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 AMEMBASSY NICOSIA NIACT IMMEDIATE  
 USMISSION NATO IMMEDIATE 2613  
 USMISSION USUN IMMEDIATE 924

~~SECRET~~ GENEVA 5157

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CY

SUBJECT: CYPRUS NEGOTIATIONS - STATUS AS OF 6:00 P.M. SATURDAY

1. CALLAGHAN ASKED ACKLAND TO GIVE ME A STATUS REPORT ON THE FIRST HOUR OF TODAY'S SESSION SINCE IT IS GOING BADLY AND HE MAY REQUEST ME TO APPLY A RESTRAINING HAND WHEN THEY TAKE A BREAK.

2. MEETING FINALLY STARTED AT 5:00 P.M. WITH NO NAMEPLATED ON THE TABLE AS THE COMPROMISE. CALLAGHAN LED OFF BY SAYING THAT THERE WERE A NUMBER OF MATTERS LEFT OVER SUCH AS DEMARCATION LINE, PRISONERS, ENCLAVES AND THE AIRPORT BUT THAT SINCE THEY HAD THE CYPRIOT REPRESENTATIVES THERE, PERHAPS THEY COULD EXPRESS THEIR VIEWS ON THE CONSTITUTION.

3. GUNES ASKED TO SPEAK AND PROCEEDED TO LET GO WITH TOUGHEST SPEECH YET DELEVERED. HE SAID HE COULD PROBABLY AGREE TO DISCUSS AGENDA, DID NOT SEE MUCH PROBLEM WITH THE DEMARCATION LINE BUT AFTER AFF THE TALK ABOUT THE GENEVA DECLARATION NOTHING HAD BEEN DONE ON THE ENCLAVES FOR 10 DAYS. HE ENDED HEATED PRESENTATION, ACCORDING TO ACKLAND, SAYING THAT HE DID NOT SEE WHY TURKEY SHOULD BE ANY MORE BOUND BY PARA. 2 THAN GREEKS WERE BY PARA. 3. (IN PRESENT BRITISH MOOD THEY CLEARLY READ THIS AS SETTING THE STAGE FOR A TURKISH MILITARY MOVE.)

4. MAVROS THEN (RATHER FOOLISHLY, ACCORDING TO ACKLAND) SAID THAT THIS WAS NOT A MATTER FOR THE GREEK GOVT. CLERIDES WAS HERE AND

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NO. 11652: GDS 3/3/04

DATE: 5/10/11

By: HR 5/10/11



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5. THIS LED QUITE NATURALLY TO A WHOLE NEW EXPLOSION BY GUNES WHO POINTED OUT THAT THREE GUARANTOR POWERS HAD SIGNED THE JULY 30 AGREEMENT AND THEREFORE THE GREEK GOVT. COULD NOT SHIFT ITS RESPONSIBILITIES ON SHOULDERS OF CLERIDES WHO REALLY COULD NO LONGER ACT AS OR FOR THE GOVT. OF CYPRUS. (THIS ADDS, ACCORDING TO THE BRITISH, THE FINAL ELEMENT WHICH IS NEEDED TO SHOW THAT THE GENEVA DECLARATION IS NOT BEING APPLIED -- EVEN THROUGH THERE SEEMS TO BE A REASONABLE OBSERVANCE OF THE CEASEFIRE -- AND THAT ONE OF THE SIGNATORY, GUARANTOR POWERS HAS WASHED ITS HANDS OF EFFORTS TO ENFORCE THE AGREEMENT).

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## TELEGRAM

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ACTION CCO-00

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC FLASH 7893  
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~~SECRET~~ SECTION 1 OF 2 GENEVA 5153

EXDIS HANDLE AS NODIS  
FOR THE SECRETARY FROM HARTMAN

E.O. 11652: XGDS  
TAGS: PFOR, CY  
SUBJECT: CYPRUS PHASE II - CRUNCH APPROACHING

REF: GENEVA 5151

SUMMARY: ECEVIT'S TALK WITH MACOMBER AND GUNES' TALK WITH CALLAGHAN MAKE IT CLEAR THAT THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT IS DEMANDING THAT THE UNITED STATES AND THE UK FISH OR CUT BAIT ON TURKEY'S IDEA OF A SINGLE, AUTONOMOUS TURKISH CYPRIOT ADMINISTRATIVE ZONE ENCOMPASSING ALL OF THE ISLAND NORTH OF LINE RUNNING ROUGHLY FROM FAMAUSTA TO LEFKA/XEROS. GOT IS NOT INSISTING THAT THE LINE BE DRAWN OR THE PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL TERRITORY IN THE TURKISH CYPRIOT ZONE BE SPECIFIED AT THIS PHASE OF GENEVA TALKS. SOME SLIGHT MODIFICATION THROUGH NEGOTIATION IS POSSIBLE AND TURKEY STATES THAT IT IS PREPARED TO DECLARE ITS OPPOSITION TO PARTITION (ALTHOUGH THIS IS ITS DE FACTO OBJECTIVE). HOWEVER, THE TURKS ARE INSISTING THAT WE AND/OR THE BRITISH SELL THEIR GEO-POLITICAL CONCEPT, TO GREECE AND GREEK CYPRIOTS, AS THEIR PRICE FOR CONTINUING TO SEEK A NEGOTIATED

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SETTLEMENT TO THE CYPRUS PROBLEM. CLERIDES IS REPORTEDLY CATEGORICALLY  
Y  
APPOSED TO THE TURKISH PLAN, WHILE MAVROS SEEMS TO BE HIDING BEHIND  
CLERIDES AND MAKARIOS. THE ACCUMULATION OF REPORTS  
ON POSSIBLE TURKISH MILITARY ACTION TO TAKE FAMAGUSTA-XEROS LINE  
ARE OMINOUSLY IN ACCORD WITH THE TURKISH LINE PRESENTED BY ECEVIT  
AND GUNES. END SUMMARY.

1. GUNES PRESENTED TURKISH IDEAS ON A SETTLEMENT TO CALLAGHAN  
WHEN THE LATTER PUT FORWARD HIS STRATEGY REPORTED GENEVA 5150. THE  
UK DESCRIPTION OF THE TURKISH PLAN PRESENTED BY GUNES IS CONSISTENT  
WITH THE PLAN SUMMARIZED IN ANKARA'S 0500 AND WITH THE BASIC  
PRINCIPLES ECEVIT PUT FORTH IN HIS TALK WITH MACOMBER. ALTHOUGH  
GUNES DID NOT EXPLICITLY REFER TO THE 30 PCT. FIGURE AND SAID HE  
WANTED TO AVOID DRAWING A LINE (SINGULAR) FOR THE TURKISH CYPRIOT  
ZONE ON THE MAP AT THIS TIME, SINCE THIS COULD BE NEGOTIATED, HE DID  
SAY THAT THE ZONE WOULD HAVE TO BE MUCH LARGER THAN THE ONE PRE-  
SENTLY OCCUPIED BY THE TURKISH ARMY AND WOULD HAVE TO TAKE INTO  
ACCOUNT LAND OWNERSHIP, THE NEED FOR ECONOMIC VIABILITY,  
ETC. HE REPORTEDLY SAID TURKEY REQUIRED THAT THERE BE AN  
AGREEMENT AT GENEVA ON LANGUAGE CLEARLY SITPULATING THE PRINCIPLE OF  
TWO AND ONLY TWO GERGRAPHICALLY SEPARATE AUTHNOMOUS  
ADMINISTRATIVE ZONES, ONE FOR EACH COMMUNITY. THE TWO  
COMMUNITIES WOULD HAVE MAXIMUM AUTHNOMY BUT WOULD BE  
UNDER THE UMBRELLA OF A SINGLE CENTRAL OR FEDERAL GOVERNMENT  
WHICH WOULD HAVE THE POWER TO DEAL WITH FOREIGN AFFAIRS, MONEY,  
SOME TAXATION, AND OTHER FUNCTIONS CONCERNING THE ISLAND AS  
A WHOLE.

2. GUNES ASKED CALLAGHAN TO USE HIS GOOD OFFICES WITH MAVROS  
TO GET HIM TO ACCEPT THE TURKISH PROPOSAL, HE SAID THAT IF AN  
AGREEMENT COULD NOT BE REACHED ON THE TURKISH PROPOSALS AT  
THIS CONFERENCE, THE TURKISH GOVT. WOULD CONCLUDE THAT THE GENEVA  
TALKS ARE A FAILURE AND THAT IS WILL BE IMPOSSIBLE TO REACH AGREE-  
MENT BY DIPLOMATIC NEGOTIATIONS. CALLAGHAN PRESSED GUNES AS TO WHAT  
TURKEY WOULD DO IN THIS CASE. GUNES SAID TURKEY WOULD HAVE TO  
CROSS THIS BRIDE WHEN IT WAS REACHED.

3. CALLAGHAN TOLD GUNES THAT THE UK WOULD NOT TAKE ANY POSITION  
ON NOR BECOME INVOLVED IN DISCUSSIONS ON CONSTITUTIONAL ARRANGE-  
MENTS FOR CYPRUS. THE UK HAD BEEN INVOLVED IN 1960 AS A FUNCTION OF

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GRANTING INDEPENDENCE BUT THIS IS 1974 AND CYPRUS IS AN INDEPENDENT, SOVERIGN STATE. CALLAGHAN SOUGHT AND OBTAINED FROM GUNES REASSURANCES THAT TURKEY WOULD NOT SEEK TO EXPAND ITS BASE BY FORCE, AT LEAST WHILE NEGOTIATIONS ARE CONTINUING. ON THIS BASIS HE AGREED TO PASS THE TURKISH IDEAS TO MAVROS AND CLERIDES, BUT MERELY AS A POSTMAN WITHOUT TAKING ANY POSITION ON THE SUBSTANCE.

4. UK DEL (BRENCHLY) TELLS US THAT MAVROS REACTED CALMLY TO CALLAGHAN'S PRESENTATION OF GUNES' IDEAS, SAID HE DID NOT REJECT THEM AS A MATTER OF PRINCIPLE, AND SAID THAT HE AND CLERIDES SHOULD FLY IMMEDIATELY TO LONDON TO SEEK THE VIEWS OF MAKARIOS. HE IMPLIED THAT IF THE GREEK CYPRIOTS COULD AGREE, THE GREEK GOVT. COULD AGREE. CALLAGHAN ADVISED AGAINST ANY FLIGHT TO LONDON BUT SUGGESTED MAKARIOS MIGHT COME TO SOME NEARBY LOCALE, IF DIRECT CONSULTATION IS NECESSARY.

5. UK DEL TELLS US THAT CLERIDES' REACTION WAS STRONGLY NEGATIVE ON THE SIMPLE GROUNDS THAT HE COULD NEVER SELL IT TO THE GREEK CYPRIOT COMMUNITY. IT WOULD, IN PRACTICE, INVOLVE A MASSIVE POPULATION TRANSFER OF TURKISH CYPRIOTS IN AND GREEK GREEK CYPRIOTS OUT AND MUCH OF THE RICHEST PART OF THE ISLAND WOULD LIE IN THE TURKISH ZONE. CLERIDES SAID HE WAS THINKING (AS HE HAD TOLD ME EARLIER) OF SEVERAL TURKISH AUTONOMOUS ZONES PLUS MORE FUNCTIONAL AUTONOMY OF FUNCTIONAL FEDERALISM FOR THE TURKISH AND GREEK CYPRIOT COMMUNITIES. HE IS PREPARED TO ABANDON THE IDEA OF A UNITARY STATE AND AGREE TO TWO SEPARATE ADMINISTRATIVE BODIES JOINED AT THE TOP. THIS MIGHT JUST BE SOLD TO THE GREEK CYPRIOTS, BUT THE TURKISH PLAN FOR INSISTING ON TWO AND ONLY TWO ADMINISTRATIVE ZONES IS DE FACTO PARTITION AND WOULD CAUSE AN EXPLOSION AMONG THE GREEK CYPRIOTS. IT WOULD CERTAINLY BE THE END OF CLERIDES AS A LEADER. MAKARIOS DOES NOT NEED TO BE CONSULTED, CLERIDES TOLD CALLAGHAN. WHAT COUNTS IS HAVING A REASONABLE PLAN WHICH THE TWO COMMUNITIES CAN ACCEPT.

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EXDIS HANDLE AS NOOIS

6. RESUME: (A) AS OF MID-DAY ON AUGUST 10, WITH THE CONFERENCE ITSELF EMBROILED IN A PROCEDURAL HASSLE ON NAME PLATES FOR CYPRIOT COMMUNITY REPRESENTATIVES (SEE SEPTEL), THE PARTIES ARE MOVING TOWARD THE CRUNCH. THE TURKS HAVE MADE CRYSTAL CLEAR THEIR PROPOSAL FOR TWO AUTONOMOUS ZONES, WITH ALL THAT IMPLIES. MAVROS HAS DUCKED THE ISSUE BY A PROPOSAL TO HIDE BEHIND MAKARIOS. CLERIDES HAS REJECTED THE TURKISH PROPOSAL BECAUSE HE FEELS HE COULD NEVER GET IT ACCEPTED, BUT HE IS MAINTAINING HIS INDEPENDENCE FROM MAKARIOS AND TRYING TO KEEP HIM OUT OF THE PROCESS. CALLAGHAN IN MERELY PASSING IDEAS ALONG AFTER BEING "ASSURED" THAT THE TURKS DO NOT INTEND TO TAKE BY MILITARY MEANS WHAT THEY CANNOT GET BY NEGOTIATION. HE DOURTS THE ASSURANCES AND PERSONNALLY JUDGES THE PROPOSAL A HUMILIATION FOR GREECE AND CLERIDES. EXCEPT PRIVATELY TO US, I THINK THAT HE WILL HOLD OFF FOR A TIME EXPRESSING HIS OWN NEGATIVE VIEW AS TO THE ACCEPTABILITY OF THE TURKISH PROPOSALS, BUT AT SOME STATE HE WILL FEEL COMPELLED TO GIVE HIS OPINION.

(B) I HAVE TRIED TO THINK OF SOME LANGUAGE ALONG LINES OF STRATEGY WORKED OUT WITH CALLAGHAN YESTERDAY - WHICH WOULD LAUNCH THE TALKS AMONG CYPRIOTS, EXCLUDE THE GUARANTOR POWERS EXCEPT AS A BODY TO WHICH PROGRESS OR LACK THEREOF IS REPORTED

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PROMPTLY, AND KEEP THE PARTIES FROM THINKING OF ALTERNATIVE MEANS SUCH AS UNILATERAL ACTION OR RECOURSE TO THE U.N. CALLAGHAN HAS BEEN PURSUING THIS APPROACH AS PROBABLY THE ONLY MEANS OF KEEPING NEGOTIATIONS ALIVE, KEEPING UN (AND USSR) OUT AND FENDING OFF WHAT HE IS CONVINCED WILL BE ANY EARLY TURKISH MILITARY DRIVE TO TRY AND TAKE REST OF NORTHERN CYPRUS. THUS FAR HE HAS HAD NO SUCCESS.

7. (A) TEXT ALONG THE LINES DESCRIBED ABOVE, MIGHT READ AS FOLLOWS:

"NOTING THE AGREEMENT OF THE GREEK AND TURKISH CYPRIOT COMMUNITY REPRESENTATIVES TO BEGIN TALKS ON CONSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS ON THE BASIS OF GEOGRAPHIC AUTONOMY WITHIN A SINGLE, SOVEREIGN, INDEPENDENT, (NON-ALIGNED) STATE, AND TAKING ACCOUNT OF THE EXPERIENCE WITH THE APPLICATION OF THE PROVISIONS OF THE 1960 AGREEMENTS CONCERNING THE RIGHTS AND ADMINISTRATIVE POWERS OF THE RESPECTIVE COMMUNITIES, THE FOREIGN MINISTERS OF GREECE, TURKEY AND THE UNITED KINGDOM ASKED THE REPRESENTATIVES TO REPORT TO THEM AT A MEETING TO BE HELD IN GENEVA NO LATER THAN SEPTEMBER.....".

I AM NOT SANGUINE THAT ANYTHING LIKE THIS WILL WASH BUT I WOULD APPRECIATE WASHINGTON PERMISSION TO TRY IT OUT ON CALLAGHAN AND SEE WHERE WE GO FROM THERE.

8. CONCLUSION: MORE FUNDAMENTAL IS THE NECESSITY OF A REPLY TO ECEVIT DEALING WITH BOTH THE GENEVA TALKS AND THE ULTIMATE TURKISH OBJECTIVES ON CYPRUS. HE HAS NOT TOLD US WHAT HIS "MINIMUM" CONDITIONS ARE. (I HAVE ALREADY RECEIVED A CALL FROM GUNES' OFFICE ASKING WHETHER I HAVE ANY RESPONSE FROM WASHINGTON REFLECTING YOUR VIEWS ON THE ECEVIT-MACOMBER CONVERSATION AND MY TALK WITH GUNES.) WHAT ECEVIT HAS TO UNDERSTAND IS THAT IF HE PUSHES TOO FAR THERE WILL BE NO AGREEMENT TO CONTINUE THE TALKS. IF HE BELIEVES THAT SUCH A RESULT RESTORES HIS FREEDOM OF MILITARY ACTION TO ASSUAGE TURKISH APPETITES, A PICTURE MUCH BE PAINTED FOR HIM OF WHAT THIS MEANS IN THE REAL WORLD. ANOTHER MILITARY MOVE, EVEN WITH TRUMPED UP OR REAL INCIDENTS AS THE SUPPOSED CAUSE, WOULD BE UNIVERSALLY CONDEMNED SINCE IT WOULD VIOLATE THE GENEVA AGREEMENT, UN RESOLUTIONS, AND NOT HAVE THE BAD ODDR OF THE GREEK JUNTA AND SAMPSON TO MAKE IT SMELL BETTER BY COMPARISON. IN SUCH A CASE ECEVIT MUST UNDERSTAND THE RISKS OF SERIOUS DAMAGE TO TURKEY'S BASIC RELATIONS WITH US AND NATO, LONGER-TERM RELATIONS WITH A POTENTIALLY FRIENDLY GREECE, AND THE REA

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DANGER OF MILITARY INCIDENTS WITH OTHER POWERS. I AM GENUINELY CONCERNED THAT SOME TURKS MAY BE CONTEMPLATING MORE THAN PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE AND MAY INDEED NOT UNDERSTAND THE HAZARDS OF FURTHER MILITARY ACTION. WE MUST ALSO KEEP IN MIND THT CARAMANLIS, AVEROFF AND THE GREEK MILITARY HAVE INDICATED THAT THERE IS A "HUMILIATION POINT" BEYOND WHICH THEY MUST SERIOUSLY CONTEMPLATE EVEN HOPELESS ACTIONS. CONFLICT BETWEEN GREECE AND TURKEY, ASIDE FROM ALL THE CONSEQUENCES FOR US AND NATO, COULD OF COURSE OPEN UP ANY NUMBER OF OTHER DANGEROUS POSSIBILITIES IN THE AREA, INCLUDING INTERVENTIONS - BALKAN HISTORY IS REplete WITH THIS SORT OF THING. TURKEY WOULD RISK ALL OF THIS WHILE AT THE SAME TIME LOSING THE JUSTLY DESERVED SYMPATHY THAT FAIR-MINDED OPINION HAS FOR THE TURKISH CYPRIOT DESIRE TO HAVE EFFECTIVE GUARANTEES AGAINST OPPOSITION BY THEIR FELLOW ISLANDERS. I AM NOT SURE WHEN THIS MESSAGE WILL BE NEEDED BUT GUNES IS REPORTEDLY GETTING ANGRIER AND ANGRIER TOO. CALLAGHAN HAS ASKED TO SEE BE AT 2 P.M. AND THIS MAY VERY WELL BE HIS REQUEST. DALE

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\*\*\*\*\*WHSR COMMENT\*\*\*\*\*

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