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WITHDRAWAL ID 014840

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL National security restriction
TYPE OF MATERIAL Telegram
CREATOR'S NAME AMEMBASSY NICOSIA
RECEIVER'S NAME SECSTATE WASHDC
TITLE British Apprehensions Over Possible
Turkish Military Moves
CREATION DATE 08/12/1974
VOLUME 2 pages
COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 032700055
COLLECTION TITLE NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER. PRESIDENTIAL
COUNTRY FILES FOR MIDDLE EAST AND SOUTH
ASIA
BOX NUMBER 3
FOLDER TITLE Cyprus - State Department Telegrams: To
SECSTATE - EXDIS (1)
DATE WITHDRAWN 12/28/2001
WITHDRAWING ARCHIVIST GG

DECLASSIFIED, with portions exempted
E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5
STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES, state visit 8/2/00
BY bb, NARA, DATE 1/4/2002

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Department of State

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TELEGRAM

SECRET 4409

PAGE 01 NICOSI 02292 121344Z

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ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 CCO-00 /031 W 0417

74 AUG 12 PM 2:02

WHITE HOUSE
SITUATION ROOM

O 121250Z AUG 74
FM AMEMBASSY NICOSIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9447
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY ATHENS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY ANKARA IMMEDIATE
USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE

~~SECRET~~ NICOSIA 2292

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PINT PFOR MOPS CY TU GR
SUBJECT: BRITISH APPREHENSIONS OVER POSSIBLE TURKISH MILITARY MOVES

REF: GENEVA 5147 (NOTAL)

GENEVA FOR ASST SEC HARTMAN

1. EMBOFF HAD WIDE-RANGING DISCUSSION WITH BRITISH HICOM OFFICERS AUG 11; FOUND THEM HIGHLY CONCERNED OVER POSSIBILITY OF RENEWED TURKISH MILITARY ACTION. WITHOUT CITING BRITISH INTELLIGENCE REPORT (REFTEL), HICOM OFFICERS STATED THEIR APPREHENSIONS BASED ON TWO ASSUMPTIONS:

A) THAT TURKISH MILITARY, HAVING DEMONSTRATED WOEFUL INEPTITUDE IN INITIAL LANDINGS AND SUBSEQUENT EXPANSION OF BRIDGEHEAD, NOW NEED TO REDEEM THEMSELVES BEFORE TGS AND FOREIGN MILITARY EYES. IN PARTICULAR, THEY ASSUME THAT LOCAL MILITARY COMMANDERS WILL NEED TO SHOW GREATER PROWESS IF THEY WANT FURTHER PROMOTIONS WITHIN TURKISH ARMED FORCES;

B) PRESUMPTION THAT THE DIPLOMATS IN GENEVA WILL BE UNABLE TO DELIVER WHAT THE MILITARY PROMISES IT CAN GRAB THROUGH FORCE. IN THIS SITUATION HICOM OFFICIALS FEEL ECEVIT AND GUNES

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STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES, date 2/2/00
BY hh, NARA, DATE 4/4/2002



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Department of State TELEGRAM

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WILL BE UNDER EXTREME PRESSURE TO RELEASE WHATEVER REINS THERE ARE ON MILITARY ACTION.

2. THERE ARE SOME LOCAL INDICATIONS THAT SOMETHING IS AFOOT. TURKISH MILITARY HAS BANNED ACCESS TO AREAS OUTSIDE NICOSIA FOR PAST TWO DAYS FOR ANY FOREIGN TRAVELLERS. CLEARLY SOMETHING IS GOING ON WHICH THEY DO NOT WISH FOREIGNERS TO SEE. THIS COULD BE FURTHER DEPORTATIONS OF GREEK CYPRIOT CIVILIANS; OR IT COULD INDICATE SIGNIFICANT SHIFTS IN DISPOSTION TURK MILITARY FORCES;

3. UNFICYP (MOVING MORE OR LESS FREELY THROUGH ENCLAVE) HAS SIGHTED SOME 50-70 TANKS NOW LOCATED BETWEEN ORTAKOY AND BOGAZ ON EASTERN SIDE OF ROAD. NUMBER OF APC'S ALSO SIGHTED. THIS COULD BE NORMAL REGROUPING; BUT IT DOES PLACE OVERWHELMING FORCE IN POSITION FOR POSSIBLE MOVE TOWARDS CHATOS ENCLAVE, THUS EXPANDING CONSIDERABLY AREA UNDER TURK MILITARY CONTROL.

4. [REDACTED]

5. COMMENT: PARAS 2 THRU 4 ABOVE COULD BE TURK PSYCHWAR EFFORT TO MAXIMIZE THEIR BARGAINING POSITION IN GENEVA. NEVERTHELESS, WE THINK THERE REAL DANGER TURK MILITARY WILL BE PRESSING FOR RENEWED ACTION IF DIPLOMATS UNABLE OBTAIN ESSENTIAL TURKISH DEMANDS AT GENEVA.
DAVIES



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PAGE 01 NICOSI 02370 151321Z

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ACTION SS-30

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5
STATE DEPT, GUIDELINES, state visit 8/2/00
BY hly, NARA, DATE 12/19/2001

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 CCO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00 /031 W
079317

P 151000Z AUG 74
FM AMEMBASSY NICOSIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9496
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY ATHENS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY
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EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT PFOR CY TU
SUBJECT: CONVERSATION WITH ACTING FOREIGN MINISTER ADRESAS
PATSAIDES

1. GIVEN CONTINUED LULL IN FIGHTING IN NICOSIA, I CALLED ON ACTING FOREIGN MINISTER PATSAIDES WHO LAST NIGHT TELEPHONED ME TO CHECK RUMOR ATTRIBUTED TO AMERICAN EMBASSY THE TURKS ABOUT TO COMPLETE ENCIRCLEMENT OF NICOSIA. AS I TOLD HIM LAST NIGHT, I REPEATED EMBASSY HAD NO SUCH INFORMATION OR INDICATION THAT THIS WAS A TURKISH OBJECTIVE. I NOTED NEWS REPORTS QUOTED ON BBC BROADCASTS LAST NIGHT THAT NICOSIA NOW PARTIALLY ENCIRCLED.

2. PATSAIDES SAID GALFOS CLERIDES HAD RETURNED FROM ATHENS LAST NIGHT AND WOULD SHORTLY CONVOKE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS TO CONSIDER MOST SERIOUS SITUATION FACING GREEK CYPRIOTS. CLERIDES HAS CALLED MASS MEETING OF ALL PARTIES, PRESS, PROFESSIONALS AND OTHER GROUPS FOR 1400 LOCAL.

3. I DREW FROM AMB. MCCLOSKEY'S BACKGROUNDER TO REVIEW WHAT U.S. HAD SOUGHT TO DO TO PREVENT RENEWED CONFLICT. HE SAID THAT DESPITE RISING FRUSTRATION AND EMOTIONALISM AMONG GREEK CYPRIOTS AT WHAT SEEMED TO THEM BETRAYAL OF ALL

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THEY HAD COUNTED ON, GOVT HOPED FOR AND SOUGHT U.S. GOOD OFFICES TO RESTRAIN THE TURKS AND TO SUPPORT AN EQUITABLE SETTLEMENT. IT WAS CLEAR THAT HE FEARED TURKISH APPETITE WOULD GROW WITH THE EATING, AND SEVERAL TIMES ASKED IF WE FELT TURKS WOULD STOP AT LIMITS THEY HAD PUBLICLY DEFINED. HE ASKED WHETHER WE FELT A NG PULLBACK FROM THIS AREA MIGHT END FIGHTING. I REPLIED WE HAD NO INSIGHT INTO TURKISH THINKING BEYOND WHAT PRIMIN ECEVIT HAD STATED PUBLICLY. U.S. SEEKING BOTH CEASEFIRE AND RENEWED DIPLOMATIC PROCESS TO END BOTH THE CASUALITES SUFFERED BY BOTH SIDES AND HARSHIPS BEING ENDURED BY CIVILIAN POLULACE.

4. I ASKED WHETHER AMB. ROSSIDES WAS REPRESENTING VIEWS OF GOCYPRUS IN SUPPORTING THE SOVIET IDEAL OF A SPECIAL UN MISSION TO CYPRUS. HE SEEMED STARTLED AND SAID NO SUCH POSITION HAD BEEN DISCUSSED IN THE COUNCIL AND NO INSTRUCTIONS SENT ROSSIDES. HE DOUBTED GLAFCOS CLERIDES HAD BEEN IN TOUCH WITH ROSSIDES, BUT WOULD ASK HIM AND WOULD LET ME KNOW. I SAID IT SEEMED OBVIOUS THAT BASIC PROBLEM WAS BETWEEN GREECE AND TURKEY AND COULD BE RESOLVED AT THE NEGOTIATING TABLE. IF IT WERE ONLY BETWEEN THE COMMUNITIES REPRESENTED BY CLERIDES AND DENKTASH A PROMPT RESOLUTION WOULD SEEM EVEN MORE LIKELY. TO INTRODUCE EXTRANEIOUS FACTORS SUCH AS SOVIETS OR THEIR SATELLITES WHO WOULD SEEK THEIR OWN POWER OBJECTIVES COULD ONLY ADD TO THE MISCHIEF-MAKING POTENTIAL IN THIS SITUATION.

5. COMMENT: PATSALIDES WAS HIGHLY RESPECTED MINISTER OF FINANCE UNDER MAKARIOS, CONTINUED POSITION AT CLERIDES' BEHEST AND IS MEMBER CYPRUS' RUSLING ESTABLISHMENT. HIS CONCERN OVER EXPANDING TURKISH OBJECTIVES WAS APPARENT. HIS APPRECIATION OF ROLE WE HAVE SOUGHT TO PLAY WILL NOT, I FEAR, BE TYPICAL OF GREEK CYPRIOT MAN-IN-THE-STREET WHO IS ALL TOO READY TO BELIVE GARGLEC REPORTS OF U.S. SUPPORT FOR TURKISH OBJECTIVES. DAVIES

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74 AUG 15 PM 7:29

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44
ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /031 W

079271

O 151215Z AUG 74
FM AMEMBASSY NICOSIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9498
INFO RUQMAT/AMEMBASSY ATHENS IMMEDIATE 4731
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~~SECRET~~ SECTION 1 OF 2 NICOSIA 2373

EXDIS

F.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT PFOR CY
SUBJ: CYPRUS: WHERE HOW?

1. TURKISH TROOP MOVEMENTS DURING PAST THIRTY HOURS HAVE INDICATED DETERMINATION GRAB BY FORCE WHAT THEY UNABLE DICTATE AT GENEVA. HOWEVER, INITIAL THRUSTS HAVE DEVIATED SIGNIFICANTLY FROM PLANS PREVIOUSLY TABLED. ATTACK TO EAST HAS PROGRESSED IN MORE SOUTHERNLY DIRECTION THAN TURKISH DIPLOMATIC DIKTAT SUGGESTED. ASSUMING THESE THRUSTS SUCCESSFUL (AND THERE IS LITTLE TO IMPEDE THEM), TURKS WILL CONTROL CONSIDERABLY MORE TERRITORY IN THIS REGION THAN THEY INITIALLY DEMANDED.

2. AT SAME TIME, TURKISH ARMY APPARENTLY HAS MADE LITTLE OR NO EFFORT ACHIEVE ITS TERRITORIAL AMBITIONS TO WEST. THIS MAY BE TACTICAL MOVE AND IT QUITE POSSIBLE TURKISH ARMOR WILL REVERSE DIRECTION ONCE CORRIDOR TO FAMAGUSTA SECURE. (AS OF NOON TURKISH ARMOR HAS MOVED AGAINST AREA ON WESTERN EDGE NICOSIA WHERE ELDYK CONTINGENT LOCATED AND FROM OUR LIMITED OBSERVATION FROM ROOF SEEMS DIRECTED TOWARD SECURING MORPHOU ROAD AT NORTHERN EDGE AIRPORT. MOVEMENT BEING CONTESTED BOTH IN AREA AND BY ARTILLERY FIRING, APPARENTLY FROM STROVOLOS AREA.)

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E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5
STATE DEPT, GUIDELINES, State v. Int 8/2/00
BY WV, NARA, DATE 12/18/2001

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3. IN MOVING AS IT HAS, TURKISH ARMY HAS BYPASSED CONSIDERABLE (IMPOSSIBLE GIVE PRECISE FIGURE) ELEMENTS OF CYPRUS NATIONAL GUARD -- PRESUMABLY SILL ORGANIZED -- AND CUT OFF LARGE NUMBER GREEK CYPRIOT CIVILIANS, MANY OF WHOM ARE WELL ARMED. IF PREVIOUS ACTION IN KYRENIA/KARAVAS/LAPITHOS ANY INDICATION, TURKS WILL FACE CONTINUED TENACIOUS GUERRILLA OPPOSITION FOR SOME TIME TO COME.

4. IN SHORT, WHAT TURKS APPARENTLY EXPECTED TO BE NEAT SURGICAL OPERATION COULD TURN INTO DRAWN OUT BLOODY AFFAIR, WITH WORLD OPINION INCREASINGLY AROUSED BY TURKISH ACTLNS. (CLEANING OUT GUERRILLAS NEVER AN EASY TASK, EVEN UNDER BEST OF CIRCUMSTANCES.) MORE OMINOUSLY, PROTRACTED FIGHTING, REGARDLESS OF ITS NATURE, WOULD GIVE THIRD PARTIES-- PARTICULARLY SOVIET UNION -- AN OPPORTUNITY TO PLAY INVIDIOUS ROLE, OFFERING MORAL AND OTHER SUPPORT TO DISSIDENTS.

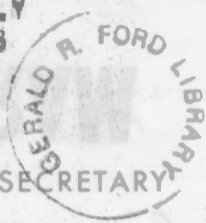
5. ABOVE SCENARIO EVEN MORE LIKELY TRANSPIRE IF GREEK CYPRIOTS REFUES (AS THEY PROBABLY WILL) FORMALLY ACQUIESCE TO TURKISH LAND GRAB. EMBASSY DOUBTS WHETHER ANY GREEK CYPRIOT LEADER COULD ACCEPT THIS AND SURVIVE, PHYSICALLY AS WELL AS POLITICALLY. MORE LIKELY, GOCYPRUS WILL ACCEPT, IN SHORT ORDER, CEASEFIRE IN FACE OF OVERWHELMING POWER ITS OPPONENT, WHILE RESISTING CONSTITUTIONAL SETTLEMENT. AMBASSADOR'S TALK WITH ACTING FOREIGN MINISTER GAVE SOME INDICATION OF PULLING BACK SOME ELEMENTS OF NATIONAL GUARD FROM AREAS THOUGHT TO BE PRTRY OBJECTIVES.

6. PROBLEM IS CEASEFIRE UNLIKELY HOLD IN VIEW CONDITIONS DESCRIBED ABOVE (PARA 3) AND FANATICAL NATURE MOST GREEK CYPRIOT NATIONALISTS. ALSO POSSIBLE THAT GREEK CYPRIOT MILITANTS IN SOUTH WILL SEEK REVENGE THROUGH SLAUGHTER TURKISH HOSTAGES IN THEIR HANDS. IF THIS TRANSPIRED, TURKISH GOALS COULD ESCALATE AND THEY MIGHT SEEK OCCUPATION ENTIRE ISLAND (OR AT LEAST THOSE PORTIONS CONTAINING SUGNIFICANT NUMBER TURK CYPRIOTS). ALTERNATIVE WOULD BE MUTUAL MASSACRES, POSSIBILITY ALREADY FLOATED ON MILITARY CONTROLLED RADIO BAYRAK.

7. ADDITIONALLY, WISH POINT OUT THAT OCCUPATION WOULD BE LIKELY INCREASE, RATHER THAN REDUCE, TURKS' SECURITY PROBLEM (WITNESS DIFFICULTY BRITISH FORCES HAD IN LATE '50'S, DESPITE ENORMOUS

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NUMBER TROOPS STATIONED HERE). THEY UNDOUBTEDLY COULD RESCUE MANY TURK CYPRIOTS BUT, IN RETREAT TO EXPANDED ENCLAVE, WOULD LEAVE BEHIND ANARCHY IN WHICH COMMUNISTS COULD MAKE SIGNIFICANT GAINS.

8. GIVEN THIS DISMAL PICTURE, WHAT ARE ALTERNATIVES FOR U.S. POLICY? MUCH AS WE HATE TO SUGGEST IT, WE THINK THERE NO RPT NO ALTERNATIVE TO SOME SORT OF PARTITION (THOUGH HOPEFULLY WITHIN AN INDEPENDENT CYPRIOT STATE). REGARDLESS OF INTERNATIONAL OPINION AND/OR BILATERAL PRESSURE, WE SUSPECT THERE IS NO RPT NO WAY TO PREVENT TURKS FROM EXPELLING MAJORITY OF GREEK CYPRIOTS LIVING WITHIN THEIR AREA OF CONTROL. ASSUME THEY WILL MAKE EVERY EFFORT TURN EXPULSION INTO TRADE OFF, EXCHANGING GREEK CYPRIOTS FOR THEIR COMPATRIOT LOCATED ELSEWHERE ON ISLAND. (FROM OUR ROUGH READING 1950 CENSUS FIGURES, THIS WILL REQUIRE DISLOCATION APPROX 75,000 GREEKS AND 54,000 TURKS). CONVERSATIONS WITH DENKTASH PRIOR TO HIS DEPARTURE FOR GENEVA GAVE CLEAR INDICATION OF HIS PREFERENCE FOR LARGEST POSSIBLE CONCENTRATION OF TURK CYPRIOTS IN ONE LARGE ENCLAVE.

9. WHILE WE MAY DEPLORE THIS MOVEMENT TOWARD PARTITION AND SEGREGATION, IT SEEMS INEVITABLE EXCEPT IN UNLIKELY EVENT OF AN OUTSIDE INTERVENTION. THE PROBLEM FOR US IS HOW ONCE THE DIPLOMATIC PROCESS RESUMES THIS WILL COME ABOUT WITHOUT MAJOR DAMAGE TO RELATIONS WITH GREECE AND WITHOUT PROVIDING SOVIETS MAJOR OPPORTUNITIES TO EXPLOIT BOTH IN GREECE AND CYPRUS. ADIDE FROM ADDRESSING THIS PROBLEM. WE BELIEVE WE SHOULD BE PREPARED TO ALLEVIATE ITS CONSEQUENCES BY PROVIDING RELIEF SUPPLIES AND FINACIAL ASSISTANCE. CONTINUATION OF HOSTILITIES HAS SEVERELY DAMAGED CYPRIOT ECONOMY; MASSIVE DISLOCATION OF POPULATION WILL ACCELERATE THIS. IN ISLAND WHERE COMMUNIST STRENGTH ALREADY IMPRESSIVE, REBUILDING OF ECONOMY SHOULD BE ITEM OF FIRST PRIORITY ONCE FIGHTING ENDS.



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ACTION SS-30

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O 151215Z AUG 74
FM AMEMBASSY NICOSIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9499
INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS IMMEDIATE
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10. ALSO, BELIEVE WE SHOULD ATTEMPT RESTRAIN ANKARA FROM SEEKING IMMEDIATE FORMAL ACCEPTANCE OF CHANGES STATUS QUO. DOUBT THEY WILL BE ABLE ACHIEVE THIS AND THINK IT NOT REALLY IN ANKARA'S INTEREST TO FORCE GREEK COMMUNITY INTO STATE OF ANARCHY, WITH ATTENDANT PROSPECT OF CONTINUED WARFARE AND COMMUNIST GAINS IMMEDIATELY OFF TURKISH COAST.

11. WE REALIZE DEPT AND EMBASSIES ANKARA AND ATHENS ALREADY DOING ALL POSSIBLE TO PREVENT EXPANSION THIS CONFLICT INTO GENERALIZED GRECO-TURKISH WAR. THERE SIMPLY NO WAY ATHENS CAN REVERSE COURSE OF EVENTS ON ISLAND NOW. WHILE PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY FOR TRAGEDY LIES WITH PREVIOUS REGIME, NEW GOVT WILL HAVE TO COME TO TERMS WITH, WHAT TO ALL GREEKS, MUST APPEAR "UNACCEPTABLE SITUATION."

12. ABOVE POSSIBLY COULD BE MADE MORE PALATABLE TO ATHENS IF ANKARA COULD BE PERSUADED SCALE DOWN ITS TERRITORIAL DEMANDS TO SOMETHING MORE IN LINE WITH TURKEY'S ACTUAL SECURITY NEEDS. IN PARTICULAR, WE THINK GREEK APPREHENSIONS OVER DANGER OF FULL PARTITION (AS REAL AS TURK FEAR OF ENOSIS) COULD BE SOMEWHAT ALLEVIATED IF TURKS AGAIN WOULD AGREE TO ESTABLISHMENT OF SEVERAL CANTONS IN LIEU ISLAND'S TOTAL CLEAVAGE. EVEN IN THIS CASE, WE FIND IT DIFFICULT TO CONCEIVE OF GREEK AND TURK CYPRIOTS BEING ABLE TO WORK TOGETHER -- EVEN IN FEDERATED/PARTITIONED

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STATE -- WITHIN IMMEDIATE FUTURE, PASSIONS AROUSED BY RECENT EVENTS WILL TAKE SOME TIME TO SUBSIDE.

13. WISH WE COULD OFFER MORE HOPEFUL PROGNOSIS, BUT VIEW FROM THIS EMBASSY (PARTIALLY OBSCURED BY SMOKE AND GUNFIRE) DISTINCTLY DISMAL. TURKS APPEAR DETERMINED PRESS AHEAD AND OUR BEST HOPE OF AVERTING MORE SERIOUS DETERIORATION OF SITUATION IN EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN IS TO TRY TO DIVERT THEM INTO LEAST HARMFUL COURSE. THIS IS LESS THAN SATISFACTORY BUT IT'S ALL WE'RE LIKELY TO GET.

DAVIES

SECTION 5 OF 5 NICOSI 02373

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PAGE 01 NICOSI 02383 151948Z

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ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 CCO-00 NSCE-00 /031 W
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O 151734Z AUG 74
FM AMEMBASSY NICOSIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9506
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA IMMEDIATE

~~SECRET~~ NICOSIA 2383

EXDIS

F.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT PFUR CY
SUBJECT: TURKISH CLAIMS OF U.S. SUPPORT

1. GLAFKOS CLDRIDES TOLD ME FOLLOWING HIS THREE HOURS OF GIVE AND TAKE AT AN EMERGENCY CONFERENCE WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF ALL SECTORS OF THE GREEK CYPRIOT COMMUNITY THAT HE WAS BADGERED CONTINUALLY BY ASSERTIONS THAT THE UNITED STATES HAD NOW FULLY ENDORSED TURKEY'S CLAIMS.

2. CLERIDES SAID RADIO BAYRAK AND TURKISH INFORMATIONAL MEDIA ARE REPEATING AN ALLEGED STATEMENT BY PRIME MINISTER ECEVIT AFTER MEETING WITH AMB. MACOMBER THAT QUOTE U.S. HAS ACCEPTED THE FACT THAT A CYPRUS STATE FORMED OF TWO GEOGRAPHICALLY BASED AUTONOMOUS ADMINISTRATIONS WOULD BE THE MOST SATISFACTORY AND LASTING SOLUTION. UNQUOTE.

3. I KNOW WE CANNOT CONTROL STATEMENTS BY THIRD PARTIES BUT URGE THAT WE DO NOT GO PUBLICALLY BEYOND THE POSITION SO WELL OUTLINED BY AMB MACLOSKEY IN HIS AUG 14. BACKGROUNDER. TEMPER ARE GETTING UGLY HERE. AS I DROVE OFF CLERIDES' TEMPORARY HEADQUARTERS GUN-TOTTING RETAINERS OF ASSEMBLED LEADERSHIP WERE SHOUTING THEIR CONGRATULATIONS ON THE SUCCESS OF AMERICAN PLANNING.
DAVIES

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5
STATE DEPT, GUIDELINES, State visit 8/3/00
BY lbt, NARA, DATE 12/19/2001

STATE DEPT. DECLASSIFICATION REVIEW
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EO 12958, 25X() () () _____
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 With concurrence _____ (not)(obtained)
IPS by lbt Date 8/3/00



74 AUG 16 AM 8:33
WHITE HOUSE
SITUATION ROOM

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PAGE 01 NICOSI 02385 160326Z

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ACTION 88-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 CCO-00 /031 W

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7 160310Z AUG 74
FM AMEMBASSY NICOSIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC FLASH 9508

~~SECRET~~ NICOSIA 2385

EXDIS

FOR SECRETARY FROM AMB DAVIES

F.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR CY
SUBJECT: MESSAGE FOR CLERIDES

REF: STATE 179770

HAVE FINALLY REACHED CLERIDES AT 0500 LOCAL AND DELIVERED MESSAGE. HE EXPRESSED GREAT APPRECIATION FOR YOUR SUCCESSFUL EFFORTS BUT WRYLY NOTED THAT TIME MEANT TURKS DETERMINED TO COMPLETE THEIR OCCUPATION WEST THROUGH MORPHOU.
DAVIES

74 AUG 16 AM 8:33

WHITE HOUSE
SITUATION ROOM



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E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5
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ACTION 88-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 880-00 /031 W

008978

O 211625Z AUG 74
FM AMEMBASSY NICOSIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9595
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

~~SECRET~~ NICOSIA 2509

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR CY US
SUBJ: BRITISH APPROACH TO CLERIDES

BRITISH AMBASSADOR HAS GIVEN ME DEBRIEFING ON HIS
MEETING YESTERDAY WITH CLERIDES ON INSTRUCTIONS
FROM CALLAGHAN. HE AND I ASSUME HIS REPORTING
CABLE HAS BEEN PASSED ON TO STATE,
BROWN

74 AUG 21 PM 7:55

WHITE HOUSE
SITUATION ROOM



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ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 CCO-00 /031 W
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P 251300Z AUG 74
FM AMEMBASSY NICOSIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9673
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY ATHENS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY
USMISSION NATO PRIORITY
USMISSION USUN PRIORITY
USDOCOSOUTH PRIORITY
USEUCOM PRIORITY
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BY bb, NARA, DATE 12/19/2001

974 AUG 26 AM 10:30
WHITE HOUSE
SITUATION ROOM

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EXDIS/NOFORN

FD 11652: GDS
TAGS: PGOV PFOR CY TU GR
SUBJ: TURKISH INTENTIONS ON CYPRUS

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1. TURKISH ACTIONS ON GROUND, AND STATEMENTS BY OFFICIALS BOTH HERE AND IN ANKARA, HAVE REINFORCED OUR INITIAL IMPRESSION THAT TURKISH ARMY INTERVENED TO PROTECT THE SECURITY OF MAINLAND AND NOT ASSIST LOCAL COMMUNITY, EXCEPT INSOFAR AS THIS RELATES TO PRIMARY PURPOSE. BEST INDICATION THIS REGARD IS TOTAL WRITE OFF OF ENCLAVES LOCATED IN SOUTHERN HALF OF ISLAND. DESPITE REPEATED RADIO REQUESTS FOR AID, SO FAR AS WE AWARE, TURKS MADE NO EFFORT REINFORCE OR RESUPPLY THESE AREAS. TURK MAINLAND COMMANDER IN LARNAKA, WHO EXFILTRATED IN CIVILIAN DRESS VIA DHEKELIA, REPORTEDLY TOLD BRITISH THAT HIS INSTRUCTIONS WERE TO OFFER TOKEN RESISTANCE BEFORE SURRENDERING. SAID HE HAD AMPLE AMMO AND WEAPONS TO HAVE CONTINUED FIGHT FOR EXTENDED PERIOD. (THIS INFO, WHICH CONTRADICTS ACCOUNTS PUT OUT BY TURK CYPRIOT LEADERS, LARGELY CONFIRMED BY UNFICYP OBSERVATION.)

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2. THUS, WHILE TURKS HAD FORCE TO OCCUPY ENTIRE ISLAND, AND DIVIDE IT UP AS THEY WISHED, THEY CAREFULLY LIMITED OPERATION TO GRABBING SUFFICIENT TERRITORY TO INSURE THAT THEY WOULD BE IN PREDOMINANT POSITION TO DICTATE FUTURE STATUS OF AN INDEPENDENT CYPRUS. AS WE READ THEIR INTENTIONS, TURKEY WANTS A FEDERAL (CONFEDERAL) STATE AND HAS LITTLE OR NO INTEREST IN CREATION OF AN INDEPENDENT TURK CYPRIOT MINI-STATE OR MOVE TOWARDS DOUBLE ENOSIS.

3. EITHER OF LATTER TWO COURSES WOULD RUN CONTRARY TO BASIC REASON FOR INTERVENTION SINCE, BY IMPLICATION, THEY WOULD OPEN THE DOOR TO INTRODUCTION OF SUBSTANTIAL GREEK MAINLAND FORCES ONTO ISLAND. THIS WOULD PLACE TURKEY IN POSITION OF HAVING SOUTHERN PORTS (AND HEARTLAND CITIES) AGAIN ENDANGERED OR OF GOING TO WAR TO TAKE ENTIRE ISLAND; DESTROYING ISLAND'S QUASI-INDEPENDENCE; AND FACING PROSPECT OF PROTRACTED GUERILLA STRUGGLE.

4. ONCE NEGOTIATIONS GET UNDERWAY, WE EXPECT TURKEY TO PUSH FOR TWO CANTON CONFEDERAL SYSTEM, TRADING TERRITORY (OF WHICH IT HAS EXCESS) FOR TRANSFER OF POPULATIONS. BELIEVE ALSO THAT TURKEY WILL MAKE EVERY EFFORT HOLD ON TO FAMAGUSTA PORT OR AT MINIMUM, INSISTING ON TURKISH COMMUNITY'S RIGHT TO IMPORT FREELY FROM MAINLAND, WITH NO HINDRANCE FROM CENTRAL GOVT. (AGREEMENT ON THIS MAY BE KEY TO GETTING FAMAGUSTA'S GREEK CYPRIOT CIVILIAN POPULATION BACK TO THEIR HOUSES.) THIS LIKELY ALSO BE TURKISH POSITION ON AIRPORT. DURING BARGAINING SESSIONS, TURKS MAY RAISE SPECTER OF INDEPENDENT TURK CYPRIOT STATE OR FLOAT PROSPECT DOUBLE ENOSIS, BUT WE EXPECT THIS WILL BE LARGELY BLUFF. WHAT WILL NOT BE BLUFF WILL BE TURK DEMAND MAINTAIN SUPERIOR MILITARY FORCE ON ISLAND.

5. DANGER IS THAT GOALS FREQUENTLY ESCALATE FOLLOWING INITIAL SUCCESS OF MILITARY ACTIONS. TO EXTENT POSSIBLE, WE SHOULD FORCE TURKS CONCENTRATE ON THEIR REAL SECURITY NEEDS AND LONG TERM INTERESTS IN LIEU IMMEDIATE TACTICAL GAINS. FURTHER MILITARY MOVES AT THIS TIME, RATHER THAN FORCING GREEKS TO BARGAINING TABLE, WOULD PROBABLY PRECLUDE MEANINGFUL NEGOTIATIONS FOR FORESEEABLE FUTURE. (FORTUNATELY, ATROCITY RHETORIC, WHICH HAD BEEN RUNNING AT HIGH PITCH--WITH ATTENDENT DANGER OF POSSIBLE RESCUE OPERATION--COOLED NOTICEABLY TODAY, AUG 26. ODDS ON TURKS MOUNTING SUCH MOVE REMAIN, HOWEVER, HIGH.)

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6. BY NOW, TURKS HAVE CONSOLIDATED HOLD ON OCCUPIED TERRITORY AND INTERNAL SECURITY APPEARS SOLID. QUESTION REMAINS HOW TO GET NEGOTIATING PROCESS UNDERWAY IN SHORTEST POSSIBLE TIME. BELIEVE WE SHOULD CONTINUE TO SUPPORT BRITISH EFFORT CONVENE GENEVA III, WHILE ENCOURAGING DENKTASH AND CLERIDES TO RESUME TALKS HERE (SEPTEL)

EARLIER CONSULTATIONS BEGIN, LESS LIKELY WILL BE PROSPECT OF RENEWED FIGHTING AND FURTHER DESTABILIZATION THIS AREA.

7. BELIEVE WE SHOULD ENCOURAGE TWO SIDES TO FOCUS ON REFUGEE PROBLEM AND NEED TO FACILITATE FREE MOVEMENT POPULATIONS. WHILE WE HAVE NO ILLUSIONS THAT MANY GREEKS WILL MOVE INTO TURKISH AREA, MUCH OF PROBLEM WOULD BE MET IF THEY COULD MOVE INTO BORDER AREAS (AND PARTICULARLY IF THEY COULD RETURN TO GREEK SECTION OF PAMAGUSTA). IF TURK CYPRIOTS IN SOUTH COULD CHOOSE BETWEEN RETURN TO VILLAGES OR REMOVAL TO TURK CYPRIOT ENCLAVE, EXPLOSIVE DANGER OF FURTHER TURK MILITARY MOVES WOULD BE REDUCED SUBSTANTIALLY. BROWN



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ACTION SS-30

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9729

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ NICOSIA 2696

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EO 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT, CY
SUBJ: TURKISH VIEWS

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IPS by Feb Date 8/9/00

47 AUG 30 PM 1:52
WHITE HOUSE ROOM
SITUATION ROOM

1. CALLED ON TURKISH AMB TODAY ON WAY TO KYRENIA. HE'S A HARD CHARACTER WITH NOT MUCH CHARITY IN HIS SOUL. AS FAR AS HE IS CONCERNED, THE ONLY PURPOSE OF NEGOTIATION WILL BE TO DETERMINE THE LINE WHICH SEPARATES THE TWO FEDERAL REGIONS; TA WOULD NOT GIVE MUCH BACK. THE POPULATION QUESTION IS ESSENTIALLY DETERMINED, THERE WILL BE LITTLE OR NO RETURN OF GREEK CYPRIOTS TO THE TURKISH ZONE. HE TALKS OF A NEW AND DIFFERENT CYPRUS, WHICH WILL BE FAR MORE ORIENTED TOWARD TURKEY ECONOMICALLY AND COMMERCIALY. HE EXPECTS CONSIDERABLE TURKISH INVESTMENT AND ALREADY HAS LINES OUT.

2. HE APPROVES DENKTASH-CLERIDES MEETINGS AS LONG AS THEY DO NOT STRAY INTO POLITICAL MATTERS (WHICH IS EXACTLY WHAT EVERYONE HERE WISHES TO SEE HAPPEN). HE ENVISAGES CENTRAL/FEDERAL GOVT AS HAVING VERY LITTLE AUTHORITY; IT SHOULD BE "LIKE A ROOF OVER A BUILDING WHICH CONTAINS TWO SEPARATE HOMES".

3. HE IS TIRED MAN AFTER FOUR YEARS HERE AND PROBABLY WILL NOT PLAY A POSITIVE ROLE.

4. DEPARTMENT REPEAT AS DESIRED. BROWN:

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BY 66h, NARA, DATE 12/18/2001

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ACTION SS-30

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9862
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA IMMEDIATE

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C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (TO TEXTS NBRD PARA 12)

FO 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR CY
SUBJ: CYPRUS NEGOTIATIONS: A BEGINNING?



1. SUMMARY: DESPITE HEIGHTENED, DISRUPTIVE PROPAGANDA MANEUVERING AND ONE EARLIER POSTPONEMENT, SECOND MEETING BETWEEN DENKTASH AND CLERIDES UNDER AEGIS OF UNSYG SPECIAL REP WECKMANN IS SCHEDULED FOR AFTERNOON SEPT 6. UN TODAY RECEIVED REITERATED ASSURANCES FROM DENKTASH THAT HE WOULD ATTEND, BUT OUR FINGERS ARE CROSSED. THIS MEETING IS ON HUMANITARIAN ISSUES BUT WECKMAN HOPES FUTURE DISCUSSIONS

CAN BEGIN TO GRAPPLE WITH POLITICAL PROBLEMS AT WHICH TIME DIPLOMATIC REPS VB GREECE AND TURKEY COULD BE ADDED. ANKARA AND TO LESSER EXTENT ATHENS APPEAR TO BE ON BOARD. WECKMANN HOPES THAT IN DUE COURSE NICOSIA TALKS CAN HAMMER OUT BROAD LINES OF A SOLUTION FOR AUTHENTICATION AT A NEW GENEVA. END SUMMARY.

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2. SINCE ARRIVAL I HAVE HAD SEVERAL TALKS WITH UNSYG SPECIAL REP WECKMANN-MUNOZ. ON FIRST ACQUAINTANCE, I JUDGE HIM TO BE A DIPLOMAT OF GREAT COMPETENCE AND REALISM, WITH NO ENCUMBERING PREJUDICES. HE HAS SHOWN WILLINGNESS DEAL CARDS-UP WITH US.

3. WECKMANN HAS SHOWN US AGENDA FOR SEPT 6 MEETING, WHICH WAS POSTPONED FROM SEPT 2 OWING TO DISCOVERY OF MASS GRAVES OF TURKISH CYPRIOTS. AGENDA INCLUDES TRANSFER OF PRISONERS AND WOUNDED, LOCATION OF MISSING PERSONS, WATER SUPPLY, ETC. SOME ITEMS WERE PROPOSED BY CLERIDES AND SOME BY DENKTASH. FINAL AGENDA AGREED TO BY BOTH. ICRC CHIEF OF MISSION MARTI WILL BE PRESENT, WHICH SHOULD BE HELPFUL. AFTER DISCUSSION OF AGENDA ITEMS, WECKMANN WILL PUT FORWARD HIS OWN PROPOSAL FOR REOPENING NICOSIA AIRPORT FOR RELIEF SUPPLY FLIGHTS UNDER UN CONTROL, WITH ICAD MANAGEMENT, AND GREEK AND TURKISH REPRESENTATION IF DESIRED, TO PREVENT MISUSE FOR MILITARY RESUPPLY. FROM HIS SOUNDINGS, AND OURS, WE ARE MIDLY OPTIMISTIC ON AN EARLY REOPENING. TECHNICALLY, WE ARE TOLD IT WOULD REQUIRE ONLY THREE OR FOUR DAYS TO GET AIRPORT OPERATIONAL.

4. AT CONCLUSION OF AGENDA AND AIRPOGL DISCUSSION, WECKMANN WILL PUT CLERIDES AND DENKTASH IN A ROOM ALONE TO PROVIDE OPPORTUNITY FOR PRIVATE DISCUSSION, OSTENSIBLY TO PREPARE JOINT STATEMENT FOR PRESS.

5. IN THE WALDHEIM, WECKMANN SCRIPT IT IS HOPED THAT AFTER A COUPLE OF MEETINGS ON HUMANITARIAN AND RELIEF MATTERS, CLERIDES AND DENKTASH CAN BEGIN TO EXAMINE POLITICAL QUESTIONS. AT ABOUT THAT STAGE, GREECE AND TURKEY WOULD EACH BE INVITED ADD ONE DIPLOMATIC OBSERVER OR PARTICIPANT. IN THIS CONTEXT AND OVER A PERIOD OF SOME WEEKS - - WECKMANN MENTIONED ONE MONTH AS HIS TARGET - - IT SHOULD BE POSSIBLE HASH OUT THE OUTLINES OF A SOLUTION, PARTICULARLY IF SYG, USG, FRG AND UK EXERCISE A HELPFUL ROLE IN BACKGROUND AS CONCEPTIONS EDGE CLOSER.

6. IN WECKMANN'S VIEW AT LEAST, RESULTS OF ALL POLITICAL AGREEMENTS ARRIVED AT IN ARENA OF NICOSIA DISCUSSIONS SHOULD ULTIMATELY BE AUTHENTICATED BY A RECONVENED GENEVA.

7. WECKMANN HAS PROVIDED EXTENSIVE BACKGROUND TO FOREGOING. THE FIRST STEP HAD BEEN WALDHEIM DISCUSSIONS WITH CLERIDES WHICH

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ATTESTED LATTER'S REALISM, FLEXIBILITY AND WILLINGNESS TRY TO BRING KARAMANLIS ALONG ON CERTAIN CONDITIONS. BASICALLY, MRLERIDES HAD GOREJD THAT A FEDERAL STATED WITH A GEOGRAPHIC BASIS WAS ONLY SOLUTION TO CURRENT IMPASSE, BUT HE HAD ARGUED FOR (A) NO FORCIBLE TRANSFER OF POPULATIONS BETWEEN TWO ZONES; (B) RETURN OF GREEK POPULATION TO NEW CITY OF FAMAGUSTA UNDER CONTINUED BUT TEMPORARY TURKISH MILITARY OCCUPATION AND IMPORTANT BUT UNDEFINED UNFCYP ROLE; (C) A PARTIAL WITHDRAWAL OF TURKISH TROOPS FROM ISLAND (PERHAPS 5,000); (D) A PULLOUT FROM OCCUPIED AREAS SOUTH OF NEW FAMAGUSTA ROAD; AND (E) THE FIRST ATTLA LINE (OF WHICH NEITHER WE NOR UN HAVE EVER OBTAINED DEFINITIVE TRACE) TO BE BASIS FOR DISCUSSION OF TERRITORIAL DEMARCATION.

8. STEP 2 HAD BEEN WALDHEIM'S DISCUSSIONS IN ANKARA WHICH HAD NOT LEFT HIM OPTIMISTIC ABOUT TURKISH FLEXIBILITY, BUT IN WHICH SOME DOORS WERE KEPT OPEN.

9. STEP 3 WAS SUBSEQUENT OLCAY APPROACH IN NEW YORK ON GUNES' INSTRUCTION. TURKS AGREED TO WALDHEIM-WECKMANN SCRIPT WITH TWO CONDITIONS: (A) NICOSIA MEETINGS WOULD NOT BE A CONTINUATION OF INTER-COMMUNAL TALKS; AND (B) THEY "SHOULD NOT BE AIMED AT SOLVING THE POLITICAL PROBLEMS OF CYPRUS BUT SHOULD BE CONDUCTIVE TO MEETINGS IN GENEVA." THE TURKISH PRESENTATION ADDED THAT IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO SEND A TURKISH OFFICIAL TO THE NICOSIA MEETINGS. (BY IMPLICATION THEREFORE, GOT ACCEPTED PRESENCE OF A GREEK OFFICIAL.) OLCAY ADDED THAT A UN PRESENCE WOULD BE "USEFUL."

10. STEP 4, WITH TURKEY, WAS LETTER FROM WALDHEIM TO ECEVIT, DATE UNKNOWN, SEEKING PIN DOWN LATTER A BIT MORE.

11. STEP 5 WAS ECEVIT'S REPLY TO SYG DATED SEPT 1, TEXT OF WHICH RECEIVED BY WECKMANN SEPT 5. THIS WAS QUITE POSITIVE IN WECKMANN'S VIEW. ECEVIT NOTED THAT SINCE IT CURRENTLY NOT POSSIBLE, FOR VARIOUS REASONS, RESUME GENEVA, IT DESIRABLE CREATE "AUSPICIOUS CLIMATE" FOR RESUMPTION THROUGH NICOSIA TALKS OF NATURE CONTEMPLATED BY SYG. THESE, ECEVIT STIPULATED AGAIN, SHOULD NOT BE A CONTINUATION OF INTER-COMMUNAL TALKS BUT CONSIDERED RATHER OF A "PREPARATORY NATURE." HOWEVER, ANY POLITICAL AGREEMENTS REACHED IN THIS CONTEXT SHOULD BE WELCOMED AND "WE WOULD WELCOME THIS." PARTICIPATION OF GREEK AND TURKEY MIGHT IN SOME CASES BE APPROPRIATE. HOWEVER, WHETHER OR NOT GREECE AND TURKEY PARTICIPATED IN DISCUSSION

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OF ANY ITEM, THIS SHOULD NOT PREVENT DENKTASH AND CLERIDES GOING AHEAD ON THEIR OWN.

12. WITHOUT PROVIDING AS MUCH DETAILED BACKGROUND FOR THIS ASSUMPTION, EXCEPT THAT CLERIDES LIKES THIS SCRIPT AND THINKS HE CAN OBTAIN KARAMANLIS' SUPPORT, WECKMANN BELIEVES ATHENS APPROVES THIS PROCEDURE. THIS BORNE OUT BY REMARKS BY GOG LEADERS TO DUTCH FONMIN VAN DER STOEL (PARA 4, ATHENS 6394).

13. IN OUR VIEW, ALL THIS IS ON THE RIGHT TRACK. IF IT WORKS WE WOULD HAVE A NEGOTIATION GOING IN WHICH WE AND OTHERS (CERTAINLY FRG) COULD CONSTRUCTIVELY EXERCISE INFLUENCE. PROBLEM MAY BE IN THE VERY BEGINNING. DISCOVERIES OF MASS GRAVES OF TURKISH CYPRIOTS HAS FURTHER POISONED THE LOCAL ATMOSPHERE, ESPECIALLY ON TURKISH CYPRIOT SIDE. THERE IS AT LEAST ONE INTELLIGENCE INDICATION OF WHICH DEPARTMENT AWARE THAT GOG DOES NOT WANT DENKTASH TO HOLD TOMORROW'S DISCUSSION. IF MASS GRAVES MAKE IT DIFFICULT FOR DENKTASH TO PARTICIPATE, PRESENT EXTENSIONS OF TURKISH LAND HOLDINGS AND RUMORS OF MORE TO COME DO NOT MAKE IT EASIER FOR CLERIDES TO TALK. AS CARRIED IN PRESS REPORTS, ON SEPT 4 DENKTASH TOLD PRESS THAT "HE HAD RECEIVED INFORMATION" THAT GOG AND CLERIDES WERE PREPARED TO ACCEPT DIVISION OF CYPRUS INTO SEPARATE GREEK AND TURKISH ZONES WITHIN A FEDERATION. DENKTASH ALSO SAID HE EXPECTED GENEVA TALKS RESUME WITHIN TWO OR THREE WEEKS. WE SAW THIS AS A MISCHIEVOUS ATTEMPT TO GOAD CLERIDES INTO CANCELING TOMORROW'S MEETING. IN THE EVENT, CLERIDES' REPLY PARRIED THIS MODERATELY AND IN A WAY WHICH OF ITSELF WOULD NOT EXCLUDESOGIS GOING TO THE MEETING. IN SPECIFIC RESPONSE CLERIDES' SAID GOG COULD ACCEPT NO NEGOTIATIONS BEFORE RETURN OF REFUGEES AND WILL NOT SIT AT TABLE TO ENDORSE FAITS ACCOMPLIS CREATED BY TURKISH INVASTION. IT "WILL ACCEPT NO NEGOTIATIONS ONLY (REPEAT ONLY) ON THE BASIS OF SOLVING THE CYPRUS PROBLEM THROUGH GEOGRAPHICAL FEDERATION." CLERIDES CONCLUDED THAT ONCE NECESSARY PRECONDITIONS MET, GOVT PREPARED EXAMINE WITHOUT PREJUDICE ALL POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS.

14. AS OF EVENING SEPT 5, WE ARE AWARE THAT DENKTASH SEEMED TO BE PREPARING THE GROUND WITH HIS ENTOURAGE FOR A LAST MINUTE REFUSAL TO ATTEND.

15. ALL IN ALL, WE WOULD HAVE PRACTICALLY WRITTEN OFF CHANCES FOR TOMORROW'S MEETING WERE IT NOT FOR A NOON REASSURANCE TO WECKMANN

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FROM DENKTASH AND WECKMANN'S DETERMINATION. WE'LL SEE.
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PAGE 01 NICOSI 03015 101946Z

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FM AMEMBASSY NICOSIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 9934
INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY ANKARA IMMEDIATE

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FO 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR CY
SUBJ: CLERIDES INQUIRY RE "ANGLO-AMERICA INITIATIVE"



1. AT OUR SEPT 11 MEETING (REPORTED SEPT 11), ACTING PRESIDENT CLERIDES NOTED MEDIA REPORTS OF AN ALLEGED NEW "ANGLO-AMERICAN INITIATIVE" ON CYPRUS PROBLEM. IN THIS CONNECTION, HE ASKED ABOUT RELEVANCE OF DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY STABLER'S VISIT TO ANKARA, NEWS OF WHICH HAD JUST BEEN BROADCAST. I SAID I DOUBTED VERY MUCH THERE WAS ANY SUCH INITIATIVE, BUT WOULD INQUIRE ABOUT PURPOSES OF DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY'S TRIP.
2. FROM UK HIGH COMMISSION I LEARN THAT A US REP WILL BE VISITING ATHENS.
3. WHAT MAY I TELL CLERIDES?
4. NOT LEAST TO HEAD OFF SPECULATIVE RUMORS AND DEAL WITH INQUIRIES SUCH AS THAT FROM CLERIDES, IT IS IMPORTANT THAT WE BE KEPT POSTED OF RELEVANT USG DIPLOMATIC ACTIVITY, IF NECESSARY ON A NOFORN FOR INFORMATION ONLY BASIS. CRAWFORD

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STATE DEPT, GUIDELINES, *state visit 8/3/00*
BY *lsh*, NARA, DATE *12/18/2001*

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74 SEP 11 AM 7:40

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ACTION SS-30

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FM AMEMBASSY NICOSIA
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BY lh, NARA, DATE 12/19/2001

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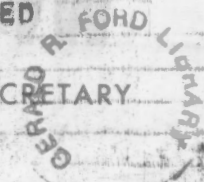
FO 116521 GDS
TAGS: PFOR CY
SUBJ: CONVERSATION WITH ACTING PRESIDENT CLERIDES
RE: PARIS 21251

1. SUMMARY: A SERIOUS PROBLEM HAS ALREADY ARISEN BETWEEN CLERIDES AND DENKTASH OVER GROUND RULES FOR ICRC-SPONSORED EXCHANGE OF CERTAIN GROUPS OF POWS/DETAINEEES (SICK, WOUNDED, UNDER 18, OVER 50), CAUSING CLERIDES TO GRUMBLE ABOUT IMPOSSIBILITY OF ATTENDING SCHEDULED SEPT 11 MEETING. CLERIDES IS VERY CONCERNED ABOUT MAKARIOS' NEW ACTIVISM AND GOGREECE LENDING ITSELF TO THIS. HE HAS COMPLAINED STRONGLY TO KARAMANLIS. HE THINKS MAKARIOS HAS EVERY INTENTION OF GOING TO UNGA, WITH FORMER FONMIN KYPRIANOU, AND WILL USE CONNECTIONS WITH NON-ALIGNED IN A MANNER DISRUPTIVE TO NEGOTIATIONS HERE. END SUMMARY.

2. I SAW ACTING PRESIDENT CLERIDES SEPT 10. HE EXPRESSED CONCERN OVER AN ISSUE ALREADY RAISED WITH US BY UNSYG SPECIAL REP WECKMANN AND GREEK AMB. AT SEPT 6 MEETING, CLERIDES AND DENKTASH AGREED

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IN PRINCIPLE TO EXCHANGES UNDER ICRC AUSPICES OF DETAINEES AND POWS WHO EITHER (A) SICK AND WOUNDED, OR (B) UNDER 18 OR OVER 50. SINCE SEPT 6 MEETING, ICRC CHIEF OF MISSION MARTI HAS RUN INTO A SERIOUS SNAG IN HIS SEPARATE DISCUSSIONS OF MODALITIES WITH CLERIDES AND DENKTASH. DENKTASH HAS BLANDLY PUSHED WITH MARTI A SUGGESTION THAT ICRC ASK A PROSPECTIVE EXCHANGEES WHERE HE/SHE WISHED BE RETURNED. CLERIDES HAS SHARPLY REJECTED THIS SAYING THAT TURKISH CYPRIOTS WOULD BE UNDER HEAVY PRESSURE FROM TURKISH AUTHORITIES TO OPT FOR TRANSFER TO ZONE OF TURKISH CONTROL. TURKS, CLERIDES BELIEVES, WOULD THEN PRESS FOR NORTHWARD REUNIFICATION OF FAMILIES AND WOULD IN THE PROCESS ADD BETWEEN 8,000 AND 10,000 TURKISH CYPRIOTS TO THEIR ZONE.

3. IN MENTIONING THIS TO ME, CLERIDES SAID HE COULD NOT POSSIBLY AGREE TO ICRC RETURNING EXCHANGEES ANYWHERE EXCEPT TO THEIR ORIGINAL HOMES OR PRESENT FAMILY LOCATION IF DISPLACED AS RESULT OF HOSTILITIES. I OFFERED A PERSONAL THOUGHT THAT ICRC ASK INDIVIDUAL EXCHANGEES' WISHES, WEIGHTING THE SCALES HEAVILY IN FAVOR OF RETURN TO ORIGINAL HOMES BY SAYING (TO TURKISH CYPRIOT POWS AND DETAINEES) THAT IF THEIR OPTION WAS TO MOVE TO TURKISH ZONE, ICRC COULD MAKE NO ASSURANCES OF EARLY RELEASE SINCE THIS INVOLVED AN UNRESOLVED POLITICAL PROBLEM. THIS WOULD NOT PRODUCE THE FEARED TURKISH MIGRATION NORTH SINCE MOST WOULD PREFER GO HOME OR REJOIN DISLOCATED FAMILIES IN SOUTH RATHER THAN REMAIN UNDER DETENTION. CLERIDES SHOWED SOME INTEREST AND SAID HE WOULD THINK IT OVER.

4. NOTING THAT GREEK AMB HAD EARLIER TODAY SUGGESTED US TRY THROUGH ANKARA TO BRING ABOUT A SHIFT IN DENKTASH' POSITION, I SAID I WOULD NOT WANT TO SEE US INVOLVED EVERY TIME CLERIDES AND DENKTASH HIT A SNAG. THIS WAS THE TASK OF THE NEGOTIATORS WITH ASSISTANCE OF WECKMANN AND AS NECESSARY WALDHEIM. I THOUGHT THAT POSITION OF MY GOVT WOULD BE TO APPLY OUR PERSUASION ONLY WHEN GENERAL OUTLINES OF A SOLUTION HAD BEEN HAMMERED OUT AND THE GAP, IF ANY, REMAINING TO BE BRIDGED HAD BEEN DEFINED. CLERIDES AGREED.

5. I RAISED WHAT TO US HERE SEEMS INCREASINGLY IMPORTANT PROBLEM OF MAKARIOS' ACTIVITIES AND THREAT THAT HIS PRESENCE AT UNGA MIGHT RESULT IN INITIATIVES AND/OR RESOLUTIONS UNDERCUTTING CLERIDES AND RUNNING AT CROSS-PURPOSES TO THE COMMENDABLE NEGOTIATIONS UNDERWAY IN NICOSIA. I ALSO WONDERED ABOUT THE EXTENT TO WHICH CLERIDES

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STILL CONFIDENT THAT HE HAD KARAMANLIS AND GOGREECE WITH HIM, IN VIEW LARGE MEASURE OF SUPPORT GIVEN MAKARIOS BY MAVROS IN THEIR CONVERSATIONS THIS PAST WEEKEND IN GENEVA.

6. CLERIDES REPLIED THAT HE HAD SENT PERSONAL MESSAGE AT NOON TO KARAMANLIS THROUGH GREEK AND DOUNTAS ASKING WHY GOGREECE HAD SO MUCH LENT ITSELF TO MAKARIOS' MACHINATIONS. HIS MESSAGE HAD CITED PROBLEMS THIS WOULD CREATE FOR CLERIDES' POSITION AND THE NICOSIA NEGOTIATIONS WHEN, AS HE INTENDED, MAKARIOS TRANSFERRED HIS ACTIVITIES TO UNGA. CLERIDES THOUGHT IT WOULD BE USEFUL FOR USG TO ASK GREECE DIRECTLY ABOUT IMPLICATIONS OF THIS KIND OF SUPPORT FOR MAKARIOS. HE THOUGHT A CAUSAL FACTOR MIGHT BE POLITICS BETWEEN KARAMANLIS AND MAVROS.

7. CLERIDES NOTED THAT MAKARIOS WILL BE TAKING FORMER FONMIN KYPRIANOU WITH HIM TO NEW YORK. HE FELT, AND I ENTIRELY AGREE, THAT THIS WILL BE AN ADDITIONAL NEGATIVE. COMMENT: KYPRIANOU IS FAMOUS FOR HIS LACK OF FLEXIBILITY WHICH REINFORCES SAME TRAIT IN ARCHBISHOP; AND THEY SHARE PENCHANT FOR PLAYING UP TO THE NON-ALIGNED GAME. END COMMENT.

8. PARENTHETICALLY, CLERIDES SAID MAVROS HAD BEEN VERY INSISTENT THAT HE APPOINT KYPRIANOU RATHER THAN CHRISTOPHIDES AS CURRENT FONMIN, CITING KYPRIANOU'S RELATIONS WITH NON-ALIGNED AS AN IMPORTANT ASSET TO CYPRUS IN CURRENT SITUATION. CLERIDES HAD FLATLY REFUSED, TELLING MAVROS THAT NEITHER NON-ALIGNED NOR MOSCOW COULD BE HELPFUL IN SOLVING THE CYPRUS PROBLEM.

9. CONTINUING DISCUSSION OF WHAT MAKARIOS INTENDED IN NEW YORK, I SAID IT WILL BE IMPORTANT FOR USG TO DEVELOP WITH FRIENDS A STRATEGY TO ENSURE THAT ANY UNGA ACTION WAS SUPPORTIVE OF NICOSIA TALKS RATHER THAN THE REVERSE. CLERIDES AGREED ENTIRELY, SAYING THAT PERHAPS BEST WAY OF DOING THIS WOULD BE TO GET SOME KEY NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES TO SPEAK TO MAKARIOS ABOUT WHAT THEY WOULD SUPPORT, SUCH AS A CONGLOMERATE OF EARLIER SC RESOLUTIONS, AND WHAT THEY WOULD NOT, I.E. ANYTHING UNDERMINING THE NICOSIA NEGOTIATIONS.

10. HAVING IN MIND MAVROS' SEPT 5-6 TALKS IN PARIS (PARIS 21251), BUT NOT MENTIONING ANY SOURCE, I ASKED CLERIDES IF HIS UNDERSTANDING OF GOGREECE POSITION COINCIDED WITH OURS, I.E. THAT GREECE WOULD LIKE TO HAVE TWO GOODWILL GESTURES FROM TURKEY TO ENABLE IT

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REFENTER FULL SCALE INTERNATIONAL NEGOTIATIONS: (A) RETURN OF GREEK CYPRIOT REFUGEES TO FAMAGUSTA AND (B) SOME SYMBOLIC RETREAT OF TURKISH FORCES FROM CURRENT LINES. IN TERMS OF A FINAL SOLUTION, WERE WE CORRECT IN BELIEVING GOG WANTED: (A) DIVISION OF TERRITORY COMMENSURATE WITH POPULATION PERCENTAGES; (B) NO POPULATION TRANSFERS; AND (C) A FEDERAL GOVT CONTROLLING FOR AFFAIRS, DEFENSE, ECONOMIC AFFAIRS AND IMMIGRATION? THINKING BACK, CLERIDES SAID THIS WAS ESSENTIALLY THE GREEK POSITION AS PUT TO HIM IN ATHENS.

11. WE DISCUSSED THESE PROPOSITIONS BRIEFLY. WE WERE BOTH SOMEWHAT SKEPTICAL THAT TURKS COULD BE BARGAINED DOWN TO A DIVISION OF TERRITORY COMMENSURATE WITH POPULATION PERCENTAGE. WE WENT NO FURTHER. I NOTED THAT NO POPULATION TRANSFERS WAS A GOOD POSITION IN PRINCIPLE AND WE IN NICOSIA HAD BEEN ARGUING AGAINST AN ETHNIC SEPARATION, BUT A SUBSTANTIAL TRANSFER HAD ALREADY TAKEN PLACE AND THIS SEEMED TO BE A DE FACTO TURKISH OBJECTIVE. HEPEFULLY, IN NEGOTIATION, THERE WOULD PROVE TO BE MORE TURKISH FLEXIBILITY THAN WAS NOW APPARENT. CRAWFORD



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INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS
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BY 66 . DATE 12/18/2001
State visit 8/3/00

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EO 11652: NA
TAGS: PFOR CY TUR GR UN
SUBJ: MAKARIO'S ROLE: FIRST THOUGHTS FOR UNGA SPOILING

1. PAST FEW DAYS HAVE WITNESSED GREATLY ENHANCED ROLE FOR MAKARIOS IN CYPRUS CONTEXT. PURPOSE THIS MESSAGE IS TO EXAMINE THAT ROLE, ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR USG POLICY IN CONTEXT UNGA FOREPLAY.
2. DESPITE TWO-MONTH EXILE, MAKARIOS PROGRESSIVELY RETURNING TO CENTER STAGE OF CYPRUS SCENE. THIS GIVES HIM AN IDEAL SPOILER'S ROLE. HE BENEFITS DIRECTLY FROM GENERAL MALAISE PRODUCED BY TURK OCCUPATION, REFUGEE PROBLEM. REPORTEDLY, MANY IN REFUGEE CAMPS VIEW HIM AS ONLY POSSIBLE "SAVIOR" OF GREEK CYPRUS. HIS INFLUENCE WEIGHS HEAVILY ONCE AGAIN IN GOCYPRUS MACHINERY: ALL HIS AMBASSADORS AND DIRECTORS GENERAL; TWO OF HIS KEY MINISTERS; AND MANY OTHER APPOINTEES NOW BACK IN OLD JOBS. ACCORDING FONMIN DIRGEN PANAYIDES, MAKARIOS NOW IN DIRECT CONTACT 8 - 10 TIMES DAILY WITH THESE PEOPLE. SIGNIFICANTLY, NORMALLY VOCAL ENDOSIST CAMP SO FAR SILENT ON HIS RECENT STATEMENT THAT HE WILL RETURN TO CYPRUS "WITHIN A MONTH" TO RESUME HIS DUTIES AS PRESIDENT. JUST A

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MAJOR USG GUILT FOR JULY 15 PUTSCH, TURKISH INVASIONS. PRESS HERE QUOTES HIM (FROM ITALIAN "IL TEMPO" INTERVIEW) AS SAYING SOVIET ROLE RE CYPRUS, BOTH IN UN CONTEXT AND GENERALLY, MUCH BETTER THAN USG ROLE. SOME OF THESE THEMES -- BUT NOT USG GUILT -- NOT NECESSARILY COUNTER TO CLERIDES' PUBLIC POSITIONS. INDEED, MOST LOCAL PRESS INCLUDING PAPERS RESPONSIVE TO HIM, NOW INVEIGHING HEAVILY AGAINST ANGLO-AMERICAN "CONSPIRACY" TO KEEP CYPRUS PROBLEM OUT OF UN, AND CONFINE IT TO NARROW CIRCLE OF GUARANTORS.)

8. MAKARIOS' PERFORMANCE PRESAGES CONTINUING MAJOR PROBLEM FOR ONGOING EFFORTS FIND RESPONSIBLE SOLUTION TO CYPRUS CRISIS. SPECIFICALLY, WE EXPECT HIM TO STRIKE MAJOR DISRUPTIVE CHORDS IN UNGA DEBATE. JUSTIFIABLY, HE WILL CLAIM -- AND GET -- RECOGNITION AS PRESIDENT OF CYPRUS, DESPITE LIKELY TURK CHALLENGE TO HIS CREDENTIALS. HE WILL PROBABLY CONTROL CYPRUS' DEL TO UNGA, REGARDLESS OF WHAT CLERIDES MAY WANT. AMB ROSSIDES (WHOSE MAKARIOSITE CREDENTIALS UNMATCHED) AND SPYROS KYPRIANOU (FORMER FONMIN NOW IN MAKARIOS' LONDON ENTOURAGE) WILL ASSURE THAT GOCYPRUS LOBBYING FOLLOWS MAKARIOS' WISHES.

9. MAKARIOS HAS ALWAYS SOUGHT REFUGE IN GREATER NUMBERS TO AVOID DISCUSSION OF CYPRUS PROBLEM BY SMALL CIRCLE OF GUARANTOR POWERS WHO MIGHT ACTUALLY SOLVE IT. HIS (AND MAVROS') READY ACCEPTANCE OF SOV PROPOSAL FOR UNWIELDY 18-NATION FORUM AND AGREEMENT ON RECOURSE TO UNGA IN ORDER "INTERNATIONALIZE" CYPRUS ISSUE, REFLECT THIS BASIC PREDISPOSITION. AT UNGA, MAKARIOS WILL DRAW ON HIS CAREFULLY STORED-UP CREDITS WITH NONALIGNED CAMP AND SOV BLOC TO ACHIEVE LENGTHY CYPRUS DEBATE. HIS MAIN GOALS WILL BE TO (1) UNDERMINE ANY PROSPECTS FOR SETTLEMENT, AND (2) CREATE CONDITIONS FAVORABLE TO HIS ULTIMATE RETURN AS PRESIDENT.

10. USG INTEREST WILL REQUIRE DAMAGE-LIMITING EXERCISE IN UNGA. WE DOUBT THAT WE CAN AVOID EITHER UNGA DEBATE OR RESOLUTION; CONSEQUENTLY WE SHOULD SEEK SHAPE EVENTS IN DIRECTION OF ANODYNE RESOLUTION WHICH (1) SUPPORTS EARLIER UNSC RESOLUTIONS, (2) REAFFIRMS OBLIGATIONS ALL PARTIES TO COMPLY WITH THOSE RESOLUTIONS AND RELEVANT TREATIES, (3) UNDERScores UNSYG'S CONTINUING ROLE IN WATCHING FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS, AND (4) TAKES NOTE OF EXISTING ON-ISLAND NEGOTIATION, AS SIGN OF REAL PROGRESS, AND SUPPORTS/URGES ITS CONTINUATION UNDER UNSYG AUSPICES.

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1. WE MUST WORK AGAINST ANY LOPSIDED UNGA ATTACK ON TURKS WHICH WOULD (1) ENHANCE DANGER OF STRONG LOCAL TURK REACTION, MILITARILY (IN SENSE OF MOVE TO "RESCUE" TURKY CYPRIOTS OUTSIDE ENCLAVE), OR POLITICALLY (IN SENSE OF PROCLAMATION OF MINISTATE -- A MOVE GOV HAS CONSIDERED, BUT RESISTED IN PAST), AND (2) REDUCE ANKARA'S WILLINGNESS CONSIDER CONCESSIONS THAT WILL BE NECESSARY FOR FUTURE POLITICAL SETTLEMENT. TO EXTENT MAKARIOS SUCCEEDS IN DOMINATING UNGA DISCUSSION OF CYPRUS PROBLEM AND IN MARSHALING NONALIGNED ASSAULT ON TURK POSITION, PROVOCATION WILL INCREASE FOR TURKS TO RETALIATE IN SOME WAY.

12. THIS ARGUES THAT USG SHOULD COMMENCE CAMPAIGN AMONG KEY NON-ALIGNED STATES -- E.G., EGYPT (SEE SEPTTEL ON AMB'S TALK WITH AMB MANSOUR), YUGOSLAVIA (PERHAPS DIRECT APPROACH TO FONMIN MINIC), ALGERIA -- TO GAIN THEIR SUPPORT FOR RESPONSIBLE OUTCOME OF PROSPECTIVE UNGA DEBATE AND FOR ONGOING EFFORT FIND JUST, LASTING SOLUTION TO CYPRUS PROBLEM. WE SERIOUSLY DOUBT THAT STATES OF MEDITERRANEAN LITTORAL HAVE INTEREST IN HELPING MAKARIOS KEEP CYPRUS POT AT FULL BOIL.

13. UNGA OUTCOMES ALONG ABOVE LINES WOULD LET MAKARIOS SAVE FACE BY CLAIMING HE HAD ACHIEVED SOME "INTERNATIONALIZATION" OF CYPRUS PROBLEM, BUT WOULD NOT REPEAT NOT SET BACK DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS. (AS FALLBACK TO AVOID WORSE OUTCOME, WE MIGHT HAVE TO ACCEPT NONALIGNED UNGA "STUDY MISSION". PROPERLY CONSTITUTED, THIS MIGHT DELAY LOCAL TALKS BUT NOT REPEAT NOT NECESSARILY CRIPPLE THEM.) RESOLUTION OF TYPE OUTLINED WOULD GET US OVER UNGA HURDLE WITH MINIMAL DAMAGE. IT WOULD NOT REPEAT NOT REMOVE MAKARIOS' CONTINUING ABILITY TO UNDERCUT CLERIDES AND TALKS, BUT IT WOULD BUY TIME FOR PROGRESS HERE. PARTICULARLY IF KEY MEMBERS OF NONALIGNED CAMP CAN BE PERSUADED TO LIMIT MAKARIOS' MARGINS FOR TROUBLEMAKING IN UNGA, HIS FUTURE SPOILING ROLE WILL BE REDUCED.

14. WOULD APPRECIATE COMMENT BY DEPT, OTHER ADDRESSEES.
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PAGE 01 NICOSI 03069 122138Z

73 ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 CCO-00 /031 W 124275

O P 122020Z SEP 74
FM AMEMBASSY NICOSIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9972
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY ATHENS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY
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USMISSION USUN PRIORITY
USMISSION EC BRUSSELS PRIORITY
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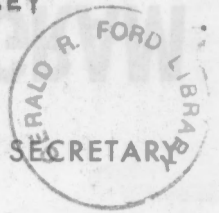
FO 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR CY TR GR
SUBJ: MEETING WITH DENKTASH

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5
STATE DEPT, GUIDELINES, state visit 9/23/02
BY: [signature], NARA, DATE 1/30/03

1. SUMMARY: TURKISH CYPRIOT LEADER DENKTASH VISITS GREEK AND TURKISH VILLAGES IN NORTHEASTERN CYPRUS TO INVESTIGATE REPORTED VIOLENCE AGAINST GREEKS BY TURKISH CYPRIOTS AND TO WIN MORE FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT FROM MAINLAND TURKISH MILITARY. HE IS SHOCKED BY EVIDENCE OF RECENT INHUMANITY BY BOTH COMMUNITIES WHICH WILL EXACERBATE PROBLEM OF FINDING A SOLUTION AND WILL MAKE LIVING PEACEFULLY TOGETHER DIFFICULT FOR YEARS TO COME. SHARING OUR CONCERN ABOUT MAKARIOS' ACTIVITIES, HE AGREES THAT CLERIDES' POSITION IS IN DANGER AND WEAKENING. HE ALSO AGREES THAT, TO GIVE CLERIDES SOMETHING HE CAN USE TO STAY AFLOAT, HE WILL PONDER MY RECOMMENDATION THAT HE AND TURKEY MAY, SOONER RATHER THAN LATER, HAVE TO PULL SOMETHING OUT OF BAG OF WHAT HE AND TURKEY ULTIMATELY WILLING CONCEDE. END SUMMARY

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2. I SAW DENKTASH SEPT 12 AND INTRODUCED NEW DCM FREDERICK BROWN.
3. DENKTASH SAID HE HAD JUST RETURNED FROM HIS FIRST VISIT SINCE HOSTILITIES TO GREEK AND TURKISH VILLAGES IN KARPASS PENINSULA. HIS PURPOSE HAD BEEN TO INVESTIGATE PERSONALLY, AND PUNISH THE SHOOTING BY A TURKISH CYPRIOT OF A GREEK PRIEST AND RAPING OF HIS DAUGHTER. ALTHOUGH INCIDENT HAD TAKEN PLACE SEVERAL DAYS AGO, IT HAD NOT BEEN ACTED ON BY MAINLAND MILITARY. AWARE OF HOW MUCH THIS WOULD HURT CLERIDES ONCE PUBLICIZED, HE SAID HE HAD INFORMED MAINLAND MILITARY THE DAY BEFORE THAT HE WAS GOING. HE HAD NOT RECEIVED REPLY FOR SEVERAL HOURS BUT WAS FINALLY INFORMED THAT HE COULD; PROVIDED MILITARY ESCORT ACCOMPANY.
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4. I COMMENTED THAT HE HAD EVIDENTLY WISHED USE THIS AS OPPORTUNITY GAIN GREATER FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT AND HE AGREED.
5. DENKTASH SAID HE HAD ARRIVED AT MIXED VILLAGE WHERE INCIDENT HAD TAKEN PLACE PREPARED TO ARREST OFFENDING TURKISH CYPRIOT BUT MAINLAND MILITARY HAD ACTED PREVIOUS EVENING. IN TOURING VILLAGES IN AREA AND SPEAKING TO VILLAGERS BOTH GREEK AND TURKISH, HE HAD COME TO APPALLED REALIZATION OF BRUTALITY METED OUT BY BOTH COMMUNITIES. HE HAD LISTENED TO MANY INSTANCES OF RAPE OF TURKISH GIRLS BY GREEKS BUT HE WOULD NOT ADDUCE THESE PUBLICLY. SUFFICIENT THAT BITTERNESS ENGENDERED BY ACTIONS OF BOTH SIDES ADDED TO DIFFICULTY OF FINDING A SOLUTION AND WOULD BE WITH THE ISLAND FOR YEARS TO COME.
6. I REMARKED THAT PROBLEMS FOR FUTURE OF CYPRUS WOULD BE GREATER IN MY OPINION IF TURKEY PURSUED ITS APPARENT INTENTION OF A VIRTUALLY COMPLETE ETHNIC SEPARATION OF TWO ZONES. IF IT DID, THE INHERITANCE OF HUNDREDS OF YEARS OF HOSTILITIES BETWEEN GREEKS AND TURKS IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN WOULD BE FOCUSED ON A DEMARCATION LINE IN A CYPRUS FULL ENOUGH OF ITS OWN. FAR BETTER TO HAVE IN EACH ZONE A SUBSTANTIAL MINORITY AS POSITIVE HOSTAGE TO COOPERATION AND HARMONY.
7. TO MY SURPRISE (AND THIS IS A CHANGE ON HIS PART) DENKTASH AGREED AND COMMENTED THAT "SUBSTANTIAL" WOULD HAVE TO BE DEFINED VERY CAREFULLY. ONE COULD NOT DEFINE IT TO PERMIT GROWTH OF AN EOKA-B IN TURKISH ZONE. NOR, I SAID, COULD ONE DEFINE IT SO NARROWLY AS NOT TO GIVE EACH ETHNIC MINORITY A SENSE THAT IT

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WOULD HAVE ITS VOICE HEARD AND COULD LIVE IN SAFETY.

8. IN THIS REGARD, DENKTASH SAID THAT IN RESPONSE TO MESSAGES RE ILL-TREATMENT OF TURKISH CYPRIOT VILLAGERS IN GREEK ZONE REACHING NOT ONLY ECEVIT BUT OPPOSITION LEADERS IN TURKEY, HE UNDER GREAT PRESSURE TO OBTAIN CLERIDES' AGREEMENT TO HAVE RESPONSIBLE REPS FROM TURKEY VISIT THESE TURKISH CYPRIOTS. CLERIDES HAD TOLD HIM THAT WOULD NOT BE A PROBLEM PROVIDED HE ABLE FIRST VISIT YIALOUSA (IN KARPASS PENINSULA) OR BELLAPAIS AND KYRENIA. DENKTASH INFORMED ME THAT HE HAD TWICE REQUESTED APPROVAL OF MAINLAND MILITARY FOR HIM TO ESCORT CLERIDES TO YIALOUSA BUT HAD BEEN REFUSED. HE WOULD KEEP TRYING.

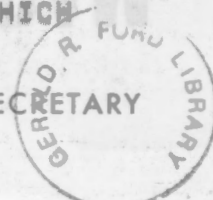
9. I TOLD DENKTASH THAT I THOUGHT CLERIDES' POSITION WAS IN DANGER AND DETERIORATING. HE BECOMING BOXED IN ON ALL SIDES. ECEVIT'S ROUGH PUBLIC STATEMENTS ON TRANSFER OF TURKISH CYPRIOTS IN SOUTH, ESPECIALLY WITHOUT ANY GIVE ON RETURN OF GREEK REFUGEES, WERE HURTING CLERIDES BADLY. SO, TOO, WERE ACTIVITIES OF MAKARIOS WHO DemeanING CLERIDES AND UNDERCUTTING HIS NEGOTIATION BY PUBLIC PROCLAMATION FOR TERMS OF SOLUTION THAT WERE BY NOW HOPELESSLY UNREALISTIC. IN ANOTHER DIRECTION, GREECE AND KARAMANLIS PERSONALLY WERE NOT GIVING

CLERIDES AND HIS BRAVE, DANGEROUS NEGOTIATING EFFORT THE KIND OF PUBLIC SUPPORT HE NEEDED TO STAND UP AGAINST MAKARIOS. ON CONTRARY, MAVROS' PUBLIC STANCE GAVE A LOT OF BACKING TO ARCHBISHOP. FINALLY, IN HIS OWN BACKYARD, CLERIDES HAD LITTLE SUPPORT AND, CONVERSELY, MUCH OPPOSITION FROM THE LEFT, FROM MAKARIOS' SUPPORTERS AND FROM EOKA-B. SUPPORT FOR MAKARIOS, BECAUSE OF HIS INTERNATIONAL THEATRICS, AS CONTRASTED WITH CLERIDES' INABILITY SHOW REFUGEES AND OTHERS THAT HE WAS MAKING PROGRESS ON THEIR ANGUISHED CONCERNS, WAS GROWING SHARPLY PARTICULARLY AMONG REFUGEE GROUPS.

10. I SAID IT OUR UNDERSTANDING DENKTASH AND TURKEY PREFERRED CLERIDES AS THE NEGOTIATOR FOR GREEK CYPRUS. IF THEY DID, AND THEY WANTED TO KEEP THIS NEGOTIATION ALIVE, THEY HAD BETTER BE THINKING OF TAKING SOMETHING OUT OF THE BAG OF CONCESSIONS THEY ULTIMATELY PREPARED GIVE. IF CLERIDES' POSITION DETERIORATED FURTHER, THIS MIGHT BE ONLY THING THAT COULD KEEP HIM AFLOAT, AND ALIVE. A LESS STRINGENT TONE IN PUBLIC STATEMENTS OF TURKISH PRIMIN WOULD ALSO BE HELPFUL. WHILE THIS WAS A PERSONAL SUGGESTION, I WOULD URGE DENKTASH TO GIVE SERIOUS THOUGHT TO MY REMARKS WHICH

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IN NO WAY INTENDED ARGUE CLERIDES' BRIEF. DENKTASH REPLIED THAT HE WOULD. ONE DIFFICULTY IN GIVING NOW PART OF WHAT MIGHT ULTIMATELY BE CONCEDED LAY IN TURKISH FEAR THAT NEITHER CLERIDES NOR ANY OTHER GREEK CYPRIOT LEADER COULD OR WOULD BE ALLOWED TO SIGN AN AGREEMENT IF REACHED.

1. FOR USG PART, I SAID, WE SUPPORT PRESENT NEGOTIATION, THE TWO NEGOTIATORS AND ROLE OF UNSYG AND HIS SPECIAL REP TO THE FULLEST. WE ARE GRATIFIED THAT NEGOTIATORS THEMSELVES SENSE URGENCY OF THEIR TASK. WE ARE CONCERNED ABOUT LIMITING THE DANGER TO NICOSIA NEGOTIATIONS WHICH MAKARIOS ON THE LOOSE IN UNGA CAN DO. NICOSIA NEGOTIATION IS NOT ONLY BEST AND SOLE EXTANT NEGOTIATING TRACT FOR GREEK AND TURKISH CYPRIOTS IN DISCUSSING A SOLUTION, IT IS MOST EFFECTIVE INSTRUMENT US AND OTHERS GENERALLY INTERESTED IN A CYPRUS SOLUTION CAN USE TO INFLUENCE DEVELOPMENTS IN UNGA TO A RESULT THAT IS SUPPORTIVE OF, NOT DESTRUCTIVE TO, THAT NEGOTIATION.

2. AS I LEFT, DENKTASH INFORMED ME THAT HE WAS SENDING TO NEW YORK IN NEXT DAY OR TWO VIDAT CELIK, A SENIOR CONFIDANT ON FOREIGN RELATIONS "TO KEEP AN EYE ON THINGS UNTIL I GO, WHICH I WILL IF MAKARIOS DOES." CRAWFORD

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REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL National security restriction

TYPE OF MATERIAL Telegram

CREATOR'S NAME AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

RECEIVER'S NAME SECSTATE WASHDC

TITLE Weckmann Discusses September 20
Negotiating Session

CREATION DATE 09/21/1974

VOLUME 5 pages

COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 032700055

COLLECTION TITLE NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER. PRESIDENTIAL
COUNTRY FILES FOR MIDDLE EAST AND SOUTH
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FOLDER TITLE Cyprus - State Department Telegrams: To
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DATE WITHDRAWN 12/28/2001

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FM AMEMBASSY NICOSIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0110
INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS
AMEMBASSY ANKARA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
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~~SECRET~~ NICOSIA 3308

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R.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR CY TUR GR
SUBJ: UNFICYP CONCERN RE GREEK VILLAGES IN TURKISH ZONE

1. SUMMARY: NEW CONFIDENTIAL UNFICYP REPORT STRESSES HARSH LIVING CONDITIONS OF GREEK CYPRIOT VILLAGES IN TURK OCCUPATION ZONE. WALDHEIM PLANS RAISE WITH GUNES PROBLEM OF ACCESS, FOOD SUPPLIES TO THESE AREAS. BELIEVE USG COULD USE SOME OF THIS DATA TO REINFORCE ONGOING EFFORT OBTAIN OWN ACCESS TO TURK ZONE. END SUMMARY.

2. UNFICYP BECOMING GRAVELY CONCERNED AT GAP BETWEEN SITUATIONS OF GREEK CYPRIOT VILLAGES IN TURKISH ZONE AND TURK CYPRIOT VILLAGES IN SOUTH. ITS CONCERN CENTERS ON DIVERGENT CONDITIONS OF LIFE FOR VILLAGERS, AND UNFICYP RIGHT OF ACCESS. PRIVATELY, UNFICYP FEARS THAT THESE DISCREPANCIES COULD SOON RAISE MAJOR POLITICAL ISSUE IN GREEK CYPRUS AND INTERNATIONAL ARENA, POSSIBLE UNDERMINING TALKS AND LEADING TO HEAVY CRITICISM AGAINST UNFICYP FOR NOT REPEAT NOT DOING, OR TRYING TO DO, ENOUGH FOR GREEK VILLAGES IN NORTH.

3. WITH ABOVE BACKGROUND, OUR SOURCE (PLEASE PROTECT) GAVE US LATEST ASSESSMENT. UNFICYP HAS FREQUENT ACCESS TO TURK CYPRIOT VILLAGES IN SOUTH, IS SATISFIED RE THEIR OVERALL CONDITIONS.

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VILLAGES HAVE ADEQUATE FOOD SUPPLIES, BUT REMAIN UNDER CONTINUING RESTRICTIONS, PRIMARILY ON MOVEMENT. (LIMITED OBSERVATION BY EMBASSY OFFICERS CONFIRMS NGESE POINTS).

4. UNFICYP SAYS GREEK CYPRIOT VILLAGES IN NORTH PRESENT STARK CONTRAST. GENERALLY, ROUTINE ACCESS UNAVAILABLE FOR UNFICYP. TURK ARMY HAS JUST REJECTED LATEST REQUEST FOR PERIODIC VISITS TO SELECTED VILLAGES TO CARRY FOOD SUPPLIES, CHECK LIVING CONDITIONS. (TURKS ARGUED THAT ICRC AND RED CRESCENT DOING ADEQUATE JOB.) UN OFFICIAL FROM FAMAGUSTA EARLIER THIS MONTH VISITED LARGE NUMBER OF GREEK CYPRIOT VILLAGES IN TURK ZONE. HIS REPORT, EXTRACTS OF WHICH WE READ, IS GRIM RECITATION OF WHOLESALE ABANDONMENT OF VILLAGES, UNTENDED/STOLEN LIVESTOCK, HEAVY LOOTING BY TURK TROOPS AND TURK CYPRIOTS, MINIMAL NOURISHMENT OR WATER FOR REMAINING VILLAGERS.

5. UNFICYP REGARDS REPORT AS ACCURATE. IT HAS REGISTERED ITS CONCERN WITH OSMAN OREK (IN ABSENCE DENKTASH) WHO TOOK HARD-NOSED, UNSYMPATHETIC VIEW. IT ALSO BRIEFED TURK AMBASSADOR INHAN, WHO REPORTEDLY SHOWED UNDERSTANDING OF PROBLEM, UNDERTOOK TO LOOK INTO IT. TO KEEP CREDIBILITY WITH GREEK SIDE, UNFICYP ALSO INFORMED CLERIDES. LATTER PROMISED NOT REPEAT NOT USE REPORT PUBLICLY, BUT STRESSED HE CANNOT ENCOURAGE -- OR A QUIESEE IN -- MOVEMENT BY GREEK CYPRIOTS OUT OF OCCUPIED ZONE, BECAUSE OF POLITICAL ISSUE THIS WOULD POSE WITH RESPECT TURK PUSH FOR FULL ETHNIC SEPARATION ON ISLAND.

6. SOURCE ILLUSTRATED DILEMMA BETWEEN CLERIDES' POLITICAL PROBLEM AND HUMANITARIAN REALITIES: SOME 73 GREEK CYPRIOTS, RECENTLY EVACUATED FROM TURK-HELD MORPHOU, HAD TO ENTER NICOSIA GENERAL HOSPITAL FOR URGENT TREATMENT. UN UNDERSTANDS SOME 150 OTHERS STILL IN MORPHOU AREA REQUIRE HOSPITALIZATION, BUT THEIR EVACUATION IMPEDED BY GREEK SIDE'S INABILITY ENCOURAGE FURTHER GREEK OUTFLOW FROM AREA. INFERENCE WE DRAW FROM EXPERT'S REPORT IS THAT SUBSTANTIAL NUMBER GREEK CYPRIOTS IN OCCUPIED ZONE REQUIRE URGENT MEDICAL AID.

7. WE UNDERSTAND UNSYG WALDHEIM WILL REGISTER STRONG CONCERN WITH GUNES RE WHOLE PROBLEM OF UNFICYP ACCESS, FOOD SUPPLIES TO GREEK VILLAGES IN TURK OCCUPATION ZONE. UNFICYP NOTES THERE FOOD SUPPLIES AVAILABLE ON GREEK SIDE, BUT THAT TURK ARMY

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SHOULD GIVE GREEN LIGHT TO ALLOW THEIR REGULAR DELIVERY BY UNFICYP. OTHERWISE COMMODITIES DO NOT REPEAT NOT REACH DESTINATIONS.

8. COMMENT: THOUGH WE CANNOT FULLY EVALUATE UN EXPERT'S REPORT, IT RINGS TRUE AND REINFORCES EARLIER ICRC FINDINGS ON WHICH ICRC MISSION CHIEF MARTI BRIEFED US (REF NICOSIA 2934 LIMDIS). EMBASSY ACCESS TO TURK OCCUPATION ZONE HAS BEEN SEVERELY RESTRICTED IN CASE OF KARPASS AREA, NONEXISTENT. OUR LIMITED OBSERVATION CONFIRMS THAT TURK OCCUPATION IS INDEED RUGGED, EVEN FOR TURK CYPRIOTS, AND THAT GREEK CYPRIOTS LIVING UNDER GENERALLY MUCH HARSHER CONDITIONS THAN TURK CYPRIOTS IN SOUTH, WITH FEWER (IF ANY) RIGHTS OF ACCESS TO OUTSIDE WORLD. OTHER ACCOUNTS SUPPORT THIS VIEW.

9. THERE ARE A FEW OFFSETTING BITS OF EVIDENCE, BUT THESE DO NOT REPEAT NOT ALTER THE BASIC PICTURE. EMBASSY VISITS TO NORTH SHORE VILLAGES (PARTICULARLY KARAVAS AND BELLA-PAIS) INDICATE LIFE THERE FAIRLY NORMAL, THOUGH STRICT CURFEW IN FORCE AND MOVEMENT OUTSIDE VILLAGE BOUNDARIES PROHIBITED. UK CONSUL WHO VISITED YIALOUSA (KARPASS) SAID THAT LOCAL CONDITIONS APPEARED NORMAL AND SITUATION SIMILAR TO THAT WHICH EXISTED BEFORE OCCUPATION. ICRC ALSO TOLD US THAT TURK OCCUPATION IN MORPHOU GENERALLY IN ACCORD WITH GENEVA CONVENTIONS.

10. USG SHARES STRONG INTEREST IN OBTAINING ACCESS RIGHTS TO TURK OCCUPATION ZONE, GIVEN OUR LENGTHY EFFORTS OBTAIN INFORMATION ON NUMEROUS CYPRIOT-ORIGIN AMERICAN CITIZENS TRAPPED THERE. BELIEVE USG COULD, IN TALKS WITH GOT OFFICIALS, SELECTIVELY DRAW ON ABOVE UN REPORT TO REINFORCE OUR OWN CONCERNS, WITHOUT REFERRING TO FACT THAT INFORMATION GIVEN US HERE BY UN OFFICIALS. END COMMENT. CRAWFORD



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PAGE 01 NICOSI 04353 051438Z

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /026 W

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FM AMEMBASSY NICOSIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0600
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY ATHENS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY
USMISSION USUN PRIORITY
USMISSION NATO PRIORITY

~~SECRET~~ NICOSIA 4353

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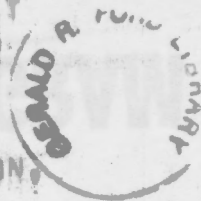
E. O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR CY TU
SUBJECT: CLERIDES-DENKTASH POLITICAL TALKS, DECEMBER 4

REF: NICOSIA 4234

1. IN PRIVATE EXCHANGE FOLLOWING HUMANITARIAN TALKS (SEPTTEL), CLERIDES -- PER UN SOURCE (PROTECT) -- TRIED TO ASSURE DENKTASH OF MAKARIOS' "GOOD INTENTIONS" AFTER RETURN TO POWER. CLERIDES SAID HE EXPECTED TO RECEIVE WRITTEN TERMS OF REFERENCE FOR SUBSTANTIVE TALKS "SOON", BUT HE DID NOT REPEAT NOT GIVE DENKTASH MORE PRECISE DEADLINE.

2. DENKTASH REPLIED HE PREPARED OPEN SUBSTANTIVE TALKS IF CLERIDES FULLY EMPOWERED; TURK DECISION WOULD HINGE ON SCOPE OF CLERIDES' MANDATE TO NEGOTIATE POLITICAL SETTLEMENT. DENKTASH DID NOT REPEAT NOT POSE BIREGIONAL FEDERALISM OR ANY OTHER SPECIFIC TURK DEMANDS FOR CONTENT OF CLERIDES' MANDATE. (IT WOULD HAVE BEEN SUPERFLUOUS, IN ANY CASE, TO REPEAT POINTS WELL KNOWN TO GREED SIDE).

3. REPORTEDLY, BOTH MEN DISCUSSED IDEA OF JOINT REPEAT JOINT TRIP TO ANKARA IN CONTEXT POSSIBLE FUTURE NEGOTIATION.



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4. TENTATIVELY, AND SUBJECT TO WHAT HAPPENS AFTER ARCHBISHOP'S RETURN FRIDAY, CLERIDES AND DENKTASH PLAN RESUME HUMANITARIAN TALKS ON MONDAY, DECEMBER 9. DATE NOT REPEAT NOT ANNOUNCED.

5. COMMENT: WE MILDLY ENCOURAGED BY DENKTASH ANSWER (IN SHARP CONTRAST TO RECENT TURK BLUSTERING AGAINST MAKARIOS' RETURN) AND WILLINGNESS TO SET, EVEN ON TENTATIVE BASIS, DATE FOR FURTHER EXCHANGE WITH CLERIDES. WE WONDER WHETHER GOG HAS PASSED WORD TO GOT THAT CLERIDES' WRITTEN BRIEF COULD BE SUFFICIENTLY FLEXIBLE TO MAKE FURTHER SUBSTANTIVE TALKS ATTRACTIVE TO TURKISH SIDE. END COMMENT.
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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /026 W
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O P 101850Z DEC 74
FM AMEMBASSY NICOSIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 694
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY ANKARA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY
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CORRECTED COPY (PARAS 3 & 4)

BRUSSELS FOR SECRETARY'S PARTY

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, CY, UK, TU
SUBJ: CONVERSATION WITH TURKISH AMBASSADOR

1. I SAW TURKISH AMBASSADOR INHAN ON SEVERAL MATTERS DEC 9. INHAN CONTINUES TO BE PUBNACIOUS ABOUT GREEK CYPRIOTS, TAKING THE GENERAL LINE THAT NO NEGOTIATION DOES NOT HURT TURKEY; GREEKS MUST SUFFER MORE BEFORE THEY ACCEPT NEW REALITIES ON CYPRUS.

2. CONSULAR ACCESS. I SAID THAT DESPITE INNUMERABLE ASSURANCES WE ARE STILL GETTING VIRTUALLY ZERO COOPERATION. WE ARE DELUGED WITH LETTERS FROM AMERICAN CITIZENS AND THEIR CONGRESSMEN. NICOSIA IS JAM PACKED WITH AMERICAN CORRESPONDENTS HERE TO COVER STORY OF ARCHBISHOP'S RETURN. WHILE WE HAVE BEEN VERY CAREFUL IN DEALING WITH THESE CORRESPONDENTS, ONE STORY ON TURKISH LACK OF COOPERATION IN GRANTING CONSULAR ACCESS WOULD SUFFICE TO CLINCH CONGRESSIONAL CUTOFF OF AID TO TURKEY.

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INHAN DESCRIBED AT LENGTH HIS PREDICAMENT IN DEALING WITH TURKISH MILITARY AUTHORITIES ON ISLAND. HE REALIZED OUR PROBLEM AND OUR RIGHTS UNDER INTERNATIONAL LAW. HE ASSURED ME THAT HE HAD BEEN CHIPPING AWAY WITH THE MILITARY AND THOUGHT WE COULD EXPECT PROGRESS THIS WEEK.

3. AUTONOMOUS TURKISH ADMINISTRATION (ATA) I.D. CARDS. IN CONNECTION WITH FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT IN TURKISH ZONE, I NOTED REPORTS THAT ATA INTENDING FORCE IDENTITY CARDS ISSUED UNDER ITS SEAL UPON DIPLOMATIC AND CONSULAR CORPS. INHAN CONFIRMED THAT THIS BEING CONSIDERED BUT ONLY TO FACILITATE MOVEMENT. I REPLIED THAT, AS AN EXPERIENCED DIPLOMAT, INHAN WOULD REALIZE THE SERIOUS IMPLICATIONS OF SUCH A STEP IN THE MINDS OF GOVERNMENTS HAVING REPRESENTATION ON CYPRUS. I COULD NOT FORECASE THE REACTION OF MY OWN GOVERNMENT BUT SAID I FELT INHAN SHOULD KNOW THAT IN THE NICOSIA DIPLOMATIC CORPS THERE WAS STRONG RESISTANCE TO ACQUIESCING IN SUCH A TURKISH MOVE. IT WAS GENERALLY FELT THAT IF IDENTIFICATION NEEDED FOR TRAVEL IN TURKISH ZONE, PASSPORTS SHOULD SUFFICE.

4. CLERIDES-DENKTASH NEGOTIATION. INHAN SAID MAKARIOS' RETURN HAD THROWN EVERYTHING UP IN THE AIR. DENKTASH COULD NOT POSSIBLY NEGOTIATE SUBSTANCE UNTIL, AT MINIMUM, CLERIDES' NEGOTIATING MANDATE WAS CLEAR AND SPECIFIC. THERE COULD BE NO NEGOTIATION EXCEPT ON BASIS OF BIZONAL FEDERATION. WHILE MAKARIOS HAD PERHAPS AVOIDED SAYING SOME OF THE WORST THINGS, HIS SPEECH ON RETURN DECEMBER 7 HAD BEEN VIEWED NEGATIVELY BY THE TURKISH EMBASSY AS PORTENDING AN EARLY SLIPPING BACK TO HIS OLD HABITS. HE COULD NO LONGER PRETEND TO SPEAK FOR ALL OF CYPRUS. HE HAD TO UNDERSTAND THAT GOVERNMENT OF CYPRUS NO LONGER EXISTED. IT HAD BEEN REPLACED BY TWO COMMUNITIES ON AN EQUAL FOOTING. GOT INSISTENT THAT THIS REALITY BE REFLECTED IN EVERY ISSUE OF SUBSTANCE, WHETHER UN RESOLUTIONS, NICOSIA AIRPORT REOPENING, OR OTHER. FURTHER, INHAN SAID, TURKEY CANNOT NEGOTIATE WITH ANYTHING AMORPHOUS, I.E. SOMETIMES CLERIDES, SOMETIMES MAKARIOS, SOMETIMES GREECE. POSITION AND AUTHORITY OF THE MAN NEGOTIATING FOR GREEKS MUST BE UNEQUIVOCAL.

5. TURKISH GESTURES. INHAN SAID THAT BEFORE MAKARIOS' RETURN GOT HAD BEEN CONSIDERING SOME SLIGHT GESTURES TO HELP ADVANCE THE CLERIDES-DENKTASH NEGOTIATION. THESE NOW IN THE FREEZER

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UNTIL SITUATION CREATED BY MAKARIOS' RETURN HAD BEEN CLARIFIED:

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~~SECRET~~ 6460

PAGE 01 NICOSI 04479 141235Z

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /026 W

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O P 141200Z DEC 74
FM AMEMBASSY NICOSIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 731
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY ATHENS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY
USMISSION NATO PRIORITY

~~SECRET~~ NICOSIA 4479

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E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, CY, GR, TU
SUBJ: CONVERSATION WITH GREEK AMBASSADOR

1. ON DECEMBER 14 I HAD ONE OF MY PERIODIC, INCONCLUSIVE TALKS WITH GREEK AMBASSADOR DOUNTAS. AS CUSTIMARY, HE PRESSED ON ISSUE OF WHAT TERRITORIES TURKS LIKELY RELINQUISH IN AN ULTIMATE SETTLEMENT. AS ALWAYS, INCHEPUSED SPECULATE ON TERRITORIES OR PERCENTAGES, SAYING THAT I EXPECTED GOT POSITION WOULD ONLY EMERGE IN CONTEXT OF A NEGOTIATION.

2. DOUNEAS HAD JUST SEEN ARCHBISHOP. HE REPORTED ARCHBISHOP PREOCCUPIED WITH FORMATION OF NEW CABINET TO INCLUDE BROADEST POLITICAL REPRESENTATION.

3. DOUNTAS ASSERTS THAT A PROFOUND CHANGE HAS TAKEN PLACE IN ARCHBISHOP'S THINKING. HE REALIZES THREE BASIC ELEMENTS OF CHANGE IN SITUATION IN WHICH HE MUST PROVIDE LEADERSHIP TO CYPRUS. (A) IN AN ERA OF DETENTE, HE CANNOT HOPE TO PLAY RUSSIANS AGAINST US. (B) HIS NON-ALIGNED FRIENDS INSIST ON A MEANINGFUL NEGOTIATION NOT PROCRASTINATION. (C) 40 PERCENT OF HIS ISLAND IS OCCUPIED. IN THIS SITUATION, DOUNTAS BELIEVES



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ARCHBISHOP HAS A REALISTIC APPROACH TO NEGOTIATIONS. HE HAS ACCEPTED GEOGRAPHIC FEDERATION AS A BASIS AND, WHILE NOT ENTIRELY PINNED DOWN AS RESULT OF ATHENS TALKS, IS UNLIKELY BACKSLIDE. DOUNTAS EXPECTS MAKARIOS TO GIVE CLERIDES BROAD AUTHORITY TO NEGOTIATE, ALTHOUGH HE WILL WATCH CLOSELY OVER HIS SHOULDER, AND WILL CURB HIS NATIONAL PROPENSITY TO UNDERMINE. GREECE WILL FEED MAKARIOS CONSTRUCTIVE ADVICE AND INFLUENCE.

4. DOUNTAS CONTINUES TO BELIEVE THAT ARCHBISHOP'S PRESENCE IN CYPRUS IS ESSENTIAL TO A SOLUTION SINCE CLERIDES, WHILE VERY ABLE, CANNOT CARRY THE PEOPLE WITH HIM.

5. WITH ONLY 19-20 THOUSAND TURKS REMAINING IN SOUTH (INCLUDING SBA) DOUNTAS DOES NOT THINK ARCHBISHOP CAN OR WILL IMPEDE CONTINUED NORTHWARD MIGRATION BUT HE WILL MAINTAIN PUBLIC POSITION OPPOSING POPULATION TRANSFER.

6. GREEKS BOTH HERE AND ON THE MAINLAND, DOUNTAS STRESSED, MUST WIN SOMETHING SUBSTANTIAL ON REFUGEE RETURN. DOUNTAS MENTIONED A MINIMUM OF 125 THOUSAND. WITHOUT THIS, NO GREEK CYPRIOT COULD SIGN A SOLUTION OR RECEIVE ENDORSEMENT OF KARAMANLIS AND GOG.

7. DOUNTAS HAD BEEN SHOWN DRAFT ON AIRPORT REOPENING BY FONMIN CHRISTOPHIDES AND EXPRESSED HIS APPROVAL ON GROUNDS THAT FORMULATION COMPLETELY NEUTRAL AND LEAVES QUESTION OF PRINCIPLE FOR LATER NEGOTIATION. DOUNTAS REGARDS AIRPORT REOPENING AS THE ANSWER TO AEROFLOT OFFER BUT SAYS PRESSURE FOR NORMAL CONTACT WITH OUTSIDE WORLD IS SO

GREAT THAT GOC WILL SIGN SOON UNLESS THERE IS PROSPECT OF NICOSIA REOPENING IN NEXT COUPLE OF WEEKS. HE THINKS GOC WOULD BE RIGHT IN SO DOING IN ABSENCE OF A REALLY ATTRACTIVE WESTERN OFFER. DOUNTAS PERSONALLY DOES NOT REGARD BRITISH MIDLANDS AS SUCH. HE REPORTS THAT GOC CONSIDERS BRITISH MIDLANDS WOULD SUSPEND SERVICE AT FIRST SIGN OF RENEWED TROUBLE WHILE AEROFLOT, BACKED BY SOVIET GOVERNMENT, WOULD NOT BE INTIMIDATED.

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8. COMMENT. DOUNTAS LAST REMARK CONFIRMS OUR
IMPRESSION THAT GREEK EMBASSY HAS NOT BEEN SOLIRYUN
OPPOSING CYPRUS AIRWAYS-AEROFLOT LINK.
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PAGE 01 NICOSI 04486 161405Z

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /020 W

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O P 161350Z DEC 74
FM AMEMBASSY NICOSIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 740
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA PRIORITY
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~~SECRET~~ NICOSIA 4486

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PFOR, CY, GR, TU
SUBJ: CONVERSATION WITH GREEK AMBASSADOR

REF: NICOSIA 4479

PLEASE CORRECT REFTEL PARA 3(C) THIRD SENTENCE TO READ "...CURB
HIS NATURAL PROPENSITY..." TO REPLACE "...CURB HIS
NATIONAL PROPENSITY..."
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PAGE 01 NICOSI 04534 192016Z

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /026 W

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AMEMBASSY ANKARA NIACT IMMEDIATE

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EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR CY GR TU
SUBJ: RESUMPTION OF CLERIDES - DENKTASH TALKS

REF: NICOSIA 4533

1. UNSYG SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE WECKMANN HAS TELEPHONED ME ON BARE-BONES RESULTS OF DECEMBER 19 CLERIDES - DENKTASH MEETING UNDER HIS AUSPICES.
2. MEETING, WHICH BEGAN AT 4:30 P.M. LOCAL (2:30 GMT), LASTED ONE AND A HALF HOURS. DENKTASH, ACCORDING WECKMANN, IS HAVING SOME PROBLEMS BECAUSE OF (A) HIS EARLIER HARD-LINE STATEMENTS ABOUT UNWILLINGNESS NEGOTIATE WITH CLERIDES AS LONG AS MAKARIOS CLAIMS TO SPEAK AS PRESIDENT OF ALL CYPRIOTS AND (B) HIS LOCAL HAWKS. HOWEVER, WECKMANN SAYS MAINLAND REPRESENTATION IS PUSHING IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION.
3. AS RESULT OF DENKTASH'S PROBLEMS, PUBLIC STATEMENT FOLLOWING TODAY'S MEETING SAID CLERIDES - DENKTASH "WILL CONTINUE AT A FURTHER MEETING DECEMBER 20 AT 5:00 P.M. (NOT MORNING AS EARLIER ANNOUNCED) TO TRY TO ESTABLISH THE BASIS FOR RESUMPTION OF THE TALKS."
4. WECKMANN IS TRYING TO ASSIST IN PRODUCING A FORMULA FOR TOMORROW'S MEETING THAT WILL HELP DENKTASH OFF THE HOOK OF



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HIS EARLIER PRONOUNCEMENTS, SOMETHING ALONG LINES OF
"RESUMPTION WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO STATED POSITIONS." WECKMANN
IS CONFIDENT SOMETHING CAN BE WORKED OUT SO THAT TOMORROW'S
MEETING WILL RESULT IN FORMAL ANNOUNCEMENT OF RESUMPTION TO
DISCUSS ALL ISSUES.
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TYPE OF MATERIAL Telegram

CREATOR'S NAME AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

RECEIVER'S NAME SECSTATE WASHDC

TITLE Weckmann Comments on December 20
Clerides-Denktash Meeting

CREATION DATE 12/20/1974

VOLUME 5 pages

COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 032700055

COLLECTION TITLE NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER. PRESIDENTIAL
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FOLDER TITLE Cyprus - State Department Telegrams: To
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DATE WITHDRAWN 12/28/2001

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