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7/6-Cyprus

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

November 21, 1983

STATEMENT BY THE PRINCIPAL DEPUTY PRESS SECRETARY

In his meeting with the President, President Spyros Kyprianou of the Republic of Cyprus, deplored the unilateral declaration of a separate political entity in Northern Cyprus and urged U.S. support for a Cyprus settlement, which included a reversal of this unilateral act.

The President noted our deep distress at the unilateral action by the Turkish Cypriots and that we had supported a British resolution at the United Nations deploring the Turkish Cypriot action and urging cooperation with U.N. efforts to promote a peaceful settlement. The President said that the United States stands four square behind the U.N. Secretary General's good offices effort and emphasized the importance of reestablishing a dialogue between the two communities on Cyprus.

The President also noted that he had personally spoken with the U.N. Secretary General on Friday about his difficult task and offered to help in any way possible. In recognizing that the situation is complex, the President asked that the Government of Cyprus not let this ill-advised unilateral act preclude consideration of any opportunities that may emerge for progress towards a settlement.

#

216- Cyprus
COMMENTS TO GREEK-AMERICAN COMMUNITY

November 18, 1983 -- New York

ARCHBISHOP IAKOVOS, HONORED GUESTS, MY GREEK-AMERICAN
FRIENDS --

IT IS A PRIVILEGE FOR ME TO BE HERE WITH YOU TODAY ON BEHALF
OF PRESIDENT REAGAN. WE ARE GATHERED HERE AT A SHOCKING AND TERRIBLY
TROUBLING MOMENT IN THE HISTORY OF THE MEDITERRANEAN -- THE
UNEXPECTED ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE "TURKISH REPUBLIC
OF NORTHERN CYPRUS."

I HAVE COME HERE REPRESENTING THE PRESIDENT AND, AS HIS SPOKESMAN,
LET ME SAY THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES, ACTING ON BEHALF
OF YOU THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES, CONDEMNS THIS UNILATERAL
ACTION BY THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS. THERE IS ONLY ONE LEGAL GOVERNMENT
OF CYPRUS AND THAT IS THE REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS HEADED BY PRESIDENT
KYPRIANOU. THE PRESIDENT HAS CALLED ON THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS TO REVERSE
THEIR ACTION. THE UNITED STATES HAS URGED THE GOVERNMENT OF TURKEY
TO USE ITS INFLUENCE WITH THE TURKISH CYPRIOT COMMUNITY TO BRING
ABOUT SUCH A REVERSAL.

THE UNITED STATES WILL NEVER RECOGNIZE THE SELF-DECLARED TURKISH
CYPRIOT STATE.

WE IN THE ADMINISTRATION KNOW THAT THE TRAGIC INVASION AND
PARTITION OF CYPRUS HAS ALWAYS BEEN AN ISSUE OF SPECIAL CONCERN
TO THE GREEK-AMERICAN COMMUNITY. WE WERE EAGER TO INVITE YOUR
LEADERSHIP, HIS EMINENCE ARCHBISHOP IAKOVOS, ANDY ATHENS, PETER CARDIGES,
GEORGE LIVANOS, GENE ROSSIDES AND OTHERS ON WEDNESDAY TO HEAR THEIR
VIEWS AND ADVICE ON THIS IMPORTANT ISSUE. LAST WEDNESDAY, THESE
OUTSTANDING LEADERS MET WITH BOTH VICE PRESIDENT ~~GEORGE~~ BUSH AND

441-6078

~~Queens~~ ~~Stuyvesant~~ ~~D.~~

9th Broadway E 42nd.
150

SECRETARY SHULTZ. AT THE MEETINGS, BOTH THE VICE PRESIDENT AND THE SECRETARY OF STATE REITERATED AND REAFFIRMED THE UNITED STATES POSITION THAT THE REUNIFICATION OF CYPRUS CAN ONLY BE SETTLED IN A FAIR AND PEACEFUL NEGOTIATED MANNER, NOT BY UNILATERAL DECLARATIONS. THEY FURTHER UNDERLINED THE UNITED STATES BROADER STRATEGIC INTERESTS IN THE REGION WHICH ARE JEOPARDIZED BY THIS RECKLESS UNILATERAL ACTION.

LET ME FURTHER STATE, THAT NOT ONLY HAS THE PRESIDENT REFUSED TO RECOGNIZE THE TURKISH CYPRIOT ENTITY, BUT THAT HE HAS URGED ALL COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD NOT TO RECOGNIZE IT AND TO WORK FOR ITS REVERSAL. AS SOME OF YOU MAY KNOW, THIS MORNING THE PRESIDENT SPOKE WITH THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS, AND RESTATED THE UNITED STATES FIRM POSITION ON THIS CRISIS, URGING MR. PEREZ DE CUELLAR TO CONTINUE HIS UNTIRING EFFORT TO REVERSE THIS ACTION AND BRING ABOUT A JUST SETTLEMENT.

MY FRIENDS, WE HAVE GATHERED HERE AT A VERY TROUBLED TIME -- LET ME STATE AGAIN THAT THE PRESIDENT SHARES YOUR SHOCK AND OUTRAGE AND WILL CONTINUE IN HIS UNCOMPROMISING EFFORTS TO BRING JUSTICE TO CYPRUS.

LINAS KOJELIS
OFFICE OF THE PUBLIC LIASON
THE WHITE HOUSE

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 20, 1981

*file
Cyprus*

FOR:

JAMES RENTSCHLER
NSC (361 EOB)

FROM:

JACK BURGESS *[Signature]*
OFFICE OF PUBLIC LIAISON

SUBJECT:

Attached Correspondence

I have received the attached memo from an individual who prefers to remain anonymous, but nonetheless, would appear to have first-line contact with the situation in Cyprus.

I am forwarding his analysis for your consideration.
Thank you.

Jack

26JL81

Many thanks for forwarding us this material, which tracks with some other things we've seen, generated both locally and from the Greek Cypriot community. Coincidentally (?) I met last week with some prominent members of the Greek-American community whom Ed Derwinski brought in. I'm making sure the relevant people at State are au courant. Much appreciate your keeping NSC in the loop on any material of this kind...

[Signature]
Jim Rentschler
x 5026

file
cyprus

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

May 19, 1981

TEXT OF A LETTER FROM THE
PRESIDENT TO THE SPEAKER OF THE
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
AND THE CHAIRMAN OF THE SENATE
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

May 19, 1981

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. Chairman:)

In accordance with the provision of Public Law 95-384, I am submitting the following report on progress made during the past sixty days toward reaching a negotiated settlement of the Cyprus problem.

The intercommunal negotiations between Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot representatives continue under the chairmanship of the Secretary General's Special Representative on Cyprus, Ambassador Hugo Gobbi. The two sides are proceeding in their detailed review of the four basic, mutually agreed-upon issues and continuing to devote each session to one topic.

Meetings were held on March 18, April 2, 15 and 29, and May 6. The pace of weekly sessions has slowed somewhat as both Greek and Turkish Cypriots prepare for elections. A reduced schedule in May and June is anticipated with resumption of a regular schedule in July. Both sides have continued their talks in a congenial negotiating atmosphere.

Although not directly connected to the intercommunal talks, the problem of missing persons in Cyprus has been a significant issue dividing the communities. Consequently, we are pleased to note a significant, positive development in this area. Ambassador Gobbi announced on April 22 that an intercommunal agreement had been ~~reached on the terms of reference for a Committee on Missing Persons~~ (text attached). The date for the first meeting of the Committee will be fixed soon following coordination with the International Committee of the Red Cross and appointment of members of the Committee.

The issue of setting up a Committee on Missing Persons could, in our view, only be resolved with the cooperation of both Cypriot communities. Consequently, we are gratified by the United Nations' announcement and hope that subsequent discussion in the Committee will be productive and lead to a resolution of this important, humanitarian question.

We also believe the formation of a Committee will contribute to a positive negotiating atmosphere facilitating progress in the intercommunal talks. The agreement reached to form a Committee suggests that patient, persistent negotiating between both communities, under United Nations aegis, holds the potential for success even on the most difficult of issues. I am confident that the productive attitudes characterized by the formation of a Committee on Missing Persons can be employed in the pursuit of a just and lasting settlement of the Cyprus question.

Sincerely,

RONALD REAGAN

more

(OVER)

STATEMENT OF AGREEMENT ON
MISSING PERSONS COMMITTEE

Following is the text of a statement made April 22 by SRSB Gobbi at the Ledra Palace in Nicosia, Cyprus:

"On behalf of the Secretary-General, I am very pleased to announce that agreement has been reached by the two sides on the terms of reference for the establishment of a committee on missing persons in Cyprus.

The Secretary-General has asked me to thank both sides for their important cooperation which has made this agreement possible. In particular, I wish to thank the representatives of the two sides who, over the past few months, were engaged in intensive efforts to bring about the setting up of this committee. The Secretary-General also wishes to thank the International Committee of the Red Cross for its cooperation in facilitating this significant achievement. On the basis of this agreement it is possible now to proceed to the establishment of the committee. This development represents a very important step forward in the solution of a long-standing issue of great concern to the two sides.

Furthermore, we hope the efforts of the committee on missing persons will strengthen the spirit of cooperation and the joint endeavor undertaken in the framework of the intercommunal talks."

#

July 22, 1981

*file
Cyprus*

Mr. Dominic K. Talarides
President
United Greek Cypriots of
Northern California
2842 Johnson Avenue
Alameda, CA 94501

Dear Mr. Talarides:

This is to acknowledge receipt of your letter of June 26, to President Reagan concerning the Cyprus situation.

I have found your insights and analysis most interesting, and therefore, have taken the liberty of forwarding it to the National Security Council staff. Please be assured that it will be studied and given all due consideration.

Thank you for taking the time to write and express your views in such a thorough and incisive manner.

Sincerely,

Jack Burgess
Special Assistant
to the President

cc: NSC with copy of incoming

JB:c - 10



United Greek Cypriots of Northern California

President's Address: 2842 Johnson Ave., Alameda, Calif. 94501

Tel: Res. 865-1284 Office 834-8590

President Ronald Reagan -
The White House
Washington, D.C.

MEMORANDUM ON THE CYPRUS PROBLEM

Dear President Reagan:

It is going to be exactly seven years since the invasion of the Republic of Cyprus by Turkey on July 20, 1974. However, Turkish military forces are still in occupation of forty percent (40%) of the territory of the Republic in the north, 200,000 Greek-Cypriot refugees are still forcibly kept away from their homes and their lands, and no progress whatsoever has been made towards a solution of the international or constitutional aspects of the problem.

I am writing to you in the hope that as President of the United States, which grants to Turkey considerable military and economic aid and other privileges, you may be able to exercise appropriate persuasion and pressure on Turkey to abandon its long-range policy of territorial expansion at the expense of the Republic of Cyprus and negotiate a democratic and fair solution of the problem.

RECALL OF SALIENT FACTS AND EVENTS

A brief recall of certain salient events will help to place the present problem in proper perspective.

To all objective and unbiased observers the island of Cyprus has been since time immemorial and still is part of the Hellenic world in the same way as all the other Greek islands which are situated in the Ionian, the Aegean or the Mediterranean Seas, as for instance the island of Corfu, Crete or the Dodecanese. The indigenous people of Cyprus have been since at least three thousand years and still are ethnically, linguistically and culturally Greek. No more eloquent and convincing

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testimony could there be of this, than that of Sir Ronald Storrs, the British Governor, during whose term of office, in 1931, the Greek people of Cyprus revolted against British rule for the first time and who wrote in his Memoirs:

"No sensible person will deny that the Cypriot is Greek-speaking, Greek-thinking, Greek-feeling, Greek, just as much as the French Canadian is French-speaking, French-thinking, French-feeling and French. Both are equally sensitive upon this matter of race."

Almost all the other Greek islands were in the nineteenth or twentieth centuries progressively united politically with the State of Greece by being eventually liberated from their foreign rulers, mainly the Ottoman Empire, which is the ancestor or predecessor of modern Turkey. As you know the whole of the Hellenic world, including mainland Greece and the islands, were under Ottoman occupation for approximately four hundred years except for the Ionian Islands which were first under the Venetians and then under the British. At the conclusion of the first phase of the war of Greek independence against the Turks, the Treaty of London of 1927 set up the Greek state with a territory comprising at the time only the Peloponnese peninsula and the southern portion of the Greek mainland up to but excluding Thessaly. It was to take another century or so to liberate other parts of the immemorially Hellenic world and thus gradually constitute what is now present-day Greece. Thus the seven Ionian islands were ceded to the Greek state by Britain in 1864, Thessaly was liberated from the Turks in 1881, Hephirus, Macedonia, Crete and the Aegean islands were liberated from the Turks in 1913, Western Thrace from the Turks in 1923 and as late as 1947 the island of Rhodes and the rest of the Dodecanese islands from the Italians, who had taken them over from the Turks during World War I.

As each part of the Hellenic world was being liberated, it was politically united with the independent Greek state which was the mother-country. That process came to be known as "union" (enosis) with Greece. The fate of Cyprus was different. Conquered also by the Turks in 1570 it remained under Ottoman occupation until 1878, when by secret treaty between Britain and the Sultan it was ceded to the British in exchange for the British promising to the Sultan protection for his European possessions against Russia. When Turkey entered the first World War on the side of the Germans, Britain annexed Cyprus, and in 1915 offered Cyprus to Greece

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to induce Greece to enter the war on the side of the allies. Greece at the time was ruled by King Constantine I, who was married to Kaiser William the second's sister, and did not want to enter the war against Germany. However, when Prime Minister Venizelos ousted the King in 1917 and Greece entered the war on the side of the allies, the offer had already lapsed and the British, of course, did not renew it.

The aspiration of the people of Cyprus has always been to be united with their Greek brethren as the rest of the Greek islands. The British were well aware both of the Hellenic character of the island and of such aspiration ever since they set foot on Cyprus in 1878.

In 1897 Gladstone wrote:

"I subjoin the satisfaction I should feel were it granted me before the close of my long life to see the population of that Hellenic Island placed by a friendly arrangement in organic union with their brethren of the Kingdom of Greece."

Ten years later Winston Churchill, as Under-Secretary for the Colonies speaking to the Greek members of the Cypriot Legislative Council said,

"I think it is only natural that the Cypriot people, who are of Greek descent, should regard their incorporation with what may be called their mother-country, as an idea to be earnestly, devoutly and fervently cherished. Such a feeling is an example of the patriotic devotion which is nobly characteristic of the Greek nation."

Ramsay MacDonald, the future labor government Prime Minister, declared at the socialist conference at Berne in 1919 that,

"The British Labor Party would apply the principle of self-determination to Cyprus."

However everything was forgotten by the British and after the second World War during which Greece fought valiantly along the side of the allies, the British response to the demand of the Cypriot people for self-determination and union with Greece was an unqualified refusal. To the point that in July 1954 the then British Colonial Secretary, Lennox Boyd, declared in the House of Commons,

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"It has always been understood and agreed that there were certain territories in the Commonwealth which because of their particular circumstances could never expect to be fully independent...."

The year following, 1955, the people of Cyprus commenced their armed struggle against the British colonialists. During such struggle which lasted five years the British stirred up the Turkish minority of eighteen percent (18%) of the population against the Greek majority of eighty percent (80%), intercommunal strife ensued and Turkey was brought in by Britain as an interested party ostensibly to protect the Turkish minority. Thus the problem of Cyprus from a problem of decolonization and union with Greece, the mother-country, became an international problem involving not only Britain, Greece and Turkey but indirectly by its potential impact on world peace, the rest of the international community. The five years of struggle against the British ended in the 1959 Zurich agreement between Greece and Turkey and the Treaty of London in the same year between Britain, Greece and Turkey, by which Cyprus was declared an independent Republic. "Independence" was however a euphemism because by means of a so-called Treaty of Guarantee imposed on the young Republic a right of military intervention was given to all or any of the three guarantor powers amounting practically to a right to invade the Republic on the pretext of preserving the constitutional order imposed on the Republic. At the same time a Treaty of Alliance between Greece, Turkey and Cyprus gave the right to Greece and Turkey to station military contingents on the territory of the Republic. These treaties ominously foreshadowed the events that were to happen in 1974.

Britain took care in granting independence, to carve for itself out of the island's territory generous portions of its soil (ninety-nine square miles) in the south of Cyprus as "sovereign military bases". Thus Britain having entangled Greece, Turkey and Cyprus into a deadly alliance was extricating itself harmless while keeping for itself a large part of what was at stake.

The constitutional order established for the Republic instituted separate electoral rolls for the two communities, separate communal legislative assemblies, thirty percent (30%) instead of eighteen percent (18%) participation of Turkish representatives in the House of Representatives and gave to the Turkish minority in the legislative field power of veto over electoral, municipal and tax imposing laws. In the executive branch of government the Turkish vice-president

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elected solely by the eighteen percent (18%) minority was given veto power over both executive and legislative decisions in matters of foreign affairs, defense and internal security.

It was a thoroughly clumsy and unworkable constitutional arrangement destined to split farther apart the Greeks and the Turks of the island and which would disintegrate with the first wind of dissension. Cambridge professor of constitutional law, A. De Smith writing on the Cyprus constitution in his book "The Commonwealth and its Constitutions"--(London, 1964), described it as follows:

"One who was totally ignorant of the realities of politics might well inquire whether the principles underlying the constitution of Cyprus and the detailed rules that it embodies have been conceived by a constitutionalist and a mathematician in nightmarish dialogue. The constitution of 1960 is a tragic and occasionally ludicrous document reflecting the gulf that lies between two communities living in a deeply riven plural society."

In November 1963, approximately three years after the establishment of the Republic and after repeated constitutional crises, the Greek president of the Republic proposed to the Turks a number of constitutional amendments to make the constitution workable and facilitate the smooth running of government. The upshot was violent confrontation in December 1963 between the two communities. The Turkish leadership using a terrorist organization and applying a preconceived plan forced the Turkish minority to withdraw from mixed areas of population and confine itself in enclaves in an attempt to concentrate the Turkish minority in separate geographical areas with the aim of creating the basis for a federal solution of the problem. Such federal solution was always intended by Turkey as a first step to the eventual partition of the island. In fact ever since Turkey was brought by Britain into the dispute its aim has consistently been the incorporation pure and simple of Cyprus into Turkey and failing that the partition of the island. As a first step to achieving its objectives, Turkey has been clamoring for a federal solution of the Cyprus problem. There was however no rational basis for federation as the Greeks and Turks in Cyprus have lived for centuries peacefully intermingled in all parts of the island. There was no geographical area or areas ethnically homogeneous

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or assignable to each community. Hence the Turkish creation of enclaves in 1963 and later in 1974 the invasion and occupation by Turkey of forty percent (40%) of the island.

Following the events of December 1963 and pursuant to the Security Council's resolution of March 4, 1964, a United Nations mediator was appointed by the Secretary-General, namely, Mr. Galo Plaza, to explore the possibilities of a peaceful solution and an agreed settlement of the problem of Cyprus. In his report of March 26, 1965, in discussing the Turkish proposal for a federal solution to the problem in contradistinction to the Greek solution of a unitary and democratic system of government, he said this:

"It is essential to be clear what this proposal implies. To refer to it simply as 'federation' is to oversimplify the matter. What is involved is not merely to establish a federal form of government but also to secure the geographical separation of the two communities. The establishment of a territorial regime requires a territorial basis, and this basis does not exist. In an earlier part of this report, I explained the island-wide intermingling in normal times of the Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot populations. The events since December 1963 have not basically altered these characteristics; even the enclaves where numbers of Turkish Cypriots concentrated following the troubles are widely scattered over the island, while thousands of other Turkish Cypriots have remained in mixed villages."

Turkey however would persist unrelentlessly in its course of imposing by force of arms a federal solution. It attempted to invade Cyprus in August 1964 but the invasion was then halted by President Johnson who threatened to interpose the Sixth Fleet. Ten years later, in July 1974, Turkey would try again and this time the invasion and occupation of Cyprus would be ruthlessly carried out through plunder, destruction, rape, murder and forcible expulsion of the Greek population from almost half of the territory of the Republic.

The Turkish invading armies are still occupying the northern territory of Cyprus with a boundary cutting across the entire length of the island and 200,000 Greeks expelled

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by force from their homes and lands are still refugees. For seven years Turkey has not budged an inch. It has defied all resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council of the United Nations, and it has scorned at the American arms embargo which has had little or no effect on Turkey either while it was imposed or when it was lifted. It is clear that Turkey is inflexibly and ruthlessly bent on a policy aiming, as a minimum, at the partition of the island if it fails to incorporate the whole of it in its territory and will not be deterred from its course by any logical arguments or persuasions. Resolutions or decisions of international organizations have proved ineffective as there is no collective will to enforce them. As long as such resolutions are not enforced their only effect will be to bring discredit on the organization concerned as demonstrating its inability to obtain respect for its resolutions.

THE TWO ASPECTS OF THE PROBLEM OF CYPRUS

There are basically two aspects to the problem of Cyprus. There is the question of the international status of the Republic and secondly the internal constitutional arrangements which should regulate the relations between the Greek majority and the Turkish minority and the division of political power between them. The United Nations' resolutions bear on both those aspects.

THE RESOLUTIONS OF THE UNITED NATIONS

The basic policy-making resolution of the United Nations which has been described by the General Assembly as providing "the valid framework" or "valid basis" for the solution of the problem of Cyprus is Resolution 3212 (XXIX) which was adopted unanimously, including Turkey, by the Assembly, on November 1, 1974, and which was subsequently endorsed also unanimously by the Security Council by the latter's Resolution No. 365 (1974) of December 13, 1974.

THE INTERNATIONAL ASPECT

With regard to the international aspect, the Resolution confirms the status of the Republic of Cyprus as an independent, sovereign state whose territorial integrity and political non-alignment should be respected by all states. As such sovereignty and independence is incompatible with the presence of foreign troops on its territory it also asks for the withdrawal of such troops and the cessation of all foreign interference in the Republic's affairs.

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THE CONSTITUTIONAL ASPECT

With regard to the constitutional structure of the Republic and the division of political power between the Greek majority and Turkish minority, the Resolution takes position in favor of the return of the refugees to their homes and the continuation of contacts and negotiations between the representatives of the two communities with a view to reaching "freely a mutually acceptable political settlement, based on their fundamental and legitimate rights".

In a subsequent Resolution (3395 of November 20, 1975) the United Nations disapproved of the actions of the Turkish Government to change the demographic composition of the population of the island by importing Turkish nationals and settling them in the north. It urged all parties "to refrain from unilateral actions in contravention of Resolution 3212 (XXIX), including changes in the demographic structure of Cyprus".

Thus the United Nations' Resolutions are clearly in favor of a return to the status quo ante of before the invasion and the reversal of the fact of partition accomplished through aggression and invasion as a means of forcing a federal solution of the problem. This is in accordance with international law and morality which would not condone the uprooting of half the population of a country from their lands and homes where they have been living since time immemorial in order to accommodate the aggressive expansionism and voracious nationalism of Turkey.

The return of the 200,000 Greek refugees is however opposed by Turkey as it is not compatible with the forcible division of the island that Turkey is still maintaining and which promotes its avowed aim of establishing in the north in a geographical area exclusively inhabited by Turks a Turkish federated state. Such a solution has however been implicitly rejected by the General Assembly's Resolutions which clearly envision a solution not incompatible with the return of the refugees to their homes.

TURKEY SHOULD WITHDRAW ITS FORCES AND THE REFUGEES REPATRIATED

The first step to meaningful and hopeful negotiations between the representatives of the two communities is the withdrawal of Turkish occupation troops from the north and the return of the refugees to their homes. The United Nations'

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Resolutions by demanding the "immediate withdrawal of all foreign armed forces and foreign military presence from the Republic of Cyprus" (Resolution 33/15 of November 9, 1978) clearly imply that there can be no free negotiations and a freely negotiated political settlement unless the threat and pressure of the military presence in the north is removed.

I therefore first of all appeal to you, as the President of the United States, to bring to bear on Turkey all the persuasion and pressure that you can exert including if necessary the use by the United States of effective sanctions to obtain the withdrawal of the Turkish Army of occupation from the northern territory of the Republic and to repatriate the 200,000 Greek refugees. This would reverse the facts accomplished by Turkey by means of aggression and invasion and would facilitate the negotiation of a peaceful solution of the constitutional problem.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL SOLUTION

What should such a solution be? Such a solution should undoubtedly be a democratic solution.

The Greek people, both of mainland Greece and of Cyprus, for the sake of international peace and reasonable accommodation, have abandoned the incorporation of Cyprus into the Greek state (enosis) as was the national and natural destiny of all historically Hellenic lands, as a solution of the Cyprus problem. However, they will not abandon the democratic rights of the Greek majority in Cyprus, nor will they subordinate its future or surrender its fate to the expansionist designs of Turkey. They cannot therefore settle for anything less than a democratic solution.

A DEMOCRATIC CONSTITUTION--NO REVERSE DISCRIMINATION

A democratic solution implies a democratic constitution recognizing the political rights of the Greek majority and at the same time effectively protecting all legitimate claims of the Turkish minority. The best way of accomplishing these ends and of bringing together the two communities in peaceful coexistence is in the context of a unitary state and a unitary constitution. This is the solution which the Greek side has been advocating ever since 1963. The Turkish minority had been however fomented and encouraged into excessive demands by the British colonialists and by Turkey who had been using it as a pretext for intervention. It was not the Turkish minority which was discriminated against and its democratic rights denied but the Greek majority. The 1960 constitution which

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was imposed on the Republic was a classic example of the invidious application of the doctrine of reverse discrimination against the Greek majority, which doctrine has been so squarely condemned both by the California and United States Supreme Courts in the celebrated Bakke case. In fact, the Turkish minority was allocated thirty to forty percent (30%-40%) of all public offices in the Republic, whether appointive or elective, which was vastly disproportionate to its numerical strength of eighteen percent (18%) of the population and in addition was given decisive voting powers in the most important fields of government. The Greek majority's vote was thus underweighted and diluted and its democratic rights debased and subordinated to the whims of a foreign controlled Turkish minority.

It was because of excessive and unreasonable privileges and super-rights granted to the Turkish minority and the potential for their abuse that the constitution of 1960 was not viable and could only lead to dissension and violent confrontation between the two communities. When the abusive and excessive demands of the Turkish minority are reduced to sensible proportions the attainment of a solution just and fair to all sides will become feasible. Turkey however and the Turkish-Cypriot minority which it controls will not become amenable to reason unless effective pressure is brought to bear upon it by the United States. That is why I appealed to you above for effective persuasion and pressure for the withdrawal of the Turkish Army of occupation from the north and the repatriation of the Greek refugees.

"ONE PERSON, ONE VOTE"

Secondly, I appeal to you to work for a democratic solution of the constitutional aspect of the problem of Cyprus. I would urge you in this respect to be guided by the democratic principles of government enshrined in the American Constitution and so eloquently expressed in the "One person, one vote" principle of the United States Supreme Court decision of Reynolds v. Sims, 377 U.S. 533, 12 L.ed 2d 506, a principle so successfully applied in such a multi-ethnic society as the United States.

Turkey on the pretext of protecting the Turkish minority makes mockery of the principles of democratic government. It wants to equalize in political strength the Greek majority of eighty percent (80%) of the population with the Turkish minority of eighteen percent (18%) and uses to that end such intentionally misleading terms and notions as "the Greeks and the Turks are two separate communities" which are "equal

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with one another" and which should therefore "equally share the island between them" through a geographical division of the entire country. What Turkey really wants is a Turkish Cyprus or at a minimum a Turkish separate state of Cyprus with as much territory as it can get or keep. A greater perversion and misuse of the notion of protection of minorities could not have been invented or imagined. Such ideas are abhorrent to the people of the United States and its multi-ethnic and many-minorities society. Nowhere else in the world have minority rights been so effectively and extensively protected as in the United States. Yet no minority has been granted overweighted voting rights or separate territory or been set up as a state within a state. Nor is there any other rule of democratic government so firmly adhered to and applied in the United States as the majority rule. As it was said by the United States Supreme Court in Reynolds v. Sims:

"Logically, in a society ostensibly grounded on representative government, it would seem reasonable that a majority of the people of a state could elect a majority of that state's legislators. To conclude differently, and to sanction minority control of state legislative bodies, would appear to deny majority rights in a way that far surpasses any possible denial of minority rights that might otherwise be thought to result....Our constitutional system amply provides for the protection of minorities by means other than giving them majority control of state legislatures. And the democratic ideals of equality and majority rule, which have served this Nation so well in the past, are hardly of any less significance for the present and the future."

MAJORITY RULE AND MINORITY PROTECTION

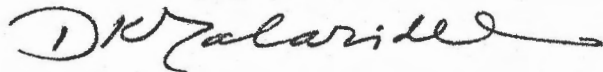
Thus the solution of the constitutional aspect of the problem of Cyprus requires essentially the application to the people of Cyprus of the basic democratic notions of majority rule and minority protection.

I respectfully submit that as the President of the United States you owe it to democracy and to the great democratic principles by which this country is governed, to uphold the principles of democracy and their application to the people of Cyprus. Turkey must not be allowed to get away with what it has accomplished by invasion and aggression. It should not be allowed to take advantage of its being an ally of the

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United States and part of the western alliance, to defy and trample international law and the principles of democracy which the western alliance exists to defend. Turkey must be made by firm action of the United States to respect the democratic rights of the people of Cyprus.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "DK Talarides", with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

Dominic Kikes Talarides, President
United Greek Cypriots of Northern
California

DKT:bm

cc: Constantinos Karamanlis, The President
of the Greek Republic
Spyros Kyprianou, President of the
Republic of Cyprus
George Rallis, The Prime Minister of Greece



United Greek Cypriots of Northern California

President's Address: 2842 Johnson Ave., Alameda, Calif. 94501

Tel: Res. 865-1284 Office 834-8590

BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION ON PRESIDENT

DOMINIC KIKES TALARIDES, lawyer; born Paphos, Cyprus, March 25, 1932; son of Chrysanthos G. and Neophyta E. (Papaioannou) T.; came to U.S. 1975 after Turkish invasion of Cyprus; Barrister-at-Law, Middle Temple, London, 1953; student Inst. World Affairs, London U., 1950-52; French Council of State, Paris, 1964; married, Chryso Papaioannou, October 5, 1968; children: Nathalie, Christine, George.

Admitted to English Bar, 1953, Cyprus Bar, 1953, California Bar, 1976; magistrate, Cyprus, 1956-59; crown counsel, 1959-60; counsel to Republic of Cyprus, 1960-68; senior counsel, 1968-72; individual practice law, Nicosia, Cyprus, 1972-76, Oakland, California, 1976; member of firm Baker, De Ome, Talarides & Batchelder, Oakland, 1976-80; individual practice of law, Oakland, 1980 to present; member of Alameda County, Am., San Francisco Bar Associations, San Francisco Trial Lawyers Association, California Attorneys for Criminal Justice, Assn. Immigration and Nationality Lawyers Am.; President, United Greek Cypriots of Northern California; Hellenic Am. Profl. Soc. Calif. Greek Orthodox. Clubs: Order of AHEPA, Commonwealth of California, Oakland Athletic. Home: 2842 Johnson Avenue, Alameda, California, 94501. Office: 436-14th Street, Suite 1217, Oakland, California, 94612.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: April 17, 1984

TO: FAITH WHITTLESEY

APR 17 1984

FROM: LINAS KOJELIS *LK*
Associate Director
Office of Public Liaison
Room 438 OEOB, Ext. 2741

- ☐ FYI
- ☐ For Your Review
- ☐ Please Return By _____
- ☐ Comments

As regards actual negotiations, I think it best to leave it in the Counselor's hands.

However, it is important that, when appropriate, you impress upon senior WH staff, especially NSC, that the "Greek lobby" is not a Washington-based PAC, but represents over a million citizens, who have two senators a dozen congressmen, governors and dozens of other elected officials. They are also very business oriented. The WH must be primed to back the Counselor up should he or Sec Gen or UN be able to make any progress on this issue.



United States Department of State

The Counselor

Note: Kyprianou's message to President Reagan is transmitted in a State Department cable from Embassy Nicosia on March 14, 1984.

The message number is Nicosia 1359.

The message was repeated to the White House situation room on March 14.

Off Staff 4/10/84
for Linas

Linas -
What to do
w/this?
F.

The Cyprus Issue

The House Foreign Affairs Committee has approved a modest \$39 million cut in security assistance for Turkey. Most of the Executive Branch can live with this figure, even though it is the 7-10 ratio.

The Congress does not seem to want a confrontation this year over Cyprus. The Greek lobby, sensing this, has backed off for now on pressing for a new embargo or deep cuts on Turkish assistance. They have settled for the modest HFAC reductions and have even told me they could accept the full Administration request if there was a package on Varosha (Famagusta) under the UN Secretary-General's auspices. They are anxious for progress on Cyprus, not really motivated by a "get the Turks" mood.

There is hope --but as yet no assurance--that Denktash' meeting on Friday with the SYG will enable the SYG to move ahead on a Varosha package. (I will see Denktash Saturday).

The Greek lobby is also willing to support additional U.S. aid to help rehabilitate Varosha -- in order to encourage both sides to come to an agreement.

In present circumstances, we only need now to avoid having members of the Administration exert further pressure on the Hill on behalf of Turkish assistance. To do so creates an unnecessary issue with Greek-Americans, who are still within our reach for 1984.

April 18, 1984

NOTES FOR MEETING WITH FAITH WHITTLESEY

SUBJECT: Greeks, Armenians and Turks

Overview;

Greek-Americans	1 million
Armenian-Americans	212 thousand
Turkish-Americans	64 thousand

Political Clout:

Greeks -- Former Vice-President, governors, 2
Senators, a dozen Congressmen.

Armenians -- Governor of California, one
congressmen, many local officials

Turkish -- None

Publications:

Greek -- 1 daily, 7 weeklies, 12 monthlies

Armenian -- 2 dailies, 10 weeklies, 12 monthlies

Turkish -- 4 monthlies

Religious organization:

Greek -- Very strong, hierarchical, united
Orthodox community

Armenian -- Very strong, hierarchical, united
Orthodox community

Turkish -- Loosely organized Moslem faith

Foreign policy notes:

Main issues:

Greek -- Cyprus, Greek-Turkish animosity,
U.S. security assistance to
Greece/Turkey (7:10)

Armenian -- Recognition of genocide, Armenian

human rights in Turkey, U.S.
security assistance to Turkey.

U.S. - Turkish Relations

Flourishing under Reagan Administration.
Major arms sales at excellent terms. Request
for major increases in security assistance.

Turkish foreign policy

- intransigent on Cyprus (establishment and
now recognition of Northern Cyprus.)
- intransigent toward Armenians, now request
for Administration pressure on Congress
on Armenian resolution.

What to do?

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Faith -

After you review,

I would like to
come over to discuss
general issue of
Greeks, Turks &
Armenians.

Thx,

-L

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 18, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR FAITH WHITTLESEY

FROM: LINAS KOJELIS *LK*

SUBJECT: White House statement on Cyprus

APR 18 1984

Background: Yesterday Turkey exchanged envoys with the self-proclaimed Turkish Cypriot state. No other nation has recognized the Turkish Cypriot entity. The U.S. and this Administration have been taking credit in part for the failure of other nations to recognize it, because of our strong statements condemning the action by the Turks in Cyprus.

This latest move by the Turks has further angered Greece, Cyprus and Greek-Americans, who claim it shows Turkey's total unwillingness to seek a fair solution to the Cyprus problem.

Derwinski and NSC Views: Ed Derwinski feels strongly that the White House should release a statement, similar in tone to those released last fall (copy of Nov. 21 statement attached) denouncing the Turkish action. We are being "held to the standard we set last fall," according to him. He stated that the State Department will formally advise the Turkish Ambassador in Washington of U.S. dissatisfaction in this matter.

I talked with the NSC desk officer for Turkey who said the NSC has not decided whether to support release of a WH statement. They are concerned that a statement would be used by Congressional opponents of the Administration's security assistance policies toward Turkey in calling for further reductions in aid.

Press coverage: The Turkish action received very little coverage in the Washington Post this morning. I have not seen other papers.

Analysis:

1. Congress is already aware of the President's strong position on this matter. Failure to release a statement could well send a signal to both the Greek-American community and its supporters on the Hill that the WH is weakening its position on Cyprus, making Congress feel that it is up to it alone to act (i.e. cut Turkish aid).

2. The Turks should not be surprised by a WH statement. State will have already conveyed the U.S. position to them.

3. While the Turkish action did not receive big play in the general media, it will certainly get banner headlines in the Greek-American press, radio and TV. A WH statement should be sent to all Greek-American media outlets.

Recommendation: I believe we should support the release of a WH statement. If you agree, I will prepare a memorandum from you to Bud McFarlane expressing our views, though it would also be very important for you discuss the matter with him as well.

B-6 Cyprus

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

November 21, 1983

STATEMENT BY THE PRINCIPAL DEPUTY PRESS SECRETARY

In his meeting with the President, President Spyros Kyprianou of the Republic of Cyprus, deplored the unilateral declaration of a separate political entity in Northern Cyprus and urged U.S. support for a Cyprus settlement, which included a reversal of this unilateral act.

The President noted our deep distress at the unilateral action by the Turkish Cypriots and that we had supported a British resolution at the United Nations deploring the Turkish Cypriot action and urging cooperation with U.N. efforts to promote a peaceful settlement. The President said that the United States stands four square behind the U.N. Secretary General's good offices effort and emphasized the importance of reestablishing a dialogue between the two communities on Cyprus.

The President also noted that he had personally spoken with the U.N. Secretary General on Friday about his difficult task and offered to help in any way possible. In recognizing that the situation is complex, the President asked that the Government of Cyprus not let this ill-advised unilateral act preclude consideration of any opportunities that may emerge for progress towards a settlement.

#

April 18, 1984

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now recognition of Northern Cyprus.)
- intransigent toward Armenians, now request
for Administration pressure on Congress
on Armenian resolution.

What to do?

7-6-Cyprus

Turkish Move in Cyprus Criticized

U.S. Expresses 'Deep Concern' Over Exchange of Ambassadors

By Don Oberdorfer
Washington Post Staff Writer

The State Department expressed "surprise ... disappointment ... deep concern [and] deep regret" yesterday about a Turkish diplomatic move on Cyprus that is expected to add to already serious displeasure with Turkey on Capitol Hill.

The unusually strong U.S. reaction, made public by spokesman John Hughes, was prompted by Turkey's exchange of ambassadors Tuesday with the self-proclaimed Turkish Cypriot government on Cyprus. Officials said the action is likely to be cited on the Hill when the House and Senate resume deliberations tied to Cyprus on proposed U.S. military aid to Turkey.

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee voted March 28 to place conditions on \$215 million of the proposed \$230 million in military aid grants for Turkey, permitting it to be spent only if Greek Cypriot refugees are allowed to return to the Cypriot city of Varosha, which has been under Turkish control since the 1974 Turkish invasion of the island.

Richard N. Haass, the State Department's Cyprus coordinator, warned at the time of the 11-to-7 vote that neither Turkey nor the Turkish Cypriots would

be likely to act positively "under this kind of pressure." Referring to the amendment, which arose from growing impatience with Turkey in the Greek-American community and in Congress, Haass declared: "I could not think of a worse thing to do to our ally Turkey at this time."

Even before Tuesday's exchange of envoys, which was immediately denounced by Greece and Greek Cypriots, congressional observers said the lawmakers were likely to adopt an amendment tying Turkish aid to positive movement by Turkey and Turkish Cypriots on Cyprus.

State Department officials said enactment of such an amendment would complicate U.S. relations with Turkey and could set them back after several years of improvement in both the military and political spheres. There was speculation in official circles that Tuesday's diplomatic action by Turkey was, in part, a reaction to the Senate committee vote, which was taken as an affront in Ankara.

The official State Department concern yesterday was cast in terms of the Turkish maneuver's potential negative effect on U.N. efforts to negotiate a solution to the Cyprus dispute. Of more immediate U.S. concern, officials said, is the likely effect on Capitol Hill.

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Reagan Cyprus report makes Greeks unhappy

ATHENS — The bimonthly report of President Reagan to the US Congress has displeased Greeks, both here and in Cyprus. The report, they feel, emphasizes Turkish proposals and downplays the government proposals advanced for consideration in promoting a solution to the nearly 10-year-old problem.

Greece's Weekly, in a report on politics, said that the report had caused an uproar in Greece. It noted, however, that reaction of the opposition to the government uproar was more against the government than Reagan.

Reagan's report referred to the proposals of Jan. 2 put forward by both the Turkish government and Rauf Denktash. The government announced it intended to remove as many as 1,500 of the 30,000 Turkish troops stationed in Cyprus, and Denktash announced a series of "good-will" measures designed to settle some of the outstanding issues between the communities.

Reagan, in his message to Congress, itemized the Denktash proposals (turning over the Varosha suburb of Famagusta and Nicosia airport to U.N. administration, reactivation of the Committee on Missing Persons and several other "confidence-building" measures) and said, "The administration welcomed these proposals as being movement in the right direction."

Later he added: "We believe the Jan. 2 proposals from the Turkish side... constitute positive results."

The report of Greece's Weekly continues:

The Greek government, after recent and uncharacteristic wooing of Washington to maintain support over the Cyprus issue, came out strongly against Reagan's statement.

"We express our regret that the American side considers the proposals by Denktash, which are misleading and devoid of content, as a step in the right direction," said government spokesman Dimitris Maroudas.

Meanwhile, the proposals from Cypriot President Spyros Kyprianou have been rejected by Turkey and the Turkish Cypriots, while London and Washington are backing UN attempts at a solution. The main objection of Turkey and the Turkish Cypriots to Kyprianou's package is to the proposed demilitarization of the island to form a federal republic.

This would mean withdrawal of 30,000 Turkish troops, which have occupied the northern third of Cyprus since 1974, followed by the removal of Greek and Turkish units based on the island under the terms of the Cyprus independence agreement. The island's internal and external security would be ensured by a UN force and by international guarantees for the island's indepen-

dence, territorial integrity and non-alignment.

Under Kyprianou's plan, the 18 percent Turkish-Cypriot minority would keep 25 percent of the Cypriot territory. The Greek Cypriot majority would get the rest.

Other points in the plan are for the once-Greek Varosha section of Turkish-controlled Famagusta and Morphou to be returned to the Greek Cypriots. Cyprus would, as before, have a Greek-Cypriot president and a Turkish Cypriot vice president, according to Kyprianou's proposals. The two federated provinces would have wide powers of self government.

But foreign affairs, defense, the economy and international communications would be controlled by a federal government in which ministries would be shared on a 70-30 ratio by Greeks and Turks. Seats in parliament would be allocated on an 80-20 basis. All Cypriots would be guaranteed freedom of movement and residence on the divided island.

Kyprianou has handed the plan to de Cuellar. He has also offered to meet Denktash, if Denktash will agree to revoke his declaration of an independent Turkish state.

Denktash said he'll meet the Cyprus president without an agenda and without pre-conditions. "But one thing must be clear — talk about the withdrawal of our declaration of statehood is a non-starter."

Joe Duggan → 456-2741

Ed Deminick — Nov 20, 1984
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Costa Carras.

- more limy than Mr.
- not ship owner.
- pro-west / pro-U.S.
- wants Cyprus solution
- con Papandreas.
- keep observer. →
- any special influence?
- not a heavy hitter.
- doesn't

In Divided Cyprus, Bitter Hatreds Are A Fact of Life

Greek and Turkish Cypriots live on the same small Mediterranean island. Yet with all the suspicion and anger that exist today, they could be oceans apart.

NICOSIA, Cyprus

The unhappy story of this divided Mediterranean island nation can be told through the hardships that have beset two Cypriot families, one Greek, the other Turkish.

Eliada Adamou, 23, remembers with horror that night 10 years ago in her northern village of Hartsa when, amid the whine of aircraft and the thump of artillery, her parents and their 11 children were forced to flee south with other Greek Cypriots to escape the invading Turkish troops.

"We were terrified," she recalls. "We didn't know where to go, just that we had to head south, away from the Turks."

Today, Eliada lives with her husband and three children in the Strovolos III refugee settlement near Nicosia. Antagonism toward Turks and Turkish Cypriots still runs deep.

Naziyet Baskut, a 54-year-old Turkish Cypriot, lives 5 miles north of the Strovolos camp. Her ill fortunes began nearly 10 years before Eliada's, in December, 1963, as communal fighting raged between Greek Cypriots seeking *enosis*—union with Greece—and Turkish Cypriots. To escape rampaging Greek gunmen, she and her family abandoned their home in downtown Nicosia and fled north to an all-Turkish enclave, where they still reside. "We cannot live with the Greeks," she says. "Time has proved that."

Eliada and Naziyet never have met—and are not likely to. They are symbols of the hatreds and suspicions between Greek and Turkish Cypriots that have torn the island apart for as long as any Cypriot can remember.

Violence is no stranger here. A strategic crossroads in the eastern Mediterranean, Cyprus has been ruled over the centuries by Greeks, Romans, Venetians, Franks, Turks and Britons, among others. United Nations forces have been on the island since 1964 trying to keep peace between the Greek and Turkish communities.

Massive Migration

The round of turmoil triggered by the desire of Greek Cypriots to become part of Greece erupted well before Britain granted the island independence in August, 1960.

Communal warfare in 1963, 1964 and 1967 was climaxed in July, 1974, when elements of the Cypriot National Guard, instigated by Greece, overthrew the President, Archbishop Makarios. Five days later, Turkish armed forces invaded.

By the time the fighting was over, 200,000 Greek Cypriots had fled from the north to the south and about 40,000 Turkish Cypriots had moved north. The



Turkish troops keep an eye on Greek sector of divided Nicosia.

Turkish Army seized—and still controls—roughly 36 percent of the island.

Today, some 546,000 Greek Cypriots live in the south under the Nicosia government recognized by the U.N., and 126,000 Turkish Cypriots, guarded by 20,000 Turkish troops, live in the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, proclaimed in 1983 but recognized only by Turkey.

No Man's Land

Between the two areas is the so-called Attila line, a cease-fire zone that runs east to west across the island. It is patrolled by 2,330 United Nations troops from Denmark, Canada, Britain, Sweden and Austria, plus police from Finland, Ireland and Australia. There are also two British military bases on Cyprus, holdovers from colonial days.

The Attila line, which cuts through old sections of Nicosia, varies in width from one block in the capital to as much as several miles in the countryside.

The no man's land is off limits to all but occasional U.N. patrols. Virtually untouched since the fighting ended, the zone is a picture frozen in time, giving evidence of the suddenness and fierceness of the conflict. In the Nicosia section, a few parked cars still await owners who fled hastily 10 years ago. On the outskirts of the city is a warehouse filled with crates containing 1974-model refrigerators and other appliances awaiting delivery.

In Nicosia, Greek Cypriot and Turkish troops peer from sandbagged positions that block narrow back streets, trying their best to ignore one another. Shops about the outposts, and children play nearby. Says a rug salesman on the Greek side: "Nobody wants trouble. We've had enough of that."

Official contacts across the border are few. A committee meets occasionally to try to determine the fates of several thousand Greek and Turkish Cypriots listed as missing in fighting over the past decades.

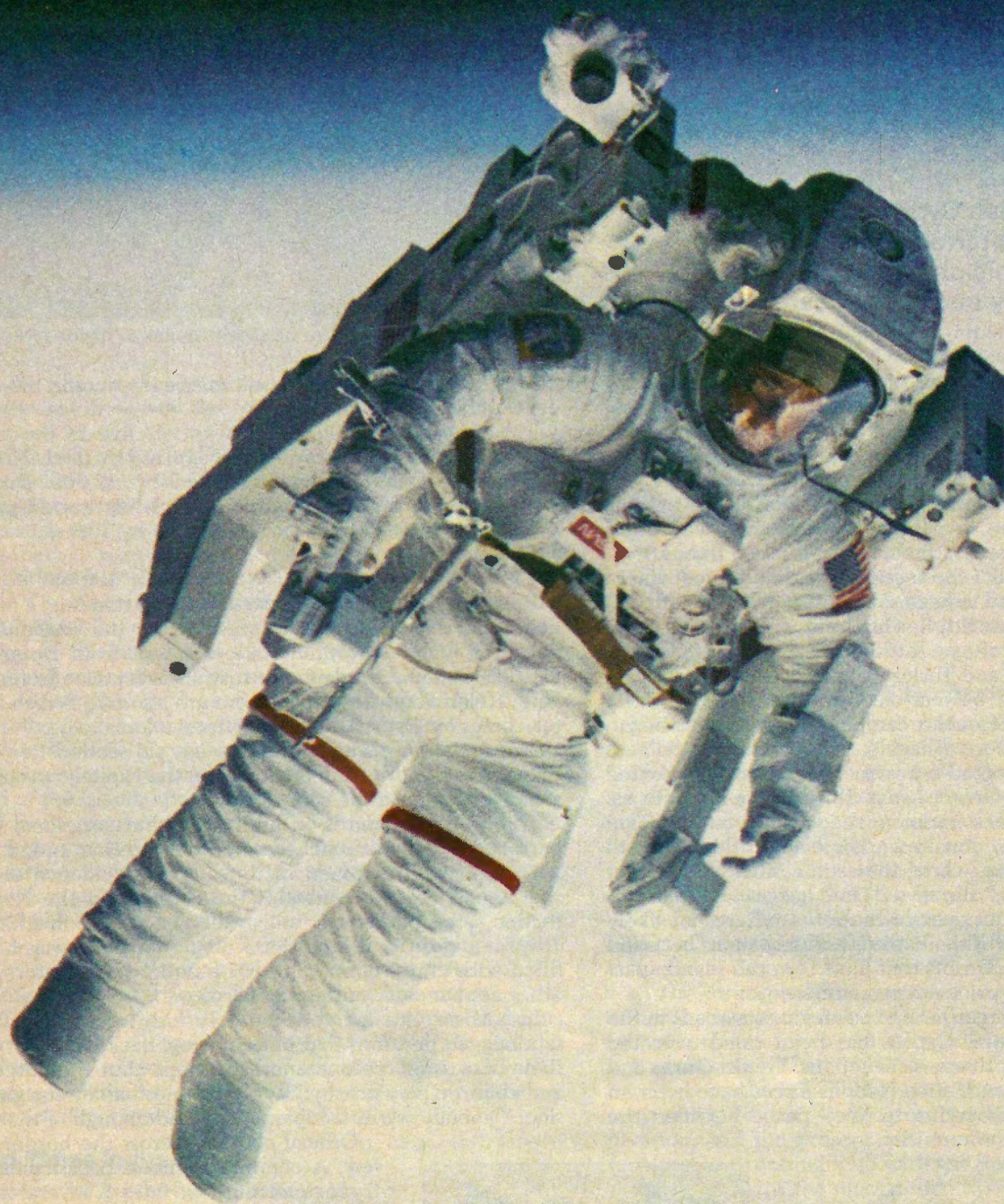
A single phone line connects north and south for official business. A few people are allowed to pass through checkpoints to get to special jobs. And in an informal arrangement, the north provides water to the south in exchange for electricity.

The south allows foreigners to visit the north—but only for a matter of hours. Crossing signs warn tourists not to shop in the north and to be back before nightfall.

Nicosia's closed international airport is a slowly decaying eyesore. Grass grows thickly through runway cracks. A termi-



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Billboard in southern part of the island exhorts Greek Cypriots to remember those who died in Turkish invasion of 1974.

nal that was new when the Turks invaded is empty. The factions have been unable to agree on reopening the field.

An entire eastern city is held hostage by the Turks. Varosha, a strip of high-rise hotels and white beaches, is surrounded by barbed wire and guarded by troops. Turkish Cypriots hope to use it as a bargaining chip in negotiations with the south. The luxury resort is occupied mainly by nesting birds.

Multistorey buildings distinguish the skyline of the Greek section of Nicosia. Traffic clogs streets lined with swank shops and restaurants. Per capita income is about \$5,000 a year, higher than in Greece and four times that of Turkish Cypriots. Tourism jumped 41 percent last year.

Stelios Kiliaris, a government economist, points to those achievements with pride, saying: "Overnight, we lost a third of the island, which produced 73 percent of the country's gross domestic product. This included most of the citrus groves and tobacco lands, two thirds of our hotel accommodations and the port of Famagusta, which handled 80 percent of our shipping. We had to deal with an influx of 200,000 people with nowhere to live and no jobs."

The south has attracted 2,000 foreign firms since 1976, partly because Lebanon's troubles destroyed Beirut as a business center and partly because of tax incentives.

Thanks to massive aid from Greece for the public sector, unemployment dropped to zero in 1978 and, despite the worldwide business downturn, now stands at a low 3.5 percent. Inflation is running at 5 percent, and the economy is expected to grow about 4 percent this year.

Hard Times in the North

Prosperity in the south is not matched by the north, choked by a Greek boycott that forces almost all trade to come from Turkey. It is estimated that aid from Turkey sustains one third of the Turkish Cypriot economy.

Also, because most countries condemned the Turkish invasion and generally support the Nicosia government, few are willing to trade directly with the Turkish sector. At the northern port of Famagusta, all the dozen ships docked on a recent day were of Turkish or Turkish Cypriot registry. Captains of foreign ships, wary of legal troubles, avoid the Turkish area. Some have even been arrested while docking in the south because they had made port calls in the north.

Traffic is light in the Turkish part of Nicosia, and life moves at a measured pace. Only a few building projects are under way—one of them a cultural center at the Turkish Embassy, the only diplomatic mission to the Turkish Cypriot

state. U.S. consular representation consists of an office in the home of a Turkish Cypriot employe of the American Embassy. It is identified only by a small sign tacked to the door.

The Turkish influence is visible everywhere—from soldiers on guard duty to memorials to Turkish troops and to Kemal Ataturk, the founder of modern Turkey.

Despite their economic woes, Turkish Cypriots are proud of what they have accomplished in breaking away from the south. "We don't have much, but we don't need much," says Nevzat Soyatli as he sips thick black coffee at a workers' club near the Attila line. "We never will go back to living under the Greeks. That's for sure." Necati Ertekun, Foreign Minister of the new republic, agrees. "It is absolutely impossible to go back from independence," he says. "It would be like pushing a baby back into the womb."

Meanwhile, living in the south fails to bring satisfaction to some Greek Cypriots. Bitterness lingers in many who fled from the north. One is Christos Artemiou, now a schoolmaster and head of a refugee committee, who abandoned a profitable citrus business in Morphou as the Turks advanced. "How can new prosperity repay me for my feelings, my principles and the justice lost in this outrage?" he asks.

His sole possession from his former life: An album of family photographs sent to him from his old home by the Turkish Cypriot who occupies it now.

Artemiou and others see the north's declaration of independence as a heartbreaking step that all but makes final the splitting of the island. Says café owner Elias Nicolaou: "This is a good life, a safe life. But it never can replace my life in my village in the north."

Official Theme: "You Will Go Back"

The Nicosia government nurtures these emotions to maintain public support for its drive to regain the north. Between evening television shows, flashed on the screen are tranquil scenes of such cities as Kyrenia, the beautiful northern port where many of the Greek refugees once lived. Against a background of soft music, the unspoken message is clear: "You can go back. You will go back."

Other reminders that the country is divided are less subtle. A sign just outside the active international airport at Larnaca, some 20 miles from Nicosia, bids visitors goodbye and exhorts them: "Don't forget the Turkish invasion."

In the atmosphere of suspicion and rivalry, no one in either the north or south expects the country to be reunited soon, even with renewed U.N. mediation.

It is also likely that any U.S. effort to bring the two sides together would fail. Turkey still smarts from a five-year arms embargo that Washington imposed in reaction to the invasion, and the present leftist government in Greece is involved in a running feud with the Reagan administration.

Posing perhaps the most difficult problem for the future of Cyprus is the almost total lack of personal contact between the Greek and Turkish Cypriot people.

It is a problem illustrated in the living rooms of the Adamou and Baskut families, residing just 5 miles apart on opposite sides of the Attila line. Children and grandchildren listen as their elders relate to visitors stories of mistreatment by and difficulties with the "other side." Thus the younger people absorb the generations-old lessons of mistrust between the factions.

None of Eliada Adamou's children has ever talked to a Turk. None of Naziyet Baskut's grandchildren has talked to a Greek. In the chilled political climate of the island, this situation will endure into the foreseeable future. □

By JEFF TRIMBLE

New Mood Stirs Feuding Islanders

By Jonathan C. Randal
Washington Post Foreign Service

NICOSIA, Cyprus, Jan. 17— Handsome new color photographs of Archbishop Makarios stare from the walls in the Greek sector of the Cypriot capital, but eight years after his death his shadow no longer dominates this divided island in the eastern Mediterranean.

The diminished importance of his once intransigent legacy, and the ruins of the Greek-dominated first Cypriot republic he ran after Britain granted independence in 1960, are rarely mentioned in public now. But they constitute a significant part of the backdrop of this week's talks at the United Nations—the most important negotiations between Greek and Turkish Cypriots in five years.

A local newspaper editor remarked privately, "Makarios is no longer an untouchable saint" for Greek Cypriots, who make up nearly four-fifths of the island's estimated 650,000 inhabitants. "That is new."

"We Greek Cypriots now admit to ourselves that Makarios and our other leaders could have made better settlements in the past—and should have accepted compromises," he added. "That, too, is new."

Outmaneuvered in November 1983 when Turkish Cypriots unilaterally proclaimed independence for their portion of northern Cyprus, and caught off balance again last fall when Turkish Cypriot lead-

"We Greek Cypriots now admit to ourselves that Makarios and our other leaders could have made better settlements in the past—and should have accepted compromises. That, too, is new."

— An editor in Nicosia

struction contracts in the Persian Gulf and light industry, such as ready-to-wear clothing and food processing.

The Cypriot government officially and Greek Cypriots privately say they were encouraged when about 30 Turkish Cypriot journalists accepted an invitation for the post-Christmas ball given annually by the Greek-dominated Cyprus Union of Journalists. Among those who came was Raif Denktash, son of the Turkish Cypriot leader and head of the Turkish Cypriot Social Democratic Party.

"They were the star attractions after so many years," the local editor said, but he wondered whether his teen-age son, who in the past decade had had no Turkish Cypriot friends, would have felt the same elation. After so many years of separation, only the older Cypriots have childhood memories of growing up with members of the other community.

This cautious optimism is attributed to sometimes contradictory reasons ranging from the mellowing effects of time to high policy moves in Washington, Brussels, Ankara and Athens.

All but overlooked is the presence of the nearly 21-year-old U.N. peace-keeping force of 2,311 troops drawn from seven nations. They have provided the safety net that has kept intercommunal violence to a minimum, at an annual cost of \$100 million.

Nowhere along the 135-mile-long buffer zone separating the two sides is tension more palpable than in the narrow, winding streets of the Old City of Nicosia, now patrolled by 425 members of the Royal Canadian Regiment's 1st Battalion.

The Canadians keep an eye on rival Greek and Turkish Cypriot troops, who face each other from well-entrenched positions, often fewer than 10 yards apart.

Although flare-ups are infrequent, 13 months ago a Greek Cypriot soldier was shot dead outside his observation post and now the Canadians man a post 10 yards away to keep the lid on.

Around the clock, lightly armed two-man Canadian teams record, and try to stop, the usually minor violations—name-calling, occasional rock-throwing and shining of lights at the adversary.

Every rusted, sand-filled barrel



BY DAVE COOK—THE WASHINGTON POST

replaced by a new one, every new bit of metal sheeting is scrutinized by the other side, lest the rivals improve a position at its expense. Yet, recently Greek and Turkish workers laid a new sewer pipe in the buffer zone under the watchful gaze of the Canadians.

Such mundane practical successes may yet prove to have set in motion examination of the complicated details of any deal.

The details—the sharing of power and guarantees for the Turkish minority, how and when the remaining 24,000 mainland Turkish (and about 3,000 mainland Greek) troops would leave, who would guarantee a final settlement—have scuttled previous negotiating rounds.

By general agreement the present round owes much to the doggedness of Javier Perez de Cuellar. Before becoming U.N. secretary general, he spent years as U.N. special representative on the Cyprus issue. Also helping were the Reagan administration, the Council of Europe and the European Community.

Diplomats here say all these bodies kept pointing out to Turkey that it was in its and the West's best interests to prevent further deterioration on NATO's exposed eastern flank.

Although President Reagan wrote a personal letter to Turkish President Kenan Evren in November suggesting such an accommodating step, some diplomats say they believe that the Turkish leader already had made up his mind to move. Turkish aid had just squeaked through the U.S. Senate and, as one diplomat said, "Evren didn't need a diagram."

Communities Of Cyprus Revive Talks

*Greek, Turkish Sides
Near Accord at U.N.*

By Michael J. Berlin
Special to The Washington Post

UNITED NATIONS, Jan. 17— Leaders of the Greek and Turkish communities on Cyprus sat down together today for the first time in five years to try to resolve the dispute that has divided their island for two decades.

"This is the handshake of the century," said Turkish Cypriot leader Rauf Denktash as he greeted President Spyros Kyprianou, the Greek Cypriot leader, in the conference room of the U.N. Security Council.

The climactic round of negotiations on the establishment of a federal republic of Cyprus that would reunite the two feuding communities began with a statement by U.N. Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar, whose intense three-month

mediating effort laid the groundwork for a pact. "If you are determined to reach an agreement," he told them, "a unique chance now exists. If this moment is lost, it may not readily recur."

In the earlier talks, agreement was reached in principle on territorial adjustments, constitutional issues, and a mechanism for breaking deadlocks that may result from the veto powers granted to the Turkish Cypriot minority.

From the Greek Cypriot viewpoint, the major gaps that must be bridged are a timetable for the withdrawal of the 24,000 Turkish troops that have occupied the northern third of the island since 1974; an assurance that Turkey will not be able to justify any future invasion by being designated a "guarantor" of the agreement, and acceptance of the principle that all Cypriots will be free to move, settle or own property anywhere on the island.

The Turkish Cypriots have taken the position that no more commitments are necessary, and all that remains is the establishment of timetables for opening the international airport at Nicosia to the Turkish Cypriot community, for turning over to U.N. administration seven areas now under Turkish control that would be resettled by Greek Cypriots, and for the coming into effect of a transitional government.



Memo

From the desk of:

LEON P. STAVROU

AMERICAN HELLENIC INSTITUTE / PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE, INC.
1730 K Street, N.W., Suite 903, Washington, D.C. 20006
Phone: (202) 659-4608

Jack,

*I would like to bring the enclosed
information to your attention.
Pleasure meeting you —*

Leon

*file
Cyprus (or Greek issues)*

STATEMENT OF EUGENE T. ROSSIDES
SPECIAL COUNSEL
AMERICAN HELLENIC INSTITUTE PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE, INC.
BEFORE THE
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
UNITED STATES SENATE

April 22, 1981

Washington, D.C.

Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee, I appreciate the opportunity to appear before the Committee on behalf of the American Hellenic Institute Public Affairs Committee, Inc., and present views on the foreign aid authorization legislation for fiscal year 1982, affecting Turkey, Greece and Cyprus.

TURKEY

Proposed Increase In Aid To Turkey Is Unreasonable

The Reagan Administration has adopted at this time the final Carter Administration budget proposal, submitted before leaving office, of \$403.5 million in Foreign Military Sales (FMS) assistance and \$300 million in Economic Support Fund (ESF) assistance for Turkey which is now ruled by a military junta. The total of \$703.5 million is \$251.5 million more than last year's figure of \$452 million. Turkey continues to be the third largest United States aid recipient. We oppose this proposal as contrary to the best interests of the United States.

Executive Branch policy in the past towards Turkey has clearly not worked. The State Department and Defense Department hierarchy have been wrong for years on this issue. This policy has resulted in a weakened U.S. security situation in the Eastern Mediterranean and has cost the American taxpayer over \$1 billion in wasted aid to Turkey. This policy should be changed now!

To increase military and economic aid to the Turkish military junta at a time:

-when we are in the process of substantial Federal budget cuts and are calling on the American people to make substantial sacrifices, and when despite our budget cuts we face a \$45 billion deficit, is unreasonable;

-when there has been no progress regarding a Cyprus settlement, when Turkey continues to maintain illegally 27,000 troops and over 40,000 colonists in Cyprus, which together with Turkey's direct subsidy to the Turkish Cypriots, costs Turkey anywhere from \$300 million, the amount of proposed U.S. economic aid, to one-half billion dollars, is unreasonable;

-when that junta refuses to refer its Aegean sea claims to binding international arbitration contrary to what other nations have done in similar situations, when Turkey objects to a balance of military strength with Greece, and when Turkey has its Army of the Aegean aimed at Greece's Aegean Islands, is unreasonable.

We believe the interests of the United States are best served by substantially reducing last year's aid figure of \$452 million and by conditioning aid to Turkey, at a minimum, on the policies of Congress which became law in the International Security Assistance Act of 1978, which lifted the remaining partial embargo.

International Security Assistance Act of 1978 - Need For Explicit Conditions

The Wright Amendment to that Act defined achievement of a just and lasting settlement on Cyprus as a central objective of United States foreign policy. By adopting the Wright compromise, Congress found that a just settlement presupposes the establishment of a free and independent government of Cyprus, the early peaceable return of the refugees to their homes and properties, human rights guarantees for all Cypriots and the withdrawal of Turkish military forces from Cyprus.

The Wright Amendment required that articles of military assistance furnished to Greece and Turkey be used solely for defensive purposes and states that military equipment be used to fulfill the NATO responsibilities of the recipient country. "Defensive purposes" and fulfilling NATO responsibilities do not include using U.S.-supplied arms either to threaten another NATO ally, as Turkey is now doing with its Army of the Aegean, or to maintain its illegal occupation forces and colonists in Cyprus.

The International Security Assistance Act of 1978 also contained the stated policy of maintaining the military balance between Greece and Turkey.

Congress and the Administration in 1978 expected Turkey to be forthcoming. Turkey has ignored the Congress and the Administration for three years.

This Committee can play a central role in resolving the outstanding issues among Greece, Cyprus and Turkey, and meet its constitutional and partnership role in the formulation of United States foreign policy by making the policies set forth in the 1978 legislation into explicit conditions.

Aid to Turkey should also be conditioned on removal of all Turkish colonists (estimated at over 40,000) and on the establishment by Turkey of an international missing persons investigating team regarding the several missing Americans and 2,100 missing Greek Cypriots.

"The Turkish Army Is Not A Cure To Turkish Democracy, But Rather A Major Cause Of The Disease."

The Turkish Army, as presently structured, is a severe drain on the Turkish economy. As one expert stated:

"The Turkish Army is not a cure to Turkish democracy, but rather a major cause of the disease..... Since World War II, Turkey has tried to maintain a force structure it could not man or equip."

(See Justin Galen, "Turkey As a Self-Inflicted Wound," Armed Forces Journal International, June 1980, p. 67.

The illegal Turkish occupation force in Cyprus is a part of that drain. These forces should be demobilized and placed into productive areas of the Turkish economy. Instead, Turkey insists on maintaining them even though they serve no defensive or NATO purpose.

The time to negotiate with Turkey is now! This ^{Committee} Subcommittee should re-evaluate its past position and insist on making the policies enunciated in the 1978 legislation explicit conditions to any further aid.

We oppose Soviet aggression and violations of the rule of law in Afghanistan while we support and subsidize Turkish aggression and violations of the rule of law in Cyprus.

We oppose Cuban military forces in Africa while we support and subsidize Turkish occupation forces and colonists in Cyprus.

The Administration's new stand towards the Soviet Union, long overdue, should not overshadow the need to be firm with an ally who is guilty of similar transgressions. Otherwise we will properly be accused of a double standard.

Secretary Alexander Haig's response to a question regarding our foreign policy and the Soviet Union, during testimony before the House Foreign Affairs Committee (March 18, 1981), could be equally applied to Turkey:

The U.S. seeks world peace, Haig said, and the "basic fundamental values" of the U.S. - due process, self-determination, freedom from outside intervention or intimidation.

"These objectives," Haig said, "...can best be achieved in an environment of security, of peace and peaceful change, and above all, by the rule of law. And not by bloodshed in wars of so-called liberation." (The Washington Star, March 19, 1981)

Proof that the Administration is concerned with and supports the rule of law and human rights would be demonstrated by an even-handed application of our beliefs in our policy towards Turkey.

There are practical reasons also for such a policy. Failure to apply even-handedly the rule of law and human rights principles to Turkey jeopardizes our relations with Greece and Cyprus and the West's use of valuable bases in both countries.

Myth And Reality Regarding Embargo

The rule of law arms embargo imposed on Turkey on February 5, 1975, did not "severely damage" the Turkish armed forces nor was Turkey "hit hard" by the embargo as some Turkish officials and others have contended. The full military embargo lasted only seven months. It was basically lifted on October 2, 1975. Thereafter, Turkey was receiving arms aid from the U.S. at a higher rate than before the embargo amounting to over one billion dollars since October 2, 1975! During and after the embargo period Turkey received arms from West Germany.

The Staff Report of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Turkey, Greece and NATO: The Strained Alliance, March, 1980, contradicts the Turkish officials and others by stating "that the arms embargo itself had only a minimal impact" on Turkish military equipment (See pages 1 and 17 of the Staff Report).

The Congressional rule of law arms embargo and the outcry of Greek Americans against Turkish aggression and lawlessness did have the following important effects:

1. it focused U.S. and world attention and opinion on Turkey's aggression and violations of the rule of law in Cyprus;
2. it was instrumental in preventing further Turkish aggression in Cyprus;
3. it was instrumental in preventing Turkish aggression in the Aegean; and
4. it was instrumental in giving democratic Greece time to reorganize and strengthen its military forces in the crucial several months following Turkey's invasions of Cyprus in July and August of 1974.

Turkey And Heroin

A recent Washington Post article (February 9, 1981) discussed Turkey's role as "the main artery for the flow of heroin to the United States and Western Europe from Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan." This situation has been going on for years and deserves careful scrutiny and investigation by the Congress.

GREECE

The Reagan Administration has adopted the Carter Administration's final budget proposal of \$260 million in Foreign Military Sales. Just prior to leaving office the Carter Administration wrote to the Congress requesting another \$20 million in FMS authority for Greece in order to bring the military sales ratio as between Greece and Turkey to 7 to 10. Greece does not receive economic assistance from the United States.

In the 1978 foreign assistance legislation, Congress stated the policy of maintaining the "present" military balance between Greece and Turkey. Unfortunately, since that legislation, United States aid to Turkey, coupled with West German military aid to Turkey, has upset that balance. Whatever amounts are finally authorized by the Congress, we believe that it is important to United States' interests that the ratio of 7 to 10 be maintained.

State Department witnesses have testified before this Committee and before the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East that State would have no objection to Congress increasing military aid to Greece by \$20 million to achieve the 7 to 10 ratio.

The 7 to 10 ratio should be also maintained as to the financial conditions of sale. We understand that \$250 million of the \$400 million FMS aid to Turkey will be in a new form with a very low interest rate. The same credit terms should apply to military equipment received by Greece.

Base Negotiations

We are deeply concerned as to the status of base negotiations between the U.S. and Greece. We understand from press reports that the U.S. refuses to commit that it will maintain in the future at least a 7 to 10 military ratio between Greece and Turkey; that the U.S. refuses to state publicly that it would "actively and unequivocally oppose" a Greece-Turkey military confrontation and there has been little or no progress in returning Greece to its pre-1974 NATO responsibilities in the Aegean.

Arms Race

We are deeply concerned about the arms race between Greece and Turkey which has been detrimental to both countries. We believe that the levels of military aid to Greece and Turkey are much too high and should be reduced substantially. A 7 to 10 ratio of \$105 million for Greece and \$150 million for Turkey is suggested.

Our country has fostered in these past several years a ruinous arms race between Greece and Turkey which does not help either nation to meet its basic economic and infra structural needs. The consumer price index (CPI) increase from 1975 to 1980 for Greece was 112.6% and for Turkey 568.4% (Source: OECD).

The Committee should also consider not authorizing any military aid to Greece and Turkey until the major disputes affecting their relations - Cyprus, the Aegean and residual NATO matters - are settled.

We believe that events of this past year reinforce the arguments we have been submitting to Congress for the last six years as to the overriding strategic importance of Greece to the United States and NATO. Greece is the key to the Eastern Mediterranean. The Soviet military relationship with Libya underscores the importance of the naval facility at Suda Bay in Crete. Tito's passing underscores the importance of Greece as the southern border transit route to Yugoslavia. In addition, Turkey's rapprochement with the Soviet Union since the mid-1960's has neutralized Turkey as an ally of the West and increased Greece's importance.

CYPRUS

The Reagan Administration has proposed \$7.5 million in humanitarian and refugee aid to Cyprus. The Carter Administration's proposal last year provided for \$2.2 million. The Congress raised that figure to \$15 million. Although the Cypriot economy has improved since the invasion, the government still shoulders the enormous and continuing burden of housing, clothing, feeding and finding work for a substantial portion of the 200,000 refugees. While we welcome the Reagan Administration's \$7.5 million proposal, we recommend it be increased to \$15 million, the amount authorized by the Congress the past several years.

Americans Missing And Believed Held In Turkish Jails: Day 2,302

During the Turkish invasion of Cyprus in 1974, at least eight United States citizens are believed to have been taken prisoner by Turkish armed forces.

Andrew Kassapis of Detroit, Michigan was among those eight United States citizens. His case is well documented. (See February 15, 1981, Detroit Free Press article attached). Living in Cyprus with his family, when the invasion occurred, Mr. Kassapis was last seen on August 20, 1974, by family members when he was taken away by Turkish security forces. Although he was included on a list of Cypriot students scheduled to be released by the Turks in November 1974, he was not among those students actually freed.

For seven years, the Kassapis family has attempted, through Congressional, Executive and United Nations sources, to obtain information on the whereabouts of Mr. Kassapis, but to no avail. The State Department still considers the case open.

This Committee should initiate its own Congressional investigation of this serious matter and in the meantime should require as a condition of further aid to Turkey, the establishment by Turkey of an independent international investigating team to make a thorough inquiry into the fate of Mr. Kassapis, the other missing Americans and the 2,100 missing Greek Cypriots.

We Oppose Reprogramming Economic Support Funds from Israel, Egypt and Cyprus

We understand that the Administration intends to furnish \$25,000,000 in Economic Support Fund assistance to Liberia from amounts appropriated last year for Israel, Egypt and Cyprus. \$24 million will be reprogrammed from amounts earmarked for Israel and Egypt (\$12 million each) and \$1 million from the \$15 million earmarked for Cyprus.

We oppose reprogramming any amounts earmarked for Israel, Egypt and Cyprus. Our testimonies, today and in the past, have demonstrated that aid already appropriated to Turkey as well as any future aid is

both harmful to U.S. security interests and wasteful. The entire \$25,000,000 should be drawn from funds earmarked for Turkey rather than from countries who have put U.S. aid to prudent and judicious use.

The challenge and opportunity facing this ~~Subcommittee, the Full~~ Committee, the Congress and the Administration is comprehensively and succinctly set forth in the following letter of December 16, 1980, from Congressman Edward J. Derwinski to President-Elect Ronald W. Reagan:

December 16, 1980

President-Elect Ronald W. Reagan
1726 M Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C., 20270

Dear President-Elect Reagan:

First, may I commend you for the thoughtful, comprehensive and objective campaign statement on Greece, Cyprus and Turkey that you issued on September 26. It was very favorably received within the Greek-American community, and its recommendations therefore warrant attention and implementation.

The return of the Greek military forces to NATO on October 20 is especially worthy of note and is a turn of events that I believe your campaign remarks helped bring about. While I am pleased with that development, my enthusiasm is tempered by the realization that much more needs to be accomplished. Specifically, I am referring to issues relating to the Aegean Sea continental shelf and Cyprus, as well as residual NATO problems. Greece's reintegration will be nothing more than a paper reentry until Turkey agrees to return to the status quo regarding NATO responsibilities in the Aegean that existed prior to its invasion of Cyprus in 1974 and the subsequent Turkish Aegean claims. Anything short of that will only serve to continue strained relations between two of our most valued allies and thus weaken NATO's southeastern flank.

Greece must feel secure that there is no territorial threat from Turkey in order for there to be a meaningful NATO relationship between them. It is of overriding importance to the U.S. that this positive goal be achieved.

Turkey must be reminded that a new foreign aid bill will soon be before Congress and that the generous foreign assistance it has been receiving from the United States -- particularly since the passage in 1978 of legislation lifting the arms embargo -- has been given with the clear and legislatively stipulated understanding that Turkey would cooperate fully in efforts to bring about a lasting solution to the Cyprus dispute. To date, Turkey has not been forthcoming.

For instance, why doesn't Turkey return Famagusta? By taking this unilateral action, Turkey would demonstrate not only a cooperative spirit, but also relieve itself of a significant burden. Under Turkish control, Famagusta will continue to stagnate. Integration into the vibrant Greek Cypriot economy would allow for the immediate return of at least 35,000 Greek Cypriot refugees to their homes and rejuvenate this seacoast resort. Such a move would pave the way for progress on the phased withdrawal of

Turkish troops and colonists whose maintenance on Cyprus severely drains Turkey's faltering economy. This would create the climate for settlement of remaining issues.

Finally, on the question of Turkish claims regarding the Aegean continental shelf, I concur with your campaign observation that the best solution of this problem is for Turkey to accept the Greek proposal (so far refused) that these claims be submitted to an international tribunal for final and binding arbitration.

Admittedly, accomplishing all of the above is a large order, but it can be done. However, time is of the essence. Your Administration must move swiftly so as to capitalize on the improved negotiating atmosphere that now exists. For years Turkey's diplomatic posture has been dictated by domestic political considerations of minority governments struggling to survive. The present military government is not faced with that problem and is in a position to make decisions that its predecessors could not. We must encourage it to act now in a manner that is in its own best interests as well as NATO's.

A failure to act and exploit the current situation could impact negatively upon the upcoming Greek election, jeopardize the critically important base negotiations between the U.S. and Greece, and make any prospect for a Greek-Turkish accord in the future much more remote. The end result could be many more years of contentious relations between Greece and Turkey to the severe detriment of NATO and U.S. interests in the Eastern Mediterranean.

The Carter Administration dispatched Clark Clifford on a Cyprus fact-finding mission and then lost all interest in the problem. I believe early and consistent attention to the Cyprus-Greek-Turkey area will be respected and appreciated by all.

Sincerely,

/s/ Ed Derwinski

Edward J. Derwinski
Member of Congress

cc: Vice President-Elect George Bush
Honorable Alexander Haig
Honorable Casper Weinberger
Honorable William Casey
Honorable Edward Meese
Honorable Richard Allen
Honorable Robert Neumann

President Reagan's statement on Greece, Cyprus and Turkey is as follows:

Friday, September 26, 1980

Press Contact: Lyn Nofziger
or
Jack Burgess
703-685-3820

STATEMENT BY THE HONORABLE RONALD REAGAN ON
GREECE, CYPRUS, TURKEY

For the last quarter of a century, both Greece and Turkey have been close and valued allies of the United States. They also have been indispensable members of the Atlantic Alliance protecting NATO's southeastern flank. However, several disputes between Greece and Turkey have seriously damaged our alliance over the past several years; in particular, the differences regarding Greece's reintegration into the military command structure of NATO, the dispute about

Cyprus, and conflicting claims concerning the Aegean continental shelf. These issues must be resolved before any real cooperation and lasting friendship can be achieved between Greece and Turkey.

In 1976, while campaigning for the presidency, candidate Jimmy Carter stated, "We would be negligent of the moral issues and courting longer-range disaster if we fail to couple the improvement in relations with Turkey with increased fair progress on the Cyprus issue." And in a news release dated September 16, 1976, he declared, "The impasse on Cyprus must be broken. The United States must be prepared to work with others, including the United Nations, to insure the independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty of Cyprus.... If and when I am elected President, I intend to enforce and carry out the provisions of the statement."

Given those words, one might have assumed that something positive regarding a settlement would have emerged by now. As in so many other cases of Carter's campaign declarations and promises, he reneged on his pledges.

I support the reintegration of Greece into the military command structure of NATO. A formula for reintegration was proposed in July 1978 by the then Supreme Commander of NATO and agreed to by virtually all members of NATO.

The reintegration of Greece into the NATO military command structure is of vital importance to the security interests of NATO and the United States. Greece's departure from NATO would isolate Turkey and put Turkey's defense position in serious jeopardy. Such a turn of events also would weaken the security of Italy and the Eastern Mediterranean in general.

The tragic situation in Cyprus has lasted six years. It must not continue. The foreign military forces on that island should be substantially reduced, and Cypriot refugees, be they Greek or Turkish, should be permitted to return to their homes and land.

I support the full implementation of unanimously approved United Nations Resolution 3212 of November 1974 which

"Calls upon all States to respect the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus and to refrain from all acts and interventions directed against it; Urges the speedy withdrawal of all foreign armed forces and foreign military presence and personnel from the Republic of Cyprus, and the cessation of all foreign interference in its affairs."

As to the disputed territorial claims regarding the Aegean continental shelf, the best course in this situation would be to submit the claims to final and binding arbitration by an international tribunal, as has been done by other nations in similar situations.

NEED TO RE-EVALUATE U.S.-TURKEY RELATIONS

Turkey's conduct these past seven years regarding Greece and Cyprus, her rapprochement with the Soviet Union since the mid-1960's, and Turkey's conduct during the crisis with Iran regarding our hostages, call for a re-evaluation of our relations with Turkey. Such a re-evaluation should consider questions such as:

How reliable is Turkey as an ally?

Would Turkey declare war on the Soviet Union if the Soviet Union attacked West Germany?

What is the military value of Turkey to NATO and the U.S.? And what are the alternatives to that value?

What is the extent, economically and militarily of Turkey's relations with the Soviet Union?

Are Western military secrets safe with Turkey?

Would U.S. interests be better served with a neutral, non-aligned Turkey?

What is the significance of Turkey's downgrading its diplomatic relations with Israel from the Ambassadorial level to the Consular level?

To what degree are human rights being violated by the Turkish junta? What is the impact on the substantial Kurdish minority?

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

* * * * *

Detroit Free Press

Section A, Page 3

SECOND FRONT PAGE

Sunday, February 15, 1981

Where's our son? family keeps asking

By STEPHEN FRANKLIN
Free Press Staff Writer

For almost seven years an unchanging dream has haunted Gus Kassapis day and night.



Andrew
Kassapis

There's a knock on the door. A gun butt is shoved in his side. The family dashes madly for their American passports, then the soldiers find his son, Andrew.

In the dream, Gus Kassapis is always loudly begging the Turkish-Cypriot soldiers not to take Andrew, but they refuse.

Just as they leave, he thrusts an American passport into Andrew's hands and shouts for him not to worry.

The scene actually is not a dream, but the time-wearied memory of the day when 17-year-old Andrew Kassapis was seized during the 1974 Turkish invasion of Cyprus.

Almost seven years later, Andrew, who was born in Highland Park, is one of 2,000 persons, including eight Americans, considered missing by the Cypriot government.

"I know my boy is still alive. I don't think they will harm him. He was not involved in politics," says Kassapis, 54, who returned to the U.S. in 1979 and now manages a restaurant in Livonia.

BUT KASSAPIS, who has sought help in Washington, at the United Nations and in London, has no real evidence that Andrew is alive. He has not been seen since 1974.

Nonetheless, the Cypriot government recently cited Andrews' case to U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig, in its appeal for Haig's help in "tracing the fate" of the 2,000 persons.

Turkish officials insist, however, there are no missing Cypriot or American citizens.

"There are no Greek (Cypriot) prisoners. All prisoners have been exchanged. The Greeks (Cypriots) are using this as propaganda," says Numan Hazar, the consul for the Turkish Embassy in Washington.

State Department officials consider Kassapis' case an open one, although a very uncertain one.

"We continue to follow up every bit of information we continue to receive. But we simply are unable to say whether he is alive or dead," said State Department official Edward Jones.

OFFICIALS FROM Amnesty International, a London-based non-partisan organization, have regularly urged talks between the Turks and the Cypriots over the missing persons.

"We wouldn't accept the notion that those people are all dead," said Larry Cox, a spokesman for the organization in New York City.

Recently, the uncertainty became more difficult for the Kassapis family with the release of the 52 American hostages from Iran.

"Everyday on TV, they said 200 days, 300 days, finally 444 days," says Helen Kassapis in the living room of her small, two-bedroom apartment in Wayne. "My wait for my son is 3,000 days."

Fay Kassapis, 21, who was close to her six-foot-tall, soft-spoken brother, says the waiting "is killing us all."

Gus Kassapis feels he and his family were innocent bystanders, U.S. citizens caught in a feud between Cyprus and Turkey.

Indeed, Kassapis says he did not have the slightest notion in 1974 of the political events that would suddenly bring a foreign army to the Cypriot village where they had been living since leaving the U.S. seven years before.

ANDREW HAD just graduated from the American Academy in Nicosia, the capital of Cyprus, and the family was planning to return to the U.S. in the fall of that year, according to Kassapis.

But in July there was a coup in Cyprus led by Greek Cypriots who wanted to see the island united with Greece. The Turks demanded that the 650 Greek officers, who had joined the Cypriot National Guard in the coup, be removed immediately.

Greece refused, and the Turks moved their forces onto the island, claiming they feared retaliation against Turkish Cypriots.

The Turkish troops eventually seized a third of the nation's territory. The Turks account for 18 percent of the population.

The Kassapis family was swept up into the fighting on Aug. 14, when Turkish troops arrived at the village of Asha, 12 miles east of Nicosia — the village where Gus Kassapis had grown up.

After hearing the sound of Turkish planes, Kassapis says he called the U.S. Embassy. "I was told not to go outside and not to worry," Kassapis recalls.

KASSAPIS DECIDED, however, to flee and began loading his car. Just then he saw two Turkish tanks on his street and returned to his house. In a few minutes, four Turkish soldiers knocked down the front door of his house, Kassapis says.

For the next six days, Kassapis says the house was routinely searched by Turkish soldiers and Turkish Cypriots looking for Greek political propaganda.

On Aug. 20, two Turkish Cypriots — who were looking for young men for the Army — took away Andrew, and a Cypriot who was the fiancé of his daughter, Irene. They were put on a tractor and never seen by their families again.

After being held by the Turkish officials for about two weeks, the Kassapis family was eventually allowed to return to the island's Greek section.

While in Turkish custody, Kassapis says, a Turkish Army official told him that the two Turkish Cypriots had turned his son over to the Army.

FROM THEN ON, news of Andrew's existence is sketchy.

In November 1974, Turkish officials were supposed to release 136 Cypriot students who had been held. Andrew Kassapis was one of 41 students listed in the Turkish document, but not released.

After U.S. officials in Cyprus were unable to find out any more about his son, Kassapis returned briefly to the U.S. in 1975.

Going virtually door to door in Washington, he saw at least four senators and five congressmen. They all listened and referred his case to the State Department.

The family moved back to the U.S. in 1979, "not because I gave up hope, but I said we might as well come home," Kassapis said.

In a small briefcase, Kassapis has carefully stored all of his documents and letters to U.S. and Cypriot officials. They are the shreds that keep his dream alive.

"If I die, and it might happen any day," he says, "I have told my daughters. You do the same. You find out what happened to your brother."

**AMERICAN HELLENIC INSTITUTE
PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE, INC.**