



Thinking Historically about Missing Persons: A Guide for Teachers

4. Missing Persons in Cyprus



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4. Missing Persons in Cyprus

In Cyprus, the people who went missing over the course of the conflict are referred to as *missing*, rather than *disappeared*. In this context, 'missing persons' are people whose families have no news of them and those who are reported missing as a result of an armed conflict, on the basis of reliable information.¹ Missing persons can be men, women or children, civilians or members of the armed forces.

The missing persons issue is one of the most difficult consequences of the Cyprus conflict, but significant efforts have been made in recent years to address the humanitarian aspect of this issue. The positive developments in the missing persons issue in Cyprus demonstrate that, despite the persistence of the conflict, some of the most basic needs of victims can be addressed, institutional cooperation and trust can be established on an inter-communal basis, and the process of coming to terms with the past can begin.

Roots of the conflict

Cyprus is a multicultural country, but one which lives with the consequences of violent conflict and division. Due to its location at the crossroads of the Mediterranean, Cyprus has seen groups as diverse as the Romans, Crusaders, Lusignans and Venetians settle and control it at various points in time. Ottoman rule over the island, which started in 1571, ended when Cyprus became part of the British Empire in 1878. A 1946 official census undertaken by the colonial administration showed that Greek Cypriots comprised 80% of the population while Turkish Cypriots comprised 18% (other ethnicities included Armenians and Maronites) (Patrick, 1976).

It was the conflicting nationalistic aspirations of the island's two dominant population groups, the Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot communities that led to increasing friction on the island, particularly from the early 1900s onwards. The anti-colonial struggle was institutionalised through the formation of a Greek Cypriot guerrilla group called *EOKA* (National Organisation of Cypriot Fighters) in 1955, whose primary aim was to end British rule in Cyprus and to realise *enosis*, unification of island with Greece. The aspiration, as well as the violent activities undertaken by *EOKA*, caused a great deal of tension between the Greek and the Turkish Cypriot community. In 1957, as a reaction to *EOKA*, the Turkish Cypriot guerrilla group *TMT* (Turkish Resistance Organisation) was formed, whose goals were to defend the Turkish Cypriot community and to seek closer ties with Turkey, through *taksim*, the division of the island on an ethnic basis. The violence during this period was both inter- and intra-communal, in that *EOKA* targeted those who were perceived to be an obstacle to their goals in either community. This phase of the Cyprus conflict ended in 1960 with the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus based on the 1959 Zurich and London Agreements, which shared governance of Cyprus on a bi-communal basis between the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities (Xydis, 1973).

However, a dispute over constitutional changes and the persistence of conflicting nationalistic projects again led to inter-communal clashes, which began in December 1963. The violence escalated in 1964 and continued with periodic clashes over the next years, leading to the displacement of 30,000 Turkish Cypriots, nearly 20% of the Turkish Cypriot population (Minority Rights Group International, 2010). During this time, there were a number of deaths and reports of missing persons, leading to the establishment of a United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) on 4 March 1964 and the active involvement of the International Committee for the Red Cross (ICRC). Although there were a number of efforts to resolve the situation through inter-communal talks between the representatives of the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities, the conflict continued.

The missing persons issue in this period of the conflict was one faced by both Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. 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. Both civilians and those who were members of security forces disappeared in different circumstances: some were travelling from one village to another; going to work; some were forcefully gathered together in groups by armed men; while others went missing in action. In some instances, people were captured and held as hostages, later to be returned or exchanged for prisoners held by the other community.

However, many of the people who went missing during the 1960s were never found. The International Committee for the Red Cross and the UN provided assistance to the two communities to collect information about and locate the missing persons, and where possible, arrange for exchanges.

1. Please see section 3.1.1 for a more information about how the term 'missing persons' is defined.

Official bodies were established, such as the Missing Persons Office at the Turkish Cypriot Communal Chamber and the Director General's Office at the Ministry of Justice to collect lists of individuals reported as missing, take steps to find their whereabouts, and to respond to the needs of the families. However, the international and official efforts were not able to address every case.

Media coverage of the missing persons issue during this period can be seen in both Turkish and Greek language newspapers, which document the response of families of missing persons. There are reports that the Association of Families of Missing Turks organised demonstrations and wrote petitions to the UN, while the Union of Relatives of Greek Hostages went on hunger strikes at least two times during 1964. From June to August 1964, *Bozkurt* newspaper journalists Bilbay Eminoğlu and Ahmet Tolgay published a series in which they interviewed family members of people who had gone missing. What can be seen in the media of the time is that the communities tended to focus on their own missing persons, with minimal reporting or acknowledgement of the cases in the other community. This is a trend which has continued to the present day, although recent developments outlined below have led to a more common perspective. In 1965, efforts to find information about the missing persons slowed down, leaving the calls of the families of the victims unanswered.

The next milestone in the Cyprus conflict was in July 1974, when a coup to topple the government of Cyprus was carried out by the military junta in Greece and was then followed by the intervention of the Turkish military. These events brought about the current division of Cyprus, with far reaching political, economic, and humanitarian consequences for all Cypriots. A 1975 agreement between the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot leaders led to 140,000 Greek Cypriots and 60,000 Turkish Cypriots being displaced from their homes, with Greek Cypriots settling in the southern and Turkish Cypriots settling in the northern part of the island (Minority Rights Group International, 2010). Another major consequence of the events of 1974 was a significant increase in the numbers of missing persons from both communities, resulting in a total number, as reported currently by the Committee on Missing Persons, of 1,958 missing persons (1,464 Greek Cypriots and 494 Turkish Cypriots) (CMP, 2011(b)). Of these, 219 Turkish Cypriots and 43 Greek Cypriots are from the 1963-1964 period.²

Official treatment of the missing

Inter-communal talks held under the auspices of the United Nations to resolve the conflict continue to this day, but have failed to generate an overall solution to the Cyprus problem. In the interim, the parties to the conflict have employed various methods over the years to address the problems that have emerged as a result of the division of the island. Some of these measures have been undertaken unilaterally, such as the interstate cases launched against Turkey by Cyprus at the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR). In parallel, collaborative measures have also been adopted as an outcome of inter-communal talks, such as the 1981 agreement to establish the Committee on Missing Persons. Along with the efforts on the official level, there have also been initiatives spearheaded by individuals and by civil society.

In 1981 the talks between the Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot leaders held under the auspices of the United Nations led to an agreement to set up the **Committee on Missing Persons in Cyprus**, mandated to 'establish the fate of missing persons'. The Committee does not attempt to establish the cause of death or attribute responsibility for the death of missing persons (Article 11, CMP Terms of Reference)' (CMP, 1981). The CMP consists of two members appointed by the leaders of each community, along with a third member appointed by the Secretary-General of the UN. The committee members take decisions on the basis of consensus.

Although the CMP was established in 1981, it took many years for it to operate on an effective basis. Until recently, the dynamics of the Cyprus problem were accompanied by a general lack of trust at the level of leadership and society, influencing negatively any initiatives requiring cooperation between the communities. The missing persons issues also became embedded within the context of each community's official narrative of the conflict, and thus, came to be exploited for political purposes as well. Each community accused the other of using the issue for propaganda purposes; and the missing of the other community were rarely recognised. It is indicative that one ongoing debate for many years was on the

2. Figures provided by the CMP.

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 (a point discussed further below).

Where the responsiveness of political bodies failed, civic action and responsibility set in, thus creating new dynamics (more below). Reflecting the increased pressure from various directions that was building up, the UN Secretary-General stepped in again in December 2003 and August 2004, calling on the leaders of the two communities to help the CMP activate its work. He asked that the CMP 'conclude the remaining investigative work on both sides' and agree to implement the agreement of 31 July 1997 which provides for the exchange of information regarding known burial sites and the return of remains of Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot missing persons, in line with the CMP's terms of reference (CMP, 2011(a)). Finally, in 2004, the Turkish Cypriot leader Mehmet Ali Talat and Greek Cypriot leader Tasos Papadopoulos agreed to reactivate the CMP.

The agreement by the leaders to reactivate the CMP is what has led to concrete progress on the missing persons issue since 2004. On 28 August 2006 the CMP announced the beginning of a programme of exhumations around the whole island, to be carried out by a team of Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot archaeologists and anthropologists under the guidance of the Argentine Forensic Anthropology Team.

Stages of the CMP's Work

1. Cypriot archaeologists excavate potential burial sites, looking for remains.
2. Cypriot anthropologists working in the CMP's anthropological laboratory in the UN protected area analyse the exhumed remains and send bone samples to the Laboratory for Forensic Genetics.
3. Cypriot scientists analyse the DNA of the bone samples with the samples provided by family members of missing persons to identify the exhumed remains.
4. Once the person is identified, the family of the missing person is informed by a member of the CMP and the remains are returned formally. The family has the opportunity to come to the CMP's facilities to view their loved one's remains, and to meet the scientists involved in the process. (CMP, 2011(a))

Another important task undertaken by the CMP at this time concerned achieving a clear understanding of the total number of missing persons. It was during this period that 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)).

Along with setting up the scientific infrastructure, other preparations at this stage included appeals for people to come forward with any relevant information concerning the fate or the remains of people listed as missing, so that burial sites could be located. It is generally understood that such information is treated confidentially, with no threat of investigation or prosecution resulting from the information that is given. CMP members have stated that the ability to provide information without fear of being prosecuted is essential to getting people to share information, which is critical to locating burial sites (Kıbrıs, 2008).

However, there are a number of differing perspectives both within Cyprus and in the international human rights community about issues that touch on the most sensitive aspects of the work of finding missing persons. On the one hand, some people have called into question approaches to issues such as conditional immunity from prosecution and the responsibility of investigatory bodies and governments to provide a fuller truth about the fate of the missing. On the other hand, others emphasise the need to maintain a secure process that enables the burial sites to be identified.



The Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot team of CMP archaeologists, working together at burial sites across Cyprus. Photographs courtesy of the CMP.



Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot members of the CMP visiting the sites. Photographs courtesy of the CMP.



The Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot team of CMP scientists, working together at the CMP lab to identify remains. Photographs courtesy of the CMP.



*A family member watches and waits while the CMP team uncovers a site.
Photograph courtesy of Sevgül Uludağ.*

The groups involved

After 1974, it was not only the families of the missing persons but also the international community who voiced demands for the authorities to take responsibility for meeting their obligations to investigate the fate of the missing. Through several Security Council Resolutions, the UN called on the two communities and Turkey to address the issue, and discussions were held between 1974 and 1981 on how this could take place.

While talks proceeded at the official level about the process through which the missing persons could be investigated, relatives of the missing persons set up organisations to represent their interests. In 1975 the Turkish Cypriots set up an organisation called the Association of Martyrs' Families and War Veterans and the Greek Cypriot families set up an organisation named the Organisation of Relatives of Undeclared Prisoners and Missing Persons. Both groups are currently active and have over the years been the main organisations speaking on behalf of the missing persons' families. As in many other conflicts around the world, the anguish of the families was directed towards the authorities in both communities, in the form of demands to know what happened to their loved ones. Through their activities, these organisations seek to honour those who were killed and/or went missing, to maintain a network of and provide support to families, and to build awareness about this aspect of the Cyprus conflict. There is also an organisation that represents the 43 Greek Cypriots who went missing in 1963 and 1964.

Each community has chosen to represent and remember the missing persons in very different ways. From 1974 onwards in the Greek Cypriot community, the families of Greek Cypriot missing persons, particularly mothers, wives and sisters, organised many demonstrations, mainly directed to demanding greater accountability from Turkey. An annual 'Marathon of Love' was instituted in 1984, and many memorials commemorating Greek Cypriot missing persons were built. In contrast, in the Turkish Cypriot community, the missing persons have been integrated collectively within the overall commemoration of all those who died in the conflict. The Turkish Cypriot administration for many years did not place the same emphasis on the need to find out about the fate of the missing persons, openly stating that they were dead. There are no separate monuments to the missing persons in the Turkish Cypriot community. Each community focused only on its own missing persons. It was only during the 2000s that perceptions began to adjust and alternative viewpoints could be proposed.

Because the CMP was not able to fulfil its mandate until 2004, for many years the families of the missing persons continued to live in anguish as they waited to find out about the fate of their loved ones. This led some families to seek legal measures, the first of which was a case launched at the European Court of Human Rights in 1990. In the *Varnava and others v. Turkey* ruling in 2008, the ECtHR found in that Turkey was in violation of Article 2 (right to life), Article 3 (prohibition of inhumane or degrading treatment) and Article 5 (right to liberty and security) of the European Convention of Human Rights. This finding supports a number of other, earlier decisions made on inter-state cases, raised by Cyprus against Turkey: the European Commission of Human Rights in 1976, 1983 and 1999 found that Turkey violated fundamental articles of the European Convention on Human Rights and on 10 May 2001 the ECtHR ruled against Turkey, finding it in violation of Article 2, Article 3 and Article 5. Although the Court's rulings have been critical to motivating the authorities to take greater action, and thus served as an important form of recourse for the families, they have also left relatives with limited options, as seen by the experience of Turkish Cypriot relatives who in 2002 submitted 4 separate cases to the ECtHR, all of which the Court found inadmissible, stating that the relatives had allowed too much time to pass to submit their cases.³ The same criteria has also led the Court to reject 51 other cases (Kyriakos, 2011).

Pressure continued to mount for an effective response to the missing persons issue, both internationally and locally, especially in light of the lack of concrete progress. In 1995 two Greek Cypriot women who believed their husbands had been buried in a Greek Cypriot military cemetery in Lakatamia requested information on the people buried in the communal, anonymous grave. The authorities were not able to respond, and the women broke into the cemetery with the intention of opening the graves themselves. They were arrested by the police and later released.

3. The cases: *Karabardak and Others v. Cyprus*, no. 76575/01, 22 October 2002; *Baybora and Others v. Cyprus*, no. 77116/01, 22 October 2002; *Şemi and Others v. Cyprus*, no. 13212/02; *Hüseyin and Göçer v. Cyprus*, no. 28280/02, 3 January 2003.

The story of the two women, along with that of other victims, was extensively reported in the Greek Cypriot media by journalist Andreas Paraschos. This process was significant because it highlighted the fact that responsibility for the handling of the missing persons was shared across all parties to the conflict, and could not just be attributed to one factor.

The build-up of interest and demands from within civil society and the media prompted the authorities to assume greater responsibility. Exhumations were carried out in the summer of 1999 at Lakatamia and Saint Constantine and Helen military cemeteries by the non-governmental organisation Physicians for Human Rights. In May 2000, officials informed families about the 126 people buried in the Lakatamia cemetery (Sant Cassia, 2005).

Families of some of the men who were identified launched civil cases alleging a breach of human rights and negligence by the authorities. The wife of Christofis Passias whose remains were also identified in those exhumations, launched a case in 2002 against the Republic. This case 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 (Yakinthou, 2008).

The advancement of forensic sciences and associated technologies in the late 1990s had a significant impact in the ability to implement exhumation and identification processes. In fact, it was the vast scale of exhumations and DNA identifications that took place in the former Yugoslavia in the early 2000s that allowed for procedures and processes to be refined and developed. However, because the CMP in Cyprus had yet to move forward, there were only a few cases in which the new technologies were applied. In addition to the Lakatamia case described above, there was an exhumation that took place by a US-led investigation into the whereabouts of an American-Cypriot named Andreas Kassapis. The investigation was concluded in 1998, and represents the first identification using the DNA method in Cyprus (Sant Cassia, 2005). In 2001, authorities in the south launched an appeal for families of missing persons across the divide to submit blood samples for use in DNA identification. Although the Turkish Cypriot leader at the time strongly discouraged Turkish Cypriots from doing so, a group of families from the town of Dohni responded to the call.

Along with the developments on the scientific level, the trend towards a legal approach to the missing persons also created a new dynamic that shone a spotlight on the responsibility of authorities. The cases launched at the local level and at the ECtHR in the early 2000s as well as the decisions that started to come out of the ECtHR at that time, demonstrated that the efforts to address the missing persons in Cyprus were not sufficient.

Another significant breakthrough came when, as a result of the efforts of civil society actors, the missing persons issue started to be reconceptualised as an issue common to all Cypriots. Discussion at the public level was fuelled by the writings of pioneering journalists Andreas Paraschos and Sevgül Uludağ. From 1995 onwards, Paraschos's coverage of the Lakatamia exhumations led to significant internal debates within the Greek Cypriot community which questioned the responsibilities and actions of their leadership towards missing persons. Author and journalist Makarios Drousiotis published a book in 2000 titled *1619 Guilty Actions* which voiced criticism towards the way the issue of the missing persons had been mishandled and used as a political tool by officials, at the expense of addressing the humanitarian needs of the families (Drousiotis, 2000).

In 2002, Uludağ began to investigate the issue of the missing persons with the purpose of showing the commonality of pain and suffering that both sides have experienced. Her articles, which became a daily feature of newspapers in both communities, presented personal stories of individuals, Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot, who were involved in the missing persons issue, either as relatives of victims or as witnesses. This process was important in several respects: it gave victims a space to tell their own stories, it presented a different perspective that had been silenced by the official narratives in both communities for so long, and it also highlighted the limitations of the way that history is currently presented and understood in the Cypriot context. A book based on her work, *Oysters with the Missing Pearls*, was published in 2005 in Turkish, has been translated into Greek and English. She has set up a hotline for people to call in anonymously and give information about the location of burial sites or stories about people who have been declared missing, which she passes on to the CMP. She has also been instrumental in building bridges between Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot victims which has led to the establishment of a bicomunal initiative bringing

together relatives of the missing from both communities (see below). Such efforts have helped to shed light on the human dimension of this issue and also been valuable in supporting the process of identifying possible burial sites.

Civic initiatives across the divide accelerated with the opening of checkpoints in April 2003, allowing for the formation of a new organisation called the Bi-communal 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 in Cyprus representing the families of both Greek and Turkish Cypriot missing persons. The Bicomunal Initiative goes to schools, villages, and meeting groups all over the country talking to people in environments as diverse as academic conferences and local community gatherings in small villages. 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. Often, they ask communities to come forward with information regarding particular cases. They always highlight their view that the pain of loss is shared by both communities, and often emphasise the link between exposing stories of violence about the past and increasing general awareness of suppressed narratives and preventing further conflict in the future.



Members of the Bicomunal Initiative come together at a seminar. Photographs courtesy of Sevgül Uludağ.

Another organisation, the Turkish Cypriot Human Rights Foundation (TCHRF), established in 2005, also began to be active on the issue. It directly engaged with relatives of the missing on a number of different levels. First, it provided legal advice to relatives who had been feeling frustrated with the lack of progress and unresponsiveness by authorities in both communities. TCHRF lawyers helped the relatives initiate a legal process in the southern part of Cyprus, claiming that authorities failed to carry out effective investigations. Representatives of the Foundation also organised a number of seminars and meetings to inform relatives about the new stage of the CMP's work. At the same time, they also emphasised the importance of providing psychological support to the relatives. Beyond addressing the needs of relatives, the efforts of the TCHRF have raised public awareness and sensitivity about the missing persons issue overall.

The new environment has also led the two main victims' organisations, the Association of Martyrs' Families and War Veterans and the Organisation of Relatives of Undeclared Prisoners and Missing Persons, to initiate contacts and communication with each other. They have jointly attended various conference and events to talk about the plight of the missing. This represents an important step forward in acknowledging the common pain and suffering that both communities have endured.

Legacy of the conflict

In July 2007, the CMP began returning the remains of people who had gone missing in the conflict to their families. The first funerals in the Greek Cypriot community occurred on 8 July 2007 and the first funerals in the Turkish Cypriot community occurred only a few days after on 13 July 2007. That process continues, and as of 30 June 2011, 797 people have been exhumed from burial sites all over the country. The CMP has opened 536 burial sites and the remains of almost 286 people have been returned to their families (226 missing Greek Cypriots and 60 missing Turkish Cypriots) (CMP, 2011(b)).



After the CMP identifies and returns the remains, the families conduct a funeral. Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot families bury their loved ones. Photographs courtesy of the CMP.

As the CMP's mandate is limited to finding and identifying the remains of people who went missing, there is no formal capacity for families to learn the circumstances surrounding their loved one's death. The need to know what happened is brought up time and time again by families, and some of them have brought new cases at local and international levels claiming that the current mechanisms in place are unable to fulfil the legal responsibility of the authorities to carry out an effective investigation. The legal route both then and now has functioned as a source of pressure but has yet to produce any consistent or clear impact. Judgements have yet to be fully enforced and the issue of what constitutes an effective investigation and the role of authorities still remain open questions.

Once exhumations have taken place, new legal cases become possible, because, under the law, the remains are seen as new evidence, and therefore when families receive the remains from the CMP, they are able to initiate a new case. Therefore, as a result of the return of remains since 2007, a number of new cases have emerged. There are currently 16 such cases opened by Turkish Cypriots and 33 opened by Greek Cypriots at the ECtHR.⁴ Following the Court's inquiries, authorities have launched parallel criminal investigations in both communities.

Along with the cases at the ECtHR, there are also those that have been introduced locally by both Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot families. One recent ruling, in response to Turkish Cypriot claims regarding victims at Dohni, resulted in a dismissal of the case, stating that missing persons are a facet of the Cyprus problem and thus can only be handled by the President's office, and therefore cannot be subject to judicial oversight. Decisions on local cases such as this one have not yielded clear or consistent conclusions about the responsibility of the authorities,

4. Interview with Turkish Cypriot officials, 11 August 2011.

and thus still fail to satisfy international legal standards about the role of such bodies. These cases and investigations are still ongoing, and issues relating to meeting the obligation to carry out an effective investigation and to provide information about the circumstances of death, including on the question of what should happen to those responsible for the deaths, are becoming increasingly pressing. While some individuals and groups have put forward the idea of a 'truth commission' as a way of dealing with this issue, such calls have not found much traction in society.



Family members who lost their loved ones in the infamous 'lost bus' plant a tree at the well where the remains were found. Photograph courtesy of Sevgül Uludağ.



At an event organised by the Bicomunal Initiative, Sevilay Berk, daughter of a missing person, whose remains were found, gives an award to Xenophontos, who showed the burial site of Berk's mother and father. Xenophontos is still waiting for his missing son to be found. Photograph courtesy of Sevgül Uludağ.

Recently, increased interest in the filmmaking and theatre communities about the missing has also created more awareness and discussion about the events of the past and the plight of victims from a multiperspectival approach. In 2004 Greek and Turkish Cypriot filmmakers Panicos Chrysanthou and Derviş Zaim made the documentary *Parallel Trips*, gathering stories of massacres and narratives from survivors and family members of missing persons. Also in 2004, Greek Cypriot filmmaker Tony Angastiniotis made a documentary *Voices of Blood: Searching for Selden* about a massacre of Turkish Cypriots in the villages of Atlılar, Muratağa and Sandallar (Aloa/Maratha/Santalaris). In 2007, a documentary titled *The Missing Bus*, about Turkish Cypriots who went missing near Larnaca in 1964 was released by Fevzi Tanpınar and Raşit Pertev. The following year, in 2008, a series of documentaries and related programmes were aired on Greek Cypriot television, such as *Soultana kai Charita* by Demetris Andreou. In 2010, an international foundation, The Elders, made a documentary about the progress of the missing persons issue through the eyes of four young Cypriot students, called *Cyprus: Digging the Past in Search of the Future* (a copy of this film is provided in the Resources section of this pack). That same year, Turkish Cypriot filmmaker Derviş Zaim released a feature film shot in Cyprus called *Shadows and Faces* about violence in a mixed village in early 1964. *My Own Truth* was also released by Soula Hadjikyriacou in 2010. Such works have been important in promoting a broader and more shared understanding of contested historical issues.

There are still many missing persons who have yet to be found as part of the CMP's work, and misconceptions about the missing persons continue to be a facet of the public discourse in both communities. However, significant progress has been made in closing a painful chapter for the families of those victims whose remains have been recovered. Concerns continue to be raised by victims' groups about the length of time the process has been taking, and claims are made that access has been prevented to possible burial sites in the northern part of the island.⁵ It is certain though that CMP operates as a successful model of institutionalised cooperation between the two communities, and is making its work

5. Although the rate of identifying remains is one of the fastest in the world according to the CMP, the laborious and painstakingly detailed work done under conditions of uncertainty with restricted funds and resources means that families continue to wait while the process is completed.

known to the public, by engaging with victims' groups and other civil society efforts and through ongoing media outreach, regular updates to its website, and the production of a documentary film, *Digging for the Future* in 2010 (a copy of this film is provided in the Resources section of this pack).

The progress that has been made by the CMP, the increased public exposure about the issue and the efforts of various organisations, journalists and artists has meant that the issue of the missing persons in Cyprus is being discussed more widely, and is no longer treated with the same level of taboo as had been the case in previous years. There is a greater expectation that authorities must act responsibly, more recognition of the importance of the work of the CMP, wider acknowledgement that both Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots have suffered, and a more nuanced discussion about what this process reveals about the past and about the future choices it presents for the people of Cyprus.

Websites of organisations addressing the missing persons issue in Cyprus

- **Association of Martyrs' Families and War Veterans:**
<http://www.kktc-sehitaleleri.org>
- **Bi-communal Initiative of Relatives of Missing Persons and Victims of Massacres and War:**
Christos Eftymiou, email: efthymiou.assoc@cytanet.com.cy. Sevgül Uludağ, email: sevgul_uludag@yahoo.com
- **Committee on Missing Persons in Cyprus (CMP):**
<http://www.cmp-cyprus.org>
- **Organisation of Relatives of Undeclared Prisoners and Missing Persons:**
<http://www.missing-cy.org.cy/>
- **Turkish Cypriot Human Rights Foundation:**
<http://www.ktihv.org>

Films and documentaries on missing persons in Cyprus

Links have been included for any films that are available online.

Copies of *Cyprus: Digging the Past in Search of the Future* and *Digging for a Future*, both with Turkish and Greek subtitles, are provided in the Resources section of this pack.

Copies of all the films are available at the Home for Cooperation library. Please contact the Association for Historical Dialogue and Research (www.ahdr.info) for more information at ahdr.mide@ahdr.info.

- ***Antigone's Speech/Ο Λόγος της Αντιγόνης***
A 2011 documentary by Soula Hadjikyriacou. The documentary focuses on the three wives of Greek Cypriot soldiers who were killed in action in 1974 and buried in southern Cyprus, but authorities insisted for decades that they were missing. (In Greek)
- ***In this Waiting***
In this Waiting is a feature-length documentary released in March 2011 and directed by Anna Tsiarta. It is about seven Cypriots, who lost their loved ones in 1963, 1964 and 1974, and the stories they lived during the events and after, leading up to the recent findings of the remains of many Cypriots missing for over thirty years.
<http://www.inthiswaiting.com>
- ***Cyprus: Digging the Past in Search of the Future***
A documentary by The Elders launched in February 2011. The film focuses on the efforts of the Committee on Missing Persons in Cyprus (CMP), which has been working to recover and identify the remains of missing persons and return them to their families. In the film, four Cypriot teenagers take part in a journey with three members of The Elders, Lakhdar Brahimi, Jimmy Carter, and Desmond Tutu to learn about this difficult and painful issue. Together, they visit exhumation sites and meet the scientists of the CMP – Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots – who together dig deep into the ground to recover the remains of Cypriots who were killed during the conflict. They also visit the CMP laboratory

where bones are carefully analysed, documented, reassembled, DNA-tested and eventually identified by Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot forensic anthropologists. The Elders and the young people also meet two men who both lost their fathers. These two men, Veli Beidoğlu and Spyros Hadjinicolaou, share their stories and discuss how they are using this common experience to promote understanding between their two communities.

<http://www.theElders.org>

- ***Digging for a Future***

A documentary produced by the Committee on Missing Persons in Cyprus in 2010. The film presents an overview of the work of the CMP and its members, and includes statements of support from UN and European Union officials as well as interviews with family members of the missing.

<http://www.cmp-cyprus.org>

- ***My Own Truth/ Η δική μου αλήθεια***

A documentary series made by Soula Hadjikyriacou and aired on Greek Cypriot television in 2010.

Part 1: The two first interviewees, Petros Souppouris and Giorgos Liassis, were both witnesses and victims of the Palekithro killings in 1974. The second interviewee is Androulla Liasis, Giorgos' sister, who was seriously injured during the Palekithro killings and was left partly disabled.

Part 2: This part of the documentary starts with a description of the rise of nationalism and a description the 1963-64 events. The first interviewee is Panickos Hadjiloizos, an ex-police chief. The documentary briefly looks at the murder of a Turkish Cypriot in Nicosia and at the atrocities at Dohni village. The second interviewee is Kutlay Erk, whose father disappeared after being in hospital and explores this event and rumors that surrounded his disappearance. The third interviewee is Harris Simeonides, the President of the Committee of the Missing Persons 1963-64.

Part 3: A judge from Yialousa, Spyros Hadjinicolaou's father, had gone missing in 1974. Spyros tells the story as he remembers it as a five year old. The second interviewee is Panagiota Solomou from Komi Kepir. Her daughter Christina, the third interviewee, talks about her experience as a teenager who lost her father and brother, and the consequent emotional absence of her mother. Irini Mandoles is the fourth interviewee. Her mother Charita Mandoles, has been a prominent figure in the families' movement to discover the whereabouts of their missing relatives.

Part 4: The documentary takes the viewer to the fields of Mesaoria, going through the villages of Muratağa, Sandallar and Atlılar (Maratha, Sandallaris, and Aloa) where the mass graves of Turkish Cypriots killed by EOKA B during 1974 were found. The first interviewee is Hüseyin Akansoy from Maratha. The second interviewee, Suat Kafadar from Dohni, narrates how Greek Cypriots put men from his village in buses to transfer them to Limassol. Leyla Kıralp's husband was also in one of the buses that left Zigi and Dohni to go to Limassol. Leyla returns to Zigi and remembers what it was like to say goodbye to her then husband who she never saw again.

- ***Sultana and Charita/Σουλτάνα και Χαρίτα***

Demetris Andreou's documentary aired on Sigma TV in July 2008 and July 2009. The film looks at the common pain and grief of two women, of Sultana; a Turkish Cypriot, and Charita; a Greek Cypriot. Both women have been waiting for many years to find out what has happened to their missing relatives. Andreou brings the two women together and takes them to the place where they have last seen their missing relatives.

- ***The Missing Bus/Kayıp Otobüs***

Released in 2007, this film was directed by Fevzi Tanpınar and written by Raşit Pertev. It follows the story of 11 Turkish Cypriot men who left their Larnaca village on the morning of 13 May 1964 for work at the Dheklia base. They never returned home. In May 2010 DNA tests confirmed their remains were found in the bottom of a well at the village of Voroklini.

- ***Massacres in Cyprus***

A documentary film produced in 2004 by the Association of Martyrs' Families and War Veterans. It covers in detail a range of violent incidents that occurred in villages and towns across Cyprus from the 1950s until 1974. Within the documentary, there are a few mentions of missing persons cases. The first of these is of religious leader Yusuf Mehmet Hilmi Effendi, who disappeared on 6 July 1958. An incident on 14 August 1975 in the village of Terazi is presented in which Greek soldiers are said to have taken Turkish Cypriot men. Another case occurred on 26 December 1963 when a man named Mustafa Zorba disappeared on his way to Nicosia, a fate suffered by two other Turkish Cypriot men on 29 April 1964. The incident in which 32 Turkish Cypriot villagers from the Famagusta area who disappeared following the clashes involving police chief Pantellis are also covered.

- ***Voice of Blood I and Voice of Blood II: Searching for Selden***

Produced in 2004 by Antonis 'Tony' Angastiniotis. The documentary portrays the killing of Turkish Cypriot civilians in the villages of Muratağa, Sandallar and Atlılar (Maratha, Sandallaris, and Aloa) in 1974. Eyewitnesses of the events talk to the camera and reveal how they survived.
<http://video.google.com.au/videoplay?docid=-7695688617775364591#docid=6069441414391519024>

Voice of Blood II is a dramatic documentary about a Greek Cypriot journalist, who after a young Turkish Cypriot girl visited him in his dream, crosses the north side of the island and sets out to try and find her. His search brings him outside Famagusta where three Turkish Cypriot villages lie in ruins. There he meets some of the residents who share with him the stories of the villages and how they were attacked.

<http://video.google.com/videoplay?docid=-7695688617775364591#>

- ***Dead, Presumed Missing? A film on Missing Persons in Cyprus***

A film produced in 2003 by Paul Sant Cassia and Colette Pialt. This film explores the story of two Greek women who attempted a dramatic exhumation on the collective tombs of 'unknown soldiers' in Cyprus in order to claim their husbands back. It traces the different official perceptions of Greek and Turkish Cypriots towards the recovery of their missing persons, and follows the attempts by the UN to resolve the problem.

<http://www.der.org/films/dead-presumed-missing.html>

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=N8dWAV1X9E0>

- ***Missing Presumed Alive: The 1619 Missing Persons***

(In English + English subtitles) Focuses on the arrest, detention and return of Greek Cypriots during 1974. The documentary also looks at the three cases of missing persons that were taken to the European Court of Human Rights.

Part 1/2: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HraydcPS_nM

Part 2/2: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bld4h8TPrH0>

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