SECRET STATE 112120

FOR ASST SECY SISCO

E. O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, PGOV, CY, IR
SUBJ: CYPRUS: IS THE OPTIMISM JUSTIFIED?

FOLLOWING SENT SECSTATE WASHDC INFO ANKARA ATHENS LONDON USUN NEW YORK USMISSION NATO USDOSOUTH USEUCOM FROM NICOSIA 08 JUN 73:

QUOTE NICOSIA 1348

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SUBJ: CYPRUS: IS THE OPTIMISM JUSTIFIED?

REF: STATE 107202, 97565, ANKARA 4186; USUN 2112; LONDON 6628

SUMMARY: MANY OF THOSE CLOSEST TO CYPRUS PROBLEM ARE TAKING VERY OPTIMISTIC PUBLIC POSTURE, BUT WE SEE NO EVIDENCE OF RECENT BREAKTHROUGHS ON SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES, AND BELIEVE AGREEMENT IN NEXT FEW MONTHS LESS THAN LIKELY. ATHENS DOES APPEAR TO HAVE ABSORBED LESSON THAT GRIVAS WAS HURTING ITS OWN INTERESTS. IT IS SUPPORTING CLERIDES AND TALKS, BUT WE SUSPECT IT STILL HOPES TO ISOLATE MAKARION. WE ARE FRANKLY IN DOUBT AS TO WHETHER

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ANKARA AND ATHENS REALLY EXPECT THAT COMPROMISES CAN BE MADE WHICH WILL PERMIT TALKS TO SUCCEED. WE SEE SOME SIGNS THAT PARENT COUNTRIES ARE CONSIDERING IMPOSING A SOLUTION (WHICH WE DO NOT THINK WOULD WORK), BUT WE
SUSPECT THEY ARE SIMPLY AMBIVALENT. END SUMMARY.

1. MANY OF PARTIES MOST CONCERNED WITH CYPRUS PROBLEM HAVE BEEN SOUNDING UNUSUALLY OPTIMISTIC LATELY ABOUT PROSPECTS FOR INTERCOMMUNAL SETTLEMENT. CLERIDES AND OSORIO-TAFALL HAVE TALKED OF POSSIBILITY OF AGREEMENT ON QUESTIONS OF PRINCIPLE IN THREE TO FOUR MONTHS. TURKISH AND GREEK CONSTITUTIONAL EXPERTS ARE HOPEFUL, FORMER VOCALLY SO. LATTER (ACCORDING GREEK EMB) NEARLY EQUALLY CONFIDENT. BRITISH HAVE NOTED RARE SIGNS OF OPTIMISM ON PART OF TURKISH FON MIN AND OTHER HIGH GOT OFFICIALS (LONDON REFTEL). AND MANY OBSERVERS HERE INTERPRET RECENT GREEK GOVT CONSULTATIONS WITH CLERIDES AS DEMONSTRATING CONFIDENCE IN -- AND GIVING IMPETUS TO -- INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS.

2. TWO KEY PLAYES HAVE NOT BEEN SWEPT UP IN EUPHORIA. MAKARIOS AND DENKTASH HAVE REPEATEDLY CAUTIONED THAT HARDEST PROBLEMS LIE AHEAD AND THAT IT IS TOO SOON TO PREDICT SETTLEMENT. ET DENKTASH IS SAID TO BE MORE MODERATE AT NEGOTIATING TABLE THAN IN PUBLIC, AND MAKARIOS FREQUENTLY EXPRESS SUPPORT FOR TALKS AS ONLY FEASIBLE PATH TO SOLUTION.

3. IN CONSIDERING WHETHER CURRENT WAVE OF OPTIMISM IS WARRANTED, TWO QUESTIONS SEEM PERTINENT. FIRST, ON BASIS OF WHAT WE KNOW OF DEVELOPMENTS IN NEGOTIATIONS SO FAR, DO CHANCES OF SETTLEMENT LOOK APPRECIABLY BRIGHTER THAN BEFORE? SECOND, IS OPTIMISM GENUINE, OR IS IT SMOKESCREEN FOR GREECE AND TURKEY TO IMPOSE SETTLEMENT ON THEIR OWN TERMS?

4. NOTHING THAT HAS HAPPENED IN TALKS SEEMS TO US TO JUSTIFY CONFIDENCE OF MOST PARTICIPANTS. NOW AS BEFORE, CENTRAL ISSUE IS EXTENT OF TURK CYPRIOT AUTONOMY. HERE TWO SIDES APPEAR TO BE AS FAR APART AS WHEN CLERIDES AND DENKTASH REACHED IMPASSE ALMOST THREE YEARS AGO. TURKISH SECRET

5. ON OTHER SIDE OF EQUATION, ATMOSPHERE OF TALKS HAS BEEN MODERATE AND BUSINESSLIKE, NEGOTIATORS WORK WELL TOGETHER, AND CONSIDERABLE PERSONAL STAKE IN SUCCESSFUL OUTCOME IS DEVELOPING. THESE Factors ARE OBVIOUSLY SECONDARY TO PROGRESS ON HARD, SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES. AT SAME TIME, THEY ARE NOT INSIGNIFICANT, FLR LACK OF GOOD
WILL HAS HERETOFORE BEEN ONE OF MAIN IMPEDIMENTS TO PROGRESS.

6. AT PRESENT JUNCTURE OF CYPRUS PROBLEM MOST CURIOUS FEATURE IS THAT TWO SEPARATE AND MUTUALLY EXCLUSIVE STRAINS HAVE BECOME APPARENT. WHILE CONFIDENCE IS BEING VOICED IN SUCCESS OF NEGOTIATIONS, THERE ARE CLEAR SIGNS (AS DEPT HAS NOTED) OF TURKISH AND GREEK INTENTION TO INFLUENCE CYPRUS EQUATION OUTSIDE FRAMEWORK OF TALKS. STATEMENTS BY BARUTCU AND INHAN THAT NO AGREEMENT POSSIBLE WHILE MAKARIOS REMAINS IN POWER ARE MOST OBVIOUS EXAMPLES, WHILE ESENBEL SUGGESTION FOR INTRODUCTION OF ADDITIONAL GREEK AND TURKISH TROOPS REFLECTS SIMILAR APPRAISAL FOR DIRECTION IN WHICH EVENTS ARE MOVING.

7. PRESENT GREEK POLICY TOWARD CYPRUS IS, TO US AT LEAST, EVEN MORE PUZZLING (AND SEEMINGLY FURTHER BELOW SURFACE) THAN THAT OF TURKEY. THERE ARE NUMEROUS SIGNS THAT ATHENS IS SERIOUSLY WORKING FOR NEGOTIATED SOLUTION, MOST IMPORTANT OF WHICH IS REINING IN OF GRIVAS. GRIVAS FOLLOWERS HAVE DEFINITELY GOTTEN THE WORD. ENUSTIS COORDINATION COMMITTEE (ESEA) RECENTLY ISSUED TORTUOUS -- AND CLEARLY FORCED -- DECLARATION OF SUPPORT FOR LOCAL TALKS, WHILE IN PRIVATE CONVERSATION ESEA LEADERS STRONGLY CRITICIZE GOG FOR HAVING BETRAYED GRIVAS AND CAUSE OF ENUSTIS. RECENT DEMONSTRATION OF ENUSTIS' SENSITIVITY TO CHARGES OF CONTINUING VIOLENCE OCCURRED JUNE 5 WHEN ARMED GRIVASITES ROUNDED UP LEFTISTS IN AVGOROU VILLAGE -- ONLY TO TELL SECRET THEM THAT PREVIOUS BEATING OF TWO VILLAGERS WAS NOT GRIVAS' DOING.

8. ATHENS SEEMS TO HAVE DRAWN LESSON THAT GRIVAS TERROSIM WAS DEAD END, AND TO HAVE RECOGNIZED THAT GENERAL'S ACTIVITIES THREATENED GREECE'S POLICIES OF SUPPORT FOR LOCAL TALKS AND RAPPROCHEMENT WITH TURKEY (STATE 97565 AND NICOSIA 970). CLERIDES' PROTESTS AND ANKARA'S REPRESENTATIONS BOTH PROBABLY CONTRIBUTED TO GOG DECISION. AT SAME TIME, THERE ARE SIGNS THAT ONE GOAL OF GREEK POLICY CONTINUES TO BE UNDERCUT AND ISOLATE ARCHBISHOP. RED CARPET TREATMENT ACCORDED CLERIDES IN ATHENS APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN IN PART DESIGNED TO SHOW THAT HE IS MAN WHO, IF GIVEN THE CHANGE, CAN NEGOTIATE A SETTLEMENT. (TURKS OF COURSE REGARD CLERIDES AS PEST POSSIBLE POTENTIAL GREEK CYPRIO LEADER). MEANWHILE, GRIVAS REMAINS ON ISLAND, HIS FORCE UNDIMINISHED, READY AND WAITING FOR ACTION. (AS THIS BEING DRAFTED, WE HEAR THAT THIS MORNING 50 ARMED, MASKEDMEN ATTACKED POLICE STATION AT VATYLI IN BROAD DAYLIGHT -- SEPTEL.)

9. CHURCH SCHISM ALSO CONTINUES HANG OVER ARCHBISHOP'S
HEAD. RECENT DECISION BY GREEK HOLY SYNOD’S CANON LAW COMMITTEE RECOGNIZING VALIDITY OF CYPRUS BISHOPS’ DEFROCKING OF ARCHBISHOP HAS UNDERCUT SOMEWHAT MAKARIOS’ POSITION AT MAJOR SYNOD OF PATRIARCHS. CANON LAW COMMITTEE ACTION WAS TOTALLY UNEXPECTED BY GREEK CYPRIOTS. WE UNDERSTAND MOVE WAS INITIATED BY GOG-APPOINTED CANON LAW EXPERT MOURATIDES, AND WOULD BE INTERESTED IF EMBASSY ATHENS CAN SHED LIGHT ON HIS MOTIVATION.

10. WE DO NOT THINK EVIDENCE POINTS TO ACTIVE COLLUSION BETWEEN GREECE AND TURKEY TO IMPOSE CYPRUS SETTLEMENT. YET PARENT COUNTRIES SEEM UNABLE EXERCISE VISION OF ISOLATING MAKARIOS, SUBSTITUTING CLERIDES AND SETTLING PROBLEM ONCE AND FOR ALL. WE AGREE ENTIRELY WITH DEPT THAT MAINLAND COUNTRIES WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO IMPOSE THEIR WILL ON ISLAND WITHOUT VIOLENCE.

11. IT IS NOT UNUSUAL IN HISTORY OF CYPRUS PROBLEM SECRET

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FOR PARTIES TO FOLLOW SEVERAL CONTRADICTORY STRANDS OF POLICY AT SAME TIME. THIS SEEMS TO BE HAPPENING NOW, AND IT IS WORTH UNDERLINING IF ONLY TO DAMPEN OPTIMISM THAT STEMS FROM IMPRESSION THAT PARTIES ARE STAKING EVERYTHING ON INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS. ADDS AGAINST SUCCESSFUL OUTCOME OF TALKS IN COMING MONTHS ARE, WE BELIEVE, STILL LESS THAN EVEN. GRANT UNQUOTE RUSH SECRET

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 10 MAY 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 09 JUN 1973
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: garlanwa
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973STATE112120
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: NEA: SBUTCHER: EMP
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: n/a
Film Number: n/a
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path: ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19730635/abqcompm.tel
Line Count: 195
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ORIGIN NEA
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: STATE 107202, 97565, ANKARA 4186; USUN 2112; LONDON 6628
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: garlanwa
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 12 SEP 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <12-Sep-2001 by martinmt>; APPROVED <16-Nov-2001 by garlanwa>
Review Markings:
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: <DBA CORRECTED> jms 980206
Subject: CYPRUS: IS THE OPTIMISM JUSTIFIED?
TAGS: PFOR, PGOV, CY, IR
To: TEHRAN
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005