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TELEGRAM

'74 SEP 11 AM 7:40

SECRET 8842

PAGE 01 STATE 199145

60 ORIGIN SS-30

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

DRAFTED BY EURISE: WLEAGLETON: CF APPROVED BY S: LEAGLEBURGER S/S : JMEALUM EUR: AAHARTMAN

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY NICOSIA IMMEDIATE

TNFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY ANKARA IMMEDIATE

STATE 199145

FXDIS

F.C. 11652: GDS

TAG : PFOR, CY

UBJE T CLERIDES INQUIRY RE ANGO-AMERICAN INITIATIVE

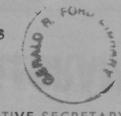
AND US REP'S VISIT TO ATHENS

REF: NICOSIA 3015

1. YOU MAY TELL CLERIDES THAT WE HAVE NOTED PRESS REPORTS OF A NEW "ANGLO-AMERICAN INITIATIVE" ON CYPRUS PROBLEM BUT THERE IS NO REPT NO SUCH INITIATIVE.

2. YOU MAY ALSO TELL CLERIDES THAT

STABLER, IN CONNECTION WITH HIS DUTIES IN EUR BUREAU, HAS



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TELEGRAM

-SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 199145

REEN ON ORIENTATION VISIT BRIEFLY TO ANKARA AND WILL BE ARRIVING IN ATHEMS SEPTEMBER 11. IN BOTH CAPITALS HIS PURPOSE WAS TO FAMILIARIZE HIMSELF WITH AREA, AND THROUGH CONVERSATIONS WITH OFFICIALS, OF ATTITUDES OF TWO GOVERNMENTS REGARDING NUMBER OF QUESTIONS INCLUDING CYPRUS. KISSINGER

74 SEP 11-AM 75 40





TELEGRAM

24

CONFIDENTIAL 0739

PAGE Ø1 STATE 279864

42 ORIGIN SS=25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 CCO-00 /026 R

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EXDIS

E.O. 11652:GDS TAGS: PFOR, CYP SUBJECT:RETURN OF AMBASSADOR

FOR THE AMBASSADOR FROM STABLER

1. THE SECRETARY WISHES TO MEET WITH YOU, AMBASSADOR KUBISCH AND AMBASSADOR MACOMBER IN WASHINGTON ON FRIDAY, JANUARY 3 TO REVIEW THE CYPRUS SITUATION AND OUR FUTURE ACTIONS.

2. WHILE THE SECRETARY RECOGNIZES THE PERSONAL INCON-VENIENCE TO YOU, HE BELIEVES THAT IT WOULD BE PREFERABLE FOR YOU TO REMAIN IN NICOSIA THIS WEEK TO FOLLOW CLOSELY DEVELOPMENTS IN THE CLERIDES-DENKTASH TALKS. YOUR DEPARTURE COULD BE TIMED TO ARRIVE IN WASHINGTON BY THE EVENING OF JANUARY 2.

3. YOUR FULL REPORTING ON YOUR TALKS WITH MAKARIOS, CLERIDES AND DENKTASH HAS BEEN MOST USEFUL. FOR THE TIME BEING WE SHALL HAVE NO COMMENT ON THE SUBSTANCE OF THE CLERIDES-DENKTASH TALKS. THE SECRETARY LOOKS



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FORWARD TO A FULL DISCUSSION WITH YOU ON JANUARY 3, SISCO



TELEGRAM

DEPT: DECLASSIFICATION REVIEW

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SECRET 3452

PAGE 01 STATE 254871

70 ORIGIN SS-25

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

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AMEMBASSY ATHENS IMMEDIATE

SECRET STATE 254871

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EXDIS

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5

STATE DEPT, GUIDELINES, State VIST 8/2/00

BY 44 NARA, DATE 12/19/2001

E.O. 116528 GDS

SUBJECT: SECRETARY'S MESSAGE TO MAKARIOS RE CYPRUS NEGOTIATIONS

FOR THE AMBASSADOR

1. PLEASE CONVEY THE FOLLOWING ORAL MESSAGE FROM THE SECRETARY TO MAKARIOS.

2. BEGIN MESSAGE: FOLLOWING OUR USEFUL DISCUSSIONS IN NEW YORK WE HAVE CONTINUED TO STUDY WAYS IN WHICH WE COULD HELP THE PARTIES RENEW NEGOTIATIONS THAT COULD LEAD TO A JUST SETTLEMENT OF THE CYPRUS PROBLEM. THE LIFTING OF THE EMBARGO ON ARMS TO TURKEY AND THE TURKISH SENATE ELECTIONS HAVE, AS WE EXPECTED, REMOVED IMPEDIMENTS TO THE RENEWAL OF THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS. I AM CONVINCED THAT THE TIME IS NOW FAVORABLE FOR REAL PROGRESS TOWARD A CYPRUS SETTLESMENT.

3. AFTER THE MEETING OF THE TURKISH NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL ON OCTOBER 20 OUR AMBASSADOR IN ANKARA SPOKE AT

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SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 254871

LENGTH WITH THE TURKISH FOREIGN MINISTER, MR. CAGLAYANGIL. IN THAT DISCUSSION THE TURKISH FOREIGN MINISTER OUTLINED THE POSITION OF THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT WITH REGARD TO THE BASIS FOR RENEWING THE CYPRUS INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS. HE

ASKED THAT HIS POSITION BE CONVEYED TO THE GOVERNMENT OF GREECE AS A FIRST STEP IN DETERMINING WHETHER BOTH GREECE AND TURKEY COULD AGREE ON A BASIS FOR SUPPORTING RENEWED TALKS.

- 4. OUR AMBASSADOR IN ATHENS CONVEYED THE TURKISH POSI-TION TO FOREIGN MINISTER BITSIOS AND WE UNDERSTAND THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF GREECE HAS INFORMED YOU OF THE SUBSTA OF THE TURKISH POSITION. THIS HAVING BEEN DONE, I WANT YOU TO HAVE MY ASSESSMENT DIRECTLY.
- THE TURKISH POSITION AS CONVEYED TO US IS THAT THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT SHARES OUR VIEW THAT NOW IS AN OPPORTUNE TIME TO SEARCH FOR A CYPRUS SOLUTION SATISFACTORY TO BOTH SIDES. THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT IS PREPARED TO ENCOURAGE THE TURKISH COMMUNITY ON CYPRUS TO ENGAGE IN SUCH DISCUSSIONS. ALTHOUGH THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT HAS NOT INDICATED EXACTLY WHAT PERCENTAGE OF TERRITORY THEY WOULD BE PREPARED TO RELINQUISH, THEY HAVE SAID THEY ARE NOW PREPARED TO DISCUSS THE GUESTION OF TERRITORY. ON OTHER ISSUES THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT FAVORS A BIZONAL FEDERATED STATE WITH A CENTRAL GOVERNMENT WITH LIMITED POWERS AND GREEK/TURKISH PARTICIPATION IN THIS GOVERNMENT ON AN EQUAL BASIS. THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT IS NOW PREPARED TO DISCUSS THESE ISSUES SIMULTANEOUSLY WITH THE TERRITORIAL ISSUE.
- 6, I WANT YOU TO KNOW THAT, THOUGH THE TURKISH POSITION IS NOT PRECISE REGARDING TERRITORY, I AM ENCOURAGED BY THE TONE OF THE TURKISH MESSAGE, CONVEYING AS IT DOES A DESIRE TO ENGAGE IN SUBSTANTIVE NEGOTIATIONS ON ALL ASPECTS OF A CYPRUS SETTLEMENT. I BELIEVE THAT THIS IS AN IMPORTANT DEVELOPMENT WHICH PRESENTS OPPORTUNITIES THAT MUST NOT BELOST.
- 7. I HOPE YOU SHARE MY VIEW THAT IT IS IMPORTANT TO HAVE

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SECRET

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AN EARLY RESUMPTION OF THE INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS. AS I TOLD YOU IN NEW YORK THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT IS PREPARED IN ANY WAY IT CAN TO HELP THE PARTIES PROGRESS TOWARD A CYPRUS SOLUTION. I WILL WANT TO KEEP IN CLOSE TOUCH WITH YOU TO ACHIEVE THIS END. END MESSAGE. KISSINGER





TELEGRAM

SECRET 6291

PAGE 01 STATE 276244

44 ORIGIN 38-25

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

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STATE DEPT, GUIDELINES, State visit 9/23/07

____, NARA, DATE 1/30/03

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5

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INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY ANKARA IMMEDIATE
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SECRET STATE 276244

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CY, GR, TU

TACCO DECID CV CD TI

SUBJECT: SECRETARY'S MEETING WITH DENKTASH

1. RAUF DENKTASH CAME TO WASHINGTON FROM NEW YORK MORNING NOVEMBER 20, MET WITH THE SECRETARY, AND RETURNED IMMEDIATELY TO NEW YORK WHERE UNGA DEBATE WAS STILL IN PROGRESS. DENKTASH'S PRESENTATION OF TURKISH-CYPRIOT CASE CONTAINED MUCH BITTERNESS TOWARD MAKARIOS AND FRUSTRATION OVER UNEQUAL STATUS OF TURKISH CYPRIOTS AT THE UN. HE SAID THAT PURPOSE OF TRIP TO MOSLEM COUNTRIES AND TO NEW YORK WAS TO UNDO DAMAGE THAT MAKARIOS HAD CAUSED. HE HAD WANTED TO SHOW GREEK CYPRIOTS THAT MAKARIOS COULD NOT GET AWAY WITH IT AND THEREBY TURN GREEKS TOWARD A MORE REALISTIC APPROACH TO NEGOTIATIONS.

2. THE SECRETARY ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE CYPRIOT PROBLEM DID NOT BEGIN IN JULY 1974. HE OBSERVED, HOWEVER, THAT THERE



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WAS NOW A STALEMATE AND THAT IF NOTHING HAPPENS, CONGRESS WILL PASS ADDITIONAL RESTRICTIVE MEASURES WHICH WILL FURTHER DAMAGE US-TURKISH RELATIONS AND HURT TURKISH-CYPRIOT POSITION AS WELL. HE OBSERVED THAT TURKISH SIDE COULD NOW HAVE FAR MORE THAN WAS THOUGHT POSSIBLE TWO YEARS AGO, UNDER BIZONAL SYSTEM AND CENTRAL GOVERNMENT WITH

LIMITED POWERS. WITH A WEAK CENTRAL GOVERNMENT THE PARTICIPATION ISSUE WOULD NOT BE SO IMPORTANT, QUESTION NOW WAS WHETHER TURKISH SIDE WOULD BE ABLE TO PUT FORWARD TERRITORIAL PROPOSALS. IF NOT, WE WOULD BE IN DIFFICULT POSITION, HAVING OBTAINED LIFTING OF ARMS EMBARGO ON BASIS THAT PROGRESS WOULD BE MADE ON CYPRUS.

- 3. DENKTASH ARGUED THAT A SHOW OF TOO MUCH EAGERNESS TO NEGOTIATE WAS A BAD TACTIC, AND WOULD ONLY MAKE MAKARIOS MORE DIFFICULT. HE HAD SUGGESTED TO WALDHEIM THAT HE SHOULD LEAVE MAKARIOS ALONE FOR A WHILE AND THE LATTER WOULD COME TO HIM WITH RENEWED INTEREST IN INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS. HE COMPLAINED THAT MAKARIOS HAD NEVER RENOUNCED ENGSIS AND WOULD HAVE TO DO SO.
- 4. THE SECRETARY SUGGESTED THAT RENUNCIATION OF ENOSIS COULD BE PART OF A PACKAGE. DENKTASH AGREED THERE COULD BE A PACKAGE SETTLEMENT. HE EMPHASIZED, HOWEVER, THAT WHILE GREEKS LOOK AT ECONOMIC GAINS, TURKS LOOK AT TERRITORIAL PROBLEM FROM POINT OF VIEW OF FUTURE SECURITY OF TURKISH SECTOR. TURKISH MILITARY BELIEVE THAT CESSION OF NEW FAMAGUSTA WOULD CAUSE SECURITY PROBLEM. DENKTASH SUGGESTED, BUT DID NOT INSIST, THAT THERE SHOULD BE AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT WHICH COULD NEGOTIATE TERRITORIAL ASPECTS.
- 5. WITH REGARD TO RENEWAL OF INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS, DENKTASH SAID THAT BECAUSE OF DEVELOPMENTS AT THE UN, HE MUST SAVE FACE AND CONTINUE TO MAKE NEGATIVE NOISES FOR A WHILE. HE FELT THEN WALDHEIM WOULD APPROACH THE TWO SIDES AND "AT A CERTAIN STAGE," THEY WOULD AGREE ON TALKS. HE THOUGHT, HOWEVER, THAT TALKS SHOULD BE PREPARED BEFOREHAND IN NICOSIA, POSSIBLY WITH WALDHEIM'S REPRESENTATIVES SHUTTLING BETWEEN HIM AND CLERIDES.

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6. IN CLOSING, THE SECRETARY AGAIN WARNED THAT IF THE TURKS DO NOT PUT SOMETHING FORWARD, CONGRESSIONAL PRESSURES WOULD WEAKEN US-TURKISH RELATIONS AND THE POSITION OF THE TURKISH-CYPRIOT COMMUNITY AS WELL.

7. AFTER THE MEETING DENKTASH MET BRIEFLY WITH THE PRESS. HE DENOUNCED MAKARIOS AND GREEK-CYPRIOT ACTIVITIES AT THE UN. IN ANSWER TO A QUESTION RE RESUMPTION OF INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS, HE SAID HE MUST RESERVE HIS POSITION PENDING THE OUTCOME OF THE UNGA VOTE ON CYPRUS RESOLUTION.

KISSINGER



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