

Responsibility without power

Discussing the role of the British government in the Cyprus
crisis of 1974

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Samandrag

Denne masteroppgåva tek føre seg korleis den Britiske regjeringa handterte Kyproskrisa i 1974. Den 15. mai 1974 vart den kypriotiske regjeringa styrta av eit gresk-leia statskupp. Fem dagar seinare invaderte tyrkiske militærstyrkar øya, noko som førte til at den greske militærjuntaen kollapsa. Den tyrkiske invasjonen resulterte i FNs tryggingråd sin resolusjon 353, som kravde at dei tre garantørmaktene - Hellas, Tyrkia og Storbritannia - måtte gå saman om å forhandle fram ei løysing på krisa som hadde utvikla seg på øya. To konferansar vart haldne i Geneve, men forhandlingane stoppa opp, og då den greske delegasjonen nekta å svare på eit tyrkisk ultimatum, vart konferansen oppløyst. Like etter byrja det tyrkiske militæret sin andre invasjon av Kypros, som førte til ein *de facto* deling av øya, ei deling som framleis eksisterer i dag.

Masteroppgåva argumenterer for at delinga av øya i 1974 kom som eit resultat av ulike faktorar. For det fyrste var krisa ein kulminasjon av ei langvarig konflikt mellom Hellas og Tyrkia, der sistnemnde utnytta det gresk-leia statskuppet til å invadere øya. Dette var i utgangspunktet retta mot å beskytte den tyrkisk-kypriotiske minoriteten. For det andre var det ein konsekvens av mislukka forsøk frå den britiske og den amerikanske regjeringa på å forhindre ei eskalering av krisa. Britiske offentlege dokumentar frå 1974 tydar på at under krisa si fyrste fase undervurderte den britiske regjeringa det tyrkiske militæret og dei var vaklevorne i avgjerdene sine. Dette kan ha vore med på å leggja til rette for Tyrkia si fyrste invasjon av Kypros. Den andre fasen av krisa var prega av dårleg kommunikasjon og motstridande politiske interesser mellom den britiske og den amerikanske regjeringa, noko som førte til at dei ikkje var i stand til å gjennomføre ein felles politikk. Dette kan igjen ha lagt til rette for den andre tyrkiske invasjonen av Kypros.

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Abbreviations

AKEL:	The Progressive Party of Working People (Communist political party on Cyprus)
CAB:	The British Cabinet Office
ELDYK:	The Hellenic Force in Cyprus (Greek mainland contingent on Cyprus)
EOKA:	National Organisation of Cypriot Fighters (Greek Cypriot anti-colonial and nationalist guerrilla organisation, 1955 – 1959)
EOKA B:	Right-wing nationalist organisation formed in 1971 by General George Grivas, aimed at uniting Cyprus with Greece.
FCO:	The British Foreign and Commonwealth Office
FRUS:	Foreign Relations of the United States
MOD:	The British Ministry of Defence
NATO:	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
PREM:	The British Prime Minister's Office
SBA:	The Sovereign Base Areas of Akrotiri and Dhekelia
TNA:	The National Archives in Kew
UN:	The United Nations
UNFICYP:	United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus
UNS-G:	United Nations Secretary-General
UNSC:	United Nations Security Council

Cast of characters

Alan Goodison:	Head of the Southern European / South Eastern European Department of the British Foreign and Commonwealth Office, 1973 – 1976. ¹
Anthony Acland:	Principle Private Secretary to the Foreign Secretary, 1972 – 1975.
Archbishop Makarios III:	President of Cyprus, 16 August 1960 – 15 July 1974; 7 December 1974 – 3 August 1977.
Bülent Ecevit:	Prime Minister of Turkey, 26 January – 17 November 1974. ²
Georgios Mavros:	Greek Minister of Foreign Affairs, 26 July – 15 October 1974.
Glafkos Clerides:	President of the Cypriot House of Representatives, 1960 – 1976; Acting President of Cyprus, 23 July – 7 December 1974.
Henry Alfred Kissinger:	United States Secretary of State, 22 September 1973 – 20 January 1977.
James Callaghan:	British Foreign Secretary, 5 March 1974 – 5 April 1976.
Joseph J. Sisco:	United States Under-Secretary of State for Political Affairs, 1974 – 1976.
Nicos Sampson:	EOKA member and acting president of Cyprus, 15 – 22 July 1974.
Rauf Denktash:	Vice-president of Cyprus, February 1973 – July 1974.
Stephen Olver:	British High Commissioner to Cyprus, 1973 – 1975.
Turan Günes:	Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs, 26 January – 17 November 1974.

¹ Foreign and Commonwealth Office, *A Directory of British Diplomats*, p.200. Web 14.05.2017: https://issuu.com/fcohistorians/docs/bdd_part_1_with_covers/200

² Bülent Ecevit served as prime minister four times during his career: in 1974, 1977, 1978-79 and 1999-2002.

1. Introduction

Since at least the 1950s, the Turkish-Cypriot and Greek-Cypriot communities on Cyprus have periodically fought each other over power and geography, which has led to the deployment of a UN peace-keeping force on the island since 1964, and several international initiatives to produce a peaceful settlement. Today, Cyprus is *de facto* divided between the two communities, in which the northern third of the island is occupied by Turkish mainland forces and has since 1983 declared its independence from the rest of the island, only to be recognised internationally by the Republic of Turkey. The current situation on Cyprus is a direct result of a series of dramatic events which took place during the summer of 1974.

On 15 July, 1974, a Greek-led coup d'état replaced the government of Cyprus. The coup had been motivated by the concept of *enosis*, the idea shared by many Greeks and Greek Cypriots that Cyprus should be incorporated into the Greek state.³ The coup produced a Turkish military reaction five days later, when Turkish military forces invaded the northern coast of the island in order to protect the Turkish Cypriot minority on the island, and to prevent *enosis* from succeeding. A ceasefire was finally established on 22 July, by which time the Turkish forces occupied narrow parts on the northern coast. The invasion of Cyprus subsequently led to the collapse of the military junta in Greece. Consequently, the coup-makers on Cyprus resigned.

In an attempt to prevent the Turkish army from advancing further on the island, two conferences under UN auspices were held in Geneva in July and August 1974, between the three Guarantor Powers – Turkey, Greece and the United Kingdom. This was in accordance with the Treaty of Guarantee of 1960, which had given the three governments the obligation of guarantors of the independence, territorial integrity and security of the Republic of Cyprus.⁴ As the neutral party of the negotiations, the British delegation were given the role as chairman of the Geneva Conference, trying to get the Greek and Turkish side to agree to a settlement which would restore peace on the island. However, the task of finding a common ground between the Greeks and Turks proved to be too difficult, and when the Greek side failed to respond to a Turkish

³ *Enosis* is the idea that all Greek inhabited communities outside of mainland Greece should be incorporated into the Greek state. In this thesis, unless another explanation is given, *enosis* refers to the struggle of Greeks and Greek Cypriots to achieve a political union between Cyprus and Greece.

⁴ Treaty of Guarantee, Article II. See Appendix 1

ultimatum, the Turkish armed forces began its second military offensive Cyprus on 14 August which lasted until 16 August. When the fighting finally ceased, Turkish forces had occupied 37 percent of the island, in which about a third of the island's population had become refugees.⁵

As is often the case in the study of conflicts, there are many questions to which the answer is not consensus. Why the Cyprus was divided in 1974 has been a frequently asked question ever since the incident, and it is a question that has produced different answers: Was the crisis simply the inevitable result of what US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger later described as “the maelstrom of Greek-Turkish passion,”⁶ or was it a consequence of Western intervention? Throughout the crisis, the British government sought diplomatic assistance from the US government, whose geopolitical influence as a superpower were arguably greater than that of the British. Some authors have used this to argue that a partition of Cyprus was part of an Anglo-American plan to prevent the island from becoming a Soviet satellite. Others have argued that it was a mixture of miscommunication and a conflict of interests that prevented the British and American governments from coordinating their policy towards Cyprus, which helped Turkey to achieve their objectives in Cyprus. This thesis will look into that debate, by discussing the British government's role during the 1974 Cyprus crisis. This will be done in two ways, first by looking at the flow of information between the British and American governments in the period leading up to the coup on 15 July. Thereafter three chapters will be discussing the British government's role in the Cyprus crisis, in which particularly their role during the Geneva Conferences on Cyprus in July and August 1974 will be of focus.

1.1 Research questions and narrowing of thesis

The topic of my thesis is narrowed by the following research questions:

- 1. What were the British government's interests towards Cyprus during the Cyprus crisis of 1974?*

Answering this question is necessary to understand why the British government responded the way they did to the coup d'état on 15 July, and the succeeding Turkish invasion of Cyprus on 20

⁵ Constandinos, *The Cyprus Crisis*, p.293

⁶ Kissinger, *Years of Renewal*, p.192

July. Further, it is necessary to build a framework of Britain's position as they entered the negotiations in Geneva following the first Turkish invasion of Cyprus.

- 2. How did the British delegation in Geneva act to prevent the crisis on Cyprus from escalating further?*

This question relates to the first one and is needed for examining whether British interests changed during the Cyprus crisis of 1974.

- 3. To which degree were the British government responsible for the escalation of the Cyprus crisis?*

The last research question naturally relates to the two former questions, and directly relates to the historiographical debate of why Cyprus was divided in 1974.

My narrowing of the thesis to focus on the British government's role in the crisis, is based on two factors. The first one is the source material, most of which I have gathered from the National Archives in London. Because of this, it has only been natural to focus on the crisis as seen from a British perspective. The second factor is that it is impossible to include all parties of the conflict, in an equal amount, into a single thesis. That said, it is equally impossible to discuss the British government's role in the crisis without including the other involved parties. This is also because much of the official records examined are telegrams sent between the British government and other governments. This is especially true for the United States, who had a unique diplomatic role in the Cyprus crisis. Ultimately, it is the source material which decides to what extent other parties of the conflict are involved in the thesis, but the focus will always remain on the British government.

1.2 Historiography

Much of my motives for writing about Britain's involvement in the 1974 crisis are based on previous historiographical studies. Most of the work done on Britain's involvement in the Cyprus crisis also includes the role of the US government. This is only logical since the British government sought diplomatic help from the Americans throughout the crisis. In the literature concerning Western involvement in the Cyprus crisis of 1974, two conflicting views appear: First, there are those who believe that the events in 1974 were a result of a Western plot to divide

the island for the benefit of NATO, and for securing Britain's Sovereign Base Areas (SBAs) and US communication facilities. Second, there are those who prefer the idea of failed foreign policy as the explanation to what happened.

The two most well-known books which advocates for a Western plot to divide Cyprus, are Christopher Hitchens' book *Hostage to History* from 1984 (re. 1989, 1997), and Brendan O'Malley and Ian Craig's *The Cyprus Conspiracy* from 1999. With good reason, both books pay a considerable amount of attention to US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and his role in the 1974 events. This is especially true for Hitchens, whose fascination of Kissinger later led to an additional book about the Secretary of State published in 2001, called *The Trial of Henry Kissinger*. Hitchens' view on the former US Secretary of State can be described in an interview from 2001, where Hitchens accuses Kissinger of being a "thug, a crook, a liar, a pseudo-intellectual, and a murderer."⁷ In the same interview he sums up the essentials of Cyprus crisis of 1974:

"Very nearly a war within NATO – A completely pointless and destructive war leads to the absolute devastation of Cypriot society. Henry Kissinger looks at what he's done, gets on a plane, never lets the word "Cyprus" cross his lips ever again."⁸

Before writing about Kissinger's political career, Hitchens co-authored a book about British foreign secretary at the time of the Cyprus crisis, James Callaghan. Published in 1976, the same year Callaghan became Prime Minister, and only two years after the Cyprus crisis, *Callaghan: The Road to Number Ten* focuses on the Labour politician's rise to power.⁹ The book itself portrays a rather negative picture of Callaghan, concluding that "Certainly, Callaghan's record in office contains more failures than triumphs." The Cyprus crisis is here mentioned as one of his failures.¹⁰ In the 1984 book *Hostage to History*, Hitchens criticize the idea that the Cyprus crisis was mainly a result of an old struggle between Greeks and Turks, arguing rather that it was the "outcome of a careless and arrogant series of policies over which Cypriots had little or no

⁷ Christopher Hitchens in an interview with Allan Gregg for TVO, originally aired in April 2001 (Online source: Web 01.11.2016: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6lw3B8vjIC0>)

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Callaghan is the only person in British history to have held all four major Offices of State: Chancellor of the Exchequer 1964-67; Home Secretary 1967-70; Foreign Secretary 1974-76; Prime Minister 1976-79

¹⁰ Kellner & Hitchens, *Callaghan, The Road to Number Ten*, p.175

control.”¹¹ A major problem with Hitchens’ works, however, is that it is journalistic. His conclusions are mainly based on self-conducted interviews and secondary literature, and his sources cannot therefore be put to test.

In *The Cyprus Conspiracy*, O’Malley & Craig take archival research one step further by using government documents from before 1974. Since most official records from 1974 were classified until 2005, the authors have been forced to rely on documents from the 1950s and 60s. In fact, much of the authors’ theories on the crisis of 1974 seem to be based on events that took place a decade earlier. O’Malley & Craig are right in arguing that in 1964, Washington did discuss a plan to partition of the island for the reasons stated above. The Johnson administration feared that President Makarios would turn into a “Castro of the Mediterranean”, and that a unified Cyprus under Makarios’ leadership served a threat to US global-political interests. Thus, O’Malley & Craig argue that the partition of the island in 1974 was a result of a plot that had been crafted by the US government ten years earlier.

If there was a plan to divide the island one decade before it actually happened, why should we doubt that it was still the plan in 1974? Much of the problem lie within the authors’ use of sources. Unfortunately for both Hitchens and O’Malley & Craig, their books were published before the release of a tonnage of official records from 1974, from both American and British archives. Consequently, the authors lack strong enough evidences to support their theories.

From the same period as O’Malley & Craig’s book, Joseph S. Joseph argued that although the US carried out their policies through diplomacy, threat, coercion, and military aid, this was not done to *provoke* a crisis on the island, but that it came “in response to the development of crisis.”¹² Joseph also argues that “The role played by cross-boundary ethnic ties in the generation and internationalization of the domestic ethnic conflict has been a significant one.”¹³ Thus, he puts more weight on the “ethnic conflict” factor of the crisis, than the works of Hitchens and O’Malley & Craig.

For historians focusing on contemporary history, a problem faced is often that of classified information. In 2005, British archives declassified a tonnage of folders containing official

¹¹ Hitchens, *Hostage to History*, p.11

¹² Joseph, *Cyprus*, p.77

¹³ *Ibid*, p.129

records from the 1974 crisis. This was a result of the “Thirty Year Rule”, which states that classified official documents are transferred from the government to the National Archives after thirty years, which are then made open for access to the public.¹⁴ After 2005, therefore, a new opportunity came for researchers interested in the field. In 2008 and 2009, two books were published by, respectively, Jan Asmussen and Andreas Constandinos, both historians. In these books, the Cyprus crisis is examined using British and American governmental documents. In Asmussen’s book, *Cyprus at War*, the author aims to disprove the theory that there was an Anglo-American plot to partition the island in 1974, as he concludes:

“For all the rumours and stories that developed during and after the Cyprus crisis in 1974, there has been no Anglo-American conspiracy to divide the island among the NATO ‘allies’, Greece and Turkey. Equally inaccurate are allegations that both sides aimed to commit genocide. The story of the 1974 war in general and British and American diplomacy in particular is far more complex than such simplistic approaches suggest.”¹⁵

On the British government’s involvement in the crisis, Asmussen argues that one reason why they did not intervene on the island was because they feared they would end up with a situation that was similar to what they already experienced in Northern Ireland. Ultimately, Asmussen describes the Cyprus crisis of 1974 as a result of a failure of foreign policy, by which he argues that British Foreign Secretary Callaghan and US Secretary of State Kissinger failed to coordinate their policies of diplomacy.

Historian Andreas Constandinos’ book *The Cyprus Crisis: Examining the Role of the British and American Governments during 1974*, was published in 2012 and is an updated version of his earlier work from 2009. Constandinos follows much of the same pattern as Asmussen’s book, as it aims to critically analyse the idea of an Anglo-American plot by using a large amount of official records from British and American archives. Because the revised edition came out later than Asmussen’s book, Constandinos book is also more comprehensive, as it includes documents that were not declassified at the time of Asmussen’s research.

¹⁴ Since 2013, the British government has reduced the “Thirty Year Rule” to twenty years. This means that every year until 2022, two years’ worth of official documents will be transferred and declassified every year. Web 11.05.2017: <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/about/our-role/plans-policies-performance-and-projects/our-projects/20-year-rule/>

¹⁵ Asmussen, *Cyprus at War*, p.289

Central to Constandinos work is his argumentation that it is important to distinguish between the Johnson administration and the Nixon administration. He argues that the two governments did not share the same view on Cyprus and Makarios. The Johnson-government shall have feared the influence that Archbishop Makarios had on the political development on Cyprus. Supposedly, the CIA initially believed that as long as Makarios remained in charge, the Cypriot Communist party would not gain power. However, Washington soon realized that Makarios was above all pro-Cyprus, meaning that he would put the interests of his country above the interests of the US. This meant that the interests of Cyprus would not always necessarily be the same as the United States, which led them to consider a partition of the island. Constandinos argue that this view was not only an American view, but that “Even the British, who had fought a colonial war for four years (...) conceded that *enosis* was the least undesirable solution to the crisis.”¹⁶

Constandinos appears to be more careful in his conclusion than Asmussen. Instead of a total rejection of the Anglo-American conspiracy, Constandinos acknowledges that a partition of the island between Greece and Turkey was in the interest of Washington in 1964, but that the situation in 1974 was different, and that there is little evidence to suggest that there was still an Anglo-American plot at the time.

On Britain’s involvement in the crisis, Constandinos describes it as “responsibility without power,” using Callaghan’s own words.¹⁷ He argues that the British government had been unwillingly been thrust into a position of responsibility due to its obligations by the Treaty of Guarantee.¹⁸ During the Cyprus crisis, Britain’s main priority was to protect the lives of British servicemen and nationals, as well as securing their two Sovereign Base Areas (SBAs) on the island. Constandinos argues the British governments decisions towards Cyprus was formed by this priority.¹⁹ Further, throughout the crisis the Foreign and Commonwealth Office attempted to pass more responsibility on the US government.²⁰

¹⁶ Constandinos source from the National Archives is DEFE 11/451, ‘Cyprus’ British Prime Minister, Alec Douglas-Home to the Secretary of State for Defence, in a personal minute, doc.2884, 29 May 1964. Constandinos, *The Cyprus Crisis*, p.55

¹⁷ Constandinos, *The Cyprus Crisis*, p.303

¹⁸ Ibid; For the Treaty of Guarantee, see Appendix 1

¹⁹ Ibid

²⁰ Ibid

Even with the release of official records from 1974, the idea that the partition of Cyprus in 1974 was supported by the British and American governments is still widely held today, especially amongst many Greeks and Greek Cypriots.²¹ In addition, there are authors who have used British and American official records to argue that the Anglo-American plot was a fact. The most noticeable one is William Mallinson, who in 2007 wrote that:

“The latest batch of papers released by the reticent British Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) to the National Archives for public inspection further substantiates earlier claims that at the end of the day the British and US governments connived backstage to accept and even condone the military objectives of the Turkish government in Cyprus.”²²

Mallinson also criticises Asmussen’s book for being “self-serving” and for lacking “crucial documentary evidence”.²³ Mallinson argues that the official documents used in Asmussen’s research, in fact, tells the opposite of what he claims to be the truth. In the bibliography of Mallinson’s article, there are six books of which three are his own work and one is the *Cyprus Conspiracy* by O’Malley & Craig. Mallinson’s contribution stands to show that there is a continued need for research into official records from 1974. A detailed look on the two theories of what really happened in 1974 will be provided in chapter three, in which official documents gathered by the author will be used in the discussion.

1.3 Sources

The majority of sources used in this dissertation are gathered from the National Archives (TNA) in Kew, London. Documents include records from the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, the Prime Minister’s Office, the Cabinet, as well as the Ministry of Defence. Particularly records from the FCO have been of much value to my thesis, and especially the folder on the Geneva Conferences.²⁴ The folder contains a variety of documents from the period between 25 July and 14 August, 1974. In addition to containing records of conversations from the Geneva

²¹ Ker-Lindsay, *The Cyprus Problem*, p.45

²² Mallinson, "US interests, British acquiescence and the invasion of Cyprus", p.494.

²³ Mallison, “Cyprus at War (review)”, p.127.

²⁴ TNA: FCO 9/1922: *The Geneva Conferences on Cyprus, July-August 1974*. When making reference to this folder throughout the thesis, only the name of the specific document along with the TNA reference code of the folder will be used.

Conference, the folder includes telegrams sent, and received, between Geneva, London and Washington.

In addition to the sources gathered at the National Archives, a good deal of British documents is found in *The Southern Flank in Crisis, 1973-1976, Documents on British Policy Overseas*, edited by FCO historians Keith Hamilton and Patrick Salmon. Although most, if not all, of these documents are found at the National Archives, the book is still appreciated: Often when doing archival research, one can stumble upon documents with very unrevealing titles, such as “Cyprus” or “Minute from meeting”. This book has therefore proved to be of great value because it covers documents that have been hard to find at the National Archives.

American official documents have also been used, most of which are found in State Department, Foreign Relations of the US (FRUS): *Nixon/Ford Administration: FRUS, 1973-1976 Vol XXX, Greece; Cyprus; Turkey*, which “presents the official documentary historical record of major foreign policy decisions and significant diplomatic activity of the United States Government.”²⁵ To use official records from both British and American archives are crucial, even if the thesis concerns itself only on British involvement in the Cyprus crisis. The reason is that much of the records used are diplomatic documents which, while highly valued for understanding the British government’s interests, can be dangerous to use if not analysed critically. The cautious diplomatic language of the documents may alter the reader’s notion of British interests. Looking at both British and American documents from the Cyprus crisis is therefore vital in the analysis of the Cyprus crisis. Examples of American records that are of value are records of meetings in Washington, where Britain’s involvement in Cyprus is discussed without the representation of British officials. Telegrams and telephone records between Washington and London will also be of value to examine how the two governments cooperated in crucial moments.

Political memoirs

Political memoirs are in this thesis used as a unique genre of literature. Although not considered primary sources, their value lie in the fact that they are written by a person whose role has been central to a topic; in this case the Cyprus crisis. There are three political memoirs used in this thesis. The first is written by James Callaghan, who served as British Foreign Secretary between

²⁵ FRUS, 1973-1976 Vol XXX, Greece; Cyprus; Turkey, p.III

March 1974 and April 1976, after which he became Prime Minister. In *Time and Chance*, published in 1987, Callaghan devotes a considerable number of pages to the Cyprus crisis.²⁶ Rightfully so, because he was arguably the British high official most involved in the negotiations that followed the Turkish invasion of Cyprus. Beginning his chapter on Cyprus, Callaghan writes:

“Foreign policy is a mixture of the old and the new. [...] with Cyprus we were to confront a situation where the past limited and defined the possibilities of the present.”²⁷

Callaghan recalls the events in 1974 and writes that there were both failures and gains from the British government’s involvement. He concludes:

“We must deeply regret the failure. Others may distribute the blame but I do not feel ashamed of what we tried to do.”²⁸

The next memoir is by Harold Wilson, who was British Prime Minister at the time of the crisis. His memoir from 1979, *Final Term: The Labour Government, 1974-1976*, is naturally worth analysing because of his prime ministerial role during the crisis. Wilson recalls that at some point during the Cyprus crisis, Britain was close to a military confrontation with Turkey, continuing that:

“Apart from the lunacy at Suez, that was probably the nearest that Britain came to war with another nation since 1945.”²⁹

The last memoir used is by Henry Kissinger, former Harvard Professor, who simultaneously served as both the United States Secretary of State and National Security Advisor during the crisis. Consequently, he was “the most influential man in both American intelligence and foreign policy.”³⁰ His third memoir, *Years of Renewal*, was published in 1999 and talks extensively about the Cyprus crisis, and the US government’s role in it. He also devotes time to talk about how the British government handled the crisis, and the memoir is therefore highly interesting for this thesis. The interplay between Callaghan and Kissinger was perhaps the most important part

²⁶ Callaghan, *Time and Chance*, pp.331-357

²⁷ Ibid, p.331

²⁸ Ibid, p.357

²⁹ Wilson, *Final Term*, p.64

³⁰ Constandinos, *The Cyprus Crisis*, p.93

of Western diplomatic efforts during the crisis, and the relationship will be continuously discussed in this thesis. It is interesting to note that, although Kissinger wrote that there was “no foreign leader with whom I enjoyed working more”, he nevertheless accused Callaghan for having anger issues throughout the whole Cyprus issue.³¹

When analysing political memoirs, the reader must always be aware that these have often been written with an underlying aim of redeeming, or in any case correcting, the author’s reputation, and to possibly legitimise his or her political decisions. By critical analysis and comparison with both archival sources and secondary literature, political memoirs will provide a unique glimpse of the Cyprus crisis. To omit the use of political memoirs because of political bias is therefore both unnecessary and unfortunate provided the reader handles them with a careful approach.

1.4 Methodology and chapters

The two main methods used in this thesis are critical analysis of sources, and comparison. The latter is done by comparing official records for contradictions, while also comparing the records with the political memoirs of persons involved in the crisis. The thesis is also conducted in both a thematic and chronological way.

The first part of the thesis will concentrate on the historiographical debate on whether there was a British-American plan to partition Cyprus in 1974 based on the idea that the governments knew about the coup, but chose to ignore it. The discussion is necessary because it represents a large part of the discussion regarding the American and British involvement in the crisis. Chapter three will therefore be largely devoted to this, and will present arguments to either support or weaken the idea of a British-American plot. Both American and British documents are used in the discussion.

After presenting and discussing the two theories, the second part of my thesis will concentrate more specifically on Britain. The discussion will naturally include the other involved parties of the crisis, but only where it is deemed necessary for understanding the British role. The aim of the chapters will be to examine the interests of the British government during the crisis, as well as their legal role as mediators between the Greek and Turkish government during the peace negotiations that followed the Turkish invasion of Cyprus. The chapters will be chronological

³¹ Kissinger, *Years of Renewal*, pp.208-209

and will start with the coup d'état on 15 July and end with the second Turkish invasion after the Geneva Conferences broke down.

2. Historical background

To give the reader a necessary background, this chapter will contain a short history of the Cyprus conflict. The chapter will begin with the origins of the dispute between the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriot, and will be followed by a history of Britain's involvement in Cyprus.

The Cyprus conflict is an ongoing ethno-religious conflict between the two largest communities on the island – the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots – which the Greek Cypriot community constitutes the majority of island's population. In 1960, when the last official census of the island was carried out, there were around 450 000 Greek Cypriots, accounting to 78 percent of population on Cyprus.³² In the same population census, there were well over 100 000 Turkish Cypriots on the island, accounting to 18 percent of the population.³³ As is the case in most conflicts, history plays a central part to its existence. This chapter will therefore be devoted to a background history of the Cyprus conflict. It will begin chronologically with a short history of the Cyprus conflict, followed by a look at Britain's involvement in Cyprus in the period leading up to the 1974 crisis.

2.1 Anti-colonial uprisings

The origins of the Cyprus conflict go back to when the island became an Ottoman province in the late 16th century, after they had defeated its previous rulers, the Venetians. Before this, Cyprus had predominantly been a Greek culture since the antiquity. Following the Ottoman conquest, what might be described as a colonising process was initiated. Muslim Turks were sent to the island, and soon Turkish Cypriots constituted a significant minority of the population. By the mid-17th century, they may have accounted for as much as one quarter of the island's population.³⁴ The island remained an Ottoman province until 1878, when the Ottoman Empire agreed to lend Cyprus to the British Empire in exchange for British military aid against the Russian Empire. The agreement gave Britain a temporal permission to occupy and administer Cyprus as a military base.³⁵ Although the agreement was only temporary, the British Empire formally annexed Cyprus in 1914 following the Ottomans decision to join the Central Powers in

³² Ker-Lindsay, *The Cyprus Problem*, p.2

³³ Ibid, p.5

³⁴ Dodd, *The History and Politics of the Cyprus Conflict*, p.1

³⁵ Morgan, *Sweet and Bitter Island*, p.3

the First World War.³⁶ After this, Cyprus remained under British control until 1960, when the island gained its independence.³⁷

To truly understand the Cyprus crisis of 1974, and the Cyprus conflict in general, there are certain terms which must be explained. The first and most central one is the concept of *enosis*, which is the idea that all Greek-inhabited areas outside of Greece should be “reunified” with the Greek state. After Greece gained its independence from the Ottoman Empire in 1821, *enosis* gained increased popularity amongst the ethnic Greek inhabitants on Cyprus.

Under British colonial rule of Cyprus, the *enosis*-movement grew in both size and aggressiveness. This was especially true after the British government rejected the Greek Cypriots’ request for *enosis* after the defeat and dissolution of the Ottoman Empire. Gradually, therefore, the *enosis*-campaign evolved into an anti-British campaign. In the mid-1950s, a series of pro-*enosis* and anti-British uprisings took place on Cyprus. The revolts were led by the Greek Cypriot colonel George Grivas, and authorised by Archbishop Makarios III, who later became the first president of the Republic of Cyprus. Meanwhile, many Turkish Cypriots, led by one Rauf Denktash, started to adopt the term *taksim* (meaning division) as a counter-slogan to *enosis*. The Turkish Cypriots saw *enosis* as a threat towards their own community, and instead aimed for a partition of the island between Greece and Turkey. During this period, both Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots used guerrilla warfare and terrorism to achieve their goals.³⁸

As the anti-colonial uprisings continued throughout the late 1950s, it became clear to the British government that they would soon have to recognise the independence of the island. While the Greek Cypriots wanted *enosis*, and was backed by Greece, the Turkish Cypriots sought partition, which was backed by Turkey. This gradually led to a change of Britain’s policy towards Cyprus. Their new aim became to secure British military base areas on the island. When both Turkey and Greece met with the United Kingdom at a UN-supervised conference in Zürich in 1959, all parts agreed to endorse the creation of a new sovereign state on Cyprus, where the power was divided between the two communities. A Treaty of Guarantee also entitled Britain, Turkey and Greece as guarantors of the “independence, territorial integrity and security of the Republic of Cyprus.”

³⁶ Dodd, *The History and Politics of the Cyprus Conflict*, p.4

³⁷ Cyprus was a British protectorate from 1878, and later a Crown Colony from 1925 to 1960.

³⁸ Asmussen, *Cyprus at War*, p.12

More importantly for British interests was the signing of the Treaty of Establishment, which gave the UK the right to “retain military base areas under British sovereignty.” Britain had thus secured their main interest in Cyprus, while still granting the island independence.

Although Cyprus had gained independence, tensions between the two island communities grew only stronger. The constitution of 1960 had created a 70:30 split of power between the Turkish Cypriots and the Greek Cypriots. After only three years of independence on the island, the constitution broke down when the Turkish Cypriots rejected constitutional amendments proposed by President Makarios, arguing that they in effect would reduce the Turkish Cypriot community to a minority group. In 1963, fighting started between the communities, which soon spread to the whole island. The period from the early to mid-1960s was marked by intercommunal struggles and armed clashes between the Greek and Turkish Cypriots. Although violence subsided after 1967,³⁹ a new conflict would soon arise within the Greek Cypriots community.

2.2 Events prior to the coup

In Greece, the military junta seized power following a coup d'état on 21 April 1967, which marked the beginning of a seven year long military dictatorship in the country. Consequently, the relationship between the government of the Republic of Cyprus and the military government of Greece soon started to deteriorate. The main reason was that President Makarios had gradually come to realise that the idea of *enosis*, although the ideal scenario, was not a realistic approach to the Cyprus problem. For instance, in early 1968, Makarios initiated a “normalisation” program on the island, which sought to promote peace with the Turkish Cypriots.⁴⁰ With its numerous army officers stationed on the island, the Greek junta did not enjoy Makarios’ abandonment of *enosis*. Nor was the president’s change of policy taken lightly by a great number Greek Cypriots, who saw his change of policy as a betrayal of his own people. After all, Makarios was not only the President of Cyprus: as the Archbishop of Cyprus, he was in many Greek Cypriots’ eyes first and foremost the *Ethnarch*, the head of the Greek Cypriot community on the island.

In September 1971, Georgios Grivas, a Cypriot-born and former colonel of the Greek Army, secretly returned to the island and formed EOKA-B, a pro-*enosis* organisation which took its

³⁹ Ker-Lindsay, *The Cyprus Problem*, p.41

⁴⁰ Constandinos, *The Cyprus Crisis*, p.62

name from the Greek Cypriot militia group EOKA (National Organisation for Cypriot Fighters). The latter had been formed in the mid-1950s with an aim to put an end to British rule on the island.⁴¹ In the 1950s, Grivas had collaborated with Makarios in leading the EOKA-campaign against the British Empire. EOKA-B shared the same goal as its predecessor: achieving *enosis*. The obstacle to overcome, however, had changed. While the main threat to *enosis* in the 1950s had been the British Empire, the new problem had become Makarios and his supporters. Soon after its formation, EOKA-B embarked on a violent campaign to end the government of Makarios – a campaign that also included a series of assassination attempts against the archbishop.⁴²

When Grivas suddenly died in early 1974, the leadership of EOKA-B fell in the hands of the new and powerful leader of the Greek junta, Brigadier Dimitrios Ioannidis. At this point, Makarios must have felt a strong suspiciousness towards Greece. On 2 July, only weeks before the coup d'état on Cyprus, he wrote an open letter to the President of Greece, General Phaedon Gizikis, in which he accused Athens of supporting EOKA-B – which had been outlawed by the Republic of Cyprus – conspiring to seize the power in Cyprus, and to assassinate the archbishop. Makarios' letter also called for the withdrawal of all 650 Greek officers stationed on Cyprus. Although it might not have directly led to the coup on Cyprus on 15 July 1974, the letter is considered by historian Andreas Constandinos as “the Cyprus crisis’ equivalent to World War I’s assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand.”⁴³

2.3 Britain’s involvement in Cyprus in the Cold War

During most of the British colonial rule on Cyprus, the island had not had a significant strategic role for the British empire. Only four years after the acquisition of the island, Britain’s acquisition of Egypt had, to a much larger degree than Cyprus, solved the security problem over

⁴¹ EOKA, or Ethniki Organosis Kyprion Agoniston (National Organisation of Cypriot Fighters), was a Greek-Cypriot militia, formed in the 1950s during British rule of Cyprus. The organisation aimed at ending British control on the island, and to bring about a union with Greece – the concept of *enosis*. Not to be confused with EOKA B, which was formed in 1971 by General George Grivas as a pro-*enosis* and anti-Makarios organisation. It was considered a terrorist organisation by the Republic of Cyprus, and was outlawed by President Makarios.

⁴² Ker-Lindsay, *The Cyprus Problem*, p.42

⁴³ Constandinos, *The Cyprus Crisis*, p.118; While the 2 July letter arguably caused the already bad relationship between Makarios and Greece to deteriorate even further, it is perhaps a bit overblown to compare the letter with the that started the First World War. It nevertheless gives an impression of the significance letter had for the development on Cyprus in 1974.

the Suez Canal. In the new “East-West global conflict” of the Cold War period, however, Cyprus gained a new strategic role as a vital military base.⁴⁴ The West’s dependence on oil from the Middle East further made Cyprus an important stronghold in the region.⁴⁵ This was especially true after 1954, when the United Kingdom agreed to withdraw British troops from Egypt, which led to the British Middle East Headquarters being moved to Cyprus. In the years that followed, British headquarters and military forces in both Iraq and Egypt were rearranged to Cyprus.⁴⁶

At the same time as Cyprus’ strategic importance in the East-West conflict grew, the United Kingdom were taking considerable steps in the direction towards a ‘non-involvement’ policy. The British government began backing away from its responsibilities in Cyprus by letting the United States try to find a solution to the Cyprus conflict. Joseph S. Joseph writes that:

“The American takeover of the British role in Cyprus was the result of the postwar decline of Britain and the emergence of the USA as a global power.”⁴⁷

In 1964, to find a peaceful solution to the intercommunal violence on the island that had started the previous year, and to prevent a war between Greece and Turkey, the US government proposed the so-called Acheson Plan. The plan envisaged a partition of the island in which the Turkish Cypriots were given autonomous cantons while the island itself was unified with Greece. The plan was rejected by President Makarios, and a revised plan was again rejected by both Makarios and Turkey.⁴⁸ After the failed US proposal, the United Nations took the leading role in negotiating a settlement. Intercommunal talks were initiated by the UN in 1968, which continued until it was abruptly ended following the Cyprus crisis.

⁴⁴ Göktepe, *British Foreign Policy Towards Turkey*, p.94

⁴⁵ Constandino, *The Cyprus Crisis*, p.22

⁴⁶ Göktepe, *British Foreign Policy Towards Turkey*, pp.94-95

⁴⁷ Joseph, *Cyprus*, p.61

⁴⁸ Hakki, *The Cyprus Issue*, p.129

2.4 Chronology of events: 1974 Cyprus crisis

15 July – Coup d'état on Cyprus: Archbishop Makarios' administration is overthrown; Greek military officer Dimitrios Ioannides becomes President of Cyprus.

20 July – Turkey's first invasion of Cyprus begins.

22 July – Ceasefire established; Turkey occupies approximately 3 % of the island.

23 July – The Turkish invasion leads to the collapse of the military junta in Greece; Ioannides resigns as president of Cyprus; Glafcos Clerides, President of the Cypriot House of Representatives, assumes the presidential duties, in accordance to the constitution.

25-30 July – The First Geneva Conference is held with representatives from the United Kingdom, Greece and Turkey

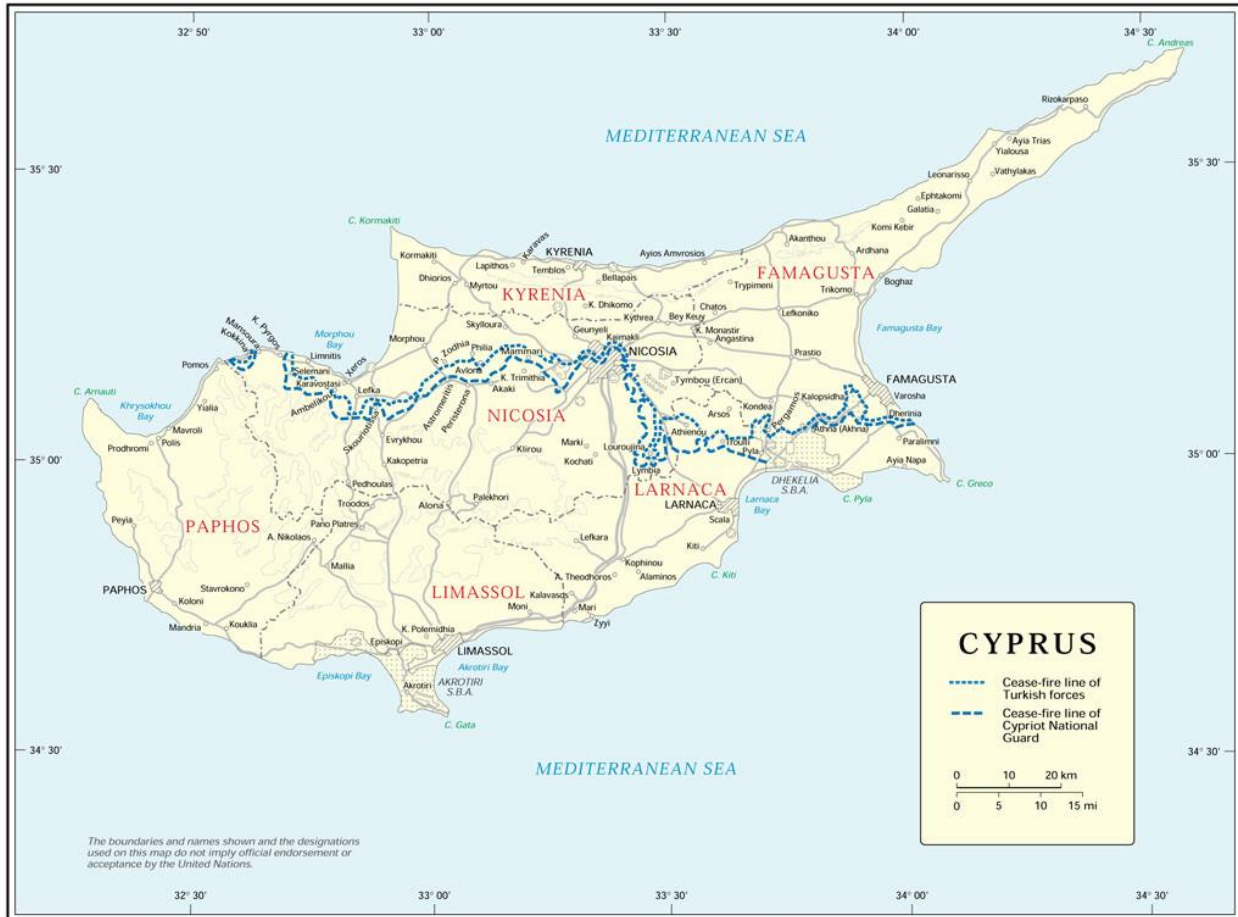
8-14 August – The Second Geneva Conference is held between representatives from UK, Greece and Turkey, joined by representatives from the Greek- and Turkish Cypriot communities.

14 August – Negotiations at Geneva end abruptly when Turkey's second invasion of Cyprus begins.

16 August – The final ceasefire on Cyprus is established; Turkey ends up controlling about 37 percent of the island.⁴⁹

⁴⁹ In 1983, the Turkish occupied area of Cyprus declared its independence under the name "the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC). This self-declared state continues to exist today, but due to its lack of international recognition (Turkey being the only nation in the world to recognise its independence) the state heavily relies on Turkish economic, political and military aid.

2.5 Map



Map No. 4038 UNITED NATIONS
October 1997 (Colour)

Department of Public Information
Cartographic Section

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⁵⁰ UN produced map of Cyprus, October 1997. Credits: UN DPI, Cartographic Section. Web 08.05.2017: <http://www.un.org/apps/news/infocus/UNdecoded/UNdecoded.asp?NewsID=1307&sid=48>

3. Conflicting theories about the cause of the crisis

The following chapter will contain a discussion of two well-established theories which claim to explain why the Cyprus crisis of 1974 happened. The first theory claims there was a British-American plan to partition Cyprus for the benefit of the North Atlantic Alliance. Among the supporting evidence here is the fact that a plan to divide Cyprus had been discussed within the US government in 1964. Other arguments have been to look at the US government's involvement in other similar scenarios in the same period, like the US backing of Chilean President Pinochet in 1973, and US involvement in the Bangladesh Liberation War in 1971.

The second theory criticizes the idea of a joint conspiracy, and rather focuses on factors such as bad cooperation, miscommunication, and different political views as the explanation to what caused the 1974 crisis. Recent historical research suggests that there is not enough evidence to support the idea of a plot to divide the island, and that the cause of the crisis is therefore more likely to have lied in a series of unsuccessful foreign policy decisions.

While discussing these theories, the chapter will also be using selected British and American official records from the period prior to the Cyprus crisis. Is there reason to believe that the British and American governments knew about a planned coup on Cyprus and chose to ignore it? It is an important question that is directly related to the British government's interests in Cyprus during the Cyprus crisis of 1974, and must therefore be examined before we begin to look at how the British government acted during the crisis.

3.1 Arguments supporting an Anglo-American plot

Over a decade after the dramatic events on Cyprus in 1974, James Callaghan, the newly appointed British Foreign Secretary at the time of the crisis, wrote in his memoirs that he never expected Makarios' letter to Gizikis on 2 July to have such grave consequences for the development of the situation on Cyprus. He further explained how his view towards Cyprus:

“Over the years I had come to regard Cyprus as the villagers who continue to cultivate their vines on its slopes regard Mount Etna: knowing that it is always likely to erupt but not expecting every rumble to lead to disaster. So Makarios' demand on 2 July for the

withdrawal of the Greek officers might be no more than another rumble in the heart of the volcano.”⁵¹

Authors advocating for an Anglo-American conspiracy⁵² argue that British and American officials deliberately turned their backs to the warnings of a coup in 1974. Among the most well-known authors with this view are Brendan O’Malley & Ian Craig. They write in their book, *The Cyprus Conspiracy*, that both British and American intelligence knew about a planned attempt to assassinate Makarios before Greek Easter, adding that British and American diplomats “dismissed these concerns.”⁵³ Supposedly, the reason was a “deliberate Cold War plot to divide the island and save the top secret spying and defence facilities from the twin threats of a communist takeover or British withdrawal.”⁵⁴

It must be made clear that these theories are not just pulled out of thin air. Firstly, the belief that the Americans were involved in both the 15 July coup d’état, and later the Turkish invasion, is one that is strongly held by many Cypriots, especially amongst the Greek Cypriots.⁵⁵ O’Malley & Craig argue that the US government’s decision to divide the island was built on two motives. The first motive was built on the fear that President Makarios would evolve into a Castro of the Mediterranean and “try to turn Cyprus into a Soviet satellite”. Supposedly, this fear led to the US development of a plan to partition the island between Greece and Turkey. It was thought that this would stabilize the political situation on the island: A communist takeover could potentially happen through the influence of the Greek Cypriot AKEL party, which would in turn serve as a threat to the British Sovereign Base Areas and to the North Atlantic Alliance. By dividing the island between two NATO member states, the United States could therefore be certain that their interests would be secured.

The second motive of the plan was built on the fear of British withdrawal from the island. Prior to the 1974 crisis, the British government were discussing a plan to remove itself from Cyprus as

⁵¹ Callaghan, *Time and Chance*, p.335

⁵² The Anglo-American conspiracy, or the British-American conspiracy, is used in this paper as a name given to the theory that there was a US plot to divide the Cyprus in 1974. It is an Anglo-American conspiracy in the sense that Britain allegedly “played along” with whatever the US government did.

⁵³ O’Malley & Craig, *The Cyprus Conspiracy*, p.159

⁵⁴ *Ibid*, p.xii

⁵⁵ Ker-Lindsay, *The Cyprus Problem*, p.45

a part of an aim to reduce defence spending.⁵⁶ O'Malley & Craig refer to the British Chief of Defence Staff at the time, who revealed to them that,

“... in the light of Labour’s commitment to reduce defence spending to 4.5 percent of GNP, the [Britain’s] chiefs of [Defence] staff considered making reductions in the forces in Cyprus, and had begun to discuss whether forces should be kept in Cyprus at all when Ioannides staged the coup in Nicosia.”⁵⁷

For the Americans, who were allowed to use the British bases on Cyprus, this meant that they could no longer be assured that there would be any military facilities left on the island for them to use.⁵⁸ O'Malley & Craig argue that this “left the Americans scouting around for an insurance policy against British withdrawal.”⁵⁹ From a British perspective, however, the fact that they considered removing itself from Cyprus might also reveal how the British government saw the strategic importance of Cyprus in contradiction to the United States.

Possibly the strongest argument used by O'Malley & Craig is the fact that in 1964, the US Secretary of State, George Ball, had suggested a plan to partition the island between Greece and Turkey. A contingency plan was discussed with Britain to allow Turkey to initiate a ‘controlled’ occupation in northern Cyprus. O'Malley & Craig write that, in fact, Turkish ships were on the move, but the plan was abandoned at the last minute.⁶⁰ If there were discussions of an American plan to divide the island one decade before it actually happened – why should we doubt that it was still the plan in 1974? Another factor to support this theory is found by looking at some of the other global political situations in which the US government had been involved. Perhaps the most controversial one was the 1973 coup d’état in Chile, in which President Salvador Allende⁶¹ was overthrown by the US-backed General Augusto Pinochet, who came to rule the country for 17 years. American involvement in Chilean politics in this period was confirmed by CIA

⁵⁶ When Harold Wilson returned as Prime Minister in March 1974, he announced “plans for sweeping defence cuts”; O'Malley & Craig, *The Cyprus Conspiracy*, p.157

⁵⁷ Ibid

⁵⁸ Global signal intelligence collection was shared between Washington and London in accordance to the 1947 UKUSA agreement. O'Malley & Craig, *The Cyprus Conspiracy*, p.88

⁵⁹ Ibid, p.158

⁶⁰ Ibid, p.xvii

⁶¹ According to a BBC article, when Allende was elected in 1970, he became the first democratically-elected Marxist president in Latin America; BBC News, “Profile: Salvador Allende”, Monday, 8 September, 2003: Web 19.12.2016: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/3089846.stm>

documents in September 2000.⁶² Consequently, the idea that the US may have also had a hidden agenda in the development of the Cyprus conflict is not as absurd as it may seem on the surface. On the other side, to rely one's arguments on events that took place in a different area or even a different period cannot be said to be enough to produce a reliable theory. Hence, the British-American plot remains a conspiracy theory and will continue to do so unless stronger supporting evidence are found.

Another argument used to support the idea of an Anglo-American plot to divide the island in 1974 is the fact that Cyprus' independence seemed to be in the interest of the Soviet Union. A unified Cyprus would ensure the geopolitical neutrality of the island, which have been taken this as a sign that the US wanted to partition the island, because a unified island would put a risk to US interests. In a contingency report compiled for the US government on 6 May, 1974, it was stated that there was no evidence to suggest that the Soviets would use military power to influence the situation on Cyprus:

“Such action would risk confrontation with Western powers and run counter to the basic interest in the independence and neutrality of Cyprus.”⁶³

In other words, it may appear that the US government at the time did not see a Soviet intervention as likely to happen, which is highly interesting because the US plan to divide the island in 1964 was based the fear that Cyprus would be turned into a Soviet satellite. It is also interesting because it is suggested by William Mallinson, who seems to be endorsing O'Malley & Craig's book on the Cyprus conspiracy, that the Russian threat to Cyprus was a made-up story by the US to give Turkey an excuse to invade the island.⁶⁴ The problem with Mallinson is seemingly that all his conclusions are drawn from the assumption that the US government feared that Cyprus under Makarios would move the island closer to the Soviet Union.⁶⁵ Historian Andreas Constandinos argues that the relations between the US and Makarios had “improved

⁶² In a document called “CIA activities in Chile”, dated 19 September 2000, the CIA acknowledged its close relations with Pinochet. Although they did not directly support the coup, they admitted to having attempted to block Allende's election in 1970 and to having encouraged a military coup against him; Kornbluh, Peter, *CIA acknowledges ties to Pinochet's repression. Report to Congress reveals U.S. accountability in Chile* Doc. 1 “CIA activities in Chile”, released by the CIA, September 19, 2000. The National Security Archive: Web 19.12.2016: <http://nsarchive.gwu.edu/news/20000919/>

⁶³ FRUS, 1969-1976, Volume XXX, Greece; Cyprus; Turkey, 1973-1976, Doc 75: p.267

⁶⁴ Mallinson, “US Interests, British Acquiescence and the Invasion of Cyprus”, p.495

⁶⁵ *Ibid*, pp.498-499

substantially over the previous six years.” He refers to a meeting in 1970 in the Oval Office between Nixon, Kissinger and Makarios, where the latter had said that Cyprus could never become another Cuba, “partly because Cypriots are a deeply religious people,” and that Cyprus was pro-West.⁶⁶

3.2 Ignorance intended?

The role of the Central Intelligence Agency in the Cyprus conflict has been a matter of much discussion. O’Malley & Craig write that the CIA had long-term contact with the *de facto* leader of the junta, Dimitrios Ioannides. In addition, the CIA chose which persons of the State Department to share intelligence reports with. One of these officials was the US Ambassador to Greece, Henry Tasca, who in O’Malley & Craig’s words was “mysteriously sidelined” from such information:

“Tasca was left to deal with officials of the puppet Government. But they knew nothing of Ioannides’ plots on Cyprus because the junta leader dealt directly with EOKA-B, bypassing his own Government.”⁶⁷

On 27 June, the US State Department reportedly received words that “the coup was definitely on”.⁶⁸ According to O’Malley & Craig, this information did not reach Tasca, and the State Department did nothing. Two days later, however, Tasca was instructed to warn Ioannides “against toppling Makarios”. Tasca was later in 1974 removed from office, as did the chiefs of the Cyprus Desk, the Greek Desk and the Turkish Desk. O’Malley & Craig argue that President Nixon and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger for some time had excluded key foreign policy bodies from decision-making. Consequently, “it was not a big step to keep particular officials in the field in the dark as well.”⁶⁹ If Tasca was left outside of the CIA’s flow of information on the Greek junta, this would in turn affect the flow of information of the British government, as there are numerous records of conversations between Tasca and the FCO.

The accusations made against Henry Kissinger and the Nixon administration, regarding the plot to divide the Cyprus in 1974, is commented by Kissinger in his third memoir, *Years of Renewal*.

⁶⁶ Constandinos, *The Cyprus Crisis*, p.68

⁶⁷ O’Malley & Craig, *The Cyprus Conspiracy*, p.184

⁶⁸ Ibid

⁶⁹ Ibid, p.183

Kissinger writes that the idea that warnings of a coup were ignored due to the administration's dislike of Makarios, was a claim made by what he describes as "a cottage industry of investigative journalists." One of his defending arguments is that:

"[...] in a large bureaucracy, it is almost always possible to discover some document or other predicting the event under investigation; it is a way for the bureaucracy to cover all bets. What really matters, however, is the context and to whose attention the warning was brought."⁷⁰

Kissinger is not wrong in his argument, as documents gathered from both American and British archives show that intelligence studies were often provided to give the US government different theoretical scenarios for which they should be prepared. For example, in a "Contingency Study for Cyprus" prepared by the US Interdepartmental Group for Near East and South Asia, six predicted scenarios on Cyprus are presented.⁷¹ While "an attempted coup by pro-enosis forces" and "a mainland Greek putsch against Makarios" are two of the scenarios, it was also discussed a contingency plan for "a joint Greco-Turk attempt to occupy and partition Cyprus." In other words, the report shows that a coup on the island was only one of several different scenarios which US intelligence thought could develop on the island in the nearest future. In such case, the idea that warnings of a coup were deliberately ignored by the US government may be weakened by the fact that there were other likely scenarios which also required the government's attention. It is not unreasonable to think that the US government treated the warnings of a planned coup as a submission to just one of many predicted scenarios in the coming months on the island.

Regarding the US government's involvement in the Cyprus crisis, the fact that this coincided with the final investigations of the Watergate scandal undoubtedly interfered with the government's ability to effectively perform its Cyprus policy. In his memoirs, Kissinger writes that due to the internal crisis in Washington, Kissinger assumed much of the responsibility for

⁷⁰ Kissinger, *Years of Renewal*, p.204

⁷¹ "Study Prepared by the Interdepartmental Group for Near East and South Asia", Paper drafted by Thomas Boyatt and Richard Erdman of the Cyprus Desk, Washington, May 6, 1974, found in FRUS, 1969-1976, Volume XXX, Greece; Cyprus; Turkey, 1973-1976, Doc 75: pp.263-271. Originally from the US National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Maryland. S/S-I Files: Lot 83 D 411, Box 3418, NSC Contingency Plans: Cyprus: Secret

the US decisions made in the Cyprus crisis.⁷² In Constandinos' book, he criticises Kissinger for having had close to no knowledge about Cyprus:

“Not only was Kissinger almost arrogantly ignorant about Cyprus, he had also become (a) Nixon's personal adviser on foreign policy, (b) manager of the National Security Council, (c) America's chief globe-trotting negotiator, and (d) the man managing the State Department's sprawling bureaucracy.”⁷³

It is also worth noting that Richard Nixon resigned as President on 9 August, a day after the Second Geneva Conference began. When President Ford took office, he had to spend “nearly all his time being briefed on his responsibilities or being introduced to key personell.”⁷⁴ A further discussion of Kissinger's ability to cooperate with the British government during the crisis will be included in chapter four, five, and six.

3.3 Britain reviews its position on Cyprus

Official records from early 1974 confirm that there had been discussions in the Parliament regarding a potential British withdrawal from Cyprus in the future. On 21 March, the Secretary of State of Defence announced a “review of current defence commitments and capabilities against the resources that, given the economic prospects of the country we can afford to devote to defence.” In a minute sent to the FCO containing a defence review, dated April 11, “policy implications of a decision to relinquish military facilities in Cyprus” was discussed.⁷⁵ What would be the consequences of a British withdrawal? First, the Treaty of Guarantee of 1960 was discussed. The treaty was the reason why the United Kingdom were represented at the peace negotiations in Geneva following the Turkish invasion of Cyprus, because it entitled them to be a guarantor to the independence and sovereignty of the Republic of Cyprus. The treaty stated that if Britain should decide to divest themselves “of the sovereignty or effective control” over the SBAs, these areas should be transferred to the Republic of Cyprus. However, this transfer could potentially be opposed by the Turkish side of the conflict. Turkish Cypriots had not participated in the central government since the breakdown of the constitution in 1963, and many had moved

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Constandinos, *The Cyprus Crisis*, p.135

⁷⁴ Kissinger, *Years of Renewal*, p.194

⁷⁵ ‘Minute from Mr. P.D.R. Davies to Mr. Goodison’ WSC 3/54 8/3, FCO, 11 April 1974. Collected in Hamilton & Salmon (ed.) *The Southern Flank in Crisis*, pp.103-105

into self-administered enclaves. Consequently, many Turkish Cypriots would see the transfer as handing land to the Greek Cypriots. A possible British withdrawal should therefore only happen after an intercommunal settlement had been reached.

Also discussed was Britain's military commitment to Cyprus. The British presence on the island was correctly in accordance to the Treaty of Guarantee. However, it was the UN Peacekeeping Force that was currently 'guaranteeing' the internal security on the island. Additionally, in the event of an external threat, the US would possibly also be involved, as had been the case in 1967, when the Americans intervened when Turkey was close to invading the island. Conclusively, the review stated that Britain's ability to fulfil its obligations under the Treaty would not be changed through a military withdrawal. The SBAs was nevertheless convenient for the UN Peacekeeping Forces in Cyprus (UNFICYP) since Britain was providing logistic support and also since the British contingent was the largest in the Force.

Two other factors were also discussed in the review: the economic factor of a British withdrawal and the consequences it would have on military alliances. According to the review, foreign exchange expenditure by the SBAs amounted to about 10% of Cyprus' GDP, and therefore a sudden military withdrawal would be both "economically and politically damaging to Cyprus." If a withdrawal was to occur, it was advised that it should happen over several years, alternatively that Cyprus should be offered loans or grants for the transition period. As for the military alliances, such as NATO and CENTO⁷⁶, a British withdrawal would likely mean moving the nuclear V-Bomber Force and the support squadrons belonging to it, which was declared to CENTO. None of the military facilities in Cyprus were declared to NATO, although the British military presence on the island indirectly enhanced NATO's position on the region. Mainly because it secured the site from "Russian penetration", but also because in extreme cases, Britain could be asked to assist on the Southern Flank.⁷⁷

The defence review shows us that Britain was discussing the possibility of a military withdrawal from Cyprus in early 1974. The minute may also stand to show Britain's move towards a non-involvement policy, in which they at least since 1964 had taken considerable steps in shifting its

⁷⁶ Central Treaty Organization, also known as the Bagdad Pact. It was dissolved in 1979.

⁷⁷ 'Minute from Mr. P.D.R. Davies to Mr. Goodison' WSC 3/54 8/3, FCO, 11 April 1974. Collected in Hamilton & Salmon (ed.), *The Southern Flank in Crisis*, pp.103-105

“primary responsibility” to the US.⁷⁸ Although we know for a fact that Britain was considering a withdrawal from Cyprus and had initiated review programs of its military presence, the question to be asked is whether Britain had made up its mind to withdraw from the island prior to the 15 July coup. O’Malley & Craig write that in early 1974, a “serious rift opened up between the United States and Britain which made Washington question the value of leaving the facilities in British hands.”⁷⁹

3.4 British contingency plans

With the release of the official records from 1974, there can be no doubt that the British government had information about a potential coup d’état on Cyprus. In a letter from the British High Commissioner to Cyprus, Sir Stephen Olver, to the Head of the Southern European Department, Alan Goodison, dated 25 March 1974, Olver addressed a growing suspicion by many Greek Cypriots about “sinister doings inside and outside the island.”⁸⁰ The communist political party in Cyprus⁸¹ alleged that Athens together with NATO were conspiring to impose a federal solution or possibly a partition of the island, and that in order for this to succeed, a coup d’état and the liquidation of Makarios was necessary. The letter also reported about rumours that a large number of Greek officers had arrived on the island in secrecy to take up posts in the National Guard and to help EOKA B stage a coup d’état. Meanwhile, the Greek Ambassador in Nicosia had told Olver “with strict confidence” that he had been ordered by Athens to warn EOKA B that they should not only remain inactive, but also disband. Olver concludes his letter with the following:

“While one cannot be certain about the real intentions of the régime in Greece, I see no reason to suspect that they are plotting a coup d’état against Archbishop Makarios, and I find the explanations and arguments of my Greek colleague convincing.”⁸²

⁷⁸ Constandinos, *The Cyprus Crisis*, p.33

⁷⁹ O’Malley & Craig, *The Cyprus Crisis*, p.159

⁸⁰ ‘Letter from Mr. Olver (Nicosia) to Mr. Goodison’ No. 8, WSC 1/9, 25 March 1974. Collected in Hamilton & Salmon (ed.), *The Southern Flank in Crisis*, p.91

⁸¹ The Progressive Party of Working People (Anorthotikó Kómma Ergazómenou Laoú, or AKEL), may have been the biggest communist party in Europe in terms of membership/votes compared to population: Asmussen, *Cyprus at War*, p.3

⁸² “No 8: Letter from Mr. Olver (Nicosia) to Mr. Goodison” in Hamilton & Salmon (ed.), *The Southern Flank in Crisis*, p.91

What this letter tells is that rumours about a planned coup on Cyprus had been in circulation between London and Nicosia in early 1974, but were deemed, by Olver in any case, as “nonsense”, likely because he believed what the Greek Ambassador had said about the relation between the Junta and EOKA B. Olver does admit, however, that the rumours would “also have further shaken Athens/Nicosia relations, which were fragile enough to begin with.”⁸³

In another letter from Olver in Nicosia to Alan Goodison at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO), dated 19 June, Olver talked about the status of the intercommunal peace-talks on the island. On the relation between President Makarios and Vice President Rauf Denktash, the *de facto* leader of the Turkish-Cypriot community, Olver noted that as long as Makarios and Denktash remain leaders of their respective communities, the chances of a settlement to the Cyprus problem would remain small:

“If so, progress must depend either on bringing about a reconciliation between them or removing one or the other. I can think of no way of bringing about reconciliation. The removal of Makarios in the foreseeable future – short of assassination – can I think be ruled out.”⁸⁴

Although the assassination of Makarios chillingly enough is mentioned in this letter – only a short month before the coup – the removal of Makarios is here “ruled out” as likely to happen in the nearest future. In fact, it is Denktash’s relation with Ankara that seems to have worried Olver the most, even though he concludes that “Denktash’s position as flag bearer of the embattled community looks reasonably secure.”

As for the progress of the intercommunal talks, Olver feared that the “situation over the next few months could develop dangerously.” He suggested a “list of possibles.” One alternative would be if either Britain, the United States, the United Nations or even the European Economic Community called for “patience, goodwill etc on both sides.” Olver said that he himself would be willing to urge Makarios for continued patience and moderation, but noted that the Archbishop would most likely blame Turkish separatism for producing the current the impasse of negotiations on the island. There was also a suggestion for close agreements between Turkey

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ ‘No 16: Letter from Mr. Olver (Nicosia) to Mr. Goodison’ WSC 1/2, 19 June 1974. Collected in Hamilton & Salmon (ed.), *The Southern Flank in Crisis*, pp.118-124.

and Greece for a possible solution. The prospects of this, however, was deemed “particularly remote”, because of the high tensions between Athens and Ankara, and the badly strained relations between Makarios and Greece.⁸⁵ Other suggestions involved increased UN presence, as well as a review of the 1960 Treaty of Guarantee between the Guarantor Powers, which could bolster the confidence of Turkey. The proposal would still have to be put across to both Makarios – and possibly also Athens, something which Olver did not underrate the challenge of, writing that it “might prove impossible.”⁸⁶

It may appear that the British government, at the very least High Commissioner Olver, feared that something ill-fated would eventually happen on Cyprus, based on the recent developments at the inter-communal talks, but possibly also based on the various rumours about the assassination plots against Archbishop Makarios. Even though the latter seems to have been more or less rejected, it is not unreasonable to argue that the warnings were taken seriously by at least some members of the administration. At the same time, there are reasons to believe that the British government were uncertain about what role they would have if something dramatic happened on the island in the nearest future. This is not the least supported by the fact that Olver had suggested a review of the Treaty of Guarantee, which explicitly dictates Britain’s rights and responsibilities on the island. If this was indeed the case, it was certainly a consequence of Britain’s move towards a non-involvement policy.

At least in the British case, there are reasons to believe that the people who received the information simply did not think the warning signs to be true. For instance, a week before the coup, Kissinger and Callaghan met in London for a briefing on the international situation. The meeting coincided with President Makarios’ letter to President Gizikis on 2 July 1974. However, in one of his memoirs, Kissinger claims that neither him nor Callaghan considered Cyprus threatening enough to be included on their agendas at the meeting. In addition, the White House intelligence brief the same day “referred only to Greek-Turkish tensions in the Aegean; Cyprus was only peripherally mentioned.”⁸⁷ Callaghan too refers to his meeting with Kissinger that day, mentioning that:

⁸⁵ Ibid, p.121

⁸⁶ Ibid, p.123

⁸⁷ Kissinger, *Years of Renewal*, p.204.

“... at no time in our long discussions did either of us speak of the Cyprus situation, and I can only conclude that we had no inkling that the ten thousand-strong Greek National Guard would launch a *coup d'état* against their own President within the next seven days.”⁸⁸

It is, of course, problematic to draw any conclusion based solely on the memoirs of a person so heavily involved in the crisis, that he would have obvious reasons to defend every decision made in the matter. Nevertheless, the idea that the British government did not see any real threat of a coup is supported by official sources, like the letters from Stepher Olver.

3.5 Did Makarios fear a coup?

Although the coup d'état may have taken the American and British governments by surprise, this does not imply that they were unaware of the tensions between President Makarios and the Greek military junta. On 8 March 1970, Makarios survived an attempted assassination when he was about to leave his residence in a helicopter. Constandinos writes that both the US and the UK governments concluded that certain members of the Junta had been involved in planning the assassination.⁸⁹ Constandinos refers to both British and American documents that suggest that the assassination attempt on Makarios was in revenge for the failed attempt on the Junta-leader, Prime Minister Papadopoulos, a few years earlier.⁹⁰

Knowing that he had been nearly assassinated before, it might therefore seem surprising to read that Makarios himself did not seem to take the warning signs of a planned coup d'état in 1974 seriously. Glafkos Clerides, the President of the Cypriot House of Representatives at the time of the coup, wrote in his memoirs that Makarios had explained to him that the Junta must have realised that a coup would give Turkey a pretext to interfere, and that a coup was therefore unlikely to occur. Makarios further argued that it was not in Greece's interest to provoke a Greco-Turkish war, and that the only way to avoid this was if an agreement was made between

⁸⁸ Callaghan, *Time and Chance*, p.335

⁸⁹ Constandinos, *The Cyprus Crisis*, p.65

⁹⁰ Constandinos' sources are FCO 9/2501, 'Cyprus: Internal Political Situation' (Part A), telegram from the British Ambassador to Greece, Sir Brooks Richards to the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, doc.2, WSC 014/2, 28 January 1977 and FRUS 1964-1968, Volume XVI, Cyprus; Greece; Turkey, doc.372, tel.2467 'Cyprus: Impact of Georkadjis Affair' sent from the US Ambassador in Cyprus Taylor Belcher to the State Department, 8 November 1968.

Athens and Ankara to partition the island between themselves.⁹¹ Constandinos refers to a FCO document dated 8 July 1974, where Makarios had told Olver that a coup d'état on the island could be "ruled out".⁹² In other words, although Makarios had accused the Greek Junta of conspiring against him, he did not believe this to ever really happen, unless Athens and Ankara were able to enter into an agreement beforehand, something which would seem unlikely. This view was also shared by Stephen Olver in a letter on 26 June, where he argues that the only scenario in which a coup would happen was if a prior agreement could be made with Turkey.⁹³ Contingency plans mentioning a partition of Cyprus in the months prior to the outbreak of the Cyprus crisis, may lead one to the conclusion that the British government possessed information which they deliberately ignored. The more likely answer seems to be that since the British government were informed by both the Greek ambassador and Makarios himself that a coup did not seem likely to happen, they themselves ruled out the option.

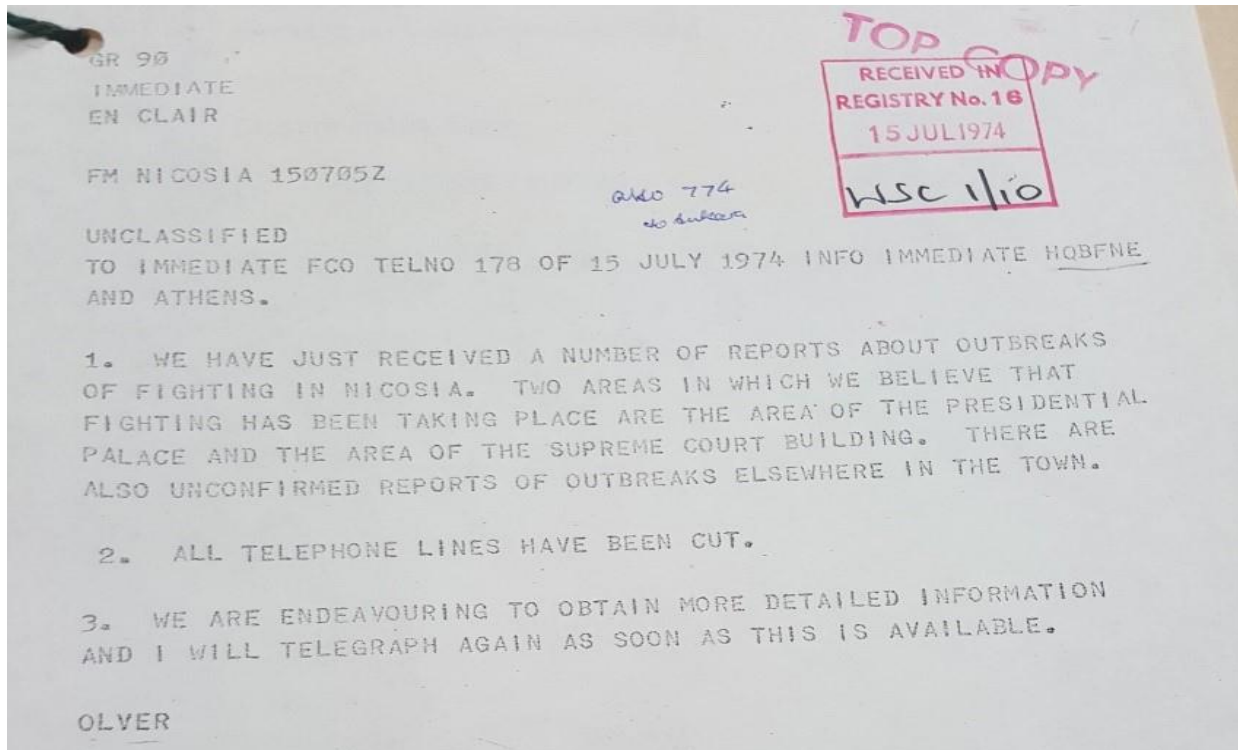
Official documents suggest that both the British and American governments had been suspecting that an escalation of tensions on Cyprus could increase during 1974, which is why contingency plans were produced by both governments. It would be unfortunate, however, to use these plans as evidence that the British and American governments chose to ignore warnings of a coup on Cyprus. Documents from this period also show that the British government had been considering a withdrawal from Cyprus. In the three next chapters, the British government's role in the Cyprus crisis will be thoroughly examined using both British and American official documents from the period.

⁹¹ Clerides, *My Deposition*, pp.331-334

⁹² Constandinos, *The Cyprus Crisis*, p.124

⁹³ TNA: FCO 9/1889, 'EOKA-B in Cyprus, Since Grivas', British High Commissioner to Cyprus, Sir Stephen Olver to Alan Goodison, head of the SED, FCO, 'EOKA-B since Grivas', doc.20, 26 June 1974.

4. From coup to conference



TNA: FCO 9/1890, The first news about the coup reaches London. Telegram by the High Commissioner to Cyprus, Sir Stephen Olver, despatched at 7.05 a.m. (GMT) on 15 July.

Chapter three discussed different theories on Anglo-American interests in Cyprus prior to the crisis, and analysed the flow of information in the British and American governments in the period leading up to the 1974 crisis. The aim of the chapter was to examine the possibility that the American and British governments knew about the coup and intentionally ignored the warning signs, or if there are other explanations such as warnings signs not reaching the right persons; warning signs were not taken seriously based on previous experience with false rumours; or if the governments had other priorities in both domestic and foreign policy.

My focus for the next three chapters will specifically lie on how the British government acted throughout the 1974 crisis. Beginning with the period from the coup d'état on 15 July to the start of the First Geneva Conference on 25 July, the fourth chapter of my thesis aims to examine the British government's reactions and initiatives taken in arguably the most eventful period of the crisis.

4.1 The British government's reaction to the coup

On the morning of 15 July 1974, a combination of the Greek mainland contingent on Cyprus⁹⁴, and the Cypriot National Guard – themselves headed by Greek Junta officers – began attacking the presidential palace in Nicosia, the capital of Cyprus. Believing in the *enosis*-movement (that Greek inhabited areas outside Greece should be incorporated into the Greek nation), the coup-makers saw President Makarios as a hindrance. They quickly gained support from the outlawed Greek Cypriot paramilitary group, EOKA-B, along with other anti-Makarios forces.⁹⁵

Miraculously, the archbishop had managed to escape, and was later rescued by RAF helicopters and the next day flown to London.

Early in the morning of 15 July 1974, James Callaghan, British Foreign Secretary, received a 'flash' message about a coup d'état on Cyprus. Apparently, Nicosia airport was sealed and controlled, and tanks were moving towards the city. The Presidential Palace had been occupied and destroyed, and it was announced on the national broadcast that Archbishop Makarios III had been killed.⁹⁶ The coup makers had then installed Nicos Sampson as the *de facto* president of Cyprus. In his memoirs, Callaghan recalls thinking "Nicos who?" when he first received the news, as the name was unknown to him.⁹⁷ In fact, Sampson was a former EOKA gunman who had taken an active part in the attacks on Turkish Cypriots in 1964.⁹⁸ He had also spent time in British prison following the EOKA struggles in the 50s, when Cyprus was still a British colony.⁹⁹

A degree of uncertainty about what was happening on Cyprus in the first few hours of the coup made it difficult for both London and Washington to draw conclusions. Who were the coup-makers? Was Makarios really dead? Although nothing had been confirmed yet, there was a strong suspicion towards Greece. The US Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, noted in his

⁹⁴ More commonly referred to by its abbreviated form, ELDYK.

⁹⁵ Constandinos, *The Cyprus Crisis*, p.149.

⁹⁶ TNA: FCO 9/1890, 'Military Coup in Cyprus – Monday 15 July', tel.181 from the British High Commissioner to Cyprus, Sir Stephen Olver to the FCO, 15 July 1974

⁹⁷ Callaghan, *Time and Chance*, p.336

⁹⁸ Ker-Lindsay, *The Cyprus Problem*, p.42.

⁹⁹ According to a Times article, he was known to the British during the 1950s as the 'killer of murder mile' due to his "suspected complicity in the deaths of a number of British servicemen in Nicosia." In 1957, he was sentenced to death, but the sentence was later commuted to life imprisonment. After spending 17 months in British prison, he was released as a part of an amnesty term of the London agreements which lead to the independence of Cyprus: *The Times*, London, Tuesday, Jul 16, 1974; p. 5; Issue 59140.

memoirs: “No one present, however, doubted that the coup had been instigated by the Greek junta in Athens.”¹⁰⁰ As for the rumoured assassination of the archbishop: although his death had been broadcasted by the coup makers, Makarios had in fact managed to escape the palace, and had secretly sent a request to be given refuge at one of the British Sovereign Base Areas (SBA).¹⁰¹ When the news reached London, Foreign Secretary Callaghan gave permission, and Makarios was later rescued by RAF helicopters at Paphos on the western coast of Cyprus, and had then been flown to Malta via Akrotiri, and the next day to London.¹⁰² Political scientist and former diplomat, William Mallinson, writes in an article that although Makarios wished to fly immediately to London from Malta, he was persuaded to stay the night. Supposedly, he was given the false reason “that the aircraft had one or two problems.”¹⁰³ Mallinson bases this on information gained from a former member of the British government’s diplomatic service, who did not wish to be named, and the statement is therefore not possible to confirm. In Mallinson’s view, the reason for this deliberate delay was so that “Britain and the US (or rather, Kissinger) were’ coordinating their positions, and that they needed Makarios out of the way for even just a few hours.”¹⁰⁴ This is, however, yet to be proved, as Mallinson points out himself.

According to Callaghan, when arriving in London, the archbishop showed gratefulness to Britain and the Royal Air Force for rescuing him, though he took time to criticise the Americans for being “too lenient with the Greek Colonels’ regime.”¹⁰⁵ In his memoirs, Callaghan mentions the various differences between the British and the US governments in their handling of the crisis. Callaghan writes that these differences persisted throughout the weeks of the crisis, and they “did not succeed in establishing the coordination of policy that I had hoped for and which was necessary.”¹⁰⁶ It will be necessary to study these differences closer, and I shall return to this discussion later in my thesis.

How would Britain precede?

¹⁰⁰ Kissinger, *Years of Renewal*, p.207

¹⁰¹ Callaghan, *Time and Chance*, p.337

¹⁰² TNA: FCO 9/2149, ‘Cyprus: Annual Review for 1974’, drafted by Stephen Olver.

¹⁰³ Mallison, “US Interests, British Acquiescence and the Invasion of Cyprus”, p.496

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁵ Callaghan, *Time and Chance*, p.338

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p.339

When the news of the coup had reached London, Callaghan wrote that it “pushed other problems off my desk”.¹⁰⁷ The same morning, the foreign secretary sat down with the Foreign Office Ministers and other officials to discuss how Whitehall¹⁰⁸ should proceed. It was in the middle of the holiday season, and Cyprus hosted many thousands of British holidaymakers. Callaghan wrote that the British High Commissioner to Cyprus, Stephen Olver, quickly took on the responsibility of making sure of their safety.¹⁰⁹ At the FCO meeting it was decided that Britain would not recognize any other government on Cyprus, even if Makarios was dead. The United Kingdom should also take initiatives to consult with Greece and Turkey, and later with Cypriot delegations, as was expected through the Treaty of Guarantee.¹¹⁰ In addition, Britain had a prime interest in the safety of the Sovereign Base Areas (SBAs), which they would not hesitate to defend in case of an attack. Finally, it was stressed that the military coup should not raise tensions between Greece and Turkey, and that the British government should therefore aim to avoid an armed Turkish response to the coup, which increasingly seemed like a realistic threat. Callaghan, wrote that he was well aware of how the Turkish Cypriots had been frequently mistreated by the Greek Cypriot majority, especially during the intercommunal struggles of the 1960s. A restoration of the *status quo ante* on the island was therefore not to be aimed at, and the British government should instead “endeavour to remedy their [the Turkish Cypriots’] position and even establish a better relationship with the Greek Cypriots.”¹¹¹

Makarios meets Callaghan in London

On the afternoon of 17 July, Callaghan met with President Makarios in London. The Archbishop asked the British government not to accept “any diplomatic representative of the régime in Cyprus and that the High Commissioner in Nicosia would have no contact with it.” In response, Callaghan said, as he had said to the House of Commons the day before, that Makarios was the “elected and legitimate President of Cyprus,” and would remain so until new elections found

¹⁰⁷ Ibid, p.336

¹⁰⁸ Whitehall is a commonly used metonym for Her Majesty’s Government, e.g. the British central government. Whitehall is the name of the street running south from Trafalgar Square towards Parliament Square, in central London.

¹⁰⁹ Callaghan, *Time and Chance*, p.336.

¹¹⁰ See Appendix 1: The Treaty of Guarantee of 1960 was an ‘independence formula’ for the new Republic of Cyprus, agreed to by the Turkish, Greek and British governments. Article II entitles the UK, Greece and Turkey to “recognize and guarantee the independence, territorial integrity and security of the Republic of Cyprus.”

¹¹¹ Callaghan, *Time and Chance*, p.337

place. However, the United Kingdom did have business concerning their Sovereign Base Areas on the island, which had to be discussed with the new régime.¹¹²

When Callaghan asked Makarios whether he would like to meet with the Turkish Prime Minister, Bülent Ecevit, who Callaghan had planned to meet later that day, Makarios responded that he did not have the time because he had so many Cypriots to meet with and talk to in London. The Archbishop also informed Callaghan that he intended to leave London early the next day. Historian Andreas Constandinos writes that Makarios had earlier told that his plan was to meet with the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) with the hope of obtaining a resolution that would call for the withdrawal of the Greek officers on Cyprus.¹¹³ He would only stay in New York for a few days unless he was able to meet with either Kissinger or President Nixon.¹¹⁴

4.2 Preventing a Turkish military reaction

Soon after the coup, it became clear to the British government that due to their role as a Guarantor Power, Britain would take a leading role in persuading Turkey not to intervene militarily on the island. Preventing an armed conflict between Turkey and Greece would not be easy. In fear of violent escalations on Cyprus, the British Ministry of Defence (MOD) had given an intelligence assessment of the situation, as can be read in a Top Secret minute, dated 17 July, three days before the Turkish invasion of the island. Although no fighting in the areas controlled by the National Guard seemingly occurred, the Turks were “in a high state of alert but in a low posture although they could move in a matter of hours.”¹¹⁵ The Greeks too were in a higher state of alert, although there was no unusual military activity.

¹¹² “Record of Conversation between Mr. Callaghan and President Makarios at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office on 17 July 1974 at 5.45 p.m.” WSC 1/10. FCO. Read in Hamilton & Salmon (ed.), *The Southern Flank in Crisis*, pp.139-142

¹¹³ Constandinos’ sources are: ‘The elected President’; FCO 9/1892, ‘Military coup in Cyprus – Wednesday 17 July’, Private Secretary A. J. Coles to David Ennals, Minister of State; ‘Note for the Record’ of Makarios’ meeting with David Ennals, 17 July 1974; & tel.520 & 521 to the FCO, ‘Callaghan meeting with Makarios’, 17 July 1974.

¹¹⁴ “Record of Conversation between Mr. Callaghan and President Makarios at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office on 17 July 1974 at 5.45 p.m.” WSC 1/10. FCO. Read in Hamilton & Salmon (ed.), *The Southern Flank in Crisis*, pp.139-142

¹¹⁵ “Minute from Sir J. Killick to Mr. Goodison.” WSC 1/10. FCO, 17 July 1974. Read in Hamilton & Salmon (ed.), *The Southern Flank in Crisis*, p.136

Already on 15 July, British newspapers reported that Turkish armed forces were put on a state of alert following the news of a Greek-led coup on Cyprus. In an article in *The Times*, informed sources had stated that the Turkish government had:

“[...] decided that Turkey now legally had the right to intervene in Cyprus as a guarantor state of the Geneva Agreement. However, it had not yet decided when to intervene.”¹¹⁶

The fact that the media was writing about a planned intervention by Turkey on the very day of the coup hints to why the British government was criticised for not interfering more decisively to prevent a Turkish armed reaction to the coup. However, it is not certain what is meant by the word “intervention”, although an armed intervention was suggested. In comparison, the Turkish military had in similar scenarios in the 1960s shown signs of movement towards Cyprus, but had turned around before anything dramatic had happened, due to either pressure from the US, or as a threat.¹¹⁷ What is certain is that the Turkish Prime Minister was meeting with the British government on 17 July, and that any actions done by both governments with regards to Cyprus would therefore likely be put on hold until further negotiations had been completed. In addition, the British government may have hoped to solve the problem through diplomatic means only, and might have underestimated the patience of the Turkish government. This may also explain why James Callaghan later during the Geneva Conferences was prepared to put military pressure on Turkey, because a less aggressive form of diplomacy had seemingly failed to prevent a Turkish invasion on Cyprus.

Meeting with the Turkish Prime Minister on 17-18 July

At 10 Downing Street on the evening of 17 July, after having met with Makarios the same day, Callaghan joined Prime Minister Wilson in meeting with the Turkish Prime Minister, Bülent Ecevit, and the acting Turkish Foreign Minister, Hasan Isik.¹¹⁸ Callaghan also had an additional meeting with Isik the following day, where neither of the Prime Ministers were present.

¹¹⁶ “Turkey puts armed forces on alert”, Ankara, 15 July, in *The Times*, London, Tuesday, Jul 16, 1974; pg. 5; Issue 59140

¹¹⁷ In 1964, President Johnson sent a letter to former Turkish President Ismet İnönü, in which Turkey was warned that if the Soviet Union chose to invade Turkey, the other NATO members could not promise that they would assist Turkey. Source: “The Johnson Letter of 5 June 1964”, read in Hakki, *The Cyprus Issue*, p.97

¹¹⁸ Due to its relevancy, the records of the conversation with the Turkish Prime Minister in London are found in the same National Archives folder as the Geneva Conferences: TNA: FCO 9/1922, *The Geneva Conferences on Cyprus, July-August 1974*, WSC 1/13, No. 2/75.

At the beginning of the first meeting, Ecevit confirmed what had been suspected by British and American officials since the coup: He had said that “If it was not feasible to return to the previous state of affairs by recalling the Greek officers of the National Guard, it would be impossible for Turkey to refrain from intervention.”¹¹⁹ He further argued that the *coup d'état* constituted a violation of international treaties, namely the 1960 Treaty of Guarantee, which entitles the three Guarantor Powers (Greece, Turkey and Britain) to “recognise and guarantee the independence, territorial integrity and security of the Republic of Cyprus.”¹²⁰

Both Britain and Turkey agreed that the best solution was if Makarios could return to office. If Makarios was unable to return, the British government suggested that together with the United States, Britain and Turkey should go forth and warn the Greek junta of its violation of Cyprus' independence, and further ask for the withdrawal of Greek forces under UN supervision. It was also hoped for that the three Guarantor Powers could meet in London, where they would conduct consultations for a peace settlement. In the Turkish government's mind, there was a second alternative: that of an intervention. Ecevit argued that the best scenario in such case was if the British Sovereign Base Areas could be used to safely transfer Turkish forces to the island, thus avoiding bloodshed and violent confrontations between Greece and Turkey. It was argued that this action would justify Britain's presence on the island as a Guarantor Power. Ecevit also said, which could easily be interpreted as a threat, that Britain might feel “a burden on their conscience in future if they declined to accept the Turkish proposal.” Concluding his opening statement of the discussion, Ecevit said it was strange that Turkey was “almost weeping” over President Makarios' departure, and that the present situation on the island had opened a real opportunity for dialogue with the archbishop.¹²¹

Callaghan writes that he was not prepared for such a direct request by the Turkish Prime Minister for the use of British bases. “The island needed fewer Greek troops, not more Turkish troops,

¹¹⁹ TNA: FCO 9/1922, Doc 1. “Record of conversation between the Prime Minister, the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary, and the Defence Secretary, and the Prime Minister, the Acting Foreign Minister, and Minister of the Interior after dinner at No. 10 Downing Street”, Wednesday 17 July, 1974. p.11

¹²⁰ Treaty of Guarantee, Article II: See Appendix 1

¹²¹ What Ecevit had said had according to Callaghan “showed how much relations had improved between Makarios and the Turks.” Callaghan, *Time and Chance*, p.340

and we had called on the Greek Government to withdraw their National Guard officers.”¹²²
Commenting on the matter, Prime Minister Wilson said that:

“[...] the Sovereign Base Areas had been established for the benefit of British forces only. The move suggested would not be advisable.”¹²³

Wilson said he understood Turkey’s point of view, and that if the situation for the Turkish Cypriots on the island worsened, “Turkey would feel it necessary to intervene.” It is perhaps interesting to note that, although both Wilson and Callaghan were very critical to this idea, nowhere in the records do either of them explicitly condemn it, which may point to a certain indecisiveness in the British government, or to that they were delaying a more specific answer until they had consulted with the US.

The records show the clear differences in how the British and the Turkish governments saw the situation on Cyprus. Both sides sought to bring back Makarios as president, but while Wilson and Callaghan strongly suggested that the three Guarantee Powers should gather in London and conduct consultations, the Turkish government argued that they did no longer regard Greece as a Guarantor since the coup d’état had been a Greek-led act in the first place. Furthermore, Ecevit felt that the Turkish government had already “done their duty” by trying to consult with the Greek government, and that “no response had been given by the Greek Ambassador to the acting [Turkish] Foreign Minister.”¹²⁴

Another topic to be brought up in the discussions, was that of the Soviet Union. Ecevit had argued that the events on Cyprus had to be seen in a wider context: “The Russians wished to play a part because Greece was a NATO Power and they wished to drive a wedge into NATO.”¹²⁵ Wilson also agreed that there was a real danger of a Soviet intervention, and that it was therefore important to take early action. The MOD intelligence assessment of the situation on Cyprus that was given the same day as the first meeting with the Turkish Prime Minister in London, said that:

¹²² Callaghan, *Time and Chance*, p.340

¹²³ TNA: FCO 9/1922, Doc 1: p.13

¹²⁴ Later in the record, Ecevit also admitted that a political factor with his own Parliament was one of the reasons which made consultations with Greece difficult. Ecevit confirmed this to Prime Minister Wilson, adding that he “had already taken a risk by talking to Mr. Androutsopoulos in Brussels.” TNA: FCO 9/1922, Doc 1: p.15

¹²⁵ *Ibid*, p.13

“[...] Makarios outside Cyprus might move closer to the Soviet Union and the latter would be in a position to exploit this situation in the Eastern Mediterranean area.”¹²⁶

This remark might contradict the views held by authors like William Mallinson, who argues that the Soviet threat to Cyprus was an “illusory” one. In his view, the British government used the Soviet threat as a reason to support Makarios’ return to the island, if they had to.¹²⁷

At the end of the discussions on the first day it was agreed that both delegations should make separate statements to the press. Interestingly, they also agreed to say nothing about a possible military action if questioned, this in order “to create the maximum possible pressure on the Greek Government.” Both delegations clearly wished the focus to remain on Greece, the aggressor.

The next morning, the conversations restarted between Callaghan and Foreign Minister Isik. Callaghan writes that Isik was “under instructions and we could make no progress.”¹²⁸ When Callaghan gave his final message, saying that he expected Turkey not to resort to any military actions, Isik gave him no assurance on the matter. As the Turkish delegation left London later that day, Callaghan writes that the British government was left uncertain of what actions Turkey would take.¹²⁹

4.3 The British government’s reaction to the Turkish invasion

The first Turkish invasion of Cyprus began on Saturday, 20 July. At 3.10 a.m., Callaghan was once again awoken by a flash message, this time from the British Ambassador in Ankara, Horace Phillips. The letter reported that a Turkish force was about to land in Cyprus within hours.¹³⁰ Unable to wait for the car that had been sent from the FCO to collect him, and unable to find a taxi, Callaghan managed to stop a driver who was delivering either bread or milk (Callaghan

¹²⁶ “Minute from Sir J. Killick to Mr. Goodison.” WSC 1/10. FCO, 17 July 1974. Read in Hamilton & Salmon (ed.), *The Southern Flank in Crisis*, p.137

¹²⁷ Mallinson, “US Interests, British Acquiescence and the Invasion of Cyprus”, p.497

¹²⁸ Callaghan, *Time and Chance*, p.340

¹²⁹ Ibid

¹³⁰ “Sir H. Phillips (Ankara) to Mr. Callaghan” No. 780 Telegraphic, WSC 1/10, Ankara, 20 July 1974, 3.10 a.m. Read in Hamilton & Salmon (ed.), *The Southern Flank in Crisis*, p.165

could not remember). Fortunately, the driver recognised the Foreign Minister, and together they drove to Whitehall.¹³¹

At around 4 a.m. the Turkish military initiated air sorties, seaborne landings and parachute troop landings on the northern coast of Cyprus.¹³² Fighting broke out in Nicosia and the airport was bombed by Turkish aircrafts. As hours went by it seemed to be a real danger of a war between Greece and Turkey, as later that morning, Greek generals in Athens ordered the mobilisation of a Greek division towards the Turkish/Greek border in Thrace. There were also reports that the Greek military were threatening to declare *enosis* and war against Turkey.¹³³

American puts pressure on Turkey

Naturally, the British government's main objective following the invasion had been to protect the lives and properties of British citizens on the island. Between 20 and 21 July, around 17 000 British citizens and 5000 Cypriots refugees were evacuated into the SBAs.¹³⁴ The security of the Sovereign Base Areas was also prioritised, and plans to reinforce the SBAs were initiated early on 20 July.¹³⁵ In addition, as their aim before had been to prevent a Turkish invasion, Britain's new aim should be to limit the scale of the Turkey's military progress on Cyprus. In a cabinet meeting, Callaghan had told the audience that Britain's interests were also shared by Kissinger. Importantly, Nicos Sampson would still not be accepted as the leader of Cyprus, and Callaghan remarked that Britain should be prepared to consider Clerides as a replacement for Makarios.¹³⁶ This demonstrates a sign of change in the British policy, as they had preferred the return of Makarios as the best solution. Constandinos writes that for the first time during the crisis, "much to Kissinger's delight, Britain had fully aligned its policy with its Atlantic ally."¹³⁷

Callaghan and Kissinger spent most of the Sunday, 21 July on the telephone with each other. On the afternoon, they agreed that they should:

¹³¹ Callaghan, *Time and Chance*, p.343

¹³² TNA: CAB 129/178/2, Memorandum of a Cabinet meeting held on 22 July: Note by the Secretary of the Cabinet. (All further citations in the paragraph are of the same source, unless another reference is given.)

¹³³ This information had been given to Joseph Sisco, the US Under-Secretary of State for Political Affairs, who then informed Kissinger. TNA: CAB 129/178/2

¹³⁴ *Ibid*

¹³⁵ *Ibid*

¹³⁶ TNA: CAB 130/758, Minute from Cabinet meeting, 15.00 GMT, 20 July, 1974.

¹³⁷ Constandinos, *The Cyprus Crisis*, p.202

“[...] insist on a cease-fire by issuing what was, in effect, an ultimatum: if a cease-fire was not agreed to within twelve hours, the United States would remove all of its nuclear weapons from both sides of the Greek-Turkish border in Thrace.”¹³⁸

This decision was also backed by the French foreign minister. Together they agreed to demand from Greece and Turkey that a meeting between the Guarantor Powers should take place immediately following the cease-fire, under UN auspices. The decision also reflected the message from the United Nations Security Council’s Resolution 353, which was adopted on the same day as the Turkish invasion.¹³⁹ Henry Kissinger writes that the proposals were “reluctantly accepted” by both Turkey and Greece; Ecevit had accepted only an hour before the deadline, while the junta finally agreed to the terms an hour after the deadline.¹⁴⁰

Establishing a ceasefire

On the following Monday, on 22 July, a ceasefire on Cyprus was declared. The same day would mark the end of the seven years of the military junta regime in Greece. The coup d’état on Cyprus had been a failure in the sense that it had not realised the goals of the junta-regime. Furthermore, there was now a sense of danger that an all-out war between Greece and Turkey could occur. All this triggered political turmoil within Greece, in which the exiled Constantine Karamanlis, former Prime Minister, re-emerged as a viable new leader.¹⁴¹

American official documents states that both Callaghan and Prime Minister Wilson admitted that the ceasefire on 22 July had been a direct result of American pressure.¹⁴² This is also shown in British documents from the same day. In a minute from a cabinet meeting on 22 July, Callaghan said that although the US had initially been “rather slow to appreciate the prime importance of the situation on Cyprus,” once the Turkish invasion was a fact Kissinger had worked hard, in consultation with the British government, to avoid a war between Greece and Turkey.¹⁴³

Callaghan further noted that:

¹³⁸ Kissinger, *Years of Renewal*, p.222

¹³⁹ See Appendix 2

¹⁴⁰ Ibid

¹⁴¹ FRUS, 1973-1976 Vol XXX, Greece; Cyprus; Turkey: Doc 17, p.78, “Editorial Note”

¹⁴² Constandinos, *The Cyprus Crisis*, p.216

¹⁴³ “Extract from Conclusions of a Meeting of the Cabinet held at 10 Downing Street on 22 July 1974 at noon”, CC (74) 28 [WSC 1/10] in Hamilton 2007, Doc 37: p.179

“Indeed it was the dependence of both countries on American aid which gave the Americans, and them alone, the leverage to insist upon a ceasefire.”¹⁴⁴

It was concluded that, although the US had been immediately responsible for the ceasefire, “it was also a success for our own efforts.”¹⁴⁵

In the same minute, it is revealed by Prime Minister Wilson that the British government had received some public criticism that British tourists on the island had not been given warnings to leave Cyprus as soon as there was speculation about a possible Turkish invasion. Wilson said that the decision not to give warnings earlier was, however, justified because it would have made little practical difference, and importantly, it would lead to the suspicion by the Greek government that Britain was colluding with Turkey. If this happened, the danger of Greek-Cypriot violence against British citizens would be much higher. Ironically, during the Geneva Conferences, the Turkish delegation accused Callaghan and the British delegation for being pro-Greek, as will be shown in chapter five and six.

4.4 Differences between Kissinger and Callaghan

The talks with the Turkish Prime Minister in London also highlight the role and interest of the United States in the conflict. Apparently, Callaghan had spoken to US Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, only 10 minutes before the meeting with the Turkish Prime Minister on 17 July.¹⁴⁶ While he had told Callaghan that the United States would not acknowledge the new regime on Cyprus, Kissinger had also said that he did not want to rush “the deliberations of the [United Nations] Security Council, which would lead to support for Makarios from all quarter and give him a carte blanche even to seek Soviet aid.”¹⁴⁷ In other words, the United States did not wish to rush any Security Council process, because in a worst-case scenario this would lead to a massive support for Makarios, in which he could potentially decide to seek Soviet help. If a tripartite meeting with the Guarantor Powers could be made, this would provide a reason for delaying actions in the council.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid

¹⁴⁵ “Extract from Conclusions of a Meeting of the Cabinet held at 10 Downing Street on 22 July 1974 at noon”, CC (74) 28 [WSC 1/10] in Hamilton 2007, Doc 37: p.179; All further citations in the next paragraph are of the same source.

¹⁴⁶ TNA: FCO 9/1922, Doc 1: p.13

¹⁴⁷ Ibid

In a telephone call to Kissinger on the evening of 18 July, Callaghan shall have said that the return of Archbishop Makarios to office was the best outcome. He had said to Kissinger that it was important for the Americans put substantial pressure on the Greeks, and to be at the forefront of any diplomatic action, something which may highlight the fact that Britain throughout the decades, but especially since the mid-1960s, had taken major steps towards a foreign policy of non-involvement.¹⁴⁸ Callaghan further noted that the chances of getting the Archbishop back were “no better than 5 to 1 against”, but that the continuation of the “more or less fascist government [on Cyprus] would result in growing tensions, Soviet pressure and possibly clandestine involvement.” Although Kissinger had said that he mostly agreed with what Callaghan had told him, he argued that they should tread careful. He “did not want to give the Russians an excuse for intervention by going too far in declaring the illegitimacy of the Sampson régime.”¹⁴⁹ It is no secret that Kissinger was more sceptical to Makarios than Callaghan was. In a conversation with the British ambassador in Washington, Kissinger could not understand why the British government was so eager to act quickly in giving “absolute support of Makarios.” The top priority was to prevent a communist infiltration in Cyprus. What Kissinger feared the most was that if:

“[...] Makarios returned to power in those circumstances, [he] would not hesitate to regard the Russians as his saviours and allow an already strong Communist Party to gain further strength.”¹⁵⁰

Yet, even if Makarios represented a possible threat to American interests, the United States would still not accept the new regime of Sampson. The alternative was, in Kissinger’s view, to bring in Glafcos Clerides, the President of the House of Representatives, as the President of Cyprus, something which was also in accordance with the constitution, if the Archbishop was unable to return. In other words, the fact that Kissinger was greatly suspicious at Makarios does not mirror the idea that he sought a partition of Cyprus. To the contrary, it seems that he

¹⁴⁸ Constandinos, *The Cyprus Crisis*, p.33

¹⁴⁹ Telegram No. 2416 to Washington of 18 July, at 6.55 p.m., WSC 1/10. Read in Hamilton & Salmon (ed.) *The Southern Flank in Crisis*, Footnote 6. p.151

¹⁵⁰ “Sir P. Ramsbotham (Washington) to Mr. Callaghan.” No. 2414. Telegraphic, WSC 1/10. Washington, 17 July, 1974, at 11:50 p.m. Read in Hamilton & Salmon, *The Southern Flank in Crisis*, p.152

favoured a return of the constitutional rule on the island, although preferably without Makarios as the leader.

As mentioned earlier, Callaghan had written in his memoirs that he and Kissinger had their differences in how to approach the Cyprus problem. At the same time, both parts mention a massive respect for each other: Kissinger writes that “There was no foreign leader with whom I enjoyed working more and very few I appreciated as much.”¹⁵¹ Callaghan said that he very much admired how Kissinger had handled the Arab-Israeli War and wrote that “No one could handle the Greeks and Turks better if he were so minded.”¹⁵²

Kissinger writes that one of the most noticeable differences between him and Callaghan was perhaps that the British Foreign Minister tended to “personalize foreign policy to a greater extent.” Kissinger had noticed how Callaghan was more easily aroused to anger, which with respect to Cyprus had shifted from being directed at the Greek junta, to the Turkish Prime Minister for delaying a cease-fire following the invasion, to the democratically elected Greek government for not showing up on time at the negotiation tables, and lastly to Turkey when they initiated their second military offensive on 14 August.¹⁵³ Trying to explain this mentality, Kissinger notes that Callaghan may have expected more from the Greeks and Turks than he did, something which, it may be argued, tells more about Kissinger’s approach to the crisis than that of his British equivalent. It nicely encapsulates the form of shuttle diplomacy of which characterized most of Henry Kissinger’s career as Secretary of State, as well as his belief in *realpolitik*. In addition, the fact that Kissinger performed his Cyprus policy almost exclusively from his office in Washington and crucially depended on information from US officials abroad, might have contributed to an uneven amount of information between him and Callaghan. The latter part was arguably more directly involved in matters related to the Cyprus crisis, as he spent time with Turkish and Greek officials in both London, and later in Geneva during the two Geneva Conferences.

¹⁵¹ Kissinger, *Years of Renewal*, p.208

¹⁵² Callaghan, *Time and Chance*, p.342

¹⁵³ Kissinger, *Years of Renewal*, p.209

4.5 Chapter conclusion

The ten days following the *coup d'état* on Cyprus on 15 July 1974 were characterized by frequent correspondence between London, Washington, Ankara, Athens.¹⁵⁴ Due to its obligations as a guarantor power, the British government took a leading role in the diplomatic efforts made to put an end to the fighting on Cyprus. Throughout the period, British Foreign Secretary James Callaghan spoke regularly with US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. By reading records of their correspondence, it becomes clear that they did not always share the same view on how the crisis should be solved. Years later, both Callaghan and Kissinger admitted that this had indeed been a challenge during the crisis. Although their differences did not seem to have caused major problems at this point in the crisis, it is reasonable to think that negotiations were more time-consuming than was hoped for. With the information of an impatient and aggressive Turkish military, quick diplomatic decisions were crucially needed.

Meetings in London with President Makarios, and later with Prime Minister Ecevit, also paint a picture of conflicting interests. Turkey sought cooperation from the British government and wanted a joint intervention as guarantor powers to restore the situation on Cyprus. Britain did not want to use their Sovereign Base Areas as landing bases for Turkish armed forces, and instead suggested that the Greek government should be put pressure on by the Turkish and the British governments. In short, one part wanted less soldiers on the Cyprus while the other wanted more. Both official documents and newspaper articles show that there was a real danger of a Turkish invasion on Cyprus in the days before it happened. Reasonably therefore, the British government did later receive criticism for not intercepting Turkey before the invasion. Indecisiveness, conflicting views between the Guarantor Powers and the US, together with a British policy of non-interference may be words to describe the ten days following the 15 July coup. The two next chapter will examine Britain's role at the negotiating tables at the two Geneva Conferences, which began on 25 July and ended on 14 August, when Turkey's second military intervention began.

¹⁵⁴ There are twenty-five large folders containing FCO documents related to Cyprus, from 15 July alone, which are held at the National Archives. Such a massive number of documents points to chaotic days in which the British government was in desperate need for information immediately following the coup.

5. The First Geneva Conference

The following chapter will look at the First Geneva Conference on Cyprus, held from 25 July – 30 July, 1974. As part of my thesis, I will investigate the role of the British delegation at the conference. There are primarily two topics to be discussed: As chairman of the conference, British Foreign Secretary James Callaghan and his British delegation were faced with a difficult task of trying to mediate between the Turkish and Greek delegation. Additionally, like in the period before and after the conferences, the interplay between the British and the American government, specifically that of Callaghan and Kissinger, deserves a closer study.

Like most of the primary sources used in this thesis, the official documents from both the first (25-30 July) and the second Geneva Conference (8-14 August) are held at the National Archives in Kew, London. The documents mainly consist of records from meetings in which the British delegation were present, but also telegrams sent abroad from Geneva. About the records from meetings in the First Geneva Conference, it should be noted that there was no person whose primary duty was to take notes; the records available are primarily based on notes made by Alan Goodison, the head of the Southern European Department of the British Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO).¹⁵⁵ Goodison was a member of the British delegation at the conference, and was thus heavily involved in the negotiations. The records from the first stage of the Geneva conference may therefore be incomplete at times. It is stated in the official combined folder for the Conferences that, “Given the significance of the subject matter they have, however, been made as full as possible.”¹⁵⁶ It is nevertheless a matter to consider when reading through the records.

The First Geneva Conference was to be held in accordance to the United Nations Security Council’s Resolution 353,¹⁵⁷ which had been promulgated immediately following the Turkish invasion of Cyprus on 20 July, 1974. Originally suggested to be held in Vienna on 22 July as soon as the ceasefire was declared, the place and time was upon agreement switched to Geneva on 25 July.¹⁵⁸ The conference was held between the three Guarantor Powers: Turkey, Greece and

¹⁵⁵ TNA: FCO 9/1922: p.9. “A. Introduction”, *The Geneva Conferences on Cyprus, July and August 1974*

¹⁵⁶ Ibid

¹⁵⁷ See Appendix 2

¹⁵⁸ In a telephone call to Kissinger, Callaghan suggested that the three Guarantor Powers should meet in Vienna at 8 a.m. on Tuesday 22 July. However, political circumstances meant that the conference was eventually moved to

the United Kingdom, with the Foreign Ministers of each state leading its own delegation. Also present in Geneva was the Under Secretary-General of the United Nations, Roberto Guyer, and William Buffum of the US State Department.¹⁵⁹ It is also worth noting that neither of the Cypriot communities were represented at the first conference. It was decided on day one, however, that the two communities were to be present at a second stage of the conference.¹⁶⁰

5.1 Setting a framework for the conference

The purpose of the Geneva conferences was to find a solution – both temporarily and long term – to the crisis that had developed on Cyprus following the Turkish invasion on 20 July. This would initially be done by issuing a joint declaration. Before this could be done, however, a plan on how the conference should develop had to be produced. Prior to the first tripartite meeting between the Guarantor Powers in the Palais des Nations, Callaghan had a meeting with the Under-Secretary General of the United Nations, Roberto Guyer.¹⁶¹ When discussing what could be the expected outcome of the conference, Guyer said that it was crucial that they acted quickly or else they might lose their “only chance of a settlement.” He further asked whether a permanent solution to the Cyprus problem was feasible, arguing that perhaps only a provisional arrangement was possible due to the currently tense situation on the island.¹⁶² Callaghan argued that there was no reason they should not try to remove all troops from the Island, although it might be difficult. Guyer agreed and said that they should aim high considering that they “could always fall back if our ideas turned out to be too ambitious.”¹⁶³ Discussing what their roles should be, it was decided that they would begin by “letting the Greek and Turkish Ministers make the

Geneva and was scheduled to start on 24 July. A further delay was caused by the Greek negotiators who were preoccupied with forming a new democratic government, after the collapse of the military junta regime. The slow Greek delegation made Callaghan impatient, who threatened to start without them, something which the US government strongly opposed. Eventually the three parties met on 25 July, three days after the ceasefire had been declared. Callaghan, *Time and Chance*, pp.347-348; Kissinger, *Years of Renewal*, p.226.

¹⁵⁹ Henn, *A Business of Some Heat*, p.400

¹⁶⁰ This had first been discussed in a meeting between Callaghan and the Under-Secretary General of the United Nations, Roberto Guyer, on the first day of the conference, in which Callaghan had said that “the Cypriot communities would certainly have to be involved in the second stage.” TNA: FCO 9/1922: Doc 4: p.22.

¹⁶¹ TNA: FCO 9/1922: Doc 4: pp.20-23 ‘Record of conversation between the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs and the Under Secretary-General of the United Nations/Special Adviser to the Secretary-General on Cyprus at the Residence of the British Ambassador to the United Nations Mission in Geneva, Thursday, 25 July, 1974 at 1530.’

¹⁶² *Ibid*, p.22

¹⁶³ *Ibid*, p.23

running; then the United Nations and the United Kingdom would pull the things together.”¹⁶⁴

Callaghan’s goal was:

“to secure two main objectives: first, to make the cease-fire stick; and second, to prepare the ground for a new settlement between Greek and Turkish Cypriots that would strip the Turkish Army of any excuse for remaining in the field.”¹⁶⁵

Throughout the conference, Callaghan acted as a middleman between the other two delegations. He often found himself going from meeting to meeting, passing information and discussing how to approach the other part. To understand the role of the British delegation at the Geneva Conferences, it is necessary to take a closer look at the Turkish and Greek delegations; how they acted towards each other, what internal issues they faced, and how the British delegation dealt with them.

5.2 Early disagreements

As had been planned, the three foreign ministers, with their entire delegations, met in the Palais des Nations, in Geneva, at 8.30 p.m. on 25 July. The Greek delegation was led by the newly appointed foreign minister, George Mavros, who had been arrested and exiled during the junta regime, partly for supporting Britain in their decision to cancel a naval visit to Greece the previous year, when the country was ruled by the military junta. In his memoirs, Callaghan described Mavros as:

“[...] a convinced democrat and a leading liberal politician, very conscious of the dignity of Greece, sometimes irascible when under strain (he occasionally threatened to walk out), but anxious to reach an agreement with Turkey.”¹⁶⁶

Callaghan recalled that he began, and remained, on good terms with Mavros throughout their stay in Geneva. This relationship is also reflected through the official records from the conference, where the Greek foreign minister seemed moderately cooperative and open to advice from the British delegation. Meanwhile, Callaghan’s description of his Turkish counterpart, Turan Günes, was far more negative, and is worth mentioning in detail:

¹⁶⁴ Ibid, p.23

¹⁶⁵ Callaghan, *Time and Chance*, p.349

¹⁶⁶ Ibid, p.348

“[...] a dark, loquacious character who looked somewhat like Groucho Marx but without the humour. He was capable of repeating the same interminable argument time after time until the words lost their meaning. He was moved neither by passion nor patience. He was an expert at obstruction, once holding up one of our meetings for several hours as he elaborated his objections to the name-plates that identified us at table. He sometimes disappeared without trace at critical moments and was said to be visiting the casino.”¹⁶⁷

Callaghan further wrote that he was convinced that Günes “used stalling tactics merely to gain time and prevent progress.”¹⁶⁸ The irritation over the Turkish foreign minister is largely reflected from the conference records as well. Callaghan had apparently told Günes himself that he felt like a “patient referee and mediator” and that when addressing the Turkish delegation, he was “negotiating with a highly random telephone wire.”¹⁶⁹ The frustration appeared also to be mutual at times. For instance, in a US State Department document addressed to Henry Kissinger containing a briefing memorandum of the current situation on Cyprus, it said that the “Turks” considered the United Kingdom to be pro-Greek.¹⁷⁰ As will be discussed later, much of the British delegation’s frustration was built on a feeling that Günes seemingly did not always speak on behalf of the Turkish government. In the Turkish case, it is therefore crucial to differ between the Turkish delegation at Geneva, the Turkish government, and the Turkish military.

Among the first things discussed between the three foreign ministers was how long the conference should last. Callaghan suggested two days, but that a second phase “after a period of reflection” should not be ruled out, as had been discussed with the UN Under Secretary-General earlier that day.¹⁷¹ Historian Andreas Constandinos argues that the fact that the first conference ended up lasting for five days “was highly symbolic for the diverging positions they [the Greek and Turkish delegations] brought to the negotiating table.”¹⁷²

¹⁶⁷ Ibid

¹⁶⁸ Ibid

¹⁶⁹ Ibid

¹⁷⁰ FRUS, 1969-1976, Volume XXX, Greece; Cyprus; Turkey, Doc 122, p. 407, “Briefing Memorandum From the Cyprus Task Force to Secretary of State Kissinger”, Washington, July 28, 1974.

¹⁷¹ TNA: FCO 9/1922: Doc 8: p.29 “Cyprus: Record of a Meeting of the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs with the Greek and Turkish Foreign Ministers held at the Palais des Nations, Geneva, on 25 July, 1974, at 2030”

¹⁷² Constandinos, *The Cyprus Crisis*, p.237

Indeed, as soon as the topic of a joint declaration was brought up, it became clear to the British delegation that it would be a difficult task to get the Turkish and Greek delegation to an agreement. During the meeting, Callaghan suggested a text to be used in the planned declaration, which read as follows:

“The three Foreign Ministers at their first Meeting have considered Resolution 353 and especially its call for restoration of peace in the Island of Cyprus and, conscious of their responsibilities, reaffirm their intentions to ensure that the aims of the resolution are achieved.”¹⁷³

Günes said that he would not accept a text which made no mention of the 1960 Treaty of Guarantee. Nor did he accept a text that should include the UNSC Resolution 353, explaining that he “could not engage his Government to a text which was designed to give a certain direction to the work at Geneva.”¹⁷⁴ The discussion went back and forth until it was concluded that the three foreign ministers were unable to agree on a text that evening. Instead, it was agreed that, to prevent the public of thinking the resolution had been repudiated, a press statement should inform that the three foreign ministers had met on 25 July, had considered the Resolution, reaffirmed their endorsement of it, and their determination to achieve its aims “taking into account the international agreements referred to therein.”¹⁷⁵

5.3 Impasse

Already on the second day of the conference there were discussions about whether the talks could continue or not. The vastly different viewpoints of the Turkish and Greek foreign ministers halted any real chance of progress in the conference. Greek Foreign Minister Mavros had said in a meeting that he “was not willing to participate in a farce,” and that they should end the current meeting and return later to see if the talks could continue or not. In reply, Turkish Foreign Minister Günes had said that it was not a farce, and that they were there to stop a tragedy.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷³ TNA: FCO 9/1922: Doc 8: p.31

¹⁷⁴ Ibid

¹⁷⁵ Ibid

¹⁷⁶ TNA: FCO 9/1922: Doc 9: p.33 “Record of a Meeting Between the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs and the Foreign Ministers of Greece and Turkey held at the Palais des Nations, Geneva, On 26 July, 1974 at 1050”

The reason behind this impasse was primarily based on two issues. The first regarded the function of the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP). Callaghan had suggested that the foreign ministers should examine how UNFICYP could be used. While Mavros accepted the proposal that the UN forces should be used to prevent further advances on the island, Günes said that he could not accept “that UNFICYP should be stationed round the Turkish forces”, arguing that this would mean freedom for people to kill one another.¹⁷⁷ Although such a proposal would also mean that Turkish villages would be protected, UNFICYP was in the Turks’ view often ineffectual. Another member of the Turkish delegation had said that “for 10 years UNFICYP had been unable to penetrate the strongholds of EOKA.”¹⁷⁸ Additionally, the three Guarantor Powers did not always “agree about the need for action under the Treaty of Guarantee”, as the conference was an example of.¹⁷⁹ Therefore, it would be problematic for Turkey if UNFICYP gained too much military responsibility on Cyprus, as it was most unlikely that it would be able to satisfy both the Greek and the Turkish side of the conflict.

The second issue was the question about what positions the military forces on Cyprus had had at the time of the ceasefire declaration on 22 July. The Greek delegation wanted Turkish forces to return to their positions as they were when the ceasefire had been arranged to take place.¹⁸⁰ Although the ceasefire was established, Turkish forces had gradually expanded their territory on Cyprus, something which both the Greek and the British delegation had pointed out.¹⁸¹ Mavros accused the Turkish forces for being responsible for 49 violations of the ceasefire agreement since its establishment:

“By that morning there had been 45 violations; now there had been 49; by that afternoon there would have been 55.”¹⁸²

¹⁷⁷ TNA: FCO 9/1922: Doc 9: p.34

¹⁷⁸ TNA: FCO 9/1922: Doc 11: p.36 “Record of Conversation Between the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs and the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs at the Palais des Nations, Geneva, on Friday, 26 July, 1974, at 1430”

¹⁷⁹ Ibid

¹⁸⁰ TNA: FCO 9/1922: Doc 9: p.33

¹⁸¹ On 30 July, the last day of the First Geneva Conference, Mavros had said in a tripartite meeting that when the ceasefire was declared at 4 p.m. on 22 July, Turkish forces controlled 300 km² of Cyprus. At 6 p.m. on 29 July, they controlled 400 km² (TNA: FCO 9/1922: Doc 31: p.83); Callaghan had commented Turkey’s gain of territory on Cyprus since the ceasefire in a conversation with Günes on 26 July: TNA: FCO 9/1922: Doc 11: p.36

¹⁸² TNA: FCO 9/1922: Doc 9: p.33

Günes defended this by saying that there had been attacks on Turkish villages of which UNFICYP had no reports. In his view, the ceasefire agreement was addressed only to Turkey, which was unacceptable.¹⁸³

These issues became a central part of the tripartite discussion throughout the conference. Callaghan later noted in a telegram that although the Turkish delegation had made it clear that they did not trust the UNFICYP, they had not raised objection to the current draft text of the declaration which referred to the peace-keeping force several times, adding that the Turkish delegation seemed to be overruled by Ankara.¹⁸⁴

5.3 Tackling the Turks

Callaghan's frustration over the Turkish delegation at Geneva is well depicted in his memoirs: They became "little more than a cypher", he wrote, explaining that in the rare occasion when the three delegations had managed to hammer out an agreement, it was repudiated by Ankara.¹⁸⁵ In a telegram to the Foreign and Commonwealth Office in London, Callaghan wrote that the Turkish delegation felt itself to be of no value and that it was the Turkish government that needed to be put directly pressure on.¹⁸⁶ In other words, not only were the British and Greek delegations frustrated with the Turkish delegation; the telegram suggests that the latter was also frustrated by what was going on in his own government in Ankara. Understanding the political situation in Turkey is therefore a key element to understand the behaviour of the Turkish delegation in Geneva.

The 1970s was a period of political turmoil in Turkey. In 1971, the Turkish military removed the sitting administration, replacing it with a military-backed government. At this point, Bülent Ecevit was the newly elected chairman of the Republican People's Party (CHP), and had withdrawn the party's formal support of the Turkish military.¹⁸⁷ When the general elections came in October 1973, CHP became the biggest party, but did not gain enough seats to form a one-party government. Ecevit became the new Prime Minister, but the new government was a

¹⁸³ TNA: FCO 9/1922: Doc 9, p.33

¹⁸⁴ TNA: FCO 9/1922: Doc 28, p.77 "Extract from UKMIS Geneva to UKMIS New York, Telegram No. 13 of 29 July, 1974."

¹⁸⁵ Callaghan, *Time and Chance*, p.349

¹⁸⁶ TNA: FCO 9/1922: Doc: 29, p.78 "Extracts from UKMIS Geneva to Foreign and Commonwealth Office, Telegram No. 757 of 29 July, 1974."

¹⁸⁷ Hale, *Turkish Politics and the Military*, p.203

coalition consisting of two political parties with two very different ideologies with little precondition for cooperation.¹⁸⁸ Additionally, Ecevit's political stand toward the military supported government which he had replaced resulted in a tense relationship with the Turkish military. Consequently, when the Cyprus crisis suddenly erupted on 15 July 1974, Ecevit was left with a difficult task, knowing that the Cyprus conflict was an emotional subject to many Turks, and that the military was watching closely.¹⁸⁹

The political turmoil undoubtedly affected the decision-making ability of the Turkish delegation in Geneva. With an unstable government at home, the delegation might have felt like they had nothing to lose in the negotiations. In a private conversation between Callaghan and Günes after a meeting between the British and Turkish delegation on 26 July, Günes had said that it might be "preferable to go to war with Greece because the alternative would be Turkey detached from the West."¹⁹⁰ He said that the government in Turkey was not in a secure position; one of the political parties could withdraw itself from the government and with the present "inflamed state of public opinion", the government would not last long. What would take the present government's place he could not say.¹⁹¹

Another element which seemed to hinder the negotiations with Turkey even more, and which further underlines the importance of differing between military and government in Turkey, was the territorial advance of Turkish forces in Cyprus since the ceasefire declaration on 22 July. As mentioned, Turkish forces were, although slowly, continuously expanding its occupied territory both westwards and eastwards on the island.¹⁹² When confronted by Callaghan on this matter in a private conversation on 26 July, Günes had said that if this was indeed true, it could only mean

¹⁸⁸ While CHP was the legacy of Atatürk's secular and reformist Kemalism; the newly formed National Salvation Party (MSP) was an Islamic revivalist party. Political Scientist William Hale described the coalition using a cartoon from a popular Turkish daily, which shows "a fetching girl wearing the traditional Muslim veil down her waist, and a miniskirt, the symbol of ultra-Westernisation, below it." Hale, *Turkish Politics and the Military*, p.216-17

¹⁸⁹ Ecevit's decision to invade Cyprus gave him massive support in Turkey, earning him the nickname "Conqueror of Cyprus" by a vast number of Turks: Kınıklioğlu, "Bülent Ecevit: The transformation of a politician", p.2; It also eased the relationship between Ecevit and the Turkish military, as Ecevit began to admire the "superior organisational qualities" of the military, while the military admired Ecevit's leading role during the crisis: *ibid*, p.8

¹⁹⁰ TNA: FCO 9/1922: Doc 15, p.40 "Record of Tête-à-Tête Conversation Between the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary and Mr. Günes on Friday, 26 July at the Palais des Nations at 2130."

¹⁹¹ TNA: FCO 9/1922: Doc 15, p.40

¹⁹² This was also confirmed by the US government, for instance in a briefing memorandum from the Cyprus Task Force to Kissinger: FRUS, 1969-1976, Volume XXX, Greece; Cyprus; Turkey, Doc 122, "Briefing Memorandum From the Cyprus Task Force to Secretary of State Kissinger", Washington, July 28, 1974.

that the Turkish army was in rebellion with the government.¹⁹³ Günes' lack of information about his own country's military actions is exemplified several times in the conference records. For instance, when Callaghan confronted him about the fear that Turkish ships were illegally resupplying Turkish forces in Cyprus with more arms, Günes replied that he did "not know what the ships being sent to Kyrenia contained."¹⁹⁴

5.4 US pressure and the question of demilitarisation

Central to the first stage of negotiations in Geneva was the discussion of an eventual aim of total demilitarisation of Cyprus, meaning the withdrawal of all foreign troops on the island, with possibly the exception of the UNFICYP. Both the Greek and Turkish delegation had indicated during the conference that they were "prepared to envisage this as an ultimate solution."¹⁹⁵ Total demilitarisation, however, raised the question of the future of the two British Sovereign Base Areas (SBAs) on the island.¹⁹⁶ Enforcing demilitarisation without including the SBAs would be received internationally as hypocritical, and it could give the Soviet Union an excuse to claim that the declaration had been a fraud. Callaghan had said in a meeting with Mavros on 26 July that he would be prepared to call into question the SBAs, if that would lead to a solution to the crisis.¹⁹⁷ A telegram to the FCO from the British delegation in Geneva reveals that Callaghan was "inclined to think that the strategic value of the bases was less than formerly."¹⁹⁸ He argued that the main significance of the SBAs was perhaps to prevent the USSR from gaining foothold on the island, and that a total demilitarisation of Cyprus might be an alternative solution to this.¹⁹⁹

In this context, the question of demilitarisation is another example of how the British and the American government differed in their approach to the Cyprus conflict. It had early been suggested by Callaghan that the US government might have a different view towards the Turkish

¹⁹³ TNA: FCO 9/1922: Doc 16, p.41 "Record of Conversation Between the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs and the Greek Foreign Minister at the Palais des Nations, Geneva, on Friday, 26 July, 1974 at 2230."

¹⁹⁴ TNA: FCO 9/1922: Doc 9, p.33

¹⁹⁵ TNA: FCO 9/1922: Doc 16, p.42; Doc 17, p.43

¹⁹⁶ The two bases are Akrotiri, or the Western Sovereign Base Area (WSBA) and Dhekelia, or the Eastern Sovereign Base Area (ESBA). Together they cover around 3% of the land area of Cyprus.

¹⁹⁷ TNA: FCO 9/1922: Doc 16, p.42

¹⁹⁸ TNA: FCO 9/1922: Doc 17, p.43 "UKMIS Geneva to Foreign and Commonwealth Office, Telegram No. 726 of 27 July, 1974."

¹⁹⁹ Ibid

side of the conflict than that of the British government, explaining that the US had previously been “in an awkward situation” with the Turks and that they felt “a little more sensitive” towards the Turkish problem.²⁰⁰ A similar perception by the US government is found in US State Department documents. In a briefing memorandum to Kissinger titled “US Interests in the Cyprus crisis: issues and options”, it was argued that the Turks considered the British government to be pro-Greek, and that “Turkey’s only significant international support now seems to be coming from the US.”²⁰¹ Callaghan’s private secretary, Anthony Acland, later noted that in the American proposal of a declaration formula, which Kissinger had persuaded Ecevit to agree to, all reference to demilitarisation had been deleted. When asking why this was the case, a US official had replied that this provided a “better-balance formula.”²⁰² Acland was aware that the US government did not like the concept of demilitarisation, and noted that this was presumably the reason it had been omitted. He nevertheless questioned the US government’s motivation behind the decision:

“While I am sure that the Americans have been very keen to avoid a breakdown here I cannot help wondering whether their interest in and great activity over this particular formula does not partly result from their determination to strike out any reference to demilitarisation.”²⁰³

Sisco later noted that a declaration formula without any reference to the withdrawal of troops from the island would be unacceptable to the Greeks.²⁰⁴ Still, the final formula put forward, which became the formula that was used in the final declaration, only vaguely mentioned a “timely and phased reduction of the number of armed forces and the amounts of armaments, munitions and other war material in the Republic of Cyprus.”²⁰⁵ Total demilitarisation of Cyprus thus became an open question.

²⁰⁰ TNA: PREM 16/19: Note by Prime Minister Harold Wilson on the current position of the British government towards Cyprus, at 3 p.m. on Friday 26 July.

²⁰¹ FRUS, 1969-1976, Volume XXX, Greece; Cyprus; Turkey: Doc 122, p. 407, “Briefing Memorandum From the Cyprus Task Force to Secretary of State Kissinger”, Washington, July 28, 1974.

²⁰² TNA: FCO 9/1922: Doc 34, p.87 “Note by Mr. Acland.”

²⁰³ Ibid

²⁰⁴ TNA: FCO 9/1922: Doc 35, p.87 “UKMIS to Foreign and Commonwealth Office, Telegram No. 760 of 30 July, 1974.”

²⁰⁵ TNA: FCO 9/1922: Doc 34, pp.86-87; Doc 35, p.87

5.5 What was gained from the First Geneva Conference?

Henry Kissinger writes that it was Callaghan who managed to achieve a ceasefire agreement in Geneva on 30 July 1974.²⁰⁶ Without American diplomatic pressure on the Turkish government, however, an eventual tripartite declaration would have been much less likely. During the last few days of the First Geneva Conference, Kissinger had spoken lengthily with Ecevit on the phone. Callaghan irritation over the Turkish delegation seemed to grow by the day.²⁰⁷ Several times he had asked that the Americans should put more pressure on Ankara, and on the morning of 30 July, clearly impatient, Callaghan had spoken to US Under-Secretary of Political Affairs, Joseph Sisco, telling him “to urge greater realism and co-operation on the Turks.”²⁰⁸ Then, at 8.45 a.m., a member of the Turkish delegation called Callaghan to inform him that, after consultations during the night in which Kissinger’s involvement was specifically mentioned, the Turks were preparing a new text to be discussed at the upcoming meeting that morning.²⁰⁹ After a seemingly short meeting in which the three delegations discussed specific problems in the draft text, the Guarantor Powers were ready to sign the final declaration.

Diplomatic pressure from the Americans seems to have been two-edged with regards to British interests. It is another example of how the United Kingdom, as the chairman of the conference, still relied on the geopolitical influence of the US government. At the same time, it is an example of how the two governments had different perceptions of how the Cyprus crisis should be solved, and that the United States seemingly disagreed with the British government over the importance of the SBAs.

The official documents from the First Geneva Conference paint a picture of a conference that began slowly and continued for days without no real progress until it was quickly rounded up on the evening of 30 July, when a joint declaration was finally signed. It also shows that increased US pressure on the Turkish government was one of the main reasons why the conference was ended. There were other additional external factors which motivated the three delegations to finally to come to an agreement. At least from 28 July the topic of conversation seemed to slide

²⁰⁶ Kissinger, *Years of Renewal*, p.226

²⁰⁷ In a telegram to the FCO in London on 28 July, Callaghan wrote that the discussions in Geneva were sticky “with Günes noticeably less cooperative than yesterday.” He had told William Buffum, who were in Geneva as an official observer on behalf of the US government, to tell Kissinger to apply more pressure: TNA: FCO 9/1922: Doc 23, p.62

²⁰⁸ TNA: FCO 9/1922: Doc 35, p.87

²⁰⁹ *Ibid*, p.88

more and more towards the consequences of foreign pressure, where during a meeting it had been reported that a representative from the Soviet Union had asked for a seat as an official observer at the Palais des Nations.²¹⁰ The USSR had also issued a statement “calling for immediate implementation of the Security Council resolution.”²¹¹ A third reason why the three delegations managed to finally agree may be that they sensed a real danger that the negotiations would break up if they continued in the same manner as they had done throughout the conference. If the negotiations broke up, none of the sides would gain from it.

What was achieved at the end of the First Geneva Conference was first and foremost the commitment to a stand-fast ceasefire on Cyprus, which was an important gain considering that the ceasefire was established on 22 July had failed to hold back Turkish forces on the island. It is safe to say that Turkey became the big winner; the second paragraph of the declaration stated that:

“The three Foreign Ministers declared that in order to stabilise the situation, the areas in the Republic of Cyprus controlled by opposing forces on 30 July, 1974 at 2200 hours should not be extended; they called on all forces, including irregular forces, to desist from all offensive or hostile activities.”²¹²

In other words, Turkish forces on Cyprus were not required to return to the positions they held on 22 July, at the time when the ceasefire was established, for which the Greek delegation had repeatedly requested. In addition to a ceasefire commitment, the three Guarantors also concluded that a security zone should be established between the Turkish occupied territory and the rest of the island, controlled by the UNFICYP. The “size and character” of this buffer zone had not yet been determined, however, and was to be one of the topics for the Second Geneva Conference, to be held on 8 August.

²¹⁰ TNA: FCO 9/1922: Doc 25, p.68 “Record of Meeting held Between the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs and the Foreign Ministers of Greece and Turkey at the Palais des Nations, Geneva, on 28 July, 1974, at 1630”

²¹¹ Ibid

²¹² TNA: FCO 9/1922: Doc 38, p.89 “Declaration by the Foreign Ministers of Greece, Turkey and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland”

5.6 Chapter conclusion

There are, at least, two ways to interpret the development of the First Geneva Conference. It was unsuccessful in the sense that it was meant to be a short conference of two days. A stubborn Turkish delegation, who frequently received contra-messages from Ankara seemed to halt any real progress in Geneva. In hindsight, it was also unsuccessful because it did not prevent the Turkish army from initiating its second military offensive on 14 August.

It was successful, however, when considering the widely different positions the Greek and Turkish delegations held at the negotiating tables. Several times during the conference, both delegations threatened to leave Geneva. Callaghan too, was obviously frustrated by the deadlock, and threatened to leave at one point. One may argue that, without the flexibility of the British delegation in consulting with both the Greek and Turkish delegation, one at a time, the chances of making a deal would have been slight. It was nevertheless the diplomatic pressure from the US Government on Turkey that ultimately led to the final agreement at Geneva on 30 July. As we will see, however, the Geneva declaration proved, like the ceasefire on 22 July, to be ineffective, as the Turkish forces on Cyprus slowly, but continuously, extended its occupied territory.

6. The Second Geneva Conference

Having looked at the First Geneva Conference on Cyprus, the following chapter will focus on the Second Geneva Conference, which began on 8 August 1974 and broke up on 14 August, when Turkey's second invasion of Cyprus began. Unlike during the First Geneva Conference, where most of the records are based on notes from Alan Goodison, most of the records from the second conference were done by an official who was assigned specifically for the task.²¹³ It might therefore be expected that the accuracy of the records is higher than those from the first phase. It is always, however, crucial to have in mind that these are British diplomatic documents, written from a British governmental perspective, and that this must be kept in mind throughout the analysis.

6.1 Between the Conferences

The First Geneva Conference ended on 30 July 1974 with the issuing of the Geneva Declaration, which importantly called for a commitment to a more effective ceasefire than what was established on 22 July as part of the UNSC Resolution 353. However, much like the ceasefire from 22 July had been ineffective, the Geneva Declaration had failed to stop the Turkish armed forces from advancing. By the end of July, there were around 20,000 Turkish troops on Cyprus which were consolidating captured areas around them and reducing “pockets of Greek Cypriot resistance behind Turkish enemy lines.”²¹⁴ In his memoir, Callaghan wrote that only a day after he returned to London from Geneva he received complaints from the Acting President of Cyprus that Turkish forces were violating the ceasefire.²¹⁵ According to Greek sources, between 30 July and 8 August the Turkish occupied areas in the north had grown by around 30 square kilometres.²¹⁶ This disobedience of the ceasefire was certainly noticed by the Greek side, who were already displeased by the fact that the Turkish army were not required to return to their occupied positions from 22 July. Meanwhile, the Turkish delegation had returned home from the

²¹³ TNA: FCO 9/1922: “A. Introduction”, p.9 *The Geneva Conferences on Cyprus: July – August 1974*

²¹⁴ Constandinos, *The Cyprus Crisis*, p.242

²¹⁵ Callaghan, *Time and Chance*, p.349

²¹⁶ Although likely not confirmed by the British government at the time, Mavros had that day told Callaghan that the Turkish occupied area on Cyprus had gone from 300 km² on 22 July, to 400 km² on 30 July, and to 430 km² on 8 August, an area which contained around 11 000 Greek Cypriots: TNA: FCO 9/1922: Doc 43, p.98 “Record of a Conversation Between the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs and the Foreign Minister of Greece at the Palais des Nations, Geneva, on Thursday, 8 August, 1974, at 1615”

First Geneva Conference as heroes. Prime Minister Ecevit was now enjoying massive support by the Turkish public, many of which now saw him as the “Conqueror of Cyprus.”²¹⁷ Importantly for Ecevit, the Turkish government and the Turkish military now had a better relationship as they had seen and admired each other in action during the first invasion of Cyprus.²¹⁸ When the Second Geneva Conference began on 8 August, Callaghan wrote that there was an “atmosphere of charge and counter-charge”.²¹⁹

6.2 Bi- and trilateral talks, 8 – 10 August

Beginning on the evening of 8 August 1974, the first two days of the second conference were conducted without the presence of any representatives from the two Cypriot communities. This was mainly with the intention of reflecting on what had been achieved during the first conference, but also to agree on how the two communities should be defined and represented. The latter became an issue when the Greek and Turkish delegations could not agree on the name cards and seating positions of the two Cypriot communities.²²⁰

A day before the conference, it had been discussed in a “guidance telegram” from the FCO that excluding the Cypriot communities in the first few days of the conference might lead the Cypriots to think that the Guarantor Powers were deciding long-term questions concerning the island behind the backs of the Cypriots. The British delegation was thus informed that, should this suggestion be raised, they should explain that the first days would be used to discuss “problems relating to the cease-fire left over from Stage I.”²²¹ The guidance telegram also provided reflections on the first conference, while discussing the main objectives for the second conference. The primary aims of the second conference would be to:

²¹⁷ Kınıklıoğlu “Bülent Ecevit: The transformation of a politician”, p.2

²¹⁸ Ibid, p.8

²¹⁹ Callaghan, *Time and Chance*, p.349

²²⁰ The Turkish side insisted that the name cards of the Cypriot representatives should read “Turkish Cypriot Community”, while the Greek side said that the cards should read “Republic of Cyprus”, arguing that the word “Cyprus” was essential: TNA: FCO 9/1922: Doc 60, pp.119-120 “Note for Record – Cyprus Talks: Name Cards and Seating.”

²²¹ TNA: FCO 9/1922: Doc 40, p.91 “Extracts from Foreign and Commonwealth Office Guidance Telegram on Geneva II, No. 103 of 7 August, 1974”

“[...] make the cease-fire stick; to improve the means for maintaining it; and to establish standing machinery for the continuance of negotiations on politico-military problems and constitutional problems.”²²²

A secondary objective of the British delegation would be to “save the Greek Government from humiliation.” The newly founded Karamanlis government was still in a phase of establishing itself, and in Britain’s view the worst-case scenario of a Greek humiliation in Geneva was a return to military rule in Greece and a “renewed danger of war with Turkey.”²²³ This also reflected what the Greek Foreign Minister George Mavros had told Callaghan in a meeting on 8 August.²²⁴ There was no doubt in the minds of the British government that Turkey held the strongest position at the negotiation tables.

US State Department documents draws a different perspective on Callaghan’s strategy in Geneva. Arthur Hartman, the US Assistant Secretary for European Affairs, who was attending the Geneva Conferences, had telegraphed Kissinger on 9 August to inform him about Callaghan’s strategy. The telegram reveals that Callaghan had told Hartman that his strategy was partly designed:

“[...] to meet his minimal political needs at home where he, as Charman of a Labor Party approaching elections, simply cannot afford to be seen as completely selling out the new Greek Govt.”²²⁵

For Callaghan and the British delegation, the Second Geneva Conference began in the same manner as the first conference, with a meeting with the UN Under Secretary-General, Roberto Guyer. The latter had just received reports from the UNFICYP that heavy fighting was occurring in the buffer zone area.²²⁶ Callaghan asked the UN Under Secretary-General for his view on how

²²² Ibid

²²³ Ibid

²²⁴ Mavros had told Callaghan that “some people in the Greek Army were talking of war with Turkey.” The government in Athens was not yet strong enough to control the armed forces, and there was a “strong fear of a fresh military coup.” Further, because of domestic issues, the full effect of the crisis in Cyprus had “not yet been felt in Athens.”: TNA: FCO 9/1922: Doc 43, pp.97-98 “Record of a conversation between the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs and the Foreign Minister of Greece at the Palais des Nations, Geneva, on Thursday, 8 August, at 1615.”

²²⁵ FRUS, 1973-1976 Vol XXX, Greece; Cyprus; Turkey: Doc 126: p.417 “Telegram from the Mission in Geneva to the Department of State” Geneva, August 9, 1974.

²²⁶ The United Nations Buffer Zone in Cyprus is also known as the ‘Green Line’, supposedly because a green grease pencil was used when the line was first drawn in 1964.

the British delegation should conduct the negotiations. Guyer said that Britain's presence in Geneva was "most important since the United Kingdom was the only objective party."²²⁷ The problem was nevertheless that no matter how impartial they felt, the Turkish delegation still viewed the British delegation as pro-Greek. Further, it was no secret that Turkey had trust issues with the United Nations, and had objected to UN representation at the plenary meetings.²²⁸ Surprisingly however, when the first tripartite meeting began later the evening of 8 August, Günes agreed to admit Guyer as an observer at the conference.²²⁹

Günes and the Turkish delegation's behaviour during the Geneva Conference is a subject of which much has been written, as pointed out by historian Andreas Constandinos.²³⁰ Reading through the official records, one cannot help but wonder whether the Turkish delegation were insinuating a second military offensive on Cyprus at an early stage of the second conference. In a telephone conversation with the leader of the Turkish Cypriot community and Vice President of Cyprus, Rauf Denktash, the latter had told Callaghan that the Turkish troops had not been sent to the island "to play football"; they had arrived with the intention to stop Enosis from happening and to save the Turkish Cypriot community. The first objective had been secured but the second remained.²³¹

Callaghan's main concern was that a similar situation to that before the Turkish invasion should not occur again. He recalled that Ecevit had visited London and had asked for the use of the SBAs and that the British government had refused. Callaghan said that they had then lost 24 hours because Prime Minister Wilson and himself had to go to Paris for a meeting. Callaghan was determined to not "be caught napping twice", and had therefore postponed the return of British Phantom aircrafts and the withdrawal of British troops on Cyprus.²³² In Callaghan's mind, it was best that the British government should prepare itself for another Turkish invasion in the foreseeable future. One argument in his mind was that the number of Turkish troops in the

²²⁷ TNA: FCO 9/1922: Doc 42, p.97

²²⁸ Ibid, p.96

²²⁹ TNA: FCO 9/1922: Doc 45, p.101 "Extracts from UKMIS Geneva to Foreign and Commonwealth Office Telegram No. 794 of 8 August, 1974"

²³⁰ Constandinos, *The Cyprus Crisis*, p.249

²³¹ TNA: FCO 9/1922: Doc 56, p.112 "From UKMIS GENEVA to Foreign and Commonwealth Office, Telegram No.808 of 10 August, 1974"

²³² TNA: FCO 9/1922: Doc 59, p.117 "Record of a Meeting Between the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs and the United States Assistant Secretary for European Affairs at La Reserve, Geneva, on Saturday, 10 August, 1974, at 1430"

small area of which they had occupied was so high that “there would always be a temptation for them (especially if the Conference failed) to make further advance.”²³³ Later, in a telegram to London, Callaghan said that there was evidence, of which he did not specify, that if the conference broke up, or ended with an agreement not satisfactory to the Turks, “they might take military action to extend their occupation zone in breach of the cease-fire.”²³⁴ Another factor was that, as was shown during the first conference, the Turkish military sometimes seemed to act without the official consent of the government, and although their mutual relationship had improved after the first invasion, there was still a certain unpredictability over the situation. Nevertheless, when meeting with the Turkish delegation, Callaghan accepted Günes’ statement that the current policy of the Turkish government did not involve military expansion.²³⁵ Later, Callaghan revealed to Arthur Hartman that he thought that the Turks were still undecided as it, for the moment, looked like they were “trying to get what they wanted through diplomatic pressure.”²³⁶

It could here be argued that the political divergence between the US government and the British government played a part in Callaghan’s decision to trust the Turkish delegation in the face of the worrying situation in Turkey. During a meeting with the UN Secretary-General, Kurt Waldheim, the latter had told Callaghan that the United States appeared to be putting less pressure on the Turks than had been hoped for, based on what he had read about Kissinger’s letters to Prime Minister Ecevit.²³⁷ This was partly because United States were in an attempt to soften its relationship with Turkey due to previous events which had deteriorated the relationship.²³⁸ Also, US State Department documents confirms that Turkey had a more

²³³ TNA: FCO 9/1922: Doc 48, p.106 “Record of Conversation Between the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary and the Turkish Foreign Minister on Friday, 9 August at the Palais des Nations, 1800”

²³⁴ TNA: FCO 9/1922: Doc 57, p.113 “UKMIS GENEVA to Foreign and Commonwealth Office, telegram No. 807 of 10 August, 1974”

²³⁵ TNA: FCO 9/1922: Doc 48, p.106

²³⁶ TNA: FCO 9/1922: Doc 59, p.118

²³⁷ TNA: FCO 9/1922: Doc 47, p.104 “Record of Conversation Between the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs and the Secretary-General of the United Nations at the Palais des Nations, Geneva on 9 August, at 1200”

²³⁸ Arguably the most damaging incident was the Johnson Letter in 1964, in which President Lyndon B. Johnson sent a letter to former Turkish president Ismet İnönü, warning him that if Turkey should decide to invade Cyprus, the US could not guarantee that NATO would help them in case of a Soviet invasion: “The Johnson letter of 5 June 1964” in Hakki, *Cyprus*, pp.97-100

important role for the US than Greece. In a meeting with President Ford on 13 August, Kissinger talked about a possible war between Greece and Turkey, in which he said:

“We certainly do not want a war between the two, but if it came to that, Turkey is more important to us and they have a political structure which could produce a Qadhafi.”²³⁹

Knowing that the US would currently not put a satisfyingly amount of pressure on the Turkish government might have influenced Callaghan to not take a tough stand until he had substantial proof that the Turkish military were planning a new advance on Cyprus. Callaghan made sure that Günes and the Turkish delegation were given a warning of “the very serious view which Britain would take if the Turkish Army extended its enclaves,” but could not do much else in lack of both evidence and tougher US pressure on the government.²⁴⁰ The interplay between the US and the UK will be further examined later in this chapter.

6.3 The introduction of the Cypriot delegations to Geneva

The two Cypriot communities joined the Geneva conference on 10 August.²⁴¹ The Greek Cypriot community was represented by the acting President of Cyprus, Glafkos Clerides. He had served as the Speaker of the House of Representatives of Cyprus since the foundation of the Republic in 1960 and had constitutionally taken office as acting president when Brigadier Ioannides resigned following the collapse of the Greek Junta. The Turkish Cypriot community was represented by the Vice-President of Cyprus, Rauf Denktash. He had been a major figure during the anticolonial struggles against Britain during the 1950s and had led the Turkish Cypriots’ resistance against the Greek Cypriot enosis-movement.²⁴²

A debate rose when the five delegations did not agree on whether the Guarantor Powers should take part in the negotiations of the constitutional issues of Cyprus. Callaghan argued that the British government had no right to be involved in discussions related to the 1960 Constitution.

²³⁹ FRUS, 1973-1976 Vol XXX, Greece; Cyprus; Turkey: Doc 129: p.424 “Memorandum of Conversation” Washington, 13 August, 1974, 9 a.m.,

²⁴⁰ TNA: FCO 9/1922: Doc 51, p.108 “Record of Telephone Conversation Between the Secretary of State and the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Friday, 9 August, 1974, at 2130”

²⁴¹ Glafkos Clerides had arrived the day before and had joined Callaghan for dinner that evening: TNA: FCO 9/1922: Doc 52, pp.108-109 “Summary Record of Points Made During Dinner Between the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs and the Acting President of Cyprus, at La Reserve, Geneva, Friday, 9 August, 1974, at 2200”

²⁴² Ker-Lindsay, *The Cyprus Problem*, p.19

His argument was that Cyprus was a sovereign and independent republic, and that the only reason the United Kingdom “had a say” in the formulation of the 1960 constitution was because the island at the time was going through a decolonisation process.²⁴³ Günes argued that “it was impossible simply to put the two communities together and expect them to talk,” and that even if the British government was not prepared to be there, the Greek and Turkish governments should be represented at the constitutional talks.²⁴⁴ Denktash welcomed the Guarantor Powers to work on the constitutional issues.²⁴⁵ Clerides on the other hand said that the Guarantor Powers “had no right to dictate a new Constitution to an independent Republic.”²⁴⁶ Mavros and the Greek delegation was only interested in a solution in which the Greek government kept its dignity. Therefore, Mavros had said that as long as Clerides and Denktash agreed to a settlement, this would be acceptable to the Greek government.²⁴⁷

Did the arrival of the Cypriot delegations have any significant changing effect on the development of the negotiations? On the first day of the conference, Callaghan had said that “there were signs that Denktash wanted to be his own master.”²⁴⁸ It can be argued that Denktash did show signs of independent thinking during the talks. At times, he wondered what the Turks were doing, as can be read in a record of a conversation between him and Callaghan, in which Denktash had described the Turkish government’s behaviour as “maddening”²⁴⁹. Nevertheless, Denktash was bound to listen and accept the lines put forth by Günes and the Turkish delegation. For instance, when Callaghan presented to him the latest Turkish proposals of a cantonal settlement on Cyprus, Denktash said he was disappointed about the proposals, but that he had no

²⁴³ TNA: FCO 9/1922: Doc 61, p.123 “Record of a Meeting Between the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, the Foreign Minister of Greece and Turkey and Representatives of the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot Communities at the Palais des Nations, Geneva, on Saturday, 10 August, 1974, at 1720”

²⁴⁴ TNA: FCO 9/1922; Doc 65, p.129 “Record of a Meeting Between the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs and the United States Assistant Under-Secretary of State at the United Kingdom Mission, Geneva on Sunday, 11 August, 1974, at 1200”

²⁴⁵ TNA: FCO 9/1922: Doc 61, p.123

²⁴⁶ Ibid

²⁴⁷ Ibid, p.124

²⁴⁸ TNA: FCO 9/1922: Doc 42, p.96

²⁴⁹ “Record of a Conversation Between the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs and the Vice-President of Cyprus at the Palais des Nations on 12 August, 1974, at 2000”: TNA: FCO 9/1922: Doc 81, p.150; In a US State Department Memorandum, Denktash was also recorded saying that “the Turks on his island had gone crazy.”: FRUS, 1973-1976 Vol XXX, Greece; Cyprus; Turkey: Doc 128: p.421 “Memorandum of Conversation”, Washington, August 12, 1974, 2:45 p.m.,

alternative but to accept them, adding that he “would certainly be criticised in Cyprus for going along with them.”²⁵⁰

As the acting president of Cyprus, Glafkos Clerides was perhaps the person who was under most pressure during the negotiations, not the least due to how Archbishop Makarios, as Constandinos puts it, ”hung over Clerides like the *Sword of Damocles*.”²⁵¹ This was certainly not beneficial for the progress of the negotiations, largely because, as Arthur Hartman had told Callaghan, “it was clear that no one wanted Archbishop Makarios back.”²⁵²

6.4 Preparing for the worst

As it became gradually clear what the Turkish delegation’s objectives were in Geneva, the tensions on Cyprus increased. At least by 11 August, both the United Kingdom and Greece had taken steps to prepare their forces on Cyprus for further Turkish expansion on the island. Callaghan had given the order that the British forces in Cyprus should be strengthened, while Mavros said that Greek forces had been put on alert on 10 August and that the Turkish government would be informed.²⁵³ Based on what Denktash had told Clerides, it was feared that the Turkish delegation would not agree to a settlement unless they were allowed to establish a single geographical military base on Cyprus, in which case the Greek military would be publicly demanded to send their own forces to the island.²⁵⁴ Although the British delegation in Geneva had urged for a demilitarisation on Cyprus, a continuation of the current situation on the island could very well lead to the opposite.

US reactions to British militarisation on Cyprus

Throughout the Geneva Conferences the British government became aware of how the diplomatic strategy of the US government towards the Cyprus crisis differed from that of their own. What is evident from the second conference is how there were clear signs of miscommunication between Kissinger and Callaghan. The US government was not happy to be

²⁵⁰ TNA: FCO 9/1922: Doc 81, p.151

²⁵¹ Constandinos, *The Cyprus Crisis*, p.249

²⁵² TNA: FCO 9/1922: Doc 41, p.95

²⁵³ TNA: FCO 9/1922: Doc 64, p.128 “Record of a Conversation Between the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, the Greek Foreign Minister and the Acting President of the Republic of Cyprus at the Palais des Nations, Geneva, on Sunday, 11 August, 1974, at 1100”

²⁵⁴ TNA: FCO 9/1922: Doc 64, p.128

informed about the British government's decision to take further military steps on Cyprus, and Kissinger had said that he would react "very strongly" to another public announcement of British military activities. Kissinger had told Hartman that "the line proposed by Mr. Callaghan would have the effect in Turkey of bringing domestic pressures to bear on Mr. Ecevit to take a harder line," which would interfere with Kissinger's diplomatic efforts to "convince Mr. Ecevit of the limits to which Turkey could go and of the extent of Mr. Clerides's and Mr. Mavros's opposition."²⁵⁵

Kissinger's plan to persuade Ecevit seemed to be interrupted by Callaghan's own strategic assessment of the situation, in which Turkish military activities were to be deterred through reinforcing British troops on Cyprus under UN auspices. Callaghan, who unlike Kissinger had been present at the negotiations and undoubtedly held a lesser optimistic view towards Turkish activities, argued that "the worst interpretation possible should be put on them."²⁵⁶ He therefore asked Hartman to ask Kissinger what would be the reaction of the United States if the Turkish army continued to enlarge its bridgehead by force. However, a US contingency plan for a military enforced enlargement was not revealed to Callaghan at that point. Instead, Hartman replied that Kissinger would not "get boxed in on this question." To even focus on this contingency would "influence events to move on to a military plane." Later, however, Hartman revealed to Alan Goodison that if a Turkish military move was made, the US would withdraw any American support for Turkey in the UN Security Council, and would further "mount a major diplomatic effort, with the United Kingdom, to halt them."²⁵⁷ The British government could not, however, expect the US government to respond with military action, at least not so soon. This was partly because President Ford had only just been inaugurated (he had taken office on 9 August), but also because they "did not consider that the threats of military action were helpful or appropriate in these circumstances."²⁵⁸

From British records, it seems that Kissinger genuinely believed that the crisis could be solved through diplomatic pressure: While Callaghan thought that reinforcing British troops would be

²⁵⁵ TNA: FCO 9/1922: Doc 65, p.129, Record of a meeting between Callaghan and Hartman on 11 August, 1974

²⁵⁶ TNA: FCO 9/1922: Doc 65, pp.129-131: Unless another reference is given, all references from the following paragraph is taken from this document.

²⁵⁷ TNA: FCO 9/1922: Doc 71, pp.136-137 "Record of a Meeting Between British and American Officials, Geneva, on Monday, 12 August, 1974, at 1030"

²⁵⁸ TNA: FCO 9/1922: Doc 71, p.137

an effective way to deter Turkish activities, Kissinger was convinced that Ecevit understood the consequences of further action on their part. To focus on the military intentions of Turkey would “affect the whole tone of the political discussions.”²⁵⁹ Kissinger was only concerned with making the Turks see their limits; if that succeeded the negotiations would carry on.

Callaghan, on the other hand, did not believe that Kissinger fully understood the situation on Cyprus, nor the Turks’ behaviour and unpredictability: “The tougher you are with the Turks the more they would listen to you”, he had said in a conversation with Hartman.²⁶⁰ During that same meeting, Callaghan decided to postpone his announcement of his intention to send in more British troops and Phantom aircrafts at once, saying that he firmly wished to cooperate with the US. Later, in a telephone conversation with Joseph Sisco, the US Under-Secretary of State, Callaghan complained that he had not been fully informed about American correspondence with the Turkish government.²⁶¹ Clearly, these are signs of miscommunication between the American and the British Foreign Secretary.

It is here crucial to note that the Second Geneva Conference began only a day before President Nixon resigned following the Watergate scandal. Kissinger writes in his memoir that “Nixon’s resignation knocked the props out from a significant role for us in Callaghan’s efforts”, and that his “emotions were focused on easing Nixon’s travail and preparing for the transition to Ford.”²⁶² Kissinger does, in fact, admit that “it would probably be wisest” if it was requested a postponement of the second conference, which was scheduled to begin on the same day as Nixon’s resignation.²⁶³

It is, of course, important to take into consideration that political autobiographies and memoirs will almost always have an underlying aim of redeeming, or in any case correcting, the author’s reputation, and to possibly legitimise his or her political decisions. Thus, it is dangerous to base the assumption that Kissinger was disconnected from the Geneva talks for an extended amount of time, solely on Kissinger’s own memoirs. His attention away from Cyprus and towards

²⁵⁹ TNA: FCO 9/1922: Doc 65, p.130

²⁶⁰ Ibid, p.131

²⁶¹ TNA: FCO 9/1922: Doc 67, p.133 “Record of a Telephone Conversation Between the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs and the United States Under-Secretary of State, Mr Sisco, at 1720 on 11 August, 1974”

²⁶² Kissinger, *Years of Renewal*, p.227

²⁶³ Ibid

Washington is, however, exemplified in many of the telephone records between him and Callaghan, in which Kissinger occasionally had to end the calls as he was called to the White House.²⁶⁴

Kissinger's rejection of Callaghan's request to support the British government's threat of an air strike against Turkish ceasefire violations can be read in a telephone conversation to Hartman, cited in Kissinger's memoir:

“[I]t is out of the question to be asking a president in the first 48 hours of his administration to consider supporting military action... We will do everything we can to assist in keeping the talks going, but we will have little room for maneuver if he [Callaghan] continues to rattle the sabre.”²⁶⁵

It is not hard to imagine that Kissinger saw Callaghan's impatience as a dangerous element in the negotiations. In telegrams to Kissinger, the British Foreign Secretary was described as “gloomy” and “really letting off steam” when meeting with Hartman.²⁶⁶ Callaghan also stated numerous times during both the first and the second conference that he was not willing to “sit around in Geneva forever.”²⁶⁷ Already on 25 July, when the First Geneva Conference started, Callaghan threatened to start the negotiations without the Greek delegation when they were slow to arrive, a move which the US government strongly opposed, according to Kissinger's memoir.²⁶⁸ Callaghan was also determined not to endure the same deadlock of negotiations he had experienced during the first conference, and to not “be caught napping twice”, as he had told Hartman on the first day of the conference.²⁶⁹

6.5 The Turkish ultimatum

As days went by in Geneva, talks started to develop into another impasse. Günes and the Turkish delegation felt that time was of the essence for an early settlement because Turkey needed to

²⁶⁴ TNA: FCO 9/1922: Doc 67, p.132

²⁶⁵ Kissinger, *Years of Renewal*, p.228

²⁶⁶ FRUS, 1973-1976 Vol XXX, Greece; Cyprus; Turkey: Doc 126: p.417 “Telegram from the Mission in Geneva to the Department of State” Geneva, August 9, 1974.

²⁶⁷ Already on 8 August Callaghan had told the UN Under Secretary-General that he “was not ready to sit in Geneva for ever nor was he willing to put his hand to anything simply for the sake of an agreement.” TNA: FCO 9/1922: Doc 42, p.97; Callaghan had told the same to the US Assistant Under-Secretary of State in a meeting on 11 August. TNA: FCO 9/1922: Doc 65, p.131

²⁶⁸ Kissinger, *Years of Renewal*, p.226

²⁶⁹ TNA: FCO 9/1922: Doc 59, p.117

“avoid internal trouble and the risk of unravelling all her foreign relations.” Although the relationship between Greece and Turkey – both NATO members – was “intrinsicly more important than Cyprus”, the latter was the “sole preoccupation of Turkish public opinion,” and could not be ignored.²⁷⁰ Furthermore, even though Günes had repeatedly said that military measures was not the intention of the Turkish government, and even though Callaghan had initially accepted this, there were growing signs that the Turkish army was prepared to move on very short notice. Callaghan had several times during the Second Geneva Conference said that “although Cyprus today was the prisoners of the Turkish Army, tomorrow the Army would be the prisoner of Cyprus.”²⁷¹ Denktash disagreed, however, saying that he was convinced that the Turkish forces were willing to shoot their way through UNFICYP lines and, if necessary, they would clear the Greek Cypriots out.²⁷²

In this context, the role of the UNFICYP is worth a discussion. UN Secretary-General Waldheim had said that the UNFICYP were ready to withdraw from the Green Line if the Turks advanced.²⁷³ This is interesting, since Waldheim had earlier said that he was “haunted by the memories of [former UN Secretary-General] U Thant’s disastrous decision to withdraw UNEF forces from Sinai in 1967.”²⁷⁴ His argument was that the UNFICYP mandate was out of date, as it had been established to deal with intercommunal struggle, not to deal with a threat from a Guarantor Power.²⁷⁵ The latter was also a problem because the UNSC Resolution 353 called upon “all parties to co-operate fully with the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus to enable it to carry out its mandate.”²⁷⁶ Further evidence that the UNFICYP was not prepared hold stand against a threat in the scale of the Turkish forces on Cyprus is shown in a meeting during the First Geneva Conference between the British delegation and the Under Secretary-General of the UN, Roberto Guyer, in which Callaghan had told Guyer that he was surprised that the

²⁷⁰ TNA: FCO 9/1922: Doc 68, p.134 “Record of a Conversation Between the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs and the Turkish Foreign Minister on 11 August, 1974, at the Palais des Nations, at 1745”

²⁷¹ TNA: FCO 9/1922: Doc 76, p.143 “Record of a Conversation Between the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary, the Acting President of Cyprus and the Vice-President of Cyprus at the Palais des Nations, Geneva on 12 August, 1974, at 1640”; Callaghan seemed to have enjoyed using this phrase, as it is mentioned at least four times in the Geneva records.

²⁷² TNA: FCO 9/1922: Doc 81, p.150

²⁷³ Callaghan, *Time and Chance*, p.354

²⁷⁴ TNA: FCO 9/1922: Doc 47, p.103 “Record of a Conversation Between the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs and the Secretary-General of the United Nations at the Palais des Nations, Geneva on 9 August, at 1200”

²⁷⁵ TNA: FCO 9/1922: Doc 47, p.103

²⁷⁶ See Appendix 2

UNFICYP were so lightly armed, considering that they had been facing tanks during the Turkish invasion.²⁷⁷ Guyer had revealed that the UNFICYP had a financial debt of \$20 million, but that Kissinger nevertheless had agreed that the UNFICYP should be doubled in size, from 2,300 to around 5,000 men.²⁷⁸ Guyer therefore said that with the increase of size there was now “a real possibility of imposing it between the two forces.”²⁷⁹ In such case, Waldheim’s statement later during the Second Geneva Conference that the UNFICYP would withdraw from the Green Line following a Turkish advance could therefore be evidence that the UN miscalculated the capacity of the Turkish military. With the UN being unable to maintain the security of the island, and with the United States being reluctant in supporting a British military threat, Clerides therefore seemed to be near of abandoning hope when Callaghan told him the reality of the situation.²⁸⁰

Essential to the Turkish objectives in Geneva was that the Turks in Cyprus needed more land. Denktash had said that the Turkish government “could not wait while the Greek Cypriots mined the area around their enclave.”²⁸¹ The latest proposal from the Greek side had been an 80/18 cantonal settlement between the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots, but this proposal would, in Denktash’s view, end in disaster. The only way to satisfy Günes and the Turks was for Clerides to put more on the table.²⁸²

At this point the Turkish delegation issued what Callaghan described as an “ultimatum of war”. They demanded a reply from the Greeks in one night: Unless Mavros and Clerides were willing to accept a single geographical zone, which would amount to around 34 percent of Cyprus’ land area, Günes would consider the conference at an end and would leave Geneva the following morning.²⁸³ Either the plan was accepted, or the conference would break up; the Turkish delegation would not accept any form of counter-proposal. Callaghan responded by saying that the “only way to ensure the safety of the Turkish Cypriot was to negotiate a solution”, which

²⁷⁷ TNA: FCO 9/1922: Doc 4, p.20 “Record of Conversation Between the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs and the Under Secretary-General of the United Nations/Special Adviser to the Secretary-General on Cyprus at the Residence of the British Ambassador to the United Nations Mission in Geneva, Thursday, 25 July, 1974 at 1530”

²⁷⁸ Ibid, p.21

²⁷⁹ Ibid

²⁸⁰ Callaghan, *Time and Chance*, p.354

²⁸¹ TNA: FCO 9/1922: Doc 81, p.150

²⁸² Ibid, p.151

²⁸³ Callaghan, *Time and Chance*, pp.354-455

would require at least three weeks.²⁸⁴ In a telegram to London just after the meeting with Denktash, it was revealed that Günes was under instructions from Prime Minister Ecevit to end the talks that same night, and that the Turkish army “might be thinking of attacking at dawn.”²⁸⁵ The same day, the British Ambassador to Washington had told Kissinger in a meeting that “The Turks’ excuse is Greece is sending in troops and that the British are doing something.”²⁸⁶ If the Turkish side saw British intentions to “do something” as a threat to Turkish interests in Cyprus, then this would support Kissinger’s firm belief that Callaghan’s strategy to scare the Turks from advancing would only worsen the situation.

Kissinger’s telephone diplomacy with Ecevit eventually led to an agreement to resume the meeting the following day.²⁸⁷ Nevertheless, when meeting with Clerides and Mavros the next day it quickly became clear to Callaghan that neither Clerides nor Archbishop Makarios would accept the Turkish proposal, largely because this would involve moving about 90,000 Greek Cypriots from the Turkish geographical zone in the north to the south.²⁸⁸ Mavros then asked for a 36-hour adjournment in order to consult with his government.²⁸⁹ When meeting with Günes an hour later, Callaghan was informed that Prime Minister Ecevit had just announced that the “problem must be settled tonight” and that the Greek side had until 10 pm that day to consider the Turkish proposals.²⁹⁰

The last meeting of the Second Geneva Conference began on the evening of 13 August. This was in Günes’ view only a symbolic meeting, since the Turkish delegation already considered the conference at an end. It was a last chance for the Greek and Greek Cypriot delegation to accept the Turkish proposals. Throughout the meeting, the Greek side continuously repeated their demand for an adjournment. Clerides said that he was asking for 36-hours of consultations to

²⁸⁴ TNA: FCO 9/1922: Doc 81, p.151

²⁸⁵ TNA: FCO 9/1922: Doc 82, p.151 “Extracts from UKMIS Geneva to Foreign and Commonwealth Office, Telegram No. 824 of 12 August, 1974”

²⁸⁶ FRUS, 1973-1976 Vol XXX, Greece; Cyprus; Turkey: Doc 128, p.422 “Memorandum of Conversation”

²⁸⁶ TNA: FCO 9/1922: Doc 128, p.422

²⁸⁷ TNA: FCO 9/1922: Doc 85, p.153 “Summary Note on a Telephone Conversation Between the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs and the American Secretary of State on 12 August, 1974 at 2245”

²⁸⁸ TNA: FCO 9/1922: Doc 86, p.154 “Record of a Conversation Between the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, the Acting President of Cyprus and the Greek Foreign Minister at the Palais des Nations, Geneva on 13 August, 1974 at 1000”

²⁸⁹ Ibid, p.155

²⁹⁰ TNA: FCO 9/1922: Doc 88, p.157 “Record of a Conversation Between the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, the Vice-President of Cyprus and the Turkish Foreign Minister on 13 August at the Palais des Nations, Geneva, at 1100”

“look at a problem that had been in the making for a couple of hundred years.”²⁹¹ The Turkish delegation would have none of it, however, saying that the negotiations so far had shown that the Greek side were not willing to discuss the Turkish proposal and that an adjournment by a day or two was only an example of delaying tactics which would have no results in the negotiations.²⁹²

At this point, Callaghan had once again telephoned Kissinger, where he mentioned the “intolerable behaviour” of Günes, who had treated him “in an unforgivable way”. Callaghan urged the essentiality that Kissinger should put more pressure on Ecevit.²⁹³ Kissinger replied that he agreed that the deadline put forth by the Turks was intolerable and promised to press Ecevit to raise it.²⁹⁴

In a memorandum of a meeting in Kissinger’s office the day before, US officials seemed to be suspecting that Ecevit could not be pressed much further, however, as Kissinger had asked his officials: “After my call to Ecevit has failed, what do we do?” Another US official had then replied that “If he is determined to go, there is not much we can do.”²⁹⁵ The US government had already said that they would not be willing to respond militarily to a Turkish advance. The best they could do was to withdraw support for Turkey in the UN Security Council, to support a UNSC resolution against the Turkish government, and possibly to cut off military assistance.²⁹⁶ On the latter, however, Kissinger seemed to be highly critical, saying that the US government were “throwing the threat of military assistance around like it is charity.” He specifically recalled how the US had followed the same pattern in the Suez crisis of 1956 and rhetorically asked the other officials where that had got them.²⁹⁷ Kissinger believed that the US government had tried

²⁹¹ TNA: FCO 9/1922: Doc 90, p.165 “Record of a Meeting Between the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, the Greek and the Turkish Foreign Ministers and Representatives of the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot Communities: At the Palais des Nations, Geneva, on Tuesday, 13 August, 1974 at 1840”

²⁹² On 14 August, the UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim had told Prime Minister Wilson that he had been “surprised by the extent of the concessions which Mr. Mavros and Mr. Clerides had been prepared to make” before the talks ended, which suggest that if the adjournment had been accepted it might have ended in an agreement: TNA: PREM 16/20: “Record of a conversation between the Prime Minister and the Secretary-General of the United Nations at 4.00 p.m. on Wednesday 14 August 1974 at 10 Downing Street”

²⁹³ TNA: FCO 9/1922: Doc 89, p.159 “Record of a Telephone Conversation Between the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs and the United States Secretary of State on 13 August, 1974 at 1215”

²⁹⁴ Ibid

²⁹⁵ FRUS, 1973-1976 Vol XXX, Greece; Cyprus; Turkey: Doc 128: p.422 “Memorandum of Conversation”, Washington, 12 August, 1974, 2:45 p.m.

²⁹⁶ Ibid.

²⁹⁷ Ibid.

to “bail the Cyprus situation after it got out of control.”²⁹⁸ He blamed the British for making a mess it, and argued that there was “not American reason why the Turks should not have one-third of Cyprus.”²⁹⁹ For American interests, this would be better than to lose a strategic NATO ally.

The Second Geneva Conference broke up at 2.25 a.m. on 14 August.³⁰⁰ At 5 a.m., reports were coming in that hostilities had recommenced on the island.³⁰¹ The second Turkish invasion of Cyprus had begun. The advance lasted until 16 August, when joint diplomatic pressure led Ecevit to undertake to stop the advance by 5 p.m. that evening. It was the third ceasefire in less than a month to be established on Cyprus, and even after this, the Turkish military advance continued during the next few days until they almost reached the British Sovereign Base Area of Dhekelia (ESBA). This period also involved the occupation of Famagusta’s then modern tourist area, Varosha, today a well-known ghost town that remains occupied by Turkish soldiers, forbidden of entry to the public.³⁰² When the Turkish forces finally stopped their advance, Turkey controlled around 37 percent of the island. Approximately 163 797 Greek Cypriots and 41 700 Turkish Cypriots were to be displaced following the Turkish forces’ establishment of the so-called Attila line, which was to become the permanent line of the UN buffer zone.³⁰³

6.6 Aftermath and reflections

Records from both British and American archives paint a picture of a colder relationship between the two foreign secretaries, as they preferred to lay much of the blame of the “failure in Geneva” on the other part. Particularly Kissinger did not hide his disappointment with Callaghan to his colleagues. In a meeting with the Washington Special Action Group on 14 August, Kissinger said:

²⁹⁸ FRUS, 1973-1976 Vol XXX, Greece; Cyprus; Turkey: Doc 129: p.424 “Memorandum of Conversation” Meeting between Kissinger and President Ford on 13 August at 9 a.m.

²⁹⁹ Ibid.

³⁰⁰ TNA: FCO 9/1922: Doc 90, p.173

³⁰¹ TNA: AIR 8/2628: *Report by Commander British Forces Near East on the Cyprus Emergency 15 Jul – 16 Aug 1974*. 15 May 1975, Section 6: p.89, “The Breakdown of the Geneva Talks and the Subsequent Turkish Expansion, 10-16 Aug 74”

³⁰² Ibid: p.91

³⁰³ Constandinos, *The Cyprus Crisis*, p.260

“I was talking to Callaghan this morning, and he was complaining that he is unpopular in Greece. I can understand that. In this business you are paid by your results, and he didn’t deliver a damn thing!”³⁰⁴

A day later, Kissinger criticised Callaghan for not having sent a senior representative between the capitals, like Kissinger had done with Joseph Sisco. He then went on about the British government’s ineffectiveness in Geneva:

“The Greeks went to Geneva with the idea of the British backing them and with the idea that they could depend on the British. To reach a stalemate in 48 hours after the conference is convened is a sign of incompetence. If Callaghan had gotten Clerides to put something forward, then he could have built on this.”³⁰⁵

Both Callaghan and Prime Minister Wilson criticised Kissinger and the US government for not doing more to pressure the Turkish government away from military intervention. In Wilson’s memoir, he ended his recall of the Cyprus crisis as such:

“James Callaghan had to spend most of August in Geneva, but on all major substantive issues the Turks refused to move. Once again the intervention of the United States was missed.”³⁰⁶

Callaghan himself did not change his belief that a joint Anglo-American military threat towards Turkey would have succeeded in preventing a Turkish offensive, as he wrote in his memoir from 1987 that “The only thing that might deter the Turks was the conviction that they would face military opposition if they attempted to advance further.”³⁰⁷ Callaghan further referred to an editorial in *The Times* ten years after the crisis, which argued that Britain’s unwillingness to deliver a counter-ultimatum to Turkey when the Second Geneva Conference broke up was “a grave, unforgivable error of omission.”³⁰⁸ Still, without American support a military threat would have severely less value, as Callaghan concluded:

³⁰⁴ FRUS, 1973-1976 Vol XXX, Greece; Cyprus; Turkey: Doc 131: pp.434-435 “Minutes of Meeting of the Washington Special Actions Group” Washington, 14 August, 1974, 3:10-3:45 p.m.

³⁰⁵ FRUS, 1973-1976 Vol XXX, Greece; Cyprus; Turkey: Doc 133: p.444 “Memorandum of Conversation”, meeting between Kissinger and other US officials on 15 August, 1974, 4:30 p.m.

³⁰⁶ Wilson, *Final Term*, p.64

³⁰⁷ Callaghan, *Time and Chance*, p.353

³⁰⁸ *Ibid*, p.356

“All opinions are speculative but I am convinced that Britain would have been courting military disaster if heavily outnumbered British troops, trained to guard a base, had taken the offensive in the face of opposition from the United States. The subsequent failure would have resembled a second Suez.”³⁰⁹

6.7 Chapter conclusion

Why did the Second Geneva Conference fail to prevent the Turkish army from initiating its second invasion of Cyprus? Was it inevitable because the Turkish government were determined not to stop until they had achieved their objectives of a large autonomous region for the Turkish Cypriots? Was it due to a lack of willingness from the US government to put more pressure on Turkey, or was it because of Callaghan’s impatience and support for a military threat that would scare Turkey from intervening a second time? Records from the Second Geneva Conference suggest that all factors mentioned above contributed to the breakup of the negotiations. In his book *Cyprus: Ethnic Conflict and International Politics*, Joseph S. Joseph writes that:

“The failure of the American and British mediating efforts proved, once again, that Greece and Turkey were incapable of overcoming their mutual hostility, and settling their differences through bargaining in a give-and-take manner.”³¹⁰

During the Geneva Conferences, the Turkish government became increasingly aware that the international community were turning against them, and because the Cyprus problem was a massive focus point of the Turkish public, the Turkish government thus had a dilemma: To intervene in Cyprus while they still had the military advantage, and be praised for it at home; or to continue negotiations in Geneva, which had the potential of producing a settlement unsatisfactory to the Turkish Cypriot community, which subsequently had the potential of igniting another round of intercommunal violence on the island. By a lack of public support, a Turkish failure in Geneva Conferences also had the chance of causing a collapse of the Turkish government, either by a replacement with a new government or by a military overthrow.

Turkey’s military advantage on Cyprus were based on several factors. Firstly, there was a surplus of Turkish troops within the small area of which they had occupied during the first invasion.

³⁰⁹ Callaghan, *Time and Chance*, p.356

³¹⁰ Joseph, *Cyprus*, p.52

Secondly, the UNFICYP were not prepared to defend the lines against the Turkish forces on Cyprus; and thirdly, the United States were not willing to respond militarily to a Turkish advance. Whether Ecevit was aware of all these realities is not clear, but at least the high number of troops stationed on the island, ready to move, might help to understand why the Turkish delegation was so determined not to lose their objectives in Geneva.

As for the British government, at least Callaghan believed that if they had been tougher with the Turkish delegation, the conference might have ended with a proper settlement. It could be argued that if the American and British government had been able to find a common ground of policy towards the crisis, the second Turkish invasion might have been prevented. What is clear is that both American and British diplomatic records point to a lack of cooperation between the two governments during the conference, which might have been as a result of at least two factors. On one hand, there were conflicting interests between the Americans and the British: Callaghan could not accept a Greek humiliation because it could be damaging for the Labour Party in the upcoming British elections; Kissinger prioritised Turkey over Greece, both economically and due to its role as a strategic NATO ally, and chose therefore to tread carefully with the Turks. On the other hand, a lack of communication halted the progress of any form of Western diplomacy towards Turkey and reduced both governments ability to execute their own strategy.

7. Conclusion

The essence of this thesis has been to examine the role of the British government during the Cyprus crisis, based on selected British and American official documents from 1974. This thesis argues that the partition of Cyprus in 1974 was a result of at least two factors. First, it was the culmination of a long-standing conflict between Greece and Turkey, in which a Greek-led coup d'état gave Turkey an excuse to settle old scores between the two Cypriot communities. Second, it was a result of a failed attempt by British and American diplomatic efforts to prevent an escalation of the crisis. In the first phase of the crisis, an indecisiveness of British foreign policy, as well as a British underestimation of the Turkish military, might to some extent have facilitated the first Turkish invasion of Cyprus on 20 July. In the second phase, a combination of miscommunication and conflicting interests between the British and American governments led to a failure to implement a joint policy, which might subsequently have facilitated a second Turkish invasion of Cyprus on 14 August.

What were the British government's interests in the Cyprus crisis of 1974? When the news of the Greek-led coup d'état in Cyprus on 15 July had reached London, the immediate reactions of the British government had been to secure the lives of British citizens, and to protect the Sovereign Base Areas. Due to its obligations as a guarantor to the independence of Cyprus, however, the United Kingdom also became heavily involved in the diplomatic efforts to de-escalate the situation on the island. Soon, the British Foreign and Commonwealth Office found themselves in frequent correspondence with the other two Guarantor Powers: Greece and Turkey. On one hand, it was important for the United Kingdom to continue to recognise Archbishop Makarios as the legitimate President of Cyprus. This was because the coup d'état had been in violation of article four of the Treaty of Guarantee of 1960, which entitled Greece, Turkey and the United Kingdom to be guarantors of the independence, territorial integrity and security of the Republic of Cyprus.³¹¹ The same treaty also gave the Guarantor Powers the right to "take action with the sole aim of re-establishing the state of affairs created by the present Treaty."³¹² On the other hand, therefore, the British government's next priority was to prevent a Turkish military reaction to the coup. This was a real danger because many observers saw the Greek-led coup as a warning sign

³¹¹ Treaty of Guarantee, article II. See Appendix 1

³¹² Ibid, article IV. See Appendix 1

that *enosis* was in the progress of happening. Records from this period show that the British government sensed a real danger of a Greco-Turkish war.

How did the British government act to prevent an escalation of the Cyprus crisis? The meetings with the Turkish Prime Minister in London on 17 and 18 July show how the British and the Turkish governments were in disagreements over how to respond to the 15 July coup that had been initiated by the Greek junta. The British government refused to let the Turkish military use the British Sovereign Base Areas to transfer Turkish troops to the island. Respectively, the Turkish government refused to negotiate with the Greek government, because the latter had violated the Treaty of Guarantee and therefore Turkey did no longer recognise Greece as a Guarantor Power.

British records of meetings with Turkish officials both in London and in Geneva also show that the Turkish reluctance to negotiate with the Greek government – both the junta and the democratically elected government that followed – endured throughout the crisis. The same might be said about the Greek government, especially in the Geneva Conferences, during which they several times had told the British government that they could not accept a humiliation in the negotiations. Yet, it was Turkey that had the clear military advantage on the island: The first Turkish invasion of Cyprus on 20 July was successful because it had led to the collapse of the Greek junta and the subsequent fall of the coup-makers on Cyprus. The new Greek government seemingly lacked strength to put up with the Turkish government. The first invasion had also resulted in a high number of Turkish troops within a small area in northern Cyprus, which gave Turkey a military superiority on the island. Therefore, although the invasion had prevented *enosis* from becoming a reality, the resulting situation on the island became an opportunity for Prime Minister Ecevit to settle the long-lasting conflict on Cyprus in a way which would be to the advantage of the Turkish Cypriots. In fact, Callaghan had later said that Turkey came to Geneva Conferences, not to negotiate, but to accept the capitulation of Greece.³¹³

Because of its geopolitical interests in the region, and because of their superior diplomatic influence as a superpower, the United States were also drawn into the crisis. This also reflected Britain's move towards a non-involvement foreign policy, which had been aimed at since the

³¹³ Joseph, *Cyprus*, p.52

mid-1960s. Official records suggest that the interplay between the American and the British government during the 1974 crisis was characterised by conflicting views. This is shown early during the period immediately following the coup on 15 July, during which Callaghan and Kissinger disagreed on whether to support the return of Makarios as President of Cyprus. The fact that Callaghan later changed his mind to prefer Glafcos Clerides as President stands as an example of the US government's influence over British politics. The conflicting views between the two foreign secretaries only grew more visible during the Geneva Conferences. Initially, the British delegation had sought to bring the Greek and Turkish side to agree on an eventual demilitarisation of the island, in which Callaghan had said that the British government would be willing to consider a withdrawal from the SBAs.

As chairman of the conference, Callaghan experienced first-hand how the Turkish and Greek delegations were unable to reach a common agreement. Increasingly irritated by the lack of progress in the talks, and by the unpredictability shown by the Turkish delegation, Callaghan increasingly came to prefer that a military ultimatum should be issued against Turkey. Callaghan did not wish to repeat the same mistake the British government had done when they had failed to intervene to prevent the first Turkish invasion of Cyprus. Kissinger, however, had his own idea on how to settle the negotiations, which involved telephone pressure on the Turkish government. Kissinger strongly criticised Callaghan's plan to issue a threat towards Turkey, arguing that this would only make things worse.

It is suggested that the different approaches to the crisis between Callaghan and Kissinger were based on the following: Firstly, the correspondence between the two foreign secretaries was characterised by miscommunication. In this context, the fact that the Geneva Conferences coincided with the culmination of the Watergate scandal is something that should not be underestimated. This is supported by the fact that Kissinger several times had lost contact with Callaghan because he had been called to the Oval Office to speak with the president. Callaghan had also complained about a lack of information on Kissinger's telephone diplomacy with Ecevit. Secondly, the different approaches to the crisis reflected the conflicting political interests of the two governments. At least Kissinger saw Turkey as a more important ally than Greece, which might be why the US pressure on Turkey did not seem to satisfy Callaghan. For Britain's interests, Callaghan latter had said early during the First Geneva Conference that it was

important for the British government that the Greek government should not be humiliated in Geneva.

To which degree was the British government responsible for the escalation of the Cyprus crisis? British and American official records suggest that the failure to prevent the second Turkish invasion of Cyprus was based on several factors. First, it was a refusal by both the Greek and the Turkish side to be humiliated by the other side at the negotiating table, which led the negotiations into an impasse. Secondly, the Anglo-American involvement in the crisis failed to de-escalate the situation on the island because it was characterised by 1) miscommunication, which prevented the US and the British government from implementing a joint policy of diplomacy, and 2) conflicting political interests which led to an uneven amount of pressure towards Turkey, which gave the latter an opportunity to advance further on the island.

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Appendixes

Appendix 1: Treaty of Guarantee, 1960

No. 5475

**UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN
AND NORTHERN IRELAND, GREECE and TURKEY
and
CYPRUS**

Treaty of Guarantee. Signed at Nicosia, on 16 August 1960

Official texts: English and French.

*Registered by the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland on
12 December 1960.*

**ROYAUME-UNI DE GRANDE-BRETAGNE
ET D'IRLANDE DU NORD, GRÈCE et TURQUIE
et
CHYPRE**

Traité de garantie. Signé à Nicosie, le 16 août 1960

Textes officiels anglais et français.

*Enregistré par le Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord le
12 décembre 1960.*

No. 5475. TREATY OF GUARANTEE.¹ SIGNED AT NICOSIA,
ON 16 AUGUST 1960

The Republic of Cyprus of the one part, and Greece, Turkey and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland of the other part,

- I. Considering that the recognition and maintenance of the independence, territorial integrity and security of the Republic of Cyprus, as established and regulated by the Basic Articles of its Constitution, are in their common interest,
- II. Desiring to co-operate to ensure respect for the state of affairs created by that Constitution,
Have agreed as follows :

Article I

The Republic of Cyprus undertakes to ensure the maintenance of its independence, territorial integrity and security, as well as respect for its Constitution

It undertakes not to participate, in whole or in part, in any political or economic union with any State whatsoever. It accordingly declares prohibited any activity likely to promote, directly or indirectly, either union with any other State or partition of the Island.

Article II

Greece, Turkey and the United Kingdom, taking note of the undertakings of the Republic of Cyprus set out in Article I of the present Treaty, recognise and guarantee the independence, territorial integrity and security of the Republic of Cyprus, and also the state of affairs established by the Basic Articles of its Constitution.

Greece, Turkey and the United Kingdom likewise undertake to prohibit, so far as concerns them, any activity aimed at promoting, directly or indirectly, either union of Cyprus with any other State or partition of the Island.

Article III

The Republic of Cyprus, Greece and Turkey undertake to respect the integrity of the areas retained under United Kingdom sovereignty at the time of the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus, and guarantee the use and enjoyment by the United Kingdom of the rights to be secured to it by the Republic of Cyprus in accordance with the Treaty concerning the Establishment of the Republic of Cyprus signed at Nicosia on to-day's date.²

¹ Came into force on 16 August 1960, the date of signature, in accordance with article V.

² See p. 8 of this volume.

Article IV

In the event of a breach of the provisions of the present Treaty, Greece, Turkey and the United Kingdom undertake to consult together with respect to the representations or measures necessary to ensure observance of those provisions.

In so far as common or concerted action may not prove possible, each of the three guaranteeing Powers reserves the right to take action with the sole aim of re-establishing the state of affairs created by the present Treaty.

Article V

The present Treaty shall enter into force on the date of signature. The original texts of the present Treaty shall be deposited at Nicosia.

The High Contracting Parties shall proceed as soon as possible to the registration of the present Treaty with the Secretariat of the United Nations, in accordance with Article 102 of the Charter of the United Nations.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the undersigned have signed the present Treaty.

DONE at Nicosia this sixteenth day of August, 1960, in English and French, both texts being equally authoritative.

For the Republic of Cyprus :

† Ο ΚΥΠΡΙΟΥ ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ

F. Kūçūk

For Greece :

G. CHRISTOPOULOS

For Turkey :

Vecdi TÜREL

For the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland :

Hugh Foot

Appendix 2: United Nations Security Council's Resolution 353

1779th meeting—the President of Cyprus, His Beatitude Archbishop Makarios, who had expressed the wish to address the Council, would be received in that capacity. Consequently, Ambassador Rossides, having been duly accredited by the Head of State of Cyprus, would be regarded as representing Cyprus in the current debate.

At the same meeting, the Council also decided to invite the representatives of Yugoslavia, Romania and India to participate, without vote, in the discussion of the question.

At its 1781st meeting, on 20 July 1974, the Council decided to invite the representative of Mauritius to participate, without vote, in the discussion of the question.

Resolution 353 (1974) of 20 July 1974

The Security Council,

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General, at its 1779th meeting, about the recent developments in Cyprus,

Having heard the statement of the President of the Republic of Cyprus and the statements of the representatives of Cyprus, Turkey, Greece and other Member States,²²

Having considered at its present meeting further developments in the island,

Deeply deploring the outbreak of violence and the continuing bloodshed,

Gravely concerned about the situation which has led to a serious threat to international peace and security, and which has created a most explosive situation in the whole Eastern Mediterranean area,

Equally concerned about the necessity to restore the constitutional structure of the Republic of Cyprus, established and guaranteed by international agreements,

Recalling its resolution 186 (1964) of 4 March 1964 and its subsequent resolutions on this matter,

Conscious of its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security in accordance with Article 24 of the Charter of the United Nations,

1. *Calls upon* all States to respect the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus;

2. *Calls upon* all parties to the present fighting as a first step to cease all firing and requests all States to exercise the utmost restraint and to refrain from any action which might further aggravate the situation;

3. *Demands* an immediate end to foreign military intervention in the Republic of Cyprus that is in contravention of the provisions of paragraph 1 above;

²² *Ibid.*, Twenty-ninth Year, 1780th meeting.

4. *Requests* the withdrawal without delay from the Republic of Cyprus of foreign military personnel present otherwise than under the authority of international agreements, including those whose withdrawal was requested by the President of the Republic of Cyprus, Archbishop Makarios, in his letter of 2 July 1974;²³

5. *Calls upon* Greece, Turkey and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to enter into negotiations without delay for the restoration of peace in the area and constitutional government in Cyprus and to keep the Secretary-General informed;

6. *Calls upon* all parties to co-operate fully with the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus to enable it to carry out its mandate;

7. *Decides* to keep the situation under constant review and asks the Secretary-General to report as appropriate with a view to adopting further measures in order to ensure that peaceful conditions are restored as soon as possible.

Adopted unanimously at the 1781st meeting.

Decision

At its 1782nd meeting, on 22 July 1974, the Council agreed without objection that the Secretary-General should proceed forthwith to take the measures he had explained orally to the Council to reinforce the contingents serving with the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus.

Resolution 354 (1974) of 23 July 1974

The Security Council,

Reaffirming the provisions of its resolution 353 (1974) of 20 July 1974,

Demands that all parties to the present fighting comply immediately with the provisions of paragraph 2 of Security Council resolution 353 (1974) calling for an immediate cessation of all firing in the area and requesting all States to exercise the utmost restraint and to refrain from any action which might further aggravate the situation.

Adopted unanimously at the 1783rd meeting.

Decision

At its 1784th meeting, held in private on 24 July 1974, the Security Council approved the text of the

²³ *Ibid.*, 1779th meeting, para. 29.