Cyprus included: the Pancyprian Association of Parents and Relatives of Undeclared Prisoners & Missing Persons (PAPRUPMP), Committee of Relatives, Prisoner of War (POW) Association, the Organisation of Relatives of Missing Persons UK and the ICRC. Other Cypriot community based associations approached included PSEKA (the Pan-World Justice

for Cyprus Coordinating Committee that is based in the USA, which was established when the international community reacted to the Turkish invasion of Cyprus), PASEKA (the Pan Australian Justice for Cyprus Coordinating Committee), SEKA (Justice for Cyprus Coordinating Committees in each Australian state) and Lobby for Cyprus (which is based in London, UK). The main focus of the refugee associations are to network and lobby governments and international organisations to assist in finding individuals.<sup>15</sup>

Searching for documents through archives of different associations was important as there has not been much scholarly research on this topic. Some of the secondary literature obtained was in a general format, such as in the following example, an extract from a British newspaper report, which gives an insight into the treatment of captured civilians. The article “The terrible secrets of the Turkish invasion of Cyprus” appeared in *The Sunday Times* (London) on 23 January 1977, and was written by the newspaper’s Insight team. This article is based on the secret report of the European Commission of Human Rights. For obvious reasons, Insight has withdrawn the names of witnesses who gave evidence to the Commission<sup>16</sup>. The extract states:

*“A woman from Gypsou told Dr H that 25 girls were kept by Turks at Marathouvouno as prostitutes. Another witness said that his wife was raped in front of their children. Witness S told of 25 girls who complained to Turkish officers about being raped and were raped again by the officers. A man (name withheld) reported that his wife was stabbed in the neck while resisting rape. His granddaughter, aged six, had been stabbed and killed by Turkish soldiers attempting to rape her.”*

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<sup>15</sup> O. Demetriou and A. Gurel, *Human Rights, Civil Society and Conflict in Cyprus: Exploring the Relationships, Case Study Report-WP3*. Oslo: Peace Research Institute, 2008.

<sup>16</sup> *The Sunday Times*, ‘The terrible secrets of the Turkish invasion of Cyprus’ reproduced on Lobby for Cyprus website, 23 January 1977, <<http://www.lobbyforcyprus.org/mediaitem.aspx?id=256>>, accessed 15 October 2012.

## **1.5 Literature review**

The scholarly publications on the Missing Persons of Cyprus are mainly from the same academics (Iosif Kovras, Neophytos G. Loizides and Paul Sant Cassia). Literature was also obtained from organisations such as the ICRC, International Commission on Missing Persons (ICMP), Missing Persons Advocacy Network and UN reference papers, such as the UNHCR. This literature review briefly covered publications relating to Missing Persons of other nations, such as Latin America, which was mainly undertaken by Australian academics Associate Professor Estela Valverde and Professor Michael Humphrey. Scholarly papers on Bosnia-Herzegovina were also referenced. Publications on auto-ethnography and Cyprus/Cypriots have been mainly undertaken by the late Peter Loizos, from the London School of Economics. Other authors include Anita Bakshi, Lisa Dikomitis, Vassos Argyrou and Yiannis Papadakis. These are discussed in more detail in the Literature Review. Also discussed and analysed in the literature review were the specific areas of Missing Persons from other nations other than Cyprus and the significance of auto-ethnography in historical, political and humanitarian research.

The abovementioned publications are all in the English language. A significant amount of literature review in the Greek language — in the form of mainly auto-biographical works of personal experiences of those impacted by the Turkish invasion of Cyprus — were also briefly referenced in the literature review.

The aim of the literature review was to flesh out the background of the research and to become familiar with the entire specific details on this topic. It also aimed to look at appropriate ways of approaching the project, and to highlight any potential gaps in the topic knowledge.

## **1.6 Internet research**

It should be noted that a significant amount of reference material in this thesis, which is also footnoted, is from mass media communications with

articles from the Cypriot and international media, including press articles, social media articles and broadcasts, such as television documentaries and YouTube (uploaded) documentaries. The internet was a significant source of obtaining facts, distinct details and general information on the specialised area of Missing Persons from Cyprus. Online publications such as newspapers and magazines, along with the specialised publications found on the websites of organisations, government departments and network groups were all sourced and referenced via websites.

## **1.7 Conclusion**

Qualitative interviews provided a first-hand approach to the trauma of war, and their analysis in the chapters below pinpoints the human impact on families and their personal experiences so many years later. Interviews with my own immediate family provide an auto-ethnographic dimension to the analysis, and in later chapters I briefly compare other conflicts, noting how the world views the issue of Missing Persons in different wars and conflicts. This discussion also aims to discover how effective, or ineffective, the issue of Missing Persons in conflict has been dealt with by several other global conflicts in the international community. Perhaps issues raised in this project might stand as a point of reference in the future with respect to how the international community deals with the issue of Missing Persons in warfare and conflicts?

The following chapter explores the value of the auto-ethnographic social research method used in this project.



## **Chapter 2 - Auto-ethnography in historical research and in recalling political and humanitarian events**

### **Defining ethnography**

This thesis analyses a group of people with similar experiences to the author/investigator in the area of warfare and conflict, as their loved ones are Missing Persons. In the interviews they recount their knowledge and experiences and offer information that articulates common patterns to suggest how governments of the world can deal with the “assistance to those who are victims of the conflict(s).” I am a member of this community and understand their concerns as I have had similar experiences in searching for Missing Persons from the 1974 Turkish invasion of Cyprus.

### **Defining auto-ethnography - Why self-reflection is appropriate for this dissertation**

Auto-ethnography is used in this dissertation, as I am a Greek Cypriot refugee with relatives who are Missing Persons. My maternal grandfather has many missing relatives in his family, including his brother, his brother’s wife and his sister’s husband. I have lived through the ‘family experiences’ of missing relatives from the 1974 Turkish invasion of Cyprus, and therefore am in a position to use my experiences to gather information from other relatives of Missing Persons. It should also be noted that many of the Missing Persons were from my region of occupied Cyprus – Neo Chorio, Kythreas, a district of Nicosia. One aim of this dissertation is to tell the stories of Greek Cypriot relatives of Missing Persons from the 1974 Turkish invasion of Cyprus, who now reside in the Australian Diaspora, and to offer those in a similar situation information on where to go for assistance in gathering information about their missing relative, where to go for social and financial support, how to network and how to communicate with others in a similar situation. The experiences of those interviewed are tied together to construct a ‘common theme of the experiences’;

that is, the gathering of common patterns from interviews, along with my own experiences, to better understand how governments of the world can assist those who are victims of conflict(s). These collective themes can be classified on the basis of common characteristics, such as what was experienced along with how the experience came about.

The social science and qualitative research method of auto-ethnography is important in approaching historical research and it is a significant way of recalling political and humanitarian events. It allows the researcher to write in a personalised style that utilises their experiences. It is a method of research that involves self-observation and an investigation which reflects wider fieldwork.<sup>17</sup> Auto-ethnographer Carolyn Ellis defined it as “research, writing, story, and method that connects the auto-biographical and personal to the cultural, social and political.”<sup>18</sup> Marechal defined it as “a form or method of research that involves self observation and reflexive investigation in the context of ethnographic field work and writing”.<sup>19</sup> However this area of research is still evolving and a precise definition is difficult, according to Ellingson and Ellis.<sup>20</sup> Mehan and Wood refer to it as a writing genre in which the researcher “becomes” the very phenomenon under investigation.<sup>21</sup> Sparkes describes auto-ethnographies as “highly personalized accounts that draw upon the experience of the author / researcher for the purposes of extending sociological understanding.”<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> G. Maréchal, ‘Autoethnography’ in A. J. Mills, G. Durepos & E. Wiebe (eds), *Encyclopedia of case study research*, Vol. 2. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2010, pp. 43–45.

<sup>18</sup> C. Ellis, *The Ethnographic I: A methodological novel about autoethnography*. Walnut Creek: AltaMira Press, 2004, p. xix.

<sup>19</sup> G. Maréchal.

<sup>20</sup> L. L. Ellingson & C. Ellis, ‘Autoethnography as constructionist project’ in J.A. Holstein & J.F. Gubrium (eds), *Handbook of constructionist research*. New York: Guilford Press, 2008, pp. 445–66.

<sup>21</sup> C. Ellis, & A. Bochner, ‘Autoethnography, personal narrative, reflexivity: researcher as subject’, in N. Denzin & Y. Lincoln (eds), *Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*, (2nd Ed.), 2000, p. 741.

<sup>22</sup> A.C. Sparkes, ‘Autoethnography and narratives of self: Reflections on criteria in action’. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 17, 2000, p. 21.

## **2.1 Differences between ethnography and auto-ethnography**

Ethnography and auto-ethnography differ in that ethnography is a social science qualitative method that is descriptive of human social behaviour based on field work. Auto-ethnography however embraces the investigator's subjectivity as they themselves are the primary participants of the research and express personal stories and narratives, along with their own experiences. Auto-ethnographers reveal their level of interactions and express their opinion, emotions and involvement with the subject in question. This makes it vastly different to the hypothesis testing and theory driven research methodologies of conventional social science in which it is necessary for the researcher to detach themselves from the research topic being investigated.

An example of auto-ethnographic work which has proven useful for those wanting detailed information, and which includes content about personal experience and thoughts about a specialised topic, is the work of Stacy Holman Jones. She described her personal experiences with infertility, adoption and how society views these personal areas in (M)othering loss: Telling adoption stories, telling performativity.<sup>23</sup> This auto-ethnographical work describes in detail how it feels to have unsuccessful IVF and then to seek a child via adoption.

## **2.2 Cypriots and ethnography, auto-ethnography**

Cypriots have been using ethnography to tell their personal experiences, including researcher Tasoulla Hadjiyanni, a Greek Cypriot refugee herself, who investigates refugee identity in Cyprus. Instead of focusing on those who experienced displacement first-hand, Hadjiyanni focuses on their children who were born after 1974.

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<sup>23</sup> S. H. Jones, '(M)othering loss: Telling adoption stories, telling performativity'. *Text and Performance Quarterly*, 25(2), 2005, pp. 113–135.

*The book is an exploration of the "refugee consciousness" of these children which is to be distinguished from the parents' refugee identity that has been shaped directly by the experience of dislocation.<sup>24</sup>*

Turkish Cypriot journalist Sevgul Uludag also used ethnography to recall the narratives of Turkish Cypriot relatives of Missing Persons. Her 'oral history' of interviewing people in search of their relatives has been published and are a series of personal stories of children searching for the remains of their missing parent. She described her work as valuable as it has assisted in finding potential burial sites of Missing Persons:

*Many would stop me in the middle of the street to whisper 'secrets', to point out a burial site or to share a story from their past...I have only been their 'mouthpiece', publishing what they want to say.<sup>25</sup>*

### **2.3 Ethnography and auto-ethnography as a valuable qualitative social science**

Ellington and Ellis discussed in their research that there are two distinct styles of auto-ethnography, the analytical and the evocative. The analytic focuses on developing theoretical explanations of broader social phenomena, while the evocative focuses on narrative presentations that encourage conversation and emotional responses.<sup>26</sup> This dissertation is a combination of both styles as there is both story-telling of personal experiences that gives onto theory about how the world's authorities on Missing Persons deal with the issue.

The method of auto-ethnography also varies with respect to writing style, "...from the highly introspective, through more familiar approaches connected to qualitative research, to somewhat

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<sup>24</sup> S. Spyrou, 'The Making of a Refugee: Children Adopting Refugee Identity in Cyprus'. *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, 24(1), 2006, pp. 209-11, <[http://muse.jhu.edu/login?auth=0&type=summary&url=/journals/journal\\_of\\_modern\\_greek\\_studies/v024/24.1spyrou.pdf](http://muse.jhu.edu/login?auth=0&type=summary&url=/journals/journal_of_modern_greek_studies/v024/24.1spyrou.pdf)> (brief excerpt of the book content, accessed 18 August 2012).

<sup>25</sup> I. Suleyman, Oral history as a Method for Peace Journalists: Sevgul Uludag as a Case Study, Faculty of Communications and Media Studies, Eastern Mediterranean University, pp. 249-250.

<sup>26</sup> L. Ellingson and C. Ellis, p. 445.

experimental literary methods, experimental, at least, in terms of thinking of writing as research.”<sup>27</sup>

The term auto-ethnography originated by cultural anthropologist Hayano in 1979, when he used the term in an essay to refer to cultural studies of an ethnographer’s own people, and which discussed self-observation in traditional ethnographic research.<sup>28</sup> Marechal stated that auto-ethnography can also be “associated with narrative inquiry and auto-biography”<sup>29</sup> and “narrative inquiry can provoke identification, feelings, emotions, and dialogue”.<sup>30</sup> Richardson stated that he considered “writing as a method of inquiry, a way of finding out about a topic”.<sup>31</sup> Moustakas, who has been writing research articles from the 1960s, referred to this style of social science as heuristic inquiry and describes it as “an approach to human science research...in its purest form, heuristics is a passionate and discerning personal involvement in problem solving, an effort to know the essence of some aspect of life through the internal pathways of the self”:<sup>32</sup>

*The aim is to “awaken and inspire researchers to make contact with and respect their own questions and problems, to suggest a process that affirms imagination, intuition, self-reflection, and the tacit dimension as valid ways in the search for knowledge and understanding”.<sup>33</sup>*

Moustakas also states that “initial engagement with a research topic occurs with the discovery of an intense interest, a passionate concern that is not only personally meaningful but has broader social implications. In this phase, intense introspection allows a question to emerge. Immersion involves sustaining focus and total concentration

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<sup>27</sup> S. Wall, ‘An Autoethnography on Learning about Autoethnography’, *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 5(2), 2006, p. 6.

<sup>28</sup> D. Hayano, ‘Auto-ethnography: Paradigms, problems and prospects’. *Human Organization*, 38(1), 1979, pp. 99–104.

<sup>29</sup> G. Maréchal, p. 43.

<sup>30</sup> G. Maréchal, p. 45.

<sup>31</sup> L. Richardson, ‘Evaluating ethnography’. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 6(2), 2000, pp. 253–5.

<sup>32</sup> B. G. Douglass & Clark Moustakas, ‘Heuristic inquiry: The internal search to know’, *Journal of Humanistic Psychology*, 25(3), 1985, pp. 39–55.

<sup>33</sup> B. G. Douglass & C. Moustakas, p. 40.

on the question and a deep exploration of the researcher's tacit knowledge of the topic."<sup>34</sup>

Alternative forms of reporting and writing for researchers include auto-ethnography, personal narrative, performative writing and writing stories. These all provide a different way of creating multiple layered accounts of a topic being investigated; at the same time this creates the opportunity to generate new claims and the ability to do so in a compelling way. Moustakas also stressed that this type of research sets the tone for a very non-traditional form of study that "engages one's total self and evokes a personal and passionate involvement and active participation in the [research] process".<sup>35</sup>

Wall stresses that Moustakas suggested heuristic researchers work with other researchers and seek research participants, so that a personal topic can be illuminated by a variety of perspectives. "Likely sources of data include personal documents such as notes or journals, interview notes and transcripts, poems, and/or artwork. Data analysis consists of thorough discussion, introspection, and thought (immersion and incubation) until themes and meanings emerge."<sup>36</sup>

In addition, Wall goes on to suggest that "ultimately, heuristic research is similar to more familiar forms of qualitative research, in that it focuses on experience and meaning and uses similar data sets and analysis techniques. However, it is intensely personal and introspective and, as Moustakas describes it, almost obsessive in its depth and rigor."<sup>37</sup>

Furthermore, it is Bochner and Ellis's explanation of auto-ethnographic research and writing which is highly relevant for this thesis dissertation. An auto-ethnographer is a communicator and

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<sup>34</sup> C. Moustakas, *Heuristic research: Design, methodology, and applications*, Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1990.

<sup>35</sup> C. Moustakas, p. 42.

<sup>36</sup> S. Wall, p. 5.

<sup>37</sup> S. Wall, p. 5.

storyteller, and auto-ethnography “depicts people struggling to overcome adversity” and shows “people in the process of figuring out what to do, how to live, and the meaning of their struggles”. They therefore suggest that this form of social research is an ‘ethical practice’ and gifts that have a care giving function.<sup>38</sup> For them ‘auto-ethnography’ is a story that portrays a specific experience by which others find meaning and whom through that meaning feel better about their unpleasant experiences. In this instance, sharing one’s own experience of having lost loved ones offers explanations to make others feel more at ease. This offers a form of coping mechanism for the victims and those who have experienced such tragedies.

In summary, the form of auto-ethnography and social investigation used in this thesis allowed me to be emotionally involved with and have a particular attitude and experience toward the subject matter. Auto-ethnographical field work contributes writers’ experiences and drives the research so that others can also input what they experienced under similar circumstances and scenarios. This can assist in policy making with the hope of improving society.

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<sup>38</sup> A. P. Bochner, & C. S. Ellis, (2006). ‘Communication as autoethnography’. In G. J. Shepherd, J. S. John & T. Striphas (Eds.), *Communication as: Perspectives on theory* (pp.110–122). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc. p. 111.

### **Chapter 3 - Literature on Missing Persons from Cyprus and from other international conflicts**

The purpose of this chapter is to provide an overview of the field of inquiry and of what has been researched on the topic of Missing Persons of Cyprus and Missing Persons from warfare and conflict in general. On the specific issue of Missing Persons of Cyprus the topic has been rarely studied. The handful of scholarly publications has been the work of a small number of academics, including political scientists Iosif Kovras, Neophytos G. Loizides and anthropologist Professor Paul Sant Cassia, who has published ethnographic work about exhumations. Nikola Kyriakou has also researched “enforced disappearances in Cyprus” and has written publications on the legal aspects and ECtHR violations of the Missing Persons of Cyprus. The Republic of Cyprus’ Press Information Office (PIO) has also published on it.

Aside from briefly covering the publications by these authors, this literature review will examine the personal biographies — or auto-biographies — of published books detailing personal experiences and stories from the families of Greek Cypriots who seek Missing Person(s). These are all published in Greek. Blog sites and websites, which can be considered a valuable source in understanding personal perceptions, also carry a considerable amount of discussion. However some of these sites are not referenced and are simply perceptions and opinions on the ‘political aspects’ of Cypriot Missing Persons. The work of Turkish Cypriot journalist Sevgul Uludag on the Missing Persons of Cyprus is also important. What originally began as a Turkish Cypriot project has evolved into a joint Turkish and Greek Cypriot project whereby Uludag also interviews relatives of Greek Cypriot Missing Persons as a peace initiative, and to encourage politicians on both sides to move the issue forwards. (Uludag’s work is discussed in the section on Biographies of Greek Cypriots with Missing Person’s relatives).



Furthermore, this literature review will also discuss the literature that relates to Missing Persons from various conflicts over many decades. Literature — such as books, journal articles, newspaper articles, historical records, government reports, thesis dissertations — is available from organisations such as the ICRC, ICMP, Missing Persons Advocacy Network and UN reference papers, including documents from the UN High Commissioner for Refugees. Here I discuss certain specific conflicts that have generated Missing Persons, such as Bosnia-Herzegovina; the Asian country of Cambodia, the African nation of Rwanda; and persons missing from South America in the Argentina civil war.

It is noteworthy that the Australian media has in recent years covered stories on Australia's war-missing from the front in the World War I Battle of Fromelles, in France. About 100 years later, families and next of kin are still hoping to find their relatives in mass graves and to have them individually interred as soldiers of the Great War<sup>39</sup>.

It should be noted that it is not within the scope of this thesis to make a comparative analysis showing how the issues of Missing Persons have been dealt with by various nations. Such a question is worthy of a thesis dissertation on its own.

### **3.1 Ethnography and the study of Greeks and Cypriots**

The late Professor Peter Loizos from the London School of Economics and Political Science was a social anthropologist of Cyprus. He spent a substantial amount of time undertaking field work there. In one ethnographic project Professor Loizos studied the physical health of refugees, using qualitative and quantitative data to analyse the health of inhabitants of two Greek Cypriot villages — one displaced, the other not

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<sup>39</sup> As a way of example, a couple of newspaper articles found online include: P. Jackson, BBC News magazine, 'Putting names to the lost soldiers of Fromelles', 29 January, 2010 <[http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk\\_news/magazine/8473444.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/magazine/8473444.stm)> (accessed 5 April 2010) and B. Briggs, 'Fromelles' missing soldiers laid to rest after 94 years, Heralds Scotland, 18 July 2010, <<http://www.heraldsotland.com/news/home-news/fromelles-missing-soldiers-laid-to-rest-after-94-years-1.1041950?localLinksEnabled=false>>, accessed 5 April 2010.

displaced. Supplementary data from a national diabetes prevalence study confirmed a possible link between refugee status and greater probability of cardiovascular illness. This substantiated the personal narratives of refugees who explained how the 1974 war had had an impact on their health.<sup>40</sup> Loizos also published personal stories of displaced Cypriots in his books *Iron in the Soul*<sup>41</sup>, and *The Heart Grown Bitter: A Chronicle of Cypriot War Refugees*<sup>42</sup>.

In them he captures the thoughts of Cypriot refugees, describing how people from the village of Argaki in western Cyprus became war refugees. In this field work he talks to them about their life changes after a year of becoming refugees and being dislocated from the home. Their village was bombed by aircraft in August 1974 and Turkish troops then occupied their village. 50 or so Turkish Cypriot inhabitants remained. Loizos records how people at first experienced the dislocation of becoming refugees and then how they commemorated their village so as not to forget it. His approach is inspirational for this dissertation, examining how relatives of the Missing Persons coped and reacted to losing their loved ones, how they lobbied to find them, or their remains after many years, all the while keeping their loved ones in their thoughts and memories for years – some did not even have photographs.

Loizos sets the scene well by announcing that he has a Greek Cypriot background, with his father migrating to Britain from Cyprus in 1930 and never returning, as he was raised by his Scots-Irish mother in England.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> P. Loizos & C. Constantinous, 'Hearts as well as minds: wellbeing and illness among Greek Cypriot refugees', *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 20(1), 2007.

<sup>41</sup> P. Loizos, *Iron in the soul: displacement, livelihoods and health in Cyprus*. Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2008.

<sup>42</sup> P. Loizos, *The heart grown bitter: a chronicle of Cypriot war refugees*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.

<sup>43</sup> P. Loizos, 1981, p. 3.

*The villagers who had so graciously and ceremoniously received me were to preoccupy me for the next fifteen years, but I did not know that in 1966, and my six weeks in Cyprus were an extraordinary holiday.<sup>44</sup>*

*Intellectuals, too, were prone to remember the past selectively: 'Why, we lived with the Turks very well before. It was only the British and that lunatic Grivas who made a little trouble between us ... The Western Powers have carefully manipulated our differences.'*

*Ordinary people, Argaki villagers among them, often repeated versions of these views and hopes, as well as details of the killings, rapes, and humiliations which had followed the Turkish invasion. But they also sought eagerly for any specific news of Argaki, and its new condition.<sup>45</sup>*

*The refugees were obsessed with the Turks, as conquerors whose conquest had somehow to be denied and transcended, even while they were occupying the houses and the fields of the Greeks. This was quite understandable, but so were the two other obsessions shared by most of the Argaki refugees: Who among them had been men of the coup, and of EOKA B? And how had America and Britain come to 'betray' the Greek Cypriots in support of Turkey?<sup>46</sup>*

He goes on to write that refugees reacted differently depending on their age:

*... the older people, if they had married off their children, seemed to feel little pressure to start new economic activities; this was something they could now honourably leave to their grown-up offspring (as Dionysios explained, p123. One middle-aged woman said to me about the old, "They've married off their children. Look at my father – the old chap eats, drinks, sleeps, and enjoys himself. The situation doesn't affect him." She herself had just come home from a long shift at a factory, the first time in her life she had gone wage-labouring.<sup>47</sup>*

For Loizos, the secret to families' different reactions to expulsion depended on whether they were farmers relying on the land in their village or if they had social and economic interests "to the wider world".<sup>48</sup>

His book *The Greek Gift: Politics in a Cypriot Village*, which is a revised version of his PhD thesis titled *Social Organisation and Political Change in a Cypriot Village*, is about the people of Kalo. As it was written during 1972-3 it does not include details of the anti-Makarios coup led by the Greek army and the Turkish invasion in July 1974. It studies the politics

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<sup>44</sup> P. Loizos, 1981, p. 11.

<sup>45</sup> P. Loizos, 1981, p. 142.

<sup>46</sup> P. Loizos, 1981, p. 147.

<sup>47</sup> P. Loizos, 1981, p. 157.

<sup>48</sup> P. Loizos, 1981, p. 159.

in a mainly Greek village in Cyprus from 1960 to 1970, aiming to show how an intensive study of a small group of people can be used to understand larger society and its politics. For instance, he discusses the different meanings that *enosis* had for different sections of the population at different times and he questioned them about the politics in the village in 1920-31. Overall this anthropological approach to studying Cyprus gives a picture of how economics, work situation and politics, kinship and family work in the village of Kalo. Yet interestingly, there are no direct quotations from persons interviewed. He does however refer to specific people and their situation, but there are no direct word-for-word references.

Loizos followed this book with one that concentrated on the life of Greek Cypriot refugees from the occupied village of Argaki, a year and a half after the Turkish invasion of 1974. The most fascinating aspect of research from this book, and a follow up from his previous research on refugees from Argaki, is its references to the effects on residents of the unexpected ending of restrictions on free movement in the island which the Turkish Cypriot Administration announced unilaterally on 23 April 2003.

One of the consequences was that Argaki Greeks were able to visit their village for the first time in nearly thirty years. They did this at a time when a new UN Peace Plan was under discussion, so that there was a real hope and possibility of a return to the village...Those who visited came back with lively accounts of how their visits had meshed with their memories and with contacts with former Turkish neighbours. But, as time went on, their reports became increasingly formulaic and tended to express frustration and disappointment, and this was taking place as the majority consensus against the Annan Plan started to crystallise.<sup>49</sup>

Loizos' approach in these studies concerns a descriptive vocabulary expressing emotion and feelings of these significant events in their lives.

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<sup>49</sup> P. Loizos, 2008, pp. 8-9.

The most elusive matter is to know in exactly what state of mind most people made their first visit. Many refugees had vivid memories of the day, the hour, the minute in which they had left their homes in 1974 and many accounts fixed on something on a kitchen table: a newly cooked dish of food, a newly purchased object.<sup>50</sup>

*At the Ayios Dhometios checkpoint, Christos exclaimed: 'Is there any other country in the world where people have to put up with things like this?' The whole idea of the division of the island, the checkpoints, deeply frustrated him.<sup>51</sup>*

*Christos was given a glass of water by Mustafa, and said: 'It's been thirty years since I drank Argaki water.' Very small things had become loaded with dramatic meaning, freighted with symbolisms. We walked past a house and he remembered the man who owned it was called Pikros. 'Poor Pikros. With a thousand difficulties he built a house for his daughter, lost a son in 1974, then lost the house. What a life! What should we have done to the EOKA VITA people who brought this on us?'<sup>52</sup>*

Chapter 8 is also interesting given its insight into the health of the Argaki refugees compared to others from the neighbouring village of Astromeritis, which is in the free areas and not under Turkish occupation.

*The focus was on the cohort of people born between 1930 and 1940 who were married and in early middle age in 1974. In 2003 they were asked to report on any serious illness they had and had had over their lifetimes. The refugees had roughly twice the rate of cardiovascular illness, and somewhat more depressive illness, but their death rates were no different from those in the non-displaced community. However, the non-displaced villagers reported more illnesses overall. The evidence suggests that the refugees have found dealing with displacement and impoverishment stressful, but have met the challenge through proactive recourse to the healthcare systems on offer. It is argued that having continuity of life goals, particularly education, advancement, marriages and parenthood for their children, have been rewarding because practicable.<sup>53</sup>*

Loizos' approach is somewhat the same as this dissertation whereby interviewees give their accounts of how life was before and after 1974. "...examining a number of individuals confronting severe life challenges

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<sup>50</sup> P. Loizos, 2008, p. 70.

<sup>51</sup> P. Loizos, 2008, p. 73.

<sup>52</sup> P. Loizos, 2008, p. 79.

<sup>53</sup> P. Loizos, 2008, p. 9.

as refugees, and dealing with them in a variety of ways ... considers sociological aspects of the thirty years' displacement.”<sup>54</sup>

*... people departed from the village in primary kinship groups, and that these groups remained vital to their purposes and livelihood strategies throughout displacement. There was no fracturing of or threat to kinship, even though some sets of kin previously living in the same village were dispersed around the island.*<sup>55</sup>

*Two years after the opening date there were still a significant number of Greek Cypriots who had not made at least one visit – perhaps as many as 40 per cent – but the number was slowly declining. Of those who had visited, the range of reactions was wide. Several people returned in a state of shock. A thirty-five-year-old woman described her father's visit to Famagusta like this: ‘When he came back, he could not speak for nearly a week. When finally he did speak, he said “I think we should simply build a wall between us and them”’.*<sup>56</sup>

Missing Persons relatives recollect life when their relative(s) was alive and life without them and not knowing their whereabouts. The accounts of visiting and revisiting across the Green Line show all kinds of highly emotional attempts to re-engage with lost communities, which is comparative to how the constant discussions about the Missing Persons by their relatives is a way of dealing with their loss while keeping their memory alive:

*Late in 1975, a mature Argaki woman pondering nine months of dislocation and disruption said: ‘You cannot put a price on what we had. How long will it take us to find our wits again? She was expressing the mental and emotional distress she and most other refugees had felt and were still feeling. Women were often tearful in this period, when they met each other after months of separation, and men were choked up with complex negative emotions. Yet the survey suggests that few of them broke down and despaired or, if they did, they did it very privately, and managed to put on a ‘brave face’ in public.’*<sup>57</sup>

Furthermore, Loizos dedicated a significant proportion of his research career to studying Cypriot society and people, using his anthropological experience of ethnography to chronicle Cypriot war refugees. Just as Hadjiyanni explored the experiences of Cypriot refugees, Loizos studied how these people coped with being dislocated and the political

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<sup>54</sup> P. Loizos, 2008, p. 9.

<sup>55</sup> P. Loizos, 2008, p. 10.

<sup>56</sup> P. Loizos, 2008, p. 83.

<sup>57</sup> P. Loizos, 2008, p. 117.

uncertainty in their homeland. He researched their livelihoods, health before and after the 1974 conflict, and social and political relations. In his books *The Heart grown bitter: a chronicle of Cypriot war refugees* and *Iron in the Soul: Displacement, livelihood and health in Cyprus* he recorded very detailed experiences of the war victims as well as following up on the aftermath of war and the problems of refugees.<sup>58</sup>

In *The Heart grown bitter* Loizos interviewed refugees from the occupied village of Argaki, in the Morphou district — where his family originated from and where he studied society and life pre-1974. He used the same qualitative research methods as those used in this research, where he gathered the personal insights of a family member and offered his own personal accounts of the experience of the locals to generate a very vivid account of what it was like to become a refugee. The work provides a deep insight into how the lives of refugees have changed, including issues such as physical and mental health, political perceptions and conserving the family. In one particular paragraph, there is reference to how “stressful” life as a refugee is:

*But the refugees were constantly reminding each other of the old life. That same evening, in Petris and Maroulla’s house, another Argaki woman started things off by asking, ‘What would we be doing now in Argaki?’...Daily life continually reminded them of what they would have been doing at home, and their shared preoccupations made them comment to each other, each making the others more sensitive, a collective activity which was certainly an expression of grief, and which at times made me think of a wake. Indeed, the process of mourning increasingly impressed itself on me as metaphor for understanding what the refugees were feeling. They were like people bereaved, but they could not obtain from custom or religion the conventional assistance to assuage their grief.<sup>59</sup>*

*Iron in the Soul: Displacement, livelihood and health in Cyprus* opened up new research opportunities, with Loizos suggesting that there should be more ethnographic research done to understand health issues, that is, qualitative data on life-history to understand how people deal with

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<sup>58</sup> P. Loizos, 1981 & P. Loizos, 2008.

<sup>59</sup> P. Loizos, 1981, pp. 130–131.

‘collective stress’. Unfortunately there are no references for Missing Persons and relatives of Missing Persons. However, it is this investigative research by Loizos which inspired the direction of this research.

In another publication, *Hearts as well as minds: wellbeing and illness among Greek Cypriot refugees*, which compared the physical health of non-Cypriot refugees with Cypriot refugees, he argued that overall refugees experienced higher depression and a possible link between refugee status and greater probability of cardiovascular illness. However, the issue of Missing Persons and death in conflict was not touched on as Loizos and Constantinou’s research on the health of refugees noted that “few of our refugee informants had lost a close relative in the 1974 conflict. Six violent deaths were noted for 1974 in a community which numbered 350 nuclear families”.<sup>60</sup> If further research was undertaken to consider relatives of Missing Persons, perhaps this could be a factor in even further severe health issues.<sup>61</sup>

Another writer on displacement in Cyprus offers an ethnographic research of 10 interviews based on the life stories of Greek Cypriots displaced in 1974 and recalls their various experiences of refugee-hood. In Demetriou’s work, too, there is no detailed reference to Missing Persons, but a note that “a great number of the refugees who fled ... also suffered other forms of violation”, including being taken hostage by the Turkish forces, women being raped and the torture of prisoners of war”.<sup>62</sup>

Yiannis Papadakis book *Echoes from the dead zone: across the Cyprus divide* is his PhD dissertation with an auto-ethnographic approach in which he travels to Turkey as a Greek Cypriot refugee (June-August 1990) and recollects his thoughts and experiences of undertaking research on a comparative study of nationalism in the two sides of

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<sup>60</sup> P. Loizos & C. Constantinou, p. 101.

<sup>61</sup> P. Loizos & C. Constantinou, pp. 86–107.

<sup>62</sup> O. Demetriou. *Displacement in Cyprus: Consequences of Civil and Military Strife. Life Stories: Greek Cypriot Community*, 2012, p. 6.



Cyprus. He writes about his experiences with Turkish people including visiting Agia Sophia:

*... I realized I was treading on their turf. I prepared for the confrontation.*

*I had only just moved there, after spending a couple of hours sitting mesmerized at Beyazit, a central square in Constantinople where the university's administration was housed.<sup>63</sup>*

In chapter two on his research in Cyprus, titled Lefkosia October 1990-February 1991, he approaches the research with personal stories of persons who have a link to the Cyprus issue, in this case the thoughts and views of Greek and Turkish Cypriots from both sides of the 'dead zone'. The interviewees express their concerns and desires in the research, just as the relatives of the Missing Persons do in this project:

*"Two issues were clear from my research so far ... how much refugees wanted to return to their homes; how much they insisted that their memories of their villages should be kept alive. If they were lost, so would be the desire to return."<sup>64</sup>*

*"I was very interested in meeting the Greeks who still lived in Turkey. I decided to visit the islands, as they were called, four small islands close to Istanbul, where Jews, Armenians and Greeks still lived. In part I was in search of my own personal history: to find my grandmother's holiday home, where she used to go as a child before she left Turkey, and maybe discover a relative of hers."<sup>65</sup>*

Papadakis' style is to write about his personal experiences in Turkey but to also blend it with historical facts referencing Mediterranean political events:

*In the hostel, someone moved into my room right after me. He gave me the creeps and was the one person I suspected of being a spy. One day he started a conversation on Cyprus. In contrast to others, he knew some names and dates like 1960, the year of independence, and 1963, when some troubles took place. ... 'How do you feel about the Turkish Cypriots?' he asked. I said that I had nothing against them. 'Yes', he responded, 'but you used to kill them before, and now they*

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<sup>63</sup> Y. Papadakis, *Echoes from the dead zone: across the Cyprus divide*, I.B.Tauris & Co Ltd, 2008, p. 9.

<sup>64</sup> Y. Papadakis, 2008, p. 61.

<sup>65</sup> Y. Papadakis, 2008, p. 19.

*want Turkish guarantees for their safety. It's only natural, isn't it?' I thought of what Erkin had told me about people who possessed a shallow knowledge of a topic.* <sup>66</sup>

Papadakis has also written substantially on aspects of Cypriot politics including analysing narratives of nationalism in the article *Greek Cypriot narratives of history and collective identity: nationalism as a contested process*, and focuses on the ways history and identity exist in the context of Greek Cypriot society.<sup>67</sup> He also uses the same style of past historical narrative in *Aphrodite delights*<sup>68</sup> to analyse the politics of Greek Cypriots in post colonial Cyprus, where he explores prejudices and tries to understand the division of the two communities at the human level. In 2008 Papadakis had also used narrative aspects of history to discuss the history of school books in Cyprus and how the Turkish and Greek Cypriots view books on the history of Cyprus through the division and ethnonational conflict.<sup>69 70</sup>

As a general overall review on Greek ethnographic literature, there have been a number of authors analysing specialised topics, including Eleni Papagaroufali who discusses medical ethnography and has published *'Donation of human organs or bodies after death: A cultural phenomenology of "flesh" in the Greek context*, which included interviewing 24 donors who have offered to donate their organs after death about their thoughts and decisions and profiles the 'Greek donors'.<sup>71</sup> Papagaroufali also interviewed 40 prospective donors from Greece for her publication *Playing with one's own death while being alive*:

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<sup>66</sup> Y. Papadakis, 2008, p. 22.

<sup>67</sup> Y. Papadakis, 'Greek Cypriot narratives of history and collective identity: nationalism as a contested process', *American Ethnologist*, 25 (2), 1998, pp. 149-165.

<sup>68</sup> Y. Papadakis, 'Aphrodite delights', *Postcolonial Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 3, 2006, pp. 237-250.

<sup>69</sup> Y. Papadakis, 'Narrative, Memory and History Education in divided Cyprus, A comparison of schoolbooks on the "History of Cyprus"', *History & Memory*, Vol. 20., No. 2, 2008, pp. 128-148.

<sup>70</sup> Y. Papadakis, *History Education in Divided Cyprus: A comparison of Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot Schoolbooks on the 'History of Cyprus'*, International Peace research Institute (PRIO) Report 2/2008, <<http://www.prio.no/cyprus>>, accessed 10 March 2011.

<sup>71</sup> E. Papagaroufali, 'Donation of human organs or bodies after death: A cultural phenomenology of "flesh" in the Greek context', *Ethos*, 1999, 27 (3), pp. 283-314.

The case of registered body – organ donors in Greece, whereby she discusses their mortality rituals.<sup>72</sup> Papagaroufali also incorporates politics in some of her publications including *Disasters that matter: Gifts of life in the arena of international diplomacy* where she discusses the donating blood and body organs by Greek and Turkish Cypriots to the victims of two earthquakes in 1999 in Turkey and Greece.<sup>73</sup> Another publication is a co-authored one with Marina Petronoti, *Marrying a 'foe': joint scripts and rewritten histories of Greek-Turkish Couples* is the ethnographic analysis of four partners of mixed marriage between Greek and Turkish couples living in Athens, whereby she notes that they all avoid conversation about politics that might cause confrontation.<sup>74</sup> Aside from the medical issue of organ donations, medical ethnography is also used by Eugenia Georges in the book *Bodies of Knowledge: The Medicalization of Reproduction in Greece*, who addresses the ethnomedicine of women's reproductive concerns on the Greek island of Rhodes.<sup>75</sup>

Vassos Argyrou has also explored similar topics with *How Greeks Think: About Turks, for Example* whereby he explores Greek attitudes towards Turks<sup>76</sup>, whereby he discusses how they think about themselves and understand 'cultural being' and the attitudes based on public comments. Argyrou also observes the folk magic (maghos) of Greek Cypriot society in publication *Under a spell: the strategic use of magic in Greek Cypriot society* by interviewing people in Cypriot towns Paphos and Nicosia whereby he offers examples of people's superstition and why people

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<sup>72</sup> E. Papagaroufali, 'Playing with one's own death while being alive: The case of registered body – organ donors in Greece', *Anthropology and Humanism*, Vol. 31, Issue 2, 2006, pp. 111-123.

<sup>73</sup> E. Papagaroufali, 'Disasters that matter: Gifts of life in the arena of international diplomacy', *Outlines-critical practice studies*, No. 2, pp. 43-68, 2010, <<http://www.outlines.dk>>, accessed 9 October 2012.

<sup>74</sup> M. Petronoti, & E. Papagaroufali, 'Marrying a 'foe': joint scripts and rewritten histories of Greek-Turkish Couples', *Identities: Global Studies in culture and power*, 13:4, pp. 557-584.

<sup>75</sup> E. Georges, *Bodies of Knowledge: The Medicalization of Reproduction in Greece*, Vanderbilt University Press, (Nashville), 2008.

<sup>76</sup> V. Argyrou, 'How Greeks Think: About Turks, for Example', *South European Society and Politics*, 11:1, 2006, pp. 33-46.

choose to believe in magic despite it being anti-Orthodox Christian.<sup>77</sup> This issue of superstition in Greek society is also discussed by Michael Herzfeld who looks at the 'evil eye' phenomena whereby he analyses ethnographic literature about the symbolism followed by fieldwork in Pefko, Rhodes in the article *Meaning and morality: a semiotic approach to evil eye accusations in a Greek village*<sup>78</sup> and *The horns of the Mediterraneanist dilemma*, which discusses the ethnographic analysis of cultural characteristics between Mediterranean people with reference to Italians and their occupation of the Dodecanese islands. In the Rhodian village of Pefko the villages felt a degree of affinity with their occupiers in the form of a "common culture and 'racial' understanding."<sup>79</sup>

Furthermore, Loring M. Danforth analysis another political issue related to Greek conflict and national identity, that of the Macedonian ethnic issue. In *The Macedonian Conflict: Ethnic Nationalism in a Transnational World*, he specifically looks at an Australian migration case study of an individual's journey from Greek emigrant to Macedonian nationalist in Australia and how there is a national identity among emigrants from northern Greece in Australia, which were socially constructed. Danforth discusses how the Greek Diaspora in Australia have played a critical role in the formation of the Macedonian identity as they have been able to express themselves more freely in their new homeland.<sup>80</sup> He includes a detailed ethnographic account of Macedonian nationalism and how it is similar to attitudes on religion. This issue of ethnic nationalism is also discussed in his publications *Tolerance, nationalism, and human rights in Macedonia*, and *Transnational influences on national conflict: The Macedonian Question*, where there is a detailed account of how Diaspora communities have become deeply involved in the political affairs of their

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<sup>77</sup> V. Argyrou, 'Under a spell: the strategic use of magic in Greek Cypriot society', *American Ethnologist*, 1993, 20 (2), pp. 256-271.

<sup>78</sup> M. Herzfeld, *Meaning and morality: a semiotic approach to evil eye accusations in a Greek village*, *American Ethnologist*, 1981, pp. 560-574.

<sup>79</sup> M. Herzfeld, *The horns of the Mediterraneanist dilemma*, *American Ethnologist*, 1984, pp. 439-454.

<sup>80</sup> L. M. Danforth, *The Macedonian Conflict: Ethnic Nationalism in a Transnational World*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995, xvi.

homelands. “... In this era of globalization, national communities are “imagined” in a new way...We are witnessing the construction of *transnational* national communities...they are spreading throughout the world to unite vast networks of people who remain loyal to a national homeland even though they no longer inhabit it.”<sup>81</sup>

Another anthropological account of Cypriot related issues is covered by Yael Navaro-Yashin, with wide-ranging topics such as comparing the affects of interactions between documents in Britain and Cyprus, with reference to the legally unrecognised Turkish occupied territory in north Cyprus<sup>82</sup>, how Turkish Cypriots have a desire to gain employment in the Republic of Cyprus public service<sup>83</sup> whereby he interviews Turkish Cypriots about their attitudes about working in state administration. Another of his publications deals with ethnographic fieldwork in northern Cyprus which looks at how Turkish Cypriots feel about living with the personal objects and ruins of the displaced Greek Cypriot refugees, with “... accounts of suitcases full of personal belongings which they found, thrown on the side of the road, by fleeing Greek-Cypriots unable to carry the weight at the height of war”<sup>84</sup> and “my informants who live in villages on this plain have spoken of feeling confined, entrapped, and suffocated in this slice of territory...before the opening of checkpoints on the green line between the north and south of Cyprus.”<sup>85</sup>

Briefly, ethnographic literature dealing with mourning is worthy of a mention as it is relevant to relatives of Missing Persons mourning their loved ones. Judith Butler discusses the vulnerability to loss that follows

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<sup>81</sup> L. M. Danforth, *Transnational influences on national conflict: The Macedonian Question*, 1995, *PoLAR*, Vol. 18, No. 1, pp. 22-23.

<sup>82</sup> Y. Navaro-Yashin, ‘Make-believe papers, legal forms and the counterfeit: Affective interactions between documents and people in Britain and Cyprus’, *Anthropological Theory*, 2007, 7(1), pp. 79-98.

<sup>83</sup> Y. Navaro-Yashin, ‘Affect in the civil service: a study of a modern state-system’, *Postcolonial Studies*, 2006, 9:3, pp. 281-294.

<sup>84</sup> Y. Navaro-Yashin, ‘Affective spaces, melancholic objects: ruination and the production of anthropological knowledge’, *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 2009, 15: p. 2.

<sup>85</sup> Y. Navaro-Yashin, 2009, 15: p. 13.

in *Violence, Mourning, Politics*, whereby she argues that mourning is a way of agreeing to undergo a transformation and that war casualties are felt differently as they are 'deaths in the media' whereby ... "there is no obituary for the war casualties that the United States inflicts, and there cannot be. If there were to be an obituary, there would have had to have been a life, a life worth noting, a life worth valuing and preserving, a life that qualifies for recognition"<sup>86</sup>.

### **3.2 Missing Persons of Cyprus**

Although only touching the issue of Missing Persons very briefly in her publication, it is important to note the research of Tasoula Hadjiyanni<sup>87</sup>, who as a Cypriot refugee herself discusses the lives and experiences of children of refugees and acknowledges that although her published dissertation has "...potential for bias, (she) strongly believes that research such as this cannot reach the same depth if done by an outsider". Hadjiyanni covers the issues associated with being displaced and either forced to live in refugee housing or receiving housing assistance to find one's own home elsewhere. The auto-ethnographic aspect is explained early on: "...as Turkey was invading Cyprus, my family and I fled our home and village in Kondea. At the tender age of 10, I learned the meaning of the word 'refugee', losing my innocence while still a child."<sup>88</sup> Her personal family experiences are recalled as a refugee just as the relatives of Missing Persons stories are recalled in this research dissertation. The main reference to Missing Persons is when Hadjiyanni recalled the stories of displaced persons, referring to a refugee mother who was a "relative of a deceased or Missing Person". This identity of being a mother of a Missing Person is also discussed by Loizides. Another mother, from the occupied village of Assia (the village with the most missing people) said that she spoke to her children because: "*They need*

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<sup>86</sup> J. Butler, *Violence, Mourning, Politics*, *Studies in Gender and Sexuality*, 2003, 4(1): 9-37.

<sup>87</sup> T. Hadjiyanni, *The Making of a refugee: Children Adopting Refugee Identity in Cyprus*. Praeger Publishers, US, 2002.

<sup>88</sup> T. Hadjiyanni, p. 137.

to know their past, their origins. We cannot forget our roots. But most of all we speak about our missing people because we have many — seven people.”<sup>89</sup> Roussou also mentioned Missing Persons in her research, when referring to the women and daughters who are deprived of their husbands or fathers and the male protection they depended on, and whom since 1974 faced additional difficulties in rebuilding their lives.<sup>90</sup> Kovras and Loizides also argued that relatives made efforts to be seen and heard by authorities through the various organisations and “as a result of their efforts, the relatives of Missing Persons gained considerable material compensation from the government”.<sup>91</sup> Kovras has also published on the politics of exhumations of Missing Persons and contrasts Cyprus with Spain, where he argued that an attempt to exhume remains would ultimately uncover the inconvenient truth about the extent of violence between the ethnic groups.<sup>92</sup>

Further the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre, formally known as the Global IDP Project — which was established in 1998 by the Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC) and is regarded as the leading international body monitoring internal displacement worldwide — referred to the Missing Persons of Cyprus as being associated with “issues of family unity, identity and culture”<sup>93</sup>. This Geneva-based group, which manages an online database containing detailed information on internal displacement of people from about 50 countries, offered a comprehensive report on Cyprus as a nation with internally displaced

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<sup>89</sup> T. Hadjiyanni, p. 137.

<sup>90</sup> M. Roussou, ‘War in Cyprus: Patriarchy and the Penelope myth’ in Rosemary Ridd and Helen Callaway (eds), *Women and political conflict – Portraits of struggle in times of crisis*. New York: New York University Press, pp. 25–44.

<sup>91</sup> I. Kovras & N. Loizides, ‘Delaying Truth Recovery for Missing Persons’. *Nations and Nationalism* 17(3), 2011, pp. 520–539.

<sup>92</sup> I. Kovras, ‘Unearthing the Truth: The Politics of Exhumations in Cyprus and Spain’, *History and Anthropology* 19(4), 2008, pp. 371–90.

<[http://works.bepress.com/iosif\\_kovras/15](http://works.bepress.com/iosif_kovras/15)>, accessed 5 May 2010.

<sup>93</sup> Global IDP Project, *Profile of internal displacement: Cyprus, 2005*, <[http://www.internal-displacement.org/8025708F004BE3B1/%28httpInfoFiles%29/D44C257CE47E2090802570B500471616/\\$file/Cyprus+-May+2003.pdf](http://www.internal-displacement.org/8025708F004BE3B1/%28httpInfoFiles%29/D44C257CE47E2090802570B500471616/$file/Cyprus+-May+2003.pdf)>, accessed 10 August 2009, p. 43.

people and dedicated a section to Missing Persons.<sup>94</sup> This report summarised the events that led to the Missing Persons of Cyprus and detailed the efforts taken over the years to resolve the protracted issue.

It acknowledged that after several years of negotiations in the late 1970s, the tripartite (UN, Greek Cypriot, Turkish Cypriot) established the CMP in 1981 and that this Committee suspended its activities in 1996 without solving one single case of a disappearance. On 10 July 2000 an official list of Greek Cypriot Missing Persons was published, which contained 1493 names compared to the original 1619 known to date. "It excludes 126 names of persons whose files were not submitted to the CMP for investigation into the circumstances of their disappearance. The relatives of the 126 were informed of the reasons why these are no longer presumed missing. The list also excluded the names of three other persons whose remains were identified through DNA testing." (European Commission 8 November 2000, p16)<sup>95</sup>

This publication also recognised the violation of human rights of Missing Persons and their relatives and the continuing violation on account of the failure of the authorities of the respondent State to conduct an effective investigation into the whereabouts and fate of Greek Cypriot Missing Persons who disappeared in life-threatening circumstances. It should be noted that these legal details are not in the scope of this research and will not be discussed. More significantly, the report noted the continuing suffering of the relatives: As to the relatives of the Greek Cypriot Missing Persons, the Court held, by sixteen votes to one, that there had been a continuing violation of Article 2<sup>96</sup>. In the Court's opinion, the silence of the authorities of the respondent State in the face of the real concerns of

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<sup>94</sup> Global IDP Project.

<sup>95</sup> Global IDP Project, p. 44.

<sup>96</sup> Violation of Article 2 of the ECtHR refers to 'Authorities in northern Cyprus have failed to conduct an effective investigation into cases of Greek Cypriot Missing Persons.



the relatives attained a level of severity which could only be categorised as inhuman treatment." (ECtHR 10 May 2001).<sup>97</sup>

Nikolas Kyriakou has analysed international law and the legal aspects of the Missing Persons of Cyprus, including judgements of the ECtHR in relation to cases *Cyprus v. Turkey*, *Karabardak and Baybora and Varnava and others v. Turkey*. These cases are briefly discussed in later chapters.<sup>98</sup> His PhD dissertation has also a legal perspective on this protracted humanitarian and international legal issue, with specialised legal jargon throughout the body of the publication.<sup>99</sup>

Sant Cassia spent a considerable time analysing the “anthropological perspective” of the Missing Persons of Cyprus and even experienced the personal journey of families fighting the government to find information about their missing. In one specific case (which is described in great length in the chapter *Update on the Missing Persons of Cyprus from the 1974 Turkish invasion*, subchapter *Human rights and international law of Missing Persons*) he wrote extensively about the withholding of information by the Republic of Cyprus and their not revealing the whereabouts of Androulla Palma’s husband Charalambous Palmas.

He detailed her fight to have her husband exhumed from a cemetery on the Greek Cypriot side. His published works constitute a significant contribution to the understanding of the Missing Persons of Cyprus, particularly in comprehending the mourning and suffering of the relatives and the process of exhumation and burial of the remains. His publications include details that are unique to the topic as they have not been cited anywhere else, such as the case of the “wrong bones” being

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<sup>97</sup> Global IDP Project, p. 45.

<sup>98</sup> N. Kyriakou, ‘Enforced disappearances in Cyprus: problems and prospects of the case law of the European Court of Human Rights’. *European Human Rights Law Review*, 2011 (2), pp. 190–9.

<sup>99</sup> N. Kyriakou, *An affront to the conscience of humanity: enforced disappearance in international human rights law*, PhD thesis, European University Institute, Department of Law, June 2012, <[http://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/22700/2012\\_KYRIAKOU.pdf?sequence=1](http://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/22700/2012_KYRIAKOU.pdf?sequence=1)>, accessed 5 December 2013.

sent to Greece with the claim they were the remains of Greek army officers. Specifically:

*“...in 1981 there was a secret agreement whereby they exhumed bodies from Tymvo military cemetery...some bones were ‘identified’ by the Greek Cypriot authorities as belonging to mainland Greek army officers and sent to their families. It then transpired that they were the wrong bones, and had to be prised away from their Greek relatives, to much embarrassment. It also transpired that the bones couldn’t be identified because they had been cleaned with the wrong chemicals.”<sup>100</sup>*

There are a number of documents available on the issue of the Missing Persons of Cyprus from a range of organisations and NGOs, with the list being too long to cover. However as a sample of what is available the following offers a brief summary: The Council of Europe and its Parliamentary Assembly, which offers a range of documents on the “recommendations on the situation in Cyprus including national refugees and Missing Persons in Cyprus”<sup>101</sup>; the Cyprus embassy network, which is part of the Cyprus Government’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs, also offers documents and resources on the issue of Missing Persons <sup>102</sup> ; The PAPRUPMP have also published booklets on the issue, including *The case of the Cypriots missing since the Turkish invasion* <sup>103</sup> , while the

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100 P. Sant Cassia, *Bodies of Evidence: Burial, Memory and the Recovery of Missing Persons in Cyprus*. New York and Oxford, Berghahn Books, 2005, p. 208.

101 As examples of what resources there are, two include:

Council of Europe, Parliamentary Assembly, Recommendation 974 (1983)[1] on the situation in Cyprus,  
<<http://assembly.coe.int/Main.asp?link=/Documents/AdoptedText/ta83/EREC974.htm>> (accessed 15 June 2013) and Council of Europe, Parliamentary Assembly, Recommendation 1056 (1987) on national refugees and Missing Persons in Cyprus, <<http://assembly.coe.int/Main.asp?link=/Documents/AdoptedText/ta87/EREC1056.htm>>, accessed 15 June 2013.

<sup>102</sup> Cyprus Embassy in Washington DC, ‘Cyprus Missing Persons Update’, <<http://www.cyprusembassy.net/home/index.php?module=pages&cid=27n>>, accessed 16 March 2012.

<sup>103</sup> Republic of Cyprus, Press and Information Office, <[http://www.cyprus.gov.cy/moi/pio/pio.nsf/about\\_us\\_en/about\\_us\\_en?OpenDocument](http://www.cyprus.gov.cy/moi/pio/pio.nsf/about_us_en/about_us_en?OpenDocument)>, accessed 15 October 2013.



upcoming chapter and are too legally specialised and not in the scope of this research for in-depth discussion.

### **3.3 Biographies of Greek Cypriots with Missing Person's relatives**

As discussed beforehand, Sevgul Uludag is the predominant author covering the Missing Persons of Cyprus with focus on the Turkish Cypriot perspective; her work will be discussed in a little more depth in this section, and in the chapter *Untold stories: insight into Missing Persons*.

Written mainly in the Greek language, there are only a small number of auto-biographies written by family members of Missing Persons about their personal experiences. This section of the literature review will summarise these books' contents and highlight sections on references to Missing Persons in these biographical publications. (An English translation will be made if there is any direct quotation from the book extract).

Journalistic publications on the stories of exhumations of Missing Persons have been mainly written by Greek Cypriot Andreas Paraschos who worked for newspapers *Phileleftheros* and *Politis* where he 'assisted in 1995 highlighting and revealing' that more than 100 victims were buried in the cemetery of Lakatamia. This was the beginning of many columns on the issue of Missing Persons. His colleague Makarios Drousiotis published a book in the Greek language which criticised the way the entire issue of Missing Persons had been 'mishandled' and used as a political weapon by authorities and emphasised the humanitarian needs of the relatives who need to know about their loved ones.<sup>108</sup> The most prominent publications to address the issue of Missing Persons and to encourage people to come forward and give testimony of where they believe there are mass graves is the work of Turkish Cypriot journalist Sevgul Uludag. Her articles are regularly published in the *Politis* newspaper and reveal the commonality between the Turkish Cypriot and

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<sup>108</sup> M. Drousiotis, (Μ. Δρουσιώτης), *1619 Enohes, Ta lathi ta psemoda kai oi skopimotites, [Guilty actions, the mistakes and the intentions]*, Nicosia, Diaphania Press, 2000.

Greek Cypriot pain of having Missing Persons. Uludag's articles have continued since 2002, when she published in the *Yeniduzen* and *Alithia* newspapers<sup>109</sup>.

Specifically, Uludag's publications include her 2002 work in which she published her first series of interviews with the children of Turkish Cypriot Missing Persons, with the interviews being collated in a book written in the Turkish language *Incisini Kaybeden Istiridyeler (Oysters Which Lost Their Pearls)* published in 2005; the second series of interviews she titled *In search of the Missing Persons* which incorporated Greek Cypriot Missing Persons and not just Turkish Cypriots. These interviews were published in the *Yeniduzen* newspapers in 2004, and nine of these interviews were collated in the book she titled *Oysters which lost their pearls*, published in 2005. Interviews from this book revealed that the remains of the parents of two Turkish Cypriot children interviewed, Sevilay Berk and Ulgen Gulnihal, were found in a mass grave.<sup>110</sup> The third series was titled *Persons who returned from the edge of death*, whereby she interviewed wounded people from the conflict in 1974 but survived. Examples include: "Petros Souppouris was 10 years old when he managed to survive a massacre in Balikesir in 1974. He was wounded, but all of his family was killed in the massacre" and "Huseyin Hasn Kuzuli is a shepherd from Sandallar village. In 1974, he escaped from the massacre because he hid in a cave."<sup>111</sup> The fourth series was titled: *The orphans of nationalism* and included interviews with children and wives of those who were killed by underground organisations from both sides. The fifth series is the *Cyprus untold stories* and was an opportunity for anyone to tell their story as part of this oral history of the Cyprus conflict.

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<sup>109</sup> P. Simpson, *Cypriot Journalist Hopes Her Work Brings Peace*, International Women's Media Foundation, October 2008, <<http://archive-org.com/page/775245/2012-11-28/>>, accessed 5 August 2010 and <<http://iwmf.org/archive/articletype/archiveview/month/10/year/2008.aspx>>, accessed 5 August 2010.

<sup>110</sup> I. Suleyman, p. 247.

<sup>111</sup> I. Suleyman, p. 248.

At this time the taboo of the Missing Persons topic frightened the authorities and Uludag stated that:

*Politicians were upset with me. They went on radio and TV and criticized me for opening old wounds. I got a lot of death threats from the killers who didn't want the graves to be opened...They feared there might be some prosecutions against them.* <sup>112</sup>

In April 2003, the daily newspaper *Volkan*, the mouthpiece of the Turkish nationalist movement, called upon gangs of goons to silence her — to cut out her tongue.”<sup>113</sup> She used this opportunity to encourage witnesses to come forward and offer information about potential burial sites. Uludag's extensive oral history work on the Missing Persons has even led to a research paper being published about her contributions to “peace journalism and oral history” with respect to the Missing Persons of Cyprus.

This has proven successful and graves have been exhumed as a result of this. Her columns have led to the publication of a book in 2005 about individual stories and narratives of Turkish Cypriot Missing Persons, *Oysters with the Missing Pearls*. The success of this resulted in a translation from Turkish to Greek and then English and the set-up of a telephone service to accept anonymous calls from witnesses who may know something about Missing Persons. This information was passed onto the CMP. Uludag's work would have to be the dominant literature on the issue of Turkish Cypriot Missing Persons and is not just ‘story telling’ but also contributed towards community healing between the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities and preventing further conflict in the future. (See chapter *Untold Stories: Insight into Missing Persons*). Uludag was acknowledged for the significant contribution she has made to the humanitarian issue of Cypriot Missing Persons, when she was awarded the 2014 European Citizen's Prize for “demonstrating an outstanding commitment in promoting mutual understanding among

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<sup>112</sup> I. Suleyman, p. 250.

<sup>113</sup> I. Suleyman, p. 250.

fellow citizens from the member states or in facilitating transnational cooperation within the Union.”<sup>114</sup> To summarise her enormous contribution to understanding the Missing Persons issue in Cyprus she explained it well herself:

*Many would stop me in the middle of the street to whisper ‘secrets’, to point out a burial site or to share a story from their past...I have only been their ‘mouthpiece’, publishing what they want to say<sup>115</sup>*

To move forward it is important to acknowledge the past and Uludag’s aim was to uncover the truth and tell the untold stories of what went on in Cyprus: “...she believes that a true peace can only be established through reconciliation.”<sup>116</sup> More so, these books are a way of providing psychological healing and dealing with Missing Persons’ families, which are again briefly referenced in the chapter *Untold Stories: Insight into Missing Persons*.

The book by academic and journalist Sophia Iordanithou *Dalga Dalga, Kymata Kymata, Nea Synora [Desire Desire, Waves Waves - Νταλγκά Νταλγκά, Κύματα Κύματα, Νέα Σύνορα]*, New Boarders], is an eyewitness account by a Turkish military officer of the events of the second Turkish invasion on 14 August 1974. There is reference to leader Rauf Denktash ordering killings of Turkish Cypriots for not obeying and in the chapter *Μιά μαζική εκτέλεση* (a mass execution) there is reference to executions of POWs who were registered as Missing Persons:

*Σου μίλησα χθες για τους νεκρούς Ελληνοκυπρίους που είδα στην πορεία μας μέσα απ’την κυπριακή ύπαιθρο. Σου είπα ακόμα ότι δεν πιστεύω ότι υπάρχουν ζωντανοί αγνοούμενοι και σου εξήγησα γιατί. Η παράδοση της διεξαγωγής του πολέμου στην Τουρκία είναι πολύ ισχυρή. Προσπαθούσα να πείσω τους στρατιώτες μου να μη*

<sup>114</sup> T. Kettenis, *European Citizen's Prize awarded to Uludag and Christofides*, Cyprus News Authority, 30 January 2015, <<http://www.cna.org.cy/webnewsEN.asp?a=03bac12aed33404695e6db828fb3ce9a>>, accessed 10 November 2015.

E. Andreou, *European citizens award for Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot*, *Cyprus Mail*, January 30, 2015, <<http://cyprus-mail.com/2015/01/30/european-citizens-award-for-greek-cypriot-and-turkish-cypriot>>, accessed 10 November 2015.

<sup>115</sup> I. Suleyman, p. 250.

<sup>116</sup> I. Suleyman, pp. 249–250.

σκοτώνουν αιχμαλώτους με το επιχείρημα ότι θα μπορούσαμε να τους ανταλλάζουμε με δικούς μας. Είχαμε τόσους πολλούς Έλληνες αιχμαλώτους! Τους έβλεπα στοιβαγμένους κατά δεκάδες μέσα στα λεωφορεία. Άκουγα ότι τους πήγαιναν στις φυλακές στα Άδανα και στο Ισκεντερούν.<sup>117</sup>

**(Translated:** *I spoke to you yesterday about the dead Greek Cypriots I saw along the way walking through the Cypriot countryside. I also spoke to you about the fact that I don't think there are any surviving Missing Persons and explained to you why. Traditionally the conduct of war in Turkey is very powerful. I was trying to convince my soldiers not to kill the prisoners with the excuse we could exchange them with our people. We had so many Greek prisoners. I could see them stacked up in tens inside the buses. I heard that they were transported to Adana and Iskenderun prisons.*)

Pieri stated at the beginning of his book *Andio apo to imerologio enos ehmalotou* [Goodbye from the diary of a Prisoner of War - Αντίο... από το ημερολόγιο ενός αιχμαλώτου], that it is his personal recollections of the torture he endured as a POW and he was not seeking to get any rewards for his efforts. The book is in a chronicled format and dated. He included personal stories of people he met while he was captured and in the hands of the Turkish military and included news clippings as references of similar stories to his. One particular clipping from the *TA NEA* newspaper referred to a young mother yelling at the Turkish troops not to shoot her husband as he has two young children. The references are of Έλλου Ανδρέου Ματειδη (Ellou Andreou Madithi), who stated that her husband and father were two of the five men executed with a bayonet in their village of Trimithi, a small village 6kms from Kyrenia. She described how hundreds of Turkish troops were coming towards their home, where she was with her mother and two sisters, and how they forced themselves into their home by kicking doors and smashing windows.

Once inside they kicked the men of the household, and lined the women up against the wall, with their children alongside them. It was later

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<sup>117</sup> Σ. Ιορδανίδου (Σ. Ιορδανίδου), *Dalga Dalga, Kymata Kymata, Nea Synora* [Desire Desire, Waves Waves - Νταλγκά Νταλγκά, Κύματα Κύματα, Νέα Σύνορα], New Boardsers], Ekdotikos Organismos Livanis Publications (Εκδοτικός Οργανισμός Λιβάνη), Athens, 1998, p. 144.



revealed that the men were bayoneted and shot when they were lined up at a nearby creek.<sup>118</sup> This story is one of many concerning how civilians were executed. Many of the murdered did not have an identity and are on the Missing Persons lists, while others were fortunate enough to have been ‘identified’ as dead from those who witnessed the atrocities.

Another book about POW eyewitness recollections by author Georgios Haritonidis refers to his family’s movement from town to town. In one particular reference the author, who is from Lapithos in the Kyrenia district, explained in detail how he made it to the village of Neo Chorio Kythrea — which is my village. He recollected how the Turkish troops arrived and took all the villagers into the village square and viciously kicked the men, before they transported them to the port of Kyrenia, placed them on ships to be taken to Turkish prisons as POWs in Adana.

*Γύρω από την Κυθρέα, που ήταν πεδινό χωριό, υπήρχαν κάθε πενήντα περίπου μέτρα τανκς και μεταξύ τους Τούρκοι στρατιώτες οπλισμένοι σαν αστακοί. Η μόνη διέξοδος ήταν το βουνό προς την πλευρά της Χαλεύκας. Αρκετοί παράτολμοι επιχείρησαν αυτή την κατεύθυνση, αλλά κανείς εχεδόν δεν τα κατάφερε, Ή πιαστήκανε αιχμάλωτοι σε άλλο σημείο ή είναι σήμερα αγνοούμενοι.<sup>119</sup>*

*(Translated: In the surrounding area of Kythrea, which was a lowlander village, there were tanks in about every 50m and between them Turkish soldiers armed heavily. The only way to escape was the mountain towards the side of Halefka. There were many who tried this brave move, but no one really made it. They were either caught as prisoners or they are still missing.)*

The recollections are not specific to Missing Persons but there is very detailed information of how the Turkish troops treated the Greek Cypriots and how his family was lucky to have survived all the torture and none were on the Missing Persons list. They all reunited in the southern free area before they made their way to Athens, where his family has been

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<sup>118</sup>P. M. Pierri, (Π. Μ. Πιερή), *Andio apo to imerologio enos ehmalotou [Goodbye from the diary of a Prisoner of War - Αντίο... από το ημερολόγιο ενός αιχμαλώτου]*, Papatziakos Printers (Παπαατζιάκος Τυπογραφείο), Limassol, Cyprus, 1995.

<sup>119</sup> G. Haritonidis (Γ. Χαριτωνίδης), *Anamniseis me Polla Koukoutsia ,mardiria Kypriou Ehmalodou-[Memories with many seeds, testimonies of a Cypriot POW - Αναμνήσεις με πολλά κουκούτσια - Μαρτύρια Κυπριου Αιχμαλώτου]*, Kedros Books, 2003, p. 90.

ever since, as refugee migrants making Greece their new homeland.<sup>120</sup> The response to Haritonidis' book was overwhelming and a second print run was required. This encouraged the author to write his second book three years later, once the borders were open between north and south to allow refugees to travel to the occupied territories. This second publication is about the emotions of revisiting his village 28 years after he left it under violent circumstances. There are no specific references to Missing Persons.<sup>121</sup>

It should be noted — as this research is also personal to me — that my father, and both paternal and maternal grandfathers were among these male victims of the war, and my mother and maternal grandmother and six sisters were held as prisoners in a stable for several days before being rescued by Greek troops.

The most relevant books on Missing Persons of Cyprus are the three published about the Famagusta District village of Assia (also spelt Asha), where the majority of the missing originate from. Many other Missing Persons from other villages also 'disappeared' while in this village, as there were no Greek military outposts in the village and the Turkish troops, who arrived in the village at 1:45pm on Wednesday 14 August 1974, had surrounded the village district, ambushing those that were trapped in the village and unable to escape to the free areas. There were 83 persons from this village who are on the Missing Persons list while there are many more who were last seen in this village as they went there for safety to hide from the Turkish troops.<sup>122</sup>

Costas Georgi, from Assia himself, offered a summary of testimonies given by refugees from the village and during the course of the Turkish invasion. At the time of the invasion he was working for the newspapers

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<sup>120</sup> G. Haritonidis (Γ. Χαριτωνιδης), 2003.

<sup>121</sup> G. Haritonidis (Γ. Χαριτωνιδης), *Me Diavatrio kai viza mias meras*, [With a Passport and One-Day Visa - Με διαβατήριο και βίζα μιας μέρας], Kedros Books, 2006.

<sup>122</sup> Y. Demetriou, 'The 83 Missing in Assia'. Assia.org.cy.

<<http://www.assia.org.cy/agnoumeni/81-83-agnoumenoi.html>>, accessed 1 August 2013.

Machi and Thassos, and among his duties was the monitoring of the illegal Turkish Cypriot radio station Bayrak broadcasts. He claimed that on about 4 or 5 August 1974 and around 20:15 after the news bulletin and Bayrak commentary, he heard five Greek Cypriots speaking and saying that they were doing fine with the Turkish Cypriots. One of the five was the missing Christakis Kalapodas from Kakopetria.<sup>123</sup> From this he endeavoured to collect stories and write family recollections of each Missing Person from Assia. He has a series of three books, updating the developments of any Missing Persons and trying to keep the memory of his village alive by writing about how the Assia community group have regular events to stay together as a “village in exile”. Aside from short stories about the lives of the missing and offering information about when they were last seen, there is no further detail about ‘discussions of social issues encountered’ and their lobbying and struggle to find their missing.<sup>124</sup>

Another book of similar personal style of event recollections is: *To ‘Αγνοούμενο’ ημερολόγιο της Αμμοχώστου, 13 και 14 Αυγούστου 1974, Ημερολόγιο του Σταθμού Γ’ της Πολιτικής Αμύνης Αμμοχώστου* (**Translated:** *Anonymous diary of Ammohostos 13 and 14 August 1974*), which simply recollects events on 13 and 14 August 1974 and is a summary of how the defence fought and tried to defend Ammohostos, or more commonly known as Famagusta. It is not specific about Missing Persons although it has the words “missing” diary (*Αγνοούμενο’ ημερολόγιο*) in the title. There is no mention about Missing Persons. This very small book of 62 pages is basically an explanation of a diary, that is, half the book includes scans

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<sup>123</sup> Organisation of Relatives of Undeclared Prisoners and Missing Persons of Cyprus. ‘Summary of testimony given by K. Tzortsi from Assia village’. *Testimonies documenting messages broadcasted on "BAYRAK" Turkish Radio station from persons still missing*. <[http://www.missing-cy.org/archive/archive\\_section\\_1.html#ev33](http://www.missing-cy.org/archive/archive_section_1.html#ev33)>, accessed 1 August 2013.

<sup>124</sup> K. Ch. Tzortsi, (Κ. Χρ. Τζωρτζή), *Assia epistrofi* [Assia Return - Άσσια επιστροφή], Kronos, Ltd, (Κρόνος Λτδ.), Nicosia, 2002.  
K. Ch. Tzortsi, (Κ. Χρ. Τζωρτζή), *Assia mas tha epsitrepsoume* [Our Assia we will return - Άσσια μας θα επιστρέψουμε], Lakis Loizou Ltd. (Λάκης Λοΐζου Λιθόβρες Λτδ), 1995.  
K. Ch. Tzortsi, (Κ. Χρ. Τζωρτζή), *Assia perimenontas tin Anastasi* [Assia Waiting for the Resurrection - Άσσια περιμένοντας την Ανάσταση], Kronos, Ltd, (Κρόνος Λτδ.), Nicosia, 2009.

of a diary that has dates and entries of events. Authored by Mimis Sophocleous (Μίμης Σοφοκλέους), a former Australian resident from Cyprus who has since returned to Cyprus.

Others include Panikos Neokleous' (Πανίκος Νεοκλέους) book *Agnoithentes 1974 [Missing People 1974 – Αγνοηθέντες 1974]*, which includes narrative stories from a range of people about the Missing Persons. The book *Αγνοούμενοι — Άκρως Απόρρητο*, authored by Petros Kasimatis (Πέτρος Κασιμάτης) is more scientific research than recollections and includes newspaper clippings and interviews with politicians and references to POWs. Overall it is a summary of the issue of Missing Persons but again there is no analysis of the issue of the relatives of Missing Persons of Cyprus. The most significant of these Greek language books is the book by author Kostas Ch. Tzortsis, *Oi Iroes tou 1974 [The Heroes of 1974 - Οι Ηρωες του 1974]* It is a summary of the events of the Turkish invasion of Cyprus in 1974, and includes details of the coup d'état and political events prior to the invasion, with a substantial amount of detail about Missing Persons.

There are photos of the more high profile Missing Persons and a list of the Missing Persons with details of when and where they were last seen and the village they originated from as well as factual details about the POWs. It is a book about facts and events, but there is no content about the relatives of the missing and an analysis of their life as a relative of a Missing Person.

In addition to the books mentioned above which have some content on Missing Persons, there are four specific books on the POWs and events of 1974 which include recollections of 'experiences' of 1974. Academics Savvas Katsikides (Σαββας Κατσικδης) and Chrisanthos Chrisanthou (Χρύσανθος Χρυσάνθου) take a scientific research approach with a detailed look at the POWs of Cyprus and the humanitarian issues in their book *Ehmalosia englima poleμου, apo tin empeireia ton ehmaloton tou 1974' [Captivation War Crime, from the experience of war prisoners of*

1974 - Αιχμαλωσία έγκλημα πολέμου, από την εμπειρία των αιχμαλώτων του 1974]. There is very brief mention of the psychological issues of those who were POWs and the issues they faced in the Cypriot community, along with how the POW Association was established and what it offered. Although the book is about POWs and not on Missing Persons, the issues are very similar when referring to the lack of support for those who are ex-POWs and now living in the Cypriot community, whether in Cyprus or in the Diaspora. The brief discussion of the issues facing POWs includes psychological trauma and post-traumatic stress disorder and the lack of support from the community and authorities.<sup>125</sup> There are some good points raised in the book about the social burden of the issues POWs are confronted with and references that the Republic of Cyprus is not prepared for such a “social catastrophe”. It should be noted that this is the only reference encountered which acknowledges these social issues of victims from 1974. However despite these social issues being very similar to the ones faced by relatives of Missing Persons, no publication was found on specific research which makes reference to the issues the relatives of Missing Persons are confronted with and whether they had any support in any way.

*5.1 Οι δυσχέρειες στην ψυχική αποκατάσταση και κοινωνική επανένταξη πρώην αιχμαλώτων*

*Το κράτος ήταν ανέτοιμο για την αντιμετώπιση τέτοιων καταστάσεων, σε τόσο μαζική κλίμακα. Η απώλεια εκατοντάδων ανθρώπων ζώων, η κατοχή σημαντικού τμήματος του κυπριακού εδάφους, ο εκτοπισμός 200.000 ανθρώπων, που θα έπρεπε να στεγαστούν και να επισιτιστούν, η ανάγκη για περίθαλψη εκατοντάδων τραυματιών και αναπήρων του πολέμου, αλλά και η απειλή για κατάλυση ολόκληρου του νησιού από την Τουρκία, ήταν δυσβάσταχτος φόρτος για το κυπριακό κράτος και τις υπηρεσίες που το απαρτίζουν.*

*Μέσα σ'αυτές τις συνθήκες οι απολυθέντες αιχμάλωτοι δεν έτυχαν οποιασδήποτε άλλης στήριξης, εκτός από ένα καλό γεύμα στην Ξενοδοχειακή Σχολή, όπου μεταφέρονταν οι αιχμάλωτοι αμέσως μετά την απόλυσή τους, ένα φυλλάδιο με οδηγίες*

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<sup>125</sup> S. Katsikides (Σ. Κατσικίδης) and C. Chrisanthou, (Χ. Χρυσάνθου), *Αιχμαλωσία Έγκλημα Πολέμου, Από την εμπειρία των αιχμαλώτων του 1974*, Παγκύπριος Σύνδεσμος Αιχμαλώτων 1974, Αφή Ltd., 2008, pp. 82-88.

υγιεινής και ένα μικρό επίδομα ύψους ΛΚ3. Το Υπουργείο Υγείας σε φύλλάδιο με τίτλο <<Συμβουλαί προς τους απολυομένους αιχμαλώτους>> έδινε τις οδηγίες.<sup>126</sup>

**(Translated:** 5.1 *The difficulties in the psychological recovery and social reintegration of ex-prisoners of war*

*The government was hardly prepared to face such conditions to such a massive extent. The loss of hundreds of lives, the occupation of a significant part of the Cypriot land, the expatriation of 200,000 people, who needed to be housed and fed, the need of medical treatment for hundreds of injured and disabled people as a result of war, as well as Turkey's threat to take over the whole island, were an unbearable burden for the government of Cyprus and its civil services.*

*Under those conditions the released prisoners were not provided any support, apart from a good meal at the School of Hospitality, where the prisoners were taken soon after their release, a leaflet with instructions about health care and a small allowance of up to 3 Cypriot pounds. The Ministry for Health on a printout titled "Advice to released prisoners of war" included the following instructions.)*

It is also worth noting that three books: Ο Απόρρητος Αττίλας — Το σχέδιο και η υλοποίηση της Τουρκικής εισβολής (**Translated:** The Secrecy Attila — The design and implementation of the Turkish invasion)<sup>127</sup>, Εισβολή, Β' τόμος και Γ' τόμος (**Translated:** Invasion 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> rounds)<sup>128</sup> are specifically about the invasion of Cyprus and make references to all the events during July and August 1974, including POWs captured, people becoming refugees and being forced out of their villages at gunpoint and the terrible events of killings, rape and torture of civilians. Although these books offer descriptive details of the invasion and humanitarian issues, there is no analysis or any mention of the issues the relatives of Missing Persons face and the social impact of these Missing Persons on the Cypriot community, within Cyprus and in the Diaspora.

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<sup>126</sup> S. Katsikides, p. 83.

<sup>127</sup> S. D. Vlassis, (Σ. Δ. Βλάσσης), Ο Αporritos Attilas, το shedio kai I ilopoiisi tis Tourkikis eisvolis [The Secret Attilas, The design and implementation of the Turkish invasion - Ο Απόρρητος Αττίλας - Το σχέδιο και η υλοποίηση της Τουρκικής εισβολής], Doureios Publications (Δουρείος Ίππος), Athens, 2004.

<sup>128</sup> P. Papadimitri, (Π. Παπαδημήτρη), *Eisvoli Tomos 2 (1978) and Eisvoli Tomos 3 (1979)* [Invasion Voume 2 (1978) and Volume 3 (1979) - Εισβολή Β' τόμος (1978) και Γ' τόμος (1979)].

### **3.4 Blogs and websites about Missing Persons of Cyprus**

As the internet is now a main source of information and reference for millions of people around the world, it is worth briefly mentioning that there are dozens of blogs and websites which make mention of the Missing Persons of Cyprus. The list is too detailed to cover, however the websites are generally based on telling stories about the Missing Persons. There are formal government-based websites and those of NGOs, such as the ICRC, UN and CMP and Republic of Cyprus' Ministry of Interior, along with organisations and associations such as Organisation of Relatives of Missing Persons UK, and Turkish Cypriot Human Rights Foundation, which offer information.

Examples of documents and details available from these websites were discussed earlier in this chapter. What will be discussed in the next subchapter is the wide range of publications on the general topic of Missing Persons in warfare in addition to looking at specific nations which, just like Cyprus, have Missing Persons from their conflicts.

### **3.5 Missing Persons in warfare from international conflict**

It is not within the scope of this literature review to present an in-depth analysis of Missing Persons from other countries. However a very brief discussion will be undertaken to simply highlight the range of general publications on Missing Persons from organisations such as the UN and the ICRC along with a summary of the sample of publications available on specific nations, which also have Missing Persons from conflicts. This aims to highlight that the issue of Missing Persons from warfare and conflict is now regarded as a widespread and major international political issue, especially with recent conflicts such as Afghanistan, Libia and Syria, just to name a few.

The ICRC is the predominant organisation, specifically an NGO, to produce a substantial amount of publications on displaced / Missing Persons from conflicts. The information-brochures, handbooks, flyers

and discussion papers can be found on the ICRC website and can be downloaded. Specifically on the issue of Missing Persons from warfare and conflict, there are about 1900 publications on the issue<sup>129</sup> and includes resources such as: *From regimental number to genetic code: The handling of bodies of war victims in the search for identity*, *The UNs Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances*, *The missing in the aftermath of war: When do the needs of victims' families and international war crimes tribunals clash?*, *Developing standards in international forensic work to identify Missing Persons* and *Management, exhumation and identification of human remains: A viewpoint of the developing world*.

These abovementioned publications are just five examples of the 'general' resources available on Missing Persons in warfare out of almost 1900 publications. The sheer volume of publications could not possibly be covered in a thesis dissertation as an analysis or comparative study, let alone in a literature review. This exhaustive list of publications simply demonstrates that the international community are aware of the severity of the issue of Missing Persons in warfare and conflict and, even if it is done through an NGO such as the ICRC, it acknowledges that this issue needs urgent attention. Nevertheless, as a model to demonstrate the detail of the issues covered in these documents, a couple of examples are offered:

*Publication: The Missing and their families — Action to resolve the problem of people unaccounted for as a result of armed conflict or internal violence and to assist their families.*

*Quote: (A) State responsibility A. The violation of the right of family members to receive information on the fate of relatives missing because of armed conflict or internal violence, including their whereabouts or, if dead, the circumstanced and*

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<sup>129</sup> ICRC website search results on Missing Persons:  
<<http://www.icrc.org/eng/resources/result/index.jsp?txtQuery=missing+persons&sortBy=relevance&action=newSearch&searchType=simple>>, accessed 23 July 2012.



cause of their deaths, should be considered a violation of the right to family life.  
<sup>130</sup>.

*Publication: Operational best practices regarding the management of human remains and information on the dead by non-specialists for all armed forces & for all humanitarian organizations*

*Quote: (7.7) The process of informing the families about the death of a relative and of returning personal effects or human remains must be well prepared: B. Whenever possible and reasonable, an appointment should be made in advance to ensure the presence of family member(s) whose presence is required; it is important that relatives are not alone when the news is delivered and that children are not excluded.<sup>131</sup>*

The ICRC has certainly covered a lot of ground and has produced specialised publications for politicians <sup>132</sup> and lawmakers <sup>133</sup> and for relatives of Missing Persons<sup>134</sup> just as the ICMP<sup>135</sup> has.

There are many more scholarly publications which focus on the issues of Missing Persons from the perspective of the role of an archaeologist or anthropologist, such as *The Contribution by (Forensic) Archaeologists to Human Rights Investigations of Mass Graves*,<sup>136</sup> This publication shows how archaeological methods can be used analytically and to assist in solving international crisis by offering assistance to excavating from mass graves.

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<sup>130</sup> ICRC, *ICRC Report: The Missing and Their Families*, 2003, <[http://www.icrc.org/eng/assets/files/other/icrc\\_themissing\\_012003\\_en\\_10.pdf](http://www.icrc.org/eng/assets/files/other/icrc_themissing_012003_en_10.pdf)>, p. 29, accessed 2 December 2011.

<sup>131</sup> ICRC, *Operational best practices regarding the management of human remains and information on the dead by non-specialists*. Geneva: ICRC, 2004, <<http://www.icrc.org/eng/assets/files/other/icrc-002-858.pdf>>, p. 31, accessed 2 December 2011.

<sup>132</sup> ICRC, *Missing Persons A handbook for Parliamentarians*, 2006, <<http://www.icrc.org/eng/resources/documents/publication/p1117.htm>>, accessed 2 December 2011.

<sup>133</sup> ICRC, *Guiding principles/Model Law on the missing*.

<sup>134</sup> ICRC. *The need to know: restoring links between dispersed family members*, Pub. Ref. 4037, 24 January 2011, <<http://www.icrc.org/eng/resources/documents/publication/p4037.htm>>, accessed 6 November 2013.

<sup>135</sup> ICMP, *Resources*, ICMP website, <<http://www.ic-mp.org/resources/>>, accessed 5 December 2012.

<sup>136</sup> K. Juhl, *The Contribution by (Forensic) Archaeologists to Human Rights Investigations of Mass Graves*, AmS-NETT5, Museum of Archaeology Stavanger, Norway 2005.

*"It is argued that historically two investigation strategies have been employed ... The recent development of mass grave investigations in Iraq seems to introduce a third concept and overall strategy.*

*"... It is concluded that human rights mass grave investigations have contributed significantly to the success of national as well as international truth commissions, human rights courts, criminal courts and tribunals throughout the world ... the field is rapidly growing and forensic anthropology and archaeology is increasingly incorporated into international crisis and conflict management strategies – notably by the United Nations."*<sup>137</sup>

The Council of Europe and its Parliamentary Assembly have also produced many publications on Missing Persons from a range of conflicts including the Armenian genocide, and from former Soviet states.<sup>138</sup> The following section of this literature review covers the specific literature and resources that exist on specific conflicts around the globe, past and present:

**European nation Bosnia-Herzegovina:** *Locating and Identifying Missing Persons: A Guide for Families in Bosnia and Herzegovina*;<sup>139</sup> *Memorializing Missing Persons in the Western Balkans: Challenges and Perspectives*,<sup>140</sup> and *Law on Missing Persons of Bosnia and Herzegovina*<sup>141</sup> and *Law on Missing Persons of the Republic of Kosovo*.<sup>142</sup> To demonstrate the detail of the publications, one of the abovementioned is a Q and A style document with detailed questions and answers so that relatives can understand

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<sup>137</sup> K. Juhl, p. 3.

<sup>138</sup> Council of Europe, Parliamentary Assembly, *Missing Persons in Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia from the conflicts over the Nagorno-Karabakh, Abkhazia and South Ossetia regions*, Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly, 2007, Doc. 11196, <<http://assembly.coe.int/ASP/Doc/XrefViewHTML.asp?FileId=11642&Language=en>>, accessed 3 September 2013.

<sup>139</sup> ICMP, *Locating and Identifying Missing Persons: A Guide for Families in Bosnia and Herzegovina*. 2007, <<http://www.ic-mp.org/wp-content/uploads/2007/11/locating-and-identifying-missing-persons-a-guide-for-families-in-bih.pdf>>, accessed 3 September 2013.

<sup>140</sup> ICMP, *Report: Memorializing Missing Persons in the Western Balkans: Challenges and Perspectives*. Sarajevo: ICMP, 2012, <<http://www.ic-mp.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/03/icmp-jcsi-94-3-doc.pdf>>, accessed 3 September 2013.

<sup>141</sup> Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina, *Law on Missing Persons*. 2004, [http://www.ic-mp.org/wp-content/uploads/2007/11/lawmp\\_en.pdf](http://www.ic-mp.org/wp-content/uploads/2007/11/lawmp_en.pdf), accessed 3 September 2013.

<sup>142</sup> Republic of Kosovo, *Law No.04L-023 on Missing Persons*, 2011, <<http://www.ic-mp.org/wp-content/uploads/2007/11/law-on-missing-persons-republic-of-kosovo.pdf>>, accessed 3 September 2013.

fully the politics and science of finding Missing Persons, including the explanation of what DNA and genetics is.<sup>143</sup>

**Asian nation Cambodia:** The Cambodian genocide which resulted the the killing of about 1.7 million people, that is about 21 per cent of the country's population, between 1975 and 1979 was highly documented as it is regarded as a modern day human tragedy. The 'Missing Persons' from this tragedy were covered in the international media, journal articles, books and even documented in an award-winning movie *The Killing Fields*<sup>144</sup>. The Yale University Cambodian Genocide Program has published extensively on this specific tragedy and lists some of the publications and ongoing research undertaken.<sup>145</sup> Aside from scholarly publications there are also books on personal narratives — one such book is that of Loung Ung, a childhood survivor of the brutal Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge regime, which details how she was trained as a child soldier in a work camp for orphans and how her high-ranking government official father was killed.<sup>146</sup>

**African nation Rwanda:** Cypriot author Neophytos Loizides analysed the justice system of Rwandan courts, including the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR), after the 1994 genocide and compared it to the tribunal established by the UN and investigates the attitudes of the people affected by the genocide towards the various forms of justice initiatives.<sup>147</sup> The internet offers a wide range of news articles on this

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<sup>143</sup> ICMP. Locating and Identifying Missing Persons: A Guide for Families in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

<sup>144</sup> R. Joffé (director), *The Killing Fields*. Warner brothers: Enigma Productions, 1984. This movie is a 141 minute British film about the Khmer Rouge regime's Cambodian genocide. Technical information and retailer can be found at the IMDB website, <<http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0087553/>>, accessed 10 July 2013.

<sup>145</sup> Yale University. Cambodian Genocide Program, <<http://www.yale.edu/cgp/>> and <<http://www.yale.edu/cgp/resources.html>>, accessed 10 July 2013.

<sup>146</sup> L. Ung, *First They Killed My father – a daughter of Cambodia remembers*, New York: Harper Collins, 2000.<sup>147</sup> A. Megwalu & N. Loizides, Dilemmas of Justice and reconciliation: Rwandans and the Gacaca courts, <<http://www.law.harvard.edu/news/spotlight/student-pursuits/dilemmas.pdf>>, accessed 10 July 2013.

<sup>147</sup> A. Megwalu & N. Loizides, Dilemmas of Justice and reconciliation: Rwandans and the Gacaca courts, <<http://www.law.harvard.edu/news/spotlight/student-pursuits/dilemmas.pdf>>, accessed 10 July 2013.

very recent and highly publicised act of genocide and also includes scholarly papers and policy briefings, such as Promoting Reconciliation through Exhuming and Identifying Victims in the 1994 Rwandan Genocide<sup>148</sup> and Forensic Investigations at the Amgar Garage and Nearby Vicinity: Kigali, Rwanda.<sup>149</sup>

**South American nations:** There are a range of publications on South American nations including Columbia, Argentina and Uruguay. The Latin American Initiative for the Identification of the Disappeared (LIID) is a significant program in retrieving and identifying Missing Persons from conflicts in Guatemala, Argentina and Peru. It is made up of a combination of the Guatemalan Forensic Anthropology Foundation (FAFG), the Argentine Forensic Anthropology Team (EAAF) and the Peruvian Forensic Anthropology Team (EPAF). The aim of the LIID is to create a 'coordinated effort'; so as to increase the genetic testing and identification of remains of human rights abuses in the region. There is adequate literature about the Missing Persons issues in South America and include: Latin American initiative for the identification of the disappeared genetics and human rights (Argentina section)<sup>150</sup>. The issue of Missing Persons was high on the priority list of the then newly elected president of Argentina when the country returned to democracy in December 1983 and President Dr Raul Alfonsin created the National Commission on the Disappearance of Persons (CONADEP).

A large amount of literature is available on the Latin American issues of Missing Persons and it is noteworthy to mention that a number of scholarly published articles on this have been produced by Australian academics, Associate Professor Estela Valverde and Professor Michael

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<sup>148</sup> E. Jessee, 'Promoting Reconciliation through Exhuming and Identifying Victims in the 1994 Rwandan Genocide', Policy Brief No.2, 17 July 2012. *Africa Portal* website <<http://www.africaportal.org/articles/2012/07/17/reconciliation-through-exhuming-and-identifying-victims-Rwanda-genocide>>, accessed 10 July 2013.

<sup>149</sup> W. Haglund, *Forensic Investigations at the Amgar Garage and Nearby Vicinity: Kigali, Rwanda*. Boston: Physicians for Human Rights, 1997.

<sup>150</sup> Argentine Forensic Anthropology Team, Latin American initiative for the identification of the disappeared, p. 9. <[http://www.eaaf.org/eaaf/LIID\\_01-56\\_eng.pdf](http://www.eaaf.org/eaaf/LIID_01-56_eng.pdf)>, accessed 10 July 2013.

Humphrey. Valverde explained in her publication on Uruguay's Missing Persons that this nation also had its own organisations to assist in the identification of missing and that relatives were filing legal cases and "... by November 2, 1999, the judge had charged a total of 195 people with the crimes of torture, genocide and terrorism ..." <sup>151</sup> . Valverde acknowledged that the issue of the Missing Persons is not just humanitarian, it is about human rights and very political ... "The mothers' mobilization around disappearance came from the recognition that their grief was a political and not just a personal matter." <sup>152</sup> Furthermore, this issue of Missing Persons being political and not just humanitarian is discussed in detail when she explained that the process of fighting for human rights with respect to Missing Persons is one of maintaining a democracy.

*"Human rights organizations lobbied successfully to get social, economic and cultural human rights included as part of democratic Argentina's constitutional reform in 1994 and thereby consolidate human rights as a central political issue."*<sup>153</sup>

Valverde has also published on the Missing Persons from the Spanish civil war and Spanish movement for exhumation of those who disappeared under the dictatorship of Francisco Franco, from 1939 until 1975. This and other war graves recently found in France, which was briefly mentioned in the introduction of this chapter, will not be discussed any further in this dissertation.

In summary, collectively there are thousands of publications on Missing Persons issues from all over the world; the myriad of publications include scholarly journal articles, conference papers, books, personal narratives and even newspaper clippings. Specifically, there are limited publications

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<sup>151</sup> E. Valverde, 'The experience of Exilio and Insilio in Reshaping Uruguayan Identity', *Bulletin of the Royal Institute for inter-Faith Studies*, III(2), 2001, pp. 177-95.

<sup>152</sup> M. Humphrey and E. Valverde, *Human Rights Politics, Gender and Injustice: Transitional Justice in Argentina and South Africa*, pp. 83-105.

<<http://ijtj.oxfordjournals.org/content/2/1/83.abstract>>, accessed 11 May 2012.

<sup>153</sup> M. Humphrey & E. Valverde, 'Human Rights, Victimhood, and Impunity: An Anthropology of Democracy in Argentina'. *Social Analysis*, 51(1), Spring 2007, p. 183.

on the issue of Missing Persons of Cyprus, which is perhaps seen as an insignificant case in comparison to nations that lost hundreds of thousands of its population as part of ethnic cleansing.

## **Chapter 4 - Background to international humanitarian law and crimes against humanity in conflict and warfare**

Crimes committed in war are considered part of international humanitarian law, also known as war crimes, and those responsible should be prosecuted. Examples of war crime include rape, murder, and ill-treatment of prisoners of war. Over the past century many international laws and treaties have been developed to protect those caught up in conflict and institutions and laws including The Hague, the Geneva and Genocide Conventions, are considered to be part of customary international law, and are binding on all individuals. It is not within the scope of this thesis dissertation to cover international humanitarian law, which is an entire scholarly area on its own. However to place international humanitarian law into perspective with respect to warfare and conflict, some laws will be mentioned in brief. Although planning or waging a war of aggression is a crime against humanity it is covered by a complex area of law, for instance the statute of the International Criminal Court recognises crimes against humanity but does not punish because international governments cannot agree on the definition of 'aggression'.<sup>154</sup> It is worth noting that the UN's role in war intervention is disappointing to many victims of war, which is the result of its systemic failure to commit to justice as a necessary precondition for peace and to its executive council rules, in which any of the five permanent member state governments may outvote the rest of the world.<sup>155</sup>

The two principal sources of International Humanitarian Law are The Hague and Geneva Conventions, The Hague sets out restrictions on the means and methods of warfare and the Geneva Conventions provide protection to certain categories of vulnerable persons. Although these laws have made a difference in protecting vulnerable individuals and

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<sup>154</sup> G. Robertson, *Crimes against humanity: The struggle for global justice*, Penguin books, 2000, p. 169.

<sup>155</sup> G. Robertson, 2000, p. 171.

restricted the methods of warfare, they are still violated globally.<sup>156</sup> Nevertheless, they have made a difference in minimising the suffering of those caught up in the hostilities and in “rendering the fighting itself more humane by restricting the use of barbaric weapons”.<sup>157</sup>

**The Hague Conventions** (of 1899 and 1907) — are a series of international declarations and treaties negotiated at two international peace conferences at The Hague in the Netherlands. In 1899 the First Hague Conference took place, and in 1907 the Second Hague Conference took place. The Hague Conventions were among the first formal ‘international law’ statements of war crimes and the laws of war. A third conference was planned for 1914 and later rescheduled for 1915, but it did not take place due to the start of World War I. Much of these declarations have been amended and superseded over the decades.

**Nuremberg Trials (from 1945 to 1949)** — the victors of the World War II began the first international war crimes trial on November 1945, in the German city of Nuremberg, where many of the leaders of the National Socialist Party were on trial. The 21 defendants faced trial because they ‘had brought war to Europe and cost the lives of 50 million people’.

*They were collectively accused of conspiring to wage war, and committing crimes against peace, crimes against humanity (including the newly defined crime of genocide) and war crimes in the ordinary sense (abuse and murder of prisoners, killing of civilians and so on). This catalogue of sin was difficult for many of the defendants to come to terms with.<sup>158</sup>*

This took place immediately after Nazi Germany planned and implemented the Holocaust-under World War II-which was aimed at seeking justice for barbaric criminal behaviour which included rape,

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<sup>156</sup> A. Z., Borda., ‘Introduction to International Humanitarian Law’, *Commonwealth Law Bulletin*, Routledge publications, Vol. 34, No. 4, pp. 739-748, 2008, p. 739.

<sup>157</sup> A. Z., Borda., 2008, p. 747.

<sup>158</sup> R. Overy, ‘Nuremberg: Nazis On Trial’, *BBC*, Last updated 2011-02-17  
<[http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/worldwars/wwtwo/nuremberg\\_article\\_01.shtml#one](http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/worldwars/wwtwo/nuremberg_article_01.shtml#one)>, accessed 10 March 2015.



theft, millions of murders, wrongful imprisonments, tortures, and destruction.

Geneva Conventions are a set of modern rules that apply in times of warfare and armed conflict with the aim to protect people who are not part of the hostilities, such as the civilians and prisoners of war. The Geneva Conventions apply at times of war and armed conflict to governments who have ratified its terms. The term Geneva Convention refers to the agreements of 1949, negotiated after World War II (1939–45), which updated the terms of the first three treaties (1864, 1906, 1929), and added a fourth treaty. The Geneva Conventions comprise four treaties, and three protocols — these set the standards of international law for the humanitarian treatment of war. The vast majority of nations have ratified the four Geneva Conventions.<sup>159</sup> The 1949 Geneva Conventions is one achievement of humanitarian law protecting sick and wounded combatants, prisoners of war and civilians. Areas it provides protection is in offering ‘rules for securing the humane treatment of prisoners of war, protecting them from being used for military labour or in medical experiments; as hostages in combat zones or the use of torture to extract information.’<sup>160</sup> Some aspects of the Geneva Convention (Protocol I of 1949, signed in 1977 and enforced December 7, 1979) include:

*“The Parties of the conflict shall at all times distinguish between the civilian population and combatants and between civilian objects and military objectives and accordingly shall direct their operations only against military objectives. (Article 48, Basic Rule)<sup>161</sup>*

*4. Indiscriminate attacks are prohibited...5(b) An attack which may be expected to cause incidental loss of civilian life, injury to civilians, damage to civilian*

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<sup>159</sup> G. Robertson, 2000, p. 172.

<sup>160</sup> G. Robertson, 2000, p. 176.

<sup>161</sup> A. Reader., (edited by D. Kinsella, C.L.Carr), *The Morality of War*, Lynne Rienner Publishers, USA, 2007, p. 245.

*objects...6. Attacks against the civilian population or civilians by way of reprisals are prohibited. (Article 51, Protection of the Civilian Population)<sup>162</sup>*

The Fourth Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War (signed in 1949 and enforced October 21, 1950) includes:

*Part I: General Provisions, Persons protected by the Convention are those who, at a given moment and in any manner whatsoever, find themselves, in case of a conflict or occupation, in the hands of a Party to the conflict or Occupying Power of which they are not nationals. (Article 4)*

It is interesting to note that it clearly states that nations which are not bound to the Convention are not protected by it.

*Nations of a State which is not bound by the Convention are not protected by it. Nationals of a neutral State who find themselves in the territory of a belligerent State, and nationals of a co-belligerent State, shall not be regarded as protected persons while the State of which they are nationals has normal diplomatic representation in the State in which hands they are...<sup>163</sup>*

Despite these Provisions, in the 1974 Turkish invasion of Cyprus many of the human rights of the Cypriot people were not followed, particularly the rape of women (as is discussed in various sections of this dissertation):

*Protected persons are entitled, in all circumstances, to respect for their persons, their honor, their family rights, their religious convictions and practices, and their manners and customs. They shall at all times be humanely treated, and shall be protected especially against all acts of violence or threats thereof and against insults and public curiosity. Women shall be especially protected against any attack on their honor, in particular against rape, enforced prostitution, or any form of indecent assault. (Article 27)<sup>164</sup>*

It seems that as there are no strict enforcement provisions and there is no international fact-finding commission the protocol is not adhered to by nations at war. As Robertson describes there is evidence from some of

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<sup>162</sup> A. Reader., 2007, p. 246.

<sup>163</sup> A. Reader., 2007, p. 248.

<sup>164</sup> A. Reader., 2007, p. 248.

the diplomats who took part in the three years in Geneva putting the protocols together that the protocols ‘were never really intended to be more than a comforting pretence that their member states subsequently refused to ratify’.<sup>165</sup>

**International Criminal Court** — the ICC is the world’s first permanent war crimes tribunal, headquartered in The Hague, Netherlands. It is an independent body, not a UN court. The Rome Statute creating the ICC was adopted in Italy July 17, 1998. It came into force in July 2002 after ratification by 60 countries. The ICC acts only when member countries are “unwilling or unable” to dispense justice themselves. It may prosecute individuals responsible for genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes committed after July 2002. The UN Security Council may ask the court to open an investigation. As of September 2012, 121 states are members of the court and 32 countries have signed but not ratified the Rome Statute. India, Indonesia, and China have also not signed or ratified the Rome Statute.<sup>166</sup>

Overall, war crimes are considered to be part of mass murders and genocide however, these crimes are known as crimes against humanity.

Furthermore, these laws are ever-changing to reflect the various situations faced, for instance, in 2008 the UN Security Council adopted resolution 1820, which acknowledged that “rape and other forms of sexual violence can constitute war crimes, crimes against humanity or a constitutive act with respect to genocide”.<sup>167</sup>

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<sup>165</sup> G. Robertson., 2000, p. 183.

<sup>166</sup> United Nations, *Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court*, Rome, 17 July 1998. <[http://treaties.un.org/Pages/ViewDetails.aspx?src=TREATY&mtdsg\\_no=XVIII-10&chapter=18&lang=en](http://treaties.un.org/Pages/ViewDetails.aspx?src=TREATY&mtdsg_no=XVIII-10&chapter=18&lang=en)>, accessed 10 March 2015.

<sup>167</sup> United Nations Security Council, ‘Security Council demands immediate and complete halt to acts of sexual violence against civilians in conflict zones, unanimously adopting resolution 1820’. Press release SC/9364, 19 June 2008, <<http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2008/sc9364.doc.htm>>, accessed 10 March 2015.

Another human rights violation considered a crime against humanity is genocide (detailed definition is found in the Glossary of Terms). Throughout the centuries it has been recorded that under certain political and social conditions, dominant nations have massacred less powerful nations and/or minority groups that were deemed foreign and/or inferior.<sup>168</sup> The term “genocide” first entered the fore following the Nazi regime’s killings of the Jews during World War II, even though this practice had occurred “from the dawn of agricultural society”— as featured widely in the Bible and in the literature of Ancient Greece and Rome.<sup>169</sup>

The act of genocide, although an act of violence between conflicting nations for centuries, has only gained prominence with the atrocities in modern history, such as the genocide of the Tutsis in the African nation of Rwanda in 1994<sup>170</sup>, Cambodia, Darfus in African nation Sudan and in the Balkan nation of Bosnia, part of the former Yugoslavia. It must also be noted that the Ottoman Greeks atrocities have not been internationally recognised as genocide and the atrocities of the Armenian peoples<sup>171</sup><sup>172</sup> is another significant act which must not be forgotten by historians and politicians — both acts of genocide which forced people off their homeland and almost eliminated entire races. The genocide of the Armenians is also known as the “unremembered genocide”, the “hidden holocaust”, the “secret genocide” and “forgotten genocide” <sup>173</sup> It has gained attention in recent years in France and even NSW. What has largely been overlooked up until relatively recently, is the fact that the

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<sup>168</sup> N. M. Naimark, *Fires of Hatred: Ethnic Cleansing in Twentieth-Century Europe*. Harvard University Press, 2001.

<sup>169</sup> J. Docker, *The Origins of Violence: Religion, History and Genocide*. London: Pluto Press, 2008.

<sup>170</sup> M. I. Midlarsky, *The Killing Trap: Genocide in the Twentieth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

<sup>171</sup> D. Schaller & J. Zimmerer (eds), *Late Ottoman Genocides: The Dissolution of the Ottoman Empire and Young Turkish Population and Extermination Policies*, Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2009.

<sup>172</sup> R. G. Hovannisian (ed.), *The Armenian Genocide*, (2nd Ed.) New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 2008.

<sup>173</sup> P. Balakian, *The Burning Tigris: The Armenian Genocide and America’s Response*. New York: Harper Collins, 2003, xvii.

Armenians were not the only ethnic group to suffer as a result of the Young Turks' genocidal population and extermination policies. What has been largely omitted from the current debate of "one of the greatest historical controversies of our time", is the organised mass-murder, expulsion and deportation of other ethnic groups such as the Assyrians, Arabs, Greeks, and Kurds in the Ottoman Empire from 1914 to 1923. The question to be asked therefore, is why have these atrocities not been recognised as genocide? At what point does a mass killing or forced movement become genocide? Despite it being known as the mass extermination of an entire group of people, an attempt to destroy an entire group and wipe them out of existence, it has led to conflicting views on when a mass killing, or forced movement, of people can be called genocide.<sup>174</sup>

Article Two of the UN Convention on Genocide which took place in December 1948 and came into effect in January 1951, states genocide as being: the killing of members of the group; causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part; imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; and forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.<sup>175</sup>

Furthermore, it is important to mention that Australia and France recognised the fact that Turkey was responsible for the genocide of the Hellenic, Armenian and Assyrian people.

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<sup>174</sup> BBC News, 'Analysis: Defining genocide', 27 August 2010, <<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-11108059>> accessed 6 July 2015.

<sup>175</sup> United Nations. *Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide*, adopted by Resolution 260 (III) A of the United Nations General Assembly on 9 December 1948, <[http://www.oas.org/dil/1948\\_Convention\\_on\\_the\\_Prevention\\_and\\_Punishment\\_of\\_the\\_Crime\\_of\\_Genocide.pdf](http://www.oas.org/dil/1948_Convention_on_the_Prevention_and_Punishment_of_the_Crime_of_Genocide.pdf)>, accessed 6 July 2015.

Australia's New South Wales State Parliament recognised the genocide, which was perpetrated by Ottoman Turks in World War I, on 10 May 2013:

*The New South Wales Parliament's Legislative Assembly (Lower House) adopted a unanimous motion recognising the Armenian, Assyrian and Greek genocides. This follows a similar motion passed by the NSW Parliament Legislative Council (Upper House) last week.*

*This motion, introduced by Premier of New South Wales Barry O'Farrell, formally recognised the Assyrian and Greek genocides, while at the same time reaffirming the historical reality of the Armenian genocide.<sup>176</sup>*

The Republic of Turkey responded by condemning the motion and barring Australian legislators from Gallipoli, whereby the Turkish Consul General sent a letter to the NSW Parliament in which he condemned the genocide recognition.<sup>177</sup>

In April 2009 South Australia's Lower House had also passed a motion officially recognising the genocide committed by the Ottoman Empire against Armenians, Pontians and Assyrians from 1915 to 1923, regarded as the first modern genocide.<sup>178</sup>

The French Senate approved a bill on 21 January 2012 criminalising the denial of officially recognised genocides, including the Armenian genocide which begun in 1915. The Senate voted 127 to 86 in favour of the legislation<sup>179</sup>:

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<sup>176</sup> Neos Kosmos. 'NSW lower house recognises Greek genocide', online edition, 15 May 2013, <<http://neoskopos.com/news/en/NSW-lower-house-recognises-Greek-genocide>>, accessed 6 July 2015.

<sup>177</sup> Assyrian International News Agency. 'Australian Parliamentary Leader Responds to Turkish Condemnation of Genocide Recognition', 14 May 2013, <<http://www.aina.org/news/20130514015734.htm>> accessed 6 July 2015.

<sup>178</sup> Parliament of South Australia, *Motion on: Genocide of the Armenians, Pontian Greeks, Syrian Orthodox, Assyrian Orthodox and other Christian minorities*. Hansard, 30 April 2009, [http://hansard.parliament.sa.gov.au/pages/loaddoc.aspx?eD=2009\\_04\\_30&c=7&e=1](http://hansard.parliament.sa.gov.au/pages/loaddoc.aspx?eD=2009_04_30&c=7&e=1), accessed 6 July 2015.

<sup>179</sup> BBC News. 'French Senate passes Armenian genocide law', 23 January 2012, <<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-16677986>>, accessed 6 July 2015.

*If signed into law by President Nicolas Sarkozy, the legislation would call for up to one year in prison and a fine of about \$58,000 for those who deny an officially recognized genocide. The bill does not make specific reference to the estimated 1.5 million Armenians slaughtered under the Ottoman Turks, but France recognizes only those deaths and the Holocaust as genocides and already specifically bans Holocaust denial.*<sup>180</sup>

The US House of Representatives made attempts to recognise the Armenian genocide and proposed the Armenian Genocide Resolution in January 2007, however it did not pass and is still under consideration. The proposed Armenian Genocide resolution, if passed, would recognise the 1915 Genocide. It is officially called *H. Res 106* or the *Affirmation of the United States Record on the Armenian Genocide Resolution*<sup>181</sup>. As of 28 June 2013 the resolution had 215 co-sponsors with at least 11 representatives having withdrawn as cosponsors since 15 October, 2007, and the number of cosponsors fell short of a majority of the House.<sup>182</sup>

Moreover, the UN has also described a new term for a war crime against humanity, the term now known as ethnic cleansing, which is defined as the planned deliberate removal from a specific territory, persons of a particular ethnic group, by force or intimidation, in order to render that area ethnically homogenous. The term holocaust is also used when discussing crimes against humanity. Holocaust is defined in the Oxford dictionary as: destruction or slaughter on a mass scale, especially caused by fire or nuclear war<sup>183</sup>. It became an “historical term” inextricably

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<sup>180</sup> S. Sayare & S. Arsu, ‘Genocide Bill Angers Turks as It Passes in France’, 23 January 2012, *New York Times*, <<http://www.nytimes.com/2012/01/24/world/europe/french-senate-passes-genocide-bill-angering-turks.html>>, accessed 10 July 2015.

<sup>181</sup> The resolution was introduced on January 30, 2007 by Democratic Party Representative for California Adam Schiff during the 110th United States Congress. It is a non-binding resolution of the House alone, calling upon the US President. ‘H.Res. 106 – 110th Congress: Affirmation of the United States Record on the Armenian Genocide Resolution.’ [www.GovTrack.us](http://www.govtrack.us). 2007.

<<http://www.govtrack.us/congress/bills/110/hres106>>, accessed 10 July 2015.

<sup>182</sup> C. Hulse, ‘Support Wanes in House for Genocide Vote’, *New York Times*, 17 October 2007,

<[http://www.nytimes.com/2007/10/17/washington/17cong.html?\\_r=2&ref=todayspaper&pagewanted=all&oref=slogin&](http://www.nytimes.com/2007/10/17/washington/17cong.html?_r=2&ref=todayspaper&pagewanted=all&oref=slogin&)>, accessed 10 July 2015.

<sup>183</sup> Oxford Dictionaries, <<http://oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/holocaust>>, accessed 1 December 2011.

linked with the mass murder of Jews under the German Nazi regime during the period 1941-5, whereby more than 6 million European Jews, as well as members of other persecuted groups, were murdered at concentration camps such as Auschwitz.<sup>184</sup> Of course this Jewish Holocaust is the most high profile and significant war crime of all of which has raised awareness of war crimes.

As has been discussed, there are various war crimes against humanity and the use of these terms and their respective definitions for specific conflicts has been debated by scholars for years. It is not within the scope of this dissertation to discuss these terms that are used when discussing the human rights of victims in crimes related to war and conflict. However, in summary, international law against humanity, which covers crimes such as genocide, has significantly developed in the past decade as the modern world has had numerous conflicts which have resulted in mass violence against civilians.

Initially laws were developed to stop crimes against humanity in response to World War II and the Holocaust. Mass atrocities have occurred in the decades following these events, and the Genocide Convention went unused and was untested as international humanitarian law. The wars in the past two decades, most notably in the cases of Rwanda and Bosnia-Herzegovina, have created a response by the international community to hold individuals 'criminally responsible' for violations of international laws of war, genocide and crimes against humanity.

*The United Nations created the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) in 1993 and the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) in 1994. On July 17, 1998, the International Criminal Court (ICC) was permanently established through treaty, which no longer limited crimes against humanity to the context of armed conflict. And, for the first time, an established*

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<sup>184</sup> Oxford Dictionaries.



*forum for disputes between states, the International Court of Justice (ICJ), addressed countries' obligations to prevent genocide.<sup>185</sup>*

Focusing on the aims of this dissertation, the issue of Missing Persons in situations of war and conflict is a human rights and humanitarian issue. Furthermore, the general definition of a Missing Person is “a person not yet traced or confirmed as alive, but not known to be dead, after an accident or during wartime”. In military terminology, *servicemen missing are listed as missing in action*.<sup>186</sup> The ICRC, which was founded in 1863 and now has the exclusive humanitarian aim to protect and assist victims of armed conflict and violence in combat, has developed a range of policy documents to inform diplomats and other decision-makers on its international humanitarian law activities.

In February 2009 the ICRC defined Missing Persons as:

*A person whose whereabouts are unknown to his/her relatives and/or who, on the basis of reliable information, has been reported missing in accordance with the national legislation in connection with an international or non-international armed conflict, a situation of internal violence or disturbances, natural catastrophes or any other situation that may require the intervention of a competent State authority.<sup>187</sup>*

Later that year, in September 2009, Missing Persons was redefined as:

*individuals of whom their families have no news and/or who, on the basis of reliable information, have been reported missing as a result of an armed conflict – international or non-international – or of internal violence, internal disturbances or*

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<sup>185</sup> US Holocaust Memorial Museum. *International Law: Genocide and Crimes Against Humanity*, US Holocaust Memorial Museum website, <[http://www.ushmm.org/genocide/int\\_law/](http://www.ushmm.org/genocide/int_law/)>, accessed 10 July 2015.

<sup>186</sup> Oxford Dictionaries, <<http://oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/missing>>, accessed 1 December 2011.

<sup>187</sup> ICRC. *Guiding principles/Model Law on the missing*, February 2009, <<http://www.icrc.org/eng/resources/documents/misc/model-law-missing-300908.htm>>, accessed 2 December 2011.

*any other situation that might require action by a neutral and independent body.<sup>188</sup>*

A social science definition of 'going missing' includes the following:

*...a social situation in which a person is absent from their accustomed network of social and personal relationships to the extent that people within that network define the absence as interfering with the performance by that person of expected social responsibilities, leading to a situation in which members of the network feel obliged to search for the Missing Person and may institute official procedures to identify the person as missing<sup>189</sup>*

No matter which definition is used, it is unanimously agreed that the issue of Missing Persons is an international humanitarian issue and in today's evolving modern world it is a very serious global concern when assessing what is happening in the Middle East and African nations.

The Australian Government makes an effort to assist all its new migrants and even asylum seekers to some extent by offering humanitarian services through the International Tracing and Refugee Services Department of the Australian Red Cross. This service aims to 'locate, reunite and support families separated by war, conflict and disaster' and hopes to restore family links between victims of armed conflict.

*The history of such a humanitarian group within a country which offers an international role was previously known as the Wounded and Missing Enquiry Bureau. It was established in 1915 and was founded by the Australian Red Cross Commissioners, Vera Deakin and Winifred Johnstone, the Bureau helped trace wounded and missing men, and informally started a hospital visiting service. After World War II the service connected people who had lost touch with relatives and friends...As an Enquiry, Tracing and Message service, the Australian Red Cross extended to link refugees with their families and register evacuees, under the Disaster Services Department from 1975. In the 1990s, the Asylum Seekers' Assistance Scheme continued this service and the Tracing and Refugees'*

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<sup>188</sup> ICRC, *Missing Persons A Handbook for Parliamentarians* No 17, September 2009, <<http://www.icrc.org/eng/resources/documents/publication/p1117.htm>>, accessed 2 December 2011.

<sup>189</sup> M. Payne, 'Understanding going missing: issues for social work and social service', *British Journal of Social Work*, 25, 1995, pp. 333-48.

*Department expanded as a core Red Cross service. In Strategy 2005, the Australian Red Cross re-committed to the Tracing and Message Service and aimed to enhance the delivery of humanitarian services to asylum seekers, refugees and other people in crisis. In 2004, these activities were covered by the International Tracing and Refugee Services, the Immigration Detention Program and the Asylum Seekers' Assistance Scheme. This Scheme is funded by the Australian Government's Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs, and administered by the Australian Red Cross.<sup>190</sup>*

The specific settings of how persons disappear are very diverse – for those in the armed forces, family members may not be able to contact those in the armed forces as a result of their deployments; identity badges may be lost and people may be buried in unmarked mass graves. For civilians, a person may be captured and held as a Prisoner Of War (POW) for years or they may die in war prisons/detention and their details not recorded. There are also cases of where mass executions occur and the bodies of victims are possibly buried in mass graves or even destroyed. This has been a common occurrence in media reports from the Arab Spring of 2011 in Middle Eastern nations such as Syria, Libia and Egypt where revolutions to topple dictatorships occurred.

People may also be reported as missing as a result of having been displaced and becoming refugees from their homeland – some family members may be separated for an excessive time as persons may be living in occupied areas or isolated in certain towns while trying to escape the combat.

Issues which may prolong the closure of Missing Persons cases include not having the necessary or adequate information which can assist in the identification of a deceased person. This needed information may not have been kept and managed appropriately, such as DNA samples, and this can prevent the identification of persons when bodies are exhumed and post-mortem examinations are being conducted.

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<sup>190</sup> "International Tracing and Refugee Services, Australian Red Cross. (2004)" 2011. Trove, <<http://nla.gov.au/nla.party-1477313>>, accessed 3 June 2013.

Furthermore, it is also important to briefly discuss the Prisoners of War (POWs) from the 1974 Turkish invasion. About 6000 POWs from both the Greek and Turkish Cypriot sides were taken in 1974 and Presidents Clerides and Denktash agreed on two prisoner exchanges for all prisoners in 1974 – 3,400 Turkish Cypriots and 2,300 Greek Cypriots were released. When the numbers were announced there was a discrepancy with many soldiers and civilians missing.<sup>191</sup> In Nicosia, Cyprus on 16 September 1974 there was Humanitarian Assistance to Refugees in Cyprus offered and 116 Greek Cypriot and 127 Turkish Cypriot sick and wounded POWs and detainees were exchanged as a result of the agreement reached between the Acting President and the Vice-President of Cyprus on 13 September. The exchange operation was carried out by ICRC and UNFICYP (UN Peacekeeping Forces in Cyprus) officials at the Ledra Palace Hotel courtyard, in Nicosia.<sup>192</sup> Upon undertaking extensive literature research into the Cypriot POWs, no scholarly record has been found on any published material on personal accounts from POWs from the 1974 Turkish invasion.

Furthermore, the politics of human rights and victimhood have been discussed in many social science papers; this analysis exposes human rights violations and crimes against humanity. One such paper is about the discussion of human rights abuses in Argentina during the dictatorship which took power in 1976 after a military coup. This led to a “dirty war” and the “mass disappearance of about 30,000 people – with disappearance defined as abduction, torture and murder of suspects”.

*The most effective protest against the policy of ‘disappearance’ came from the families of the victims, usually led by mothers, who refused to give up the search for their missing children. The mothers’ mobilisation around disappearance came*

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<sup>191</sup> J. Asmussen, *Cyprus at War: Diplomacy and Conflict During the 1974 Crisis*, I. B. Tauris; First Edition edition (30 Aug. 2008), pp. 273.

<sup>192</sup> United Nations. ‘Humanitarian Assistance to Refugees in Cyprus’. *News and Media Photo*. 1974,  
<<http://www.unmultimedia.org/photo/detail/147/0147557.html?browse=all.html>>, accessed 5 August 2015.

*from the recognition that their grief was a political and not just a personal matter.*<sup>193</sup>

These mothers formed the human rights organisation named *Madres de la Plaza de Mayo* (Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo) who had marched in front of the Argentinean presidential palace each week demanding to find out where their missing children were. After the reintroduction of a democratic government in 1983 and a national investigation into the fate of those missing, the subsequent trials resulted in the conviction of nine senior military officers and their life imprisonment.<sup>194</sup>

Such a similar story can be described as occurring in Cyprus but in this case however, no prosecutions have taken place as the Turkish Government refused to cooperate for many years in resolving the case of the Missing Persons. Those missing from the 1974 Turkish invasion of Cyprus could not be classified as war crimes as no individuals had been convicted. South Africa also experienced many human rights abuses from their apartheid conflict and after the democratic elections in 1994 the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) was formed to uncover human rights violations.

These above examples of human rights politics in warfare and conflict is slightly different from the case study of Cyprus as the island nation was invaded by another nation's military force, on the basis of a violent conflict being lived out between the two major ethnic groups on the island, each supported and politicised by another nation-state. Also, in the case study of Cyprus, some suggest that given the percentage of those killed and missing from 1974 it could be regarded as genocide, given the population of Cyprus in 1974. According to statistics from the Republic of Cyprus Ministry of Interior (MOI) (see table below)<sup>195</sup>, in 1974 the total Greek Cypriot population in the Republic of Cyprus mid-year (before the Turkish invasion) was 520,500 out of a total of 640,700 and

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<sup>193</sup> M. Humphrey & E. Valverde, 2008, pp. 3.

<sup>194</sup> M. Humphrey & E. Valverde, p. 3.

<sup>195</sup> Republic of Cyprus, Ministry of Interior (MOI) statistics.

end of year (after the Turkish invasion) was 505,700 out of a total of 621,600. There is no percentage change, that is, there were 81.2 per cent Greek Cypriots before the war and 81.3 per cent after the war. With respect to Turkish Cypriots, there were 120,200 before the invasion and 115,900 after the invasion, that is the population dropped from 18.76 per cent to 18.64 per cent, 0.12 per cent, which is insignificant.

**Table 1: Estimates of Total Population, 1974-2003**

ΠΙΝΑΚΑΣ 17. ΕΚΤΙΜΗΣΕΙΣ ΣΥΝΟΛΙΚΟΥ ΠΛΗΘΥΣΜΟΥ, 1974-2003  
TABLE 17. ESTIMATES OF TOTAL POPULATION, 1974-2003

Χρόνος Year	Μέσο του χρόνου Mid year			Τέλος του χρόνου End of the year		
	Συνολικός Πληθυσμός	Πληθυσμός στις περιοχές που ελέγχει το κράτος	Τουρκο- κύπριοι	Συνολικός Πληθυσμός	Πληθυσμός στις περιοχές που ελέγχει το κράτος	Τουρκο- κύπριοι
	Total Population	Population in the government controlled area	Turkish Cypriots	Total Population	Population in the government controlled area	Turkish Cypriots
1974	640.7	520.5	120.2	621.6	505.7	115.9

When taking into consideration the number of Missing Persons, 1464 Greek Cypriots out of a population of 640,700 this is 0.0023 per cent, and with respect to Turkish Cypriots this is 0.00078 per cent. This is not even worth mentioning and is no comparison to the genocide acts in other nations such as Cambodia and Rwanda. In Cambodia, for instance genocide occurred by the Khmer Rouge regime, the name given to the followers of the Communist party of Kampuchea. Leaders of the party, including Pol Pot and Nuon Chea who ruled Cambodia from about 1975 to 1979, condemning about 1.7 million people to their death from a population of 8 million, which is about 21 per cent of the population. Killings included political executions and starvation.

*Between 17 April 1975 and 7 January 1979 the death toll was about 25% of a population of some 7.8 million; 33.5% of men were massacred or died unnatural deaths as against 15.7% of the women, and 41.9% of the population of Phnom Penh.<sup>196</sup>*

The Rwandan Genocide, in Eastern Africa, was regarded as a mass slaughter of the Tutsis by the Hutus in 1994. Over a period of about 100 days from April to July 1994 about 800,000 people were killed, or about 10 per cent of the general population.

<sup>196</sup> H. Locard, 'State Violence in Democratic Kampuchea (1975-1979) and Retribution (1979-2004)', *European Review of History*, 12(1), March 2005, pp. 121-43.

*In 1994 Rwanda witnessed a genocide that swiftly took the lives of some 800,000 Rwandans. In just 3 months, more than 10 per cent of the general population and approximately 75 per cent of the Tutsi ethnic minority population were killed.<sup>197</sup>*

These mass murders do not compare with the ‘very small’ number of Missing Persons in Cyprus, with most of these Missing Persons having been killed and buried in mass graves as this dissertation explains. It cannot be argued that there was a form of genocide occurring in Cyprus, either towards the Greek Cypriots or towards the Turkish Cypriot populations. It was simply mass murders during the time of invasion and not a premeditated intent to wipe out minority or majority groups.

Furthermore, in conclusion it should be noted that without NGOs putting the pressure on governments around the world these humanitarian laws would not have evolved and have such a clout compared to that of past years. It was not until the 1990s that the obligations of nations to comply with the Convention gained some form of potency, spurred on by a number of international developments: the growth of professional human rights organisations with experience in the use of international legal tools to combat abuses of human rights; the end of the Cold War between the US and the Soviet Union, which enabled greater cooperation and consensus in UN Security Council; and the ongoing extreme violence aimed against entire populations of civilian groups, including that of: Cambodia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Rwanda, Iraq, Darfur, Sudan and Syria.

#### **4.1 Human rights and international law of Missing Persons**

The Missing Persons issue has proven to be more than a humanitarian issue. It has become a human rights political issue and an international legal issue where legal cases are filed against governments. It is noteworthy that the Turkish government has never produced any of its records on the missing or on the POW’s as required by the Geneva Convention and has not cooperated with any international agency on this

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<sup>197</sup> P. Verwimp, ‘Death and survival during the 1994 genocide in Rwanda’, *Population Studies*, 58(2), 2004, pp. 233–45.



issue. Also a clear violation of both the Third and the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949, which was signed and ratified by Turkey, was the case of the Turkish army turning over Greek Cypriot captives to the Turkish Cypriots who were then executed.<sup>198</sup>

Furthermore, on 9 December 1975, the UN General Assembly adopted resolution 3450 calling on the Secretary-General and the International Committee of the Red Cross to help in tracing all Cypriots, both Greek and Turkish, which led to the formation of the CMP on 22 April 1981.

Families of missing Greek Cypriots have started filing cases against the Republic of Turkey and the Republic of Cyprus in the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR). A few legal cases will be mentioned in order to illustrate the various issues-they are in no specific order and include: the Charalambous; Cyprus v. Turkey; Varnava and Others v. Turkey, which includes nine families of Missing Persons, and the case of Androulla Palmas filing a case against the Republic of Cyprus.

A case was filed by Demetris Koutras Charalambous' family in 2007. Mr Charalambous' remains were exhumed and identified in July 2007. An analysis of the forty-seven year old Mr Charalambous' remains showed that he was tortured and shot twice in the head. He was last seen in his village of Eptakomi, now in the occupied territory, on 15 August 1974<sup>199</sup> (Coufoudakis, 2008:53). The wife and children of Stelios Savvides Charalambous, whose remains were exhumed and identified in 2006, demanded that Turkey be condemned by the Court for violation of Charalambous' human rights:

*Charalambous was arrested in Yiallousa village, on the northeastern tip of the island, on 19 August 1974 by Turkish troops... He was 37 and unarmed. At the*

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<sup>198</sup> Republic of Cyprus, Human Rights violations in Cyprus by Turkey, Press and Information Office, 2008, p. 21-22 (based on an interview with Turkish Cypriot leader Rauf Denktash on 3 January 1996).

<sup>199</sup> V.Coufoudakis, *International Aggression and Violations of Human Rights — The Case of Turkey in Cyprus*, 2008, p. 53

*time of his arrest, he was immediately taken away from the rest of the people arrested. Since then, no one has seen him.*

*He was among other Missing Persons whose identity was established by the DNA method on October 16, 2006. The bodies were found in a mass grave in Galateia village, in the Karpass Peninsula, on northeastern tip.*

*A medical certificate on the cause of death says that the body was wounded and there was a bullet hole on the skull.<sup>200</sup>*

In the case of Cyprus v. Turkey filed in the European Court of Human Rights specific reference is made to Missing Persons:<sup>201</sup>

*Alleged violations of the rights of Greek Cypriot Missing Persons and their relatives*

*The Commission further concluded that its examination of the applicant Government's complaints in the instant application was not precluded by the ongoing work of the CMP. It noted in this connection that the scope of the investigation being conducted by the CMP was limited to determining whether or not any of the Missing Persons on its list were dead or alive; nor was the CMP empowered to make findings either on the cause of death or on the issue of responsibility for any deaths so established. Furthermore, the territorial jurisdiction of the CMP was limited to the island of Cyprus, thus excluding investigations in Turkey where some of the disappearances were claimed to have occurred. The Commission also observed that persons who might be responsible for violations of the Convention were promised impunity and that it was doubtful whether the CMP's investigation could extend to actions by the Turkish army or Turkish officials on Cypriot territory.<sup>202</sup>*

Note that the judgement also specifically states that the scope of the investigation being conducted “was limited to determining whether or not any of the Missing Persons on its list were dead” and that the CMP did not have the authority to determine the cause of death and how the

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<sup>200</sup> Cyprus News Agency. Media release: ‘Family of missing Greek Cypriot takes Turkey to ECHR’, 7 May 2008.

<sup>201</sup> Application no. 25781/9, judgment in Strasbourg on 10 May 2001.

<sup>202</sup> ECtHR. Application no. 25781/94, ‘Judgment in the case of Cyprus v. Turkey’ in a Grand Chamber judgment delivered at Strasbourg on 10 May 2001 in the case of Cyprus v. Turkey, the European Court of Human Rights.

<<http://cmiskp.echr.coe.int/tkp197/view.asp?action=html&documentId=697331&portal=hbk&source=externalbydocnumber&table=F69A27FD8FB86142BF01C1166DEA398649>>, accessed 1 September 2010.

person had died. Despite this being one of the CMP's terms of reference, families continue to pursue legal cases being filed by relatives with specific reference to the "torture and abuse" of their loved ones.

Turkey is a High Contracting Party to that convention and with respect to violations of Missing Persons, Turkey violated Article 2, right of life, Article 3, no torture or inhumane treatment, Article 5, right to liberty and security of the person and Article 8, respect for privacy and family life and home. Furthermore, the killing of innocent civilian and military captives represents a violation of the UN and the UN Commission on Human Rights (UNHCHR) and the Third (on Prisoners of War) and Fourth (civilians) Geneva Conventions (1949). There have also been violations of several Articles of the European Convention, along with violations addressed by the Council of Europe (CoE) and the European Parliament (Coufoudakis, 2008:54).

It is beyond the scope of this research project to discuss the legal implications in great detail, but in brief it is worth noting how these international legal bodies have dealt with the issue of Missing Persons. In summary, based on applications on Missing Persons, the European Commission of Human Rights found Turkey guilty of violating Article 5 (right to liberty and security of the person) of the European Convention (in the report on the first two interstate applications by Cyprus against Turkey adopted on 10 July 1976 and declassified on 31 August 1979). In an historic decision of the ECtHR on 10 May 2001, regarding the fourth Cypriot interstate application against Turkey, Turkey was found guilty of continuing violations of the European Convention — violation of Article 2 (right to life) by failing to conduct effective investigations of persons who disappeared while in Turkish custody and under life threatening circumstances. The Court voted 16-1, with the one negative vote being that of the Turkish judge.<sup>203</sup> Furthermore, the court determined that Turkey had violated Article 5 of the convention (right to liberty and

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<sup>203</sup> Republic of Cyprus, Human Rights violations in Cyprus by Turkey, Press and Information Office, 2008, p. 24.

security of the person) by failing to effectively investigate the fate of the missing who had been in its custody; and further, had violated Article 3 of the convention (inhuman treatment) with reference to the agony of the relatives of the Missing Persons<sup>204</sup> (Coufoudakis, 2008:55).

In summary, with respect to the issue of Missing Persons in the judgement of the Cyprus v. Turkey case, the Republic of Cyprus claimed in their application that about 1,491 Greek Cypriots were still missing twenty years after the cessation of hostilities. These persons were last seen alive in Turkish custody and their fate has never been accounted for. The Turkish Government's response to this claim was that there was no proof that any of the Missing Persons were still alive or were being kept in custody and that the issue should continue to be pursued within the framework of the UNs CMP rather than under the EU Convention.

The EU Commission proceeded on the understanding that its task was not to establish what actually happened to the Greek Cypriot persons who went missing during the Turkish military invasion in Cyprus in 1974, but rather to determine whether or not the alleged failure of the Turkish Government to explain the facts surrounding the disappearances constituted a "continuing violation of the Convention".

The Commission also had particular regard to its earlier findings in its 1976 and 1983 reports: in its 1976 report it had stated that it was widely accepted that a considerable number of Cypriots were still missing as a result of armed conflict in Cyprus and that a number of persons declared to be missing were identified as Greek Cypriots taken prisoner by the Turkish army. In the 1983 report, it established that there were sufficient indications in an indefinite number of cases that missing Greek Cypriots had been in Turkish custody in 1974 and that this finding once again created a presumption of Turkish responsibility for the fate of these persons.

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<sup>204</sup> V. Coufoudakis, 2008, p. 55.

The Commission also established that the facts surrounding the fate of the Missing Persons had not been clarified by the Turkish authorities and brought to the notice of the victims' relatives.

Legal cases continue to be filed, including nine families of Missing Persons filing a case in the ECtHR in 1990, represented at *Varnava and Others v. Turkey*. On 10 January 2008 the court found Turkey guilty of violating the convention and ordered Turkey to compensate these families. Violations included: violations of Article 2 of the convention (failure to conduct an effective investigation on the nine missing who disappeared under life-threatening circumstances); continuing violation of Article 3 (inhuman or degrading treatment towards the relatives of the missing as a result of not offering information); and continuing violation of Article 5 (right of liberty and security of the person and failure to conduct an investigation in the case of these specific nine missing, who were deprived of their liberty)<sup>205</sup> (Coufoudakis, 2008:56).

The final verdict on the *Varnava and Others v. Turkey* case was reached on 18 September 2009:

*The Court ruled that there was continuing violation of Article 2 of the European Convention of Human Rights, which supports the right to life, as well as continuing violation of Article 3, which provides the prohibition of inhuman or degrading treatment.*

*The ECtHR also deemed Turkey's treatment towards two of the Missing Persons — Eleftherios Thoma and Savvas Hadjipanteli — a "continuing violation of Article 5, the right to liberty and security". The same article was not violated in respect to the remaining seven men, it ruled.*

*For the first time ever, the ECtHR has ordered Turkey to pay the plaintiffs compensation. "Under Article 41 (just satisfaction) of the Convention, the Court awarded the applicants €12,000 per application of non-pecuniary damage and €8,000 for costs and expenses."*

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<sup>205</sup> V.Coufoudakis, 2008, p.56

*The amount was yesterday deemed “symbolic” by one of the appeal team’s lawyers, Kypros Michaelides, who was asked to comment on how low the amount was.*

*“It is a small amount, which can be described as symbolic as it shows how seriously the ECtHR views the violation of human rights”, said Michaelides.<sup>206</sup>*

These ECtHR rulings were critical in encouraging authorities to act on the issue of Missing Persons and it also served as a significant form of recourse for the families of the Missing Persons, however the court has also left many families with limited options as was demonstrated by the relatives of Turkish Cypriot Missing Persons, who in 2002 filed four individual cases to the ECtHR. The court found all of these cases inadmissible, stating that the relatives had allowed too much time to pass before filing their cases. This very same criterion resulted in the ECtHR rejecting an additional 51 cases.<sup>207</sup>

As previously discussed, in 1999, the Government of the Republic of Cyprus, exhumed remains in two cemeteries (the Lakatamia, and Sts Constantine and Helen cemeteries) in Nicosia, whereby a number of persons killed during the Turkish invasion were buried as unknown soldiers. Sant Cassia refers to the fact that: ...*“the list of 126 people whom the government did not present to the UN committee charged with investigating the disappearances, a clear indication that the Government considered there was sufficient proof (of death)”.*<sup>208</sup>

These exhumations resulted in the families of two of the men, Christofis Pashas and Charalambos Palmas, who were positively identified, to launch individual civil cases against the Republic of Cyprus in 2002 alleging a breach of human rights and negligence by the authorities. An

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<sup>206</sup> J. Agathocleous, ‘ECHR: inhuman and degrading treatment of Missing Persons’, *Cyprus Mail*, 19 September 2009.

<sup>207</sup> N. Kyriakou, ‘Enforced disappearances in Cyprus: problems and prospects of the case law of the European Court of Human Rights’. *European Human Rights Law Review*, 2011 (2), pp. 190–9. The four Turkish Cypriot Missing Persons cases dismissed by the ECtHR are: *Karabardak and Others v. Cyprus*, no. 76575/01, 22 October 2002; *Baybora and Others v. Cyprus*, no. 77116/01, 22 October 2002; *Semi and Others v. Cyprus*, no. 13212/02; *Huseyin and Gocer v. Cyprus*, no. 28280/02, 3 January 2003.

<sup>208</sup> P. Sant Cassia, (2005) p. 198.

adviser to the Greek Cypriot CMP member supported the claims of the men's families that in 1974 "almost all of 70 war dead interred in unmarked graves at a cemetery in the Nicosia suburb of Lakatamia had documents buried with them that could have confirmed their identity."<sup>209</sup> The families claim that if the Government authorities been more attentive in carrying out proper investigations of those killed, the identity of Pashas, Palmas, and 44 other men listed as Missing Persons would have been established, and their families would have been spared decades of ongoing suffering through not knowing their fate. This embarrassing case for the Republic of Cyprus was settled in November 2010, when a court in Cyprus found the government guilty of failure to effectively investigate the Missing Person's fate, which is a violation of Article 3 of the European Convention of Human Rights:

*...a court offered her some sense of justice by ordering the Cypriot government to pay €324,000 (\$US417,668) in damages to her and two daughters, Kalliopi and Christina, for denying them the right to know for two decades.*

*"After so much struggle, I feel vindicated," she says. "It's hardly the money, but the moral satisfaction."*

*Army authorities buried then 28-year-old reservist Palmas along with some 30 other Greek Cypriot soldiers in a mass grave marked "unknown" at Lakatamia cemetery on Nicosia's outskirts shortly after the fighting stopped. The soldiers were killed in heavy fighting as invading Turkish troops advanced in the northern Nicosia suburb of Ayios Pavlos.<sup>210</sup>*

Sant Cassia spent considerable time with the Palmas family during their ongoing struggle for justice. He described the family's journey with the following prominent comments: "Given her high profile and her irrepressibility, the authorities were concerned that she would use the opportunity to make some highly embarrassing public statements to the

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<sup>209</sup> *The Cyprus Weekly*. 'State "neglected duty" to Look into Missing Evidence', July, 2006, pp. 7-13.

<sup>210</sup> M. Hadjicostis, 'Court fines Cyprus over "missing" dead soldier', *Associated Press*, 29 November 2012, <<http://news.yahoo.com/court-fines-cyprus-over-missing-dead-soldier-195541905.html>>, accessed 11 November 2013.

media”<sup>211</sup>; “Let them see! (displaying his bones and personal items found in the grave) So that the people can believe the lies of the Government and the betrayal of the people!”<sup>212</sup> It was these cases that instigated human rights lawyer, Achilleas Demetriades, to establish “Truth Now” in 2007, a Truth and Reconciliation Commission, similar to the one which operated in South Africa post-apartheid. As Demetriades represented the Varnava and Palmas cases, he was very familiar with how cautious the Republic of Cyprus is with the issue of Missing Persons. Part of the terms of reference for this group is to allow for the investigation of the circumstances of the disappearance without attributing responsibility.<sup>213</sup>

These “civil cases” against the Government of Cyprus whereby it was found negligent with respect to Missing Persons cases is summarised well in a *Cyprus Mail* article by Stefanos Evripidou, who stresses that “People are still afraid to talk of the dead or of the massacres perpetrated. There is fear that talk will open a Pandora’s Box of blood, violence and revenge. What happened in the 1960s? What happened in 1974? Apart from the invading army, what crimes did Cypriots commit that have gone unpunished? These questions remain unanswered. Among Greek Cypriots, any talk of illegal killings is hidden behind great acts of heroism...”<sup>214</sup>

To conclude the discussion on the protection of individuals in war it is important to expand on the conflicting responsibilities to protect human rights in warfare. It has been claimed by States that they have scarce resources available for human rights protection. According to Law Professor and academic on war justice, Larry May “The ‘Responsibility to Protect’ is a noble doctrine but in its practical effects there are problems and conflicts that need to be given more attention than they have so

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<sup>211</sup> P. Sant Cassia, p. 205.

<sup>212</sup> P. Sant Cassia, p. 208.

<sup>213</sup> Truth Now Cyprus is a non-governmental organisation,  
<<http://www.truthnowcyprus.org/index.php/en/>>.

<sup>214</sup> S. Evripidou, ‘Burying our Sins along with our Sons’, *Cyprus Mail*, 10 February 2008.



far.”<sup>215</sup> It embraces three specific responsibilities: The responsibility to prevent, to react and to rebuild. It differs from the doctrine of humanitarian intervention in that the use of force is considered a last resort. May argues that the principles of the ‘Responsibility to Protect’ doctrine is very controversial and that “war is sanctioned to protect human rights and yet war itself often involves massive violation of human rights.” A State’s responsibility to use military force to protect another State’s nationals raises a host of problems...in order to secure the human rights of some people (non-nationals) the human rights of other people (nationals) are likely to be rendered insecure.<sup>216</sup> Protecting the human rights of victims in warfare is a very complex issue which can be explained as simple as human rights are jeopardized by oppression and mass atrocities, while on the other hand there is a jeopardising of the human rights to life and liberty of the soldiers who are ordered to engage in military operations to stop or prevent oppression and mass atrocity.<sup>217</sup>

A number of scholarly publications suggest that international law has little impact on the conduct of states during war. Despite this, as Prorok and Appel state, “combatants who have ratified the relevant treaties will be more likely to comply with their legal obligations prohibiting the targeting of civilians when they interact with strong democratic alliance, trade, and IGO partners.”<sup>218</sup> Modern History Professor Annette Becker studied the protection of civilians in occupied territory of World War I and concluded that although ‘the ideal of humanity’ was only followed by the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), other charitable, denominational, or non-denominational organisations, “none of the belligerents hesitated to infringe and violate the law whenever they could. The various occupied populations, on the Western and Eastern fronts

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<sup>215</sup> L. May, *After War Ends, A Philosophical Perspective*, Cambridge University Press, 2012, p.125.

<sup>216</sup> L. May, pp.127-128.

<sup>217</sup> L. May, p.141.

<sup>218</sup> A.K., Prorok, B.J.Appel., *Compliance with International Humanitarian Law: Democratic Third Parties and Civilian Targeting in Interstate War*, *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 2014, Vol. 58(4) pp. 713-740, USA, p. 714.

and in the Balkans, served as their guinea pigs and were their perfect victims.”<sup>219</sup> Professor Major Nicholas F. Lancaster also argues that customary international law has changed as a result of state practice culminating in the UN sanctioned coalition occupation of Iraq.

*United Nations Security Council Resolution 1483 is the mandate for the coalition occupation of Iraq... it is unusual in specifically calling for the United States and Great Britain to comply with the law of occupation as reflected in Hague and Geneva.*<sup>220</sup>

The supposition that international laws of The Hague and Geneva Conventions lack any formal enforcement mechanisms is also strongly supported by academics Benjamin Valentino, Paul Huth and Sarah Croco:

*The Hague Convention stipulated that parties that violated the treaty were “Liable to pay compensation” and the Geneva Convention recommends “effective penal sanctions for persons committing...grave breaches of the present Convention.” But both treaties left it to the signatories themselves to punish abuses or infractions by their own citizens or foreign nationals in their custody.*<sup>221</sup>

They state that democracies are more likely to adhere to their treaty commitments because democracies adhere to standards that encourage respect for the rule of law in both domestic affairs and international relations.<sup>222</sup> A powerful example to demonstrate that even in today’s modern world superpowers refuse to adhere to these humanitarian laws is the one of the US policy towards prisoners and interrogation methods during the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq.

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<sup>219</sup> A. Becker, The dilemmas of protecting civilians in occupied territory: the precursory example of World War I., *International Review of the Red Cross*, Vol. 94, No. 885, Spring 2012, p. 118

<sup>220</sup> Major N.F. Lancaster, Occupation law, sovereignty, and political transformation: should The Hague regulations and the fourth Geneva Convention still be considered customary international law?, *Military Law Review*, Vol. 189, 2006, pp. 51-91, p. 77.

<sup>221</sup> B. Valentino, P. Huth, S. Croco, *Covenants without the Sword: International Law and the Protection of Civilians in Times of War*, *World Politics*, Vol. 58.No. 3., Cambridge University Press, 2006, pp. 339-377, p. 342.

<sup>222</sup> B. Valentino, P. Huth, S. Croco, 2006, p. 345.

*In 2002 an internal memo from then White House Counsel Alberto Gonzales to President Bush explicitly acknowledged that by denying Geneva Convention protections to Taliban and al-Qaeda detainees the United States might incur a number of costs...yet the administration dismissed or minimized each of these concerns, arguing that the necessities of waging a global war on terror had rendered the Geneva Convention “obsolete” and “quaint.”<sup>223</sup>*

In conclusion, the international community has tried over decades to introduce humanitarian laws to protect innocent war victims through the various treaties and protocols. However it is a complex system of law that nations at war have refused to follow and adhere to as all warfare and conflict imposes a burden of harm on civilians and non-combatants: those whose lives are disrupted, whose property may be destroyed or taken from them and those who are caught in the middle of the mayhem and are severely injured, abused by the captors or who become part of the fatalities. The Missing Persons of Cyprus is another example of how these international humanitarian laws have failed to protect innocent civilians.

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<sup>223</sup> B. Valentino, P. Huth, S. Croco, 2006, p. 373.

## **Chapter 5 - Brief summary on Cyprus geography and history**

The island Republic of Cyprus is located in the eastern edge of the Mediterranean. It is the third largest island in the Mediterranean Sea — after Sicily and Sardinia — with an area of 9251 square kilometres (sq kms) (with 3355 sq kms of land mass being in the Turkish occupied area). It is closely linked and aligned to Europe culturally and politically. It is often included in the Middle East as it is 75kms south of Turkey, about 200kms north-west of Israel, 380kms north of Egypt, 185kms west of Syria, 190kms to Lebanon and 800kms east of the Greek mainland. Cyprus has been considered as a significant island for most world powers as it has a strategic location – being close to the Middle East and Suez Canal and being a part of the European culture.

Nicosia, the capital, is located north-east of the centre of the island and is the only divided capital in the world. Other major cities are Paphos being in the south-west, Limassol in the south and Larnaca in the south-east. The island nation is indented with coastal coves and bays. The Greek area is controlled by the Republic of Cyprus – which makes up 59 per cent of the island's land area, and the Turkish area makes up 37 per cent of the island land mass. The UN buffer zone makes 4 per cent of the land mass and 2.8 per cent of the portion of land mass is taken by two UK Sovereign Base Areas within the Greek Cypriot portion of the island.<sup>224</sup>

Having a history of more than 11,000 years — from the 9<sup>th</sup> millennium BC — has placed Cyprus at the crossroads of historical events and population movements. The island Republic was written about in the ancient world of Greek mythology — with the protagonist being the Goddess of Beauty, Aphrodite, where she apparently rose from the waves at the spot known as “Petra tou Romiou” (**Translated:** Rock of the Greek or Aphrodite's Rock) at the western end of the island. This historic and

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<sup>224</sup> Demography of Cyprus: <[http://kypros.org/Cyprus/cy\\_republic/demography.html](http://kypros.org/Cyprus/cy_republic/demography.html)>, accessed 15 January 2012.

archaeological wealth is acknowledged by the fact that many areas have been declared as UNESCO World Cultural Heritage Sites.

The geostrategic position of the island republic has been regarded as having a pivotal role in Middle East and Gulf security – and for that reason had foreign domination for four millenia. The Mycenaean and Achaean Greeks settled around the 13<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> century BC, introducing the Greek language, which the Greek Cypriots have maintained. The island's rich history is evident by many of its archaeological tourist attractions. A dozen communities as old as 9000 years exist throughout Cyprus, including Khirokitia from the Neolithic period, between Limassol and Larnaca; it was occupied from the 7<sup>th</sup> to the 4<sup>th</sup> millennia BC and is the earliest known culture in Cyprus. The village was abandoned about 6000 BC and archaeologists believe the island was uninhabited for about 1500 years. The Sotira group settled near Ayia Napa between 4500 and 4000 BC. The Bronze Age followed in Cyprus with the discovery of copper about 3000 BC. Other archaeological artefacts and ancient footprints on the island republic include Limassol Castle, where the English King Richard I was married, the Roman theatre at Curium, the Temple of Apollo, near Limassol, and Kolossi Castle, in Limassol, which was built in 1210 and served first as the Grand Commandery of the Knights Templar and later, in 1291, after the fall of Acre, it became the headquarters of the Knights of the Order of St John of Jerusalem. Paphos has many historical sites as it was the former Roman capital of the island and dates from 1400BC — archaeological sites include the Tomb of the Kings, Houses of Theseus and Dionysus which has preserved mosaic floors and pillars. The Turkish occupied northern coastal town of Kyrenia also has rich history dating back 2300 years ago. The Kyrenia ship was used as a trading vessel for about 50 years to service during the period of Alexander the Great, at the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC. This vessel sank in 300 BC and was found by fisherman Andreas Cariolou in 1965. It was installed in the Crusader Castle, at Kyrenia Bay. A replica was launched

in 1986 and the vessel became the national emblem of Cyprus – a symbol of the island Republic's determination to survive.

The Hellenic period ended in 30 BC when the Romans took hold and made it part of the eastern section of the Roman Empire and stayed until the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD (330AD). It then became part of the Byzantine Empire until the 12<sup>th</sup> century AD.

Cyprus' strategic location was also significant to the Venetian traders in the 15<sup>th</sup> century and to the British in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Ancient Cyprus attracted many merchant traders and settlers for its richness in the metal copper. Early invasions, and influences, in Cyprus included those of: Mycenaens, Achaeans, Macedonian Alexander the Great, Phoenicians, Persians, Romans, Egyptians, Venetians, Ottomans, Persians and Assyrians. Christians also had a major influence on the island nation's Christianity. Apostles Paul and Barnabas visited Cyprus, along with St Mark, as part of their first mission in 45 AD.

Cyprus has been politically divided and redivided since its beginnings. Its archaeology proclaims its violent past. The island is studied with splendid relics of every age from the dawn of civilisation, but nowhere is the succession of cultures more spectacularly displayed than in and around Famagusta, on the island's south-east coast.

*What you see of Salamis today is Greco-Roman, and beautiful. But it changed its form and its allegiances over 2,000 years, paying tribute in turn to the successive masters of the Mediterranean, and initiating a pattern of foreign domination that has lasted until today. Assyrians, Persians, Phoenicians, Egyptians, Romans, and Byzantines wooed it, won it, often enriched it. Cicero was proconsul there. St Paul and St Barnabas founded a Christian church here some 12 years after the Crucifixion. In the end, earthquakes and seventh-century Arab raiders destroyed it.*

*The sequence of cultures continues in Famagusta itself, five miles away, where the Byzantine was replaced by the French Gothic of the Crusaders, the defenses*

*of the Venetians (who built walls and little else), and the Asian additions of the Turks.*<sup>225</sup>

From 1220 BC it has remained Greek in language, culture and with the majority of the population being Hellenic. Cyprus fell under the rule of the Persians, which then Alexander the Great succeeded. Cyprus became part of the Byzantine Empire after the Roman Empire partition in 395 AD and remained so for 800 years, until 1191, when Richard the Lionheart — King Richard I of England — took it on 6 May, 1191, when he captured the island during the Third Crusade, and then in 1192 the Guy of Lusignan bought Cyprus from Richard. After the death of the last Lusignan Queen, the Republic of Venice conquered the island in 1489.

It was not only in the ancient times that Cyprus was influenced by its many invaders and ancient civilisations. The island's modern history is just as colourful. In 1570 the Ottoman Empire took over the island, which subsequently left the ancestors of the present Turkish Cypriots. It lasted for 307 years until 1878 AD.

## **5.1 Geopolitical significance of Cyprus**

Cyprus has a complicated relationship with other nations based on its geographical location. The likely impact on Cyprus from the politic events surrounding it makes the island nation very unguarded and it has to take the role of peacemaker to humanitarian assistance – despite itself being a ‘nation at war’. There are fatal consequences if foreign affairs issues are not tackled delicately. It should also be noted that despite its non-member status, it is a critical component of NATO's Mediterranean operations.

Previous to the 1974 Turkish invasion of Cyprus, in 1963 ethnic fighting erupted between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots over elements of the constitution and the control of the island. In 1964 a UN Peacekeeping

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<sup>225</sup> K. MacLeish, ‘Cyprus Under Four Flags: A Struggle for Unity’, *National Geographic*, 143(3), March 1973, p. 359.

force was sent. At this time the Eastern Mediterranean region was still seen as being a significant region and one which US foreign policy regarded as significant with respect to safeguarding its interests in the region, particularly after World War II. This has made Cyprus fragile throughout history as it is wedged between great powers. It is this need by external powers to have supremacy over the island that has never allowed Cyprus to be a fully independent nation as it has been subjected to external influences. Historically, during the mid-1870s Britain and other European powers were preventing Russian expansion into Europe and Cyprus was the most suitable place offering advantages for its proximity, hence in 1925 the island became a British Crown Colony to support its Middle East position, to keep Britain as a leader of world powers. The British realised that they needed their alliance with the US and Turkey if they were to maintain their Middle East position.

To further understand the situation prior to the Turkish invasion, after World War II, when Cyprus was declared independent in August 1960, the constitution of 1960 was not the same as other newly independent countries. Cyprus had the Treaties of Establishment and Guarantee and for Cyprus not to have 'absolute independence and democratic freedoms.' The four guaranteeing powers wanting an influence over Cyprus were Britain, Greece, Turkey and Cyprus. These provisions were put in place to safeguard the defence of Western interests on the island. This constitution prevented both *enosis* (union) with Greece and *taksim* (partition of the island). This is why Cyprus is the only part of the world where the UK has retained Sovereign Base Areas: it is a point of power towards the Middle East where Britain secured offshore geographical locations to continue its strategic interests.

In 1974 a coup was initiated by the military junta that ruled Greece. This initiated Turkey to send troops to protect Turkish Cypriot ethnic rights.

During and after the Turkish invasion, the Turkish military entered and still remain on the island, with the purpose of supporting the Turkish



Cypriot population and to stop the potential union (*enosis*) of Cyprus with Greece. Thousands of troops still remain there, which asserts that Turkey invaded to fulfil its own geopolitical agenda of maintaining and expanding influence in the region, which in the past 40 years has evolved and experiencing significant changes. This argument also applies to Greece's influence over Cyprus, which adds to its importance as an EU nation and NATO partner.

Overall it is the EU's need to have a good relationship with Turkey as a buffer to the Islamic Middle East and as a barrier to stop Russian expansion into the Mediterranean that is interfering with any resolution to the Cyprus issue, aside from its geostrategic value.<sup>226</sup>

The US is also known to have established intelligence gathering spy-posts in the occupied northern Cyprus area, once again making Cyprus a significant intelligence centre, particularly in today's political situation of the US occupying Iraq, the conflict between Israel and Palestine, the ongoing Afghanistan conflict and US interests in Iran. The US and NATO have been using the RAF Akrotiri as a logistics and operational base when conducting operations in Iraq, Afghanistan and Kuwait. It is therefore evident that Cyprus plays a very significant geopolitical and strategic role. Furthermore, to demonstrate its geopolitical importance, a tiny island such as Cyprus has eight airports: Larnaca International Airport, Paphos International Airport, Lakatamia National Guard Air Base, Nicosia International Airport (abandoned in the UN Buffer Zone), two located in the British bases being Akrotiri Royal Air Force and NATO Air Base and Kingsfield British Army AIRCOR Base and two in the northern Turkish occupied area being Ercan International Airport and Gonyeli Turkish Air Force Air Base. The British bases in Cyprus had proven their value during air operations in Libya and as a logistics hub for activities in Afghanistan. They are a priority for the long-term

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<sup>226</sup> B. O'Malley, & I. Craig, *The Cyprus Conspiracy: America, Espionage and the Turkish Invasion*, London, I. B. Tauris, 2007, pp. 140-43.

interests of the national security of the British.<sup>227</sup> These bases are probably the most important Western Intelligence listening post in the Eastern Mediterranean, monitoring communications in the Middle East, North Africa, the Balkans, Russia and beyond. It should be noted that Britain and the US, known for their foreign policy collaborations, have used the geopolitical location of Cyprus to hinder Russian influence in the South East European region and the Middle East.

Russia, from a strategic point of view, has also been interested in Cyprus because of its close proximity to the Middle East, and has also shown interest in the recent developments of Cyprus gas fields. If they offer economic and financial assistance to explore these options this may be another access point and excuse for Russia to have a greater role in the Mediterranean region.

Furthermore, William Mallison explains the situation of the geopolitical significance of Cyprus well:

*...the international community has been largely silent or inarticulate against a monumental injustice perpetrated by a large and militarily strong neighbouring country on a fairly defenceless small state. Worse yet, countries like the United States and Britain, which led the massive world mobilization that reversed Iraq's aggression on Kuwait, in the case of Cyprus took the opposite stand. What's more, they have led the charge to mobilize support for Turkey's accession to the European Union even as Turkey is illegally occupying EU territory. Consequently, they paradoxically reward military aggression instead of putting an end to it.*<sup>229</sup>

Mallison suggests that “international law does not sit easily with power politics”<sup>230</sup> and justifiably so with the case of Cyprus as its ideal location and geopolitical significance for the US and Britain, that is Anglo-

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<sup>227</sup> British Ministry of Defence, Overseas Territories, The Ministry of Defence's Contribution, p. 8.,

<[https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/27626/overseas\\_territories.pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/27626/overseas_territories.pdf)>, accessed 10 October 2015.

<sup>228</sup> M. Urban, 'Moral poor' among UK crews at RAF Akrotiri, Cyprus, 5 December 2014, <<http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-30338659>>, accessed 10 October 2015.

<sup>229</sup> W. Mallinson, 'Partition through Foreign Aggression: The Case of Turkey in Cyprus', *Minnesota Mediterranean and East European Monographs*, No. 20, 2010, p. xiv

<sup>230</sup> W. Mallinson, 2010, p. 36.

American interests, is far more important than defending international law and justice for the Cypriot people. Ethically and logically to resolve the illegal Turkish invasion of Cyprus it is as simple as the US and Britain putting pressure on Turkey to withdraw, but if this did (or does) occur this would strengthen the EU's influence in the eastern Mediterranean, diminishing the Anglo-American power and control in the region and upsetting relations with Turkey, necessary to US Middle Eastern strategy.

Coufoudakis explains the relationship of the US and Cyprus in the context of its strategic interests in Europe, the eastern Mediterranean, the Middle East, and central and southwest Asia. The US pursued policies reflecting short-term, ill-defined, strategic interests that distorted the Cyprus problem and did not account for the rights and interests of the Cypriots. The US also considers solutions that include forms of partition for Cyprus so as to satisfy Turkey's demands and to assure Turkey's political and strategic cooperation.<sup>231</sup> As a US Presidential Candidate at the time, in 1992, former President Bill Clinton's following statement confirms the importance of Cyprus to US foreign policy: "... (a) lasting solution to the tragedy of Cyprus... will serve not only the best interests of Cyprus, but also the best interests of all our allies, Greece and Turkey, and above all the best interests of the United States..."<sup>232</sup> In another of his more recent publications, Coufoudakis states that "the events of September 11 shifted many responsibilities for regional security to the EU... (The quest for international stability) is an important issue as Europe continues to confront the question of the purposes of American power and its own role in international affairs".<sup>233</sup> As he suggests, the terrorism events of 2001 make Cyprus even more valuable for US foreign policy and its need to 'monitor' the Middle East.

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<sup>231</sup> E. T. Rossides & V. Coufoudakis, *The United States & Cyprus, Double Standards and the Rule of Law*, American Hellenic Institute Foundation, 2002, p. 183.

<sup>232</sup> E. T. Rossides & V. Coufoudakis, 2002, p. 255.

<sup>233</sup> V. Coufoudakis, 'Cyprus and international politics', essays by Van Coufoudakis, Intercollege Press, 2007, p. 12-13.

In summary, whatever the ethics, morals and international laws may be regarding the Cyprus problem, it is in the interests of the US and Britain in the Middle East which are interfering with any reunification of the Republic of Cyprus for no other reason other than its strategic geopolitical location.

## **Chapter 6 - Modern history of the Republic of Cyprus**

### **6.1 Cyprus under the British (1878 to 1960)**

Cyprus has remained ethnically Greek in its modern history, despite the influence of other cultures. The struggle for peace on the island is far more complex than 'Greek versus Turk' <sup>234</sup> As the late author Christopher Hitchens states in his book *Hostage To History: Cyprus from the Ottomans to Kissinger*, "a legacy of intercommunal tension and distrust had been created by outside powers, and then built into an imposed constitution. Most culpable in this were the British whose crass and occasionally capricious policy had led to the bloodshed and discord in the first place."<sup>235</sup>

The British rule of Cyprus has had a connection with the division of the island nation and the instigation of conflict in Cyprus. Hitchens explains that Archbishop Makarios was correct in stating that "*the agreement (London-Zurich agreements and independence) had created a state but not a nation*". Moreover, Hitchens explains that "*in the post-1960 period the Cyprus problem can be defined as the exploitation by outside powers of intercommunal differences that were genuine in themselves.*"<sup>236</sup> It can be said that this exploitation by external forces has in fact interfered with the independence of the island.

It is important to understand the background of the British influence over Cyprus to appreciate how the island has evolved to its current situation. There are essentially three phases with the colonial phase (1954 to 1959), the period following the breakdown of the republic of Cyprus due to its 'constitution' and the 1974 Turkish invasion.<sup>237</sup> British

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<sup>234</sup> C. Hitchens, *Hostage To History: Cyprus from the Ottomans to Kissinger*, Verso, 1997, p. 51.

<sup>235</sup> C. Hitchens, 1997, p. 50.

<sup>236</sup> C. Hitchens, 1997, p. 51.

<sup>237</sup> M. Vafeiadis, H. Yavuzylmaz, *Cyprus: No man's land*, UN and Humanitarian Governance GVT 668, 14 April 2008, <<https://www.suffolk.edu/.../Hakan.Final.Cyprus.20.Apr.w.Michael.pdf>>. accessed 6 May 2013.

political interests in Cyprus began on 4 June 1878, when Cyprus was placed under British control as part of the Cyprus Convention – granting control of the island to Britain in exchange for British supporting the Ottoman Empire against Russian threats to Turkey’s eastern provinces in the Russian-Turkish War. The British were keen to maintain ties with their Indian and Australian colonies and discerned an alliance with the ruling Sultan would give them administration powers. After 1878 the British rulers of Cyprus continued the Ottoman administration of the island, which was mostly staffed by Turks and Armenians.

In 1903, the British suggested Argentina, Uganda and Cyprus to the Zionist Organisation, founded by Theodor Hertz who was credited with finding a homeland for the Jewish people and re-establishing the political sovereignty of the Jewish people by returning them to their forefather’s land.<sup>238</sup> In 1914, Cyprus was formally annexed by Britain prior to World War I – when Turkey sided with Germany. It needs to be clarified that Cyprus was part of the British Empire from 1914 to 1925 first as administrators in accordance with the Anglo-Ottoman agreement and later as a Crown colony from 1925 (with the island’s annexation during World War I and the formalisation of this action in the Treaty of Lausanne until its independence in 1960. Many Greek Cypriots, regarded as British subjects, fought in the British Army in both World War I and II.

In 16 October 1915, Sir Edward Grey, the British Foreign Secretary, offered *enosis* - that is the union of Cyprus with Greece, but it was rejected by Greece.<sup>239 240</sup> It was offered on the condition that Greece should join the war helping the Serbs who were attacked by Bulgaria. On 27 October 1915 the Greek government leaders Prime Minister Alexandros Zaimis and King Constantine were not prepared to renounce

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<sup>238</sup> F. Massoulie, (Translated by A.Parker), *Middle East Conflicts*, Interlink Illustrated Histories, New York, Chapter 3, Next Year In Jerusalem, p. 53.

<sup>239</sup> J. Jupp, (edit.) *The Australian People An Encyclopedia of the Nation, Its People and Their Origins*, Centre for Immigration and Multicultural Studies Australian National University, Cambridge University press, 2001.

<sup>240</sup> P. N. Vanezis, *Cyprus, The unfinished agony*, London: Abelard-Schuman, 1977, p. 97.

Greece's neutral status and join the war, therefore the offer was not accepted. This British offer to hand over Cyprus to Greece lapsed and on 27 October 1915 the British parliament was informed. At the end of World War I, invading British and Russian forces, and an Arab revolt, had combined to destroy the Ottoman Empire. The Ottoman government collapsed completely in November 1918, and in 1920 signed the Treaty of Sèvres, which included formally acknowledging the British sovereignty over Cyprus. In 1923 Cyprus was annexed by Britain and the Treaty of Lausanne ended the legitimate Turkish claim to the island, that is, Turkey gave up all rights and claims. That year saw the foundation of the Republic of Turkey and the new Turkish Government formally recognising Britain's ownership of Cyprus.

*"Article 21 of the treaty gave the minority Turkish Cypriots on the island the choice of leaving the island completely and living as Turks in Turkey, or staying there as British nationals."*<sup>241</sup>

In 1925 the island became a British crown colony, the Greeks of Cyprus, being the majority of the population, came to supply the bulk of the personnel for the administrative services. Due to educational progress during the British period, the Greek community pulled rapidly ahead of the Turkish community in the proportion of school and university graduates. This was also paralleled in the economic sector.<sup>242</sup> A British Colonial Office minute dated 21 May 1929, concerning British administration of Cyprus, stated that "the presence of the Turkish community is an asset from a political standpoint". Cyprus historian Christopher Hitchens continues with the observation that the British "would always view with favour — and even solicit — a Turkish intrusion,

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<sup>241</sup> The Cyprus Conflict website, <<http://www.cyprus-conflict.net>>, accessed 3 August 2009, edited by John Tirman, a political scientist and executive director of the Center for International Studies at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), USA, contains approximately 130 files, documents, scholarship, commentary, and other resources. References and bibliographies from all works are included in one document in the Resources section.

<sup>242</sup> P. N. Vanezis, 1977, p. 20.

because this would counterbalance the demands of the anti-colonial majority”.

On 15 May, 1946, the House of Commons stated that Cyprus consider taking about 13,000 of the 100,000 Jewish refugees to settle, but Cyprus felt that an influx of refugees, if granted citizenship on the island, might lead to a weakening of the Greek majority. Cyprus however responded to the “Palestine Report” with assistance between 1946 and 1948. About 51,000 Jewish immigrants passed through the Cyprus detention camps in the villages of Karaolos and Xylotymbou.<sup>243</sup>

On 3 October 1948 there was a large-scale demonstration held in Nicosia favouring *enosis*, which annoyed the National Popular Party of Turkish Cypriots (the predecessor of the “Cyprus is Turkish Party”, “Kibris Turktur Partii”) resulting in riots in Ankara. This was good news for KATAK – the Association of the Turkish Minority in Cyprus – which demanded that Britain relinquish sovereignty and the island should go back to Turkey.<sup>244</sup>

## **6.2 Cyprus’ struggle for independence**

Throughout the 1940s and 1950s, Greek Cypriots were keen on union with Greece (*enosis*) and held referenda in support of annexation, while the British attempted to suppress and end any action which was threatening their possession of the island.

In 1950 a petition was held in churches for *enosis* and on 1 April, 1951, the EOKA (*Ethniki Organosis Kypriou Agoniston*, the National Organisation of Cypriot Fighters) activities were initiated by the first bomb under the orders of Greek Foreign Affairs Minister Stephanos C. Stephanopoulos. These activities were not the official beginning of EOKA activities but the early stages of formation of the group. On 2 July, 1952,

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<sup>243</sup> S. Panteli, *The Making of Modern Cyprus – From obscurity to statehood*. UK: Interworld Publications, 1990.

<sup>244</sup> S. Panteli.



the first EOKA secret talks as a nationalist organisation were established under the chairmanship of Archbishop Makarios in Athens. On 7 March, 1953, a “Council of Revolution” was established and in 1954 secret weapons were shipped to Cyprus. This was the origin of the guerrilla war for union with Greece, whereby Greek Cypriot nationalists started to fight for *enosis*. This internal Cypriot strife did not diminish British interests in maintaining control over Cyprus, but rather caused division between the Greek and Turkish populations that was to scar Cyprus in perpetuity.

Cypriot-born General George Grivas, who headed EOKA (mainly a right-wing nationalist-led movement) was a Colonel in the Greek army who arrived in Cyprus on 9 November, 1954. He was better known as Grivas Digenis – after the Byzantine legend Digenis Akritas who forced invaders from the Byzantine Empire during the middle ages. Grivas commanded the guerrilla army by accelerating the struggle and intercommunal clashes, which became more violent. The EOKA military campaign officially began on 1 April, 1955 and targeted the British military, and on a smaller scale Turkish Cypriots and leftist Greeks. Britain made attempts to limit Cypriot representation with the colonial administration. The first assaults on Turks were on 19 June 1955.<sup>245</sup> On 20 August, 1955, Greece submitted a petition to the UN asking for the self-determination of the Cyprus people. The British colonial Government of Cyprus enforced the anti-sedition laws for the purpose of preventing or suppressing demonstrations for freedom. Makarios defied them. In October 1955, British Governor Sir John Harding started discussions about the island’s future.

*“This was synchronised with a Turkish government orchestrated campaign to exterminate the indigenous Greeks of Asia-Minor and Istanbul. In 1956 negotiations were held for self-government which led to the political leader*

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<sup>245</sup> N. Crawshaw, *The Cyprus Revolt: An Account of the Struggle for Union with Greece*, Allen and Unwin, London, 1978, pp. 114–29, <[http://www.cyprus-conflict.net/outbreak\\_of\\_violence%20-%20'55.html](http://www.cyprus-conflict.net/outbreak_of_violence%20-%20'55.html)>, accessed 2 April 2015.

*Archbishop Makarios III being deported and violence worsened. EOKA violent attacks target police, Greek Cypriots as well as British civilians.*

*On 9 March, 1956 Makarios was exiled by the British to Seychelles for a year, after he was identified as being closely linked with the insurgency. He went to Athens and continued to work for enosis and attended the UN General Assembly to negotiate independence. In November 1957 the Turkish Resistance Organization (Turk Mukavemet Teskilati, or TMT Terrorist Organisation) was formed by Rauf Denktash, and was funded and trained by Turkey.”<sup>246</sup>*

EOKA was supported by the Greek Government with arms and money. The British eventually responded to the uprising by taking a tougher approach to security by increasing troop numbers on the island and the death penalty for a range of offences. The archbishop (Makarios) remained determined to pursue *enosis* at all costs, and the British was unwilling to leave, primarily for its own strategic reasons ...<sup>247</sup> During that phase more than 30,000 British troops were assigned to combat EOKA fighters, and clashes claimed the lives of 104 British military, 90 insurgents, 50 policemen and 238 civilians.

In 1958 intercommunal clashes broke out between the Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots as Turkey feared the island would become Hellenic. At this stage the Turkish Cypriot community referred to the idea of “Taksim”, the Turkish word for partition, to overcome the idea of *enosis*, union with Greece. Moreover, the involvement of the US in the Cyprus dispute included a proposed negotiation by Dean Acheson, the Secretary of State during the Truman administration, who proposed the Acheson Plan for the partition of Cyprus in August 1964 — which would have divided Cyprus between Turkey and Greece.<sup>248</sup>

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<sup>246</sup> Hellenic Resources Institute, “Denktash admits establishing the TMT”, Hellenic Resources Institute website, <<http://www.hri.org/news/cyprus/tcpr/1999/99-05-19.tcpr.html#03>>, accessed 6 December 2010.

<sup>247</sup> J.Ker-Lindsay, *The Cyprus problem: what everyone needs to know*, Oxford University Press, 2011, p. 23.

<sup>248</sup> K. Philippos, 'Cyprus: ', Conference Paper. Second Annual Socrates Kokkalis Graduate Student Workshop on Southeastern and East-Central Europe at Harvard University, Cambridge, 2000, MA, p. 31.

A cease-fire was declared in December, 1958. This led to the Zurich Agreement as a basis for an independence deal. The treaties of independence which *inter alia*, formed the constitution, further complicated relations between Greeks and Turks. Negotiated by mainland Greece, Turkey, and the UK, each of these powers were allocated, *inter alia*, a right of intervention in the internal affairs of Cyprus “to restore the constitutional *status quo*”. However, a separate clause prohibited partition of the island or union with either Greece or Turkey.<sup>249</sup>

On 11 February, 1959 a conference in Zurich ended with an agreement between Greece and Turkey on a settlement plan and on 19 February 1959, a conference in London followed. Makarios was invited to London to assist with the plan. He initially resisted and was firm on the *enosis* direction for Cyprus. The Zurich and London Agreements drafted a constitution. On 1 March, 1959 Makarios returned to Cyprus and on 13 December, 1959, Makarios defeated lawyer John Klerides — the father of future President Glafkos Klerides — in the first presidential elections by two-thirds of the vote. In 1959, a meeting between Greek and Turkish foreign ministers was held to draft the treaties for independence of Cyprus — the three treaties — the Treaty of Establishment, the Treaty of Guarantee and the Treaty of Alliance. These treaties offered limited independence and allowed for Greek and Turkish troops to be stationed on the island. It is also important to note that the Cypriot people themselves were not included in the decision-making process of the London-Zurich Agreements – it was a product of negotiations between Britain, Turkey and Greece.<sup>250</sup>

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<sup>249</sup> A. Cobb, Background Paper 17 1997-98 Cyprus 1998: Crisis or Stagnation? Canberra: Australia. Dept. of the Parliamentary Library. Information and Research Services, 1998,  
<[http://www.aph.gov.au/About\\_Parliament/Parliamentary\\_Departments/Parliamentary\\_Library/Publications\\_Archive/Background\\_Papers/bp9798/98bp17](http://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/Publications_Archive/Background_Papers/bp9798/98bp17)>, Appendix 1: Historical Background Post-war independence and emerging divisions, accessed 10 February 2010.

<sup>250</sup> K. Tofallis, A history of Cyprus: From the Ancient times to the Present, An illustrated History, The Greek Institute publications, 2002, p.159.

Furthermore, Britain acknowledged Cyprus's ongoing strategic importance and a condition of the independence treaties ensured that the British were able to maintain their own military bases and have two Sovereign Base Areas encompassing some 2.8 per cent of the land mass.<sup>251</sup> After gaining independence from the UK, on 15 August, 1960, Cyprus was formally proclaimed an independent republic with a presidential style of government. Vanezis makes it clear that Cyprus was the only territory of the former British Empire which failed to gain complete self-determination, suggesting that this is a "reflection on its geographical position."<sup>252</sup>

Greek Cypriot Makarios was the first president governing under the new constitution and Turkish Cypriot, chairman of the Kibris Turktur Parti, Dr Fazil Kutchuk, was the vice-president, both elected for a five-year term. Britain remained as a colonial power. The constitution negotiated and allocated government posts and public offices by ethnic quota. It was this controversial 1959 London-Zurich agreements that instigated a period of post-independence intercommunal conflict which eventually led to the 1974 Turkish invasion.<sup>253</sup> The simple fact that under the independence agreement for the Republic of Cyprus, the UK retained an entitlement to lease two coastal areas in the southern parts of the island, the UK Sovereign Base Areas used as military bases of Akrotiri and Dhekelia, demonstrates that Britain has had a significant influence over the development of the Republic of Cyprus.<sup>254</sup> The British also have a GCHQ (Government Communications Headquarters) listening post on the Troodos Mountains to eavesdrop on the Middle East and Russia.<sup>255</sup>

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<sup>251</sup> A. Cobb, 1998.

<sup>252</sup> P. N. Vanezis, 1977, p. 51.

<sup>253</sup> C.Hitchens, 1997, p. 50.

<sup>254</sup> M.S.Michael, and A.Tamis, (eds), Cyprus in the Modern World, Thessaloniki, Vanis Press, 2005, p. 22.

<sup>255</sup> Treaty concerning the Establishment of the Republic of Cyprus, Nicosia, Treaty Series No. 4 (1961), 16 August, 1960  
<[http://www.sbaadministration.org/images/admin/docs/SBAA\\_Treaty\\_of\\_Establiment.pdf](http://www.sbaadministration.org/images/admin/docs/SBAA_Treaty_of_Establiment.pdf)>, accessed 10 September 2015.

### **6.3 Summary of the constitution**

The London-Zurich Agreement, which established an independent sovereign Cyprus, that is the Constitution of the Republic, stated that 70 per cent of members of the House of Representatives would be Greek Cypriots and 30 per cent Turkish Cypriots. In the army and civil service the ratio had to be 60 per cent Greek Cypriots to 40 per cent Turkish Cypriots. Another essential element of the Republic of Cyprus constitution was the 1960 Treaty of Guarantee, whereby under this agreement Greece, Turkey and the UK became guarantor powers of the Republic of Cyprus.<sup>256</sup>

The Constitution, under the Agreements, divided the people into two communities on the basis of ethnic origin and the Turkish Cypriot minority was given rights disproportionate to its size. The President had to be a Greek Cypriot elected by the Greek Cypriots, and the Vice-President a Turkish Cypriot elected by the Turkish Cypriots. The Vice-President was granted the right of a final veto on fundamental laws passed by the House of Representatives and on decisions of the Council of Ministers which was composed of 10 ministers, three of whom had to be Turkish Cypriots (although they were only 18 per cent of the population) and be nominated for appointment by the Vice-President. The Turkish Cypriot Vice President had an absolute veto on defence and foreign policy issues and, provided they were supported by a majority of the Turkish Cypriot members of the legislature, a veto on fiscal matters as well.<sup>257</sup>

In the House of Representatives, the Turkish Cypriots were elected separately by their own community. The House had no power to modify the Constitution in any respect in so far as it concerned its basic articles and any other modification required a majority of two-thirds of both the

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<sup>256</sup> P. N. Vanezis, Cyprus: *Crime Without Punishment*. Hong Kong: Regal Printing, 1997, p. 195.

<sup>257</sup> H. Kissinger, *Henry Kissinger Years of Renewal*. Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London, 1999, 'Chapter 7, Cyprus, a Case Study in Ethnic Conflict,' p. 225.

Greek Cypriot and the Turkish Cypriot members. Any modification of the Electoral Law and the adoption of any law relating to municipalities or any fiscal laws required separate simple majorities of the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot members of the House. Thus eight Turkish Cypriot members of the House could defeat a bill voted for by 35 Greek Cypriot members and seven Turkish Cypriot members. In fact in 1963, when the fiscal laws according to Article 78 of the Constitution expired, the 15 Turkish Cypriot members defeated an income tax bill voted by the 35 Greek members, thus depriving the state of one of its main sources of income.<sup>258</sup>

On 16 August, in 1960, the Union flag was lowered in Cyprus, as the country was pursuing a policy of non-alignment and became a founding member of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) despite the three guarantor powers – Greece, Turkey and the UK – being members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO). To safeguard and “protect” Turkish Cypriots, aside from the 30 per cent of parliament having to be Turkish Cypriot, there had to also be a creation of separate local municipalities and to have Greek and Turkish Cypriots manage their own towns. This was never implemented.<sup>259</sup> In March 1961, Cyprus became a member of the Commonwealth of Nations. In November 1963, Makarios submitted proposals — Thirteen Amendments — to Vice-President Dr Fazil Kutchuk to revise the 1960 constitution, which was rejected by Turkish Cypriots, as it positioned their status as a minority, instead of co-founders of the island republic. The changes were seen as a progression towards a union with Greece. The changes would free up many public offices from the ethnic restrictions agreed in the London-Zurich Agreement. Makarios saw this as bringing the Greek and Turkish communities together. The Thirteen Amendments were also rejected by Turkey and many Turkish

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<sup>258</sup> Cyprus, Ministry to the President, Press and Information Office. ‘Chapter 2. Zurich and London Agreements - The Constitution - The Treaties’ in *The Cyprus problem: historical review and the latest developments*. Cyprus: Press and Information Office, 1993, <[http://www.kypros.org/Cyprus\\_Problem/p\\_zurich.html](http://www.kypros.org/Cyprus_Problem/p_zurich.html)>, accessed 10 September 2015.

<sup>259</sup> The Cyprus Conflict website, The Cyprus Conflict –Modern History – Overview, <<http://www.cyprus-conflict.net>>.

Cypriots moved out of ethnically mixed areas.<sup>260</sup> On 21 December, in 1963, intercommunal violence began leading to a period of unrest and many clashes between the two communities. The 1963 crisis exposed the weak aspects of the constitution and the treaties that established the Republic of Cyprus. The Turkish Cypriots withdrew from the government. The British intervened from their Sovereign Base Areas and formed the “Green-Line” claiming to attempt to separate the clashing parties. The fighting left 191 Turkish and 133 Greek Cypriots dead and 173 Turks and 41 Greeks missing.<sup>261</sup> This prompted intervention by the UN.

By 27 March, 1964 the UN forces were operational in Cyprus. Turkish Cypriots fled after violence and Turkey threatened invasion. On 21 April 1967 a group of colonels overthrew the elected government in Greece. The military coup in Athens occurred when Colonel George Papadopoulos seized power from a democratically elected government. Working against the Makarios leadership were many officers of the Cypriot National Guard who were Greek nationalists in support of the junta, and who wanted him removed and to achieve *enosis*. In February 1968 elections were held and Makarios won about 96 per cent of votes (220,911 votes).

The independence of the island was once again dictated by external intervention that prevented the union between Cyprus and Greece, prompting a further wave of *enosis* struggle. In 1971 EOKA-B formed and was supported by the ruling Greek junta military regime that had taken power in 1967. Grivas returned in September 1971 to react against President Makarios’ diverging from the *enosis* policy and he attempted to overthrow Makarios. It should be clearly defined that there is a distinction between EOKA and EOKA-B. EOKA-B was a Greek Cypriot right-wing pro-*enosis* parliamentary organisation, which attacked Greek Cypriot socialists and supporters of independence and was not as

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<sup>260</sup> P. N. Vanezis, *Makarios: Life and leadership*. London: Abelard-Schuman, 1979, p. 59.

<sup>261</sup> R. A. Patrick, *Political Geography and the Cyprus Conflict, 1963-1971*, ‘Chapter Three - The Most Violent Period: 21 December 1963 -10 August 1964’ <<http://www.cypriot-conflict.net/Patrick-chp%203.html>>. Canadian scholar Richard A. Patrick was an officer in UNFICYP in the late 1960s, accessed 5 June 2010.

popular as EOKA of 1955 and 1959, who fought as freedom fighters against the British colonialists. Grivas died of a heart attack on 27 January, 1974 and the new leadership was controlled by the military junta of Athens.

In November 1973, Brigadier Dimitris Ioannides, who had previously been head of the Greek military police, seized power from Papadopoulos in Athens. On 17 November, 1973 after the student uprising in Athens a second coup occurred in Athens replacing the original Greek junta. The acting head of Greece was General Phaedon Gizikis. In 1974, the Greek junta ruled the EOKA-B group and there was an agreement of a proposal for autonomy. Turkish Prime Minister Ecevit favoured federation. Despite the death of Grivas in January 1974 the *enosis* campaign continued.

On 3 May, 1974, Makarios sent the Greek Government a letter identifying Greek military officers stationed in Cyprus as undermining the Republic of Cyprus Government. The Greek regime responded that it would replace the officers. On 2 July, 1974, Makarios reacted by demanding the withdrawal of all Greek officers from the island republic. It is claimed he wrote a letter to President Gizikis complaining that the Greek military regime supported the activities of EOKA-B.

The Greek Government's reply was to order the "go-ahead" to the conspiracy and on 15 July 1974 sections of the Cypriot National Guard, led by its Greek officers, overthrew the Greek Government. On 15 July 1974, the National Guard, led by Greek officers, overthrew the Makarios Government. There were 3000 British troops on the Sovereign Base Areas at the time. The dissatisfied Greek national right-wing was in favour of *enosis* with Greece and this is what provoked the coup d'état against President Makarios. This was sponsored by the military government of Greece and was led by the Cypriot National Guard. The Greek junta supported the EOKA-B coup against Makarios, which was led by Nicos Sampson – a Cypriot newspaper editor and politician. Makarios survived the assassination attempt and via Paphos, fled to London. Nikos



Sampson became president. These illegal actions were met with the illegal Turkish military occupation on 20 July, 1974. The pro-Athens coup installed Sampson, who formed a government and took over the power. Seven days after the pro-Athens coup the Republic of Turkey used the pretext of the Republic of Cyprus coup against President Makarios, to invade the island republic, claiming that the Turkish Cypriots were suspicious of *enosis* and *taksim* by the Greek Cypriots and needed to be protected. This invasion partitioned Cyprus with the Turkish Cypriot area now constituting 37 per cent of the island, and was a violation of the UN Charter and of the principles of international law. It resulted in the displacement of about 200,000 Greek Cypriots and about 40,000 Turkish Cypriots. The three guarantor powers tried to restore peace however the failed negotiations led to a second Turkish military operation on 14 August 1974. In February 1975 the Turkish government illegally declared and established the 'Turkish Federated State of Cyprus' and on 15 November 1983 declared its independence with the establishment of the 'Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC)'. <sup>262</sup>

Overall, the social consequence of the invasion was the displacement of about 200,000 Greek Cypriots – which was 40 per cent of the total Greek population. Greek Cypriot refugees lived in a total of 142 villages, towns and cities, where 93 villages and seven towns were exclusively Greek. There were thirty-seven villages, three towns and two cities with a mixed population of Greek and Turkish Cypriots. In 27 of these villages there were mixed populations, with more than 75 per cent of the population being Greek. Before the invasion there were 50 villages inhabited exclusively by Turkish Cypriots.<sup>263</sup> In the aftermath of the invasion, it is estimated that between 40,000 and 51,000 Turkish Cypriots from the south transferred to the north. These refugees were living in camps. The

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<sup>262</sup> M. Vafeiadis, H.Yavuzylmaz, 2008, p. 8.

<sup>263</sup> C. P. Ioannides, In Turkey's Image The transformation of Occupied Cyprus into a Turkish Province, Published in New Rochelle, New York, Aristide D. Caratzas, 1991, p. 40.

1974 occupation by the Turkish troops resulted in about 142,000 to 200,000 Greek Cypriots fleeing from their homes and becoming refugees.

On 1 August 1975 an agreement was reached at the Vienna Talks to transfer about 9000 Turkish Cypriots to the north of Cyprus and that 10,000 Greek Cypriots would be allowed to stay in the northern occupied Turkish zone.<sup>264</sup> On 20 November 1975 the General Assembly of the UN voted on UN RESOLUTION 3395 (XXX) by in favour, one against, (Turkey) and 9 abstentions, demanding the withdrawal of the Turkish troops from Cyprus and the return of all refugees. On 1 May, 2004 the Republic of Cyprus became a full member nation of the EU. Cyprus left the Non-Aligned Movement (N-AM) when it joined the EU. The EU accession is also expected to have an impact on the efforts to reach a settlement to the division of Cyprus.

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<sup>264</sup> P. Vanezis, 1997, p. 272.

## **6.4 Political developments and possible future outlook for peace**

In this section I explore the future of Cyprus and the many attempts at finding peace for this small EU island nation. Its aim is to give a brief context to the overall issue of conflict in Cyprus politics and the search for finding peace. After decades of unsuccessful peace talks to bring the Republic of Cyprus together as one nation, a ‘serious’ attempt was made through the Annan Plan (Annan-V), the United Nations (UN) peace proposal named after the UN’s Secretary General Kofi Annan. The original version of this Plan was presented on 11 November 2002 and was amended five times before the final version was presented on 31 March 2004. The fifth version of the Plan was put to separate referenda on April 24, 2004. The results were 76 per cent of Greek Cypriots rejecting the Plan and 65 per cent of Turkish Cypriots in favour.

Below is an example of the complexities of this UN proposed plan to reunify Cyprus as a United Cyprus Republic with the creation of the Annan Plan (Annan-V). <sup>265</sup>

*It proposed a new co-federation nation of two ethnic “component states” – the Greek Cypriot state and the Turkish Cypriot state united by a central federal government, based on the Swiss co-federal model. In summary, it stated that only co-habiting the island would lead to a solution. There would be one seat in the UN and a common currency. The original version was presented to the Greek and Turkish sides on 11 November 2002. The Plan was amended five times, with the final version and changes presented on 31 March 2004.*

*...this United state, which would become the United Cyprus Republic, would be a “federation” composed of two component states. The southern Greek Cypriot constituent state would have 71.5 per cent of the island and the northern Turkish Cypriot constituent state the 28.5 per cent, that is, that Turkey return just 9 per cent of the occupied land, from 37 per cent to 28 per cent. Each of the states would have individual parliaments — a bicameral parliament of a federal level. The Senate would consist of equal members of each ethnic group and executive power*

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<sup>265</sup> United Nations Security Council. *Basis for a comprehensive settlement of the Cyprus problem* (Revision 26 February 2003).  
<[http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/library/report/2004/annan-cyprus-problem\\_maps\\_26feb03.pdf](http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/library/report/2004/annan-cyprus-problem_maps_26feb03.pdf)>, accessed 5 July 2009.

*would be vested in a presidential council, with the chairperson rotated between the two communities. Each community would have the right to veto all legislation presented. In the Chamber of Deputies the Turkish Cypriots would have 25 per cent of the seats. This compares to 20 per cent at independence in 1960 – the split between the two communities then was about the ration 80:20 of Greek Cypriots: Turkish Cypriots.*<sup>266</sup>

Claire Palley noted in her analysis of the Annan Plan that “Greek Cypriots believe in principles of justice, and, although willing to reach compromises, would not agree to a settlement which they considered was blatantly unjust, uncertain of application and full of grave risks for the future”.<sup>267</sup>

In summary, the new United Cyprus Republic would include: A collective Presidential Council, made up of six voting members, allocated according to population; a President and Vice President, chosen by the Presidential Council from among its members, one from each community, to alternate in their functions every 20 months during the council’s five-year term of office; bicameral legislature: A Senate (upper house), with 48 members, divided 24:24 between the two communities. A Chamber of Deputies (lower house), with forty-eight members, divided in proportion to the two communities’ populations (with no fewer than twelve for the smaller community); A Supreme Court composed of equal numbers of Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot judges, plus three foreign judges; to be appointed by the Presidential Council. The Turkish Cypriot controlled territory would be reduced to 28.5 per cent from 37 per cent and a Greek Cypriot administrated area would be created in the Karpass Peninsula. Of the 200,000 Greek Cypriot refugees, about 90,000 would be allowed to return to their homes.<sup>268 269</sup>

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<sup>266</sup> A. Stylianou, *Greek Cypriot Diaspora in Australia, Their involvement in the justice process for Cyprus*, LAP Lambert Academic Publishing, UK, 2008, p. 90.

<sup>267</sup> C. Palley., *An International Relations Debacle: The UN Secretary-General’s Mission of Good Office in Cyprus 1999-2004*, Hart Publishing, 2005, p. 237.

<sup>268</sup> A. Stylianou, pp. 90–91.

<sup>269</sup> United Nations Security Council. *Basis for a comprehensive settlement of the Cyprus problem*.

Another round of UN sponsored talks began on 21 March 2008 between the then President of Cyprus Dimitris Christofias and the “TRNC” President Mehmet Ali Talat under the authority of the new UN Representative, former Australian Foreign Affairs Minister Alexander Downer. These talks were intending to bring back the “Annan Plan” (Annan-V), despite it being rejected by the Greek Cypriots in the 2004 referendum. The substance of the proposed solution was much the same. The peace negotiations are without doubt challenging as there are many problems to confront, such as unimplemented unanimous UN Security Council resolutions and continuing Turkish violations of international law.

As part of the peace talks, six working groups were established: governance and power sharing, property, territory, economic affairs, EU Affairs and Security and Guarantees.<sup>270</sup> Some of the ‘promises’ made by former President Christofias included 50,000 Turkish settlers could remain in Cyprus<sup>271</sup>; he agreed to the Turkish demand for a rotational presidency, and that the property issue be resolved through a political negotiation process rather than through any legal means via court negotiations and property settlement offers. The peace talks also mentioned a proposed “bizonal, bicomunal federation” however the real case was that the proposal was for a confederation of two “constituent states”. During the last phase of the negotiations before the five-year presidency of Christofias ended, the much publicised meeting between Greek and Turkish Cypriots took place in Greek Tree Estate, Long Island, New York on 30 and 31 October in the presence of UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon. The two parties did not come to an agreement on any key points on the topics of property, territory, citizenship, governance and power-sharing. Following the presidential elections in the Republic of Cyprus, the new President Nicos Anastasiades first met Mr Downer on 30

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<sup>270</sup> A. Sozen, ‘Heading towards the defining moment in Cyprus: Public opinion Vs Realities on the ground’, *Insight Turkey*, Vol. 14/No. 1, 2012, p. 128.

<sup>271</sup> S. Cuco, Report on the demographic structure of the Cypriot communities, section on ‘The problem of settlers from Turkey’, Press and Information Office, Republic of Cyprus, 2000, p. 35.

July 2013 to discuss the resumption of the talks in October 2013. The Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots each appointed special representatives for the talks: Andreas Mavroyiannis and Osman Ertug respectively. It should be noted that the US has been instrumental in framing the reunification and peace plans.

Moreover, recent opinion polls show that while people from both communities want peace, they are sceptical about a potentially successful negotiation process that would reach a lasting agreement. The recent tension in the Mediterranean region between Turkey and Israel and Greece/Cyprus due to the oil and gas exploration opportunities has added yet another variable to the difficult situation of Cyprus politics.<sup>272</sup>

Furthermore, other issues which have an impact on these very delicate talks include the 2013 Gezi Park protests and the increasing authoritarianism of the Turkish government; Turkey's ongoing EU evaluation for accession as an EU full member, with the negotiations having begun back in 2005; the direct trade between the occupied northern Cyprus and EU member nations; and the ongoing and implied threat of the potential recognition of the "TRNC". Additionally, issues between the Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots include outside interventions and external influences, such as the UK and US having specific interests in Cyprus, differing political opinions between specific leaders and the policies of their parties, and the overall main concerns of losing or gaining authority and power in Cyprus and how it is important in keeping a balance of power on the island nation. Turkey's policy on Cyprus has not changed over the decades, and the intransigence of the Republic of Turkey on the Cyprus issue seems to have been enhanced over the years particularly under the leadership of the Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's government.

Moreover, Turkey must acknowledge their past human rights atrocities, as Clark University's Professor of History Professor Taner Akcam

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<sup>272</sup> A. Sozen, 2012, p. 124.

suggested in a *New York Times* column, whereby he stated that if Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan publicly denounced and condemned the Syrian government's massacres of civilians as "attempted genocide" it is hypocritical unless Turkey acknowledges the brutal violence, population transfers and genocide which underlie the modern Turkish state. If Turkey continues to deny crimes committed against non-Turks in the early 1900s under the later part of the Ottoman Empire, its "call for freedom, justice and humanitarian values will ring false". Furthermore, Professor Akcam stated that documents from the Ottoman government, once classified as top secret, "clearly demonstrate that Ottoman demographic policy from 1913 to 1918 was genocidal". Britain, France and Russia initially defined Ottoman atrocities as "crimes against Christianity" but later substituted it with "humanity" as a legal term (first used on 24 May, 1915) in response to the genocide against Armenians and other Christian civilians.<sup>273</sup>

Nevertheless, there are reasons to be hopeful for the potential peace and unification of the Republic of Cyprus. One current development concerns the discovery of natural gas. This has changed the geopolitical landscape of the region, with Israel and Cyprus becoming allies. In August 2013, the energy ministers of Cyprus, Greece and Israel signed a first-ever Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) between the three countries on cooperation in the fields of energy and water.<sup>274</sup> This development is a giant step forward. It is important to note that Israel and Turkey were once strong allies but their relations were frozen over incidents in the region between 2008 and 2010.

*Turkey used to be Israel's closest ally in the region and its most important partner in the Muslim world. But relations began to sour over Israel's three-week offensive against the Hamas militant group controlling Gaza in the winter of 2008-9, which*

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<sup>273</sup> T. Akcam, 'Turkey's Human Rights Hypocrisy', *New York Times*, 19 July 2012, <<http://www.nytimes.com/2012/07/20/opinion/turkeys-human-rights-hypocrisy.html>>, accessed 11 October 2012.

<sup>274</sup> S. Evripidou, 'Lifting Cyprus' energy isolation', *Cyprus Mail*, 9 August 2013, <<http://cyprus-mail.com/2013/08/09/lifting-cyprus-energy-isolation/>>, accessed 6 March 2015.

*came after years of rocket fire by Gaza militants against southern Israel. Up to 1,400 Palestinians were killed during the campaign, hundreds of them civilians, and the prime minister of Turkey, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, accused Israel of attempted genocide.*

*The strategic partnership plummeted further in May 2010 when eight Turks and an American of Turkish descent were killed after Israeli commandos met resistance aboard a vessel seeking to break the Israeli naval blockade of Gaza. Turkey sharply downgraded its diplomatic and military ties with Israel in September 2011, angrily expelling the Israeli ambassador after Israel refused to apologize.* <sup>275</sup>

While relations between the two countries are improving, they will not be as warm as they once were; and as Cyprus gets closer to Israel the political scene in the area will be followed with much interest by the powerful nations with interests in this geographical region. It is not unreasonable to postulate that the reunification of Cyprus is more likely than a lasting Israeli-Arab peace at this point.

*From an international perspective, the Cyprus conflict needs to be resolved, for in its over forty-year stalemate, the conflict not only weakens the credibility of the international community to deal with intra-state conflicts, which have gradually replaced the Cold War's ideological clashes as the principal sources of post-Cold War conflicts, but also intensifies the pessimistic belief that two ethnic communities cannot co-exist under a single state. Certainly, this does not fit the optimistic agenda of the "new world order" of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.* <sup>276</sup>

It is clear that the UN is eager for a peaceful solution to be reached, as displayed via their Annan Plan efforts; however, external pressure will not assist as it must be achieved via internal efforts. Third parties such as the UN and EU can assist in facilitating communications however internal dynamics will be the only way forward. It should be noted that the UN has been successful in keeping the peace by deploying UN

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<sup>275</sup> I. Kershner, 'Israel and Turkey in Talks Over Deadly Flotilla Raid', *New York Times*, 6 May 2013, <<http://www.nytimes.com/2013/05/07/world/middleeast/israel-and-turkey-talk-compensation-in-flotilla-raid.html>>, accessed 5 May 2015.

<sup>276</sup> M. Yilmaz, 'The Cyprus Conflict And The Question Of Identity', *Turkish Weekly newspaper*, 7 September 2006, <<http://www.turkishweekly.net/articles.php?id=144>>, accessed 10 October 2009.



peacekeeping forces for more than 40 years and in pressuring for negotiations between the respective Greek and Turkish Cypriot sides. The US Congress has also continued to maintain an interest in Cyprus as the peace and negotiation process continues to effect relations between the US and Turkey, Turkey and the EU, Turkey and Greece, the EU, NATO.<sup>277</sup> Moreover, the US has taken an active part in keeping informed and is ready to react and prevent any outbreaks of conflict in the area as has the UN and European governments, for example in openly supporting Turkey's EU membership aspirations. In Cyprus the US Embassy has supported private exchanges and has a unique Office of BiCommunal Affairs.<sup>278</sup>

In May 2013 the Australian Government announced that the Australian Federal Police (AFP) officers will continue their work supporting the United Nations Force in Cyprus (UNICYP) through a commitment of 15 police officers.

*This contribution means Australia is providing the largest component of the United Nations Police (UNPOL) contingent to Cyprus. To date, 101 police deployments have deployed to Cyprus totalling over 1,574 officers.*<sup>279</sup>

The current President of the Republic of Cyprus Nicos Anastasiades resumed talks in May 2015 with the recently elected Turkish Cypriot leader, Mustafa Akinci, under the UN mediator UN envoy Espen Barth

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<sup>277</sup> V. Morelli, *Cyprus: Reunification Proving Elusive*. United States Congressional Research Service, 26 July 2011, <<http://www.refworld.org/docid/4e54e9892.html>> accessed 2 September 2010.

<sup>278</sup> M. James Wilkinson, 'Moving Beyond Conflict Prevention to Reconciliation Tackling Greek-Turkish Hostility'. *Report to the Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict*. New York: Carnegie Corporation, 1999, <<http://web.archive.org/web/20011123225359/www.ccpdc.org/pubs/wilk/wilkfr.htm>> accessed 10 November 2013.

<sup>279</sup> National Daily Headlines, CCH Parliament, Australian Parliament House - Issue 89 of 2013, 16 May 2013 p. 26., also at Public Service News. AFP continues Cyprus mission, 14 May 2013, <[http://www.psnews.com.au/Page\\_psn36118.html](http://www.psnews.com.au/Page_psn36118.html)>, accessed 23 April 2015.

Eide, once again raising hopes of reaching some form of reunification for the island nation.<sup>280</sup>

Furthermore it is worth briefly noting that aside from the UN peace talks over the decades, individual Cypriots have been looking for their own justice through courts, the European Court of Human rights (ECtHR) being the main legal body where refugees are turning to for their justice. There have been high profile cases filed by Cypriots who seek their human rights, through the ECtHR court system, including the *Loizidou Vs Turkey* case which was filed on 22 July, 1989 by Mrs Titina Loizidou. Turkey conditionally accepted the 1998 ECtHR ruling to pay damages to Loizidou however Turkish officials said they would pay the damages only if it was not considered a precedent and if 3000 similar cases by other Greek Cypriot refugees were withdrawn:

*The Cyprus Mail published an article by Stefanos Evripidou on Wednesday, 3 December, 2003, stating that Turkey finally paid Mrs Loizidou on 2 December 2003:*

*Turkey yesterday finally handed over the €1.2million owed to Titina Loizidou as compensation for the violation of her right to peaceful enjoyment of her property in occupied Kyrenia.* <sup>281</sup>

Following the ruling of one of the ECtHR cases, specifically the *Demopoulos vs. Turkey* case, and seven other cases, on 5 March 2010, the Court upheld that the “TRNC” Immovable Property Commission (IPC) in North Cyprus was an easily accessible and effective way for refugees to make claims in relation to the issue of property losses in the occupied territory of North Cyprus. The IPC was established in December 2005 under ‘TRNC’: Law 67/2005, with the aim to award Greek Cypriot applicants compensation, restitution and/or exchange of property for theirs which exists in northern Cyprus:

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<sup>280</sup> Cyprus peace talks resume amid 'climate of optimism' – UN, 15 May, 2015  
<<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-32734971>>, accessed 19 September 2015.

<sup>281</sup> A. Stylianou, p. 99.

20. On 1 March 2010 the Grand Chamber of the European Court of Human Rights decided as to the admissibility of the application *Demopoulos v. Turkey* and seven other cases, wherein the applicants claimed to have been deprived of their property rights following the 1974 Turkish intervention in northern Cyprus. The Grand Chamber concluded that Law 67/2005 of December 2005, according to which all natural and legal persons claiming rights to immovable or movable property could bring a claim before the Immovable Property Commission (IPC), “provides an accessible and effective framework of redress in respect of complaints about interference with the property owned by Greek Cypriots”. As the applicants had not made use of this mechanism, their complaints under article 1 of Protocol No. 1 (protection of property) to the ECTHR were rejected for non-exhaustion of domestic remedies.

21. The Court stressed that notwithstanding the fact that the IPC was recognized as a domestic remedy for cases involving Greek Cypriot properties in the north, its decision in this case was not to be interpreted as an obligation to make use of the IPC; the claimants could choose to await a political solution. However, if applicants wished to lodge an application before the Court, its admissibility would be decided in line with the present principles<sup>282</sup>

The ECtHR described the IPC as: An appropriate domestic body, with access to the properties, registries and records, is clearly the more appropriate forum for deciding on complex matters of property ownership and valuation and assessing financial compensation.<sup>283</sup>

To summarise how seriously Greek Cypriot refugees are taking the IPC, it is worth briefly looking at the number of applications it has received from refugees seeking some form of compensation/restitution for their property loss. It is claimed in Greek Cypriot media that between July 2012 and January 2013 there were about a thousand applicants in that

<sup>282</sup> Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights. Report of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights on the question of human rights in Cyprus, Human Rights Council, Sixteenth session, Agenda item 2, Annual report of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, General Assembly 7 January 2011, C. Property rights  
<<http://www.ohchr.org/EN/countries/ENACARegion/Pages/CYIndex.aspx>>, accessed 14 February 2013.

<sup>283</sup> *Demopoulos and Others Vs Turkey Decision (2010)*, European Court of Human Rights, Grand Chamber decision, Section 97, <http://hudoc.echr.coe.int/sites/eng/pages/search.aspx?i=001-97649#%22itemid%22:%22001-97649%22%3E>, accessed 5 September 2013.

period of six months, with IPC applications increasing by 30 per cent in that time frame. The following statistics were offered:

*According to the IPC website, as of last Monday, 4,471 applications have been lodged with the Commission, of which 309 have been concluded through friendly settlements and nine through formal hearing.*

*The IPC has so far paid £100.7m sterling (€120m) to the applicants as compensation for giving up their property rights in the north. It has only ruled for exchange and compensation in two cases, for restitution in one case and for restitution and compensation in five cases. In one case it has delivered a decision for restitution after the settlement of the Cyprus problem, and in one other case it has ruled for partial restitution.*

*Just six months ago, on July 12, 2012, the IPC had recorded a total of 3,473 applications, 260 friendly settlements and seven formal hearings. Around £81m Sterling (€102m) had been paid out to applicants in compensation. The 998 new applications since last July represent a 29 per cent increase, a considerable hike for IPC figures if one considers the Commission was set up by Turkey in 2006.<sup>284</sup>*

It is interesting to note that this article was removed from the Cyprus Mail website shortly after it was published, however it still remains on the World Wide Web via other websites which referenced the article. The Republic of Cyprus authorities were noted as being concerned about the growing number of applicants and it was reported that “Attorney-general Petros Clerides plans to hold a broad-based meeting after the presidential elections to deal with the increasing number of Greek Cypriot refugees applying to the IPC in the north set up by Turkey.”<sup>285</sup>

*Clerides told the mayor of occupied Famagusta and leader of the municipalities’ union, Alexis Galanos, that the issue of Greek Cypriot properties in the occupied areas was probably the most important aspect of the Cyprus problem. The AG sent the letter on January 10, in response to a letter seven days earlier from Galanos, requesting a meeting of all stakeholders to discuss possible recourse to the*

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<sup>284</sup> S. Evripidou, ‘IPC applications jump 30 per cent in six months’, *Cyprus Mail*, 23 January 2013.

<<http://www.cyprusdirectory.com/cyprusguide/cyprus.aspx?ID=26895>> and <<http://www.thefreelibrary.com/IPC+applications+jump+30+per+cent+in+six+months.-a0315991651>>, accessed 5 October 2013.

<sup>285</sup> S. Evripidou, 23 January 2013.

*European Court of Human Rights (ECTHR) and ways to discourage refugees from applying to the IPC, which they are doing in increasing numbers. In his response, Clerides agreed with Galanos on the need to do something about the increased number of applications to the IPC and the smaller sums awarded in compensation to Greek Cypriots for giving up rights to their land in the north. The AG said he would convene a broad-based meeting of all stakeholders after the elections to find ways to handle the unfolding situation.”<sup>286</sup>*

Furthermore, this concern by the Republic of Cyprus authorities was acted on upon the election of the new government on 24 February 2013 with the new Interior Minister Socratis Hasikos proposing to cabinet that Greek Cypriot owners of property in the occupied areas be given the legal right to buy and sell their properties without having to pay transfer duties.<sup>287</sup>

*The proposal, which extends the right to buy and sell property in the occupied areas only to other Greek Cypriots, was prepared as one of the measures to avert mass applications by Greek Cypriot refugees to the IPC in the north, particularly those in a worse financial situation following the Eurogroup decision to raid deposits.<sup>288</sup>*

It is worth noting that as the Cyprus issue is ongoing and approaching 40 years, it appears that the refugees would simply be happy with financial benefits and compensation of their lost land and the ‘patriotic’ approach is taking less of a role, that is, of wanting to return home and have a title of ancestral property. This approach of seeking compensation and some form of monetary gain seems to be even more so stronger with the economic crisis faced by the island republic in 2012.

In concluding, a peaceful solution can be reached if an EU approach is taken, that is, the UN must base its actions on standards conforming with European member state’s rights and responsibilities based on the principles on which the EU is founded. Annan-V failed to provide this

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<sup>286</sup> S. Evripidou, 23 January 2013.

<sup>287</sup> S. Evripidou, ‘Bill seeks to bypass IPC for those in need’, *Cyprus Mail*, 18 June 2013, <<http://cyprus-mail.com/2013/06/18/bill-seeks-to-bypass-ipc-for-those-in-need/>> accessed 5 October 2013.

<sup>288</sup> S. Evripidou, 18 June 2013.

European solution as it did not follow opposing provisions such as those providing for foreign occupation armies with intervention rights, upholding the rights of the displaced to their homes and properties, human rights and non-discrimination on the basis of ethnic origin or religion.<sup>289</sup>

## **6.5 Peace talks and reference to Missing Persons**

The issue of Missing Persons has been a topic of focus in many sessions of peace talks over the years, as referred to by the media, including the Annan Peace talks and the final Annan Plan (Annan-V). The plan removed the Republic of Turkey of all responsibility for its invasion of Cyprus and its murders, rapes, destruction of property and churches, looting and forcing approximately 200,000 Greek Cypriots from their homes and property.

As part of the Annan Plan Annex I: Constitution of the United Cyprus Republic stated:

### *ARTICLE 54 Missing Persons*

*The heads of government of the constituent states shall without delay take steps to conclusively resolve the issue of Missing Persons. Both constituent states shall cooperate fully with the Committee on Missing Persons in Cyprus, in accordance with its terms of reference and keeping in mind the agreement reached between the two leaders on 31 July 1997. Each constituent state shall carry out and conclude any and all necessary inquiries, including exhumations.* <sup>290</sup>

Additionally, the former and late President of Cyprus, Tassos Papadopoulos had written specifically to Kofi Annan asking him to take special consideration of this humanitarian issue as part of his peace plan.

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<sup>289</sup> V. Coufoudakis, 'Cyprus, A Contemporary Problem in Historical Perspective', *Minnesota Mediterranean and East European Monographs*, No. 15, 2006, pp. 54-55.

<sup>290</sup> United Cyprus Republic. 'The comprehensive settlement of the Cyprus Problem', 31 March 2004, A Foundation Agreement, Article 54 Missing Persons, Annex I Constitution of the United Cyprus Republic, Part VII Transitional Provisions, p. 45, accessed from Hellenic Resources Institute website <[www.hri.org/docs/annan/Annan\\_Plan\\_April2004.pdf](http://www.hri.org/docs/annan/Annan_Plan_April2004.pdf)>, accessed 1 October 2009.

*President Tassos Papadopoulos has accepted without any reservation suggestions UN Secretary General Kofi Annan has put forward with a view at making headway on the humanitarian issue of Missing Persons.*

*Government Spokesman Kypros Chrysostomides said President Papadopoulos has replied to Annan's letter, in which he set out his ideas relating to reviving the work of the Committee of Missing Persons (CMP) as well as implementing an agreement reached by the leaders of the two communities regarding exhumations of remains and their return to the families concerned.*

*"Kofi Annan has sent the same letter to the President and the Turkish Cypriot leader Rauf Denktash," the spokesman said.*

*He explained that Papadopoulos has consulted with the Committee of Relatives of Missing Persons and replied to Annan's letter saying he accepts "unreservedly" the suggestions put forward and expresses the wish that Denktash will follow suit.*

*The spokesman said a copy of his letter to Annan was sent to Denktash.*

*"We hope that Annan's suggestions are also accepted by Denktash and that a new process will begin on the basis of his proposals which will lead to the solution of this tragic issue in a way that the rights of Missing Persons and their families are respected," the spokesman added.<sup>291</sup>*

In the recent UN supervised peace talks held after the Annan Plan (Annan-V) failure, the issue of Missing Persons was also part of discussions, which in essence simply encouraged the work of the CMP to continue. To demonstrate the CMP's ongoing successful work, a documentary *Digging for a Future* (duration 20 minutes 45 seconds) was released by the CMP on 14 October 2010.<sup>292</sup> As the CMP is a UN initiative the issue of the Missing Persons is seen as being 'independent' of the discussions as part of the peace talks. Furthermore, the role and importance of the international community is pivotal in reaching a solution in Cyprus. Many are important in this process, from the EU, UN to nations such as the UK and US; however the EU is reluctant to get

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<sup>291</sup> *Cyprus News Agency*. 'President replies to Annan letter on Missing Persons', 19 December 2003, <<http://www.hri.org/news/cyprus/cna/2003/03-12-19.cna.html#09>>, accessed 6 May 2009.

<sup>292</sup> CMP. *Digging for a Future*, CMP documentary video, <[http://www.cmp-cyprus.org/nqcontent.cfm?a\\_id=1496&tt=graphic&lang=11](http://www.cmp-cyprus.org/nqcontent.cfm?a_id=1496&tt=graphic&lang=11)>, accessed 1 December 2013.

involved as Cyprus is a member state and Turkey is not, so it cannot credibly undertake a mediating role. This is left to the UN.<sup>293</sup>

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<sup>293</sup> International Crisis Group. "The Cyprus stalemate: what next?" *Europe Report No. 171*, 8 March 2006 <<http://www.crisisgroup.org/en/regions/europe/turkey-cyprus/cyprus/171-the-cyprus-stalemate-what-next.aspx>>, accessed 10 November 2013.



## **Chapter 7 - Update on the Missing Persons of Cyprus from the 1974 Turkish invasion**

This chapter aims to give up-to-date information on the situation of the Missing Persons of Cyprus from the 1974 Turkish invasion of the island Republic. It is simply an overview of the situation and how it has evolved as a humanitarian issue over more than three decades. The Cyprus humanitarian issue of Missing Persons refers to about 1,464 Greek Cypriot Missing Persons and 502 cases of Turkish Cypriot Missing Persons — both military personnel and civilians, including women and children. Following relevant UN General Assembly resolutions, a CMP was established in 1981, which operates under the UN. The CMP officially began its program for exhumations and identification of the Missing Persons on 30 June 2005 — By June 2009 the remains of 196 individuals had been identified from more than 600 exhumed — 145 of these remains belong to Greek Cypriot and 51 Turkish Cypriot Missing Persons.

This chapter aims to simply offer an update of the humanitarian issue of the Missing Persons of Cyprus and will not be examining and making comparisons with similar issues in other international conflicts such as Argentina and the Balkans, where there were thousands of Missing Persons involved. Latest statistics and examples of “infamous cases” of Missing Persons, of how their remains were exhumed and identified, will also be covered. There will also be a brief discussion on the Missing Persons and human rights and legal implications.

As a result of the 1974 Turkish invasion of Cyprus, there has been the ongoing humanitarian issue of Missing Persons — where both military personnel and civilians, including women and children, disappeared without trace for more than three decades. These victims were either captured by the invading Turkish armed forces during July and August of 1974, or disappeared after the cessation of hostilities in the areas

under the control of the Turkish army. The variation in numbers of Missing Persons needs to be discussed at this point as it is a complicated issue whereby much discussion has taken place over decades for an “official figure”.

### **7.1 Variation in number of Missing Persons**

It is paramount to explain why the number of Missing Persons varies in the various statistical data available. It must be clarified that authorities did not agree with the exact figure and decades later still do not agree. One of the tasks of the CMP was to achieve a clear understanding of the total number of Missing Persons, however there is still debate about a ‘final and formal Missing Persons figure’. It is thought that the initial ‘best figure available in 1974 refers to 1619 Greek Cypriot Missing Persons, which includes military personnel and civilians (including women and children). This is 1503 males and 116 females. The Turkish Cypriot Missing Persons figure was 800 cases, a much higher figure relatively given the Turkish population’s minority numbers.

The official and formal figure however varies due to discrepancies and there are serious issues of reliability with respect to the precise figure. These discrepancies may be a result of inaccurate records being collated. One example of how the inaccuracies may have occurred and had possibly contributed to the discrepancies is from the ‘official list of POWs’ released by the International Committee of the Red Cross which included the names of 2115 POWs who were held captive in Turkey. From this list of 2115 persons, seven are still missing. Inaccuracies may have been contributed by: many Greek Cypriots are known under different names; the Turkish authorities who generated the list did not have a good knowledge of the Greek language and had possibly made errors in the spelling of the names; those captured were not truthful when giving their details to their captors as there is anecdotal evidence stating that those

who had a military background were executed.<sup>294</sup> Another explanation is that the Cypriot Government subtracted 126 Missing Persons from their list after confirmation from witnesses that these persons were killed, therefore generating the 'new' updated number to the well-publicised figure of 1493.

The ICRC file on 'Declared prisoners of war not released' stated that:

*On 24 September 1974 the ICRC received a list of prisoners of war made by the Turkish Cypriot Police Authorities (Lefkosa Turk Emniyet Mudurlugu). This list contains 2.115 names of POWs. After the necessary cross-checking, the seven persons mentioned are still registered by the ICRC as missing. (There is no POW registered or released under the said names according to the ICRC index cards; moreover, the relatives have confirmed that the above-mentioned are still missing).*

One of the latest 'official' numbers of Missing Persons is 1464 Greek Cypriots and 494 Turkish Cypriots.

*According to the CMP website there are 1,464 Greek Cypriots listed as Missing Persons and another 703 additional cases from the other categories, which were not specified.*

*The official number of Turkish Cypriot Missing Persons is 494, and another 33 from other categories. The majority of Turkish Cypriot Missing Persons date from the intercommunal trouble in 1963-1974.<sup>295</sup>*

However this number is different from that of other sources, with this statistic being 1,468 Greek Cypriot Missing Persons and 502 cases of Turkish Cypriot Missing Persons. It should be noted that a publication by the Association for Historical Dialogue and Research (AHDR) refers to a different set of statistics which are slightly different to those mentioned above. They claim that the CMP state there are 1,958 Missing Persons (1,464 Greek Cypriots and 494 Turkish Cypriots) and of these being 219

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<sup>294</sup> ICRC. *Convention (III) relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War*. Geneva, 12 August 1949. <<http://www.icrc.org/ihl.nsf/FULL/375>>, accessed 23 July 2012.

<sup>295</sup> *Cyprus Mail*. 'Missing Persons issue moving again after long dispute', 10 June 2012, <<http://www.cyprus-mail.com/missing-persons/missing-persons-issue-moving-again-after-long-dispute/20120610>> accessed 5 June 2012.

Turkish Cypriots and 43 Greek Cypriots are from the 1963-1964 period.<sup>296</sup>

*(In 2006) files were finally exchanged and thoroughly examined, including as well the 2007 submission of 43 cases by the Greek Cypriot member on Greek Cypriots who went missing in 1964. According to the CMP's August 2011 statistical progress report, there are 1,958 Missing Persons (1,464 Greek Cypriots and 494 Turkish Cypriots) (CMP, 2011 (b)).*<sup>297</sup>

However, the CMP website (accessed on 1 December 2013), yet again, has a different set of numbers published, with the number of missing people stated as being: Greek Cypriots: 1508, Turkish Cypriots: 493.<sup>298</sup>

*It is indicative that one ongoing debate for many years was on the number of Missing Persons, with conflicting information from the two communities about the exact numbers, It was generally reported that the number of Greek Cypriot missing was 1,619 and the Turkish Cypriot missing was 803 (CNN News, 2002 and European Commission, 1999). However, it later came to be revealed that some of the names on the lists provided by the authorities were already known to be dead.*<sup>299</sup>

In the summer of 1999, the Government of the Republic of Cyprus, at its own initiative, began exhuming remains in two cemeteries in Nicosia. A number of persons killed during the Turkish invasion were buried as unknown soldiers in these two cemeteries — Lakatamia and Sts Constantine and Helen cemeteries, in Nicosia. The exhumations were carried out and completed by the NGO Physicians for Human Rights. This resulted in the identity of thirty Missing Persons being established through the DNA analysis. Twelve out of the thirty instances involved cases of Missing Persons.

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<sup>296</sup> Association for Historical Dialogue and Research (AHDR), *Thinking Historically about Missing Persons: A Guide for Teachers 4. Missing Persons in Cyprus*, p. 5 <[http://www.ahdr.info/ckfinder/userfiles/files/MISSING%20PPL\\_S4.pdf](http://www.ahdr.info/ckfinder/userfiles/files/MISSING%20PPL_S4.pdf)>, accessed 27 March 2013.

<sup>297</sup> Association for Historical Dialogue and Research.

<sup>298</sup> CMP. <<http://www.cmp-cyprus.org/>>, accessed 1 December 2013.

<sup>299</sup> Association for Historical Dialogue and Research, pp. 5–6.

*In May 2000, officials informed families about the 126 people buried in the Lakatamia cemetery*<sup>300</sup>

In Sant Cassia's *Bodies of Evidence* publication, he refers to ...“the list of 126 people whom the government did not present to the UN committee charged with investigating the disappearances, a clear indication that the Government considered there was sufficient proof (of death)”.<sup>301</sup> This again demonstrates the complexity on having a ‘final figure’ on the number of Missing Persons.

## **7.2 Historical background**

The trigger of the conflict was based on the nationalistic aspirations of the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities that resulted in intercommunal fighting. The Greek Cypriots had their anti-colonial struggle and the formation of the EOKA (*National Organisation of Cypriot Fighters*) guerrilla group in 1955 who wanted to end British rule in Cyprus and unify (*enosis*) the island with Greece. EOKA also targeted Greek Cypriots who were seen as obstacles to stop their aim for *enosis*. On the other hand the Turkish Cypriots formed the TMT (Turkish Resistance Organisation) guerrilla group in 1957 to defend the Turkish Cypriot community and to form a closed bond with Turkey. The violence ended when Cyprus became a Republic in 1960. Violence was sparked again in December 1963 when there was suggestion of constitutional changes in the shared governance of Cyprus between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. This led to Missing Persons and deaths. According to UN reports in 1964, there were 232 Turkish Cypriots and 38 Greek Cypriots missing at that point.<sup>302</sup>

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<sup>300</sup> Association for Historical Dialogue and Research, p. 10.

<sup>301</sup> P. Sant Cassia, 2005, p. 198.

<sup>302</sup> The UN Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) was established on 4 March 1964, as was the involvement of the ICRC (International Committee for the Red Cross) with the aim of ending the clashes. A report issued on 10 September 1964 by the UN Secretary-General (S/5950) established that there were 232 Turkish Cypriots and 38 Greek Cypriots missing up to that point.

Official associations were established in about 1975, such as the Director General's Office at the Ministry of Justice, the Missing Persons Office at the Turkish Cypriot Communal Chamber, and NGOs and associations affiliated with the Missing Persons of Cyprus: PAPRUPMP, Committee of Relatives, Prisoner of War (POW) Association, the Organisation of Relatives of Missing Persons UK and the ICRC. The main focus of these associations is to network and lobby governments and international organisations to assist in finding individuals.

On 9 December 1975 the UN General Assembly adopted Resolution 3450(XXX) on the issue of the Missing Persons in Cyprus, which requested the UN Secretary-General, in cooperation with the ICRC to "assist in the tracing and accounting for Missing Persons as a result of armed conflict in Cyprus" (Coulfoudakis, 2008:51). The issue of Missing Persons was also raised in the first two interstate applications filed by Cyprus against Turkey in 1974 and in the European Commission of Human Rights in 1975. In its 1976 report, the Commission found Turkey in violation of numerous articles of the European Convention, as "there was presumption of responsibility for those under Turkish custody in life threatening conditions" and the issue of lack of information to the families of the missing.<sup>303</sup>

Following these UN General Assembly resolutions, the CMP was established on 22 April 1981, which operates under the UN, but there were no actions taken despite these measures.

*Turkey also argues that there were no missing Greek Cypriots other than those killed during the coup in Cyprus and the Turkish "peace operation". Turkey also tried to redefine the issue of the missing by calling for an investigation of the cases of Turkish Cypriot missing from the period of the intercommunal troubles in the mid-1960s, instead of focusing on the consequences of its 1974 invasion of Cyprus.*<sup>304305</sup>

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<sup>303</sup> Republic of Cyprus, Human Rights violations in Cyprus by Turkey, Press and Information Office, 2008, p. 23.

<sup>304</sup> V. Coulfoudakis, 2008, p. 51.

Three years passed before any procedural agreement was made on 14 March 1984. One of the critical agreements was that “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”.<sup>306</sup> A further ten years passed before the “Guidelines for Investigations” were achieved on 21 September 1994.

The Turkish side decided to cooperate about eight years after the 1997 meeting and the process of exhuming and identifying the remains of the missing began. On 31 July 1997 the UN issued a media release stating that a meeting between Greek Cypriot President Glafkos Clerides and Turkish Cypriot leader Rauf Denktash recognised the basic human rights of the families of the missing to be informed about the fate of their loved ones, and agreed to exchange information regarding burial sites and cooperate for the return of remains.<sup>307</sup>

*The leaders of the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities consider the problem of the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot Missing Persons in Cyprus as a purely humanitarian issue the solution of which is long overdue.*

*In line with the above, the two leaders agree, as a first step to resolving the problem of the Missing Persons, to provide each other immediately and simultaneously all information already at their disposal on the location of graves of Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot Missing Persons.*

*The two leaders will each designate a person who, by the end of September 1997, will exchange the information referred to in the previous paragraph and will prepare the necessary arrangements leading to the return of the remains of the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot Missing Persons in question. The two leaders also agreed that the remains of persons known to have been killed in action on either side will be returned to their families.*<sup>308</sup>

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<sup>305</sup> Republic of Cyprus, Human Rights violations in Cyprus by Turkey, Press and Information Office, 2008, p. 22.

<sup>306</sup> V. Coufoudakis, 2008, p. 51.

<sup>307</sup> A. Stylianou, ‘Update on the Missing Persons of Cyprus from the 1974 Turkish invasion’, *Greek Research in Australia: Proceedings of the Eighth Biennial International Conference of Greek Studies*, Flinders University, June 2009, p. 168.

<sup>308</sup> United Nations. ‘Agreement on Missing Persons - July 1997’, UN Press Release, Nicosia, 31 July 1997,

However the Turkish Cypriot side delayed in cooperating and gave new preconditions not envisaged in the agreement, and consequently it was not able to be implemented. Additional reasons for the ineffectiveness of the CMP, for about 20 years since its creation by the UN, included lack of financial support from both the Greek and Turkish Cypriot sides and from the international community. The cost of exhumations and identification of remains is expensive and not having the funds to undertake this enormous task has delayed this process.

In addition, the lack of scientific technical support also contributed to the delay. A long-term dedicated team of experts — anthropologists and geneticists — who would be committed to such a tedious procedure of exhumation and identification of remains over several years have been difficult to form.

In 2004 the Turkish Cypriot leader Mehmet Ali Talat and the President of Cyprus Tasos Papadopoulos agreed to reactivate the CMP. (The CMP officially began its program for exhumations and identification of the Missing Persons on 30 June 2005 — perhaps the timing was critical as Turkey started EU accession negotiations). On 28 August 2006 the CMP announced the beginning of the exhumation a program to be carried out by the supervision of the Argentine Forensic Anthropology Team (EAAF, *Equipo Argentino de Anthropologia Forense*).<sup>309</sup> (In 1986, the team started expanding its activities beyond Argentina and has since worked in more than 40 countries world-wide. In February 2003, members of forensic anthropology teams in Colombia, Mexico and Venezuela formed the Association of Latin American Forensic Anthropologists (ALAF) to assist further.)<sup>310</sup> After 2005 the CMP improved its performance when Turkey gave more independence and flexibility to allow the Turkish Cypriot representatives to do more.

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<<http://www.moi.gov.cy/moi/pio/pio.nsf/all/4632228BBD701DA4C2256D6D00314114?opendocument>>, accessed 6 October 2009.

<sup>309</sup> Association for Historical Dialogue and Research, p. 6.

<sup>310</sup> Argentine Forensic Anthropology Team. *Latin American initiative for the identification of the disappeared*.



Issues which hindered the performance of the CMP include: Turkey refusing to cooperate and participate in any proceedings; a limited terms of reference by the CMP, such as it not being able to attribute responsibility for the death of any Missing Person or determine the cause of death; the CMP not having limited authority to conduct investigations in Turkey or to interview any Turkish witnesses or officials; absence of technical support and financial problems, ineffective leadership; and burial sites in occupied northern Cyprus tampered with land being developed with construction projects.<sup>311</sup>

By August 2015 the remains of 601 individuals have been identified from more than 969 exhumed — 457 of these remains belong to Greek Cypriot and 144 Turkish Cypriot Missing Persons<sup>312</sup>.

### **7.3 Missing Persons identification process**

The humanitarian mandate of the Committee, which operates under the auspices and with the participation of the UN, is to investigate and determine the fate of the Missing Persons in Cyprus. The CMP is made up of three members (one representative from each side — Greek and Turkish) and a third member who is designated by the UN Secretary-General. The CMP officially began its program for exhumations on 30 June 2005 (“About the CMP”, *CMP Website*, Cyprus, 2010).<sup>313</sup>

#### **Stages of exhuming and identifying the Missing Persons**

Although political leaders finally agreed on resolving the Missing Persons issue the process remains a very long and complicated one. There are many stages in finding the remains of Missing Persons: from exhuming mass graves to identifying the remains using the latest scientific DNA methods, to releasing the remains to family for a funeral service. There

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<sup>311</sup> Republic of Cyprus, Human Rights violations in Cyprus by Turkey, Press and Information Office, 2008, p. 22.

<sup>312</sup> CMP Figures and Statistics of Missing Persons <<http://www.cmp-cyprus.org/facts-and-figures/>>, accessed 9 December 2015.

<sup>313</sup> CMP. ‘About the CMP’, <[http://www.cmp-cyprus.org/nqcontent.cfm?a\\_id=1305&tt=graphic&lang=11](http://www.cmp-cyprus.org/nqcontent.cfm?a_id=1305&tt=graphic&lang=11)> accessed 15 January 2010.

are four phases involved in successfully finding a Missing Person before a funeral is held by loved ones. This paper will briefly look at each phase to demonstrate the complexity involved.

### **Phase I-archaeological/exhumations**

Exhumations are carried out on both sides of the buffer zone <sup>314</sup> by bicommunal teams of more than 30 Cypriot archaeologists and anthropologists. These teams work under EAAF (Equipo Argentino de Antropologia Forense) — Argentine Forensic Anthropology Team. This non-governmental, non-profit, scientific organisation applies forensic sciences, mainly forensic anthropology and archaeology, to the recovery of remains of Missing Persons. The EAAF was established in 1984 to investigate the cases of at least 10,000 persons who went missing in Argentina during the military government that ruled from 1976–1983. This team of experts now works all over the world, including in Latin America, Africa, Asia and Europe, to recover Missing Persons from international conflicts. Their project work of exhumation, identification and return of remains of Missing Persons in Cyprus started in August 2006.

### **Phase II-anthropological analysis**

This part of the process involves a team of nine anthropologists analysing the exhumed bone samples at the CMP Anthropological Laboratory (located in the UN Protected Area) before the samples are sent for genetic laboratory analysis at the CING Laboratory of Forensic Genetics (the Cyprus Institute of Neurology and Genetics) where the DNA identification of samples of skeletal remains takes place.

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<sup>314</sup> UN Buffer Zone (dead zone): A 300 km separation barrier along The Green Line (or ceasefire line) between the self-proclaimed “Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus” and the internationally recognised Republic of Cyprus. Constructed by Turkey, it serves to separate the northern part of the island (which is inhabited by Turks and Turkish Cypriots and has been occupied by Turkish troops since 1974) from the southern part mostly inhabited by Greek Cypriots.

In March 2008, a Family Viewing Facility was set up to allow the families of Missing Persons to meet with the scientific team involved in the identification process. This facility also offers the family members an opportunity to view the remains of their lost loved one.

### **Phase III—genetic analysis**

The Laboratory of Forensic Genetics (LabFoG) of the Cyprus Institute of Neurology and Genetics (CING) conducts the Genetics phase of identification and matching of remains of Missing Persons by using DNA methodologies. DNA is extracted from skeletal remains and compared with the genetic profiles of the relatives of Missing Persons whose blood samples were collected to assist with identifying individuals.

### **Phase IV—return of remains**

*Identification process.* The Scientific Reconciliation Team (SRT) — consisting of the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot scientists working at the Cyprus Institute of Neurology and Genetics, Laboratory of Forensic Genetics (CING) LabFoG and at the CMP anthropological laboratory — make a decision about the positive and formal DNA identification of the skeletal remains of a Missing Person.

2     *Return of remains of missing individuals.* The families concerned are informed without delay by a CMP committee member and are offered the option to meet with scientists involved in the identification process and to view the remains. The remains of the identified individual are then returned to the relatives. The CMP contributes towards the funeral costs and also a team of psychologists provides support to family members if they need assistance in coping.

Funerals are then held individually with the first funerals in the Greek Cypriot community occurring on 8 July 2007 and the Turkish Cypriot community on 13 July 2007.<sup>315</sup> To date (December 2013) so far the

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<sup>315</sup> Association for Historical Dialogue and Research, p. 12.

remains of about 824 people from burial sites across the island have been exhumed and analysed. — so far 358 Greek Cypriot and 121 Turkish Cypriot Missing Persons have been returned to relatives.<sup>316</sup> (See Appendices for CMP Figures and Statistics).

## **7.4 Recent developments**

The Missing Persons of Cyprus is an ongoing issue and many more years will pass before all missing, or at least the majority of Missing Persons are identified and their remains returned to their relatives. In the year of 2009 alone several major developments occurred. Four significant events will now be briefly discussed.

One of the mysteries surrounding the disappearance of the infamous five POWs was solved after 35 years. On 8 August 2009 it was announced that the remains of these five Greek Cypriot soldiers were found — These five were made infamous in an iconic picture showing them surrendering to invading Turkish troops in 1974 — they were never to be seen again. Their remains and those of 14 other people were exhumed from an abandoned well in late 2006 in the occupied northern Cyprus village of Tziaos. In what became an iconic picture, five Greek Cypriot soldiers were photographed. “The grainy black and white photograph became a symbol of the long fight by Greek and Turkish Cypriots to discover the fate of loved ones who went missing during the conflict” (Voa News, 2009).<sup>317</sup> (This is discussed further in the chapter: An Open wound).

*The five POWs, who were serving in the National Guard’s 398th Infantry Battalion, were photographed by a Turkish journalist at the time they were taken prisoners and are photo-graphed kneeling with their hands behind their heads, circled by Turkish soldiers.*

*The photograph, taken on August 1974, the day they were taken prisoner, has appeared many times in the Cypriot and international press. The Turkish photographer was arrested by the National Guard two days later, and the*

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<sup>316</sup> CMP. Facts and figures: <<http://www.cmp-cyprus.org/facts-and-figures/>>

<sup>317</sup> N. Morley, ‘Cyprus Mystery Solved After 35 Years’, Voice of America, <<http://www.voanews.com/english/2009-08-11-voa19.cfm>>, accessed 11 August 2009.

*photographic material was found in his possession. The photographer afterwards published the photographs in the Turkish daily Milliyet.*<sup>318</sup>

Furthermore, confessions were made by a Turkish witness who offered information on where mass graves could possibly be located. The news was announced by the Turkish Cypriot newspaper *Africa*, which quotes a Turkish Cypriot man claiming he had witnessed the massacre which he said took place at Kyrenia, the first city to be occupied by the Turkish troops.

*According to the eyewitness, the soldiers used their bayonets to kill civilians who arrived in the port region on some buses. The civilians, more than 300, were to be deported to Turkey. The eyewitness also said that the bodies of the victims were buried in a mass grave near the MareMonte hotel in Kyrenia.*<sup>319</sup>

*According to the anonymous interview, a Turkish Cypriot man said he had witnessed the brutal murder of 320 Greek Cypriot prisoners of war when he was serving in the army.*

*The man said the captives were meant to be shipped to prisons in Turkey but instead were killed with bayonets by Turkish soldiers on the Kyrenia beach.*

*The witness believed that the bodies may have been buried near a hotel in Kyrenia.*

*Christophe Girod, the third member for the CMP, said yesterday that the allegations will be investigated.*

*"We take everything seriously. We check everything and follow-up everything that comes to our attention" he said.*<sup>320</sup>

Turkish actor Attila Olgac confessed on national Turkish television that he was ordered to kill Greek Cypriot POWs.

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<sup>318</sup> Athens-Macedonian News Agency, 'Greek Cypriot POWs' remains identified in mass grave in occupied village, Greek parties' reactions', <<http://www.ana-mpa.gr/anaweb/user/showplain?maindoc=7853888&service=142>>, accessed 10 August 2009.

<sup>319</sup> ANSAMED, 'Cyprus: Turks killed 300 civilians in August '74', <<http://web.archive.org/web/20090905144001/http://www.ansamed.info/en/news/ME03.@AM55702.html>>, accessed 31 August 2009.

<sup>320</sup> 'CMP aware of Kyrenia massacre reports', <<http://www.cyprus-mail.com/cyprus/cmp-aware-kyrenia-massacre-reports>>, accessed 2 August 2009.

*“We express our shock about the confession of the Turkish actor Olgac, which reveals the brutality and the barbarity of Turkey in 1974, as well as the fact that Turkey has violated international law and specifically the Geneva Convention”, Stephanou said.*

*He added that the confession stresses Turkey’s obligation to fully implement a decision of the European Court of Human Rights, in the 4th Interstate Application of Cyprus versus Turkey, and in the cases of Greek Cypriot Missing Persons versus Turkey.*

*Olgac’s graphic and clear recollections have left many in shock. The actor said he first shot dead a 19-year-old prisoner of war, then another nine POWs.*

*He said since the killings he has “not been able to stand the sight of blood or eat meat”.<sup>321</sup>*

Since the confession the Cypriot Government has considered filing a case in the ECtHR and the CMP has considered approaching him for further information on Missing Persons. There are also ongoing developments within the political structure of the CMP, with the new president of Cyprus President Nicos Anastasiades, from the DISY (Liberal) political party, asking the Greek Cypriot CMP representative Dr Aristos Aristotelous, a former MP with the AKEL (Labor Party) political party, to step down citing a “restructuring”. Mr Aristotelous had made comments to the media that from the six months of when President Anastasiades took office he had:

*... been ignoring his written requests for a meeting to discuss the CMP. “Perhaps he is not fully informed on how the CMP works.”<sup>322</sup>*

An announcement of a replacement was made by the Cyprus Government on 17 August 2013 that former Ambassador Theophilos Theophilou has been appointed by President of the Republic Nicos

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<sup>321</sup> A. Ioannou, ‘Government demands investigation after Turkish actor’s confession’, *Famagusta Gazette*, 24 January 2009, <<http://famagusta-gazette.com/default.asp?sourceid=&smenu=69&twindow=Default&mad=No&sdetail=7402&upage=&skeyword=&sidate=&ccat=&ccatm=&restate=&restatus=&reoption=&retype=&repmin=&repmax=&rebed=&rebath=&subname=&pform=&sc=2350&hn=famagusta-gazette&he=.com>>. accessed 25 May 2010.

<sup>322</sup> Government asks Greek Cypriot CMP member to step down, *Cyprus Mail*, 16 August, 2013, <<http://cyprus-mail.com/tag/aristos-aristotelous/>>, accessed 2 October 2013.

Anastasiades as the representative of the Greek Cypriot community in the CMP, and he was to be assuming his duties on 1 September 2013. Ambassador Theophilou was the first representative of the Greek Cypriot community in the CMP when it was first set up in 1981.<sup>323</sup>

**A summary of developments in 2014 and 2015 includes:**

November 2014:

- The Republic of Cyprus Presidential Commissioner for Humanitarian Affairs and Overseas Cypriots Fotis Fotiou demands that the process of investigations to establish the fate of all Missing Persons be accelerated; and that the Turkish side will have to accept the opening of all the so-called military areas, in the Turkish occupied part of the island, for exhumations, as well as the release of military records.<sup>324</sup>
- The Pancyprian Organisation of Relatives of Undeclared Prisoners and Missing Persons said that Turkey continues to refuse to cooperate, and allow access for investigation in areas branded 'military zones' in the north. They also stated that there was deliberate removal of remains from their initial burial sites with the aim of concealing mass executions carried out by invading Turkish troops on civilians and prisoners of war as it was discovered that in some cases just a small part of the remains are found, with just a few bones or bone fragments.<sup>325</sup>

December 2014

- The CMP made a plea for information on the remains of the Missing Persons from Assia. Assia has around 84 people listed as missing between the ages of 11 and 84 years, with over 50 of them believed to have died in a mass execution along with Cypriots from other areas in

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<sup>323</sup> Theophilou appointed Greek Cypriot representative in CMP, Cyprus News Agency, CNA, 17/08/2013 13:45.

<sup>324</sup> *Famagusta Gazette*, 'Cyprus demands missing persons probe be accelerated', November 16, 2014, <<http://famagusta-gazette.com/cyprus-demands-missing-persons-probe-be-accelerated-p26581-69.htm>>, accessed 2 April 2015.

<sup>325</sup> *Cyprus Mail*, 'Missing persons remains moved to cover mass executions', November 28, 2014, <<http://cyprus-mail.com/2014/11/28/missing-persons-remains-moved-to-cover-mass-executions>>, accessed 2 April 2015.

August 1974. Their bodies were thrown into two wells. The remains were later removed by the Turkish army and only fragments were handed to the CMP for identification.<sup>326</sup>

## February 2015

- The European parliament condemns the “relocation” of remains from the village of Ornithi, where four burial sites were disinterred, two of which were the sites of mass graves and evidence suggests these graves had been previously exhumed and the remains of 71 missing civilians intentionally removed. The Parliament urged the Turkish government "to immediately cease removal of the remains from the mass graves and to comply with international law, international humanitarian law and the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) judgments" and "to fully implement its obligation following the decision of the ECHR to compensate the families of the Missing Persons". The resolution was passed by 543 votes, to 43, with 62 abstentions.<sup>327</sup>

The CMP reviewed a case in which the remains of a Greek Cypriot killed in 1974 were allegedly mixed up with those of three other individuals. The family of Giorgos Fori raised doubts over the number of fillings in his teeth. It was revealed that the CMP do not DNA test all small bones, it was a case of anthropologists not correctly associating very small bones to the individual. In later reports it was announced that Fori was correctly identified.<sup>328329</sup>

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<sup>326</sup> E. Andreou., CMP make plea for information on missing, December 18, 2014, *Cyprus Mail*, <<http://cyprus-mail.com/2014/12/18/cmp-make-plea-for-information-on-missing>>, accessed 20 May 2015.

<sup>327</sup> European Parliament News, Plenary Session, Press release - Human rights – 12-02-2015, <<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/news/en/news-room/content/20150206IPR21213/html/Human-rights-Raif-Badawi-mass-graves-in-Cyprus-Bob-Rugurika>>, accessed 10 October 2015.

<sup>328</sup> G. Psyllides, CMP to review remains mix up, *Cyprus Mail*, 18 February, 2015, <<http://cyprus-mail.com/2015/02/18/cmp-to-review-remains-mix-up>>, accessed 5 May 2015.

<sup>329</sup> A. Skordas, Committee on Missing Persons in Cyprus: Greek-Cypriot Missing from the 1974 Turkish Invasion Identified, Greek reporter, 18 February, 2015, <<http://greece.greekreporter.com/2015/02/18/committee-on-missing-persons-in-cyprus->



## June 2015

- The Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe (CoE) called on Turkey to give access to military zones in north Cyprus in the search for remains of Missing Persons.<sup>330</sup>

## August 2015

- The remains of two Turkish Cypriot men murdered and buried in their car in a charcoal pit outside Kyrenia on Christmas Day 1963 are uncovered by the CMP. It was claimed that an 85 year old Greek Cypriot man who was apparently involved at the time had passed the details on. Their remains were found during excavations at Ayios Georgios, then a small village some 5kms west of Kyrenia,<sup>331332</sup>

## September 2015

- A burial site containing multiple human remains in a military area near the new prison in the north of Nicosia was discovered. This was the 12<sup>th</sup> excavation conducted by the CMP in the area. The previous ones had been unsuccessful. As many as 50 people could be buried in the area. Human remains and military clothing were unearthed in this site, in the area of Trahonas in Nicosia. In 1977, Turkey filed a document at the Council of Europe claiming that about 200 bodies had been collected by Turkish-Cypriots and loaded on trucks to be taken to Ledra Palace hotel and handed over to the Greek-Cypriot side. The Greek Cypriot side

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*greek-cypriot-missing-from-the-1974-turkish-invasion-identified/#sthash.cy9c6oOY.dpuf*>, accessed 23 October 2015.

<sup>330</sup> *Cyprus Mail*, 'COE calls on Turkey to give more access to military zones to aid search for the missing', June 13, 2015, <<http://cyprus-mail.com/2015/06/13/coe-calls-on-turkey-to-give-more-access-to-military-zones-to-aid-search-for-the-missing/>>, accessed 10 October 2015.

<sup>331</sup> J. Christou, 'Gruesome remains of Turkish Cypriot missing uncovered, says 'foreign ministry'', *Cyprus Mail*, August 25, 2015 <<http://cyprus-mail.com/2015/08/25/gruesome-remains-of-turkish-cypriot-missing-uncovered-says-foreign-ministry>>, 10 October 2015.

<sup>332</sup> Daily Sabah, 'Cyprus's missing persons: new findings revive old pains, hopes', 26 August, 2015, <<http://www.dailysabah.com/nation/2015/08/27/cypruss-missing-persons-new-findings-revive-old-pains-hopes>>, accessed 10 October 2015.

never received the bodies, and according to Turkey they were buried in mass graves.<sup>333334</sup>

- A second mass grave was discovered in the occupied village of Trachonas, about 70 metres away from the point where human remains belonging to 20 people were found the previous month.<sup>335</sup>

#### October 2015

- The youngest missing person to date, six months old Andreas Themistokleous, was buried on October 10 along with five other family members who had been missing since 1974. The family members found along with the infant were Eleni Themistokleous, 46, and her daughters Soulla, 11, Maro, 19, Themistoula, 31, and Angeliki, 25. Their bodies were found at the Trahoni, Kythreas mass grave and were identified using DNA.<sup>336</sup>

#### November 2015

- On 6 November a much waited announcement was made as Turkey finally, after years of negotiations, agreed to open military zones and allow the CMP access to the graves in the army zone.<sup>337</sup>

*The CMP started excavations at Agios Georgios village in Turkish occupied Kyrenia. The excavations that began today are carried out at a car yard. Excavations will begin at the Botanical Gardens in Kyrenia and the villages of*

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<sup>333</sup> *Cyprus Mail*, 'Cautious optimism after burial site discovery', 2 September, 2015, <<http://cyprus-mail.com/2015/09/02/cautious-optimism-after-burial-site-discovery/>>, accessed 10 October 2015.

<sup>334</sup> I. Zlkakou., 'Mass Greek Cypriot grave found in occupied Cyprus', Greek reporter, 4 September, 2015, <<http://greece.greekreporter.com/2015/09/04/mass-greek-cypriot-grave-found-in-occupied-cyprus/>>, accessed 10 October 2015.

<sup>335</sup> *Cyprus Mail*, 'New findings at second mass grave', October 6, 2015, <<http://cyprus-mail.com/2015/10/06/new-findings-at-second-mass-grave/>>, accessed 10 October 2015.

<sup>336</sup> A. Kades, 'Baby latest of missing to be given proper burial', *Cyprus Mail*, 10 October, 2005, <<http://cyprus-mail.com/2015/10/10/baby-latest-of-missing-to-be-given-proper-burial/>>, accessed 10 November 2009.

<sup>337</sup> Fox News, 'Turkey grants access to military-held areas in Cyprus accelerating missing persons search', 5 November 2015, <<http://www.foxnews.com/world/2015/11/05/turkey-grants-access-to-military-held-areas-in-cyprus-accelerating-missing/>>, accessed 5 December 2015.

*Trikomo and Kionelli, both in occupied Cyprus.<sup>338</sup> (As discussed earlier in this chapter) This was all instigated from a Turkish witness who claims that when he was in the military about 320 Greek Cypriots were to be deported to Turkey as POWs but instead they were murdered on the Kyrenia beach and buried in a mass grave near the MareMonte hotel in Kyrenia.*

## **7.5 Conclusion**

The Greek and Turkish leaders have met regarding Missing Persons over the past 30 years. It is clear that a solution to the issue of the Missing Persons would greatly contribute to reconciliation on the island. This is still a current and ongoing international humanitarian problem despite developments that have occurred over the past few years. The next 5 to 10 years will possibly see the end to the Missing Persons.

Furthermore, the overall Cypriot situation is one that is also challenging for the current and future generations. The Cypriot community, both within Cyprus itself and within the Diaspora are losing interest in the fight for various reasons, and this change of their focus will perhaps increase Anglo-American schemes to continue to appease Turkey.

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<sup>338</sup> *Famagust Gazette*, 'Missing Persons organisation starts dig near Kyrenia', 17 November 2015, <<http://famagusta-gazette.com/missing-persons-organisation-starts-dig-near-kyrenia-p30898-69.htm>>, accessed 5 December 2015.

## **Chapter 8 - Untold stories: Insight into Missing Persons**

This chapter begins with four small sections that present an insight into the life of the Cypriot Diaspora in Australia so as to assist in understanding the history of Greek Cypriot migrants here, before and after the 1974 Turkish invasion (8.1 – 8.4). These are followed by analysis of a UN survey that investigated how the issue of Missing Persons in Cyprus is perceived in the Cypriot community.

Most significantly, the main body of this chapter explores how members of the Greek Cypriot Diaspora of Australia have coped with the issue of the Missing Persons of Cyprus, based on field trip interviews. The majority of interviews involve relatives of Missing Persons living in the Australian Diaspora, although two of the interviews were done with people dwelling in Cyprus. Their narratives reveal that Greek Cypriots throughout the Hellenic Diaspora have been severely traumatised by the disappearance of their acquaintances and loved ones.

I should note here that some interviews were conducted in Greek, and that my translation of interviewees' accounts and embodied emotions may lose something – an 'emotional vocabulary' – in the transition to English. As with any sociological research however, analysis of the interviews involved a double interpretation – "The participants are trying to make sense of their world; the researcher is trying to make sense of the participants trying to make sense of their world".<sup>339</sup>

### **8.1 Cypriot Diaspora in Australia**

A brief introduction to the life of the Cypriot Diaspora in Australia will assist in understanding the history of the Greek Cypriot migrants in Australia, before and after the 1974 Turkish invasion. To fully

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<sup>339</sup> J. A. Smith & M. Osborn, 'Interpretative phenomenological analysis' in J.A. Smith (ed.). *Qualitative psychology*, London: Sage, 2003, pp. 51–80.

understand the passion of the Cypriot migrants in their new homeland of Australia it is important to look at the migration patterns of Greek Cypriots to Australia from the Republic of Cyprus, and to look at the reasons why they left their homes and families to set up a new life far from Europe.

Greek Cypriots have migrated to Australia in three separate waves – during the 19<sup>th</sup> century gold rush, between 1924 and 1964 and after the Turkish invasion. People migrated for a range of reasons, including social unrest and political change, a poor economy and lack of security. Records show that many left Cyprus from 1955 to 1962, a period which included political unrest between the British rule of Cyprus and the beginning of the island Republic. Lack of economic possibilities led many people to go elsewhere to find work and a better quality of life and to avoid the uncertainty of how the nation would develop after becoming an independent state. In 1955 when the EOKA rebellion began in Cyprus about 5704 people left the island with 970 migrating to Australia.

This rate was steady until 1960, the year Cyprus became an independent republic. Of the 14,589 people leaving, 270 migrated to Australia. The population of Cyprus declined drastically after the 1974 Turkish invasion, with more than half the population displaced, and with the repatriation of Greek Cypriots, nor was it made up of the same proportions as in the 1960s.

The next big wave of Cypriots leaving their homeland was in the mid-1970s, after the Turkish invasion of Cyprus, where people were forced to migrate from the war, lack of safety and poverty. About 200,000 people, that is, 40 per cent of the total Greek Cypriot population, became refugees and were forced to leave their homes in occupied northern

Cyprus. The Cypriot community in Australia is believed to be the second largest community outside Cyprus, following the U.K.<sup>340</sup>

In brief, according to the Australian Commonwealth Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs, 40 migrants arrived from Cyprus between October 1945 and June 1947; this increased to 8254 migrants between October 1945 and June 1959.<sup>341</sup> According to Janiszewski and Alexakis,<sup>342</sup> by 1947, New South Wales had 226 Greek Cypriot residents, Victoria 169, Queensland 149, South Australia 105, Western Australia 29 and several elsewhere, with a total of about 700 - 175 were female. According to Jupp, in 1947 there were 681 Greek Cypriots. In the period 1947 to 1952 about 4,670 Greek Cypriots settled permanently in Australia<sup>343</sup>

## **8.2 General profile of the average Cyprus-born migrant in Australia**

The early migrant Greek Cypriots more than often married Anglo-Australians, but those who migrated after the Turkish invasion of Cyprus in 1974 married Greek Cypriots and Greeks born in Greece, Egypt or Australia. Between 1965 and 1979 about 55 per cent of Cyprus-born Greeks married other Cyprus-born Greeks, about 20 per cent married Greeks from elsewhere and about 25 per cent married non-Greeks.<sup>344</sup> Another interesting statistic which is relevant to the profile of those who arrived in Australia after 1974 is that the median age of the Cyprus-born migrant was 52.1 years, compared to 35.6 years of the total Australian population. 0.9 per cent was aged 0-14 years, 2.3 per cent were 15-24

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<sup>340</sup> Republic of Cyprus Ministry of Finance, TABLE 62 – Emigrants by country of intended residence, 1955-1988 DATA SOURCE: Tourism, Migration and Travel Statistics, 1988 (provided February 8, 2005).

<sup>341</sup> Commonwealth Government of Australia, Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous (DIMIA) statistics – Region/country of last residence.

<sup>342</sup> L. Janiszewski & E. Alexakis, *Aphrodite's Children: Greek Cypriot Australians - A brief history*, NKEWmax Monday July 16, 2001.

<sup>343</sup> L. Janiszewski and E. Alexakis, 2001.

<sup>344</sup> Commonwealth Government of Australia, Statistics provided by the Australian Census 2001 and DIMIA – Community Information Summary – The Cyprus-born Community.

years, 29.3 per cent were 25-44 years, 44.3 per cent were 45-64 years and 23.1 per cent were over 65 years of age. What is also interesting is the gender distribution of the 19,510 Cyprus-born migrants in Australia, with a sex ratio of 100.1 males per 100 females, that is 9760 males (50 per cent) and 9750 females (50 per cent).<sup>345</sup> It is important to highlight that the Greek Cypriot refugees were the last groups of Greek Cypriots to arrive in Australia, following the 1974 Turkish invasion of their island.

### **8.3 History of Cypriot Communities throughout Australia**

In 1917, the Panellenion Club was opened in Sydney by Andrew (Andreas) Arestides, who was born in Famagusta in 1900, along with a fellow Cypriot. It is believed to be Sydney's earliest Cypriot-operated kafeneion. Eight years later, Andrew Arestides established "Andrew's Continental Restaurant and Panellenion Club" on his own. By the early 1930s there were Cypriot associations in Melbourne, Sydney and Brisbane and by the 1940s a Cypriot association was also established in South Australia. These associations were known as the Cyprian Brotherhood 'Zenon' in Melbourne (in 1932); the Cyprian Brotherhood 'Evagoras' in Sydney (in 1933); the Cyprian Brotherhood 'Kyprianos' in Brisbane (in 1936); and the Cyprian Society of South Australia 'Kypros' in Adelaide in 1947, which was a coffee shop in Adelaide.<sup>346</sup> On 1 February, 1948, a group of 35 male Cypriot South Australians met at Dimitrious Sitarenos' Kafenio, at 122 Hindley Street, Adelaide, to organise their community into an official body. With the support of Cypriot Victorians, the Cypriot Brotherhood of South Australia was established. The Adelaide-based organisation changed its name to The Cypriot Society of South Australia in the mid-1960s. On 29 March 1970, Cypriot organisations all over Australia formed a federal body to co-

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<sup>345</sup> Commonwealth Government of Australia, Statistics provided by the Australian Census 2001 and DIMIA – Community Information Summary – The Cyprus-born Community.

<sup>346</sup> L. Janiszewski & E. Alexakis, 2001.

ordinate the activities of all Cypriot Australians and promote Cypriot culture.<sup>347</sup>

In 1950 in Melbourne, the Cyprian Philanthropic Society 'Troodos' was formed and five years later the 'Apostolos Andreas' Greek Cyprian Orthodox Community of Sunshine (a western suburb in Melbourne) was established. The main aims were to establish a church and a Greek primary school for the many Greeks already living in this industrial suburb. The Greek school was established in 1959. In 1961 the Cyprian Community of Melbourne and Victoria was formed when the 'Troodos' society merged with the earlier established 'Zenon' Cyprian Brotherhood. In 1965 the Cyprian Youth Club operated as an auxiliary of the Cyprian Community of Melbourne and Victoria. Cypriot community associations today exist in most Australian capital cities including Melbourne, Sydney, Brisbane, Canberra, Darwin, Perth and Adelaide.

In Sydney there is also the Lekkadian Brotherhood and the Athienou Cypriot Brotherhood and in Adelaide there is the Aradippou Association which formed in the late 1990s. In Melbourne, aside from the Cypriot Community of Melbourne and Victoria which was established in 1932, there are also many others including the Greek Cypriot Community of Apostolos Andreas Sunshine (Ελληνική Κυπριακή Κοινότητα «Απόστολος Ανδρέας» Sunshine), Pan Cypriot Athletics Soccer Association and Community (Παγκύπριος - Αθλητικός Ποδοσφαιρικός Σύλλογος και Κοινότητα), Philanthropical Society of St Therapon Limassol (Φιλανθρωπικός Σύλλογος «Αγιος Θεράπων» Λεμεσού), Cypriot Community of Karava – Lambousa (Κυπριακός Σύλλογος Καραβά «Η Λάμπουσα»), Philanthropical Society of St George Kaboutiou (Φιλανθρωπικός Σύλλογος «Αγιος Γεώργιος» Καπουτίου), and Community of Kambos Australia (Κοινότητα «Κάμπος» Αυστραλίας). On 29 March 1970 a Federation of Cypriot fraternities was formed to support the interaction between the various community groups throughout Australia. This Federation of

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<sup>347</sup> South Australian Government, South Australian Migration Museum archives.



Cypriot Communities and Brotherhoods of Australia aimed to strengthen and develop a bond of the overseas Cypriots of Australia with the Cyprus homeland.<sup>348</sup>

In 1976, the Cyprus High Commission was established in Canberra to assist diplomatic and economic relations between the two countries. Overall the Greek Cypriot migrants of Australia actively participate in Orthodox religious activities and there are those who choose to enter politics such as Federal Victorian Labor politician Dr Andrea Theophanous, from Victoria, his brother Victorian State Labor MP Theo Theophanous and South Australian “No Pokies Independent” MP Nick Xenophon, who was then elected as an independent Senator in the Australian Federal Parliament on 24 November 2007.

#### **8.4 Cypriot lobby groups in Australia**

Pan Australian Justice for Cyprus Coordinating Committee («Παν-Αυστραλιανή Συντονιστική Επιτροπή Κυπριακού Αγώνος» with the acronym PASEKA) and the Justice for Cyprus Coordinating Committee («Συντονιστική Επιτροπή Κυπριακού Αγώνος Νοτίου Αυστραλίας» with the acronym SEKA), are the lobby groups of the Cypriot community of Australia, which were established to assist with resolving the Cyprus Problem. The groups aim continues to campaign and highlight the Cyprus Problem to the Australian community and to lobby the Australian Government to put pressure on the international community for a just solution. SEKA was first formed on 19 March 1978 in Sydney and SEKA committees were established in most Australian states.

Today, the Greek community of Australia (*Elliniki Paroikia*) is one of the most important and vibrant parts of the Modern Greek Diaspora. This part of Hellenism is the third largest non-English speaking immigrant

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<sup>348</sup> Signed by the President, N. Gregoriadis on behalf of the Cypriot Community of Melbourne and Victoria and by the Secretary, H. Siamaris, Secretary of the Cypriot Community of Melbourne and Victoria: DHS, NCHSR, Env.1, Document Number 9.

group (after the Italian and the Chinese) in one of the world's most multicultural societies.<sup>349</sup> The Greek Cypriot Community in Australia is regarded to be the second largest outside Cyprus after the United Kingdom.

Evaluation of the first-generation Greeks attachment to the homeland is conducted and expressed through a number of cultural elements: **a)** the knowledge and use of the Greek language at home and in their communication with other Greeks; **b)** the frequent contact with family members or friends in Greece or Cyprus; **c)** listening to Greek music or the Greek radio, and watching the Greek satellite programs through the Greek channels on television wherever possible; **d)** being attached to the Greek Orthodox religion; **e)** adhering to Greek cuisine and cooking within their home; **f)** preferring to dine-out at Greek restaurants or taverns, or other Mediterranean-style places, rather than elsewhere; and **g)** the adherence by many elderly Greeks to the tradition of wearing mainly black colour clothes, especially the elderly women, *yiayiades*, as a sign of respect to their deceased loved persons. These activities and behaviours are connected to feelings of belonging and emotional relief. Identity for the first-generation Greeks is based on cultural and social life practices as well as narratives that centre on the "Greek-Australian environment and its various organisations and institutions and their feelings of exclusion from an Anglophone culture" <sup>350</sup>. Language and culture are priorities regarding the identity of this generation.

The second-generation Greek background persons constitute the largest group within the Greek community of Australia. These individuals are today well integrated into Australian society, and they maintain the Greek traditions to a lesser degree than the first-generation persons.

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<sup>349</sup> M. Tsounis, "Greek Community, Paroikia, Formations in Australia: 1880s-1980s" in *Greeks in English Speaking Countries, Proceedings of the First International Seminar, 27-30 March*, Melbourne: Hellenic Studies Forum Inc., 1993, p. 25.

<sup>350</sup> K. Bellou, 'Identity and Difference, First and Second Generation Greeks in Australia', in *Greeks in English Speaking Countries, Proceedings of the First International Seminar, 2-30 March 1992*, Melbourne: Hellenic Studies Forum Inc. (1993), p. 226.

Where the above elements of self-identification are present, these are far less intense in the second generation, or they are not existent at all. The language factor is the most crucial and this is evidenced in the limited use of the Greek language at home and when socializing. The second-generation Greek persons prefer to communicate in English as it is more convenient to them and they socialize with mixed cultures, not just with Greeks. This generation has achieved significant commercial, professional and intellectual prominence with active involvement in the arts, theatre, cinema, literature, politics, commerce, and industry, contributing to Australia's success as a nation.

In the main, the new-generations of Greek Australians have not lost interest in the country they and their parents left behind. "They became embodied in the social, political and religious turmoil of Greece with passion and determination that equalled or even exceeded that of their compatriots of the metropolis"<sup>351</sup> For the second generation the practices that constitute Greek identity are different to those of the first generation. For them, "identity is a number of things but above everything else is the maintenance of the Greek language, culture and religion, continuing contact with Greek-Australian environment as well as the close family ties". Other values are: respect for parents (sevasmos) and family members helping and supporting each other at difficult times. "Family practices become the ones that provide the collective identification of the second generation and makes them part of the wider Greek-Australian network."<sup>352</sup> In addition, pride in their Greek background is a common feeling, although this happens in their later years as they mature as individuals.

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<sup>351</sup> L. Janiszewski & E. Alexakis, 2001, pp. 57-58.

<sup>352</sup> K. Bellou, 1993.

## **8.5 Public perception on issue of Missing Persons**

Community awareness of the issue of Missing Persons of Cyprus is important in the overall understanding of this humanitarian issue. An analysis of the thoughts of the Cypriot community on the CMP was investigated in a survey by the UN's UNFICYP, which conducted the Intercommunal Survey of Public Opinion. The polling was undertaken between 26 January and 19 February 2007.<sup>353</sup> The total number of face-to-face interviews was as follows: 1000 participants were Greek Cypriot individuals, 1000 participants were Turkish Cypriot individuals and 350 individuals who resided inside the UN buffer zone also took part. The specific questions directly related to the CMP. When asked "How aware are you of the CMP?" more than half of the Greek Cypriots said they were aware that such a committee existed, however only a very small number of Turkish Cypriots had any idea about the existence of this committee (**see Figure 1**). In total, 93 per cent of Greek Cypriots knew something about a designated committee set aside for the exhumation and identification of Missing Persons. On the other hand only 78 per cent of Turkish Cypriots had any awareness of this committee. When asked to what extent this committee was regarded as a positive or a negative initiative, only the Greek Cypriot participants agreed that it was a very positive step, while Turkish Cypriots were not that certain that it was such a good initiative. Overall 92 per cent of the Greek Cypriot participants agreed that it was a positive move in comparison to 74 per cent of Turkish Cypriots (**see Figure 2**). When informed about recent activities and developments of the CMP, almost all Greek Cypriots (96 per cent) had knowledge of their achievements in their society (**see Figure 3**). However, only two-thirds of Turkish Cypriots (66 per cent) were aware. It is interesting to note that despite the fact that the majority of CMP anthropological exhumations and identifications of remains in mass graves have been done in northern Cyprus, in the occupied territory where Turkish Cypriots reside, a significant amount, that is 34 per cent,

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<sup>353</sup> *The Blue Beret*. 'The UN in Cyprus. An Intercommunal Survey of public opinion poll by UNFICYP', (special edition), 4 April 2007.

of Turkish Cypriots were not aware of the CMP activities. Only a very small handful of Greek Cypriots said they were not aware, with just 4 per cent of participants not knowing what work was being undertaken to find the Missing Persons. When more complicated and detailed questions were put to the participants the Greek Cypriots believed that the exhuming and identifying the remains of the Missing Persons was a very significant thing, with 91 per cent agreeing (**see Figure 4**). In comparison only 68 per cent of Turkish Cypriot participants believed that it was such a significant move. It is interesting to note that the Turkish Cypriot participants were more in agreement that the fate of the Missing Persons should be resolved by investigation only, with 24 per cent of participants having this belief. This is very different in comparison to the Greek Cypriot participants with only 6 per cent believing that fate of the Missing Persons should be resolved by investigation only without the need for the exhuming and identifying the remains of the Missing Persons. One very critical question that has been debated for many years from both the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot sides and has been a hot topic in peace negotiations for more than three decades is whether participants believed that all the Missing Persons were dead, or that some of them are still alive. The Turkish Cypriots were more confident that the Missing Persons were dead, with 89 per cent suggesting this, in comparison to 63 per cent of Greek Cypriots (**see Figure 5**). The Greek Cypriots still have a somewhat strong belief that some of the Missing Persons are held captive and alive, with 36 per cent believing this compared to 11 per cent of Turkish Cypriots. Overall, this intercommunal survey of public opinion conducted by UNFICYP showed, to some extent, that the Greek Cypriots were more concerned and more aware of the issue of Missing Persons and the attempt to exhume and identify these persons. This may be so because there were more Greek Cypriots missing than there were Turkish Cypriots. The Republic of Cyprus also has had the issue of the Missing Persons on their agenda throughout the entire duration of peace talks since the 1974 Turkish invasion of Cyprus. Despite the majority of the exhumations taking place in the occupied northern Cyprus region, it is

surprising that Turkish Cypriots were unaware of the activities of the CMP. Perhaps this might also be the case because it is a regularly occurring topic in the Greek mass media and it is rarely discussed in the Turkish or Turkish Cypriot media.

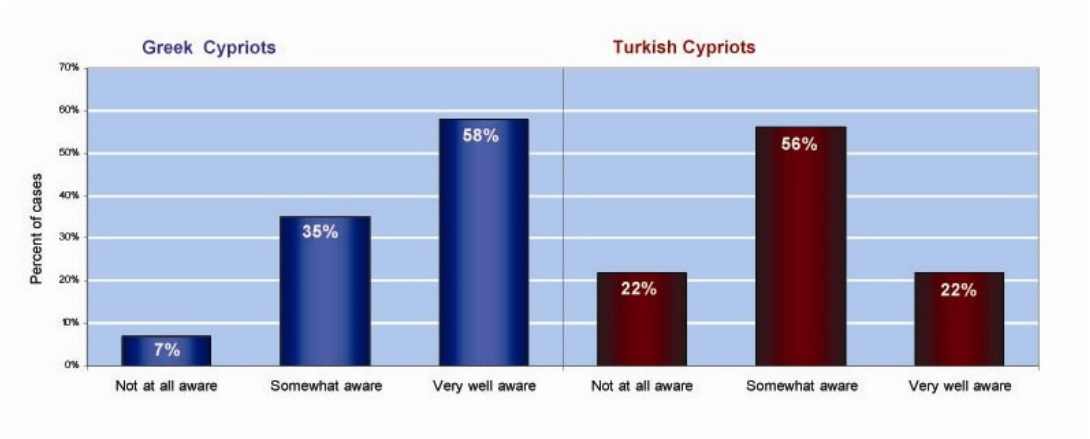


Figure 1. How aware are you of the Committee for Missing Persons (CMP)?

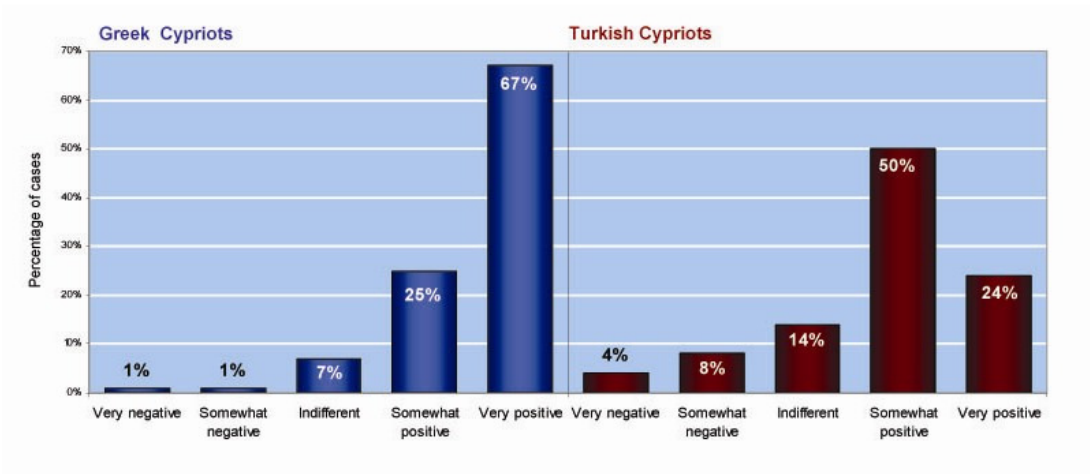
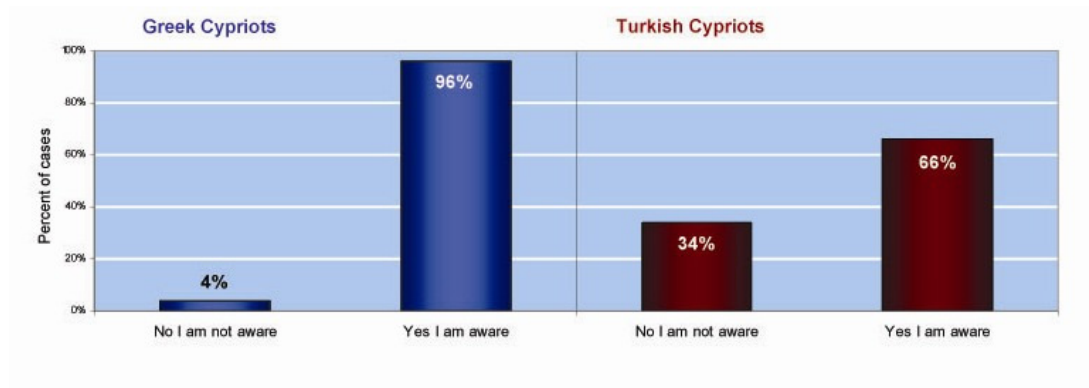
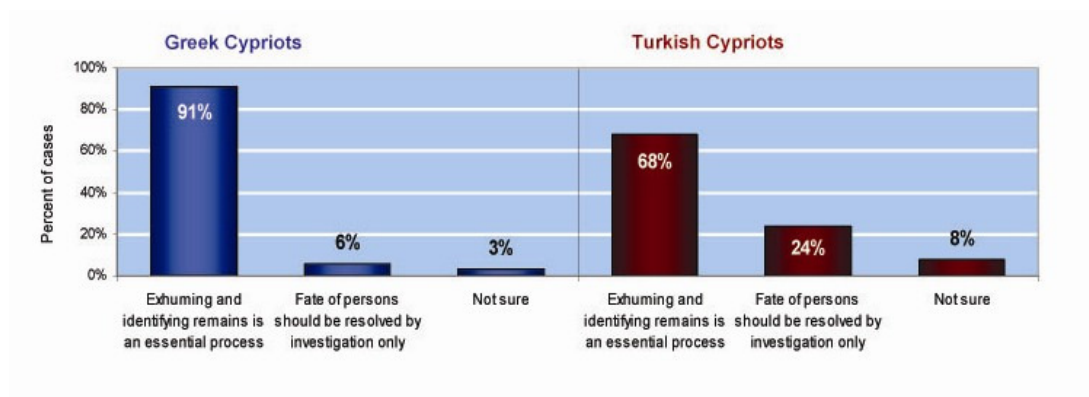


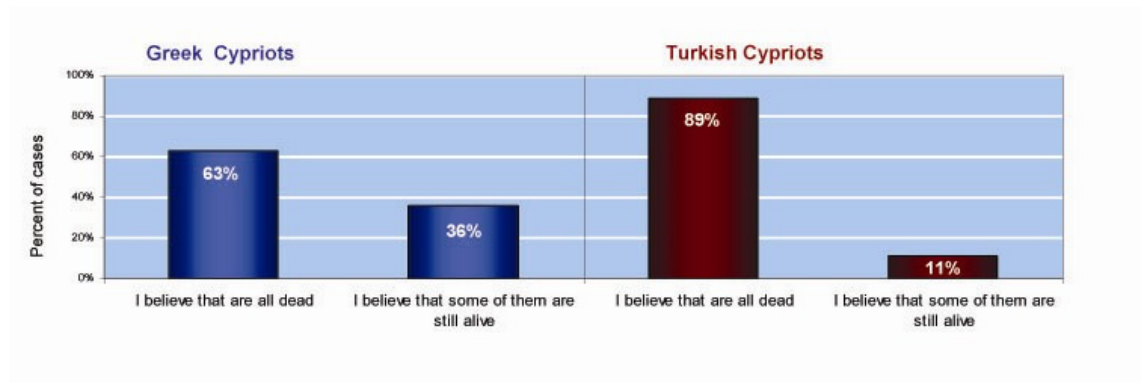
Figure 2. To what extent do you consider the CMP to be a positive or negative presence on the island?



**Figure 3. Are you aware that in recent months, the remains of a number of Missing Persons, both Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot have been exhumed and identified?**



**Figure 4. Which of these two statements are you more in agreement with?**



**Figure 5. Do you believe that all the missing are dead, or that some of them are still alive somewhere?**

## **8.6 An open wound – How the Missing Persons of Cyprus has impacted on the Greek Diaspora in Australia – personal accounts of relatives left behind**

These next two sections seek to discern and describe the experience and perception of relatives of Greek Cypriot Missing Persons living in Australia. I hope that these moving stories, made-up from the personal reflections of ordinary people trying to salvage their lives and livelihoods in the aftermath of cataclysmic violence, will inspire readers while helping sufferers to understand that they are not alone. This is important research as it formally documents and describes the experience of Greek Cypriot immigrants from a war zone, communicating the narratives of those whose relatives are Missing Persons from a conflict in their homeland. This information is potentially valuable, too, to other migrants and refugees living in Australia who find that they must live their lives with the absence of relatives missing in war. Trauma and its release is a topic of major importance in today's history-obsessed age. Therapists encourage victims to talk about experiences as a form of therapy, while researchers may find that gathering such 'collective experiences' is valuable, as only then can the general community fully understand the complex impacts war may have on people's lives. One significant detail for this thesis is that relatives of the Greek Cypriot Missing Persons revealed that they had never been interviewed — not even by authorities of their own country – nor had anyone asked them about their personal accounts of when they last saw their loved ones, or offered the support of counselling. It should also be noted that the Republic of Cyprus had not even taken the initiative to interview persons immediately after the events of 1974, nor to asked those affected by Missing Persons — mothers, fathers, brothers, sisters, sons, daughters and wives — whether they wanted to offer any information. Similarly, interviewees reported that they had never received any form of communication or correspondence from authorities in Cyprus to assist in the investigations of Missing Persons, as well as to assist them in coping with such a huge burden in their lives. Wives and husbands lost their spouses, children were



orphaned, mothers and fathers lost their children, and sisters and brothers lost their siblings, but despite such tragedy no official has made any effort to contact or communicate with these victims or to update them on relevant recent information.

Thus it was both typical and sad to learn that interviewees stated that it was a surprise to them that someone was interested in shedding light on this issue, and wanted to gather a range of personal accounts from relatives to understand this humanitarian issue after decades of neglect and silence. They were very willing to talk and wished it had happened in 1974 when personal accounts of events were fresh in their minds. It should be noted that the Republic of Cyprus regards the issue of Missing Persons as imperative when it comes to placing issues on the agenda of peace talks. Despite this, many of the relatives stated that the Cyprus Government authorities do not take it seriously enough to approach victims of war.

As discussed earlier, interviews were conducted with 15 individuals in three Australian cities — Melbourne, Sydney and Adelaide — and one individual who was visiting from Cyprus, while another Missing Person relative was discovered via social media and a Skype interview was conducted. As four decades have passed since the invasion, the task of find relatives living in the Diaspora is a difficult one as individuals do not talk about the past as much as they might have previously. None the less, those relatives now living in the Australian Diaspora were able to recall events well and were able to express their concerns and experiences. Most recall that it has been an endless search to find their loved ones. The following insights — some detailed, others brief — will touch on details of 19 Missing Persons. I should note, too, that not all relatives were happy to be identified. Indeed, most wanted to remain anonymous and so their names were altered (a pseudonym/alias was used) for confidentiality. It is also worth stating that the setting of the interviews was different in each Australian city and this might have had an impact on the responses of interviewees. In Adelaide and Melbourne

each relative was approached individually in their own homes, as was the Skype interview with the relative based in Cyprus. This provides a familiar environment for them, making the interview process far more soothing and relaxing. This also allowed an opportunity to see how relatives commemorated the memory of their loved one(s), such as hanging their pictures on walls, or bringing back 'souvenirs from their occupied villages' when they crossed the recently opened borders. By contrast, the Sydney fieldwork was the most difficult as six (6) interviews were conducted in a very small room on the ground floor of the Sydney Cypriot Community Club rooms, which did not even have a window. The room offered three chairs and was the store room for the main office, where archive boxes full of documents were kept. This made it very difficult for discussion as interviewees responded with close-ended answers, and did not proffer much descriptive information.

Core themes concerning the relatives of Greek Cypriot Missing Persons in the Australian Diaspora include: **(1)** the persistent search for evidence of their missing loved one and the need for verification of remains and death and the need to bury their dead. Each were willing to go to great lengths to retrieve their dead. On other common issues among the relatives is **(2)** despair and anger about the lack of communication and information offered by State authorities, and **(3)** mental anxieties and trauma brought on by war.

All of these themes and others will be analysed in the following sub-sections. Rather than describe the experience and perceptions of individuals in turn, thematic analysis is employed to identify the most urgent and representative patterns that emerged across all the interviews.<sup>354</sup> The analysis aims to formulate a thematic map of issues.<sup>355</sup> Equally importantly, in 8.7 the thesis takes an autobiographical turn, where I reflect upon the experiences of my own

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<sup>354</sup> C. Grbich, *Qualitative data analysis: An introduction*. London: Sage, 2007.

<sup>355</sup> V. Braun, & V. Clarke, 'Using thematic analysis in psychology'. *Qualitative Research in Psychology* 3, 2006, pp. 77–101.

family in living with the memories of the invasion and with the absence of beloved relatives.

### **Closure and need for burial of remains**

Giorgoulla (daughter of Missing Person Yiannos Costantis Vlachou) asked plaintively about how families could get on with their loss when they do not have any remains and cannot have a proper goodbye and burial? For many interviewees the viewing of the body is the only way to start the grieving process, as seeing the remains clarify facilitates the acceptance of death. Without remains there cannot be closure. The story of her father Yiannos Costantis Vlachou, who was from the mixed Greek Cypriot Turkish Cypriot village of Komi Kebir, Rizokarpasos, received much attention in British newspapers. It offers insight into the experience of being a relative of a Missing Person. Yiannos was married with one daughter Giorgoulla<sup>356</sup> and two grandchildren. According to his friends, the last place he was seen was at Kantars Castle, near Kyrenia on 22 August 1974,<sup>357</sup> however this is not consistent with where he was found in a mass grave in his village of Komi Kebir. Angelique Chrisafis, journalist for the Guardian, a UK newspaper, explained how her uncle became a Missing Person:<sup>358</sup>

*When the shooting did start, he helped pack his sister and his ageing mother into the back of a neighbour's van and saw them off. Relatives tried to get a message to him via the Red Cross telling him to leave but he shrugged it off. "These were family men, innocent men, they had never done anything to anyone. They stayed because they thought they were safe," his grandson Andis says. Turkish Cypriot neighbours had assured them they would be safe. Anyone in the area who had anything to feel guilty about had long since moved off when the Turkish troops approached.*

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<sup>356</sup> Field trip interview with Giorgoulla Koulermou resident of Cyprus, was visiting South Australia. Interview date: 3 August 2009.

<sup>357</sup> Missing Cypriots (NGO) website, <[http://www.missing-cy.org/cgi-bin/missing/display\\_sn?114](http://www.missing-cy.org/cgi-bin/missing/display_sn?114)>, accessed 30 July 2009.

<sup>358</sup> A. Chrisafis, 'Bones don't speak', *The Guardian*, 15 April 2008, <<http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2008/apr/15/cyprus>>, accessed 9 August 2009.

In this very detailed article Angelique explained how her uncle was found in a mass grave and described the information relayed to the family from authorities:

*The grave was dug up in September 2006, the bones analysed and finally given back to us in March 2008 ... We now know that he was found in a mass grave with 12 people in it, six from Komi Kebir and six from neighbouring Eftakomi, my grandfather's village. Yiannos was lying seventh in the line with one arm above his head. Three of the others had their hands tied. All had bullet wounds and bullets were found dotted separately around the grave – we don't know if they came out of the bodies as they decomposed. The men, aged from their 40s to their 60s, were farmers as well as the coffee-shop owner from Komi Kebir. Some had land, as Yiannos did, others didn't. There didn't seem to be a link between people chosen to die. The grave was on the edge of fields beyond our village, a quiet spot in view of a tiny old Byzantine church. It wasn't far from the fields Yiannos had tilled himself. It was near a big bush – a quirk I later learned was a common pattern, the killers often chose a marker, such as a wall or a tree.*

*It took three days for the UN to dig the grave and recover the bones, they then covered it up and moved on. None of the locals approached to watch. The grave was 12 metres long by two metres wide and less than one-metre deep. Its uniform shape meant it was dug by a bulldozer, by someone with farm machinery. That and the perfect numbers would suggest that it was systematic: 12 men picked out and driven off to be killed, the grave prepared. Clockwork "ethnic cleansing" before the term was coined.*

*... The men had bullets to the head. But some also had bullet wounds to their torsos.*

Angelique explained how finding her uncle's remains in 2008 after 34 years had helped her family, but it also raised painful new questions about the fate of those still considered Missing Persons.<sup>359</sup> In her article she revealed her family's torment over more than three decades of not knowing the fate of three other family members. Only Yiannos has been found so far:

*... the UN had dug up his bones from a mass grave. Laid out beside him were a few relics preserved by the dry Cyprus soil: two buttons, pieces of his shoes and*

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<sup>359</sup> A. Chrisafis.

*socks, a belt buckle and his small pocket-knife for cutting fruit. My cousin, Andis, picked up his skull and cradled it, tracing his fingers around the bullet holes. "One shot to the back of the head, one bullet into the temple which exited the cheek," he surmised.*

*Three generations of our men disappeared after they were rounded up into the village coffee shop: Yiannos, my great-uncle, was 61, Pavlos, my uncle, was 42 and Solon, my cousin, was 17.*

*Yiannos's daughter Giorgoulla said: "We're lucky to have found him, because others haven't ... I have cried a lot, but I have carried this all these years and now finally it's the end".*

Questions asked by families include who gave the tip-off to authorities concerning where the mass grave was located?

*Who was the person who told the UN where to dig? Who after all this time finally led the authorities to the hidden grave? There was a story going round that some time after the 1974 killings, a 10-year-old boy had been out in fields with his father and had come across some strange raised earth. His father had come to look and had returned with a tractor to try and dig there to see what it was. He dug below the surface but not deep enough. The boy, now in his 40s, had possibly now come forward to point out the spot. Some were sceptical about this tale. Whoever gives information can do so anonymously and without recrimination. Some wondered if the killers themselves had pointed it out.<sup>360</sup>*

The importance of having Missing Persons found is reiterated in Angelique's article when she described the emotions involved with not knowing the whereabouts of loved ones. She wrote:

*Without the remains there is a torturous limbo, an inescapable hope that somewhere they are still alive. Bones, bodies, any trace at all, are mythic things for the families of the disappeared. You yearn for them and dread them. The chance of a proper funeral means closure. But with it comes the nagging questions and imagined last moments. Did he know his killers? Did he die quickly? Did he suffer? Was he made to dig his own grave?<sup>361</sup>*

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<sup>360</sup> A. Chrisafis.

<sup>361</sup> A. Chrisafis.



a)



b)

**Figure 6: a), Yiannos Costantis Vlachou, the 61 year old Missing Person whose remains were found in 2008, b) Angelique Chrisafis at the site of the mass grave.**

The article also expresses disappointment with authorities for not allowing families to know the fate of their loved ones. The CMP mandate does not allow an investigation of how each Missing Person died. Only remains are to be retrieved and returned to families for burial. This frustration is expressed in the Guardian article:

*Several of the experts leading the digs have worked in Bosnia. But a key difference is that in Bosnia when mass graves were opened, evidence was collected for an international war crimes tribunal. In Cyprus, the process is limited to handing back the bones. The committee does not try to find out how the person died, what happened or who did it. There is no justice or truth process, as yet. In fact, the committee's decades-old mandate is so narrow that the UN would perhaps not agree to it now. The bones are simply given to families and the graves are closed up again in silence. We are left aching to piece together the truth of what happened. But we have to be our own detectives, trying to map out the story from fragments of memories and the scant details from the bones. One humanitarian official warned me gently: "Bones don't speak much. They have very limited things to say, little information, they are not bodies in a crime scene. The only secret files are in the heads of the people who did it."<sup>362</sup>*

The (former) UN member of the CMP Christophe Girod explained that:

*People are getting older and they want to speak before they die ... When people see that graves are dug, that you can speak and nothing happens to you, it prompts more to come forward. When we exhume, neighbours often say, "You're*

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<sup>362</sup> A. Chrisafis.

*digging here but you should also dig over there.” We’ve found several sites that way.<sup>363</sup>*

He felt that certain people now giving information may also have been perpetrators, but they never said so. “Everybody is a witness. Everybody was behind the tree. Nobody was behind the gun.” Thus another aspect that infuriates relatives is that the CMP arranges immunity from prosecution for those who come forward with information about locations of sites for exhumation. This is felt as a great injustice, also preventing a closure concerning the death.

Greek Cypriot refugee Christina (pseudonym, now living in Melbourne, Australia) from Vasilia (Vasilia Vavilas), Kyrenia still remembers the last day she saw her brother, Lefteris Efsthathiou, sister-in-law Erpiniki and nephew Christakis vividly. For a loved one to die is devastating enough but to lose those closest to us in war or conflict and to not know what happened or where they are simply compounds the grief and makes the grieving process very complicated, she said.

Lefteris was from a family of six children, four boys and two daughters. Christina, who now resides in Melbourne, Victoria, said that she and her second eldest brother along with their respective families escaped the first Turkish invasion by temporarily moving to the southern part of the island.

*We saw planes and ships arriving as we were in the village (in Kyrenia) when they were bombing. People came from Labythos, from Karava, and told us to leave and go as far away as you can as the Turks were progressing and they were killing, raping women.*

Despite being safe, on 16 August her brother, 33-year-old Lefteris and his wife Erpinia, 34, decided to go to Morphou, a major town in the Nicosia District, to collect their newly purchased tractor and bring it back with them. They were concerned that it might be damaged as they had

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<sup>363</sup> A. Chrisafis.

just borrowed the money to purchase significant farming equipment. What was meant to be a quick trip to retrieve their possessions led to a family's demise. The couple took their 7-year-old son Christakis with them for what was to be a day trip, but he too is now on the list of Missing Persons. Only their infant baby daughter Anastasia survived.

*... the Turks had already made their way to the village and they collected them. They collected everyone into the kafenio of Morphou. There were another 17 people there in Masari...the others were allowed to leave and they left with their arms high (surrender position) they managed to get out of the village where they were accompanied by the Turks. When they left they realised that my family were not among them, my family members and their landlord. No one knows anything. They were hunting those with children more. We have no further details from that time.*

*They left two orphans – a 9 ½ year old son Panayioti and newborn Anastasia 27 day old, who have since been raised by their grandmother.<sup>364</sup>*

Coincidentally, as I was writing this thesis the family had just been informed that the location where it is believed they are all buried will be excavated in the near future. The location became a Turkish military zone and no excavations were allowed until the announcement in November 2015 that the military zones of the Turkish troops in occupied Cyprus will now be open for access by the CMP. Christina said: “We might have closure soon with this latest announcement. We have been waiting for more than 40 years and it is unacceptable excavations have taken this long.”<sup>365</sup>

Athinoula Panteli (of Assia in the Famagusta District) said when they received the news that her father's remains were found (see below) they were very sad and all the feelings of anxiety and trauma came back, however they were pleased to have closure. “Although we now have remains at a cemetery we still cannot accept the situation of how my

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<sup>364</sup> Field trip interview with Christina (pseudonym), resident of Melbourne, Victoria. Interview date: 20 January 2010.

<sup>365</sup> Follow-up phone interview on 5 November 2015.



father was killed and my mother refuses to go there. She has not been since the March 2015 funeral,” she said.

*“We were asked to give a list of parliamentarians to attend his funeral (protocol in Cyprus when there is a funeral for Missing Persons as they are seen as national heroes) but we refused to have any politicians attend, as we are angry about the situation and how politicians handled themselves around the time of the 1974 Turkish invasion. They still came but we did not allow them to make any speeches.”<sup>366</sup>*

Athinoula went on to say that

*“When remains are discovered there are fresh flashbacks and memories but at the same time relief of having closure. We can have a burial, but we still want to know how they died*

*“These things are very sensitive as we are dealing with people who were killed. As the decades pass, it is still the only wound of war that gets worse with time as you don’t know. It is not like being shot or displaced as you eventually heal and recover and rebuild.*

One case which highlights the importance of burial is that of Kiriakoulla (Koullou) Shenga. The grandson of 80-year-old Kiriakoulla Andy Kontou (residing in Adelaide, South Australia) offered an insight into how difficult it has been dealing with authorities to get them to exhume his grandmother’s remains from where a Turk has confessed to have buried her – in her front yard. In this case his interpretation of historical information is based on the personal experiences of his mother and of his grandmother’s neighbour from the village of Peristeronopiyi, also known as Piyi, located north of Famagusta. According to the information he was provided, his grandmother Kiriakoulla was shot and buried in front of her home. Her name was removed from the list of Missing Persons.

In Mr Kontou’s words:

*What I know (is) from a lady called ‘Beba’ whose name escapes me. This lady told me the story as it was told to her by the man that noted all the happenings after the Turkish army came to my yiayia’s village.*

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<sup>366</sup> Phone interview with Athinoula Panteli on 1 October 2015.

*At the time of the second attack by the Turkish army, around 15th August, they entered into the village and all the inhabitants left with any possessions they could carry.*

*Whilst all were eager to leave, fearing for their lives, my yiayia opted to stay. There were many old folks that thought the same as my yiayia and stayed behind. One of these old folks was named Andreas who was, I am told, a 60 year old unmarried educated man. What happened from then on I am not sure but the story has it that Andreas stayed at the village undercover from the Turkish army for over six months.*

*When the Turkish army had occupied the village they proceeded to shoot at the old folks on sight, leaving the bodies to lie where they were shot. What then happened, to me is rather astonishing, this man Andreas would pick up these bodies and bury them, undercover from the Turks. He apparently continued to do this until there were no more old folks left alive, at which point he gave himself up to the Turkish Cypriot police six months after the occupation of the village. He was then sent to the Greek side of the island.*

*My yiayia was shot and killed as she peered through the door of her house around the 17th–18th August and lay at the spot she was killed for two days before Andreas could bury her, which he did outside her home in a storm water ditch. As far as we all know she still lays there until today.<sup>367</sup>*

Andy Kontou's father has since died and has not had a chance to have closure and have a burial. "The family simply ask that authorities allow us to have a proper burial as we cannot properly grieve without a body," he said. "It is not a case of finding the remains, we know where they are. It is important to speed up the process of identifying burial sites, exhuming bodies and identifying the missing before the lives of the waiting relatives themselves come to an end."

Paris (pseudonym, now living in Sydney, New South Wales) told me of a somewhat similar experience, recalling that her cousin Theodora Charalambous was one of many who were killed in Assia; as the Turks entered the village they killed about 26 people. "We had a bulldozer and

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<sup>367</sup> Field trip interview with Mr Andy Kontou, resident of Adelaide, South Australia. Interview date: 8 September 2009. Emails sent from Mr Andy Kontou on 15 May 2009 and 8 September 2009.

they used that to bury them”, she said. She recalls hearing that recently someone gave details about a burial site and they found three Missing Persons in this grave. “Another person from my village said she witnessed her father being killed. She buried him with the assistance of two neighbours,” she said.<sup>368</sup>

Although it is known that they are killed and buried in the occupied territories of north Cyprus it is still important for them to have their remains at a burial location accessible to them as we can visit and there is a form of closure to the situation, Paris said.

Andonis (Andonis pseudonym from Kapouti, Morphou) agrees with these sentiments and said that having a resolution for all the Missing Persons is important: “We must at least find bones, if we are to rest in peace. If we do not bury our dead we cannot rest, there is no light at the end of the tunnel.”

Similarly, Panos (pseudonym, who now lives in Sydney, New South Wales) said: “My Missing Persons have not been found as yet but it is important to me to have a burial. I have never been able to lay their bodies to rest. For a long time we have all been waiting for a knock on the door, with the hope that they are alive, but as the years pass I just want a proper funeral and to be able to place flowers on their grave.”

Panos was 32 years old at the time his good friend and *koumbaro* Panayiotis went missing in 1974. Panayiotis Karayorigi was 30 years old at the time and was married with no children. His *koumbaro* Andreas Varnava was 27 years old and was married with a son and daughter.

Panos, from Potamia, Nicosia, recalled that during the first invasion he went to Dali and had a brief encounter with his now Missing *koumbaro* Panayiotis, who was his daughter’s Godfather. There they were given 27 rifles to protect the village. He remembered being in the town of

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<sup>368</sup> Field trip interview with Paris (pseudonym), resident of Sydney, New South Wales. Interview date: 27 February 2010.

Lefkoniko, heading towards Mia Millia, on 11 August. The men were missing after the 14 August, around Mia Millia, Kythrea villages. Panayiotis was spotted under a tree in an olive grove near Kythrea on 11 August, he said. 'We had information that 8 people from this military base (*filakio*) are Missing Persons', he said. Families were offered some financial support to assist them, he said. DNA samples were supplied by the families, but as yet no remains have been matched.<sup>369</sup>

### **Lack of communication from authorities**

A second major theme that occupied the minds and bodies of relatives of missing persons was the seemingly cavalier disregard for their feelings and situation as expressed by Greek Cypriot authorities. Christina mentioned that the lack of information provided from authorities added to the ongoing pain as there was no-one to quell the spread of misinformation about the exhumations from mass graves and the cause of death as to how they were executed.

Andonis (pseudonym) from Kapouti, Morphou, now living in Melbourne, said that the authorities always seem to be disorganised. He revealed that he had many friends on the Missing Persons list including Nikos Efthimiou Shizas, born in 1951, who was a 24 year old father of two children when he went missing. He had a 6 month old son and a 3 year old daughter. He also knew Costas Meraklis 22 years, who was married with one son and his wife was pregnant when he disappeared. She gave birth in September 1974, in Athens. There was Andreas Pissi as well, who was 18 years old and was almost certain to have been killed; and Yiannis Stavrou, 22 years of age, was on the front line in Labythos when he went missing.

According to informants Cypriot authorities have disregarded the relatives of the Missing Persons, so that they did not have regular

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<sup>369</sup> Field trip interview with Panos (pseudonym), resident of Sydney, New South Wales. Interview date: 27 February 2010.

meetings or letters or any news on the radio about up-to-date information.

*“How were we to establish trust and credibility about finding our friends and loved ones?” Adonis said. “This lack of cooperation added to the confusion and anxiety for us who are waiting for answers about our Missing.”*

Andonis was in the military when he was given a weapon and told to fight. He recalls how the Cypriot authorities sent ‘young boys’ to fight without weapons and without any training, knowing that they were certain to fail. He remembers how they sent soldiers in five trucks and how they met up with another three trucks of Cypriot troops in Kyrenia, near the Zervos Hotel. He claimed that:

*It was Friday 19 July and I was in the 3rd truck and we were disorganised. There were about 300 of us on the front line and there were about 200 of us there already. We then moved uphill to Labythos and back down when the 2nd invasion happened. The Turks were already in place and blockaded roads.*

He recalled the chaos of the Cypriot troops and of no one knowing what to do during the first invasion. They were all young inexperienced teenagers who were given a weapon and told to fight, but by the time the second invasion occurred there was a little more order. He said:

*If anyone of them is alive it might be Costas (his first cousin), but the rest were certainly killed. He was alive just after the second invasion in August 1974 and was seen around the green line.*

He described how the Turks encircled the village of Filia Masari and on 16 August they asked for everyone’s names. “We surrendered and communicated with the Red Cross and the Turks transported everyone to Kapouti, near Morphou, and tied us up. There was an exchange with the wounded, elderly and under age, while the rest were transported to Kyrenia High School, just before the village of Agios Georgios, where they were put onto ships for Adana, to serve as Turkish POWs. In Adana itself, the abuse was indescribable and it was a test for human survival,” he said. Andonis recalled how the Turkish guards would kill rats and drip

their blood in their daily meal of pasta and expect the captive prisoners to stir their meal before being forced to eat. He recalls the daily bashings and whipping and how best friends would fight over a piece of bread. He remembered how men would distract each other so they can steal one another's allocated meals:

*When I was released as a POW I was offered £CYP2.50 by the Cypriot Government and then I had another battle. I had to hire a lawyer to defend myself so I could be released from the military, as military police were after us. ... We were never offered any counselling or psychologist. I was only told by the authorities to go to a dentist, a Dr Morphidis at Ledra in Nicosia, and get my broken tooth fixed.*

Antonis recalls similar scenarios as my father (see later in chapter) with how they prepared for their food in the Turkish mainland prison and how they were regularly beaten if they did not obey the most inhumane requests from the prison guards.

By coincidence, a month later on a separate field trip to Sydney I discovered that an interviewee, Anastasi (pseudonym), also from Kapouti Morphou, had known Nikos Schizas. This demonstrates that the world of the Cypriot Diaspora is a small one and that there are connections between people with similar experiences and acquaintances of Cypriot Missing Persons in distant places, such as in the new homeland of Australia. This also shows that if the Missing Persons associations were organised they could perhaps travel to other places in Australia (or abroad) and interview surviving witnesses to connect stories together. This has never happened. The details Anastasi had about Nikos Schizas are that he met up with him about 2 to 3 August 1974 on the road in Morphou and Shizas was ordered to go to Labythos in Kyrenia while Anastasi went to his military base.

Information provided by Anastasi indicated that Nikos was in a house on the morning of 13 August and the Turks advanced and set a base near Labythos. Greek Cypriot soldiers were ordered to leave, with 17 soldiers

leaving and progressing in the direction of the sea looking for an exit. They were all shot and killed. The rest came out an hour later. Due to the chaos of the moment Turks were killing Turks by accident. Nikos Schizas was missing from this point.

Anastasi said that it is important to have a burial as there is closure and the rest of the family can 'relax'. He does recall that the wife, Panayiota, received some form of financial assistance as a result of her husband being a Missing Person.<sup>370</sup>

Anna (pseudonym, who was living in Sydney, New South Wales) reported there are several associations for missing persons but that not one of them communicated anything. "It is important to inform people in writing or by telephone so they do not get a shock when they see a relative's photo in the newspaper. Authorities have an obligation to keep relatives briefed about all aspects of trying to find the Missing Persons. It is well overdue and more than 40 years have passed."

Anna's nephew Michael Kokkinovoukos was 19 years old (from Kontea, Famagusta) when he was last seen 15 August 1974 in Voni. He was single and the youngest of four children. Anna said that between 1963 and 1970 before moving to Cyprus and then returning to Australia after February 1974, she was 33 years old at the time of the 1974 invasion. She recalled reading in a Cypriot newspaper that her sister's son was missing. "My husband saw my sister's photo in a newspaper we got a hold of at the Cypriot community in Sydney. That is how we found out about my nephew," she said. She recalls being informed that he was a soldier and had hid in a home where a woman gave him civilian clothes. "He gave her details of how to find his family to inform them where he was at that point, which she later did. She was the last person to see him, when she left him in her home". She said that in late 2009 they

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<sup>370</sup> Field trip interview with Andonis (pseudonym), resident of Melbourne, Victoria. Interview date: 21 January 2010 and Field trip interview with Anastasi (pseudonym), resident of Sydney, New South Wales. Interview date: 27 February 2010.

were informed that a grave with six people was found in Voni but he was not one of them – his mother Eleni is now 90 years old and his eldest brother Christakis is 69 years – they are all “waiting hour-by-hour” for any news. Anna said that she has been disappointed that authorities never showed any interest in the issue to follow up with families. “My sister has accepted that he is dead, but she still waits. We can’t even have a memorial service,” she said.<sup>371</sup>

Another relative Con (pseudonym from Sydney, New South Wales) was in shock to discover a relative’s remains had been found, identified and buried when he saw it on Australian satellite TV.

His uncle, mother’s brother Andreas Pantazi, was in his 70s at the time and was identified in 2009 via DNA. His daughter, Eleni, who lived in Kythrea, now also lives in Australia.

*They found his remains in a field near his house and his two daughter’s homes. He was the only one in the grave. He refused to leave his home as he knew all the Turkish Cypriots and did not think they would harm him. We first heard of it (remains being found) on Satellite TV (Cyprus Broadcast TV, CyBC) and were in shock.*<sup>372</sup>

*Con said: “It is traumatic to actually hear the names of your loved one on TV and to hear about their fate via the media. It adds to the stress and the authorities need to learn better and start communicating, especially in today’s modern world of technology. Finding out in this tragic way brings back flashbacks of the events of 1974.”*

Anastasia (pseudonym, now living in Sydney, New South Wales) is yet another person to express her views on the way authorities communicate via mass media and not individually with families. Anastasia’ said her cousin’s son Polykarpos Kapsis was one of the fortunate cases of having had his remains identified shortly after the excavations started on the island, in 2009. “One of four children, he was serving in the military and

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<sup>371</sup> Field trip interview with Anna (pseudonym), resident of Sydney, New South Wales. Interview date: 27 February 2010.

<sup>372</sup> Field trip interview with Con (pseudonym), resident of Sydney, New South Wales. Interview date: 28 February 2010.



had two brothers and a sister. There is now closure with the burial and my cousin is more at ease now since it has been six year from when he was identified and buried.” No further specific details were offered in the brief interview.<sup>373</sup>

The most revealing interview about how the Cypriot officials “liaised” with relatives of Missing Persons is the one with Noula (pseudonym). One of six children from the occupied town of Famagusta, her family migrated to Australia in 1983. Noula was 11 years old when her 18 year old brother disappeared while doing his military service. She recalled how the entire village would meet, during the first Turkish invasion, and hide in the basement of the Asterias Hotel for a few days at a time, each time there were bombings. “When the second invasion occurred the entire family got in our car at about 3am in the morning with our pyjamas on and we left”, she said. She further explained to *Neos Kosmos*, the Greek national newspaper in Australia, that everything was left behind, as we thought that “we would be able to return to our home in Ammohostos in just a couple of days. Sadly, this was never to be.” Once the family was safe they started asking questions about their son and brother. “We were all very worried about Andreas, everyone was concerned, especially my mother.” She explained how her mother went to the Green line that divided Cyprus and tried to cross it. The family’s anguish continues today:

*Noula’s mother goes to Cyprus to attend annual conferences for relatives of Missing People. The last person who saw Andreas was Noula’s father who visited his son briefly at the army base and gave him a clean set of clothes and some money.*

*Noula emotionally recalls something her brother had said to her. Andreas said: “if anything happens remember to live – don’t stay in this war. I cannot leave because if everyone left who would fight for this country?”*<sup>374</sup>

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<sup>373</sup> Field trip interview with Anastasia (pseudonym), resident of Sydney, New South Wales. Interview date: 28 February 2010.

<sup>374</sup> V. Aristidopoulos, ‘A Time to remember’, *News Kosmos*, 13 July 1998, p. 9.

She recalled how the family was told he was wounded on his shoulder and every time a POW was released her parents would ask authorities if he was among them. The family never stopped believing that he would return. They still wait for him.

Her sister and mother, now aged in her 70s, provided DNA samples in 2003 for any potential matching of the remains they are exhuming, in the hope there is closure. The family never managed to cope with or get over their grief and have never had an offer of counselling from the Cypriot officials. “How can a mother handle such things without any social workers, counsellors, psychologists to help mentally?,” she said. The only thing they have been given is a small pension each month, however the family are disappointed that when the mother was invited to go to Cyprus in about 2008 for a special ceremony for the Missing Persons, in which a memorial was erected in their honour and relatives were given a plaque with the names of their family member(s), not even an airline ticket was offered to her by the Government of Cyprus. Noula’s family paid for her mother’s expenses for her to go, and three of her sisters escorted her, so she can accept a plaque in honour of her fallen son. Noula said that the ceremony itself caused psychological distress and was not a pleasant event as they re-enacted the events with firearm sounds and the events of the invasion and ‘my mother has been sick ever since. The trip was an “emotional distress” for her’, she said.

### **Mental anxiety**

A third core emotion experienced by my informants was mental anxiety and stress. Emotional wounds were still raw for many of them and the delayed long-term stress led to ongoing psychological problems such as depression and anxiety. Some showed signs of Post Traumatic Stress Disorder whereby their relatives reported that they had lost the ability to function effectively. Others said that they experienced ongoing symptoms of stress including nightmares, anxiety, flashbacks and difficulty integrating into normal routine life. Some felt that they were socially and

emotional detached and withdrew from social activities. Others said they were agitated by even the slightest things and were paranoid and easily fearful. They feel as though their relationships with their family are no longer solid. Some felt they could not live a normal life as they had feelings of guilt over the fact that they survived while their beloved friends or relatives did not.

These broken individuals often stated that they would have appreciated assistance in processing their experiences and adjusting to everyday life after the tragedy. Many did not seek help on their own as there is a stigma about seeking assistance from the Australian medical profession, yet all exhibited a remarkable resilience. Athinoula Panteli (of Assia in the Famagusta District) reported that the most important ingredient in recovering and getting on in life is to remain connected with other people and particularly community members. She stated that:

*... hundreds are unidentified, hundreds are missing and distraught relatives are getting lost in the bureaucracy that is not helpful. Relatives of missing are calling agencies to help asking for any information to gain any information or data. It is a natural but humanitarian issue which should be dealt with as the anguish is never over despite the years passing.*

Athinoula Panteli, 61 years old who now resides in Sydney, New South Wales, told me about her father Thavith (David) Constantinou Foti who was one of 86 missing from the village of Assia – the village with the most Missing Persons from 1974. In brief, Athinoula said the reason her village of Assia has the most Missing Persons is because many Turkish troops arrived on foot and ambushed civilians. Athinoula's father Thavith (David) was just 46 years old, a civilian and was with his family at the time of the Turkish troops arriving at his village. Athinoula, who was 20 years old at the time, recalls that the Turkish troops rounded up everyone in the village square and separated the women and children from the men. They tied her father's hands in two places – below his elbows and below his wrists. As they were loading him with other men onto trucks he yelled out to her and said: «Η σφαίρα δέν πονάει» (The

bullet does not hurt). The women were kept hostage at a house in the village and were beaten and raped by troops before any assistance arrived 12 days later. That day was the last day Athinoula saw her father. DNA samples were given to the CMP in the late 1990s by her father's brother Andonis, who has since passed away, and his son Yianos and luckily she was fortunate enough to have received the call about the discovery of her father's remains.<sup>375</sup>

In this initial face-to-face interview Athinoula was very sad and low-key. She did not display an optimistic outlook and sobbed in the interview. Her father's remains were found in the same mass grave as my uncle Christos (to be discussed in the next section of this chapter) and a funeral was held in March 2015. Athinoula recalled the day a phone call was received with the news that remains were found in two wells in the village of Ornithi from about 80 individuals. There were 39 remains in one well and about 40 or so in the other.

*I cannot describe the pain and anxiety associated with going to the viewing at the CMP to see my father's remains. It was unbearable.*

*We did not have a complete body but instead had bones from different parts as remains were removed from grave to grave over the years. There were three bones from his neck, near the spine, and half a knee as well as two bones from the elbow to the hand. There was also a piece of bone from the back of his ear. There was no skull at all. After the initial phone call it was hard to remain alert as we were still in shock after all these years. My 83 year old mother Maria was like a zombie and did not sleep or eat at all. She even refuses to go to the cemetery and has not been since the March funeral. She cannot accept that he has been killed and we do not even have a complete set of skeletal remains.*

*The killers dumped bodies in mass graves, and then tried to cover up their crimes by moving them, sometimes a number of times, to different locations. Remains were mixed up and the only way to reassemble the 'broken' bodies is by using DNA to distinguish them.*

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<sup>375</sup> Field trip interview with Athinoula Panteli, resident of Sydney, New South Wales. Interview date: 27 February 2010 and further details 9 August 2012. I followed up regularly with phone call for latest developments.

When families are burying incomplete bodies there is additional agony when additional remains are recovered and it is like burying your loved one all over again. "It is heart breaking," she said.

A psychologist was present to answer any questions and to assist them through their pain. "Photos were shown of how the excavation took place in the area and detailed information was offered such as that my father had his hand broken before he died. I recall him having his hands tied behind his back when they escorted him onto a bus when I last saw him, so they were probably very rough and broke his hand," she said.

Athinoula said that there is now closure but that the wounds will open again when they notify us about the remaining bones they find in the future. She was also at ease knowing that one of her two daughters has moved back to Australia after living in Cyprus for 13 years. "I want her near me as I feel comfortable having my family close by and not in Cyprus where the situation is not good there, both the ongoing politics and the economic situation," she said.

Christina (from Vasilia, Kyrenia with missing brother, Lefteris, sister-in-law Erpinia and nephew Christakis) said there is a feeling of intense distress when people ask questions or you are reminded of the loss of the loved one.

*There is a sense of helplessness as you have no answers after all the years, are they dead, if so where are they buried, how do we commemorate their memory?*

*We avoid all activities thoughts or feelings that remind us of the events of 1974. Earlier on in the late 70s and 80s there was also a sense of a limited future as you do not want to continue life without the Missing Person and have them miss family events. There is a sense of hopelessness.*

Christina has grown a jasmine plant in her Melbourne backyard as a memorial for her brother and his family and even offered a bunch of

flowers from it when the interview was conducted. This offered a human touch that I found very moving.

*We had a similar tree in our home in occupied Cyprus and I wanted to have the same so I can remember my brother Lefteris, sister-in-law Erpinia and nephew Christakis. It was also a way for me to cope with what has happened and to move forward in our lives and to try and understand that justice is not always possible.*

*I also felt confused and frustrated every time I would hear unofficial reports and anecdotes about Missing Persons being found in Turkish prisons or with the discovery of a mass grave.*

These stories are no different to the renewed interactions between the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities, as it is reflected in the growing academic literature on Cyprus, with publications such as Rebecca Bryant's *The Past in Pieces: Belonging in the new Cyprus*<sup>376</sup> and Lisa Dikomitis discussion in *A moving field: Greek Cypriot refugees returning 'home'*.<sup>377</sup> In it she finds that she cannot separate her fieldwork from the experiences of her own family, that of her father being a refugee driven from Larnakas to Lapithou. Her ethnographic observations and personal experiences are interwoven with descriptions of how refugees return to their homes 29 years after they "left with the clothes they were wearing" when the border opened on 23 April 2003 – a gesture by Turkish Cypriot leader Rauf Denktas to open the Green Line and allow people to cross freely from one side of their divided island to the other.

Dikomitis describes how some refugees collected soils from specific places back home: "...[For example] Ireni put the soil of the teratsia (carob tree) on her (grandmother Olymbia's) grave. She told me it was important, so that her mother was in some sense re-united with her father and with the place she belongs to, Larnakas (her village)."<sup>378</sup> It

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<sup>376</sup> R. Bryant, *The Past in pieces: Belonging in the new Cyprus*, *Contemporary Ethnography series*. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010.

<sup>377</sup> L. Dikomitis, *A moving field: Greek Cypriot refugees returning 'home'* *Durham Anthropology Journal*, Vol 12(1) 2004, pp. 7-20.

<sup>378</sup> L. Dikomitis, 2004, pp. 16.

represents a part of their past life and a part of them and their ancestry. This story is no different to relatives looking for their loved ones 'new found' lost photos or some form of memorabilia, she exclaimed with tears in her eyes. In 'From the city to the village and back: Greek Cypriot refugees engaging in 'pilgrimages' across the border' Dikomititis describes how some refugees are so emotional in returning that they even "... filled jerrycans with water from the village well and picked some fruits from the trees in his fields."<sup>379</sup> They are simply experiencing a sense of memories and looking for souvenirs to remember lost places by. This is no different to the relatives of the Missing Persons, for whom "... refugees' nostalgic discourses repeatedly revolve around the sharp contrast between their former lives in a small rural village and their present lives in an urban milieu"<sup>380</sup>, as they too want to feel the nostalgia of the past and compare it to their new lives away from their ancestral home. Just as refugees described how "... they celebrated their patron saint's feast day (*panayiri*) and they vividly recall details about the religious sites in their village"<sup>381</sup>, the relatives of Missing Persons also celebrate the saint's feast day for their lost loved one with considerable emotion. Also similar is the aspect of displaying photographs in their homes, whereby the refugees "display photographs of meaningful localities in the north ... exhibited in central places of their houses ... and repetitive storytelling about their way of life in the village".<sup>382</sup> Just as the Missing Person relative recounts stories of their loved one, reiterating information about them with the hope that they pass on information to the second generation about their overwhelming yearning to see them again.

Christina said she could not get over the events of 1974 and the loss of her brother and his family members for a long time, but she has slowly accepted it over the decades. She explained that, "I was not interested in

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<sup>379</sup> L. Dikomititis., 'From the city to the village and back: Greek Cypriot refugees engaging in 'pilgrimages' across the border', 2009, *When God Comes to Town. Religious Traditions in Urban Contexts, In Culture and Politics/Politics and Culture*, p. 79.

<sup>380</sup> L.Dikomititis, 2009, p. 81.

<sup>381</sup> L.Dikomititis, 2009, p. 82.

<sup>382</sup> L.Dikomititis, 2009, p. 83.

social interaction with others and could not make eye contact, listen attentively to them when they spoke. It felt like I had to run away from any conversation, as I did not want topics to trigger any reminders of our family situation. I preferred to be silent”

Being traumatised and feeling the inability to move on or have closure is common in families of the disappeared, as they are “suspended in a ‘no-man’s-land’ of psychological and spiritual existence,” according to research on understanding psychosocial issues of Missing Persons in post-conflict settings.<sup>383</sup> Research by Keough et.al. also suggests that establishing credibility and trust is essential and that “expectations and limitations of the recovery and identification process must be clear, true and defensible”.<sup>384</sup>

What is interesting is that Post Traumatic Stress has been shown to have an impact on parenting ability, and such parents may be described as “incapable of affect and intimacy and overprotective of the child”, as described by Carol Kidron’s article *Toward an Ethnography of silence: The lived presence of the past in the everyday life of Holocaust trauma survivors and their descendants in Israel*.<sup>385</sup>

*... descendants may suffer from transgenerationally transmitted effects ... repression of emotions, difficulties with intimacy, fear of separation, obsessive involvement in the lives of their parents, failure to separate and individuate ...*<sup>386</sup>

Gottschalk also discusses this indirect psychological impact on the victims’ offspring.<sup>387</sup> She notes that:

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<sup>383</sup> M.E., Keough., T., Simmons., M.,Samuels., “Missing Persons in post-conflict settings: best practices for integrating psychosocial and scientific approaches”, *The Journal of the Royal Society for the Promotion of Health*, Vol. 124. No. 6, 2004, p. 271.

<sup>384</sup> M.E., Keough., T., Simmons., M.,Samuels., 2004, p. 272.

<sup>385</sup> C.A., Kidron., ‘Toward an ethnography of silence: The lived presence of the past in the everyday life of Holocaust trauma survivors and their descendants in Israel’, *Current Anthropology*, Vol. 50. No. 1, 2009, pp. 5-27.

<sup>386</sup> C.A., Kidron, 2009, pp. 7.

<sup>387</sup> S.Gottschalk, ‘Reli(e)ving the Past: Emotion work in the Holocaust’s second generation’, *Symbolic Interaction*, Vol. 26, No. 3, pp. 356.



*Second Generation members have suggested that although not directly traumatized by the Holocaust, they had nevertheless been socialized in a certain psychological “milieu” that they internalized ...these dispositions include “chronic anxiety, fear of renewed persecution, recurring nightmares, psychosomatic disorders, anhedonia, social withdrawal, fatigue, hypochondria, inability to concentrate, profound alteration of personal identity, depression, guilt and psychic numbing....The traumatic experiences they endured during the war impaired their parenting skills and, hence, led to problematic socialization practices...”<sup>388</sup>*

These observations sound familiar to one family who have suffered from the loss of their brother as a Missing Person. Noula (pseudonym) said that her family were in a permanent and continuous state of mourning from the loss of her missing brother Andreas Farfara. She stated that: “we were forbidden from being allowed to listen to music. About 15 years had passed and we had not heard any songs. All of the children in the family up until today find it difficult to laugh. My mother holds his picture throughout the day and she even has one of his t-shirts she holds and she prays for him each day.”

Gottschalk writes that “survivors often encouraged their children to experience and display undesirable emotions (sadness, mourning, anxiety, emotional numbing) and discouraged them from experiencing and displaying desirable ones (joy, happiness, trust, confidence).<sup>389</sup> This is also consistent with what Sant Cassia discussed, in that relatives of the missing are in a state of symbolic impurity. They are “set apart” socially and nationally, and set themselves apart – in terms of their own emotions through mourning, and in terms of societal views on mourning.<sup>390</sup>

*... (Agni) the wife of a missing judge from Kyrenia told me: “I could never open up my house gladly (haroumeni)” An open house is a symbol of gladness, generosity, communion with others, and growth...(Agni was saying) that she had withdrawn*

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<sup>388</sup> S. Gottschalk, pp. 356.

<sup>389</sup> S. Gottschalk, pp. 358.

<sup>390</sup> P. Sant Cassia, ‘Missing Persons in Cyprus as ethnomartyres’, *Modern Greek Studies Yearbook*, University of Minnesota, Vol. 14/15, 1998/1999, p. 266.

*from society, and could not bring herself to fully open up...an incomplete household not in communion with the rest of society...<sup>391</sup>*

As a teenager growing up in a household with a brother who was a Missing Person, she recalled her mother as being very withdrawn and reserved and that they did not have a normal mother-child relationship. The family has never received anything and she said that if they were offered any assistance they would have stayed in Cyprus. The family have also never been encouraged to liaise with associations on Missing Persons in Cyprus.

With respect to resolving the Missing Persons issue, “It is very important to identify Missing Persons remains and have a funeral because you need closure”, she said. “If you bury the person then you think it is the end. We have every right to know what happened to these people,” she said. Further,

*We need answers about Missing Persons otherwise there cannot be a solution for the Cypriot problem if this information is not provided. Missing Persons is a very important part of finding a solution to the Cyprus problem. Until now I feel disgusted about the way we grew up and nobody wanted to know us, and then we migrated to Australia. It is like we never existed for Cyprus, that is how I felt. I don't think they feel sorry about us, they don't care about what happened to us, my family and so on.*

If she were President for the day Noura would invite all these people (Missing Persons relatives) and listen to their feelings and see what can be offered.

*It has nothing to do with money or compensation.*

*(All people) want is an opportunity to be heard, otherwise we feel we have been ignored all these years. They don't even know if we exist, and how many brothers and sisters Andreas has waiting for him. You are the first person (other than the local Greek Australian newspaper) to interview us.*

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<sup>391</sup> P. Sant Cassia, 1999, p. 266.

*From the very beginning the (Cypriot) Government could have interviewed the families, relatives, friends and it would be good for public eye as well to see the pain. Nobody bothered with Cypriots, not even the Cypriots.*

*We thought that going away (to Australia) you forget, but whatever you carry with you is there, it never goes away. Since then I have had a phobia that something will happen to my family. I can't express my feelings, I always hold back. I am not allowed to have happiness, I have a missing brother. I feel guilty having any enjoyment in my life, this has always been with us. We came as migrants not as refugees, but those who have similar experiences now get all sorts of assistance – human rights personnel, medical help, social workers, counselling.*

*The victims of the Turkish invasion of Cyprus are also disadvantaged (in their new homeland) as no-one 'knows our social background'. This was a 'foreign country' for us, but what about our own country, where all these things happened? We are the lost generation as our homeland does not see us as important and neither does our new homeland.<sup>392</sup>*

Hambi (pseudonym) from Lyssi Famagusta who now calls Melbourne his home, recalled how his sister Maroulla lost her son Andreas Makaridis, the eldest of five children; he had three older and one younger sibling. About 25 to 30 people from his village are on the Missing Persons list. "Andreas had only been in the military for 6 months and was 18 years old at the time," he recalled.

He was last seen at Trachonas by a family friend, who spoke to him for some time during the first Turkish invasion (22 July 1974<sup>393</sup>). No one has heard from him since this. Before Andreas's mother died on 3 December 1983, she would regularly visit associations for Missing Persons and even went to the army barracks to ask about him.

*My sister Maroulla says that every time there is an excavation her heart beats faster as she asks herself if she is the one to get that knock on the door. I hope that there is closure before she dies and if they are found after she passes on, she has asked that they put their remains with hers. Without a burial there is no*

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<sup>392</sup> Field trip interview with Noula (pseudonym), resident of Melbourne, Victoria. Interview date: 31 January 2010.

<sup>393</sup> Organisation of Relatives of Undeclared Prisoners and Missing Persons of Cyprus website, <<http://www.missing-cy.org.cy/ItemsForm.asp?ID=575/>>, accessed 6 February 2010.

*closure and mourning is on-going. One dilemma is if we are to have a church memorial service for our Missing, as you do with your dead or to simply wait for government administrators to offer details. I do not know if the Missing Persons issue will resolve the peace solution, but it is best to close the situation... As time has passed it is not the same feelings. It is still emotional but not as intense.*

The only assistance the family was offered was to give the father Georgios a public service job to assist the family.<sup>394</sup>

Nikos (pseudonym, living in Sydney, New South Wales) from Sirianohori, Morphou was 24 years old in 1974 when he last saw his brother Michael Charalambous on 19 July 1974. They were neighbours. “He was the eldest out of four children and I was the youngest; we have another brother and sister between us’, Nikos said. ‘I recall seeing him at a cafe in Efedros’, he said:

*I was visiting my fiancé in Kapouti village of Morphou and on 20 July I was heading to go to work along the Nicosia road. My mother Elli, now 88 years old, and in a nursing home in Australia, said Michael was heading to Ayios Georgios, Kyrenia. Our father Christos, who passed away in Australia in 1981, would cut from his food to give to his grandsons, who had lost their father.*

*My brother was 31 years old, seven years older than me and he was married with 3 sons. (Christos 5 years, Kostas 3 years and Andreas 1 year old). He worked in agriculture and had an orchard. My sister-in-law, his wife Elpitha died in 2002.*

*Just after the Turkish invasion, we would put notices in newspapers if anyone had seen him or knew of his movements. Once a lady called when she saw his photo in the newspaper and she said she saw him among 10 soldiers in Labythos, Kyrenia. A friend then spoke to a man from the Kyrenia area and he said he more than likely was killed in Kyrenia.*

Nikos explained that he was approached by the High Commission in Australia to offer a DNA sample in about 1998, but before this he was never contacted by anyone again, not even to ask if he needed psychological assistance to cope.

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<sup>394</sup> Field trip interview with Hambi (pseudonym), resident of Melbourne, Victoria. Interview date: 18 January 2010.

*It is 99.9 per cent that he is dead, but we still have 0.1 per cent hope that he may not be.*

*We have not had a funeral, have not had a psihosavado service (memorial service for souls in Orthodox Church) and no memorial service (mnimosino).*

*It is very important to know what has happened to him as if we knew he was killed and these are his remains we can have a service for him.*

In 2002 he said he called social workers in Cyprus to see what rights there were and was told that the Missing Person's wife gets something (*epithoma*) but mothers are not allowed anything.

*The Government could have done more. They did not calculate the number of POWs and those killed accurately. They did not have an accurate number of their people before they did the POW exchange.*

*As for psychological assistance, it should have been offered years ago. It is not just about losing an individual, a husband, son and father. It is also about losing a home, property that was farmed and income to survive on.<sup>395</sup>*

Nikos asserted that the entire handling of the Missing Persons of Cyprus has been inadequate and unjust for the relatives and this has added enormously to the trauma and stress. "My father died not knowing anything about his son, but if the authorities handled it correctly his stress could have been less." My parents had nightmares of losing a child and having orphaned grandchildren. This alone tortured their souls."

One extraordinary case of Missing Persons is the story of Sotiri Yiatrou.

At the age of 36 years, George gave a speech at his father Sotiri Yiatrou's funeral, the father who died at the age of 23 years and just days before his only child's birth. George was born 10 days after his father became a Missing Person on 22 July 1974 while serving as a reservist soldier in Kyrenia during the first stage of the Turkish invasion. He left his heavily pregnant wife Androulla in their village of Exo Metochi to go and fight. His remains were discovered 36 years later in a mass grave near the

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<sup>395</sup> Field trip interview with Nikos (pseudonym), resident of Sydney, New South Wales. Interview date: 28 February 2010.

soccer stadium of Kyrenia. He had a tragic death with a bullet hole in his chest and two bullet holes in his skull. His funeral was held on Saturday 29 May 2010 with full military honour and was attended by cabinet ministers.<sup>396</sup>

In George's correspondence he stated that the telephone call he received from the CMP was something he expected one day. What he did not expect was the way the remains of his father were returned to the family. He said:

*‘Προετοιμαστήκαμε για την κηδεία. Με χάλασε το γεγονός ότι τα φέρετρα ήταν μικρά και το ίδιο και ο τάφος. Οπτικά δεν είναι καθόλου σωστό και δεν δίνει και τα σωστά μηνύματα.’*

*(Translated: ‘We prepared for the funeral, what was upsetting was that the bones were in a small container and the grave for burial was also very small. This gives a very different message to the one that should be relayed to the world, he says.’)*<sup>397</sup>

In May 2010, several days after receiving the phone call about his remains being found, the family were told to go to the old Cyprus International Airport in Nicosia and were shown some photos and given details of how my father met his death.

*‘Ο πατέρας μου δολοφονήθηκε από τους Τούρκους τις 23 Ιουλίου το 1974<sup>398</sup> και ήταν εκτέλεση. Οι φωτογραφίες δείχνουν σφαίρες στο στήθος και δύο στο κεφάλι που ήταν οι χαριστικές βολές.’*

*(Translated: ‘My father was executed by the Turks on 23 July 1974. The (CMP) photos show how he was found in the grave with a bullet near his chest and 2 holes in his skull.’)*

*‘Είναι πολύ σημαντικό να βρεθούν οι αγνοούμενοι γιατί μόνο με αυτό τον τρόπο ησυχάζουν οι συγγενείς τους.’*

*(Translated: ‘It is very significant to find the Missing Persons as this is the only way their relatives can find peace.’)*

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<sup>396</sup> Email from George Yiatrou, son of Missing Person, translated from an email sent on 5 November 2013.

<sup>397</sup> Email from George Yiatrou, 2013.

<sup>398</sup> Email from George Yiatrou, 2013. George stated that the date of execution is known because the perpetrators are the ones who directed the CMP to the mass grave site.

*Κάθε αγνοούμενο τον θεωρείς και δικό σου..*

*Το κράτος θυμόταν πάντα τους αγνοούμενους στις επετείους και στις εκλογές.*

*Κανένας δεν ενδιαφερόταν αληθινά και κανένας δεν είχε το θάρρος να πει ποτέ αλήθειες στους συγγενείς.*

*Επιτροπές με πρόχειρους σχεδιασμούς και μάλιστα δύο. Επιτροπές οι οποίες έκαναν πάντα ότι τους έλεγε η εκάστοτε κυβέρνηση.*

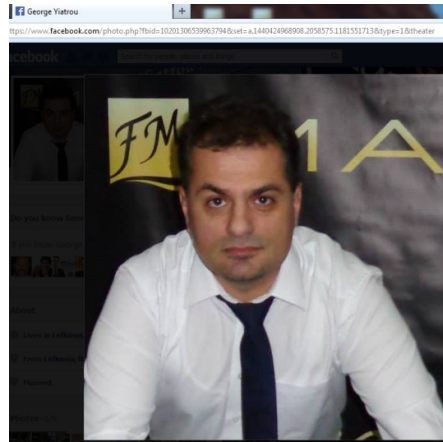
**(Translated:** *You consider every Missing Person to be your own.*

*The government only remembered the Missing Persons at anniversaries and election times. No one was really interested and no one had the courage to ever say the truth to the relatives.'*

*Committees with no serious plans, and there were in fact two of those. Committees which always obeyed whatever government administration happened to be in power.)<sup>399</sup>*



**a)**



**b)**

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<sup>399</sup> Email from George Yiatrou, 2013.



c)

**Figure 7. a) Sotiri Yiatrou, George’s father who became a Missing Person on 22 July 1974, b) George Yiatrou as he is now, c) Androulla Soteriou Yiatrou, George’s mother holding her husband’s remains at the CMP headquarters. Sotiri Yiatrou’s funeral was held on Saturday 29 May 2010.**

### **Psychological counselling**

What forms or experiences of emotional support or counselling did families of missing relatives receive? Most relatives stated that they did not expect counselling, as the Cypriot state had not communicated with them about the process of finding their Missing Persons. Nearly all informants said they would have welcomed a social worker or any health professional to offer them support. This despite the fact that the CMP itself knows the importance of working sensitively with relatives once remains were found – as clinical psychologist with the CMP Ziliha Uluboy has verified, finding remains was significant: “The skull is a very important body part to remains. It is a face. When they don’t see this they feel very bad.”<sup>400</sup>

Nikos (pseudonym, living in Sydney, New South Wales) said the expectations of having information about our missing was far more than

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<sup>400</sup> F. Hill, ‘How Bosnia is helping identify Cypriots murdered 50 years ago’, BBC World Service, 30 September 2014, <<http://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-28145649>>, accessed 10 October 2015.



the expectation of having emotional support, which is something they offer now when they knock on the door to inform you about the remains of your loved ones being identified and ready for viewing. 'It would have been a benefit to many of the family of Missing Persons to have psychologists in close proximity to us who were always anxious for any information. This kind of social support would have been great for healing', he said.

Christina (pseudonym, lives in Sydney, New South Australia) agreed that counselling is the one need of families that should have been prioritised. "We all need to move on and if we had some sort of emotional support we could recover better, although you never fully recover."

She recalls how her 19 year old brother Michael Lambi was in the military for 2 years and was last seen in Jaos in Kythrea. He was one of eight children, two living in Cyprus and the rest now living in Australia.

"My brother Michael was dressed in full military clothing and had just one week left to complete his military service," she said. My dad Elia died in Australia in June 2008 and mum Eleni is 88 years and still waiting for news.

"My sister's parents-in-law Chrystallou and Christofi are also Missing Persons and were last seen in Kythrea," she said.

"My father's great nephews, Michael and Ilias Lambi, who I went to high school with, are also missing. Their parents survived as Turks separated women, men and children," she recalled.

*All refugees from Kyrenia went to Kythrea and stayed there, they did not leave. I left from Kythrea on 14 August 1974. That morning my three year old daughter said "mum look there are balloons in the sky" which were in fact Turkish military jumping from parachutes around the Mia Millia area. As we were leaving the car behind us was hit by a bomb, as there was heavy fire just outside of the village. My sister's husband Vanezi was in the military and he is now missing without any remains found as yet.*

*We stayed in someone's holiday home (εξοχικό) in Sina Oros near Kakopetria with 22 people in one house. I was the last person who saw my brother, it was two days before the second invasion on 12 August 1974, just outside of Kythrea where there was lots of military and we never heard from him again.*

*A long time had passed and one of my brother's friends found my father to tell him that they were circled by Turkish tanks in Kythrea and they were heading towards Mia Millia to the free areas. He was first in line and ran to survive, but he said he heard gun shots and turned back to try and see.*

The family say they always asked the Red Cross through their brother Angelis Ilias, who is responsible for communicating for the family.

“Mum, now 87 years old, gets a pension from the defence ministry but nothing else, no counselling was offered. We don't have a memorial service, we do not have closure,” she said.

There were many mistakes made and one is that the government neglected to inform people via radio that the Turks had arrived with parachutes:

*People were just guessing as to what was happening, we thought the parachutes were a general military exercise (γενική γυμναστική) and had no idea about being invaded. We first had radio contact two weeks after, it was chaos and that is why many were killed.<sup>401</sup>*

Christina said that her way of coping was to regularly visit the Church and speak with clergy. Even having a memorial service is symbolic to begin grieving so this is what most were doing as the decades passed. There is less hope of finding them alive. Having a memorial service is like being given permission to let go and accepting that there is no more hope.

In her book Lisa Dikomitis discusses how attending church was particularly emotional as they represent the afterlife and commemorate specific past events in people's lives. They are also symbolic in that they

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<sup>401</sup> Field trip interview with Christina (pseudonym), resident of Sydney, New South Wales. Interview date: 28 February 2010.

facilitate worshippers to 'reclaim' their loved ones by way of having a 'connection' with God and engaging in religious rituals: at church people venerate the icon of the patron saint of their Missing Person and light candles, asking for help and blessings for their homes.

In a second Dikomitis publication (*Three Readings of a Border: Greek Cypriots Crossing the Green Line in Cyprus*), some refugees state that when crossing the border they are " ... overcoming the fear of encountering something that falls short of the idealized image of the former home" and that "the process is nevertheless a source of often extreme emotional pain."<sup>402</sup> This is even more so for the relatives of the Missing Persons as they see landscapes that trigger events from the past and even locations where they last saw their Missing Person.

It is also worth mentioning that Peter Loizos and Costas Constantinou studied the psycho-social health of refugees in their publication *Hearts, as well as Minds: Wellbeing and Illness among Greek Cypriot Refugees*<sup>403</sup>, discovering that there is a greater probability of both cardiovascular and depressive illness for relatives. Their methodology was to analyse medical data and back it up with interviews. They also looked at the violence that underlies the psychological consequences of being displaced and witnessing/experiencing torture, rape, loss of close family members by violent death and the impact of Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD).

*They found that 22 per cent of their Greek Cypriot refugee sample were suffering from Post Traumatic Stress Disorder, but their data revealed that many of the PTSD respondents had lost a close relative in the military conflicts of 1974, so their reactions could equally well have been interpreted as reactions to the specific experience of untimely bereavement, rather than the more general experience of forced migration alone.*<sup>404</sup>

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<sup>402</sup> L. Dikomitis, 'Three readings of a border, Greek Cypriots crossing the Green Line in Cyprus', *Anthropology Today*, Vol. 21, No. 5, 2005, pp. 8.

<sup>403</sup> P. Loizos, C. Constantinou, 2007, pp. 86 – 107.

<sup>404</sup> P. Loizos, C. Constantinou, 2007, p. 87.

Two other themes emerged from their 2000 field research on the generational consequences of being displaced for more than 25 years: stress related illnesses such as diabetes and heavy alcohol consumption was more prevalent in the older generation.<sup>405</sup> In conclusion, they note that unfortunately, “The Government of Cyprus had not routinely published statistics in which refugee and non-refugee health outcomes could be compared, even though Evdokas and colleagues (1976) had given early warning that psycho-social and health related issues might be important for the displaced.”<sup>406</sup> Their data suggests that refugees “might be more likely to have cardiovascular illness, but this remained suggestive, rather than conclusive. The injustice also made refugees “show anger when they recall their displacement”.<sup>407</sup> More significantly, in my interviews people revealed that they felt an inability to maintain normal daily contacts with friends and colleagues, as they were obsessed by their personal nightmares. Some noted that before the war they felt more able to talk with everyone. Sadly, interviewees perceived that although mentally traumatised family members elicited sympathy and pity, they also required a heavy burden of care that family members were forced to assume. Others in the family found them more of a burden than a support. In brief, the dependents – widows and orphans – were people whose needs could not be ignored as they were psychologically shattered.

## **8.7 The Fate of Interviewees: A Discussion**

Between hope and despair: this is reality for the relatives of the Cypriot war missing, where many lives were broken. Interviews have revealed that these relatives are “secondary victims”. Many families continue to suffer through the lack of support. In brief, the issue of Missing Persons is more than just a major humanitarian concern. Relatives and immediate families of Missing Persons suffer enormously from the

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<sup>405</sup> P. Loizos, C. Constantinou, 2007, p. 88.

<sup>406</sup> P. Loizos, C. Constantinou, 2007, p. 89.

<sup>407</sup> P. Loizos, C. Constantinou, 2007, p. 100.

uncertainty about the fate of their loved ones. Their concerns are larger even than finding mass graves or using the role of forensics in clarifying the humanitarian issue of the fate of Missing Persons. Relatives relied on memory recollections of past events. Some offered me copies of the only photos they had of their loved ones; others hoarded articles written about their loved ones in newspapers, or proffered copies of books about the Missing Persons from their village.

The interviews with sisters, brothers, children, cousins or people who lived side-by-side of the victims generated vivid images as sufferers expressed their intense feelings when sharing their memories of their loved ones. Families have been destroyed by the endless void of unknowing, having been forced to hedge on the painful question of where is my relative, husband, father? Are they dead or a “slave”, or POW somewhere?

One relative said it is important to bring the murderers to justice as soon as possible — only by doing so can the souls of the deceased truly rest in peace and the confidence of the living be restored. However with respect to the Cypriot Missing Persons this will not happen as it was agreed upon by authorities that there will not be accountability, just cooperation between the Greek and Turkish communities to find the Missing Persons and resolve this protracted issue from the 1960s in intercommunal fighting and from the Turkish invasion of 1974.

Still, for interviewees, the return of remains is important. Sant Cassia has argued that the demand for the return of the remains is more than a cynical political ploy by the state. From the Greek Cypriot perspective there are at least four distinct political actors involved: the Committee of the Relatives, the Greek Cypriot CMP negotiating team, the Foreign Ministry, and political party interests. He states that it is difficult to specify if this demand for the return of the remains was either, **1.** an expression of the relatives being suspicious that the Government’s involvement in the CMP negotiations might not fully represent their

interests and investigate the cause of death; **2.** a careful move by political parties to prevent a sell-out of national interests by the government; or **3.** a foreign ministry strategy to show the Greek Cypriot negotiating team that there was an independent demand from the relatives to convey to the CMP as a humanitarian issue needing to be resolved, and that the Turks were delaying as they had something to hide.<sup>408</sup> Burial of the deceased is important in many cultures and the demand for exhumation and burial is part of the mourning process. This is the case for the Cypriot mothers, but not so for the Argentinean mothers of the Playa de Mayo. The Cypriots want to bury their dead but the Playa de Mayo resist exhumation without allocating responsibility, just as is demanded by the Cypriot authorities. In this case their “political struggle” is not so much for the return of the remains of their loved ones, but rather for an account of the circumstances of their disappearances, and an allocation of responsibility. As one woman explained:

*We don't agree with the exhumation of the bodies. With the exhumations they want to eradicate the problem of the disappearances, because then there are no more desaparecidos, only dead people ... We want the names of the murderers. We want them to tell us what happened ... The bones don't interest us. What are we going to do with the bones? ... Exhumations have nothing to do with justice.*<sup>409</sup>

By contrast, Spiros Hacinikolau, who was five years old when his father judge Takis Hadjinikolaou disappeared from Yialoussa in 1974 said that,

*... until you get the bones of your loved one back, you must not believe that he or she is dead. You need to see proof for that. And culturally, you need a grave, you want to visit that grave, light a candle, bring some flowers.*<sup>410</sup>

Unfortunately for the Cypriot relatives, the identification of burial sites is the closest they will get to an admission of culpability.

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<sup>408</sup> P. Sant Cassia, 1999, p. 264.

<sup>409</sup> P. Sant Cassia, 1999, p. 278.

<sup>410</sup> S. Uludag, *Oysters with the missing pearls*, Northern Cyprus: Bilban Sociopolitical Studies Institute, November 2006, p. 42.

One crucial issue for Cypriots living overseas is the lack of “status” associated with being a relative of a Missing Person. According to Paul Sant Cassia, different classes respond to the status of having missing relatives in different ways. For the socially marginal, for example, farmers or workers, it is an honoured position to be a relative of a Missing Person. It is a sign of social recognition, and a claim to a nationally elaborated and recognised identity like the mothers of EOKA fighters killed by the British.<sup>411</sup> This was not the case for those living in the Diaspora. They are not part of the “direct and local community” impacting on the Missing Persons of Cyprus. On the contrary, they are far removed and are not/have not received any benefits from the authorities, as those who live in Cyprus have. More painfully, almost all of them had experienced indifference.

The result, of course, has been that people’s mental health has been affected. Indifference and not knowing leads to elevated levels of psychological distress. Individual coping strategies do not appear to provide sufficient protection from harm. There is little that individuals can do to reduce the negative effect of this on their health; organisational and community interventions are needed to reduce stress. Relative of missing persons in Australia have also found it hard to profit from one of the most hopeful initiatives of the last few years, the work of Turkish Cypriot journalist Sevgul Uludag, who has assisted in the identification of Missing Persons via her hotline and offered an “olive branch” between the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities. Her work has led to the establishment of a bicomunal initiative whereby relatives from both communities get together and offer support and healing. Opportunities such as this were possible with the opening of the checkpoint borders in April 2013, which allowed for the initiative known as “Bicomunal Initiative of Relatives of Missing Persons, Victims of Massacres and other Victims of 1963-74 Events”. It was established in 2005 and is the only organisation representing the relatives from both sides of the community.

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<sup>411</sup> P. Sant Cassia, 1999, p. 270.

“Its members speak about their shared experiences of pain, and their desire that the atrocities of the past be exposed, spoken about, acknowledged, and learned from.”<sup>412</sup> Another Turkish Cypriot based organisation formed in 2005, known as the Turkish Cypriot Human Rights Foundation (TCHRF), directly liaises with the relatives of Missing Persons by offering legal advice to relatives who are frustrated with the lack of progress by authorities. They assist in initiating legal cases in the Republic of Cyprus; hold seminars to inform about the CMP progress and offer psychological support. These groups have assisted organisations such as the Turkish Cypriot Association of Martyrs’ Families and War Veterans, and the Greek Cypriot PAPRUPMP to collaborate and offer bipartisan support.

The interviews also revealed that relatives feel that authorities classify the issue of Missing Persons as a politicised issue and not a humanitarian one. If it were regarded as humanitarian, it would have been addressed much sooner.

Iosif Kovras discusses the “politics of exhumations”, stating that the Missing Persons of Cyprus is an “emotionally charged topic which very frequently becomes exploited out of political expediency, like reinvigorating propaganda, symbolic functioning, or even bargaining in negotiations.”<sup>413</sup> Kovras stated that the case acts as “agents provocateurs”, since there is no convincing theoretical explanation why these societies delayed so noticeably in “unearthing” their (buried) past, and compared to other countries Cyprus did not manage to comprehensively unwrap the problem at any time before.<sup>414</sup> More so, he stated that the case of the GC Missing Persons became a central political symbol of the “culture of victimhood”, which was very difficult to renegotiate (Demetriou 2006: 303)<sup>415</sup>

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<sup>412</sup> AHDR, p. 11.

<sup>413</sup> I. Kovras, 2008, p. 386.

<sup>414</sup> I. Kovras, 2008, p. 375.

<sup>415</sup> I. Kovras, 2008, p. 376.



*Someone can also point to the fact that the case of Missing Persons has attracted much international sympathy for the GC cause and the “blame game” against Turkey, and subsequently became a very convenient policy tool to be discarded (Stephen 1997: 47).<sup>416</sup>*

*More specifically, the GC community reached a subtle consensus to “remember” the trauma caused by the Turkish invasion (Missing Persons, displaced, occupied territories) and to “forget”/“bury” behind this “grant narrative” the more divisive legacy of intra-communal violence related to the military coup.*

*By opening up this chapter of intracommunal (vertical) violence would have subsequently opened the “Pandora’s box” of all sorts of disturbing questions related to the atrocities committed by the “coupists” against members of the same ethnic group (leftists) but also the same sort of questions would have resulted in a revisionist debate concerning the activities of EOKA (the Greek paramilitary group) during the “national struggle”.*

*... opening this box would have seriously de-legitimised the official discourse of “victimhood” that preached the monopoly of suffering.<sup>417</sup>*

Kovras also discussed that “truth tellers ... are a threat to politicians because they have the power to disrupt hegemonic versions of truth”,<sup>418</sup> which justifies the feelings the relatives of Missing Persons have expressed through their interviews for this research project—they were not part of the agenda for some reason, for reasons including those discussed above, and therefore authorities did not see it as important to resolve the issue of Missing Persons and to listed to their needs, and above all to communicate with them to try and resolve the issue earlier. With respect to the various associations which had an aim to represent and support the victims of Missing Persons in Cyprus, Kovras stated that “the associations of the relatives of victims – in both communities – were used as political instruments”.<sup>419</sup>

In summary, interviews with relatives of Missing Persons in Cyprus demonstrates that even as far away from the homeland as Australia, the

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<sup>416</sup> I. Kovras, 2008, p. 376.

<sup>417</sup> I. Kovras, 2008, p. 377.

<sup>418</sup> I. Kovras, 2008, p. 381.

<sup>419</sup> I. Kovras, 2008, p. 383.

issue of absent loved ones remains a painful and personal issue for families in the Hellenic Diaspora. Many have taken active part in lobbying Governments to place this Cypriot humanitarian issue on their agenda, but their efforts have not been fruitful. Indeed, no knowledge has been learned of some missing persons for four decades now, despite it becoming of major importance in discussions between Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot leaders. The interviews have shown how the personal experiences of the relatives of the Missing Persons “bring additional knowledge” to the issue which can be synthesised with government, non-government and international reports, archival material and previous research. For example, interviews have revealed that even with the passage of time the wound does not heal, especially given the apparent disinterest of one’s own nation to offer assistance and support.

They have revealed, too, that in the experience of war most victims feel powerless and helpless – their silence is a form of protective behaviour. Victims of war often express no emotion, no opinion and avoid all emotional interactions. They might experience a trigger which will give them a visual cue and then they talk about it. Ask them to add colour to a black and white picture and some may unleash their emotions. Others do different things to stop this trigger such as withdraw, isolate themselves, and stop all social interactions. Many appear to have an explosive temper, so that one little thing may distress them and they explode: emotions are hard to control, and after a while anger becomes normal. They are fearful of what they have seen, so they do not talk as they are protecting people they live with. They have been deeply shamed by the things that have been done to them, so they try not to talk about it. In this way they protect themselves and others.

Further, the interviews have shown how relatives of Missing Persons experienced immense emotional distress and how this has impacted on their health, work and relationships. Many felt that they never received the social support they needed, both in helping to find their loved ones, and in assistance to deal with their experiences. All these issues may be

a reflection on the “chaos” at the time of the war and Cyprus’ disorganisation and panic. There were about 200,000 refugees and housing them was seen as a priority at the time above all other issues. Nevertheless, once this was resolved, relatives felt that the issue of Missing Persons should have become a priority again. In summary, the interviews generated findings that have something important to contribute; they offer a missing piece to the existing details on the Missing Persons of Cyprus and shed light on the reaction of relatives over the years. As one of the few research projects to include insights of relatives in the Diaspora, the interviews share new and unique knowledge that is useful and can be applied in a general context. Personal narratives can co-exist with other social science methodologies and generate knowledge, which can lead to changes in policy design. One such methodology is ethno-ethnography, to which I move to now.

## **8.8 My story — Author's personal confrontation with her past**

In this final section of Chapter 8 the thesis takes a more personal turn. In it I reflect upon the intimate and distressing history of my own family, who like the interviewees above, have first-hand knowledge about the emotional impact missing loved ones have on surviving family members. Along with my family I have lived forced migration and war, leading to my becoming a refugee. I felt the need to undertake a PhD dissertation as it 'completes me' – I wanted to offer something to my homeland and to the relatives, knowledge of our Missing Persons. My life experience as a relative of a Missing Person has shaped me as a person today. My fascination made me change career paths, from biochemistry to journalism, so that I would have the opportunity to write about war and refugees, relaying people's tragic stories. Throughout the research my passion was directed to understanding the subjects I interviewed, as I too was raised in a household with a psychological 'milieu' characterized by loss and uncertainty.

Although a toddler at the time of the invasion, my experiences of growing up as a refugee in the Australian Diaspora have been felt throughout my entire life, having watched my immediate and extended family suffer in many ways after being traumatised at the hands of the Turkish troops. They have also set me on a life journey to fight for people's rights, to seek the truth and to never let lies prevail.

I was just under three years old when my mother Athena heard low flying Turkish military planes approach our village, dropping bombs. It was early in the morning of 14 August 1974. She was already anxious given the first invasion on 20 July, so she grabbed me from my cot and started running from our house in the village of Neo Chorio Kythreas in the occupied district of Nicosia. We were captured, along with her six sisters, my grandmother and other women from the village. Held hostage by the Turkish troops in the village church and then in a stable in the village of Mia Millia, we were only rescued some three days later. Although I do not

remember much, my then 9 year old cousin recalls how in the stable Turkish troops randomly fired their rifles and pistols to frighten us. They shone torch lights in our faces. All this time soldiers took turns in raping and beating the younger women, tormenting their mothers and sisters while torturing them. They even targeted me as a mere toddler and replaced my milk in my baby bottle, which I managed to carry with me, with soap, making me drink detergent in front of my mother, grandmother and aunties.

On one occasion, when the Turkish troops left the stable, one of the women who had hidden a small transistor radio in her undergarments listened for information as to where the Greek soldiers might be, so that she could escape and run to find help. She was lucky enough to find soldiers from the Greek military deployed to Cyprus at the time of the invasion. They were our saviours. Rescuing us from the stable, they took us in their military cars and transported us to the UN forces, from where we were eventually taken to the southern side of the island. The ICRC assisted us with finding family members. Staying with relatives in the south, we desperately sought to find the rest of the family, specifically my father (Christos), paternal grandfather (Stelios Mina), and maternal grandfather (Apostolos Apostolides).

We discovered that my grandfathers were held by Turkish troops in the north as prisoners. My father was not so lucky. He had been captured in our village on 14 August 1974 and transported to mainland Turkey, to be kept in a POW prison in Adana. He was in the last group of people to be released after being assisted by the ICRC on 26 October 1974. He would often tell us stories of his life in the Adana prison – how some of those he befriended were escorted out and never seen again, as they had been executed. If ever we complained about our dinner, he would tell the story of what he was fed in Adana – pasta without tomato paste, seasoned by the blood of rats squeezed onto their food. If they refused to eat they were stripped and beaten with a bat in front of everyone. His experiences were

very similar to the relative of Missing Persons mentioned earlier Hambi (pseudonym) from Lyssi Famagusta who now lives in Melbourne.

At that stage my mother and her family were keen to leave Cyprus and go to a safer place. We accepted an offer to go to Greece via ship as there was a mass exodus. Upon my father's release he asked many people where we might be found. He reunited with us in Athens in December 1974. After waiting patiently for news of a return to our homes, our family were offered visas to migrate to Australia. We took this opportunity, with the hope that we would return in the near future. In fact my mother kept our house key for at least three years while we were new migrants in Australia until my father made it clear to her in 1977 that she was not going to return. She threw it away, along with her hopes of returning. The key had rusted. The loss of the key produced a kind of sad closure, so she could make future plans in her new homeland of Australia.

All these events had a profound effect upon me. I remember fear even as a toddler, witnessing these violent incidents: bombs dropping, dead people on the roads and hanging from trees, screams while watching the beatings of women being raped. We left Greece for Australia in February 1975. As a young child I cried whenever I saw a plane flying over. I could not stand to be left in the dark. I needed the house fully lit up at night. I refused to be left alone as I was petrified of being on my own. Someone would have to escort me everywhere, even to a neighbouring house.

I eventually overcame this. It helped that I returned to Cyprus in 1983 to evaluate our family situation and if we were to return. This trip provided an opportunity to understand a little about my roots and why I was in a country, my new homeland of Australia, where I did not feel that I fit in. I was not fluent with the English language and I would often be cruelly teased by other children who did not want new migrants: 'wog, go home' they jeered. At the same time I felt uncomfortable in Cyprus during our 4 month visit in 1983 and wanted to return to Australia. I felt as though I

did not fit anywhere. I felt robbed of my childhood as it had been brutally interrupted. I did not know what it was to have an innocent childhood, full of fantasy stories and toys.

It took my family many years to adjust to life in Australia and to move on and rebuild our lives. All 14 family members, my immediate family, my grandparents, my mother's younger brothers and sisters lived together in someone's backyard shed, until we were able to slowly find work and save for a new home in our new country. These circumstances did not allow a child to live a carefree existence, but one which was full of anxiety and stress. My family continue to suffer. Nightmares wake us, searching desperately for a place to hide from the 'armed Turkish soldier' in the bedroom. We accept that these emotional scars will be taken to the grave. They have not healed after more than 40 years. We are still fighting for justice via the European Court of Human Rights and have filed a legal case for all our lost property. After more than 12 years we are still on the court's waiting list and hope some time soon to receive justice for a lifetime of trauma and torment.

More than this, we have missing persons in our family. My grandmother Maria and grandfather Apostolos, from the village of Neo Chorio Kythreas in the occupied district of Nicosia, have family members missing since 1974. The nephew of my grandmother's brother-in-law is missing, one of the five well-known POWs made infamous in an iconic picture showing them surrendering to invading Turkish troops in 1974. The grainy black and white photograph became a symbol of the long fight by Greek and Turkish Cypriots to discover the fate of loved ones who went missing during the conflict. The husband of my grandmother's sister Yioryios (known as Ksisdros for his work in agriculture, meaning να ξήζει την γη, to dig the land) watched his sister Angeliki tormented over the decades, waiting for news about her 23 year old soldier son Yiannis Papayianni

(Ιωάννη Παπαγιάννη), who was captured as a POW by Turkish troops before being executed.<sup>420</sup>



a)

b)

**Figure 8. a) Yiannis Papayianni (Ιωάννη Παπαγιάννη) is numbered 4 in this iconic photo, b) where they found their remains<sup>421</sup>**

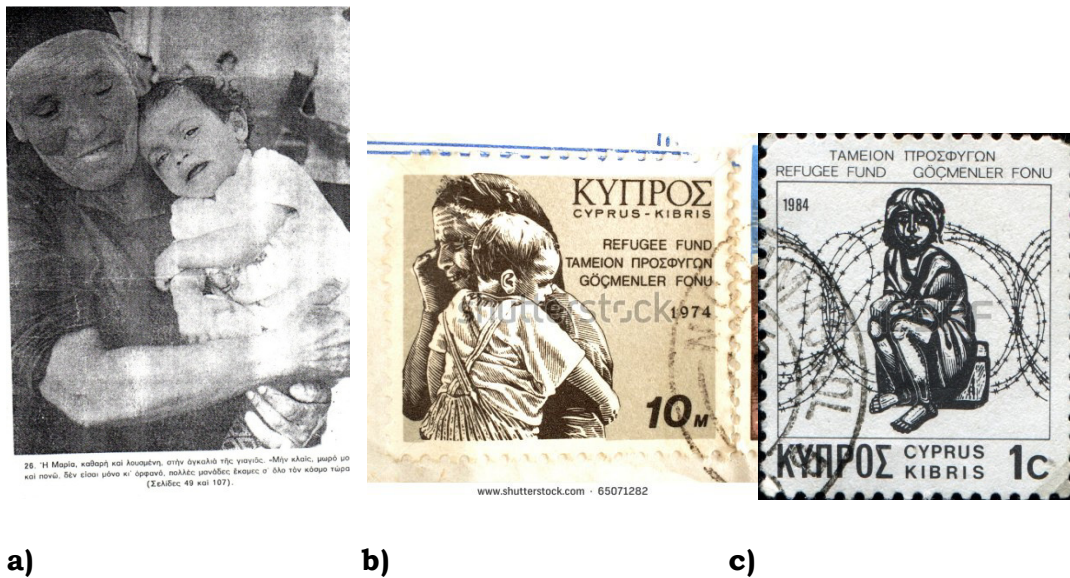
The case of the five well-known POWs was solved after 35 years on 8 August 2009 when it was announced that their remains were found along with those of 14 other people in an abandoned well in late 2006 in the occupied northern Cyprus village of Tziaos.

My grandfather's brother and his sister-in-law are missing. His sister's husband is also on the Missing Persons list. My grandmother's cousins, the Zervos family also went missing. However, neighbours knew of the entire family's execution despite no remains having been found of any family member until 2010. The Zervos family has had closure recently with the remains of 10 found in 2010 and in 2013, in a shallow grave in their backyard in Neo Chorio, Kythreas.

<sup>420</sup> Antinews, Κηδεύτηκε 35 χρόνια μετά ο εθνοφρουρός Ιωάννης Παπαγιάννης, <<http://www.antinews.gr/2009/08/14/11622/>>, accessed 10 January 2010.

<sup>421</sup> News.Gr, Βρέθηκαν λείψανα Ελληνοκυπρίων στα Κατεχόμενα, 8 Αυγούστου 2009, <<http://news.gr.msn.com/political/article.aspx?cp-documentid=149073771>> and Kathimerini newspaper, Ομαδικός τάφος Ελληνοκυπρίων αιχμαλώτων του 1974, 8 Αυγούστου 2009, <[http://www.kathimerini.gr/4dcgi/\\_w\\_articles\\_kathremote\\_1\\_08/08/2009\\_292018](http://www.kathimerini.gr/4dcgi/_w_articles_kathremote_1_08/08/2009_292018)>, accessed 10 January 2010.





**Figure 9. a) Maria Zervos with her paternal grandmother, b), Maria and her grandmother sketched on a stamp of the Republic of Cyprus, C) Maria who became a symbol of the Cypriot refugee from the 1974 Turkish invasion is portrayed on the national stamp with barbed wire in the background.**

There are other Missing Persons' stories that intersect with my life. Most importantly, many massacres occurred in my village of Neo Chorio Kythreas. Author Uludag, who has had a very close association with identifying possible burial sites of Missing Persons, confirms that "massacres against Greek Cypriots were committed in Palekythrea (Balikesir), Kythrea (Degirmenlik) and Assia (Pasakoy)."

*In Palekythrea three Turkish Cypriots murdered around 18 persons (mainly women and children) on 16 August 1974; only three Greek Cypriots survived. At Kythrea, Turkish soldiers killed a family of three (mother, father, and daughter) and buried them under a vine tree. The biggest massacre of Greek Cypriots occurred on 14 August at Assia, where after an orgy of rape and torture by Turkish soldiers 84 people 'disappeared.' Another story related by Uludag is the killing of a Greek Cypriot priest and the rape of his daughters by Turkish Cypriots in Trikomo on the Karpass Peninsula. In addition, Uludag tells of a mass grave found at Trachonas (Kizilbas), where among others the body of a Greek Cypriot missing from Yiallousa (Yeni Erenkoy) has been recovered.<sup>422</sup>*

The references are self explanatory and tell the story of the Zervos family: how they were executed with a bayonet, including the disabled twins with cerebral palsy. The most inhumane execution of all, Maria Zervos' mother

<sup>422</sup> J. Asmussen, 2008, p. 275.

Sotiroulla was executed while breast feeding her baby. Maria survived by licking her mother's blood for days before a neighbour discovered her. She became a national hero and even today, more than 40 years after the tragedy, she is seen on the national stamp as a symbol of the Cypriot refugee. The fact that Maria lived in my neighbourhood and was just 12 months younger than me at the time has haunted me over the years. I was amongst the village folk with my family when we were held hostage by the Turkish troops in the village church and then in a stable before we were rescued. Maria and her family were not as lucky. The Turkish troops may have replaced my milk in my baby bottle with soap and made me drink detergent, but that is nowhere near as horrific as Maria having to lick her dead mother's blood to survive. These stories have not reached the world outside of Cyprus. That is why I feel an obligation to tell our story.

More recently, a number of stories about both the killings that happened in my village and others near it, and the discovery of bodies, have emerged in the news. Each one both chills and relieves me, as I think of the sad resolution forced upon relatives of the missing persons as the fate of beloved family members are revealed. The article *Ena doro kathos fysouse ena apalo aeraki* [A present as the wind blew – Ένα δώρο καθώς φυσούσε απαλό αεράκι], <sup>423</sup> includes the following information. <sup>424</sup> (See Appendices for copy of original article)

*Οι αρχαιολόγοι έχουν χάρτινες, καφέ σακούλες για να βάλουν τα διάφορα οστά στην καθεμία και γράφουν πάνω στη σακούλα τι είναι...Για παραδειγμα το αριστερό χέρι ή ένας σπόνδυλος.*

**(Translated:** *The archaeologists have brown paper bags to place the various bones and they write what bone it is on each bag...For example the left hand or a spinal cord.*)

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<sup>423</sup> S. Uludag, *Ena doro kathos fysouse ena apalo aeraki* [A present as the wind blew – Ένα δώρο καθώς φυσούσε απαλό αεράκι], *Politis Sunday* (Πολίτης της Κυπριακής), 21 November 2010, p. 24.

<sup>424</sup> The original Greek language is quoted from the newspaper article and then translated to English to demonstrate 'authenticity' for those who are familiar with both languages. Both languages are referenced only for the newspaper articles.

*Η Deren (η επικεφαλής της ομάδας των αρχαιολόγων που σκάβουν ένα τόπο ταφής) πάει μέσα στον τόπο ταφής – είναι μόνο ένα μέτρο βαθύς και βγάζουν δύο Ελληνοκύπριους αγνοούμενους από αυτό τον ξέβαθο τάφο όπου έχουν ταφεί το 1974.*

**(Translated:** *Deren (the team leader of the archaeologists who excavate a specific burial site) enters the grave – it is only a metre deep and they are retrieving two Greek Cypriot Missing Persons from this shallow grave when they were buried in 1974.)*

*Πιο κάτω στην ίδια αυλή ξέθαψαν 8 Ελληνοκύπριους αγνοούμενους, κάποιοι από αυτούς νέοι, κάποιοι ηλικιωμένοι...Σήμερα από την ίδια αυλή βγάζουν ακόμα δύο αγνοούμενους..*

**(Translated:** *A little further down from this location, they exhumed 8 Greek Cypriot Missing Persons, some of these young, some elderly...Today from the same yard they exhume a further two Missing Persons.)*

*Ένας από εκείνους τους 10 αγνοούμενους έχει ακόμα τα παπούτσια του και τις κάλτσες του...Οι κάλτσες του πρέπει να του έπεφταν αφού, τις είχε δεμένες με σπάγκο για να μένουν στη θέση τους...Πρέπει να ήταν φτωχός άνθρωπος που δεν μπορούσε να αγοράσει καινούργιες κάλτσες.*

**(Translated:** *One of those 10 Missing Persons still wears his shoes and socks on...his socks must have been falling as they were tied with a piece of sting so they would stay in place...He must have been a poor man who could not afford new socks.)*

The following article Ένα “θαύμα” στο Νέο Χωριό Κυθρέας (A miracle in Neo Chorio Kythreas) was in the *Politis* newspaper <sup>425</sup> includes the following information (See Appendices for copy of original article):

*Ένα “θαύμα” συμβαίνει και ενώ η μπουλντόζα σκάβει για τα θεμέλια της οικοδομής ενός καινούργιου σπιτιού, η κούφτα της μπουλντόζας βρίσκει τον μαζικό τάφο που είναι κρυμμένος εκεί...Ως αποτέλεσμα του “θαύματος”, στο εργοτάξιο στο Νέο Χωριό Κυθρέας (Minarelikeuy) εντοπίζονται τα οστά οκτώ αγνοουμένων.*

**(Translated:** *A «miracle» is happening and although the bulldozer digs for foundations for a new home, the digger of the bulldozer reveals a mass grave hidden there...As a result of the «miracle», at the project base at Neo Chorio, Kythreas, the remains of eight Missing Persons are discovered.)*

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<sup>425</sup> S. Uludag, *Ena doro kathos fysouse ena apalo aeraki* [A present as the wind blew – Ένα δώρο καθώς φυσούσε απαλό αεράκι], *Politis Sunday* (Πολίτης της Κυπριακής), 6 October 2013, p. 84.

Σε ένα σπίτι εδώ είχαν σκοτωθεί πέντε άτομα και τα σώματα τους είχαν παραμείνει στην αυλή του σπιτιού για τρεις μήνες, σκεπασμένα με λίγο χώμα.

**(Translated:** *In one of the homes here five people were killed and their bodies were left in the yard of the property for three months, covered with little dirt.*)

Είχαμε έρθει σε αυτή την περιοχή στις 3 Δεκεμβρίου 2010 μαζί με τους συγγενείς των αγνοουμένων από το Νέο Χωριό Κυθρέας.

Είχαμε επισκεφτεί τον τόπο εκταφής όπου είχαν βρεθεί τα οστά επτά ατόμων σε έναν μαζικό τάφο και είχαν εκταφεί και δύο σε έναν άλλο μαζικό τάφο και έβαλαν λουλούδια εκεί.

**(Translated:** *We came to this area on 3 December 2010 along with the relatives of the Missing Persons from Neo Chorio, Kythreas.*

*We were at a burial site where the remains of seven people were found in a mass grave and another two were buried in another mass grave where flowers had been placed.)*

Έτσι πήγαμε στο Νέο Χωριό Κυθρέας στις 3 Δεκεμβρίου 2010. Καθ' οδόν προς το χωριό, η Αγγελική, μια ωραία ηλικιωμένη κυρία από το χωριό, μου είχε πει τι είχε συμβεί. Σε ένα σπίτι είχαν σκοτωθεί πέντε άτομα. Ήταν στο σπίτι και ο πατέρας της Αγγελικής, ο Στέλιος Πάπουτσος, μαζί με τον Γιώργιο Στέκκα και είχαν βγει από το σπίτι αφού άκουσαν ότι είχαν έρθει κάποιοι στρατιώτες και τους φώναξαν να βγουν έξω. Τους πυροβόλησαν και τους σκότωσαν μόλις βγήκαν από το σπίτι. ..τα σώματα αυτών των πέντε Ελληνοκυπρίων βρίσκονταν στην αυλή του σπιτιού και έμειναν στο ίδιο σημείο για τρεις μήνες. Μετά τους σκέπασαν με χώμα.

**(Translated:** *So we went to Neo Chorio Kythreas on 3 December 2010. As we were heading near the village, Angelique, a pretty elderly lady from the village, had told me what had happened. In one house five people were killed. Angelique's father was in this house, Stelios Papoutsas, along with Georgios Stekkas and they left the house once they heard soldiers had approached and yelled at them to come out. They shot and killed them as they came out of the house; the bodies of the 5 Greek Cypriots were in the yard of the property at the same location for three months. They then covered them with dirt.*)

...τρία χρόνια μετά από εκείνη την επίσκεψη, συμβαίνει το "θαύμα" και τα οστά οκτώ αγνοουμένων ανευρίσκονται σε έναν μαζικό τάφο, εκεί που θα κτιστεί ένα σπίτι.

Υπάρχουν δύο άλλοι αγνοούμενοι από την περιοχή αυτή –είχα γνωρίσει τη Γωγούλα από το Νέο Χωριό Κυθρέας στην κηδεία των οικογενειών Ζερβού και Κοντού ενωρίτερα φέτος, επτά αγνοουμένων που βρέθηκαν σε έναν μαζικό τάφο που μας

έδειξε ένας από τους αναγνώστες μας — μετά την κηδεία αρχίσαμε να μιλούμε και μου είχε πει για τη γιαγιά της, Ροδού, και τον παππού της, Γιώργο, που ήταν αγνοούμενοι από το Νέο Χωριό Κυθρέας.

**(Translated:** ... three years after this visit, the “miracle” happens and the remains of eight Missing Persons are found in a mass grave, located where a house is to be built.

Two other Missing Persons exist from this region – I met Gogoula from Neo Chorio Kythreas at the funerals of the Zervos and Kontou families earlier this year, seven Missing Persons who were found in a mass grave who was shown to us by one of our contacts — after the funeral we were talking and she told me about her grandmother Rodou and her grandfather Giorgos who were Missing Persons from Neo Chorio Kythreas.)

Την Κυριακή 21 Απριλίου 2013, στον Άγιο Ελευθέριο του προσφυγικού συνοικισμού στα Λατσία κηδεύτηκαν τα μαρτυρικά οστά οκτώ άλλων δολοφονηθέντων από τους Τούρκους αμάχων. Μελών δύο οικογενειών, που βρέθηκαν σε ομαδικό τάφο στο σκλαβωμένο Νέο Χωριό Κυθρέας και στο τουρκοκυπριακό Τζιάος: Χαράλαμπος Ζερβός 65χρονών, η σύζυγός του Μαρίτσα 59χρονών, ο παράλυτος γιος τους Ανδρέας 34 χρονών, η 85χρονη μητέρα της Μαρίτσας, Ελενίτσα Φελλά Κοντού, η 50χρονη κόρη της Ελενίτσας, Λούλλα Φελλά Κοντού με τη δική της 25χρονη θυγατέρα Σωτηρούλα Κοντού Ρωτού, τον αδελφό Παναγιώτη Κοντού και τον Ανδρέα Κοντού. Δεν βρέθηκαν ακόμα τα μαρτυρικά οστά της 38χρονης τότε παράλυτης, αγνοούμενης έκτοτε Ελένης Ζερβού. Τους είχαν εκτελέσει με ριπές οι Τούρκοι, εισβάλλοντας μέσα στο σπίτι τους τη νύκτα της Πέμπτης 15 Αυγούστου 1974.

**(Translated:** On Sunday 21 April 2013, at Ayios Eleftherios at the refugee settlement, at Latsia in Nicosia, the remains of the eight who were killed by the Turks had a religious funeral. Members of two families, who were discovered in a mass grave in the occupied town of Neo Chorio Kythreas and the Turkish Cypriot Tsiaos were: Charalambos Zervos, 65 years, his wife Maritsa 59 years, there disabled son Andreas 34 years, the 85 year old mother of Maritsa, Elenitsa Fella Kontou, the 50 year old daughter of Elenitsa, Loulla Fella Kontou with her 25year old daughter Sotiroulla Kontou Rodou, the brother Panayiotis Kontou and Andreas Kontou. They have not found the remains of the 38 year old disabled daughter Elenis Zervou. The Turks had executed them with ‘bullets’ inside their own home on the night of 15 August 1974.)

Μέσα σ’ εκείνο το μακελειό γλύτωσε απ’ τις σφαίρες κι επέζησε, κάτω απ’ το σώμα της νεκρής μητέρας της, το 12 μηνών βρέφος της Σωτηρούλας, η 40χρονη σήμερα Μαρία. «Ήταν ο κοινοτάρχης στο Νέο Χωριό κι η οικογένειά του, ήταν το ένα τρίτο του

χωριού», θυμάται ο Ανδρέας Ν. Κανικλίδης και απαριθμεί τα ίδια και χειρότερα κακουργήματα των Τούρκων και των Τουρκοκυπρίων σε βάρος των απροστάτευτων αμάχων που δεν πρόλαβαν να εγκαταλείψουν τα χωριά της περιοχής όταν εξεπολύθηκε από 14 Αυγούστου 1974 ο 2ος Αττίλας.<sup>426</sup>

**(Translated:** *Inside this macabre, saved from the bullets and survived, under her dead mother's body, Sotiroulla's 12 month old infant, today the 40 year old Maria. <The mayor of Neo Chorio and his family were there, a third of the town was there> Andreas N Kaniklidis remembers he recalls the same and even worse stories of the Turks and Turkish Cypriots, to the depths of the unprotected defenseless who did not have time to abandon their village during the second Turkish invasion on 14 August 1974.*)

Εισέβαλαν στον κρυψώνα των γυναικοπαίδων οι Τούρκοι στρατιώτες κι οι Τουρκοκύπριοι καθοδηγητές τους και «δεν μπορώ να σου περιγράψω τα όσα υπέστησαν εκεί οι θείες και οι κόρες, που τις βίαζαν μπροστά στα μάτια των γονιών τους. Απαίσια, αισχρά και αίσχιστα πράγματα που έχουν κάνει και είναι αδύνατο να τα περιγράψω», είπε ο Ανδρέας Ν. Κανικλίδης.

**(Translated:** *I cannot describe the events that occurred to the aunties and daughters; they were being raped in front of their parent's eyes in the cruelest unimaginative way, Mr Andreas N. Kanaklidis said.*)

The most significant publication for me is the one that included details of the Zervos family massacre, as told by a neighbour. As an 11 year old while visiting Cyprus for the first time after we had left as refugees in 1974, someone gave me a photocopy of an “unknown book” that included details of my relatives’ killings. It was the first six pages of this publication that both intrigued and affected me. Extracts from this book include the following: (See Appendices for copy of this six-page photocopy):

*Μια άλλη μακάβρια ιστορία σφαγής γερόντων και γυναικοπαίδων περιέγραψε η Ελένη Νικόλα Πεπέ από το Νέο Χωριό Κυθραιάς, 66 χρόνων. Η Ελένη παρέμεινε με*

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<sup>426</sup> Mavrou, L., *Ta Eshista ton Tourkon [Ta disgraceful acts of Turks – Τα αίσχιστα των Τούρκων]*, 4 June, 2013, <<http://www.arxaiathomi.gr/2013/06/04/%CF%84%CE%B1-%CE%B1%CE%AF%CF%83%CF%87%CE%B9%CF%83%CF%84%CE%B1-%CF%84%CF%89%CE%BD-%CF%84%CE%BF%CF%8D%CF%81%CE%BA%CF%89%CE%BD/>>, accessed 18 November 2013 and 10 July 2015.

τον άντρα της στο χωριό και έτυχε της ίδιας μεταχειρίσεως, όπως και πολλοί άλλοι χωριανοί της, παράλληλα όμως υπήρξε μάρτυς φόνων και άλλων ωμοτήτων.

**(Translated:** Another macabre story of stabbings of elderly and of women is described by Eleni Nicola Bebe from Neo Chorio Kythreas, 66 years old. Eleni remained with her husband in the village and she both suffered and witnessed murders and cruelty.)

Σαν επήαινα προς το σπίτιν μου, επέρασα που το σπίτιν της εξάδελφης μου Μαρίτσας Χάμπου Λούκα Ζερβού, για νε δω η απέγινεν, γιατί δεν ήταν μαζί μας μέσα στην εκκλησίαν (που τους εκρατούσαν οι Τούρκοι στρατιώτες). Όταν έμπηκα μέσα στο σπίτιν της Μαρίτσας Χάμπου Λούκα Ζερβού, ηύρα τά ακόλουθα πρόσωπα, που ήσαν νεκρά ξαπλωμένα χαμαί γαιματωμένα: (1) Μαρίτσα Λουκά Ζερβού, ηλικίας περίπου 60 χρονών, (2) τον άντραν της Χαράλαμπου.)

**(Translated:** As I was walking towards my home, I passed by my cousin's house Maritsa Hambou Louka Zervou, to see how she was, as she was not with us in the church when the Turkish troops held them as hostages. When I entered her house I found the following people who were dead and lying on the ground covered in blood: (1) Maritsa Louka Zervou, 60 years old, (2) her husband Haralambos)<sup>427</sup>

Λούκα Ζερβόν, (3) την αδελφήν της Μαρίτσας ονόματι Λούλλαν Ανδρέα Κοντού, ηλικίας περίπου 55 χρόνων, (4) την κόρην της Λούλλας ονόματι Σωτηρούν Παντελή Κεσμέ, ηλικίας 26 χρονών, που ήταν έγκυος περίπου 4 μηνών, (5) την μητέραν της Μαρίτσας και Λούλλας ονόματι Ελενίτσαν Κωστή Τσιακκάρη, ηλικίας περίπου 85 χρονών, (6) τον γιόν της Λούλλας ονόματι Παναγιώτην Ανδρέα Κοντού, ηλικίας περίπου 15 χρόνων και (7) τον γιόν της Μαρίτσας Χάμπου Λούκα Ζερβού, ονόματι Ανδρέαν Χάμπου ηλικίας περίπου 30 χρόνων, ο οποίος ήταν παράλυτος. Μαζί τους ήταν και η αδελφή του Ανδρέα Χάμπου ονόματι Νίτσα Χάμπου, ηλικίας περίπου 37 χρονών, που ήταν και αυτή παράλυτη.

**(Translated:** Louka Zervou, (3) Maritsa's sister Loulla Andrea Kontou, aged about 55 years, (4) Loulla's daughter Sotiroulla Panteli Kesme, aged 26 years, who was about 4 months pregnant, (5) Maritsa and Loulla's mother Elenitsa Kosti Tsiakari, aged about 85 years, (6) Loulla's son Panayioti Andrea Kontou, aged about 15 years and (7) the son of Maritsa Hambou Louka Zervou, Andreas Hambou aged about 30 years, who was disabled. Along with them was Andreas Hambou's sister Nitsa Nambou, aged about 37 years, who was also disabled.)

Επρόσεξα ότι πάνω από το νεκρόν σώμαν της Σωτηρούς Παντελή Κεσμέ ελαχταρούσεν ολογαίματη η κορούδα της ονόματι Μαρία, ηλικίας περίπου 13 μηνών. Η Μαρία

<sup>427</sup> p. 48, of unknown book. Photocopies are in Appendices.

έκλαιε και έγλειφε τα αίματα της μάνας της. Εγώ τότε έπιασα το μωρόν και επήα στο σπίτιν μου και το έλουσα και του εφόρεσα ρούχα καθαρά.

**(Translated:** *I noticed that on top of the dead body of Sotiroulla Panteli Kesme a blood covered infant was moving, Maria, aged about 13 months. Maria was crying and licking her mother's blood. I then took the child and went to my home and bathed it and clothed it.)*

Η Νίτσου Χάμπου ήταν ζωντανή και εφώναζεν και ήθελεν να την φέρωμεν στο σπίτιν μας να μείνη μαζίν μας...επήγα μαζίν με τον άντραν μου στο σπίτιν της Μαρίτσας Χάμπου, όπου ηύραμεν την Νιτσούν στο κρεβάτιν της ολουαίματην και πληγωμένην στο στήθος και στο στόμαν, η οποία μας είπεν ότι την ελόγχισαν οι Τούρκοι στρατιώτες.

Επήραμεν την Νιτσούν στο σπίτιν της Ελένης Ζωρχή και την ετακτοποιήσαμεν εκεί μέχρι τη Τετάρτην, 21.8.74, οπότε επέθανεν και την εθάψαμεν μέσα στην αύλην του γειτονικού σπιτιού.

Κατά η ώρα 7μι της Δευτέρας, 19.8.74, ήρταν στο σπίτιν μας πολλοί Τούρκοι στρατιώτες και έπιασαν τον άντραν μου και τον επήραν μαζίν τους και έκτοτε δέν γνωρίζω που ευρίσκεται ούτε ξέρω αν ζή ή όχι.

Την Κυριακήν, 25.8.74, οι Τουρκοι στρατιώτες μας εμάζεψαν που το χωριόν και μας επήραν στην Βωωήν και μας συγκέντρωσαν στο σχολείον. Μαζίν μου επήρα και το μωρόν της Σωτηρούς Παντελή Κεσμέ, την Μαρίαν. Εκεί μας άφησαν μέχρι την Τετάρτην, 4.9.74, οπότε ήρθεν ο Ερυθρός Σταυρός και με παρέλαβεν ... <sup>428</sup>

**(Translated:** *Nitsou Hambou was still alive by then and she cried and wanted to bring her in to our home, to stay there with us ... My husband and I went to Maritsa' Hambou where we found Nitsou in her bed bleeding; she had wounds on her chest and mouth, she said that the Turks wounded her.*

*We took Nitsou to Eleni Zorchi's house where we settled her there until Wednesday 21-8-74; then she died there and we buried her in yard of the neighbour's house.*

*At about 7.00am on Monday 19-8-74, many Turks soldiers came to our home, and captured my husband; I have not known anything about him since then, where he might be or if he is still alive or dead.*

*On Sunday 25-8-74, Turks soldiers gathered us in the village and they took us in Vooín where they put us in the school. I had with me Maria – Sotirou Panteli Kesme's baby. The Turks kept us there until Wednesday 4-9-74 where officials from the Red Cross came and took us.)*

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<sup>428</sup> p. 48, of unknown book. Photocopies are in Appendices.



The stories from my grandfather's side are not as well known as those of my grandmothers, other than by members of my grandfather's immediate family. Many became Missing Persons while they tried to escape the Turkish troops as they entered our village of Neo Chorio, Kythreas. My grandfather's brother Andreas Apostolides (nickname: Kalamaras)<sup>429</sup> was last seen in the village on 17 August 1974, where there are stories that he and his wife Irini<sup>430</sup> were captured by Turkish troops. Relatives were informed by others in the village that they were seen dead in a nearby creek bed, close to the Turkish Cypriot area of the village. This has never been confirmed and up until today there have been no remains discovered. My grandfather Apostolos and my mother's brothers gave DNA samples in 2000 when requested by the Cyprus High Commission in Australia. My grandfather passed away in late 2000 not knowing what happened to his family members. My grandfather's brother-in-law Christos Tziortzis,<sup>431</sup> married to his sister Loukia, was 51 years old when he went missing on 21 August 1974 in the Famagusta town of Assia. Before making his way to the village of Assia he was apparently arrested in Pavlides Garage Prisons, in the Turkish sector of Nicosia. My uncle's remains were found in a mass grave in the occupied village of Ormitha and he was given a funeral service on 12 June 2015 in Nicosia.<sup>432</sup> My cousins and aunty knew that there was no hope of finding anyone alive. That hope ended years ago. My parents attended the funeral service on behalf of my late grandfather as it was his desire to be able to have some form of closure for the family.

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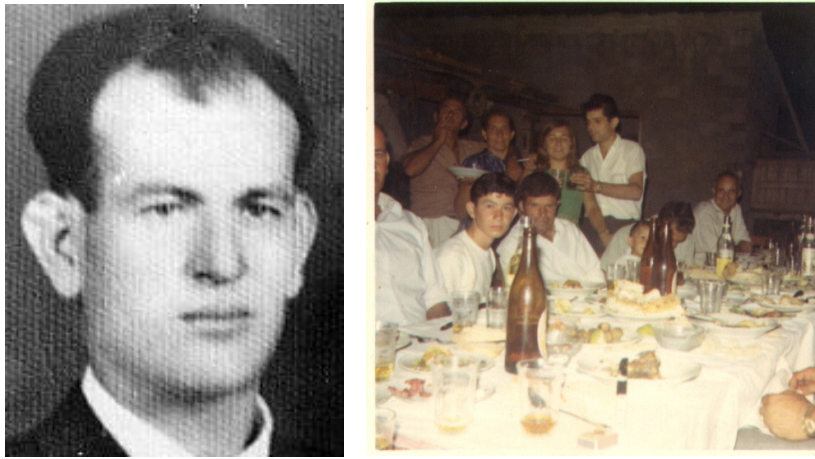
<sup>429</sup> Year of birth: 1929; Origin: Neo Chorio Kythreas; Father's name: Christos; Marital Status: Married; Military Status: civilian;

<<http://www.missing-cy.org.cy/search.asp>> and <<http://www.missing-cy.org.cy/ItemsForm.asp?ID=65>>, accessed 10 July 2009.

<sup>430</sup> Registered as missing under Irini Andreou, year of birth 1936. <<http://www.missing-cy.org.cy/search.asp>> and <<http://www.missing-cy.org.cy/ItemsForm.asp?ID=36>>, accessed 10 July 2009.

<sup>431</sup> <<http://www.missing-cy.org.cy/ItemsForm.asp?ID=1025>>, accessed 10 July 2009.

<sup>432</sup> *Kathimerini* newspaper, *To DNA vrike akoma ena agnooumeno [DNA has found another missing person – To DNA βρήκε άλλο ένα αγνοούμενο]*, 12 June 2014 <<http://www.kathimerini.com.cy/index.php?pageaction=kat&modid=1&artid=174412>>, accessed 10 September 2015.



**a)**

**b)**

**Figure 10. a) Christos Tziortzis, b) my maternal grandparents and parents at a family party with Charalambos Zervos in the far right and Andreas Apostolides, second in front on the left hand side.**

The interviews of relatives of Missing Persons generates intense and sometimes unresolvable questions for me as researcher – did I learn anything new about my experiences; will these stories assist myself and others to cope with or have a better understanding of what was and is happening about the Missing Persons issue in Cyprus? I believe that yes is the case. I understand that the topic is so “taboo” that Cypriot authorities deliberately avoid the topic where they can. Relatives and their existential needs appear insignificant in light of seemingly more important political issues concerning the future of Cyprus. The topic is only raised when it suits a need. This is what nearly all relatives have reported and it confirms my own personal experiences. This political indifference to the personal suffering of relatives of missing persons has affected me as well.

Reflection upon one’s own experience, as pursued in auto-ethnography, assists oneself “to generate an insightful view and better understanding of their ‘world’ as it is. This is beneficial as it assists in discovering the “basic set of assumptions that gives meaning to one’s thoughts ... the way things are, about what things are, about why things are”.<sup>433</sup> Indeed,

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<sup>433</sup> R. Bush, *A handbook for Christian philosophy*. Grand Rapids. MI: Zondervan, 1991.

auto-ethnography has enhanced my self-knowledge, gained through undertaking this investigation with others in a similar situation. The experiences of participants allowed me to better understand my own situation, as well its broader context. Certainly my knowledge has jumped forward through my encounter with this emerging, unconventional method, in contrast with the slower, incremental growth that I have experienced in interacting with more traditional approaches and texts.<sup>434</sup>

Gottschalk states that “The second generation members feel they have been delegated the duty to devote their lives to compensate for losses that cannot, reasonably, be replaced; to alleviate a grief that cannot, realistically, be lessened.”<sup>435</sup> I affirm that this is true in my own life – it is to understand this obligation, also discovered in the lives of my informants, that I pursued this research. Writing it has alleviated a form of grief, allowing me to accept my past so that I can now move forward with my own young family.

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<sup>434</sup> S. Wall, 2006, p. 4.

<sup>435</sup> S. Gottschalk, p. 376.

## **Chapter 9 - Problem solving models: the international community's responsibility for Missing Persons in warfare and conflict**

Whether a civil war within a nation itself or a conflict between one or more countries, wars create an enormous burden on society. Social issues created by war include financial immiseration, escalation in crime, mass migration, along with internally and externally displaced persons within the nation in question. Economic hardship is also a significant issue. All these issues have an overall negative consequence on the community as well as for the region. Humanitarian issues also ensue immediately afterwards. One clear requirement is the need for therapeutic intervention for the families of the victims in an attempt to reduce their heightened risk of mental health issues in the future. The benefits of early psychological treatment for war trauma, and addressing victims' mental health problems, would be a major benefit to the community. In the context of this research, victims in warfare and conflict are not just those who go missing, but predominantly it is the families who are requiring assistance in the aftermath of 'losing' their loved ones, particularly if they were the main source of earning income for the family. In a bid to prevent the suffering of families of Missing Persons it is important to create a 'fighting force' to take on the task so as to resolve as many issues as possible and at the earliest convenience, so as not to have issues protracted endlessly, causing long-term torment.

### **9.1 Establishing an independent body to investigate Missing Persons in warfare**

The establishment of an international organisation to tackle the specific issue of Missing Persons from conflict is recommended, and although the sheer size of such an operation might seem daunting it is possible. It is very important for governments of the world to tackle and confront

humanitarian war issues that are a direct impact from warfare and conflict: after all it is governments that instigate these conflicts as a result of their disagreements on issues such as foreign policies. The cost of wars on individuals is not only monetary but significant personal trauma.

There has been little substance offered from world leaders and no tangible solutions to trauma over the many years of international war. It is particularly important in today's modern world where there are conflicts prevalent in the Middle East and Africa. The creation of such an international body of Missing Persons should be made up of representatives from interested countries wanting to alleviate the personal issues generated from warfare and conflicts. This international organisation must be an independent branch, being responsible for the management of the Missing Persons operations, which reports and investigates alleged Missing Persons cases. There is a need for such a single body to oversee the collection, maintenance and publication of data on issues related to Missing Persons; a more efficient mechanism for assistance is needed than what is currently available. Composed of various global and humanitarian organisations and having partnerships with corporations is also important as this would allow for more opportunities to develop initiatives and exchange ideas. Stakeholders involved could include diplomats, politicians, media, aid workers and NGOs, specialised units such as the anthropology teams undertaking excavations and DNA analysis as well as experts in war crimes, witnesses and community groups. Getting the community and families of Missing Persons involved is also very significant as it is important for each family to have some control over the way the Missing Persons issue is handled. Activities which could be undertaken by this organisation could include 'highlighting' the plight of Missing Persons in warfare with international events such as offering an opportunity for families to have the memories of their family member(s) honoured in a tribute that could be witnessed by millions around the world in much the same way as for the 9/11

victims. Why are Missing Persons from warfare and conflict not treated in the same way as all the “heroes” of 9/11? It might be a consideration to also offer families a form of medal in memory of their loved one. By placing such an emphasis on Missing Persons from warfare perhaps there might be more attention offered by governments and the international community for current and future unresolved cases.

Everyone banding together would allow for better advocating and would also allow close dialogue with official international humanitarian organisations such as the UN and ICRC. Communications and regular consultation between these groups is paramount for success. This body should also focus on keeping families regularly informed and to offer support constantly to carry them through their darkest hours. This is something that has not been offered to relatives of Missing Persons so far as many of the relatives interviewed (see chapter on Untold Stories: Insight into Missing Persons) said they had not even been approached or acknowledged by the Republic of Cyprus as being relatives of Missing Persons from the Turkish invasion of 1974.

## **9.2 Strategy and model on setting up a global Missing Persons organisation**

The issue of Missing Persons is a significant problem for many countries – specifically of civilians within a community in a peaceful nation not at war. The Governments of Australia, US and UK will be used as examples to show how these nations have set up Missing Persons organisations with a mission to resolve Missing Persons cases, and offering support to their families. These examples can be utilised for the set-up of an international organisation to confront the issue of Missing Persons in the specific cases of warfare and conflict.

The Australian Federal Police (AFP) is leading in the way it has approached the issue of Missing Persons, although their reference of

Missing Persons is slightly different to those missing from war and conflict. Despite the fact that 'going missing' is not considered a crime, Missing Persons are reported to police and law enforcement is critical in searching for these persons. The Australian law enforcement definition of Missing Persons is: "Someone whose whereabouts is unknown and there are serious concerns for their safety and welfare."<sup>436</sup>

The issue of Missing Persons is considered to be one of society's most serious problems and the Winston Churchill memorial trust has even awarded Australian researchers funds to further research how to tackle and resolve the issue of Missing Persons in Australia.<sup>437</sup> A Research Forum was also held by the AFP in March 2008 with more than 40 academics taking part to assist in developing a national research agenda on Missing Persons.<sup>438</sup> This forum offered:

*Discussions between panel members and research forum participants identified a range of methodologies that needed to be applied to the field, identified the partnerships required, and produced an extensive list of research ideas and projects, including, in the longer term, collaborative research plans for an Australian Research Council grant.*

*Implementing the following steps, defined by participants, will form the basis for future work:*

- *Publication of a report on the research forum*
- *Establishment of a National Working Group on Missing Persons Research*
- *The provision of web-based communication media (discussion board)*
- *collaborative research proposal development and engaging researchers and key stakeholders in on-going dialogue*

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<sup>436</sup> AFP, *Missing Persons Research Forum Report 2008*, <<http://www.missingpersons.gov.au/research/~media/MP/Files/PDFs/Research%20Forum%20Report%202008.ashx>>, p. 16, accessed 17 September 2012.

<sup>437</sup> AFP, *Churchill Fellowship Reports*. Commonwealth of Australia National Missing Persons Coordination Centre <<http://www.missingpersons.gov.au/Research/reports/churchill-fellowship-report.aspx>>, accessed 17 September 2012.

<sup>438</sup> AFP, Research forum website, <<http://www.missingpersons.gov.au/research/research-forum.aspx>>, accessed 17 September 2012.

- *The development of a Missing Persons Conference/Research Forum on a regular basis.*

*These may provide a framework for the development of a journal and/or other publication with a focus on Missing Persons evidence-based research, education and training initiatives.*<sup>439</sup>

With reference to the AFP experience, their research findings and objectives should be incorporated as a problem solving model, whereby the Australian experience of how it deals with its Missing Persons becomes a sound reference to base a similar international set-up for a coordination group dealing with Missing Persons from war and conflict.

In 2006, the Australian Government provided the AFP with \$3.9 million over a four year period to establish the National Missing Persons Coordination Centre (NMPCC). This funding was paramount in setting up the NMPCC to fulfil a national leadership role and to advance initiatives that assist and improve the responsiveness to Missing Persons and their relatives.<sup>440</sup>

*The mission of the NMPCC is to coordinate and promote an integrated approach to reduce the incidence and impact of Missing Persons.*

*The PLEASE policy and program principles drive the work of the NMPCC with initiatives across all areas of Prevention, Location, Education, Awareness, Support and Evaluation. These include:*

- *Working closely with CrimTrac and the State and Territory police services in progressing an enhanced national capability for the CrimTrac Police Reference System which will realise an increase in the location of Missing Persons through effective sharing of Missing Person's information across police jurisdictions. **Location.***
- *Continuing to profile images of Missing Persons through Foxtel (Pay TV service), the Woman's Day (national magazine) online, television series Without A Trace and The Missing Persons Unit, online through the AFP website and through the AFP's twice-yearly annual Missing Person's poster. **Location.***

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<sup>439</sup> AFP, *Missing Persons Research Forum Report*, 2008.

<sup>440</sup> AFP, *Missing Persons Research Forum Report* 2008, p. 9.



- *Developing a national approach to supporting families and friends of Missing Persons. Only one state, NSW, has a dedicated support service for families and friends of Missing Persons. The national framework developed by the Centre, entitled “supporting those who are left behind”, aims to provide professionals across Australia with a guide to understand the trauma families of Missing Persons experience and how they can best be supported. **Support.***
- *Developing and implementing a national media advertising campaign*
- *National Missing Persons Week and a Christmas campaign encouraging Missing Persons to Make Contact. **Awareness.***
- *Developed partnerships with government and other organisations*
- *Implementing a training needs analysis relating to Missing Persons and police, with participation of the AFP College, police Missing Persons units, and relevant units in NSW Police. **Education.***
- *Supporting national research conducted by the Australian Institute of Criminology.*
- *This research confirms that our elderly, our youth and people living with a mental illness are most at risk of becoming a Missing Person. It also provides guidance on preventive strategies that will guide agencies in reducing the incidence of Missing Person’s reports. **Prevention.**<sup>441</sup>*

Furthermore, the key stakeholders in the Australian Missing Persons “sector” include:

National Missing Persons Coordination Centre (NMPCC) of Australian Federal Police (AFP);

Police services across Australia – specifically the state police Missing Persons units;

Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT) for assisting with Australians who go missing while overseas;

NGOs/agencies such as the Salvation Army<sup>442</sup> Family Tracing Service for people who want to make contact with a family member who has gone

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<sup>441</sup> AFP, *Missing Persons Research Forum Report 2008*, p. 10.

<sup>442</sup> The Salvation Army is a main social welfare and Christian organisation in Australia.

missing; the Red Cross Tracing Service which traces people internationally; the Link-Up Aboriginal Corporation that finds people from Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander (ATSI) communities, particularly those who are part of the 'stolen generation'; and the International Social Service (ISS) which is involved where overseas parental abduction has occurred;

Families and Friends of Missing Persons Unit (FFMPU) in the Attorney General's Department of NSW.<sup>443</sup>

A brief look at other countries and how they deal with their civilian Missing Persons and unidentified human remains cases reveals that in the US too it is regarded as a significant issue for law enforcement agencies:

*To help State and local jurisdictions address the country's "mass disaster over time," the National Institute of Justice (NIJ) has brought together some of the country's top criminal justice and forensic science experts. As part of the President's multiyear initiative to maximize the use of forensic DNA in solving crime, NIJ is making Federal resources available to State and local law enforcement officials to identify human remains and help solve Missing Persons' cases.<sup>444</sup>*

*... Missing Persons and unidentified human remains in our Nation is a crisis. It is, however, what experts call "a mass disaster over time."*

*The facts are sobering. On any given day, there are as many as 100,000 active Missing Persons cases in the United States. Every year, tens of thousands of people vanish under suspicious circumstances. Viewed over a 20-year period, the number of Missing Persons can be estimated in the hundreds of thousands.<sup>445</sup>*

The cases of Missing Persons in the US is handled in a similar way to Missing Persons from warfare; in both cases the approach to locating a Missing Person is to undertake an investigation into their disappearance.

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<sup>443</sup> AFP, *Missing Persons Research Forum Report 2008*, pp. 13 – 14.

<sup>444</sup> N. Ritter, 'Missing Persons and Unidentified Remains: The Nation's Silent Mass Disaster', section on Bridging the Gap. <<http://www.nij.gov/journals/256/missing-persons.html>>, accessed on 4 February, 2010.

<sup>445</sup> N. Ritter.

However, it seems that most of the time the investigation starts after human remains are discovered.

In the US there is a federal database known as the **CODIS(mp)** (Combined DNA Index System for Missing Persons). Created in 2000 by the FBI, it is also known as the National Missing Person DNA Database (NMPDD). This database is specifically designed to collate data on Missing Persons and cases of unidentified human remains. It plays a significant part in resolving the Missing Persons cases of the US – which has a large number compared to the 1493 of Cyprus. The Cypriots however have a database with similar DNA information which was instigated by the UN, as discussed in previous chapters.

A similar proactive and immediate response is also taken in the UK when someone is reported as missing. There are about 275,000 Britons who go missing each year. There is an office of the charity Missing People, which is regarded as a nerve centre for the disappeared<sup>446</sup>. Once a person is reported as missing with the metropolitan police details collated include:

- *Gathering details of friends or relatives*
- *Places that the Missing Person is known to frequent*
- *Health or medical conditions that they may suffer from*
- *Financial account details (such as bank account, credit and debit card details)*
- *Details on any benefits that they may receive, and the location of where they may collect them from*
- *A number of recent photographs*
- *Events that could be linked with their disappearance*
- *DNA sample for subsequent forensic examination [i.e. toothbrush]*

*Officers will also need to search (with consent) the home address to establish if there are any further evidential leads [this is a normal procedure].*

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<sup>446</sup> D. Randall, & G. Walton, 'The missing: Each year, 275,000 Britons disappear', *Independent newspaper*, Sunday 11 October 2009.  
<<http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/the-missing-each-year-275000-britons-disappear-1801010.html>>, accessed 10 February 2010.

*Consent to publicity will also be sought. We have found that using the media to appeal for information can be very effective.*<sup>447</sup>

The National Policing Improvement Agency in the UK (NPIA) has a Missing Persons Bureau to tackle this specific issue. It is a public organisation which was set up for a period of five years (from mid-2007 to mid-2012) to support police and improve public safety, including providing national services for Missing Persons under their Missing Persons Bureau. A detailed document “*Guidance on the Management, Recording and Investigation of Missing Persons*” was produced by the agency and was so well regarded that a revised edition was also produced.

The guide states that:

*The purpose of this guidance is to enable the effective investigation of Missing Persons supported by relevant management structures.*

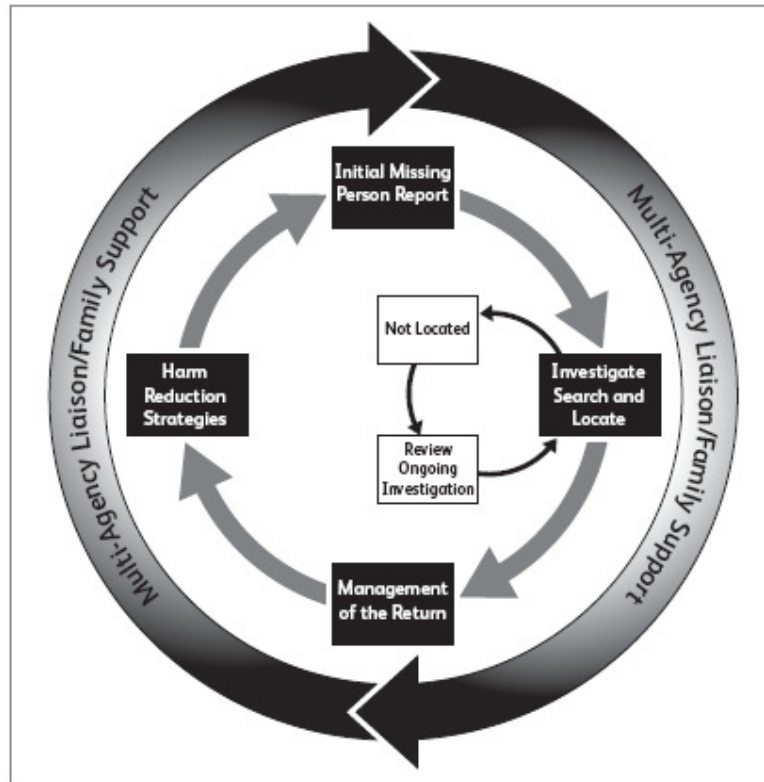
In the introduction it states that “the investigation cycle underpins a problem-solving approach to managing Missing Person incidents”.

The figure below is a summary of how the investigation of Missing Persons should be approached.<sup>448</sup>

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<sup>447</sup> Metropolitan Police Service (UK), *Missing Persons*, Metropolitan Police website, <<http://content.met.police.uk/Site/missingpersons>>, accessed 10 October 2013.

<sup>448</sup> Association of Chief Police Officers, National Policing Improvement Agency, *Guidance on The Management, Recording and Investigation of Missing Persons*, (2nd Ed.) Wyboston, UK: National Policing Improvement Agency, Association of Chief Police Officers, 2010, p. 10, Figure 1 – The investigation Cycle.



**Figure 11: Cyclical investigation of Missing Persons incidents.**

This approach suggests that a cyclical process leads to problem-solving and to a reduction in harm as opposed to dealing with each incident in isolation. Following this report, there were additional reports produced, including: *“Missing Person investigations: Good practice examples”* and *“Missing Persons: Data and analysis 2010/2011”*.

Although not directly related to Missing Persons, another organisation which has established a model for problem solving of crimes in the community is the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), which has a strong commitment to community policing. Some of their objectives are worthy of discussion as their ideas can be implemented in an organisation dedicated towards solving Missing Persons issues in warfare and conflict.

The RCMP has based their model on the SARA Model – Scan, Analyse, Respond, Assess – and has developed their version known as the CAPRA version.

*It is a circular model, designed to reinforce the need to continually adapt, redefine, seek additional information, assess, respond, assess, adapt responses and reassess.*

*The model focuses on the need to keep the clients and partners in mind at all times throughout the process.<sup>449</sup>*

The acronym stands for:

*C-understanding COMMUNITY, their needs, demands and expectations*

*A-AQUIRE and ANALYSING information*

*P-Establishing and maintaining PARTNERSHIPS for problem solving*

*R-Application of RESPONSE strategies to solve problems*

*A-continuous ASSESSMENT of performance*

According to this model, solving the issue of Missing Persons should focus on the following: Community, which is important in identifying who the various groups are, and seek their comments, expertise and to address their concerns; Acquiring and analysing the problem relates to tackling the problem right from its cause and not just simply addressing the symptoms. All the groups need to contribute and information provided must be checked and the implications of the various options under consideration must be discussed. Partnerships are also important as problems will be resolved at greater speed if there is effective communication and a willingness to share information. A response might be reporting offenders and the model is continuously evolving until the

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<sup>449</sup> B. Prior, 'A problem solving model from the Royal Canadian Mounted Police'. Presented at the conference *Partnership in Crime Prevention*, convened jointly by the Australian Institute of Criminology and the National Campaign Against Violence and Crime, Hobart, February 1998, pp. 25–27.  
<[http://www.aic.gov.au/events/aic%20upcoming%20events/1998/~/\\_media/conferences/partnership/prior.ashx](http://www.aic.gov.au/events/aic%20upcoming%20events/1998/~/_media/conferences/partnership/prior.ashx)>, accessed 2 September 2012, p. 3.

problem has been resolved – in this case when the Missing Person has been found.<sup>450</sup>

It should be noted that in comparison to how the abovementioned nations have approached the issue of Missing Persons, the Republic of Cyprus has not made serious efforts and seems to have retreated from its obligations by ignoring troubled countrymen, and of abandoning its own people with policies that would encourage a positive atmosphere to assist with the issue rather than run away from it.

The above examples demonstrate how the Australian Government is very advanced with strategies to resolve Missing Persons issues. Cyprus and other nations in conflict with Missing Persons still unaccounted for decades after a war should follow by example, and set up similar organisations, groups and research forums to engage the public and experts in the field to assist their protracted issue.

In summary, the strategies mentioned above detailing how countries deal with their Missing Persons issue contains insightful knowledge as to how the issue of Missing Persons should further be explored by nations in situations of conflict and war. The diagram in Figure 12 is a starting point for how to tackle the agenda of establishing an international organisation for Missing Persons in warfare and conflict.

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<sup>450</sup> B. Prior, pp. 3–4.

## Diversity Framework Model For An Australian National Research Agenda on Missing Persons

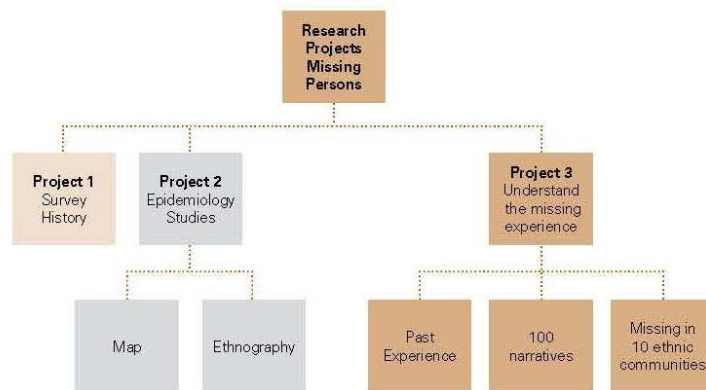
Professor Tony Marsella

### Missing Persons National Research Agenda

**Develop** research papers on:

1. Terms of reference issues.
2. Definitions and how they are used in different sectors e.g. legal, police, schools and educational institutions, health and mental health, service providers.
3. Literature review
4. Relationships and sectors.

**Conduct** research projects that provide credible baselines and evidence.



Once these studies are completed then funds can be sought for projects related to:

1. Objectives
2. Products e.g. Brief interventions
3. Evaluation
4. Conferences
5. Education and training material
6. Media

**Figure 12. Framework model for Australia's national research agenda on Missing Persons (produced by Professor Tony Marsella)<sup>451</sup>**

Overall, the Australian research suggests that relatives and friends of the Missing Person are important in establishing their whereabouts. Education and clarity of reporting requirements to authority are also important, as is the identification of agencies which have a duty of care and front-line workers and their responsibilities, such as police and

<sup>451</sup> AFP, *Missing Persons Research Forum Report 2008*, p. 31.



health workers who may have been approached if the person(s) in question needed medical attention. Agencies tracing people are also paramount in offering input.

It is interesting to note that the area of 'ethnography' is considered an important element in researching the whereabouts of Missing Persons. The significance is in taking reports and sharing the information across the sectors. Developing strategies to communicate the message of who is regarded as missing is also important, such as use of media campaigns and radio programs.

Questions that need to be further explored include: who is engaged in data collection and who specifically works with Missing Persons and their relatives, and what procedural issues block data gathering and information sharing?<sup>452</sup> A serious humanitarian issue such as Missing Persons should be classified as a human related emergency, similar to a natural disaster that requires a significant and well-coordinated response. Missing Persons in warfare should also have a significant and well-coordinated international community response with multi-agencies involved, including NGOs and governments. Moreover, the issue should not be treated any differently to preparation for large-scale and complex emergencies and it should be ensured that there is an effective response by having better integrated preparedness of agencies.

Furthermore, having such a proposed organisation with a specialised and thorough understanding of humanitarian issues from conflicts will also assist in the development of policy and, in turn, in the rapid progression of dealing and resolving issues affecting millions in nations of conflict. In today's world there are millions affected by war at any moment and the current international community is not doing enough for the many humanitarian issues generated by war. For instance, the Arab Spring in 2011 and the diverse conflicts in Africa have created thousands of refugees and orphans, and the issue of Missing Persons is having a big

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<sup>452</sup> AFP, *Missing Persons Research Forum Report 2008*, pp. 32–37.

impact on social issues in these communities and beyond, such as mass migration. If governments have access to humanitarian policy from such an organisation and first-hand 'real-time' accounts of experiences from victims, it will mean significant changes can be made to undertake swift actions, benefiting both the governments and victims.

To provide some context to the broad discussion of strategies to respond to the warfare issue of Missing Persons, a brief overview of how the issue should be tackled is summarised as a '10-point Action Plan for resolving Missing Persons from warfare and conflict'. The purpose of the plan is to prevent such future events from having the same impact as those in the past, with the aim being to draw attention to significant areas that need to be focused on by all organisations and governments concerned. It includes a range of measures to support families of victims, contains policy and initiatives to develop an effective response, and invites governments and NGOs to engage in dialogue on how to evacuate people in war zones as quickly and efficiently as possible so as to have less likelihood of a large number of people being kidnapped, captured and imprisoned, or even executed in mass graves.

There is a publication specifically on *Colombia's response to enforced disappearances* which offers an example of a flowchart on how to respond to the Missing Persons issue.<sup>453</sup> (See Appendices for details) The flowchart aims to demonstrate the complexity of dealing with this sensitive issue of Missing Persons and how it is a very 'political' process with a legal area, a Humanitarian Law Unit, and a scientific, DNA matching unit. The technical process of locating, recovering and identifying Missing Persons is a very sophisticated one which requires great coordination and communication if it is to succeed.

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<sup>453</sup> ICMP, *ICMP Report: Colombia's response to enforce disappearances*. Sarajevo: ICMP, 2008, <<http://www.ic-mp.org/wp-content/uploads/2008/10/icmp-cos-110-3-doc.pdf>>, accessed 4 July 2013.

## **Missing Person Action Plan (MpAP)**

1. STANDARD LEGAL PROCESS — The Hague should consider having a standard legal process for those taking legal proceedings for being a member of a family that has ‘Missing Person(s)’ as a result of warfare and conflict.
2. IMPROVE OPENNESS AND DISCLOSURE — Make it easily accessible for eyewitnesses to reveal what they saw and heard. No information should be considered unimportant. All that is witnessed, no matter how small, is significant in putting the jigsaw puzzle together.
3. ADEQUATE MISSING PERSONS LOCATION DATA — Locations of where people were last seen should be plotted and recorded so as to be immediately acted upon. Perhaps they are held captive as hostages in the area or perhaps they had been executed and buried already. The faster the information is gathered the greater the chance of locating them and having early resolution.
4. PUNISHMENT FOR NATIONS — Governments must take personal responsibility through implementing punishment if any of their troops are responsible for causing humanitarian events.
5. REGROUP AND PLAN — The various groups should regroup and exchange information regularly so as to not delay in resolving issues. Planning is important; with respect to Cyprus Missing Persons it took about 30 years before any serious work begun on exhuming and identifying Missing Persons.
6. IMPROVE COMMUNICATIONS STANDARDS — Commitment by governments globally to improve the way the international community handles and resolves humanitarian issues. It should be made international law to react and resolve issues.
7. IMPROVE COMMUNITY INFRASTRUCTURE — There should be funds made available for the recovery of communities and to prevent protraction with these issues. Perhaps there should be a

deadline when war-generated humanitarian issues are to be resolved, such as within 12 months.

8. EDUCATION CAMPAIGN — In war zone areas there should be a commitment to community education to increase awareness of obligations for humanitarian issues and to assist in resolving them. This includes promoting how people should be actively involved in this international ‘neighbourhood watch’ (Neighbourhood Watch is a community based crime prevention program which aims to improve the quality of life within a neighbourhood by minimising preventable crime and promoting closer community ties. The program relies on the community and the police working together in a partnership to achieve these aims).<sup>454</sup>
9. MEASURE EFFECTIVENESS OF HUMANITARIAN RELIEF — Perhaps the UN’s Security Council could introduce sanctions if a nation does not comply and provide assistance with humanitarian relief to any of its citizens
10. PUBLIC RELATIONS CAMPAIGN TO DISSEMINATE INFORMATION — A world-wide campaign on how people can assist those in urgent need of humanitarian assistance in war zones. With the internet and social media the world is now a smaller place, a global village, which allows information to be disseminated almost instantaneously. People in all corners of the globe have access to information and knowledge ‘as news happens’. The terrorist events of 9/11 in New York City on 11 September, 2001 are an example of this. Fox News and CNN had live coverage almost after the first plane hit the World Trade Centre. This is even before the instantaneous Facebook, Twitter and other social media came into the communication equation.

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<sup>454</sup> Neighbourhood Watch, Neighbourhood Watch program in Australia. Victorian Police branch, <<http://www.nhw.com.au/home>>, accessed 15 September 2012.

In summary, there is no single solution to resolving the issue of Missing Persons, but it requires the development of an international policy approach to better deal with a number of challenges presented in communities at 'risk of war'. If it is to be an independent body there should be strong progress and where there is no headway, particularly if governments ignore issues, there should be economically driven initiatives. Regular consultation and measures to be quickly implemented should be ongoing. This will provide greater certainty for responsibility and regular follow-up on matters. This group should also offer a series of recommendations relating to its effectiveness and efficiency of its management. Key staff would be on secondment from their respective agencies/departments, which means there would not be any extra expense for governments in the international community.

Modern technology should also be used to assist in the effective management and involvement of the community and stakeholders. A key website on this international humanitarian coordinating body is a start as also is setting up social media.

### **9.3 Use of social media – its importance is not to be ignored**

With so much information available through social media sites, such as Facebook, it is important to use it to relay the horror of losing a loved one in a human conflict, rather than an act of nature or through illness.

There is no doubt that social media has delivered a fundamental shift in the way people around the globe communicate. Tweeting, posting on Facebook walls or even blogging has proven not to be a pointless fad that will fade anytime soon or an inane drive. It is now the most significant method of getting messages out whether to a select group or to the mass audience.

This social media shift warrants attention for authorities and should be taken seriously as it has ‘an immediacy’ about it and therefore a profound effect in communicating almost immediately with people on all corners of the globe.

The statistics show that it has an enormous penetration. As at 31 December 2012 in Europe there were 250,934,000 Facebook users, in the US (North America) 182,403,640 and 14,806,660 in Australasia. The total world Facebook users was 975,943,960.<sup>455</sup> Users of Facebook control how often they want to network and when they want to network and what information they wish to receive. It seems that if people do not use social media to communicate it will be at their own loss, as they won’t know what their friends and other people are doing, they may miss out on events and not be able to network with certain groups or view community pages. The individual who has not felt the peer pressure of Facebook and subscribed will become redundant and miss out on community debate. Other social media sites Twitter and YouTube are just as important in today’s modern world.

By having a humanitarian organisation dedicated exclusively to Missing Persons in warfare and conflict a specific social media campaign can create and slowly build a community of thousands of people across the world. As ‘fans’ and ‘followers’ share the information disseminated by this group with their networks, this would allow routine ‘direct talk’ to thousands of individuals and organisations almost immediately.

Once a family acknowledges that their loved one is missing and notifies this specialised group, information can be posted quickly of how this incident may have occurred and where they were last seen, calling for help in investigations or pushing out warnings if there is a common location of where civilians in a conflict may be at more risk. Mobile phone technology now allows for a new dimension in emergency evacuations.

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<sup>455</sup> Internet world stats, *Facebook users in the world*.

<<http://www.internetworldstats.com/stats4.htm>>, accessed 2 September 2012 and 20 October 2015.

These internet social media sites should encourage co-operation, engender trust, reduce risks and increase a community's confidence in being able to assist each other quickly and efficiently.

Initiatives to delve into social media should be at the frontline of most organisations needing urgent community cooperation. Something that may be premature, but a possible consideration, is to launch a web app for smart phones and tablets in world trouble spots so that individuals can access these social network sites and get news posted to them direct and immediately.

Computer engineers should perhaps consider an app which automatically collates all social media messages from a range of humanitarian organisations that have personnel on the ground assisting in situations of warfare and conflict. The real benefit is the enormous reach, which means in a crisis situation the proposed Missing Persons humanitarian organisation in question has the ability to potentially reach millions. For example, if someone in Australia has not heard from their family members in a political hotspot which is amidst a war, such as in recent times Syria, Lebanon and Egypt, they can post a photo and name of their Missing Person from Australia and perhaps someone in the country in conflict may respond within minutes via their smart phone to inform others via the social network.

Still at its infancy, but this concept was used to an extent in the floods experienced in Victoria and Queensland in 2011. In the following example, social media was used in a natural emergency and it enabled the emergency service groups to distribute information at speed to thousands of people. Previous to social media this was not possible. In a 24-hour period following the flash floods in the Queensland town of Grantham, the number of Facebook 'likes' on the Queensland Police Service (QPS) Facebook site had escalated to 100,000 from 17,000. In that day alone the QPS Facebook generated 39 million exchanges with

subscribers. This is equivalent to 450 views per second.<sup>456</sup> What is even more interesting is that subscribers did not 'drop away' after the tragic events, and by mid 2012 the QPS Facebook site had an online community of 280,000 – more than the daily circulation of Queensland's major daily newspaper the *Courier Mail*. There is no doubt that social media is transforming society and is a significant advancement in communication, which assists in preventing and solving many crimes and community issues.

Police are now using Facebook as a means of communicating with the public to gain feedback and information about what is happening in the community. For instance SA Police News is now being used by police in South Australia to communicate with the community.

*South Australian police are hoping new online efforts will help them better connect with communities at a local level.*

*Superintendent David O'Donovan says the online pages will make it easier to discuss local issues.*

*"More than a year ago SAPOL launched into the social media world with its own dedicated news website ... Facebook and Twitter accounts, as well as establishing a YouTube channel," he said.*

*"Since then we've built a community of more than 50,000 people."<sup>457 458</sup>*

New South Wales (NSW) police are also regarded as world leaders in the use of social media.

*The police have been using social media strategies including Twitter, YouTube and Facebook to engage and communicate with the Australian community.*

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<sup>456</sup> Queensland Police Service. *Disaster Management and Social Media – a case study*. Media and Public Affairs Branch, version 1.0, <<http://www.police.qld.gov.au/resources/internet/services/reportspublications/documents/qps-social-media-case-study.pdf>>, p. 7, accessed on 29 October 2013. As reported on <<http://www.facebook.com/#!/sapolicenews>>.  
<sup>458 458</sup> T. Fedorowytsch, 'SA policing making Facebook connection'. *Australian Broadcast Corporation*, ABC TV News, 28 June 2012, <<http://www.abc.net.au/news/2012-06-28/police-facebook-pages-connect/4098074>>, accessed 1 October 2013.



*These platforms have allowed the police to share public warnings, major event information, crime reports and arrest updates.*

*Last year, NSW Police added Project Eyewatch to their social media strategy. Under the project, police work together with their local communities to find solutions to local issues.*

*The Eyewatch project was recognised at the Social Media Law Enforcement Conference in the United States.*<sup>459</sup>

The power of social media was also displayed by the positive response received during the well publicised rape and murder of Jill Meagher and the outpouring of grief. Ms Meagher was an Irish national who disappeared in the early hours of 22 September 2012 while on a short walk to her Brunswick apartment (in Victoria, Australia) from a local bar where she had attended a colleagues birthday celebrations. After a public plea for help from her husband Thomas Meagher there was a large-scale social media campaign to solve the mystery. It proved to be very powerful with thousands of people quickly responding to requests to assist in finding her.

*A Facebook page titled "Help us find Jill Meagher" attracted more than 120,000 likes.*<sup>460</sup>

*In the 90 minutes after news broke of the arrest, social media platforms were ablaze with news of the development and tweets mentioning Ms Meagher's name hit almost 12 million Twitter timelines, or news feeds, trending across Melbourne and Australia.*

*The Twitter hashtags #jillmeagher and #meagher were two of the highest-trending topics on the social media site for hours after the news broke.*

*Hundreds also flocked to the Facebook page set up to help find Ms Meagher.*

*The story, including CCTV vision of Ms Meagher, was the most-read item on websites, including the Herald Sun, around Australia yesterday.*

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<sup>459</sup> ABC News. 'NSW Police lead world in social media use', Sunday September 16, 2012, <<http://www.abc.net.au/news/2012-09-16/nsw-police-world-leaders-in-social-media-use/4263836>>, accessed 5 October 2013.

<sup>460</sup> J. Cresswell, S. Lillebuen, & B. Merhab, 'Jill Meagher a "wonderful life force"' AAP, 28 September, 2012. <<http://au.news.yahoo.com/thewest/a/-/national/14990279/jill-meagher-a-wonderful-life-force/>>, accessed 1 September 2013.

*Even before Victoria Police had officially confirmed an investigation into the disappearance of Ms Meagher, a social media campaign was gathering steam.*

*Before the arrest was announced, tweets containing variations on the missing Irishwoman's name had appeared in more than 33 million Twitter feeds, while the "Help Us Find Jill Meagher" Facebook page, started by her friends and family, had reached 114,000 likes and rising.*

*The two versions of the Missing Persons poster and the CCTV link on the Facebook page were shared a combined 7432 times, meaning that if the average Facebook user had 130 friends, those items had been seen by more than 966,000 Facebook profiles, not including the sharing of status updates and the page itself.*

*Victoria Police media unit supervisor Natalie Webster said social media campaigns could assist with highlighting an incident or investigation and take information to an audience that was not engaged in traditional media — the police publish its own press releases and information on Twitter and Facebook.*

*But Ms Webster warned "it is important that the information on non-official pages is verified and correct, as it may adversely impact an investigation otherwise".<sup>461</sup>*

An interactive website dedicated for Missing Persons in warfare would also serve as a very powerful tool. It would provide up-to-date information such as having 'e-sighting capacity' to allow for quick responses from the public and authorities. Other benefits of social media are that it heightens the media 'advertising campaign' to alert the broader community of the Missing Persons. It should be noted that the ICRC has already created a website which aims to link families together when they 'get displaced and lost' in a conflict or natural disaster. The 'Restoring Family Links' website ([www.familylinks.icrc.org](http://www.familylinks.icrc.org))<sup>462</sup> is specific for finding Missing Persons in warfare and conflict.

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<sup>461</sup> M. Ainsworth & B. Casey (with I. Oderberg), 'Worldwide outpouring of grief after man arrested over Jill Meagher's disappearance', *Herald Sun*, 28 September 2012, <<http://www.heraldsun.com.au/news/victoria/worldwide-reaction-to-arrest-over-jill-meaghers-disappearance-on-social-media/story-e6frf7kx-1226482993419>>, accessed 1 September 2013.

<sup>462</sup> ICRC and National Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies 'Restoring Family Links' website <<http://www.familylinks.icrc.org>> aims to locate people and put them back into contact with their relatives, accessed 15 September 2013.

## **9.4 Problem Solving Model**

A Problem Solving Model needs to be developed to address the international humanitarian issue of Missing Persons, given the large number of global conflicts in today's modern world – particularly in African and Middle East nations. A global policy on dealing with Missing Persons from warfare is important in progressing through the issue at a faster pace – a policy will assist in reinforcing the need to continually adapt to the information gathered and then be refined, before additional information becomes available. A designed policy will reinforce the need to continually adapt, that is, to redefine what information is available, to then seek additional information, followed by assessing what is available, responding to this information, reassess once again, adapting a response(s), and reassessing again...until a resolution of that particular Missing Person is found. This model should include steps such as what is suggested in the following Acronym:

**I**ssues and facts need to be looked at closely. These are concerns which the relatives and local community of the Missing Person are experiencing and the response they receive. It is important for those assisting with the issue to understand relatives' needs, and listen to the information they express.

**G**ather and seek information from as many sources. This is a critical step and this should be done as soon as any person is reported as missing, while information is fresh.

**A**nalyse and assess the information gathered

**R**espond to facts and information at hand

**R**eassess the information over and over until all avenues are exhausted

Having such a model is important as it enforces quick action, that is, it places pressure on organisations to act within a time frame and such a model would add the following to the equation:

- Continuous communication is required
- It makes the issue a 'proactive' one rather than "reactive" one, that is, it adds a dynamic component and does not just relying on family to offer emotional responses
- It creates an 'operational situations', that is, it is now a dynamic situation and external influences are involved with the interaction of other humanitarian organisations and other governments involved
- It becomes part of bureaucracy and a formal 'administrative protocol' must be undertaken to address the issue internally within an issue and its democratic processes (if a true democracy exists)

It should also be discussed that the Missing Persons issue will be solved with much greater speed if partnerships are developed between humanitarian organisations. Such partnerships will have an impact if there is effective communication and a willingness to share all facts, whether these facts seem relevant information or not. It promotes information sharing among jurisdictions and agencies. Once these partnerships are developed they should be maintained on a casual basis, so when problems do arise, the communication lines have already been established so it is only a matter of simply briefing one another rather than reconnecting and networking from the beginning.

In conclusion, a review should be undertaken as to how the issue of Missing Persons in warfare should be classified as an emergency and a detailed and coordinated emergency management plan must be arranged. An emergency service agency, such as Interpol, International Committee of the Red Cross, should be nominated to lead the response of each agency assisting. There should be agencies at a local level and at an international level – that is utilising the expertise of international groups.

The lead agency's responsibilities should include planning, warning, public education and possible evacuation in 'extreme' conflict situations. Agencies must work cooperatively to coordinate and share many functions and facilities, and agencies must also assist other emergency services during major operations to prevent further Missing Persons, such as assisting in evacuations if required. The primary role will be ensuring the responses of the various agencies are more co-ordinated and provide policy advice to various governments. Tasks should include examining resources, provide strategic advice and high-level co-ordination across the range of agencies and oversee the implementation of policy – making it one of the most powerful agencies addressing international warfare. The agencies involved all have one aim — in protecting the community and to provide 'the best response one can provide the community on a daily basis and during such crisis'. Such a leading agency is not creating another level or bureaucracy, but by establishing this agency it would ensure that there would be no duplication of services.

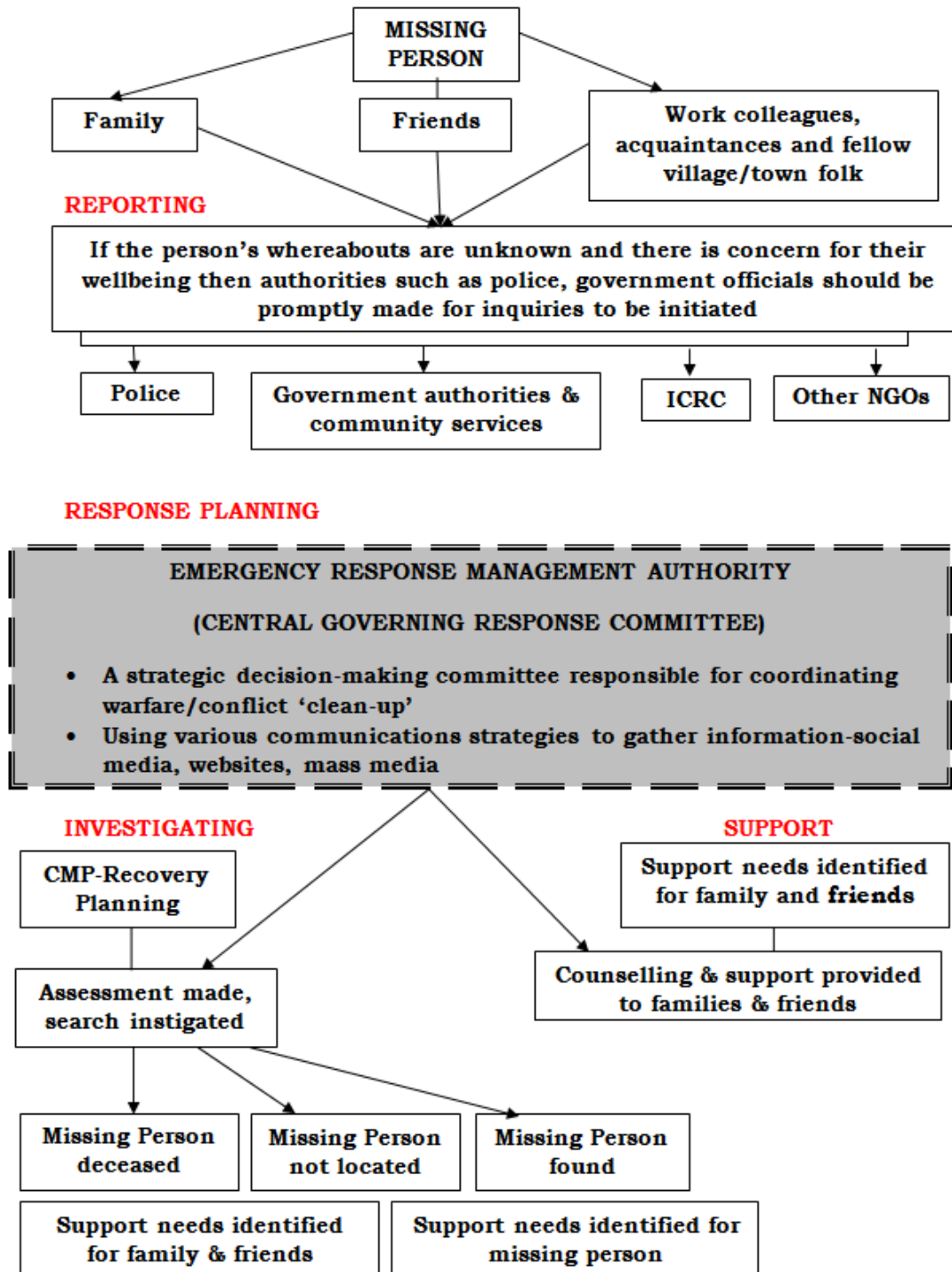


Figure 13. Leadership and governance framework for management of investigations and searches for Missing Persons

Furthermore, social media is important in how it can address and assist with humanitarian issues in warfare and conflict. It should also be used to assist in resolving the issue of Missing Persons in warfare and conflict.

In such an organisation it needs to be ensured that all staff have the knowledge, skills and investigation capacity to conduct front-line investigations. International co-operation and collaboration between agencies is essential. Recruiting staff that are technically aware of emerging communications trends (social media elements) will be crucial to develop future solutions for resolving issues such as Missing Persons.

Despite the benefits of social media, there are also negative aspects such as misinformation infiltrating the community. A rumour or even an assumption of where someone ‘thinks’ they saw one of the persons listed as missing can cause serious issues. Even if a negative comment or false information with significant potential consequences was immediately removed the post is still however picked up by other websites and it is reposted, which leaves a digital footprint that might not ever be removed. It is important to explore opportunities on how to expand the use of social media and to increase community engagement.

In summary, this chapter looks at how the global community can assist in dealing with such a humanitarian issue and how actions must be taken to deal with the Missing Persons humanitarian challenge. Furthermore, these challenges must lead to the undertaking of a number of important steps to build stronger relationships with key stakeholders so as to resolve these issues in the shortest possible time-frame. The unprecedented level of public, political and media attention humanitarian issues receive should be utilised to gain maximum exposure in the public domain. How efficient the process of resolving Missing Persons in warfare is handled is mainly the issue of approach – the process and strategy of how this humanitarian issue is undertaken by the various organisations in coordinating, supporting and communicating their joint efforts. Overall, in a war situation communities are paralysed, business is at a

standstill, tens of thousands of homes are unliveable and people are displaced and living in make-shift tent communities. Improvements can certainly be made and learning from past experiences is important in developing and refining the approach to handling these extreme humanitarian events. There should be even greater intervention from the international governments and NGOs and regulation should be more stringent. The approach should be proactive and reactive in collaborating with the international community at all levels and engaging closely with victims and community groups to work through issues in a transparent and constructive manner. The ongoing conflicts in the spotlight today, those of the Middle East, such as Iraq Gulf War, Lebanon, ongoing Israel-Palestine conflict and the recent revolutions generated from the Arab Spring, along with the protracted civil wars in Africa, only concludes that there is an enormous process towards resolving the issues of a significant number of Missing Persons. Recommendations from the various NGOs who have expertise in the issue of dealing with warfare, such as the ICRC, should be taken seriously by the UN Security Council and perhaps The Hague should also include the Missing Persons in the legal realities of war crimes. If cases of 'punishing military personnel' start to proceed and as a punishment, their respective governments are fined and sanctioned, then perhaps it will decrease the incidence. Building a shared understanding and educating the public of how they can be proactive in reporting any suspicious behaviour of groups might be a start. It is important that progress is made to better prepare for challenging humanitarian issues that will occur in the future. Intensifying dialogue with governments and disaster-related organisations is a must and inquiries should be welcomed, eyewitness accounts should all be heard and political self-interest must take a back seat to collating and understanding the facts. Under the most trying of circumstances all organisations must perform incredibly well and act promptly with minimal delays. Groups needing to cooperate and swiftly act and responding to valid critiques is also important if progress is to happen. Once war breaks out all these organisations should



automatically slip into an 'all-too-familiar' disaster response and management mode should then take over. Relevant people should be notified that their services are needed. This 'no delay' approach is best as the events are all fresh in people's minds. The more the years pass and the landscapes change the higher the percentage of not being able to resolve the issue. It is important to escalate issues and liaise with governments and local authorities promptly. The Missing Persons in conflict is a complex issue which requires a holistic approach in which all have to combine to generate appropriate outcomes which eventually has a direct impact on the community. Embarking on such a project is a daunting task but it can be achieved with full cooperation. To pursue this agenda it must be clear to all that unless governments heed the lessons of the past the same will re-occur. The Missing Persons catastrophes of the past must be educational and not forgotten — such as the Argentinean civil war, Bosnia and even war missing from Fromelles.

## **9.5 The Broader Geo-Political Context**

Cyprus has been caught in the middle of rivalry between Western and Eastern global spheres of influence. It is this geopolitical context that has seen the island nation fail in resolving the conflict and Cyprus problem. This failure could be seen as being the result of conflicting outside powers which have interests in the region and who continue to dominate the geostrategic importance of Cyprus, more so now with the flare-up of conflicts in Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan, making the region more volatile.

Over the decades Cyprus has endured tensions with neighbouring Turkey which lead to the invasion of Cyprus by Turkish troops, leading to the island's partition into the Turkish north and Greek south sectors. This taksim, or partitioning, was part of an earlier plan - from 1955 - for Cyprus to overcome the idea of *enosis*, union with Greece. While the EOKA organisation was founded to seek union with Greece through

armed struggle, the Turkish Cypriot paramilitary organisation Turkish Resistance Organisation (TMT) took a pro-partition position and called for taksim as a counterbalance to protect the Turkish Cypriot community on the island.<sup>463</sup>

This eastern Mediterranean region can be described as perhaps being the only global region where Western democracies exist next to a mixture of poor, rogue states and some run by authoritarian dictators. This creates political tension and instability as recently seen in Afghanistan, Syria, Libya and Lebanon which leads to mass migration and refugees and with it the export of terrorism. It then becomes one of the most uncertain and unpredictable regions of the world.

### **Why has mutual trust failed?**

Western powers want to have influence in Cyprus as a form of safeguard at a time of growing radicalism and instability and the growing number of Islamist governments in the Middle East. The power distribution which has to satisfy the great powers' objectives has resulted in there being no mutual trust and a failure to bring lasting secure peace in the region or a unification of the island. The internationalisation of the Cyprus problem has not assisted a settlement over the years, but has been a hindrance. Moreover, it is the complex relationship between the EU and Turkey and the US and British influences that has allowed the stalemate to remain. This lack of trust is also a result of Cyprus being adjacent to a region in turmoil, with several countries supporting terrorism, radical Islamic movements (such as the Taliban, Hamas and Hizbullah), developing weapons of mass destruction and acquiring long-range missiles. This makes the island nation vulnerable and needing to rely on enhancing relations with Western powers which have interests in the Middle East.<sup>464</sup>

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<sup>463</sup> C.V. Mavratsas, Politics, Social Memory, and Identity in Greek Cyprus since 1974, <<http://www.cyprus-conflict.net/www.cyprus-conflict.net/mavratsas.html>>, accessed 20 March 2011.

<sup>464</sup> E. Inbar, & S. Sandler, 'The importance of Cyprus', *The Middle East Quarterly*, Spring 2001, Vol. 8, No. 2, pp. 51-58.

All attempts to solve the crisis have failed due to ethnic intransigence. The Annan Plan put forward in 2004 failed as the Greek Cypriot side believed that it created permanent insecurity for them as it ignored security concerns and allowed the indefinite presence of foreign (Turkish) troops on the territory of an independent and sovereign nation. Furthermore, one of the most obvious weaknesses is the disputed elements of the Republic of Cyprus constitution, which continues to interfere with any attempt to come to a democratic solution in line with EU membership.

For a plan with potential to succeed it needs to safeguard the human rights of both ethnic groups and secure the reunification of the island nation under a strong federal system, which will guarantee a stable bizonal and bicommunal socio-political system. Issues which block any potential for reunification include local governance, the majority/minority perceptions of each community, sovereignty and the rights of ethnic groups and of course external powers and influences. The only external force which has the power to assist in achieving a bicommunal and bizonal solution is the EU. <sup>465</sup> Cyprus has an enduring strategic importance that gives it some geopolitical clout and it is the ideal geostrategic military outpost for European nations to influence its power into this region. The strategic role of Cyprus has remained constant over decades, and is likely to remain as such. Relationships in the region are dynamic and the current developments in the Mediterranean region, such as the civil war in Syria and Greece-Cyprus-Israel alliance with gas and oil discoveries in the eastern basin of the Mediterranean, will be interesting to monitor as to how future decisions will evolve.<sup>466</sup>

The acknowledgement of the island's attributes suggests that the country's foreign policy objective should be to, predominantly, reach a

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<sup>465</sup> W. Mallinson, *Partition through Foreign Aggression: The Case of Turkey in Cyprus*, Minnesota Mediterranean and East European Monographs, Number 20, 2010, p. 92.

<sup>466</sup> A. Stergiou, *Greece, Cyprus and Israel change the military balance in the Mediterranean*, 4 December 2013, <<http://www.geopolitical-info.com/en/article/greece-cyprus-and-israel-change-the-military-balance-in-themediterranean>>, accessed 6 April 2015.

solution to the Cyprus problem, which would not only benefit the people but also the EU as a European nation. This would also contribute to building and promoting peace and security in the Eastern Mediterranean and enhancing bilateral relations with neighbouring countries.<sup>467</sup>

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<sup>467</sup> N. Anastasiades, President of the Republic of Cyprus, Hellenic Observatory public lecture, London School of Economics and Political Science, 16 January 2014. <<http://www.pio.gov.cy/moi/pio/pio.nsf/All/7111EC2D3SA386C2C2257X620068F10F?OpenDocument>>, accessed 10 March 2015.

## **Chapter 10 - Conclusion**

This investigation offers an understanding into what it is to be a victim of political unrest and international conflict. In today's political climate there are millions of people who have experienced some variety of political violence, fear and pain, now partly constitutive of their historical selves. Some of these people have migrated to western societies. On a daily basis they interact with those who have little comprehension about what it is like to be confronted by war and its aftermath. There are now more Missing Persons than ever before, including from Iraq, Afghanistan, Sri Lanka, Kashmir/India-Pakistan, Sierra Leone, Zimbabwe, Iraq and Syria.

This study adds to the literature on the Missing Persons of Cyprus. It also discusses the policy issues that arise from Missing Persons in conflict situations that Governments and organisations that deal with war should consider. The research also explores the ethnographic experiences of relatives of Missing Persons living in the Australian Diaspora, creating awareness of their unique, subjective, and evocative stories that contribute to our understanding. The auto-ethnographic enquiry also offers my personal insights and experiences on my connection with relatives and loved ones who became Missing Persons.

Although there has been significant progress on the issue of Missing Persons in Cyprus since 2005, more needs to be done and at a faster pace as almost four decades have passed and the landscape of locations where Missing Persons might be located have been changed or forgotten by witnesses. The research has shown that, to some extent, authorities do not want to acknowledge that there is an issue that has been generated from the conflict. The result is that the relatives of the Missing Persons are avoided as much as possible. Their approach is that sensitive issues such as this will be a hindrance to any potential peace process. This has been revealed by the mere fact that the opportunity to uncover a number of Greek Cypriot Missing Persons was delayed and neglected

even when there was an opportunity to act on the ongoing issue. Specifically, the research discussed the issue of unmarked graves containing a number of Missing Persons in the jurisdiction of the Republic of Cyprus – where there was no influence or interference by Turkish authorities to ‘not cooperate’.

This highlighted the significance of the social science of ethnography and auto-ethnography that allows for new knowledge that can provide an opportunity to inform on specific problems and situations.

The research included both field interviews and self-reflection in order to properly understand the human dimensions of the Missing Persons tragedy. It also suggests what could be done for the relatives of the Missing Persons of Greek Cypriots as it explored the experiences of the relatives dealing with bureaucracy and the organisations established to assist them. Common concerns included the need to offer support to families and counselling to reduce the trauma; improved communication and liaison with relatives; and the need to keep families informed by regularly briefing them about developments. Waiting and not knowing what happened to their relative(s) was identified as the single most difficult part of the whole experience by families of Missing Persons. Families are the ‘secondary victims’ of Missing Persons in warfare and it is important that attention is devoted to their needs so that the impacts on the ‘surviving’ family unit can at least be softened.

I argued, too, that policy designed to assist in resolving issues facing Missing Persons in conflict should begin at the earliest opportunity, rather than decades later. One of the aims of this project was to propose how humanitarian issues caused by warfare and conflict can be resolved as quickly as possible and with minimal stress for the victims involved. It revealed that not one single organisation – whether an NGO or a government controlled one —coordinated a ‘quick fix’ solution to assist victim during and after a conflict. I suggested a model be developed to assist in the recovery and resolution of outstanding Missing Persons

issues. Further, the international community must urgently generate universal legislation, so as to resolve this issue even while conflict is occurring, rather than wait for cease fire or a truce.

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## **Glossary of Terms**

**AKEL:** The Cypriot Communist Party, formed in 1941, officially known as the Progressive Party of the Working People (Ανορθωτικό Κόμμα Εργαζόμενου Λαού). It opposed enosis believing that the party would be outlawed if there was union with Greece.

**Annan Plan:** The UN's peace proposal named after the UN's Secretary General Kofi Annan (who served between 2001 and 2006) and put together by the UN's Special Advisor for Cyprus Alvaro de Soto. The original version was presented on 11 November 2002 and was amended five times before the final version was presented on 31 March 2004. The fifth version of the Plan (Annan-V) was put to separate referenda on April 24, 2004. The results were 76 per cent of Greek Cypriots rejecting the Plan and 65 per cent of Turkish Cypriots in favour.

**CMP:** Committee on Missing Persons on Cyprus established in 1981. The humanitarian mandate of this independent Committee, which operates under the auspices and with the participation of the UN, is to investigate and determine the fate of the Missing Persons in Cyprus. The CMP is made up of three members — one representative from each side and a third member, who is designated by the UN's Secretary General.

**CODIS(mp):** Combined DNA Index System for Missing Persons, also known as the National Missing Person DNA Database (NMPDD) as a federal database created by the US's Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), to assemble data on Missing Persons and unidentified human remains cases.

**Conflict:** A situation in which people, groups or countries are involved in a serious disagreement or argument; a conflict between two cultures; a violent situation or period of fighting between two countries

armed/military conflict with the violence being the result of political and ethnic conflicts.<sup>468</sup>

**Council of Europe (CoE):** Founded in 1949, the CoE seeks to develop throughout Europe common and democratic principles based on the European Convention on Human Rights and other forms of protection of individuals. It has 47 member countries.

**Crossing points:** The Turkish Cypriot de facto government eased travel restrictions across the dividing Green line on 23 April 2003, by allowing Greek Cypriots to cross at the Ledra Palace Crossing, located near the walls of old Nicosia. By 2012 there was a total of 5 crossings exist-Astromeritis/Zodia, Agios Dometios, Ledra Palace, Pila, Agios Nikolaos.

**Cyprus Problem:** Reference to the political status of the Republic of Cyprus following the 1974 invasion of Turkish troops and the continuing occupation of a third of the island's northern territory.

**Deoxyribonucleic acid (DNA):** A nucleic acid that is the main constituent of the chromosomes of all organisms. The DNA molecule consists of two polynucleotide chains in the form of a double helix, containing phosphate and the sugar deoxyribose and linked by hydrogen bonds between the complementary bases adenine and thymine or cytosine and guanine.

DNA is self-replicating, plays a central role in protein synthesis, and is responsible for the transmission of hereditary characteristics from parents to offspring. The sequence of nucleotides determines individual hereditary characteristics.

DNA profiling, also called DNA testing, is a technique employed by forensic scientists to assist in the identification of individuals by their respective DNA profiles. DNA profiles are encrypted sets of numbers that

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<sup>468</sup> Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary:  
<[http://oald8.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/dictionary/conflict\\_1](http://oald8.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/dictionary/conflict_1)>, accessed 1 December 2011.

reflect a person's DNA makeup, which can also be used as the person's identifier. DNA profiling is used in, for example, parental testing and criminal investigation.

**Enosis (Union with Greece):** Throughout the 1940s and 1950s, Greek Cypriots were keen on union with Greece (enosis) and held referenda in support of annexation, while the British attempted to suppress and end any action which was threatening their possession of the island.

**EOKA:** National Organisation of Cypriot Fighters-Ethniki Organosis Kyprion Agoniston-a Greek Cypriot nationalist organisation regarded by the British as a terrorist group that fought for the expulsion of British troops, for union with Greece in the 1950s and for autonomy. EOKA was an independence movement with many considering the organisation as a legitimate resistance movement. Makarios was a leading advocate for enosis and he maintained links with the Greek Government.

**Ethnic cleansing:** The term derived its current meaning during the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and was also used to describe certain events in Croatia. The official UN's definition of ethnic cleansing is the deliberate and systematic removal of a racial, political, or cultural group from a specific geographical area. A 1993 UN's Commission defined it more specifically as, "the planned deliberate removal from a specific territory, persons of a particular ethnic group, by force or intimidation, in order to render that area ethnically homogenous."

**Ethnography:** An anthropological tradition, it is essentially the study of a particular cultural group or phenomenon. Fieldwork is a fundamental part of that study, and for anthropologists, ethnographic fieldwork involves documenting people's beliefs and practices from the people's own perspectives.<sup>469</sup>

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<sup>469</sup> H. Chang, *Autoethnography as Method, Raising Cultural Consciousness of Self and Others*, Eastern University, Pennsylvania, US, p. 205.

Ethnographic research methods: Ethnographers gather information by watching and talking with people, and by reading available reports and records. Observation is a main tool in an ethnographer's toolbox, and ethnographers spend a good deal of their time in the field observing, either as nonparticipant or participant observers.<sup>470</sup>

*(Autoethnology: A form of qualitative research employed by sociologists that involves self-observation. Which explores the researcher's personal experience and connects the interviewee's content with the wider cultural, political and social meanings and understandings.<sup>471</sup>)*

**European Union (EU):** A political and economic union of 27 member states located in Europe. It was established by the Treaty of Maastricht in 1993 upon the foundations of the existing European Economic Community.

**EU *acquis communautaire* or (EU) *acquis*:** The term is French: *acquis* means "that which has been acquired", and *communautaire* means "of the community" It is used in European Union law to refer to the total body of EU law accumulated so far. During the process of the enlargement of the EU, the *acquis* was divided into 31 chapters for the purpose of negotiation between the EU and the candidate member states for the fifth enlargement, which included Cyprus as part of the 10 countries which joined in 2004 plus Romania and Bulgaria which joined in 2007. These 31 chapters include: free movement of goods, free movement of persons, freedom to provide service, economy and monetary union and common foreign and security policy.

**European Court of Human Rights (ECTHR):** This international court was set up in Strasbourg by the Council of Europe (CoE) member states in 1959 to deal with alleged violations of the 1950 European Convention on Human Rights and, in brief, the ECTHR deals with enforcing Human Rights. Since 1 November 1998 it has operated as a full-time Court

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<sup>470</sup> H. Chang, p. 207.

<sup>471</sup> C. Ellis, *The Ethnographic I: A methodological novel about autoethnography*. Walnut Creek: AltaMira Press, 2004, p. xix.

composed of an equal number of judges to that of the CoE member states that have ratified the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms-currently forty-five. The Committee of Ministers of the CoE supervises the execution of the Court's judgments. The ECtHR also applies the European Convention on Human Rights and ensures that States respect the rights and guarantees set out in this Convention. It examines complaints lodged by individuals or, sometimes, by States.

**European Court of Justice:** Established in 1952 and based in Luxembourg City, it is composed of 27 judges-one judge per member state. It is the highest court of the EU and has the ultimate say on matters of EU law in order to ensure equal application across the various EU member states.

**G-20 major economies:** also known by other names including the Group of Twenty Finance Ministers and Central Bank Governors, is a group of finance ministers and central bank governors from 20 major economies: 19 countries plus the European Union, which is represented by the European Central Bank and the President of the European Council. Turkey is a member.

**Genocide:** The term was put together in 1943 by the Jewish-Polish lawyer Raphael Lemkin who combined the Greek word "genos" (race or tribe) with the Latin word 'cidium' (to kill). After witnessing the Holocaust, in which each member of his family except his brother and himself were not killed, Dr Lemkin lobbied to have genocide recognised as a crime under international law.

The adoption of the UN Convention on Genocide was in December 1948, which came into effect in January 1951. Article Two of the convention defines genocide as "any of the following acts committed with the intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial or religious group, as such": Killing members of the group; causing serious bodily or



mental harm to members of the group; deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part; Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

The convention also enforces this on nations that are signatories to "prevent and to punish" genocide.<sup>472</sup>

**Guardian of Turkish Cypriot Properties:** After 1974 the Government of the Republic of Cyprus set up this body (known as the Guardian of Turkish Cypriot properties) where Greek Cypriot refugees settling in homes belonging to Turkish Cypriots would have custodianship "but not ownership" of the property. This was set up to administer the land until a solution to the Cyprus Problem was found and occupation ended. This job is filled by the Interior Minister of the Republic of Cyprus. Various bills and amendments have been introduced and proposed regarding the management of Turkish Cypriot properties in the south. The government must work out complicated issues such as how to deal with Turkish Cypriots visiting the land registry department and claiming their property back.

**GCHQ (Government Communications Headquarters):** British intelligence and security organisation, which is part of the Civil Service Department reporting to the UK's Foreign Secretary and work closely with other UK intelligence agencies including M15 and M16.

**Holocaust:** Defined in the Oxford dictionary as destruction or slaughter on a mass scale, especially caused by fire or nuclear war<sup>473</sup>, which became a 'historical term' known as the mass murder of Jews under the German Nazi regime during the period 1941-5, whereby more than 6

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<sup>472</sup> BBC News, "Analysis: Defining genocide", 27 August 2010, <<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-11108059>>, accessed 3 September 2013.

<sup>473</sup> Oxford Dictionary (online) <<http://oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/holocaust>>, accessed 1 December 2011.

million European Jews, as well as members of other persecuted groups, were murdered at other UK intelligence agencies including M15 and M16.

**IPC:** Immovable Property Commission in North Cyprus was established in December 2005 under 'TRNC' Law 67/2005, with the aim to award Greek Cypriot applicants compensation, restitution and/or exchange of property for theirs which exists in northern Cyprus. This was reaffirmed with a ruling of the ECtHR as part of the Demopoulos vs. Turkey case, and seven other cases, on 5 March 2010, with the Court upholding that the "TRNC" IPC in North Cyprus was an easily accessible and effective way for refugees to make claims in relation to the issue of property losses in the occupied north Cyprus.

**KATAK:** Association of the Turkish Minority in Cyprus.

**(The) Green Line/Enclave lines:** The term refers to the line of demarcation that divides the Republic of Cyprus capital of Nicosia between the Turkish occupied northern Cyprus and the southern free part of the island. It was first established in 1964 when Turkish Cypriots claimed they needed their own enclaves for protection. This Green line was further strengthened following the first Turkish invasion of northern Cyprus in July 1974. The Green Line is also referred to as the Atilla Line after the name given to the 1974 military intervention by Turkey, Operation Atilla, which they claim was a 'Peace Operation' needed to intervene in response to the Greek Cypriot coup.

**(The) Junta:** Greek military junta also known as "The Regime of the Colonels" in reference to a series of right-wing military governments that ruled Greece between 1967 and 1974. The military started rule on 21 April, 1967 with a coup d'état led by a group of colonels of the Greek military. It ended in August 1974. The 1967 coup which led to seven years of military rule was an element of the 30 years of national division between the Left and Right forces that have roots from Greece's involvement in World War II. This resulted from the resistance against

the Axis occupation after Greece's liberation in 1945, the nation experienced a civil war between the forces of the Communist-led Greek resistance.

**Missing Persons:** Missing Persons is a person whose whereabouts are unknown to his/her relatives and/or who, on the basis of reliable information, has been reported missing in accordance with the national legislation in connection with an international or non-international armed conflict, a situation of internal violence or disturbances, natural catastrophes or any other situation that may require the intervention of a competent State authority.

***Relative of the Missing Person definition:** Relative of the Missing Person – unless otherwise specified, for the purpose of the present Law, the term “relative” shall be understood in accordance with provisions of the [Civil Code/Family Law]. It shall include, at a minimum, the following persons: children born in and out of wedlock, adopted children or step-children; lawfully wedded partner or unwedded partner; parents (including step-mother, step-father and adopter); full or half or adopted sisters and brothers.<sup>474</sup>*

**Non-Aligned Movement (N-AM):** An international organisation of states considering themselves not formally aligned with or against any major power bloc. It was founded in April 1955 as an attempt to prevent the Cold War. In 2004 Cyprus ceased being a member and joined the EU. In 2008 it had 118 members.

**National Popular Party (of Turkish Cypriots):** The predecessor of the ‘Cyprus is Turkish Party’, ‘Kibris Turktur Parti’.

**NATO:** North Atlantic Treaty Organisation. Both Greece and Turkey have been members of NATO since 1951. It is a military alliance of 26 countries from North America and Europe established by the signing of

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<sup>474</sup> ICRC (International Committee of the Red Cross). *Guiding principles/Model Law on the missing*, February 2009, p. 7.  
<<http://www.icrc.org/eng/resources/documents/misc/model-law-missing-300908.htm>>, accessed 2 December 2011.

the North Atlantic Treaty on 4 April 1949. The organisation constitutes a system of collective defence whereby its member states agree to mutual defence in response to an attack by an external party.

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (**OECD**): an international economic organisation of 34 countries founded in 1961 to stimulate economic progress and world trade. The aim of the organisation is to assist governments tackle the economic, social and governance challenges of a globalised economy. ([www.oecd.org/](http://www.oecd.org/)). Turkey and Australia are member nations, Cyprus is not.

Organization for Security and Co-operation (OSCE): in Europe the world's largest regional security organization. Both Cyprus and Turkey are included in the 57 participating member states from Europe, Central Asia and North America. The organisation offers a forum for decision-making and negotiations in the area of conflict prevention, crisis management and post-conflict recovery. (<<http://www.osce.org>>)

**PAPRUPMP:** Pancyprian Association of Parents and Relatives of Undeclared Prisoners & Missing Persons

**PASEKA:** Pan Australian Justice for Cyprus coordinating committee-formed after the Turkish invasion in 1974. **See PSEKA and SEKA.**

**PSEKA:** the Pan-World Justice for Cyprus Coordinating Committee that is based in the US, which was in turn established when the international community reacted to the Turkish invasion of Cyprus and its associated violation of the Charter of the UN that underpins the independence, sovereignty, freedom and territorial integrity of all nation states and to the continuing violation of the human rights of Cypriots as referred to the UN Charter.

**SBAs (Sovereign Base Areas):** Mainly referring to the UK's Sovereign Base Areas seen as 'overseas territory'. Created in Cyprus in 1960 by the Treaty of Establishment when Cyprus was granted independence from

Britain, these bases are located in countries formerly ruled by the UK which Britain retained and did not hand over when these countries gained independence. In Cyprus Akrotiri and Dhekelia is stationed to defend. Akrotiri is based near the port city of Limassol and Dhekelia is in the southeast, near Larnaca with the villages Xylotymvou and Ormidhia being enclaves surrounded by the base. An Administrator, instead of a Governor, is responsible for the areas and the Bases have their own legal system. The area is 254 sq kms - 3 per cent of the land area of Cyprus - with a population of about 7500 British Military personnel and their families. From 1960 to 1964 the British Government paid rent to the Republic of Cyprus for the bases, but this ended after the 1963-1964 intercommunal fighting and claimed that the two communities would not benefit equally from the money. The Republic of Cyprus is still claiming money, estimated to be worth up to a billion Euros.

**SEKA:** In Australia the SEKA associations - known as Justice for Cyprus Coordinating Committees with the acronym SEKA formed in all States, the Northern Territory and the Australian Capital Territory. It is under the national organisation known as PASEKA which aims to campaign and highlight the Cyprus Problem in the Australian community and to lobby the Australian Government to put pressure on the international community for a just solution.

**Skala or skales (plural):** The most common measurement unit of land in Cyprus is 'skala' or 'skales' (plural) in Greek and 'donum' or 'donums' (plural) in Turkish, which both represent 1,338 square metres. Since there is no similar measurement unit in English we use the respective Greek and Turkish terms throughout our research.

**'TFSC':** 'Turkish Federation State of Cyprus', proclaimed by the Turkish Cypriots on 13 February 1975.

**TMT:** Turk MU.K.avemet Teskilati, or Turkish Defence Organisation. A terrorist organisation which formed in November 1957 and commonly

known as the Turkish Resistance Organisation. It was formed by Rauf Denktash, and was funded and trained by Turkey to fight EOKA.

**‘TRNC’:** (‘Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus’), the pseudo state only recognised by the Republic of Turkey. The so-called ‘TRNC’ replaced the ‘Turkish Federated State of Cyprus’ (‘TFSC’) which was proclaimed by the Turkish Cypriots on 13 February 1975. The United Nations Security Council (UNSC) in its Resolution 541 on 18 November, 1983, declared the action ‘illegally invalid’ and called on Turkey to withdrawal of its troops.

**United Nations (UN):** An organisation of independent countries that voluntarily joined together for world peace and social progress, which formally came into existence on 24 October 1945 with 51 member states. Today there are 192 members.

**UN Buffer Zone (dead zone):** A 300kms separation barrier along The Green Line (or ceasefire line) between the self-proclaimed “Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus” and the internationally recognised Republic of Cyprus. Constructed by Turkey, it serves to separate the northern part of the island-which is occupied by Turkish troops and inhabited by Turkish settlers and Turkish Cypriots-from the southern part mostly inhabited by Greek Cypriots. This UN Buffer Zone divides the capital Nicosia. This Buffer Zone is patrolled by UN peacekeeping forces.

**UNFICYP (UN Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus):** The UN peacekeepers were established after the outbreak of intercommunal violence on the island in 1963, with a three-month mandate. By June 1964 about 6,500 UN troops were based in Cyprus. It is now the longest serving peacekeeping mission in UN history. As of March 2013 there were 943

UN peacekeepers (877 troops, 66 police) troops in Cyprus. There were 37 international civilian personnel and 108 local civilian staff.<sup>475</sup>

**Warfare:** The activity of fighting a war, especially using particular weapons or methods **air/naval/guerrilla, etc.**, the activity of competing in an aggressive way with another group, company, etc<sup>476</sup>

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<sup>475</sup> Note: United Nations. Statistics on peacekeeping mission for international and local civilians are as of 31 December 2012.

<<http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/unficypr/facts.shtml>> accessed 5 November 2015.

<sup>476</sup> *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary:*

<<http://oald8.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/dictionary/warfare>> accessed 1 December 2011.

## **Glossary of Names**

**Acheson, Dean (1893-1971):** Acted as an advisor to four US presidents. He proposed the partitioning policy of Cyprus known as the Acheson Plans of 1964-65. This proposal intended to establish American and NATO bases in Cyprus by imposing superior and sophisticated arms to solve the Cyprus Problem.

**Ali Talat, Mehmet:** (born 6 July 1952 in Kyrenia) is the former President of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. He was the leader of the left wing Republican Turkish Party (Cumhuriyetçi Türk Partisi). He became prime minister in 2004, and subsequently won the Presidential election held on 17 April 2005. Talat succeeding retiring President Rauf Denktash and followed by Dr Dervis Eroglu.

**Anastasiades, Nicos:** (born 27 September 1946) is a Cypriot politician who became President of Cyprus since February 2013. Previously, he was leader of the center-right political party Democratic Rally (DISY). A lawyer by profession, he was first elected to the House of Representatives in 1981 and has been leader of his party since 8 June 1997.

**Annan, Kofi Atta (8 April, 1938 — ):** A Ghanaian diplomat and the seventh Secretary General of the UN, who served between 2001 and 2006. He played a significant role in the proposed Cyprus Problem peace solution with the so-called Annan Plan (Annan-V).

**Christofias Dimitris (29 August 1946 — ):** A left-wing Greek Cypriot politician and the sixth President of the Republic of Cyprus, winning the 25 February 2008 elections. Christofias is Cyprus's first, and the European Union's first communist head of state.

**Denktash, Rauf Raif (27 January, 1924 — 13 January 2012):** The Leader of the Turkish Cypriots from 18 February 1973 to 24 April 2005, he founded the 'Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus' (TRNC), a de facto state declared by the Turkish Cypriot authorities on 15 November 1983



which aimed to create an independent state in northern Cyprus. This so-called state is only recognised by Turkey. Denktash served as the first President of this 'TRNC' from 1983 to 24 April 2005 on four five-year terms. He was succeeded by Mehmet Ali Talat.

**Downer, Alexander John Gosse:** (born 9 September 1951) was Australia's longest serving Minister for Foreign Affairs in the Liberal John Howard Government, from March 1996 until December 2007 and the Leader of the Opposition and Leader of the Parliamentary Liberal Party from May 1994 to January 1995. On 14 July 2008 Downer took on the role of Secretary General of the UN's Special Envoy on Cyprus.

**Erdoğan, Recep Tayyip** (born 26 February 1954) is the 25th and current Prime Minister of Turkey, in office since 2003. He is also the chairman of the ruling Justice and Development Party (AKP), which holds a majority of the seats in the Grand National Assembly of Turkey. In May and June 2013 saw protests against what large sections of the Turkish public perceive as a growing authoritarianism of Erdoğan and his government.

**Eroğlu, Derviş Dr.:** (born 1938 in Famagusta) became the President of the "TRNC" on 23 April 2010. He was Prime Minister of the "TRNC" from 1985 to 1994 and from 1996 to 2004, and leader of the National Unity Party. His party won the general elections in 2009.

**Foot, Sir Hugh (8 Oct 1907 — 5 Sept 1990):** Sir Hugh Foot was a British diplomat who was created Lord Caradon in 1964 after he retired as last British colonial governor of Cyprus. He served as the last Governor of Cyprus from 1957 to 1960. He oversaw and guided Cyprus to independence when it became a republic in August 1960. Sir Hugh was also British Ambassador to the UN as well as Governor of Jamaica and Nigeria. The Queen knighted him for his overall foreign service in Palestine, Jamaica, Cyprus and Nigeria. He also served in the House of Lords.

**Grivas, George (1898 — 1974):** Also known as **Digenis** by Greeks, which he adopted while in EOKA, in honour of the Byzantine legend Digenis Akritas, who repelled invaders from the Byzantine Empire during the Middle Ages. He was a Cyprus born Colonel in the Greek army, born in the village of Trikomo that is now occupied by Turkish troops. He studied in the Hellenic Army Academy and worked as an officer in the Greek army. During the German-Italian-Bulgarian occupation of Greece in World War II he founded and led Organisation X. In his memoirs he describes it as a resistance organisation. However, the main aim of X was to fight the Communist EAM and ELAS. During the Nazi occupation, Organisation X was not big and its influence was limited in certain neighbourhoods of Athens. After the British arrived, Organisation X played an important role during the armed conflict for Athens between communists and royalists in December 1944 and its size and influence increased greatly.

**Kissinger, Henry (27 May 1923 — ):** Born in Furth, Germany, he escaped the Nazi persecution of the Jews. Having migrated to the US, he later completed a PhD from Harvard University in government. He was the advisor to US presidents Dwight D. Eisenhower, John F Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson and served as Secretary of State from 1973 to 1977. He was a recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize in 1973 for helping end the Vietnam War. His policy on the Cyprus issue was for the island to remain under NATO control and under US influence. When Turkey invaded, the US did not attempt to stop it, and in turn achieved their partitioning policy and in turn having a large military base in northern Cyprus.

**Kutchuk, Dr Fazil (1906 — 15 Jan 1984):** Chairman of the ‘Cyprus is Turkish Party’, ‘Kibris Turktur Parti’, which became the National Popular Party (of Turkish Cypriots). He was the vice president to Makarios when the island Republic became independent in 1960 until 1963.

**Makarios (Archbishop) III (13 Aug — 3 Aug 1977):** In October 1950 he was elected Archbishop of Cyprus and he was the first president of the

Republic of Cyprus, from 16 August, 1960 to 3 August, 1977. Born Michael Christedoulos Mouskos, in the Paphos village of Panayia on 13 August 1913, he studied theology at the University of Athens and at the Methodist Theological College at the University of Boston, US. On 13 June 1948 he became Bishop of Kition (Larnaca) and on 18 October was elevated to Archbishop Makarios III of Cyprus.

**Papadopoulos, Tassos (7 Jan 1934 — 12 Dec 2008):** Papadopoulos political career spanned most of the island's history as a republic after gaining independence from British colonial rule in 1960. He took part in the London Conference in 1959 and was one of the two delegates who voted against the signing of the London and Zurich Agreements. He was also one of the four representatives of the Greek Cypriot side at the Constitutional Commission which drafted the Constitution of the Republic of Cyprus. For 12 years he served in various Ministerial portfolios - Minister of the Interior, Minister of Finance, Minister of Labour and Social Insurance, Minister of Health and Minister of Agriculture and Natural Resources. He served as advisor to the first representative of the Greek Cypriot side in the intercommunal talks, Glafkos Clerides, until April 1976 and he then took up that post himself, serving until July 1978.

On 7 October 2000, he was elected unopposed as President of the Democratic Party (ΔΗΚΟ). At the 27 May 2001 elections he was re-elected. Over his five-year term, he oversaw the Republic's entry into the European Union and its adoption of the Euro currency. Papadopoulos will be remembered as the leader who pleaded to the Greek Cypriots to reject the "Annan Plan" (Annan-V) a reunification plan put together by the UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan, which he labelled as encouraging division and not ending it.

**Sampson, Nikos (1935 — May 9, 2001):** The coup installed dictator of Cyprus, after the overthrow of President Makarios in 1974. Sampson was well known as a Greek Nationalist and member of EOKA-B, which sought

*enosis* (union) of Cyprus with Greece. Sampson was born Nikos Georgiadis and worked as a journalist for *The Cyprus Times*. He adopted the Sampson name as a pseudonym during the resistance campaign against British rule in Cyprus, waged from 1955 to 1959.

## Acronyms

**AD:** Anno Domini (year of our Lord), which is part of the B.C./A.D. historical dating system.

**AHDR:** Association for Historical Dialogue and Research. Founded in 2003, the group has members from various ethnic, linguistic, and professional backgrounds working at various educational levels in Cyprus with the aim of offering historical understanding.

**ALAF:** Association of Latin American Forensic Anthropologists

**BC:** Before Christ, which is part of the B.C./A.D. historical dating system.

**CMC:** Computer Mediated Communication, such as social media Facebook, LinkedIn, Skype and e-mail, utilise modalities chat and instant messaging

**CMP:** Committee on Missing Persons

**CoE:** Council of Europe

**CONADEP:** National Commission on the Disappearance of Persons (to shed light on the disappearance of at least 8,960 people under the military regime of Argentina between 1976-1983.<sup>477</sup>

**EAAF:** Argentine Forensic Anthropology Team

**ECtHR:** European Court of Human Rights

**EPAF:** Peruvian Forensic Anthropology Team

**EU:** European Union

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<sup>477</sup> Latin American initiative for the identification of the disappeared genetics and human rights (Argentina section) p. 9  
<[http://www.eaaf.org/eaaf/LIID\\_01-56\\_eng.pdf](http://www.eaaf.org/eaaf/LIID_01-56_eng.pdf)>, accessed 10 July 2015.

**FAFG:** Guatemalan Forensic Anthropology Foundation

**ICMP:** International Commission on Missing Persons

**ICRC:** International Committee of the Red Cross

**ICTR:** International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda

**Kms:** kilometres

**LIID:** Latin American Initiative for the Identification of the Disappeared

**m:** metres

**N-AM:** Non-Aligned Movement

**NATO:** North Atlantic Treaty Organisation

**NGO:** Non Government Organisation

**sq kms** – square kilometres

**TCHRF:** Turkish Cypriot Human Rights Foundation

**UK:** United Kingdom

**UN:** United Nations

**UNHCHR:** High Commission for Human Rights

**UNHCR:** United Nations High Commission for Refugees

**UNICYP:** United Nations Force in Cyprus

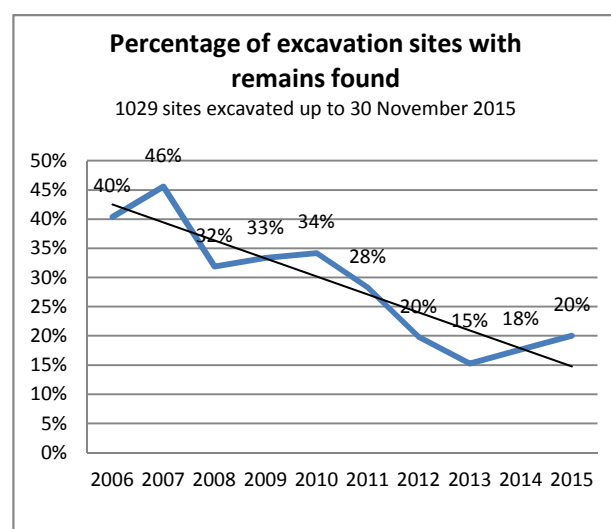
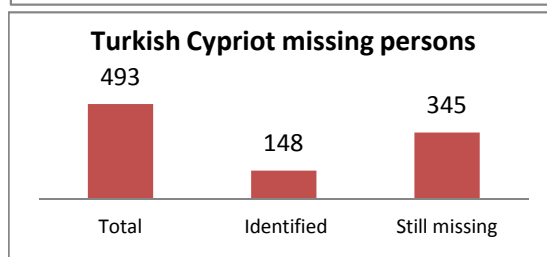
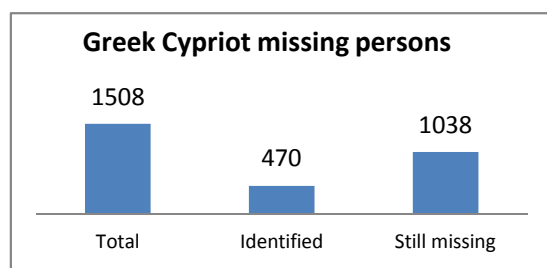
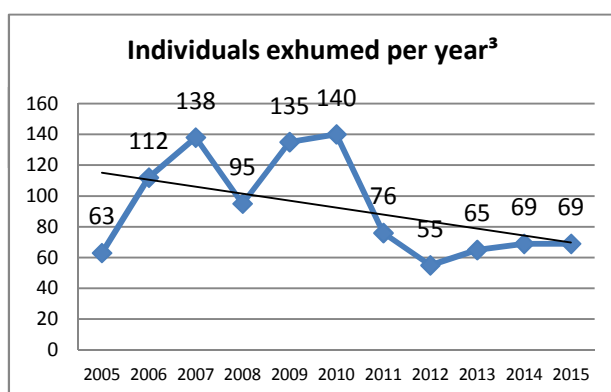
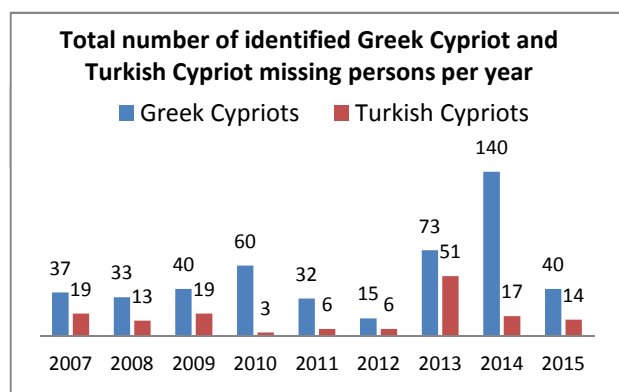
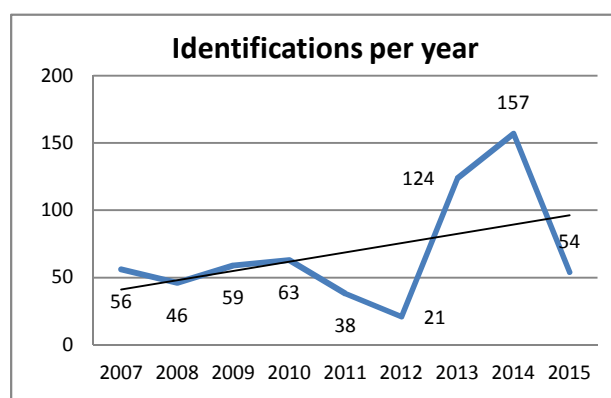
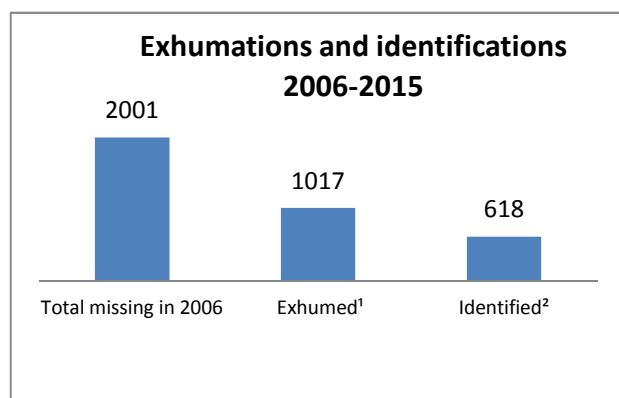
**UNSC:** United Nations Security Council

**US:** United States of America

## **Appendices**

## Figures and Statistics of Missing Persons

up to 30 November 2015



<sup>1</sup> This figure may change as a result of anthropological and genetic analysis.

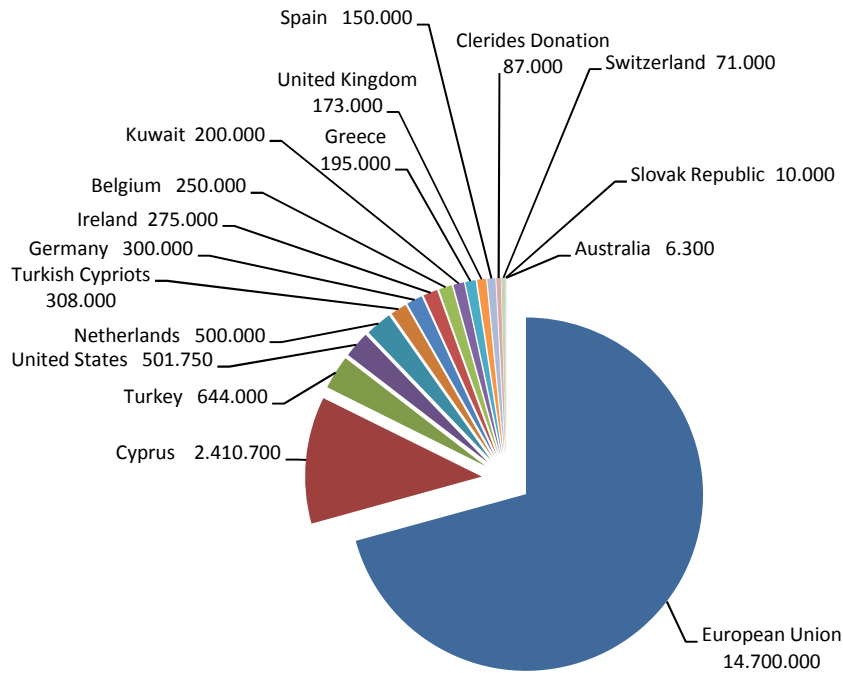
<sup>2</sup> This figure does not include 101 individuals who were identified by the CMP but are not on the official list of missing persons.

<sup>3</sup> The figure for 2005 includes excavations and exhumations performed by the Turkish Cypriots prior to the current project. Remains recovered from these exhumations were handed over to the CMP in 2006.



## CMP Donors 2006 - 2015

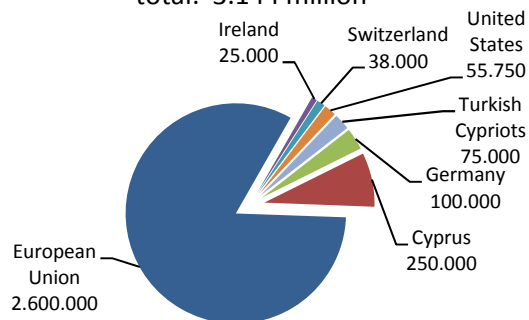
(in EUR)



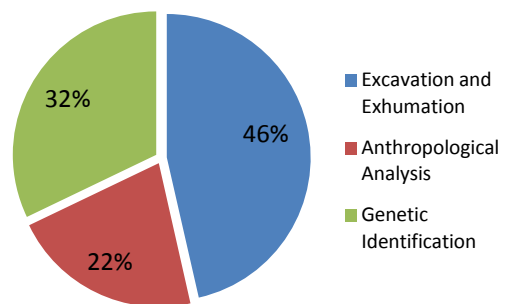
## Donors 2015

(in EUR)

total: 3.144 million



## CMP Cost Structure approximate percentage of 2014 budget



<sup>1</sup> All the funds allocated by the European Union to the Committee on Missing Persons since 2007 onwards have been made available under the framework of Council Regulation n°389/2006 of 27 February 2006 establishing an instrument of financial support for encouraging the economic development of the Turkish Cypriot community.

### INFORMATION SHEET 3.4 Restoring family links and the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement

#### RESTORING FAMILY LINKS (RFL)

Every year, **hundreds of thousands of people are separated from their loved ones as a result of war or natural disaster.** In these situations, families are torn apart, entire populations are displaced or forced into exile, the elderly are left behind, children are lost amidst the chaos, many people go missing and the dead may remain unidentified. Of all the suffering caused by war or natural disasters, perhaps the bitterest anguish stems from not knowing what has happened to a loved one. Everything possible must be done to establish their whereabouts, restore contact between them and if needed, reunite them.

**Restoring family links means carrying out a range of activities that aim to prevent separation and disappearance, restore and maintain contact between family members, and clarify the fate of persons reported missing.**

It involves:

- collecting information about persons who are missing, persons who have died, and vulnerable persons such as children separated from their families and persons deprived of their freedom;
- tracing persons unaccounted for;
- organizing the exchange of family news and the sending of documents when normal means of communication have broken down;
- organizing family reunifications and repatriations;
- issuing travel documents and attestations.

#### THE RED CROSS AND RED CRESCENT MOVEMENT: THE FAMILY LINKS NETWORK (FLN)

These activities are carried out by the worldwide **Family Links Network**, which consists of the tracing services of National Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, the tracing agencies of ICRC delegations and the ICRC's Central Tracing Agency.

The Movement has longstanding experience and expertise in this area, as it is well placed to address the needs of people without news of their relatives. Every year, the ICRC and National Societies help hundreds of thousands of people (displaced persons, refugees, detainees and missing persons) to restore family links and to clarify the fate of missing relatives.

#### THE ICRC AND THE MISSING

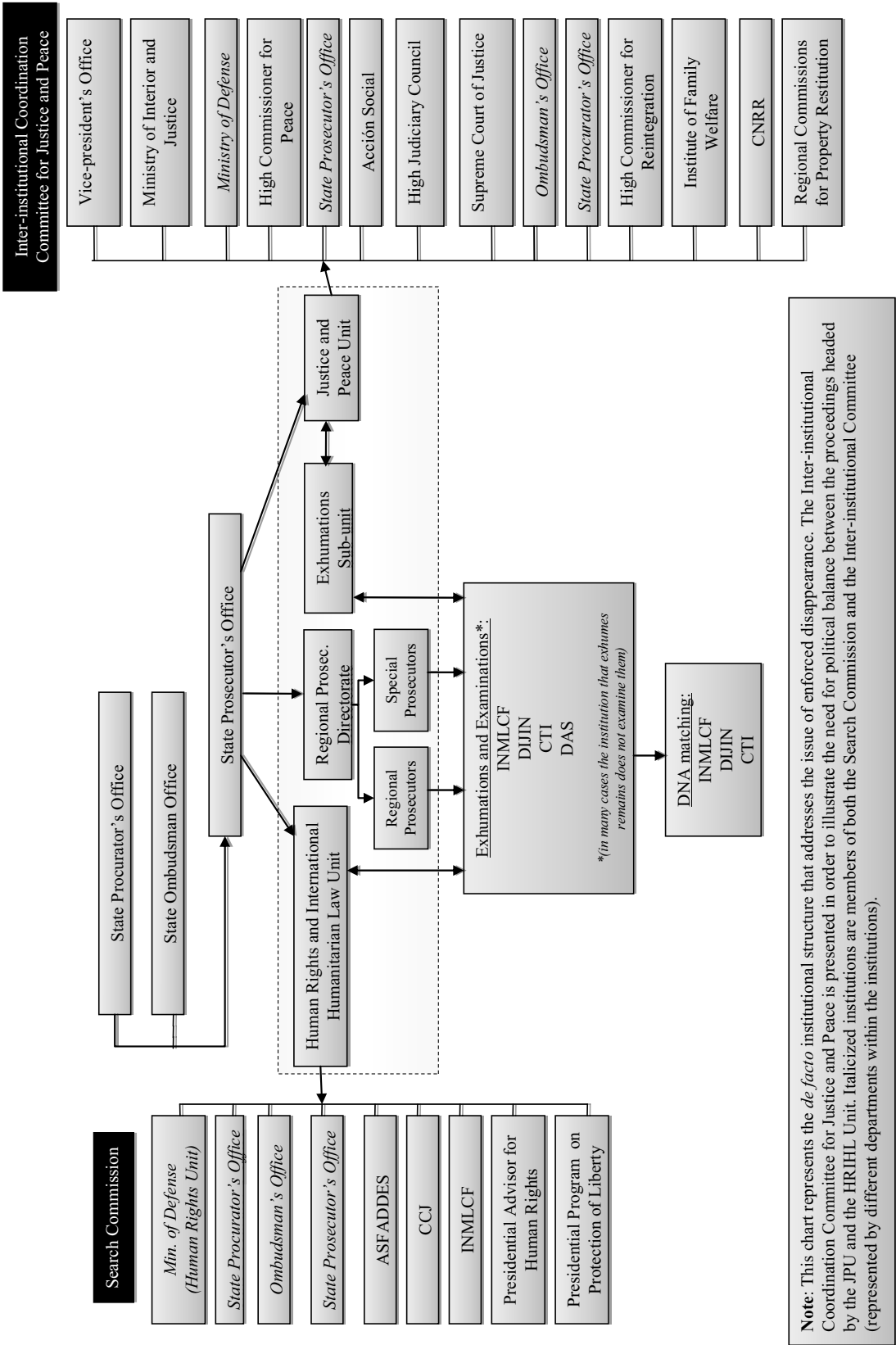
In most situations of armed conflict and internal violence, the ICRC helps separated family members to communicate, using Red Cross messages, satellite and mobile phones, the Internet and other available means. It also collects information on missing persons and the circumstances under which they disappeared, in order to try to locate them in all possible places – prisons, hospitals, camps, etc. – or by addressing the authorities directly. The ICRC visits places of detention and records the identities of the detainees. This can play an important role in preventing disappearances. Through its assistance programmes, the ICRC is also trying to help the families of missing persons who find themselves in precarious situations. In recent years the ICRC has also developed expertise in forensic science. It offers advice and support to authorities in the management of the dead, and to those who endeavour to recover and identify human remains.

**If you are looking for a relative and need help, you can contact:**

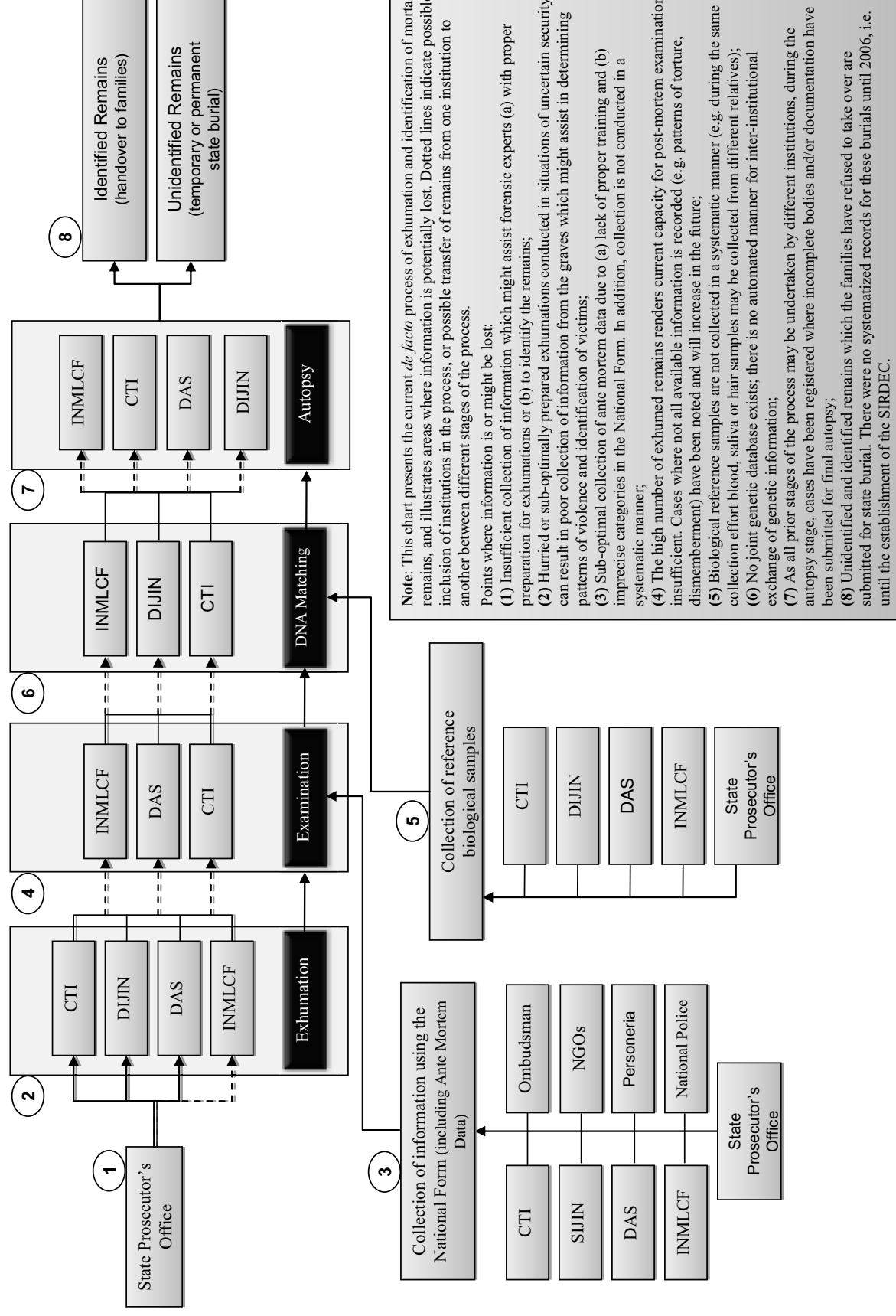
- either the ICRC delegation in the country where you are
- or
- the tracing service of the National Society in your country.

ICRC website: <http://www.familylinks.icrc.org>

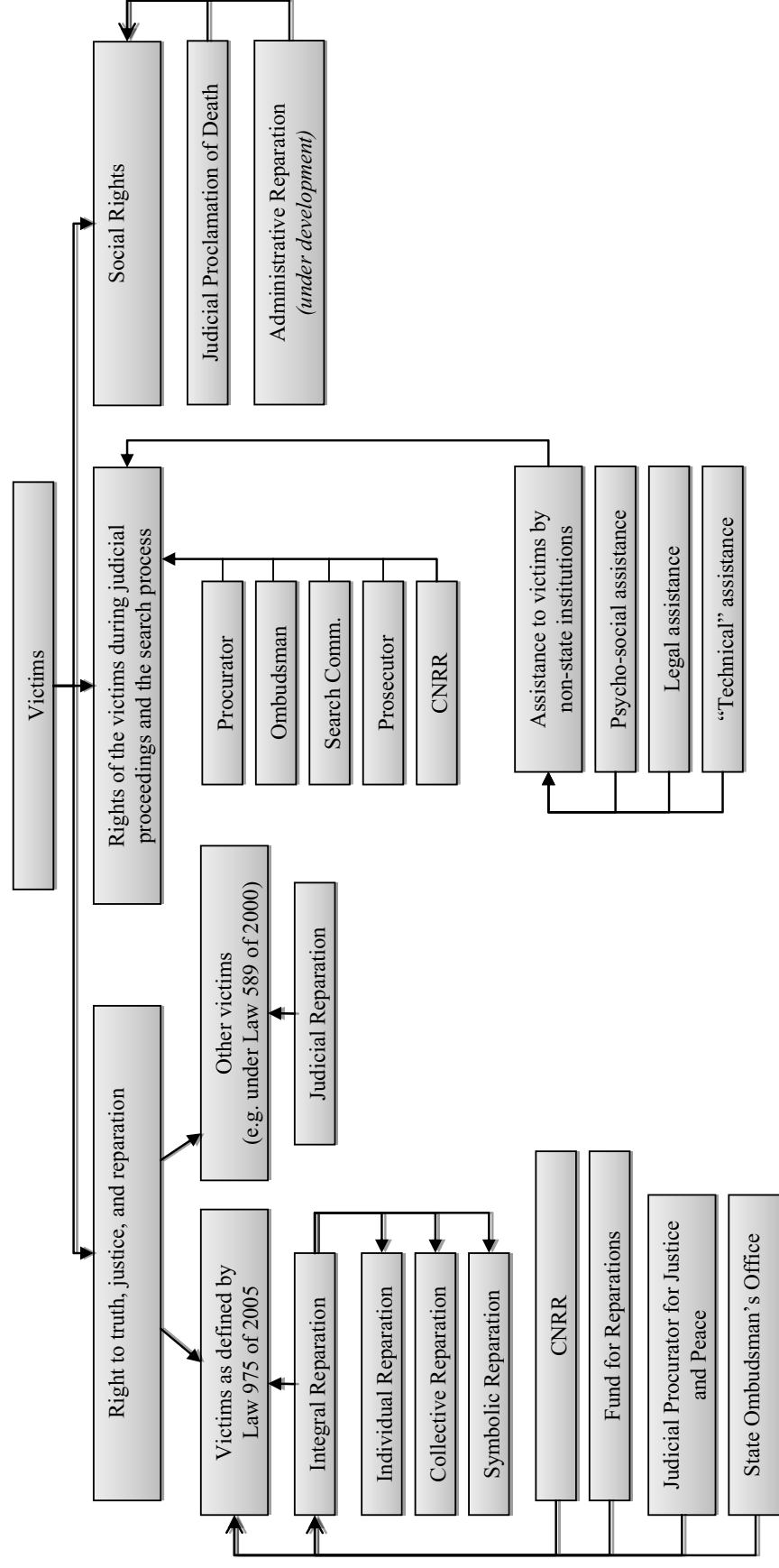
EXISTING INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE



# TECHNICAL PROCESS OF LOCATING, RECOVERING, AND IDENTIFYING MISSING PERSONS



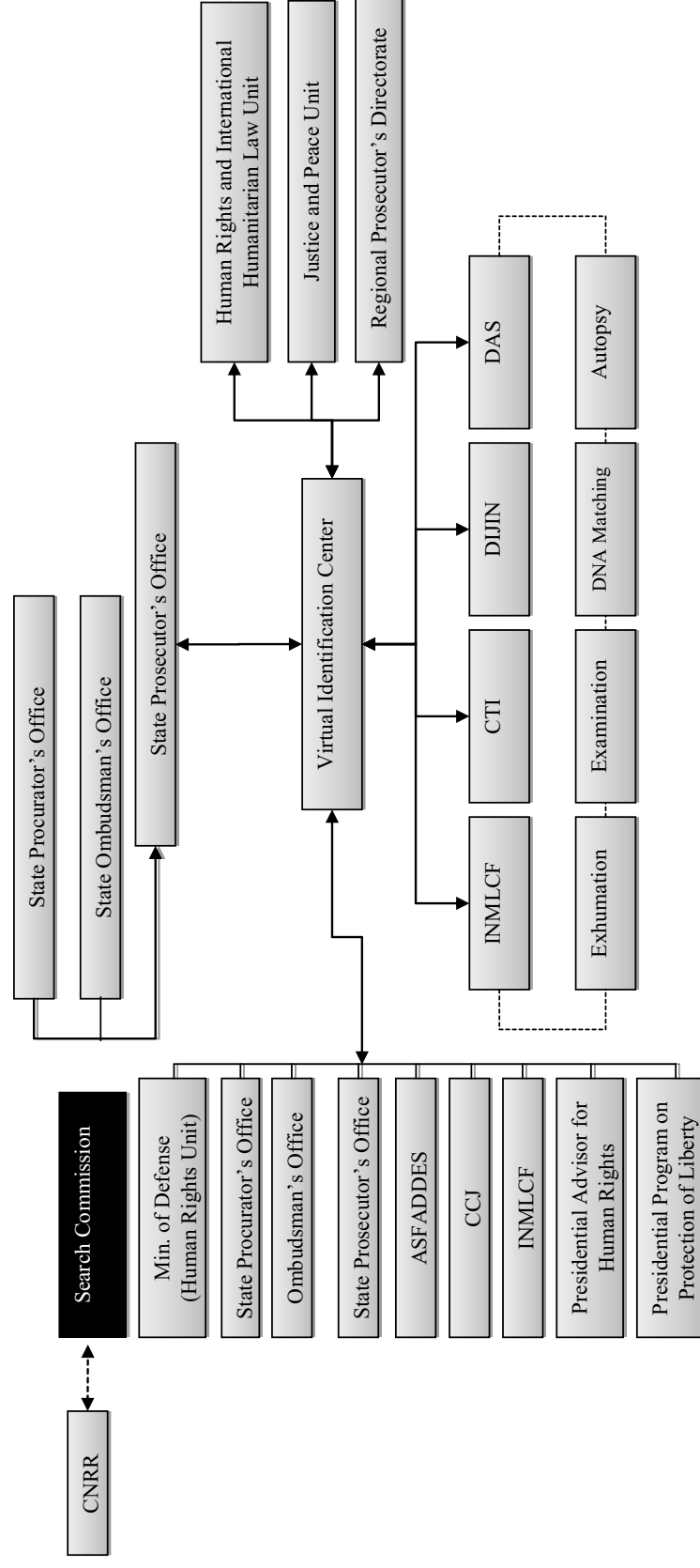
## RIGHTS OF VICTIMS OF ENFORCED DISAPPEARANCE



### Note:

- (1) Right to truth, justice, and reparation – are provided to all citizens through the regular legal/constitutional structure of the country. However, for victims as defined under the Justice and Peace Law, there are specific implementation mechanisms in addition to the regular structures. For victims outside the Justice and Peace Law, these rights are accessible solely through the regular legal structures.
- (2) Rights of victims during judicial proceedings and the search process – in line with the Justice and Peace Law these include the right to participate in the process, the right to present evidence, the guarantee of security of victims, their family, and witnesses, and the right to information. These rights are either explicitly stated or extrapolated from the right to truth, justice and reparation. Currently these rights are not fully implemented; there is no inter-institutional strategy on how these rights should be fulfilled. In addition, different non-state institutions provide assistance to victims during judicial proceedings and the search process.
- (3) Social Rights – assistance provided by the state to the victims. These two programs are not designed specifically for victims of enforced disappearance, and thus are not completely appropriate to address their needs (e.g. the judicial proclamation of death changes the character of the crime from "enforced disappearance" to "murder", thus preventing the exercise of other rights based on disappearance; administrative reparation can assist victims with current needs, but not address the original crime.

## RECOMMENDED ENHANCEMENTS TO THE INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE



**Note:** The creation of the Virtual Identification Center that coordinates exhumation and identification efforts for the units of the State Prosecutor's Office should improve communication and increase coordination: (1) between the units of the State Prosecutor's Office; (2) between the investigative/forensic institutions; (3) between the investigative/forensic institutions and the State Prosecutor's Office; and (4) between the State Prosecutor's Office and the investigative/forensic institutions on one side and the Search Commission on the other. Further, this will assist in the inclusion of the victims with cases under the Justice and Peace Unit in the work of the Search Commission. Finally, the Virtual Identification Center should use the SIRDEC as the central database for its operations, thus increasing the use and input of information into the SIRDEC.



Sevgul Uludag  
Τηλ: 99 966518



## Underground notes

# Ένα δώρο καθώς φυσούσε απαλό αεράκι...

**Μ**ου δίνουν μια καρέκλα να κάτσω κοντά στο «σιοίρο» (μπουλντόζα) και να παρακολουθήσω καθώς συνεχίζουν τη δουλειά τους... Η Deren, η επικεφαλής της ομάδας των αρχαιολόγων που σκάβουν ένα τόπο ταφής που μας είχε δείξει ένας από τους Τουρκοκύπριους αναγνώστες μου, κάθεται στην άκρη του τάφου, κοιτάζοντας κάτω καθώς φτάνω στη σκηνή...

«Τι συμβαίνει;» τη ρωτώ βλέποντάς τη συνοφρυωμένη...

«Τίποτα... Τίποτα δεν συμβαίνει... Έλα... Βγάζουμε δύο «αγνοούμενους» από τον τόπο ταφής... Τους εκπαιδεύω...»

Με το «τους» εννοεί τους αρχαιολόγους στην ομάδα της. Ο Πάμπος, ο Γιάννης και ο Mete... Ο Γιάννης είναι ενθουσιασμένος εφόσον για πρώτη φορά σκάβει μόνος του ένα τόπο ταφής, μαζί με άλλους αρχαιολόγους χωρίς την Deren να τους καθοδηγεί. Μιλούμε λίγο με την Deren αλλά θέλει να τους παρακολουθεί...

«Κάποτε απλά φεύγω για μισή ώρα, πρώτα δίνοντας οδηγίες και μετά αφήνοντάς τους μόνους για λίγο, και μετά επιστρέφω για να ελεγχώ...»

Είναι δύσκολο να το πιστέψω διότι την ξέρω, δεν θα έφευγε μακριά διότι το μυαλό της θα έμενε εκεί... Αλλά ίσως αυτό είναι μέρος της εκπαίδευσης της ομάδας της...

Γι' αυτό και μου φέρνουν μια καρέκλα και κάθομαι για να παρακολουθήσω... Η αδελφή του αναγνώστη μου έρχεται και αγκαλιαζόμαστε...

«Θέλεις καφέ;»

«Σίγουρα...»

Τους ρωτά όλους... Ουσιαστικά σκάβουν την πίσω αυλή τους και είναι τόσο ενθουσιώδεις και βοηθητικοί σε όλη τη διάρκεια... Αυτή και η οικογένειά της έχουν μια φυσική καλοσύνη από μια Κύπρο που ξέραμε όταν ήμουν παιδί, ποτέ να μην αφήνουν κάποιον κοντά χωρίς να τον περιποιηθούν, με ένα ποτήρι λεμονάδα ή ένα φλιτζάνι καφέ...

Πάει για να φτιάξει καφέ και κάθομαι και παρακολουθώ... Ο Γιάννης παίρνει ένα μεγάλο βιβλίο για να ελέγξει ένα οστό και να προσδιορίσει ποιο οστό μπορεί να είναι... Οι αρχαιολόγοι έχουν χάρτινες καφέ σακούλες για να βάλουν τα διάφορα οστά στην καθεμιά και γράφουν πάνω στη σακούλα τι είναι... Για παράδειγμα το αριστερό χέρι ή ένας σπόνδυλος.

Η Deren πάει μέσα στον τόπο ταφής — είναι μόνο ένα μέτρο βαθύς και βγάζουν δύο Ελληνοκύπριους «αγνοούμενους» από αυτό τον ξέβαθο τάφο όπου έχουν ταφεί το 1974.

Πιο κάτω στην ίδια αυλή, ξέθαψαν 8 Ελληνοκύπριους «αγνοούμενους», κάποιοι από αυτούς νέοι, κάποιοι ηλικιωμένοι... Είχα έρθει για να τους φέρω κούπες (bulgur koftesi) και να τους χαιρετήσω και να μιλήσουμε λίγο... Σήμερα από την ίδια αυλή βγάζουν ακόμα δύο «αγνοούμενους»... Νιώθω περήφανη για τον αναγνώστη μου διότι με τη βοήθειά του έχουμε βρει τώρα 10 «αγνοούμενους» Ελληνοκύπριους στο Νέο Χωριό Κυθρέας και το σκάψιμο θα συνεχιστεί σε ολόκληρη την αυλή...

Ο καφές έρχεται και αρχίζω να μιλώ με την αδελφή του αναγνώστη μου...

«Υπήρχε ένας δρόμος εδώ» μου εξηγεί... «Τώρα δεν υπάρχει πια...»

«Αρα οι άνθρωποι αυτοί είχαν ταφεί στην άκρη του δρόμου τότε...»

Ποιοι ήταν αυτοί οι άνθρωποι που είναι θαμμένοι σε αυτή την αυλή; 8 σε έναν μαζικό τάφο, 2 σε έναν άλλο ξέβαθο τάφο; Ήταν συνηθισμένοι άνθρωποι όπως εσύ κι εγώ, που ασχολούνταν με τις δουλειές τους, φρόντιζαν τους κήπους τους, έτρωγαν, έπιναν, αγαπούσαν, έβριζαν, θύμωναν ή ήταν χαρούμενοι... Ξαφνικά το 1974 τους έπιασε ο πόλεμος και τους ξάπλωσε γυμνούς σε αυτούς τους ξεβαθους τάφους... Η ζωή σταμάτησε γι' αυτούς και για τις οικογένειές τους... Η ζωή σταμάτησε εδώ... Η ζωή τέλειωσε γι' αυτούς, αλλά όχι γι' αυτούς που τους αγάπησαν και τους σεβάστηκαν, που νοιάζονταν για αυτούς, που τους περίμεναν να επιστρέψουν, χωρίς να ξέρουν τι τους συνέβη...

Ένας από εκείνους τους 10 «αγνοούμενους» έχει ακόμα τα παπούτσια του και τις κάλτσες του... Οι κάλτσες του πρέπει να του έπεφταν αφού τις είχε δεμένες με σπάγκο για να μένουν στη θέση τους... Πρέπει να ήταν φτωχός άνθρωπος που δεν μπορούσε να αγοράσει καινούργιες κάλτσες... Εκείνο τον καιρό δεν υπήρχαν τόσα πράγματα για να αγοράσουν, φορούσαμε τα ρούχα ξανά και ξανά... Θυμώμαι τη μητέρα μου να χαλάει μάλλινα πουλόβερ για να χρησιμοποιήσει το μαλλί για



**Ευγνωμονώ τη ζωή που μου πρόσφερε αυτό το δώρο – να συνοδεύσω έναν φτωχό ηλικιωμένο άνθρωπο ενώ τον έβγαζαν από εκεί που είχε θαφτεί πριν από 36 χρόνια...**



να φτιάξει καινούργια. Τα φορούσαμε για χρόνια χωρίς να παραπονιόμαστε... Τα πάντα ήταν πολύτιμα, τα πάντα είχαν αξία διότι οι άνθρωποι δεν είχαν τόσα πολλά πράγματα... Ακόμα και οι κάλτσες ή τα καλτσόν... Θα ήθελα πολύ να ήξερα αυτόν τον ηλικιωμένο άντρα με τις κάλτσες του τις δεμένες με σπάγκο — ίσως να οδηγούσε το τρακτέρ του και να φύτευε τα χωράφια του και να φρόντιζε τα ζώα του... Ίσως είχε εγγόνια και ίσως κάποια από αυτά να τον βοηθούσαν... Ίσως είχε σύζυγο που έφτιαχνε χαλλούμι από το δικό τους το γάλα... Ίσως τη νύκτα να πήγαινε στο καφενείο του χωριού για να πει ζιβανία ή κονιάκ και να παίξει χαρτιά και να μιλήσει με τους συγχωριανούς του... Ίσως να μην ήθελε να μετακινηθεί μακριά από τη γη του όταν ξέσπασε ο πόλεμος και ίσως γι' αυτό να έμεινε εδώ στο Νέο Χωριό Κυθρέας, για να σκοτωθεί και να ταφεί σε έναν ξέβαθο τάφο, μαζί με άλλον ένα Ελληνοκύπριο, λίγο νεότερο από αυτόν... Ήταν ο γιος του; Ή ο γαμπρός του; Ή μήπως ήταν ο γείτονάς του; Ή ένας ξάδελφος που τον βοηθούσε;

Ίσως, δεν θα ξέρω ποτέ διότι κανένας δεν θα με ενημερώσει αλλά πραγματικά δεν πειράζει διότι ακόμα μία οικογένεια θα πάρει πίσω τα οστά του για να τον θάψει και να προσευχηθεί γι' αυτόν και να τον κλάψει, να τον πενήθσει και να του βάλει λουλούδια, τριαντάφυλλα και μαργαρίτες, γιασεμί και κρίνα, ακόμα μπορεί και βασιλικό ώστε ο καινούργιος του τάφος να μυρίζει ωραία... Δεν θα ξέρω ποτέ το όνομα του, εφόσον ποτέ δεν τον γνώρισα αλλά αυτό το απόγευμα, ενώ κάθομαι πάνω σε μια πλαστική καρέκλα δίπλα από το σιοίρο, πίνοντας τον σκέτο μου καφέ, τον χαιρετώ και τον συνοδεύω μέχρι να μεταφερθεί έξω από τον ξέβαθο του τάφο... Φυσάει ένα απαλό αεράκι και νιώθω γαλήνη, συνοδεύοντας αυτό τον φτωχό άνθρωπο χωρίς όνομα σε έναν ανώνυμο τάφο που καταφέραμε να βρούμε με τη βοήθεια ενός αναγνώστη με μια τεράστια ανθρώπινη καρδιά... Δεν θέλω να φύγω μέχρι να τελειώσει εντελώς η εκταφή — κάθωμαι ήσυχα και παρακολουθώ καθώς η Deren πάει από τον Πάμπο, στον Γιάννη, στον Mete, δίνοντας οδηγίες, ελεγχοντας αν ο Γιάννης βρήκε από το μεγάλο βιβλίο ποιο οστό είναι αυτό που κρατά, βάζοντας όλα τα οστά σε χάρτινες καφέ σακούλες, γράφοντας στην ετικετίδα συνεχώς, συζητώντας και τελειώνοντας την εκταφή...

Η μητέρα του αναγνώστη μου έρχεται να μου κάνει παρέα — είναι από τα Βρέτσια αλλά δεν θυμάται την ηλικία της...

«Ίσως είμαι γύρω στα 60» λέει...

«Μα εγώ είμαι 52! Πώς μπορείς να είσαι εσύ 60;»

«Δεν θυμώμαι κορίτσι μου...»

Μιλούμε για τα δύο «αγνοούμενα» αγόρια από τα Βρέτσια που είχαν πάει στη Λεμεσό για δουλειά και εξαφανίστηκαν το 1974 καθώς πήγαιναν στο φούρνο να αγοράσουν ψωμί... Τους συνέλαβαν και τους έφεραν έξω από τη Λεμεσό για να τους εκτελέσουν... Λέω στην ηλικιωμένη γυναίκα ότι ένας πολύ καλός Ελληνοκύπριος αναγνώστης με μια τεράστια ανθρώπινη καρδιά μου τηλεφώνησε και θα μου δείξει πού είχαν εκτελεστεί και πιθανόν ταφεί... Θυμάται τα δύο αγόρια, ένας από αυτούς με όμορφα πράσινα μάτια, ο άλλος ξαδελφός του — εργάζονταν σε οικοδομές, φτωχοί άνθρωποι, συνηθισμένοι εργάτες, που προσπαθούσαν να επιβιώσουν σε αυτό το νησί καθώς τους κτύπησε ο πόλεμος και άφησε τις μητέρες τους να κλαίνε μια ζωή!

«Θα πάω την επόμενη βδομάδα για να δω τον πιθανό τόπο ταφής τους» της λέω, «και μετά μπορούμε να μιλήσουμε ξανά...»

Είναι ενθουσιασμένη και ευτυχισμένη... Σηκώνεται απότομα για να πάει στο σπίτι — ίσως να άγγιξα τις αναμνήσεις της από τα Βρέτσια και ίσως να θυμάται καλά και κακά πράγματα και ίσως γι' αυτό να φεύγει για να μείνει μόνη...

Στο μεταξύ η εκταφή συμπληρώνεται... Ετοιμάζονται να φύγουν και τους προσφέρω τις κούπες που τους έφερα — πίνουν λεμονάδα που τους έφτιαξε η αδελφή του αναγνώστη μου και αποχαιρετιόμαστε...

Δεν θα ξεχάσω ποτέ αυτό το απόγευμα με το απαλό αεράκι καθώς καθόμουν και παρακολουθούσα, και σκεφτόμουν τους δύο «αγνοούμενους» ανθρώπους που έβγαιναν από τον ξέβαθο τάφο... Θα φυλάω αυτές τις στιγμές, παρόλο που μπορεί να μην μάθω ποτέ ποιοι ήταν... Ευγνωμονώ τη ζωή που μου πρόσφερε αυτό το δώρο — να συνοδεύσω έναν φτωχό ηλικιωμένο άνθρωπο ενώ τον έβγαζαν από εκεί που είχε θαφτεί πριν από 36 χρόνια...



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## Underground notes

# Ένα «θαύμα» στο Νέο Χωριό Κυθρέας...

Ένα "θαύμα" συμβαίνει και ενώ η μπουλντόζα σκάβει για τα θεμέλια της οικοδομής ενός καινούργιου σπιτιού, η χούφτα της μπουλντόζας βρίσκει τον μαζικό τάφο που είναι κρυμμένος εκεί... Ο χειριστής της μπουλντόζας σταμάτα αμέσως, ο ιδιοκτήτης του εργοταξίου πρέπει να έχει μια ανθρώπινη καρδιά και διατάζει να σταματήσει η οικοδομή και ειδοποιεί αμέσως την αστυνομία και την Κυπριακή Διερευνητική Επιτροπή Αγνοουμένων. Ως αποτέλεσμα του "θαύματος", στο εργοτάξιο στο Νέο Χωριό Κυθρέας (Minarelikeuy) εντοπίζονται τα οστά οκτώ "αγνοουμένων". Η ομάδα εκσκαφών της Κυπριακής Διερευνητικής Επιτροπής Αγνοουμένων πηγαίνει αμέσως εκεί για να αρχίσει την εκταφή των οστών των οκτώ "αγνοουμένων" από το εργοτάξιο. Αυτό είναι πραγματικά ένα "θαύμα" - είχαμε έρθει εδώ ακριβώς πριν από τρία χρόνια μαζί με τους συγγενείς ορισμένων "αγνοουμένων" από την περιοχή αυτή. Είχαμε δείξει την περιοχή στους λειτουργούς της Διερευνητικής Επιτροπής Αγνοουμένων και τους είχαμε πει τις ιστορίες για το μέρος αυτό. Σε ένα σπίτι εδώ είχαν σκοτωθεί πέντε άτομα και τα σώματά τους είχαν παραμείνει στην αυλή του σπιτιού για τρεις μήνες, σκεπασμένα με λίγο χώμα. Είχαμε πάει με έναν μάρτυρα που τα είχε δει - αργότερα μια από τις ομάδες εκσκαφών έσκαψε εδώ αλλά είχε βρει μόνο ορισμένα οστά. Ο μαζικός τάφος που βρέθηκε τώρα ως αποτέλεσμα του "θαύματος" δεν είναι περισσότερο από 40-50 μέτρα από εκεί που είχαμε πάει. Αν δεν είχε αρχίσει η κατασκευή ενός σπιτιού εδώ, ίσως να μην ανευρίσκονταν ποτέ αυτός ο μαζικός τάφος ή θα βρισκόταν μόνο τυχαία. Γι' αυτό ένα τέτοιο "θαύμα" είναι ευπρόσδεκτο από τους συγγενείς των "αγνοουμένων" που είναι θαμμένοι εδώ. Είχαμε έρθει σε αυτή την περιοχή στις 3 Δεκεμβρίου 2010 μαζί με τους συγγενείς των "αγνοουμένων" από το Νέο Χωριό Κυθρέας. Η αγαπητή μου φίλη Μαρία Γεωργιάδου και η Φαίδρα από το Νέο Χωριό Κυθρέας είχαν βοηθήσει να μαζευτούν οι συγγενείς για να μας δείξουν τι ήξεραν για τους διάφορους τόπους ταφής. Είχαμε επισκεφτεί τον τόπο εκταφής όπου είχαν βρεθεί τα οστά επτά ατόμων σε έναν μαζικό τάφο και είχαν εκταφεί και δύο σε έναν άλλο μαζικό τάφο και έβαλαν λουλουδία εκεί. Η Μαρία είχε φέρει χρυσάνθεμα και η Φαίδρα έφερε επίσης λουλουδία... Ο πεθερός της Φαίδρας ήταν "αγνοούμενος" από την περιοχή και βάλαμε εκεί λουλουδία - μια χαμογελαστή, εργατική, τυπική Κύπρια γυναίκα, η Φαίδρα ήταν γεμάτη από αγάπη και φροντίδα και τηλεφώνησε στην Αγγελική και τους άλλους για να

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βοηθήσουν δείχνοντας πιθανούς τόπους ταφής... Η Φαίδρα μου είχε τηλεφωνήσει αφού διάβασε ένα από τα άρθρα μου στον "ΠΟΛΙΤΗ" για τον μαζικό τάφο που μας είχε δείξει ένας από τους αναγνώστες μου και βρέθηκαν οι επτά και οι δύο, σύνολο εννέα "αγνοούμενοι". Από την περιγραφή μου νόμιζε ότι ένας από αυτούς μπορούσε να ήταν ο πεθερός της. Είχαμε επισκεφτεί το σπίτι της μαζί με τη Μαρία Γεωργιάδου που μετέφραζε για μένα αυτά που έλεγε η Φαίδρα, αφού αυτή δεν μιλούσε αγγλικά. Έτσι, ενώ μιλούσαμε εκείνη τη μέρα του Νοεμβρίου 2010, βγήκαν περισσότερες πληροφορίες για άλλους πιθανούς τόπους ταφής και τότε αρχίσαμε να οργανώνουμε την ομάδα των συγγενών, για να έρθουν μαζί μας και να δείξουν αυτά που γνώριζαν. Έτσι πήγαμε στο Νέο Χωριό Κυθρέας στις 3 Δεκεμβρίου 2010. Καθ' οδόν προς το χωριό, η Αγγελική, μια ωραία ηλικιωμένη κυρία από το χωριό, μου είχε πει τι είχε συμβεί. Σε ένα σπίτι είχαν σκοτωθεί πέντε άτομα. Ήταν στο σπίτι και ο πατέρας της Αγγελικής, ο Στέλιος Παπούτσος, μαζί με τον Γιώργο Στέκκα και είχαν βγει



Εκσκαφές στο Νέο Χωριό Κυθρέας.



Εδώ συνέβη το «θαύμα» και η μπουλντόζα βρήκε τον μαζικό τάφο.

**Τρία χρόνια μετά από εκείνη την επίσκεψη, συμβαίνει το «θαύμα» και τα οστά οκτώ «αγνοουμένων» ανευρίσκονται σε έναν μαζικό τάφο, εκεί που θα κτιστεί σπίτι**

από το σπίτι αφού άκουσαν ότι είχαν έρθει κάποιοι στρατιώτες και τους φώναζαν να βγουν έξω. Τους πυροβόλησαν και τους σκότωσαν μόλις βγήκαν από το σπίτι. Οι στρατιώτες ήθελαν να "ερευνήσουν" το σπίτι και τράβηξαν έξω από αυτό τον ηλικιωμένο Γρηγόρη μαζί με την ηλικιωμένη γυναίκα του Χρυσάνθη και τους πυροβόλησαν στη βεράντα. Η Μαρίτσα Ευτύχη, μια ηλικιωμένη γυναίκα που δεν μπορούσε να βγει από το σπίτι της, πυροβολήθηκε και σκοτώθηκε εκεί που βρισκόταν. Μετά την είχαν τυλίξει σε μια κουβέρτα και την έβαλαν έξω. Ήταν η μητέρα της Ελένης που είχε

έρθει μαζί μας στο χωριό.

Είχαν πάρει τους χωριανούς στην εκκλησία κοντά στο σπίτι και έμειναν εκεί το βράδυ. Την επόμενη μέρα, όταν βγήκαν από την εκκλησία, είδαν ότι τα σώματα αυτών των πέντε Ελληνοκυπρίων βρίσκονταν στην αυλή του σπιτιού και έμειναν στο ίδιο σημείο για τρεις μήνες. Μετά τους σκέπασαν με χώμα.

Εκείνη τη μέρα είχαμε ερευνήσει την περιοχή και πήγαμε στο σημείο όπου είχαν για τρεις μήνες μείνει τα σώματα των πέντε "αγνοουμένων". Πριν από ορισμένο καιρό πραγματοποιήθηκε μια εκτα-

φή στο σημείο αυτό, αλλά όχι στο σημείο που δείχνει η Αγγελική - δίπλα από μια φοινικιά είχαν βρεθεί τα οστά τριών "αγνοουμένων", δύο γυναικών και ενός άντρα. Οι λειτουργοί της Κυπριακής Διερευνητικής Επιτροπής Αγνοουμένων ερεύνησαν την περιοχή που τους έδειχνε η Αγγελική. Πριν φύγουμε εκείνη τη μέρα, ένας Τουρκοκύπριος μας προσέγγισε και μας είπε ότι τον πιθανό τόπο ταφής τον είχαν αδειάσει πριν από χρόνια. Η περιοχή θα πρέπει να ερευνηθεί ακόμα...

**Μόνο μέσω των εξετάσεων DNA θα ξέρουμε σίγουρα ποιοι μπορεί να είναι**

Και τελικά, τρία χρόνια μετά από εκείνη την επίσκεψη, συμβαίνει το "θαύμα" και τα οστά οκτώ "αγνοουμένων" ανευρίσκονται σε έναν μαζικό τάφο, εκεί που θα κτιστεί ένα σπίτι. Είναι πιθανόν ότι ανάμεσα στους οκτώ είναι τα πέντε άτομα που είχαν σκοτωθεί στο σπίτι για το οποίο μας είπε η Αγγελική. Όμως, μόνο μέσω των εξετάσεων DNA θα ξέρουμε σίγουρα ποιοι μπορεί να είναι.

Υπάρχουν δύο άλλοι "αγνοούμενοι" από την περιοχή αυτή -είχα γνωρίσει τη Γαρούλα από το Νέο Χωριό Κυθρέας στην κηδεία των οικογενειών Ζερβού και Κοντού ενωρίτερα φέτος, επτά "αγνοουμένων" που βρέθηκαν σε έναν μαζικό τάφο που μας έδειξε ένας από τους αναγνώστες μας - μετά την κηδεία αρχίσαμε να μιλούμε και μου είχε πει για τη γιαγιά της Ροδού και τον παππού της Γιώργο που ήταν "αγνοούμενοι" από το Νέο Χωριό Κυθρέας. Συνάντησα τη Γαρούλα και πήγαμε στο χωριό για να μου δείξει το σπίτι του παππού της -τη συνάντησα για να της πάρω συνέντευξη για τον "αγνοούμενο" παππού και την "αγνοούμενη" γιαγιά της - η τελευταία φορά που θεάθηκαν ζωντανό ήταν η νύκτα που μαζεύτηκαν όλοι στην εκκλησία - πολύ κοντά στο μαζικό τάφο που βρέθηκε από "θαύμα" πρόσφατα... Έτσι αναρωτιόμαστε με τη Γαρούλα αν ο "αγνοούμενος" παππούς και η "αγνοούμενη" γιαγιά της μπορεί να είναι θαμμένοι εκεί... Πάλι μόνο μέσω των εξετάσεων DNA θα ξέρουμε στα σίγουρα...



στο κεφάλι και στην ράχη και ή Γ.Ν. στο χέρι και στην ράχη και τὰ πόδια. Ὁ ἀδελφός μου Κωστάκης δὲν ἐπληγώθη καθόλου. Ἡ θεία μου ή Ὁρθοδοξία Σουπουρή είχε φύγει ἐνωρίτερα τὴν ἰδίαν ἡμέρα ἀπὸ τὸ σπίτι μᾶς και ἐπῆγε στὸ σπίτι της, γιὰ νὰ ζυμώσῃ ψωμιά, καὶ δὲν ἦταν μαζί μας, ὅταν ἤρθαν στὸ σπίτι μας οἱ Τούρκοι. Μετὰ οἱ Τούρκοι ἔφυγαν καὶ μετὰ ἀπὸ λίγο ἐπερνοῦσε ἓνα ἐλικόπτερο καὶ τοῦ ἐνέψαμε νὰ κατεβῇ. Ὅπως φαίνεται τὸ ἐλικόπτερο εἰδοποίησε τὸν Τουρκικὸ στρατὸ καὶ σὲ λίγο ἔφτασε ἓνα λάντ ρόβερ μὲ πέντε στρατιῶτες Τούρκους, οἱ ὁποῖοι μᾶς ἐμάζεψαν ἐμὲ καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸ μου Κωστάκη, τὸν Γιώργο Λιασῆ καὶ τὴν Γ.Ν. καὶ μᾶς ἐπῆραν στὸ διπλάνο σπίτι τοῦ Γιώργου Μολοχάρη καὶ μᾶς ἐπεριποιήθησαν. Ἐμείναμε στὸ σπίτι αὐτὸ μέχρι τὴν Τετάρτη, 21.8.74, ὅποτε μᾶς ἐπῆραν στὸ σχολεῖο τῆς Βώνης, ὅπου μᾶς ἄφησαν μέχρι τὴν περασμένη Πέμπτη, 19.9.74, ὅποτε κατὰ ή ὥρα 12.30 μ.μ. ἦλθε ὁ Ἐρυθρὸς Σταυρὸς καὶ ἐπαράλαβε ἐμένα καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸ μου Κωστάκη καὶ μᾶς ἔφεραν στὴν Λευκωσία στὸ ξενοδοχεῖο Κλεοπάτρα. Θυμοῦμαι ὅτι τὴ Γ.Ν. οἱ Τούρκοι τὴν ἐπῆραν μὲτὰ τους ἀπὸ τὴν πρώτη ἡμέρα, 17.8.74, μετὰ πού μᾶς ἐπεριποιήθηκαν στὸ σπίτι τοῦ Γιώργου Λιασῆ. Τὸν Γιώργο Λιασῆ τὸν ἐπῆραν μὲτὰ μας στὴν Βώνη καὶ ὕστερα πού 3—4 μέρες τὸν ἐπῆραν μὲτὰ τους οἱ Τούρκοι στρατιῶτες ἀλλὰ δὲν ξέρω πού. Οἱ Τούρκοι, ἅμα πού ἤρθαν στὸ σπίτι μας καὶ μᾶς ἔπαιζαν καὶ ἐσκότωσαν τοὺς γονεῖς μου καὶ ὅλους τοὺς ἄλλους, κανένας μας δὲν εἶχε φέρεῖ ἀντίσταση στοὺς Τούρκους καὶ εἶναι χωρὶς λόγο πού μᾶς ἐπυροδόλησαν». (Ε 146 καὶ Ε. 150 - Εἰκόνα 13).

Μὴ ἄλλη μακάθρια ἱστορία σφαγῆς γερόντων καὶ γυναικοπαίδων περιέγραψε ή Ἑλένη Νικόλα Πεπέ ἀπὸ τὸ Νέο Χωριὸ Κυθραίας, 6<sup>ο</sup> χρόνων. Ἡ Ἑλένη ἔχει δυὸ παιδιὰ, ἓνα γυιό, πού εἶναι παντρεμένος καὶ μένει στὸν Ἅγιο Δομέτιο, καὶ μιὰ κόρη, πού μαζί μὲ τὸν ἄντρα της καὶ τὰ τρία μωρά τους ἔφυγαν ἀπὸ τὸ Νέο Χωριὸ νωρὶς τὸ πρωτὶ τῆς Τετάρτης, 14.8.74, δηλαδὴ τῆς πρώτης ἡμέρας πού ἄρχισε ὁ βομβαρδισμὸς τῆς περιοχῆς ἀπὸ τὴν Τουρκικὴ ἀεροπορία. Ἡ Ἑλένη παρέμεινε μὲ τὸν ἄντρα της στὸ χωριὸ καὶ ἔφυγε τῆς ἰδίας μεταχειρίσεως, ὅπως καὶ πολλοὶ ἄλλοι χωριανοὶ της, παράλληλα ὁμοῦς ὑπῆρξε μάρτυς φόνων καὶ ἄλλων ὠμοτήτων. Θ' ἀφήσωμε τὴν Ἑλένη νὰ μᾶς περιγράψῃ μερικὰ ἀπὸ τὰ πιὸ σοβαρά, πού ή ἴδια εἶδε ή διαπίστωσε κατὰ τὴν διάρκεια τῆς παραμονῆς της στὸ χωριό:

«Οἱ Τούρκοι στρατιῶτες μᾶς ἄφησαν ὅλους μέσα στὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ ή ὥρα 4 μ.μ. περίπου τῆς ἰδίας ἡμέρας, Παρασκευῆς, 16.8.74, καὶ μετὰ μᾶς ἄφησαν ὅλους καὶ ἐπῆαμεν στὰ σπίτια μας. Σὰν ἐπῆιαινα πρὸς τὸ σπίτιν μου, ἐπέρασα πού τὸ σπίτιν τῆς ἐξάδελφῆς μου Μαρίτσας Χάμπου Λούκα Ζερβοῦ, γιὰ νὰ δῶ τί ἀπέγινεν, γιατί δὲν ἦταν μαζί μας μέσα στὴν ἐκκλησίαν. Ὅταν ἐμπήκα μέσα στὸ σπίτιν τῆς Μαρίτσας Χάμπου Λούκα Ζερβοῦ, ἤβρα τὰ ἀκόλουθα πρόσωπα, πού ἦσαν νεκρά ξαπλωμένα χαμαὶ γαιματομένα: (1) Μαρίτσα Λούκα Ζερβοῦ, ἡλικίας περίπου 60 χρονῶν, (2) τὸν ἄντραν της Χαράλαμπον

Λούκα Ζερβόν, (3) την αδελφήν της Μαρίτσας ονόματι Λούλλαν Ἀνδρέα Κόντου, ηλικίας περίπου 55 χρόνων, (4) την κόρην της Λούλλας ονόματι Σωτηροῦν Παντελῆ Κεσμέ, ηλικίας περίπου 26 χρόνων, πού ἦταν ἑγκυος περίπου 4 μηνῶν, (5) τὴν μητέρα της Μαρίτσας καὶ Λούλλας ονόματι Ἐλενίτσαν Κωστή Τσιακκάρη, ηλικίας περίπου 85 χρόνων, (6) τὸν γιὸν της Λούλλας ονόματι Παναγιώτην Ἀνδρέα Κοντοῦ, ηλικίας περίπου 15 χρόνων καὶ (7) τὸν γιὸν της Μαρίτσας Χάμπου Λούκα Ζερβοῦ, ονόματι Ἀνδρέαν Χάμπου, ηλικίας περίπου 30 χρόνων, ὁ ὁποῖος ἦταν παράλυτος. Μαζὶν τοὺς ἦτον καὶ ἡ ἀδελφή τοῦ Ἀνδρέα Χάμπου ονόματι Νίτσα Χάμπου, ηλικίας περίπου 37 χρόνων, πού ἦταν καὶ αὐτὴ παράλυτη. Ἐπρόσεξα ὅτι πάνω στὸ νεκρὸν σῶμα της Σωτηροῦς Παντελῆ Κεσμέ ἐλαχταροῦσεν ὀλογαίματη ἢ κοροῦδα της ονόματι Μαρία, ηλικίας περίπου 13 μηνῶν. Ἡ Μαρία ἔκλαιε καὶ ἔγλειψε τὰ αἷματα τῆς μάνας της. Ἐγὼ τότε ἔπιασα τὸ μωρὸν καὶ ἐπῆρα στὸ σπῆτιν μου καὶ τὸ ἔλουσα καὶ τοῦ ἐφόρεσα ροῦχα καθαρὰ. Ἄμα ἔλουσα τὸ μωρὸν, μοῦ ἐφώνησεν ἡ γειτόνισσά μου ονόματι Ἐλένη Ζωρζῆ καὶ μοῦ εἶπεν ὅτι ἡ Νίτσοῦ Χάμπου ἦταν ζωντανή καὶ ἐφώνησεν καὶ ἤθελεν νὰ τὴν φέρωμεν στὸ σπῆτιν μας νὰ μείνῃ μαζὶν μας. Τότες ἐπῆγα μαζὶν μετὰ τὸν ἄντραν μου στὸ σπῆτιν τῆς Μαρίτσας Χάμπου, ὅπου ἠύραμεν τὴν Νίτσοῦν στὸ κρεβάτι της ὀλογαίματην καὶ πληγγωμένην στὸ στήθος καὶ στὸ στόμιον, ἡ ὁποία μᾶς εἶπεν ὅτι τὴν ἐλόγχισαν οἱ Τούρκοι στρατιῶτες. Ἐπήραμεν τὴν Νίτσοῦν στὸ σπῆτιν τῆς Ἐλένης Ζωρζῆ καὶ τὴν ἐτακτοποιήσαμεν ἐκεῖ μέχρι τῆς Τετάρτης, 21.8.74, ὅποτε ἐπέθανεν καὶ τὴν ἐθάψαμεν μέσα στὴν αὐλὴν τοῦ γειτονικοῦ σπιτιοῦ τῆς Χρυσταλλοῦς Λούκα, συζύγου τοῦ Χαμπῆ Κυριάκου. Ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ κατὰ ἡ ὥρα 7 μ.μ. τῆς Δευτέρας, 19.8.74, ἦρταν στὸ σπῆτιν μας πολλοὶ Τούρκοι στρατιῶτες καὶ ἔπιασαν τὸν ἄντραν μου καὶ τὸν ἐπῆραν μαζὶν τοὺς καὶ ἔκτοτε δὲν γνωρίζω πού εὐρίσκεται οὔτε ξέρω ἂν ζῇ ἢ ὄχι. Τὴν Κυριακὴν, 25.8.74, οἱ Τούρκοι στρατιῶτες μᾶς ἐμάζεψαν πού τὸ χωριὸν καὶ μᾶς ἐπῆραν στὴν Βώνην καὶ μᾶς συγκέντρωσαν στὸ σχολεῖον. Μαζὶν μου ἐπῆρα καὶ τὸ μωρὸν τῆς Σωτηροῦς Παντελῆ Κεσμέ, τὴν Μαρίαν. Ἐκεῖ μᾶς ἄφησαν μέχρι τὴν Τετάρτην, 4.9.74, ὅποτε ἦρθεν ὁ Ἐρυθρὸς Σταυρὸς καὶ μετὰ παρέλαθεν ἐμὲν, τὸ μωρὸν καὶ τὴν Χρυσταλλοῦν Χ' Ἀντώνη μαζὶν μετὰ τὴν κόρην της, ἡ ὁποία ἦταν ἀγγαστρωμένη, γιὰ νὰ γεννήσῃ. Δὲν ξέρω πῶς ὀνομάζεται ἡ κόρη τῆς Χρυσταλλοῦς Χ' Ἀντώνη, ἀλλὰ κατάγεται πού τὸ Τραχώνιν. Ἀπὸ ὅτι ἔμαθα, αὐτὲς οἱ δυὸ κατοικοῦν στὴν Ἀγλαντζιάν. Ὁ Ἐρυθρὸς Σταυρὸς μᾶς ἔφερεν στὴν Λευκωσίαν καὶ ἔκτοτε μένω στὸ Γυμνάσιον Στροβόλου. Τώρα θυμίσθηκα ὅτι κατὰ ἡ ὥρα 10 π.μ. τοῦ Σαββάτου, 24.8.74, σὰν ἤμουν στὸ σπῆτιν μου στὸ Νέον Χωριὸν Κυθραίας, ἄκουσα ἀριθμὸν πυροβολισμῶν στὴν γειτονίαν μου. Ὅταν ἠσύχασεν ἡ κατάστασις, ἐδῶκα ἔξω καὶ ἐπῆγα στὸ σπῆτιν τοῦ γείτονα μου Χαμπῆ Ἀποστόλη, περίπου 75 χρόνων, τὸν ὁποῖον ἦδρα στὸ κρεβάτι του μετὰ τὸ κεφάλιν γειριμένο στὸ παράθυρον καὶ ἀπὸ τὸ



στόμαν του έτρεχεν αίμαν και ήταν νεκρός. Μετά έπηα δίπλα στο στίτιν της Χρυσταλλούς Γιωρκή Ίωνά, ήλικίας περίπου 80 χρονών, και την ηύρα σκοτωμένην από σφαίραν χαμαί στον ήλιακόν του σπιτιού της. Ταπισόν έπηα στο στίτιν της Χρυσταλλένης Κωστή Χ'΄ Αθανάση, ήλικίας περίπου 80 χρονών, την όποιαν ηύρα νεκρήν στον ήλιακόν του σπιτιού της από σφαίραν. Έγώ έκατάλαβα ότι αυτούς τους τρεις τους έσκότωσαν οι Τουρκοί στρατιώτες την στιγμήν, που άκουα τους πυροβολισμούς στην γειτονιάν λίγην ώραν προτού τους βρώ νεκρούς. Ο άντρας μου είναι ήλικίας 63 χρόνων και ήταν παρπέρης στην Λευκωσίαν στην όδόν Άριστοφάνους». (Ε. 151/1-3 — Είκόνα 26).

Πιο κάτω δίδουμε σύντομα άποσπάσματα από καταθέσεις σε τρεις άλλες περιπτώσεις δολοφονιών γερόντων και γυναικοπαίδων:

«Τήν ιδίαν ήμέραν που οι Τουρκοί μάς απέλυσαν από το "Άγιον Άνδρονικούδι, δηλαδή τές 17.8.74, ήρθεν ό Κ.Μ. και μου 'πε «Κύριε Κ., έσφάξαν την γυναίκαν μου και το άγγονούδιν μου, μιάν κορούδαν 5 χρονών. Έγώ τότε με τον Κ.Μ. έπισκεφθήκαμε το σπίτι του και είδαμε πράγματι την κορούν σφαγμένην, ένώ ή γυναίκα ήταν στην ζωή. Τήν ρωτήσαμε ποιοι την έσφάξαν και μάς είπε ότι τους γνωρίζει αλλά δέν ήταν σε θέση να μιλήση. Τότε έμεις έφέραμε ώρισμένα πρόχειρα φάρμακα, έδέσαμε την πληγή της και την βάλαμε στο στρώμα. Τότε έπήραμε το παιδι στην αϋλή της εκκλησιās και θγάλαμε τάφο και το θάψαμε». (Κ.Π. από...., τώρα πρόσφυγας στην Άγία Νάπα). (Ε. 203).

«Ένώ είμαστε εκεί (στην Κυθραία, την 15.8.74), έπρόσεξα ότι μία γυναίκα γύρω στα 60 έππεσε χαμαί και έπληγώθη στο χέρι και στο γόνατο και έζήτησε να της το δέση. Ένας Τουρκος στρατιώτης την ώδήγησε σ' άπόσταση 20 μέτρα περίπου από κοντά μας και δέν την βλέπαμε, γιατί ύπήρχε κατοικία μπροστά μας, και άκουσα 3 πυροβολισμούς από την κατεύθυνση που ώδηγήθη ή γυναίκα και έκατάλαβα ότι την σκότωσαν. Μετ' όλίγον ό Τουρκος στρατιώτης επέστρεψε μόνος του κοντά μας. Άργότερα, ένώ έπερνούσαμεν από το μέρος που άκουσα τους πυροβολισμούς κατά ή ώρα 10 π.μ., είδα την γυναίκα, που έπληγώθη και έζητούσε βοήθεια, να είναι νεκρή κάτω από ένα δένδρο». (Έθνοφρουρός Χρ. Α.Φ. έξ Άραδίππου). (Ε. 206).

«Έρχόμενοι οι Τουρκοί στρατιώτες στο χωριό μας ("Άγιος Ήλίας Άμμοχώστου, την 17.8.74), έριχναν πυροβολισμούς με αυτόματα. Είδα ότι δυο γέροι χωριανοί μου έσκοτώθηκαν, τους είδα νεκρούς. Ο ένας ήταν ή Λουτσία Κωλά, που ήταν νεκρή δίπλα σ' ένα χανδάκι κοντά στην Συνεργατική του χωριού μας, και ό άλλος ήταν ό Πρόδρομος, ό πατέρας του Κωστάκη. Αυτός ήταν νεκρός στον ήλιακόν του σπιτιού της κόρης του Κακούλλας. Έμαθα από άλλους χωργιανούς ότι έπαίξαν τους οι Τουρκοί στρατιώτες». (Α.Κ.Κ., 18 χρόνων). (Ε. 222).

Μιά εἴδη, πού μεταδόθηκε ἀπὸ τὸ Γαλλικὸ Πρακτορεῖο Εἰδήσεων καὶ δημοσιεύτηκε στὶς Κυπριακὲς ἐφημερίδες τῆς 26.8.74, ἀναφέρεται σ' ἓνα παιδί, πού γιὰ δέκα μέρες ἔμεινε μὲ μιὰ σφαῖρα στὸ κεφάλι χωρὶς καμιά περιθάληψη. Μεταφέρομε πῶς κάτω αὐτοῦσια τὴν εἴδηση, ὅπως αὐτὴ δημοσιεύτηκε στὶς ἐφημερίδες: «Στὴν ἐκκλησία τοῦ χωρίου Βουνό, παρὰ τὴν Μονὴ Χρυσοστόμου, βρίσκεται ἐγκλωβισμένος ἀπὸ δέκα ἡμερῶν μὲ μιὰ σφαῖρα στὸ κεφάλι ὁ ἔφηβος Γεώργιος Γιάσης, ἡλικίας 14 ἐτῶν, οἱ δὲ Τουρκικὲς ἀρχὲς ἀρνοῦνται τὴν μεταφορὰ του στὸ νοσοκομεῖο γιὰ θεραπεία. Τὸ δράμα τοῦ τραυματισμένου ἐφήβου ἀποκάλυψε προχθὲς Σάββατο, ὁ ὕπατος ἀρμοστής τῶν Ἡνωμένων Ἑθνῶν γιὰ τοὺς πρόσφυγες πρίγκιψ Ἀγᾶ Χάν, ὁ ὁποῖος ἐπεσκέφθη τὸ Βουνό καὶ ἐζήτησε τὴν μεταφορὰ τοῦ Γιάση σὲ νοσοκομεῖο γιὰ θεραπεία. Οἱ Τουρκικὲς ἀρχὲς ὅμως ἀπαγόρευσαν τὴ μετακίνησή του ἀπὸ τὴν ἐκκλησία. Ὁ Γιάσης ἐξακολουθεῖ νὰ βρίσκεται ἀβοήθητος στὴν ἐκκλησία τοῦ Βουνοῦ, μὲ τὴν σφαῖρα στὴν κεφαλὴ». (Σημ.: Εἶναι προφανὲς ὅτι τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ παιδιοῦ δόθηκε λανθασμένα. Πρόκειται γιὰ τὸν Γιώργο Λιασῆ, πού ἀναφέρει ὁ Πετράκης Σουπούρης στὴν κατάθεσή του στὴν σελίδα 47). (Ε. 400—Εἰκόνα 14).

Θὰ μπορούσαμε νὰ συνεχίσουμε, παραθέτοντας ἀναρίθμητες ἄλλες περιπτώσεις φόνων καὶ ἄλλων ἐγκλημάτων ἐναντίον ἢ στὴν παρουσία γερόντων καὶ γυναικοπαίδων. Τοῦτο βέβαια θὰ ὑποβοηθοῦσε μόνο στὸ νὰ τονισθῇ ἡ ἔκταση τῶν ἐγκλημάτων, πού σὲ τελευταία ἀνάλυση ἰσοδυναμοῦν μὲ γενοκτονία. Περιωριζόμαστε ὅμως στὶς λίγες περιπτώσεις, γιὰ νὰ μπορέσῃ ὁ ἀναγνώστης νὰ δῇ τὰ δικά του συμπεράσματα. Οἱ ἀμφισβητοῦντες τὴν ἔκταση τοῦ δράματος θ' ἀποστομωθοῦν πλήρως, ἂν πραγματικὰ θέτανε τὸ θέμα ὑπὸ ἀμφισβήτησιν. Ἄλλωστε ὅμως, καὶ ἡ παράθεση στοιχείων γιὰ ἄλλες βαρβαρότητες, σὰν διασμούς, κακοποιήσεις, ἀκρότητες, ἀρπαγὴν προσωπικῶν ἀντικειμένων ἀπὸ γυναικόπαιδα καί, γενικά, ἡ θάναυση καὶ ἀπολίτιστη συμπεριφορὰ πρὸς γέροντες καὶ γυναικόπαιδα, πού θ' ἀκολουθήσουν στὸ παρὸν βιβλίον, θὰ πείσουν καὶ τοὺς πῶς δυσκολόπιστους γιὰ τὴν ὁρθότητα τῶν ὧν γράφονται. Ἐξ ἄλλου σ' ἄλλο βιβλίον θ' ἀσχοληθοῦμε ἐκτενέστερα μὲ φόνους ἐν ψυχρῷ ἀμάχων καὶ αἰχμαλώτων ἐθνοφρουρῶν. Παράλληλα ὅμως, τὰ ὅσα γράφομε στὸ παρὸν βιβλίον καταρρίπτουν τὴν ψευδῆ καὶ ἀναιδῆ προπαγάνδα τῶν Τουρκικῶν φυλλαδίων, ἓνα ἀπὸ τὰ ὁποῖα, ἀπευθυνόμενον πρὸς τὸν Κυπριακὸ Λαό, ἔλεγε:

ΚΥΠΡΙΑΚΕ ΛΑΕ

ΚΑΘΗΣΑΤΕ ΗΡΕΜΩΣ ΕΙΣ ΤΑΣ ΟΙΚΙΑΣ ΣΑΣ.  
ΑΦΗΣΑΤΕ ΤΟ ΕΙΣ ΧΕΙΡΑΣ ΣΑΣ ΟΠΛΟΝ. ΟΣΟΙ ΘΑ  
ΦΕΡΟΥΝ ΟΠΛΟΝ ΘΑ ΘΕΩΡΗΘΟΥΝ ΩΣ ΕΧΘΡΟΙ.



αφιέρωση του πιο κάτω τραγουδιού - νανουρίσματος  
στην μικρή Μαρία, 13 μηνών, που, όπως εξιστορείται  
στην σελίδα 49, βρέθηκε να δαχτυλά ολοάφιατη

στο νεκρό σώμα της έγκυου μάνας της και, αντί για γάλα, να γλείφει  
δλόκληρες ώρες τὰ αἱμάτα της μάνας της, που σκότωσαν οἱ Τούρκοι εἰς  
48  
Εἰς.

Ἔλα, καημένο μου μωρό,  
κοιμήσου πὺν νὰ σὲ χαρῶ,  
κι' ἡ μάνα σου δὲν εἶν' ἐδῶ  
νὰ πάρης τὰ φιλιὰ της.

Ἦρθαν οἱ βάρβαροι, μωρό,  
κι' οὔτε τὴν μάνα καρτερῶ  
οὔτε τὸ ἀδερφάκι σου,  
πὺν εἶχε σιτὴν κοιλιά της.

Ντύθηκε μαῦρα τὸ νησί,  
κοιμήσου, κούκλα μου χρυσῇ,  
κι' ἂν ἔχασες τὴν μάνα σου  
σιτὴν ἄγρια τὴν μπόρα,  
μὴν κλαῖς, μωρό μου, καὶ πονῶ,  
δὲν θά'σαι μόνο κι' ὀρφανό,  
πολλὲς μανάδες ἔκανες  
σ' ὅλο τὸν κόσμο τώρα.





26. Ἡ Μαρία, καθαρὴ καὶ λουσμένη, στὴν ἀγκαλιά τῆς γιγιῶς. «Μὴν κλαῖς, μωρό μου, καὶ πονῶ, δὲν εἶσαι μόνο κι' ὀρφανό, πολλὲς μανάδες ἔκαμες σ' ὅλο τὸν κόσμον τώρα».  
(Σελίδες 49 καὶ 107).



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17 November 2009

Ms Andrea Stylianou

Reference: HE30OCT2009-D00170

Dear Ms Stylianou,

### FINAL APPROVAL

**Title of project: The dynamics of how the international community deals with Missing Persons in warfare and conflict? A case study of Cyprus**

Thank you for your recent correspondence. Your response has addressed the issues raised by the Ethics Review Committee (Human Research) and you may now commence your research.

Please note the following standard requirements of approval:

1. The approval of this project is **conditional** upon your continuing compliance with the *National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (2007)*.
2. Approval will be for a period of five (5) years) subject to the provision of annual reports. **Your first progress report is due on 17 November 2010.**

If you complete the work earlier than you had planned you must submit a Final Report as soon as the work is completed. If the project has been discontinued or not commenced for any reason, you are also required to submit a Final Report on the project.

Progress Reports and Final Reports are available at the following website:  
[http://www.research.mq.edu.au/researchers/ethics/human\\_ethics/forms](http://www.research.mq.edu.au/researchers/ethics/human_ethics/forms)

3. If the project has run for more than five (5) years you cannot renew approval for the project. You will need to complete and submit a Final Report and submit a new application for the project. (The five year limit on renewal of approvals allows the Committee to fully re-review research in an environment where legislation, guidelines and requirements are continually changing, for example, new child protection and privacy laws).
4. Please notify the Committee of any amendment to the project.
5. Please notify the Committee immediately in the event of any adverse effects on participants or of any unforeseen events that might affect continued ethical acceptability of the project.
6. At all times you are responsible for the ethical conduct of your research in accordance with the guidelines established by the University. This information is available at: <http://www.research.mq.edu.au/policy>

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ETHICS REVIEW COMMITTEE (HUMAN RESEARCH)  
MACQUARIE UNIVERSITY

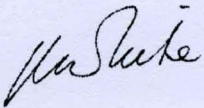
[http://www.research.mq.edu.au/researchers/ethics/human\\_ethics](http://www.research.mq.edu.au/researchers/ethics/human_ethics)

[www.mq.edu.au](http://www.mq.edu.au)



If you will be applying for or have applied for internal or external funding for the above project it is your responsibility to provide Macquarie University's Research Grants Officer with a copy of this letter as soon as possible. The Research Grants Officer will not inform external funding agencies that you have final approval for your project and funds will not be released until the Research Grants Officer has received a copy of this final approval letter.

Yours sincerely



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Dr Karolyn White  
Director of Research Ethics  
Chair, Ethics Review Committee (Human Research)

**Cc: Dr Elizabeth Kefallinos, Department of International Studies**

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ETHICS REVIEW COMMITTEE (HUMAN RESEARCH)  
MACQUARIE UNIVERSITY

[http://www.research.mq.edu.au/researchers/ethics/human\\_ethics](http://www.research.mq.edu.au/researchers/ethics/human_ethics)

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