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REPORT OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL

QUESTION OF CYPRUS

Letter dated 26 October 1987 from the Permanent Representative of  
Turkey to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to attach herewith the text of a letter dated 26 October 1987 addressed to you by Mr. Özer Koray, Representative of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (see annex).

I should be grateful if the present letter and its annex were to be circulated as a document of the General Assembly under agenda items 12 and 46.

(Signed) İler TÜRKMEN  
Ambassador  
Permanent Representative

ANNEX

Letter dated 26 October 1987 from Mr. Özer Koray addressed  
to the Secretary-General

Upon instructions from my Government, I have the honour to bring the following to your attention:

The Greek Cypriot representative has circulated the text of resolution 1987/19 adopted by the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities on 2 September 1987 (A/42/661, annex).

This resolution, which purports to deal with violations of human rights in Cyprus, was adopted at the instigation of the Greek member of the Sub-Commission. Neither were the views of the Turkish Cypriot side taken into account, nor was the actual situation in Cyprus given any serious consideration, while judgement was passed in a casual manner on matters that lie beyond the competence of the Sub-Commission, that is, the political substance of the Cyprus problem.

Therefore, there is no question about the resolution's lack of fairness and total disregard for the factual situation concerning the humanitarian aspect of the Cyprus question. This aspect of the problem arises from the inhuman treatment, the systematic oppression and the massacres to which Turkish Cypriots were subjected until 1974. One has only to look at the reports of the Secretary-General submitted to the Security Council between 1963 and 1974 in order to bring to mind the violations of the most basic human rights of the Turkish Cypriots during those years.

The Sub-Commission's resolution, because of its unjust nature, which transforms humanitarian concepts into Greek Cypriot propaganda slogans, is devoid of any moral weight or meaning. Our profound regret and indignation on the adoption of such a resolution were conveyed to the Chairman of the Sub-Commission in a letter dated 4 September 1987 from Dr. Kenan Atakol, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Defence of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, whose circulation I have already requested as a document of the General Assembly under agenda items 12 and 46 (see A/42/685). Since the Greek Cypriot side obviously intends to use this resolution as a political instrument against the Turkish Cypriot people, I wish to provide below a commentary on its misleading contents point by point.

(a) The Sub-Commission expresses "grave concern" about the continuation of "gross and systematic violations of human rights" in Cyprus. It is difficult to understand how this finding was made, but there have been no such violations of human rights in Cyprus since 1974 when the Greek Cypriots were denied the possibility of continuing to use force against the Turkish Cypriots. Since the two peoples of the island have been living apart during this period, having regrouped in two separate zones, the Turkish Cypriots in the North and the Greek Cypriots in the South, there has not been even a

single case of violation of human rights arising from any confrontation between the two sides. The gross and systematic violation of human rights was a traumatic experience for the Turkish Cypriots as a whole before 1974; now it is a phenomenon of the past in Cyprus. Therefore, the first preambular paragraph of the resolution is both misleading and out of context. There are genuine cases of severe violations of human rights in several parts of the world involving millions of people. The island of Cyprus, where the two peoples of the island live in peace under democratic régimes, is no longer one of these cases.

(b) The second preambular paragraph contravenes the agreed criteria for the establishment of a bi-communal bi-zonal federation in Cyprus. Beginning with this paragraph, the resolution, which supposedly deals with humanitarian issues, contains political elements. Misleading slogans, like "the return of refugees to their homes" and "the full restoration of human rights" are used by the Greek Cypriot side as veiled expressions of their yearning for a return to a situation resembling the one that existed before 1974, when the Greek Cypriots, under a tyranny brought about by force of arms, were entirely free to oppress the Turkish Cypriot people whom they had pushed into impoverished enclaves and refugee camps. The great majority of Turkish Cypriots had become refugees many times over in their own homeland. It is completely understandable that they should have no intention to relive this tragic experience. Contrary to what the Greek Cypriots may believe, there is no Greek Cypriot right that is more important and sacred than the Turkish Cypriot right to live and the right to a secure existence.

(c) With regard to the third preambular paragraph referring to the efforts of the Secretary-General to resolve the Cyprus problem, it may suffice to recall that it is the Greek Cypriot side that has frustrated these efforts by rejecting the Draft Framework Agreement proposed by the Secretary-General on 29 March 1986. Against this background, the reference to the Secretary-General's role in this resolution is cynical.

(d) The question of missing persons in Cyprus, referred to in the fourth and fifth preambular paragraphs, as well as in paragraph 2, is a humanitarian problem concerning both sides in the island, and not only the Greek Cypriot side. This problem is being abused by the Greek Cypriot side for political purposes, despite the existence of a tripartite Committee on Missing Persons in Cyprus established as an autonomous body in accordance with the terms of reference, which have been negotiated and agreed to by the two parties. In view of the immoral and unethical Greek Cypriot approach to this humanitarian problem, a detailed background note is enclosed as appendix I. Nevertheless, the following pertinent facts deserve to be underlined here:

- (i) It was the Turkish Cypriot people who first encountered the problem of missing persons in 1963, when Turkish Cypriots were abducted from roads, their homes and work places, and even from hospital beds, never to be seen again.

- (ii) These Turkish Cypriots disappeared at a time when there were no military operations of opposing forces in the island, but only an unprovoked Greek Cypriot onslaught against the other partner of the bi-national Republic.
- (iii) Some of these Turkish Cypriot missing persons were later found in mass graves. Others have not been accounted for to this day.
- (iv) The question of missing persons arose for the Greek Cypriots with the coup d'état staged by Greece in Cyprus on 15 July 1974, which led to violent inter-Greek fighting in the island. The number of Greek Cypriots who were killed has never been revealed, although it is common knowledge that there was a high number of Greek and Greek Cypriot casualties on both sides, some of whom, according to eyewitness accounts, were buried in mass graves without any identification. The casualty figures of the Greek Cypriot and Greek forces that confronted the Turkish force during the intervention of Turkey as a guarantor Power are also unknown.
- (v) The Greek coup of 15 July 1974 also took its toll on the Turkish Cypriots as a result of new massacres and mass arrests by the Greek Cypriots.
- (vi) The Greek Cypriot side has exploited this question as a propaganda weapon, as admitted by Archbishop Makarios to President Denktash in 1977. In order to do so, the Greek Cypriot side forestalled for many years the establishment of a committee on missing persons. When the tripartite committee was finally established in 1981, it tried everything to hamper its work.
- (vii) The Greek Cypriot side, while exploiting this humanitarian problem in a most deplorable fashion, has taken internal legal steps according to which all Greek Cypriot missing persons are considered legally dead.

(e) The question of the so-called "settlers" is a product of Greek Cypriot imagination and exaggerations. There is no policy of implanting settlers in Northern Cyprus. The Greek Cypriot preoccupation with such an issue only shows their obsession in dealing with the Turkish Cypriots from a position of numerical strength. The Greek Cypriot side, which takes a keen interest in demographics today, is responsible for trying to decimate the Turkish Cypriot people with a view to eliminating it from being a force opposing enosis and the Hellenization of the island. If anyone has tried to change the demographic structure of the island, it has been none other than the Greek Cypriot side. The acceptance by the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus of immigrants or labour from abroad is not under any restriction other than the Republic's own laws and regulations. This seems to be the case with South Cyprus as well. Therefore there is no restriction that applies to Northern Cyprus, while the Greek Cypriot side can act as it pleases. Such double standards would be totally unjustified. However, it is clear from

population figures that the Turkish side has never pursued a deliberate policy of changing the demographic structure of the island, since it has never based its political approach on numerical considerations.

(f) The withdrawal of non-Cypriot forces from the South and the North is a political matter directly related to a comprehensive settlement. The proper approach is already formulated in the Draft Framework Agreement of 29 March 1986, which was accepted by the Turkish Cypriot side. There is no such pending question in the island as the "restoration of human rights and fundamental freedoms of all Cypriots". As paragraph 1 reveals, the Greek Cypriot interest in this field is confined to the exercise of certain selective rights, namely freedom of movement, freedom of settlement and the right to property. This matter has been dealt with in the High-Level Agreement of 1977, which states, under guideline 3, that these shall be discussed by taking into consideration the fundamental basis of a bi-communal federal system and certain practical difficulties that may arise for the Turkish Cypriot community. In plain language this means that the so-called three freedoms will not be used as a back door to transgress the bi-communal, bi-zonal nature of the prospective federation between the Turkish Cypriot and the Greek Cypriot peoples, or in a manner that may compromise the security of the Turkish Cypriot side. The Draft Framework Agreement proposed by the Secretary-General on 29 March 1986 confirms this agreed principle by stating that the exercise of these rights shall be discussed by taking into account guideline 3 of the 1977 Agreement. Therefore, the Greek Cypriot side is now merely trying to create confusion on questions whose parameters have already been drawn. Finally, it should be stressed that these issues can only be addressed within the context of a comprehensive settlement. In isolation, they simply would not make any sense.

I should be grateful if the present letter and its appendices were circulated as a document of the General Assembly under agenda items 12 and 46.

(Signed) Özer KORAY  
Representative

APPENDIX I

The question of missing persons in Cyprus

1. The question of missing persons in Cyprus concerns both the Turkish Cypriots and the Greek Cypriots. However, this humanitarian issue has been persistently misrepresented and abused by the Greek Cypriot side for political purposes in total disregard of humanitarian principles.

2. This problem has arisen out of the inhuman policy of oppression and extermination that the Greek Cypriots pursued against the Turkish Cypriots between 1963 and 1974. Therefore, it has been the Turkish Cypriot people that has first experienced the agony of the problem of missing persons in Cyprus. During the Greek Cypriot onslaught against the Turkish Cypriot people in 1963 and during the years of oppression that followed until 1974, more than 200 Cypriot Turks, all of them innocent civilians, were abducted by Greek Cypriot police and armed terrorist bands from the roads, from their places of work and even from hospitals where they had been receiving medical treatment never to be returned, traced or accounted for, despite repeated appeals from the Turkish Cypriot authorities and the families concerned for information about their fate. The Secretary-General of the United Nations in his report dated 12 December 1964 (S/6102) informed the Security Council as follows:

93. In the report of 10 September, it was indicated that as at 1 September, 232 Turkish Cypriots were missing, according to the list completed by the Turkish Cypriot Missing Persons Bureau. Since that date, UNFICYP was informed that 23 Turkish Cypriots have been accounted for and their names have been deleted from the list of missing persons. This leaves 209 Turkish Cypriots still missing. Efforts to trace those missing will be continued by ICRC and UNFICYP, but there seems to be little prospect of finding them alive.

3. The Greek Cypriot leadership never made a formal announcement about the fate of these Turkish Cypriot missing persons. It should be stressed that these Turkish Cypriots disappeared not during a war, but were "arrested" or picked up by Greek Cypriot policemen and bands armed by the Greek Cypriot leadership itself, whose cruelty reached astounding peaks during this period. For example, on 24 December 1963, 21 Turkish Cypriot patients at the Nicosia General Hospital in the Greek Cypriot quarter of Nicosia, many of whom were recovering from surgery, were dragged out of their beds, their bandages were ripped off and they were driven away never to be seen again. The massacre by execution of the Turkish population of Ayios Vasilios (Ayvasil), all of them civilians, including women and children, is another horrible case of mass murder. The Red Cross discovered the bodies of some of them in 1964 in common graves. The rest were never found or accounted for.

4. The coup d'état of 15 July 1974, engineered by Greece, led to five days of catastrophic inter-Greek factional civil war in Cyprus with thousands of casualties, dead or missing. The exact number of these casualties was never revealed, but there were many disclosures confirming the heavy loss of life among the Greek and Greek Cypriots as a result of the violent fighting during the coup.

5. Makarios himself in his statement before the Security Council on 19 July 1974 disclosed that the coup of 15 July 1974 had caused much bloodshed and took a great toll of human lives. He stated the following:

If the Greek officers serving the National Guard were not involved, how does one explain the fact that among the casualties in battle were Greek officers whose remains were transported to Greece and buried there? If Greek officers did not carry out the coup, how does one explain the fact of night flights of Greek aircraft transporting to Cyprus personnel in civilian clothes and taking back to Greece dead and wounded men? There is no doubt that the coup was organized by the Greek Junta and was carried out by the National Guard and by the officers and men of the Greek contingent stationed in Cyprus and it was reported as such by the press around the globe.

The coup caused much bloodshed and took a great toll of human lives.

6. Disclosures were made by a Greek Cypriot cemetery priest named Papatseostas about the burial of truck-loads of dead Greek Cypriots in mass graves during the coup without any record and without any attempt to identify the bodies. He also disclosed that some Turks, also unidentified, had been buried in the same cemetery during the coup. The disclosures of Papatseostas were published by the Greek newspaper Ta Nea of Athens and reproduced in all Greek Cypriot newspapers on 28 February 1976. In August 1976, during the trial of Nicos Sampson, the Greek Cypriot terrorist who was sworn in as President during the coup, the Greek Cypriot Deputy-Attorney General stressed that the warlike operations of the coupist Greek and Greek Cypriots continued "with undiminished intensity in all towns" throughout the coup and that "repeated incidents of shooting by the said forces against civilians took place" during the suppression of resistance. Referring to "the victims of the various armed clashes of the coup" on both sides, he also drew attention, as pertinent evidence, to the disclosures of Papatseostas (see appendix II for the text of the above-mentioned disclosures).

7. The following excerpt dated 18 July 1974 from a published diary kept by Mrs. Rina Catselli, a member of Parliament of the Greek Cypriot President Kyprianou's ruling Diko Party in South Cyprus, is further proof of the tragic cost in human lives, many unidentified, of the Sampson coup:

Everyone is frozen with fear. They all listen speechless to hair-raising details: the small child who, after being killed accidentally, was taken and buried secretly in a mass grave; the old man who, when he asked for the body of his dead son, was shot on the spot; the tortures and executions at the central prison. In the Nicosia General Hospital they prevent the doctors from taking care of the wounded, just because they belong to the Makarios faction. The Presidential Palace was destroyed afterwards to cover up the fact that it had been looted. Works of art were plundered from the Archbishopric by the henchmen of the Greek Junta. My God! ... Everyone is frozen with horror and is silent. Nothing is sacred to these people. And they call themselves Greeks! ... In that case we must not keep that name any longer.

8. In 1974, another 600 Turkish Cypriots went missing and abhorrent massacres were committed by the Greek Cypriots against their Turkish Cypriot neighbours.

9. The Greek/Greek Cypriot military forces suffered casualties during the fighting caused by Greek and Greek Cypriot armed opposition to the military intervention of Turkey as a guarantor Power, in exercise of her Treaty rights, undertaken following the coup of 15 July 1974, in order to prevent the annexation of Cyprus by Greece and the virtual elimination of the Turkish Cypriot people from the island.

10. On 14 August 1974, a group of Greek Cypriot National Guardsmen and EOKA-B terrorists entered the village of Aloa, north-west of Famagusta, and rounded up all the men, women and children they could find. They then took the villagers in question to a nearby field and shot them with automatic weapons. Afterwards, they dug a ditch and buried the victims in it by bulldozing earth over them. When the corpses were unearthed a few days later, by UNFICYP, they were almost beyond recognition, for the bulldozer, while running over the dead villagers, had dismembered them. Only three of the inhabitants of Aloa survived the massacre.

Meanwhile, a few miles away, another group of Greek Cypriot armed men made their way into the village of Maratha and slaughtered its inhabitants. They then took the inhabitants of the nearby village of Sandalaris to Maratha and executed them too. As at Aloa, the victims were buried in a ditch by means of a bulldozer. The mutilated bodies of the inhabitants of Maratha and Sandalaris were unearthed from their common grave on 1 September, again by UNFICYP.

Also on the same tragic morning, a group of EOKA-B men entered the Turkish Cypriot quarter of the mixed village of Tokhni, mid-way between Limassol and Larnaca, and rounded up 69 men between the ages of 13 and 74. On 15 August, another large group of Turkish Cypriot men were brought in from the villages of Mari and Zyghi. Then the Greek Cypriots drove their captives off by bus to a spot in the vicinity of Limassol, where a ditch had already been dug, and shot them. One of the victims, though severely wounded, managed to crawl to safety and lived to testify to the fate of his fellow villagers, but nothing more was ever heard of the rest of the Turkish Cypriot men who had been rounded up in Tokhni.

11. The Greek Cypriot administration kept silent on the issue of Turkish Cypriot missing persons both in 1963-1964 and in 1974, and even refused to acknowledge the existence of such a problem. The Greek Cypriot side originally claimed that there were 2,500 missing Greek Cypriot persons, but later the number was reduced to 1,619 without any explanation. Between December 1963 and 15 July 1974, 203 Turkish Cypriots disappeared in the hands of the Greek Cypriot administration. Following the coup the number of missing Turkish Cypriots rose to 803. Despite the fact that the missing persons issue concerns both communities in Cyprus, the Greek Cypriot side has been trying to present it as an exclusive Greek Cypriot problem. This humanitarian question would have been settled long ago had the Greek Cypriot side been sincere about resolving it, instead of exploiting the issue for political propaganda purposes.



12. After the cessation of hostilities in 1974, all prisoners of war were exchanged under the supervision of ICRC. The leaders of the two communities, President Denktas and Giafcos Clerides, with the assistance of ICRC, took up the question of missing persons and through the Ad Hoc Committee they had set up, which included an ICRC representative, nearly resolved the issue except for only 22 cases that remained unaccounted for.

13. However, following the return of Archbishop Makarios from "exile" and his resumption of power as the Greek Cypriot President, the Greek Cypriot side set aside what Clerides had done and adopted the strategy of a "long-term struggle against Turkey". Propaganda of every kind against Turkey, including the exploitation of the humanitarian issue of missing persons, became an element of that strategy.

14. Archbishop Makarios is on record as having admitted during his summit meetings with President Rauf Denktas, in early 1977, in the presence of Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar, then Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Cyprus, that the Greek Cypriot side would use the issue of missing persons as a propaganda weapon.

15. During these meetings, President Denktas asked Archbishop Makarios to inform the world on:

(a) The fate of 203 Turkish Cypriots who were rounded up by Greek Cypriot policemen in December 1963 and early 1964 and who have not been seen alive since their "arrest";

(b) The fate of the total Turkish population of Ayios Vasilios, some of whose bodies were discovered by the Red Cross in common graves in 1964. The rest have not been found or accounted for;

(c) The arrest of all the male population in 1974 of the villages of Tokhni, Zyghi and Mari. Some of these men were lined up and shot on the outskirts of Limassol by members of the Greek Cypriot National Guard; the fate of the rest was never disclosed publicly by the Greek Cypriot leaders;

(d) The fate of the total Turkish population of the villages of Aloa, Maratha and Sandallaris.

(President Denktas on 27 October 1977 authorized the release of the minutes of his discussion on missing persons with Archbishop Makarios at their meetings of 27 January and 12 February 1977. See appendix III for these minutes.)

16. An agreement was reached during these summit meetings to establish a mechanism covering the missing persons of both communities. This agreement could not be implemented since the Greek Cypriot side later refused to follow such a course.

17. In 1977, on the recommendation of the Third Committee, the General Assembly unanimously adopted a resolution encouraging the establishment of a joint committee with the participation of ICRC, which would be in a position to function

impartially. The Turkish Cypriot side was in favour of the establishment of such a committee.

18. However, the Greek Cypriot side, after wasting 12 months, referred the issue back to the Third Committee in 1978 in order to keep it alive at the international level as an instrument of its political propaganda, despite the repeated calls by the Turkish Cypriot side for a bilateral meeting to resolve the outstanding differences with regard to the establishment of a missing persons committee. This Greek Cypriot attitude blocked the way to any positive development until 1981.

19. With the assistance of the Secretary-General of the United Nations and his Special Representative in Cyprus, the two sides negotiated and reached an agreement on 22 April 1981 on the terms of reference for the establishment of a Committee on Missing Persons in Cyprus.

20. The Committee on Missing Persons consists of three members: one member from each of the two communities and a third member, being an ICRC official and appointed by the Secretary-General with the approval of the two sides.

21. The Committee is an autonomous body and functions independently according to its terms of reference, which are confidential.

22. The Committee held its first meeting on 14 July 1981. However, as at September 1981, it was boycotted and pushed into deadlock over procedural questions by the Greek Cypriot side. The Turkish Cypriot side accepted in this regard the compromise proposals put forward by the third member of the Committee and was of the view that there were no outstanding procedural questions that prevented the Committee from embarking upon its humanitarian task of dealing with the cases of missing persons from both communities in accordance with its terms of reference. The Greek Cypriot member, however, rejected the compromise proposals of the ICRC representative and paralysed the Committee for two years.

23. The deadlock was resolved, thanks to the initiative of President Rauf Denktaş, by the Turkish Cypriot peace proposals of 2 January 1984.

24. The Committee on Missing Persons was reactivated and held its first meeting for over two years on 14 March 1984, during which a set of procedural rules was adopted. It held 21 meetings until the autumn of that year, during which a total of 168 cases, 60 of them Turkish Cypriot missing persons and 108 Greek Cypriot missing persons, were submitted by the respective sides for investigation. The unexpected sudden death, on 10 November 1984, of the third member, the late Mr. Claude Pilloud, the ICRC representative, unfortunately interrupted the work of the Committee.

25. The Committee resumed its functions once again on 14 June 1985, following the delayed acceptance by the Greek Cypriot side of the nominee of the Secretary-General (Mr. Paul Wurth) to replace the deceased third member, and until 23 September 1987 held 22 working sessions.

26. The Secretary-General, in his report to the Security Council on Cyprus dated 30 November 1985, noted the progress made until then by the Committee in dealing with the cases already presented for investigation. He observed that in nearly one quarter of the cases investigation had reached an advanced stage, in nearly half the initial investigations had been completed and reports thereon submitted to the Committee, the rest being then currently under investigation.

27. Ironically, the Greek Cypriot side ridiculed that report, even though the press release of the Committee dated 19 November 1985 had acknowledged for the first time that progress had been made. This attitude of the Greek Cypriot side once again revealed their policy to continue to use the issue of missing persons as an instrument of propaganda. The most recent propaganda exercise of the Greek Cypriot side was the setting up at Athens on 4 June 1987 of the so-called "International Committee on the Missing Persons in Cyprus", which is obviously incompatible with the agreed mechanism that already exists.

28. The basic difficulty that the Committee on Missing Persons faces in making progress toward finalizing the cases under investigation emanates from the political approach of the Greek Cypriot side. The Greek Cypriot side insists that unless concrete proof of death is found no case can be considered closed. In view of the fact that over 13 years, and in the case of the Turkish Cypriots missing since 1963-1964 over 23 years have elapsed since such disappearances, such "concrete proof" is impossible to obtain. Neither is it called for by the agreed terms of reference of the Committee. The Greek Cypriot side seems to be insisting on the impossible to keep the issue alive for continued political exploitation in the international arena. The Greek Cypriot approach is also in contradiction with the established norms and practices in this area, including the 1950 United Nations Convention on the Declaration of Death of Missing Persons, which clearly defines the requirements to be met for this purpose.

29. It should be noted that the Greek Cypriot side has enacted legislation such as Law No. 69/1978 that treats every missing person who has been missing for at least six months "due to the conditions created as at 21 December 1963, and every Greek Cypriot who disappeared on or after the coup d'état of 15 July 1974" as dead.

#### Conclusion

30. The Committee on Missing Persons in Cyprus held its twenty-second working session from 16 to 23 September 1987 and discussed reports submitted by both sides on the investigations carried out in the field with the participation of the third member and/or his assistants. The press release issued by the Committee stated that:

(a) Further investigation in the field would continue to be carried out by both sides according to the agreed procedure.

(b) The members had discussed all available means to accelerate the investigation conducted within the Committee's terms of reference and in accordance with the agreed procedural rules and particularly the interviews of witnesses on

both sides, which constitute at this stage the main source of information of the Committee and are currently its essential preoccupation.

(c) Whilst acknowledging the great sensitivity of their task, and especially the absolute necessity of obtaining the most complete and reliable evidence possible, the members underlined a number of practical and psychological difficulties, including the time element.

(d) It was only after that task was accomplished, they said, that it would be possible for the Committee to undertake the final and thorough assessment of the 169 cases, both Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot, which are before the Committee.

(e) The members also reiterated their firm intention to reach a conclusive stage as early as possible and stressed the purely humanitarian nature of their mandate and of their activities. They also stated that they attached the greatest importance to the strictly confidential nature of the Committee's operations: "this is not only precisely prescribed by its terms of reference, but represents a central, essential element for the fulfilment of their mandate and a guarantee for the witnesses on whose information the Committee has to depend for its investigations".

The twenty-third session of the Committee was scheduled for November 1987.

31. The Turkish Cypriot side's approach to the humanitarian problem of missing persons is sincere, constructive and realistic. The Greek Cypriot side's approach, unfortunately, is not. They have not been treating the Committee on Missing Persons with the respect it deserves, as is evidenced by their constant press attacks on the Committee or its neutral third member and their persistent efforts to promote the issue in the international arena.

It should be stressed, however, that the agreement reached by the two sides in establishing the Committee on Missing Persons continues to be the only valid basis for resolving this humanitarian problem. The consent of both parties is the only procedural principle according to which the Committee can function and its agreed terms of reference constitute the only valid machinery enabling the two sides to approach this problem exclusively within a humanitarian context. Therefore special care needs to be taken not to prejudge in any way the substance of the agreement reached between the two sides and to refrain from any political approach to this humanitarian issue.

32. In the light of the facts concerning the issue, third parties can assist in the final resolution of the humanitarian problem of missing persons in Cyprus, in strict accordance with humanitarian principles and international practice in the matter as indicated by ICRC, only by taking a clear stand against propaganda efforts and by giving support to the efforts of the Committee on Missing Persons.

APPENDIX II

PAPATSESTOS'S DISCLOSURE

Extracts from an interview granted by Papatsestos, the priest in charge of the Nicosia Greek cemetery, to *Ta Nea* of Athens which was reproduced in the local Greek newspapers on 28 February 1976 under the heading, 'Sensational Disclosures.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**TANEA.** Now, father tell me sincerely, were people brutally killed in those days?

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

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

Finally, Papatzestos is reported to have declared that he would tell his story and worries to the Greek Premier, Mr Constantine Karamanlis, because Makarios has done nothing about them.

APPENDIX III

Minutes of the talks held on 27 January and 12 February 1977  
by President Denktas and Archbishop Makarios

The President of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus, Mr. Rauf Denktas, gave the following statement on Oct. 27 to the Turkish Radio and Television correspondent in Nicosia on the question of the missing persons.

"For the Greek Cypriot leaders the question of Missing Persons is nothing but subject for sheer propaganda. During the two meetings I had with Archbishop Makarios on 27 Jan. and 12 Feb. he stated that he was obliged to keep this question alive for propaganda purposes. The following is the text of my conversation with Archbishop Makarios on this subject:

Makarios: Mr. Denktas, after this meeting with you the families of missing persons will again come to me and ask whether I discussed the issue with you. What shall I tell them?

**Denktas:** Tell them the truth. Stop exploiting this question for propaganda purposes. Do not deceive the suffering people by giving them false hopes. Why opt for propaganda rather than the truth?

**Makarios:** I have no weapon left to me other than propaganda...

**Denktas:** Is it right that you should choose propaganda on this issue in spite of the facts? You are prolonging the suffering of the people. Tell them the truth.

**Makarios:** But what facts can I give them?

**Denktas:** Do you know how many Greek Cypriots were killed during the coup and where they were buried?

**Makarios:** No, I don't know.

**Denktas:** But you yourself are on record to have stated at the United Nations that the Junta had caused great bloodshed on the island. Don't you know the cost of life caused by this bloodshed?

**Makarios:** I assure you that I do not know the number of people killed or missing during the coup.

**Denktas:** According to the Scandinavian press the number of dead exceeded two thousand. A letter written by a Greek Cypriot Professor in London to a Turkish Cypriot (Mr. Alper Orhon) in Niccisia, stated that he had seen hundreds of dead in the streets of Limassol. Our information confirms this. Then there is the statement by your own priest that appeared in your newspapers. The coupists were bringing the dead in lorryloads and were having them buried, including the ones who were still breathing, in mass graves. These are the facts. How can you ask me and Turkey to account for 2,000 Greek Cypriots without taking these facts into consideration? We examined these questions in dept with Mr. Clerides. The International Red Cross also assisted us in our work. In the end only about 30 cases remained as "pending." It was also established at our meetings that all Greek Cypriot prisoners of war taken to Turkey had been returned to you. Of the "pending" cases, which are about 30, we have already supplied information the first 8 or 9 cases. If you like I shall repeat it here.

**Makarios:** I know the subject. However can't we form an investigation committee for these 23-24 outstanding cases?

**Denktas:** We can. The Turkish Cypriot Red Crescent Representatives from our side and Greek Cypriot Red Cross Representatives from your side can come together and investigate these cases by obtaining the help of the families of missing persons. We can help them. However, before embarking on this I shall request certain things from you.



**Makarios:** Please go ahead.

**Denktas:** You are looking for 23 or 24 missing persons. These people became "missing" during a war. We want to learn from you the fate of 203 Turkish Cypriots who were picked up from the roads and work places by Greek Cypriot policemen during 1963-1974. Until 1978 the families of these Turkish Cypriots lived with the hope that you were keeping them as prisoners. When we started negotiations with Mr. Clerides in 1968, the first thing I asked him was the fate of these people. He told me that they were all killed. I acted differently from you on this issue. I told the families the bitter truth. Some fainted. However, they were relieved of expectation and suffering day after day, they adjusted their lives accordingly and they obtained their legal rights. They returned to normal life. The Greek Cypriot leadership has not made a formal announcement on this subject, yet. If you are going to start investigations about the fate of 23 or 24 missing Greek Cypriots you must first of all tell us by whom these Turkish Cypriots were annihilated. You must disclose where they are. These people were killed by your policemen and elements you armed yourself and you must explain why these people were not brought to justice.

Again in 1963 you exterminated the whole Turkish Cypriot population, including the children and women, of Ayios Vasilios village in December 1963. The Red Cross found the bodies of thirteen of them in mass-graves. Where are the others? We shall expect an explanation from you about them.

In 1974, 113 Turkish Cypriots were picked up from their homes in Tokhni (Tas Kent), Mari (Tatlisu), and Zyyi (Terazi) by your policemen and soldiers and taken away. These Turkish Cypriots were lined up and shot dead near Limassol. This was the fate that befell the 40-50 Turkish Cypriots that were in the first bus. We know this because one of them pretended to be dead after he was wounded and then escaped to the British Bases and has given us a statement. Mr. Clerides has confessed that the passengers of the second bus met the same fate. I informed Mr. Clerides about the leaders of these crimes. No investigations were initiated about anyone and you made no official statement about the incident. If you now want to start investigations about the fate of 23-24 Greek Cypriots, you must announce who killed these Turkish Cypriots, why they were killed, and where their graves are. The question of missing Greek Cypriots is an issue that occurred during the war in 1974 and it involves 23-24 persons. Whereas the missing Turkish Cypriots were picked up from their homes and business places by your policemen and soldiers who took them away and never returned them.

Unless you account for these and clear yourself, we shall conclude that you are not seriously interested in the fate of 23-24 Greek Cypriots. The fact that you keep on talking about 2,000 missing Greek Cypriots in total disregard of the facts, proves that you are interested in nothing but propaganda.

As someone interested in missing persons, you should first of all investigate why and how hundreds of Turkish civilians were found in mass-graves after being sought for months as missing persons. Turkish Cypriots listed for months as

missing persons from Afoa (Atfilar), Maratha (Murataga), Sandallaris (Sandallar), and Paphos were found in mass-graves. How and why were they killed? How can anyone ask us question on such issues without fulfilling his own obligations, what is more, in spite of all these we have furnished what we know about your people."