

THE AMERICAN ARMS EMBARGO AGAINST TURKEY

A historical review

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Reaction to invasion

The question of the suspension of American military aid to Turkey as a result of Turkey's invasion of Cyprus, was first brought up in August 1974, by a statement of the United States Defence Minister at the time, Mr. Schlesinger. On August 18, 1974, two days after the cease-fire of the second invasion which led to the occupation of 40% of Cyprus by Turkish troops, Mr. Schlesinger stated that the continuation of the plans for American military aid to Turkey was under consideration and added that Turkey's actions exceeded all limits which even Turkey's friends and supporters could not accept.

The plans for military aid to Turkey were launched in 1974 as part of the strengthening of the defence of the Western Alliance and for this reason the use of these American weapons for other reasons was strictly forbidden by the Foreign Aid Act.

As the American Secretary of State, Dr. Kissinger repeatedly stated after the Turkish invasion, "American military aid to Turkey did not constitute a special blessing for it. From the point of view of the United States Government, Turkey's security is of vital importance for the security of the Eastern Mediterranean, Europe, NATO and the Atlantic Alliance in general".

Nevertheless, on October 14, 1974, President Ford vetoed House Joint Resolution 1131, which by a special amendment put an embargo on military aid to Turkey "until the President certifies to Congress that substantial progress has been made towards agreement on the withdrawal of Turkish forces from Cyprus and that Turkey is in compliance with the Foreign Assistance Act". On October 17, there was a second Presidential veto on legislation on the ban of aid. Finally, Congress by resolution 1167, which was approved by both Houses, postponed the ban on military aid to Turkey until December 10. This resolution was signed by President Ford and was enacted into law. This arrangement constituted a compromise between Congress and the Government.

On December 1, 1974, nine days before the law on the ban of military aid came into force, Senator Kennedy said, in a statement, that the American Government had increased the rate of arms shipments to Turkey "despite the clear violation of American law, and the lack of any visible progress in negotiations over Cyprus". The following day, the State Department admitted that U.S. arms shipments to Turkey had actually increased, but claimed that such increases were within the law.

On December 10, 1974, Congress ratified the decision with a provision that the ban on military arms shipments to Turkey come into effect on February 5, 1975.

The decision was ratified despite the intensive efforts of the American Government to prevent it by putting forward the excuse that the cut-off of military aid to Turkey would be catastrophic for the defence of the Western World and that the ban would not serve the purpose for which it was imposed. (U.S. Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, during a press conference on December 7, 1974).

Cyprus Government reaction

The insistence of Congress on the embargo was an expression of the general condemnation of Turkish policy on Cyprus by personalities in public life and of representative figures of the U.S., who were not convinced by the arguments of the Ford Administration. The postponement of shipments imposed by Congress on September 19, 1974, was welcomed in Cyprus and elsewhere as a step in the right direction.

The Cyprus Government, commenting on the decision on September 20, 1974, stressed that "the way in which the matter was introduced in the American Senate, and the whole discussion therein and the decision that was approved provides an indication of the reaction of American public opinion against Turkey's imperialist arbitrariness which brought so much hardship to our undefended and cruelly tried people. Despite her natural bitterness towards American official policy, which did not try to prevent the Turkish invasion, Cyprus always has affection and love for the noble American nation. And developments have begun to vindicate these feelings".

Again on October 11, 1974, in reply to a question regarding the stand of President Ford on the matter of military aid to Turkey, the Government spokesman said that "what emerges from the whole discussion in the United States on the matter of the embargo on American military aid to Turkey is that both the Legislative Houses of the country (U.S.A.) and the American Government have completely accepted that illegal use of American military material has been made by Turkey in invading Cyprus and that both sides are seriously reflecting on the matter.

There are, of course, differences at the measures that must be adopted and especially as to which ones would be the most effective. In any case, we attach importance to the vote of the American Legislative Houses voicing the deep concern of the American people about Turkey's aggressive actions against Cyprus, which they also condemn".

A week later, on October 18, 1974, the Government Spokesman again stated that:

"The outcome of developments in the United States concerning the continuation or otherwise of shipments of American military aid to Turkey, constitutes, despite the intervening controversy, the most eloquent admission of the crime committed against Cyprus. The Congress and the U.S. Administration have, on the one hand, officially recognised that during

the invasion, Ankara really made illegal use of American arms and on the other hand, undertook jointly to keep a close watch on the situation so that similar arbitrary acts may not be repeated. The conditions attached (see Congress resolution) to the agreed "formula" which can be characterised as constructive, are clear and leave no room for doubt. It is natural now to expect that the United States Government, which has proposed the solution of timetables in order to make, what it described as the necessary moves, would use all its influence to remove the injustice committed against Cyprus, which by and large was committed with the use of American arms. However, attention must also be drawn to the publicity given to the matter, internationally and over several days, with all its positive results".

More violations

Meanwhile the Turks using American war planes, continued their provocations with almost daily violations of Cyprus' air space. The Turkish stand gave rise to reaction by many American politicians.

American Senator, Richard Schweiker, wrote among other things in November 1974: "I am concerned because the continuation of military air shipments to Turkey is being carried out in violation to our Laws and am sorry that the President imposed a veto (Bill of October 1974) on legislation which provided for the cut off of military aid to Turkey. Although the Senate did not have the opportunity to vote on the veto, I would have voted against it, given that I am co-sponsor of the basic amendments for the cut off of military aid. I am not satisfied with the compromise reached for postponement of the cut off of the aid to December 10. A strong stand now against the invasion and in favour of a just solution to the Cyprus problem which would recognise the rights of the Greek Cypriots, is very important for security in the region of the Eastern Mediterranean and for the continuation of our long and valuable friendship with the Greek people".

Furthermore Senator Kennedy, President of the Senate Subcommittee on Refugees, referred in his statements to the considerable increase of military aid that was shipped to Turkey, a factor which gave rise to reaction in the State Department. The State Department spokesman, Robert Anderson on December 2, 1974, said among other things that "the shipment of military aid continued throughout the period of which the Senator referred. No new commitments were made during that period. The continuing resolution authority which the Congress adopted in October gave the President the authority to suspend restrictions on new commitments and shipments to Turkey until December 10, if the President believed that by so doing he would assist in moving toward a settlement of the Cyprus conflict".

The Secretary of State Mr. Henry Kissinger said at a press conference on December 7, 1974, on the matter of military aid to Turkey and the role of the U.S. in the Cyprus problem, that:

"As you know, Congress in October enacted legislation which will cut off military assistance to Turkey on December 10. You are also aware, the Senate has now acted to extend the period prior to such a cut off. It is absolutely essential, and the President and I strongly urge, that the House will take similar action immediately.

"To begin with, the Congressional decision to terminate military assistance to Turkey has not served the purpose it was designed to accomplish. Rather, it undermines the ability of the United States Government to assist in bringing about a just settlement of the tragic conflict on Cyprus.

"We had made progress with the Turkish Government in the development of steps designed to make possible the initiation of negotiations. Congressional action in October, setting a terminal date for military assistance, contributed substantially to the difficulties that have prevented the beginning of negotiations. Unless the Congress acts now to permit the continued flow of military assistance, further efforts by the United States to assist in resolving the crisis will be thwarted and our ability to play a future useful role will be undermined.

"The United States has made clear that it does not approve of actions Turkey has taken on Cyprus. We have equally made clear that Turkey should display flexibility and a concern for the interests of the other parties involved in the dispute.

"The United States will continue to do all it can to assist the parties in arriving at a just and durable settlement on the Cyprus problem. But if we are deprived of diplomatic flexibility, there will be little that we will be able to accomplish.

"Even more important, U.S. military assistance to Turkey is not, and has never been, granted as a favour. It has been the view of the United States Government since 1974 that the security of Turkey is vital to the security of the eastern Mediterranean, to NATO, Europe, and therefore to the security of the Atlantic Community. These are the reasons, and these alone, that we grant military assistance. They were compelling when we first decided to grant such aid; they are equally compelling today".

U.S. bases in Turkey

Meanwhile, Turkey, which had apparently been encouraged by the stand of the American Government on the question of the embargo, began to threaten to close down the American bases in Turkey as a reprisal for the suspension of aid.

On January 20, 1975, the Turkish Minister of Defence, General Sanjar, stated that his country would impose sanctions against American bases

if Congress insisted on the embargo and added that this decision would affect the whole spectre of American-Turkish relations.

The tug-of-war of statements and threats between American and Turkish Government officials was intensified in an attempt to break Congress resistance.

On February 4, 1975, the Turkish Government announced that the embargo would oblige it to reconsider its ties with NATO and the bilateral defence arrangements with the United States. The Turkish Government, what is more, cancelled a meeting that was scheduled to take place on February 10, 1975, between the U.S. Secretary of State, Mr. Henry Kissinger and the Turkish Foreign Minister, Mr. Esenbel. (Meanwhile, negotiations had begun in Athens between the United States and Greece about the future of american bases in Greece).

Turkey's reaction reached a climax with the declaration on February 13, 1975, of the so-called Turkish Federated State, in the occupied area of Cyprus, which reflected Turkish contempt for the recommendations of the American Legislative Bodies and for the embargo. (This action of the Turkish Cypriot side, which took place with the guidance and the full support of Ankara, forced the Cyprus Government to have recourse to the Security Council which condemned Turkey's action).

Dr. Kissinger's attitude

Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, on the day before the Congressional ban on U.S. aid to Turkey was scheduled to go into effect, said he was trying to work the matter out "in a co-operative spirit" with Congressional leaders. Dr. Kissinger made his remarks to newsmen on February 4, 1975, following a ninety-minute meeting with the House Foreign Affairs Committee. As regards the effect of the military ban on the overall Cyprus situation, Dr. Kissinger said:

"The Administration has stated its view on this repeatedly. We believe it's a tragedy because it will not help the negotiation and it will weaken the defence of the west; but, we are trying to work this out in a co-operative spirit with the Congress and we are talking to various congressional leaders and individual members in order to see what can be done".

On February 5, 1975, President Ford made the following statement on the suspension of military aid to Turkey:

"Legislation enacted by Congress requires that arms deliveries to Turkey must be suspended on February 5. The Administration will fully comply with the Law. However, it should be made clear that military aid to Turkey is not given in the context of the Cyprus issue, nor has it been granted as a favour to Turkey. Rather, it is based on our common conclusions that the security of Turkey is vital to the security of the

Eastern Mediterranean and to the security of the United States and its allies.

"A suspension of military aid to Turkey is likely to impede the negotiation of a just Cyprus settlement. Furthermore, it could have far-reaching and damaging effects on the security and hence the political stability of all the countries in the region. It will affect adversely not only western security but the strategic situation in the Middle East. It cannot be in the interest of the United States to take action that will jeopardize the system on which our relations in the eastern Mediterranean have been based for 28 years.

"When it is seen that the United States is taking action which is clearly incompatible with its own interests, this will raise grave doubts about the conduct of American foreign relations even among countries that are not directly involved in that area.

"The Administration judges these adverse effects of a suspension of aid to Turkey to be so serious that it urges the Congress to reconsider its action and authorise the resumption of our assistance relationship

In the context of Dr. Kissinger's policy, on the same day (February 5), the State Department spokesman, Robert Anderson, spoke to newsmen in Washington.

with Turkey."

He said that he was "unaware of any special measures" that Secretary of State, Kissinger has taken to encourage Turkey to believe that the Ford Administration can soon get a reversal of the Legislation that imposed the February 5, cut-off of U.S. military aid to Turkey. But Anderson noted that the text of the White House statement of February 5 that urged Congress to reconsider its decision to halt the U.S. aid and to authorise its resumption "is being made available right now to the Turkish Government."

Also Anderson confirmed press reports that Turkish Foreign Minister Melih Esenbel (recently Turkish Ambassador in Washington and directly connected with the lifting of the embargo), will not meet "as planned" next week with Secretary of State Kissinger to discuss the Cyprus negotiations.

British attitude

British policy regarding the embargo was expressed through the commentaries and news bulletins of the British Broadcasting Corporation.

On February 5, 1975, the B.B.C. said that "...the decision by the American Congress to cut off military aid to Turkey from today has been described by the Turkish Prime Minister, M. Irmak, as a very grave mistake. He said that Turkey would now review its military relations with the U.S. and might also consider reviewing its contribution to NATO. A correspondent for the B.B.C. in Ankara says that diplomatic sources here

believe the Turkish Government will probably ask the United States to dismantle the 20 or so bases in the country. The arms embargo has been strongly opposed by President Ford and Dr. Kissinger, as set by Congress unless there was substantial progress towards the settlement of the Cyprus question. Our correspondent says the feeling in Ankara is that the American cut will have an adverse effect by hardening Turkey's attitude.

The BBC Washington correspondent says there will be action behind the scenes while United States officials try to decide whether Turkey's talk is angry rhetoric or a hint of things to come. He points out that Congress is in no mood to back down."

On February 6, 1975, the B.B.C. said:

"Mr. Ford, recognising that he has no choice but to enforce the suspension of aid to Turkey, nevertheless is trying to persuade Congress to change its mind at this late stage.

"He said the cut off would affect not only western security but also the situation in the Middle East. He added that it cannot be in the interest of the United States to take action that would jeopardise the situation on which our relationship in the Eastern Mediterranean has been based for 28 years. Congress passed the Law banning aid to Turkey because it was felt the Turks had violated the agreement under which the aid was given because of their invasion and continued occupation of Cyprus. And they said that the ban must remain in force until the administration is assured by Turkey that American weapons will not be used on the island. There has been no such assurance. President Ford argued that the question of Turkey's action on Cyprus really isn't related to military aid and that aid shouldn't be regarded as a favour but the Greek lobby in the United States is a powerful one. Congress has remained deaf to the administration argument for many months now and there is no reason to assume that this latest appeal will change the situation."

Reaction to cut-off

On February 20, 1975, the late President of the Republic, Archbishop Makarios in answer to a question by Mr. Tom Fenton of C.B.S. television as to whether the cut-off of American aid to Turkey had helped Cyprus in any way, said:

"I would say that the cut off of American aid will make Turkey more reasonable in its attitude towards the Cyprus problem. Turkey's intransigent attitude, however, is rather encouraged when American officials often say that the Congress decision to cut off aid was a mistake and will make Turkey harden its position."

In April, 1975, President Ford and Vice-President Rockefeller made statements in favour of the resumption of military aid to Turkey.

Thousands of Greek-Americans organised a huge peace demonstration in New York in protest against these statements and asked Congress to vote against a request for the resumption of military aid to Turkey.

Congressman Edward I. Koch, spoke to the demonstrators, criticising the Administration's stand on the Cyprus problem and assured them that Congress would not resume aid to Turkey until progress is achieved in the implementation of the resolutions of the United Nations.

Although Congress had imposed the arms embargo on Turkey, other NATO countries, with the consent of the Pentagon and of NATO military leadership in Europe, were sending arms and military material to Turkey.

Canada's Foreign Minister, Mr. Allan Mac Eachen, in an attempt to ease the concern fo Canadians regarding the Government's policy, wrote in April 1975:

"The despatch of arms and military material from Canada to Turkey, was suspended for a while after the events last July and August in Cyprus, however, there is not for the time being, a general ban on export of such material to Turkey. In accordance with our present policy, each application for the export of arms or military material to Turkey is examined in the light of the political and military situation prevailing in the region at the time an application is made. As you may be aware, the policy of the Canadian Government is not to allow weapons and military material to be exported to a country involved in military conflicts."

Greco-Turkish relations

Meanwhile, the Turkish Prime Minister Mr. Demirel (who had already come into power) stated on April 14, 1975, that the Greek Prime Minister Mr. Karamanlis' appeal for sanctions against Turkey as a result of the Cyprus problem "would possibly lead to a part of no return in Greco-Turkish relations". Greece is making a serious mistake, he added, by arming the Greek islands near Turkey.

EFFORTS FOR LIFTING BAN

An orchestrated campaign of the mass media ensued in North America and England for the supply of arms to Turkey which was presented as the defence of the western world. The Secretary-General of NATO had already discussed the matter of the embargo with President Ford and in a joint statement issued at the White House on February 24, 1975, they referred to the serious effects of the embargo on NATO and underlined that the embargo would further hinder a solution to the Cyprus problem.

On May 20, 1975, the late President Archbishop Makarios stated in regard to this that:

"The interruption or resumption of military aid to Turkey is an internal affair of the United States. In any case, I do not at all share the view

that resumption of aid to Turkey will help soften Turkish intransigence on the Cyprus problem. On the contrary, I firmly believe that a final decision by Congress for the resumption of aid would render the Turkish attitude more irrational, blackmailing and unyielding.

"The fact must not be overlooked that the Turkish invasion and occupation of a huge part of Cyprus territory was carried out by the use of American arms, which were given to Turkey for its defence and the defensive needs of the North Atlantic Alliance. And these arms have been used by Turkey in violation of American Laws for aggressive purposes. The supply of arms to Turkey by any country amounts to encouragement of Turkish aggressive plans."

On May 22, 1975, the Government Spokesman asked to comment on information that the British Government was willing to supply Turkey with military material to ensure the "protection and good living conditions of British nationals living in the Turkish occupied areas of Cyprus", said that this is being looked into by the Cyprus Government and added:

"President Makarios' recent statement (20.5.1975), on the American Senate's decision to resume shipments of American military material to Turkey, applies also to the British and any other Government in so far as regards the supply of arms to Turkey is concerned. President Makarios stressed in his statement on May 20, 1975, that the supply of arms to Turkey by any country amounts to encouragement of Turkish aggressive plans".

Reaction to resumption

The mobilisation of Cyprus organisations in England and of the friends of Cyprus yielded fruits.

On June 25, 1975, the National Executive Committee of the British Labour Party unanimously adopted a resolution proposed by Mrs Lena Jeker on the subject of the ban of arms shipments to Turkey, which was also conveyed to the Labour Government. The text of the resolution is as follows:

"The National Executive Committee calls on the Government to intensify its efforts towards the implementation of United Nations Resolution 3212 on Cyprus, which was approved on November 1, 1974. Since no progress has been made in the direction of its implementation, the Committee calls on Her Majesty's Government not to supply arms to Turkey, which could be used against a Commonwealth Country in disregard of United Nations resolutions."

The campaign of the State Department and of the pro-government press in the U.S. in favour of the Turkish positions despite world-wide outcries, forced Senator Kennedy to react.

"I believe the burden of proof for a resumption of military aid to Turkey rests with the Administration. I also believe they have not made

their case". This comment was made by Senator Edward M. Kennedy, Chairman of the Sub-committee on Refugees, in a statement on May 19, 1975, announcing his vote against Legislation to lift the embargo on U.S. military aid to Turkey.

The full text of Senator Kennedy's statement on the Senate floor follows:

"Several months ago Congress voted to suspend military assistance to Turkey, and sustained that vote in February of this year. It did so to enforce prohibitions against the clear violation of Law in Turkey's use of American supplied arms for aggressive purposes as well as to express our country's profound dismay over the human tragedy and diplomatic stalemate the use of those arms have produced for the people and nation of Cyprus.

"As Chairman of the Sub-committee on Refugees, I have closely followed events on Cyprus from the beginning. Numerous hearings were held, and in August and September of last year the Sub-committee dispatched a Study Mission to view, firsthand, the human and political tragedy created by the Turkish invasion and occupation of Cyprus. The Study Mission's report stands as true and as real today, as it did when it was written many months ago. The report is a tragic reminder as to how little things have changed on Cyprus.

"Since Turkey's invasion and occupation of Cyprus just ten months ago, and Congressional action to embargo military assistance to Turkey, tragically little has changed for Cyprus, politically, diplomatically and even more importantly in human terms."

Turkey's stand

The Turkish Prime Minister Mr. Demirel speaking to American newsmen on June 26, 1975, on the subject of the embargo, said:

"The imposition of the embargo against Turkey is an act of enmity against Turkey. There have always been disputes between Greece and Turkey but the two countries could solve these disputes. If now the U.S. comes and intervenes rendering the solution of the problems impossible, who will derive benefit out of it? Our dispute is with Greece and not with the United States. Why are the United States siding with Greece? Turkey has always been a diligent friend of the United States. The Cyprus problem is not a dispute between Turkey and the U.S. and this problem could have been solved more easily had the United States not intervened."

Both the Turkish and the Turkish-Cypriot press, as well as other mass media, reacted against the embargo and embarked on an unprecedented slanderous campaign against Cyprus and Greece, which climaxed with demonstrations in Ankara and Istanbul against the U.S. and Greece. Turkish officials made frequent visits to the occupied areas of Cyprus

and expressed the undivided support of Turkey for Turkish Cypriot leader Denktash. The friends of Turkey in Western Europe and North America managed to secure the limited resumption of American military aid to Turkey.

Limited resumption agreed

In the morning of July 9, 1975, a meeting took place in the White House between President Gerald Ford and American Congressmen. After the meeting, President Ford, Representatives Thomas E. Morgan and Clement J. Zablocki held a press briefing on the subject of the Turkish arms embargo. The President and Congressmen announced that congressional leaders had agreed on a compromise allowing resumption of limited military aid to Turkey under certain conditions. Under the compromise agreed, Turkey would take delivery of approximately \$70,000,000 worth of military equipment already bought and paid for but undelivered and would have the right to resume cash purchases of military supplies. It was emphasized that "there is no grant of military assistance planned and that the President will report to Congress every 60 days on both the progress of the sales and of settling the Cyprus dispute". It was further stated that any additional military aid given to Turkey may not be used for purposes other than NATO defence. President Ford voiced the conviction that favourable action on this compromise would greatly facilitate the upcoming negotiations between Greek and Turkish Cypriots in Vienna and that the prospects for progress in that meeting would certainly be improved.

Later in the day, White House Press Secretary Ron Nessen emphasized that Mr. Ford thought the Congressional embargo was "well intentioned", but has only hardened Turkey's position on Cyprus and has "alienated one of the parties in the negotiations." Mr. Ford believed "a fair and equitable" resolution on the impasse would increase U.S. flexibility in fostering a solution to the Cyprus question by removing "a substantial impediment" to a solution.

Cyprus view on Lifting

On July 13, 1975, the late President Makarios gave an interview to Mr. Lorenzo Argenti. The question in relation to the embargo and the President's answer are as follows:

Question: Should the United States decide to resume its military aid to Turkey, what effect does His Beatitude think such a move would have on the present Cyprus crisis and on relations between Washington and Nicosia? Does His Beatitude think that resumption of American military aid to Turkey would imperil the forthcoming talks to be held in Vienna at the end of this month?

Answer: It is my view that resumption of American military aid to Turkey would be a serious mistake. I do not agree with the theory that the cut off of military aid makes Turkey harden its attitude towards the Cyprus

problem. Turkey is not showing any respect for the U.N. resolutions on Cyprus and utterly disregards world opinion. The ban on military aid is one of the practical measures which will make Turkey more reasonable. The question is of course an internal affair of the United States and I do not want to say more on this. I merely express my views. Turkey is threatening that if military aid is not resumed American bases in Turkey may be closed. I do not know whether Turkey will carry out this threat, but if she feels that these bases are not needed for her defence, I do not think that the United States should insist on maintaining these bases.

AHEPA and other Greek-American Organisations held mass rallies in Washington and New York against the resumption of military aid to Turkey. The late President Makarios in a message hailed these events held in support of Cyprus. He said:

"It is with much pleasure that I communicate with the Greek American Organisations and all those participating in the mass rally to express opposition to resumption of military aid to Turkey. To all of you I convey a message of warmest greetings and express the gratitude of the Greek people of Cyprus for your many-sided help and solidarity of these critical hours for our island.

"It is with American arms and ammunition that Turkey has invaded Cyprus, occupied 40% of our territory, displaced 200,000 Greeks from their homes and properties and committed hideous acts of violence. Although one year has elapsed since the Turkish invasion of Cyprus, Turkey has shown no respect for the United Nations resolutions on Cyprus which provide for the return of the refugees to their homes and the withdrawal of foreign troops from Cyprus. It is with the use and the threat of further use of American arms that our refugees have been driven out and are still kept away from their homes. Peace, freedom and human rights are being suppressed and defenceless people are being oppressed with American arms in the hands of the Turks.

"Without wanting to mix in the internal affairs of the United States, I emphatically say that resumption of the supply of arms to Turkey will be disastrous to the cause of peace in our region".

Partial lifting

In October 1975, after assurances from the Administration, Congress voted in favour of a partial lifting of the embargo. It was the Administration's belief that Congress' inflexible stand on the subject, constituted an impediment to efforts to convince Turkey to make concessions and therefore some flexibility on the part of the American Legislative Bodies was essential.

With the partial lifting of the ban, President Ford promised to make great efforts to encourage the resumption of the talks in Cyprus and undertook to submit a report to Congress every 60 days "on progress

being made towards a solution of the Cyprus question". The first report was submitted on December 8, 1975, and was full of optimism which did not diminish in the following reports (February 5, April 9, June 7, e.t.c.), despite the absence of any indication of goodwill on the part of the Turkish side, and signs that her position had hardened, as shown by new demands.

While the embargo against Turkey was in force NATO military circles and Pentagon circles never ceased to ask for the lifting of the embargo and saw to it that Turkey received military material through West European countries. The American Secretary of State Dr. Kissinger did not cease to support the Turkish stand. The Turkish Government, for its part, was trying to justify abroad the 1974 invasion using all the means at its disposal and resorted to an unprecedented propaganda campaign against Cyprus and Greece. Circles in Britain and West Germany, close to NATO, supported Turkey's stand on Cyprus and her demand on the Aegean. The attempt to lift the embargo in July 1975, was part of the efforts exerted by the friends of Turkey.

On July 25, Government circles in Nicosia expressed satisfaction with Congress' decision to continue the ban on shipments of arms to Turkey. The same circles expressed the hope that other countries which Turkey might approach for supplies of arms, would follow suit.

The embargo, which, according to the friends of Turkey, had caused great security problems to the Turkish economy in general, was a subject which the Western press had taken great advantage of. In March 1976, friends of Turkey in the Pentagon and NATO managed to secure a large amount of economic aid for Turkey in exchange for the reopening of American bases.

On March 31, 1976, the Government Spokesman stated that:

"The new agreement between the U.S. and Turkey by which great economic aid is granted to Turkey for the re-opening of the American bases there, will, undoubtedly, have adverse effects on the efforts towards a solution of the Cyprus problem.

"Following the aid secured, the Turkish Government's stand on Cyprus becomes more intransigent, the more so because, as has been stated by both sides, the Cyprus question can in no way be associated with the question of aid to Turkey and no condition has been set for Turkish concessions for a Cyprus settlement.

"It is to be regretted that, instead of the expected exertion of greater pressure on Turkey for the adoption by her of a more conciliatory stand on Cyprus, she is given the possibilities of continuing her expansionist policy which destroys the independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus and endangers peace in the area".

Jimmy Carter's policies

1976 was a year of electoral campaigns in the U.S. The Democratic candidate, Jimmy Carter, throughout his electoral campaign and during private meetings with leading Greek-Americans, did not fail to declare that after he was elected President, he would make the resumption of aid to Turkey conditional on the restoration of justice in Cyprus, the withdrawal of the forces of occupation and the full respect for human rights in Cyprus so flagrantly violated by Turkey.

Carter's election to the Presidency justifiably raised the hopes of the people of Cyprus. The President of the Republic Archbishop Makarios himself in a message of congratulations to the newly elected President remarked that: "Your victory was welcomed with much joy by the Greek Cypriot people who have greatly appreciated your constructive stand on the Cyprus problem as clearly set out in your statements during your electoral campaign. We consider your victory as a victory of the democratic principles of the American people..."

Furthermore, even after the victory of the Democrats at the time and until the new President took up his duties, the U.S. Vice-President elect Mr. Mondale in a letter to Greek-American Organisations stressed: "I have very strong reservations over the wisdom of granting arms assistance to Turkey in the light of that country's continuing inability to show the needed flexibility in helping to reach a just settlement that will allow the return of the refugees to their homes, and ensure Cyprus' independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. Moreover, I take particular exception to supplying arms assistance as an incentive to make Turkey more amenable to negotiating fairly".

Mr. Mondale criticised Turkey's policy on Cyprus for its continued expulsions of Greek Cypriots from their homes in the occupied areas and added:

"As you know from my past record, I have not supported Administration requests to provide Turkey with military assistance. Therefore, in my consideration of any request for such assistance, I will weight very heavily any steps taken by Turkey that will alleviate the unfortunate situation persisting on Cyprus".

After the Carter Administration came to power no changes took place in the State Department's policy which, on the contrary, continued its efforts to portray Turkey's "good faith" internationally.

The State Department circles that wanted the lifting of the embargo, took great pains to project Turkey's "good faith" internationally. The Turkish Government "agreed" to negotiations in Vienna. While President Carter's envoy Mr. Clifford talked of a solution to the Cyprus problem sometime in 1977, Turkey's intransigence was growing.

When on April 18, 1977, the government spokesman was called to

comment on press reports saying that President Carter's report to Congress talked of progress at the Vienna talks, he made the following statement:

"In President Carter's report no mention is made of progress in the Vienna talks. On the contrary, it is stressed that there has been no breakthrough in the deadlock and that the two sides are still far apart in their views. The Cyprus Government, having in mind the official text of the report, does not intend to make any demarche to the American Government. President Carter's report would not possibly speak of progress since talks which have led to the conclusion that the gap in the views of the two sides is bigger than previously, cannot be considered as constituting progress. The Foreign Ministry is in touch with the U.S. Embassy in Nicosia and, through the Cyprus Embassy in Washington, with the State Department, and is keeping a close watch on the whole situation so as to make sure that any developments will take place on the basis of the Vienna Communiqué and the statements of the Representative of the Greek Cypriot side at the intercommunal talks".

Turkish blackmail of the Americans continued undiminished and the support of a large section of the American and European press for Turkish positions, increased.

On October 19, 1977, the government spokesman commenting on information that the Carter Administration, supported by certain E.E.C. countries headed by West Germany, had prepared a plan for the solution of the Cyprus problem, in conjunction with the lifting of the American embargo and the restoration of unity of NATO south-eastern flank, stated:

"We are aware that efforts of a procedural nature are being made for the resumption of the talks. In any case, it is well known that the stand of the Cyprus Government is that the resumption of the talks presupposes the submission of comprehensive proposals on the Turkish side and that the talks must be substantive."

On December 8, 1977, the government spokesman when asked to comment on reported moves in the ranks of NATO concerning the Cyprus problem, stated the following:

"The Cyprus Government does not exclude the display of interest by anyone in the Cyprus problem, as long as the relevant efforts strengthen the work of the U.N. Secretary-General and aim at a solution within the framework of and in keeping with the United Nations resolutions, the latest of which recommends practical measures for compliance by Turkey with the decisions of the World Organisation.

"According to press reports, the NATO Secretary-General, Mr. Luns, has stated that the American arms embargo against Turkey, is not in

harmony with the general policy of this military Organisation. We do not want to interfere in the policy of the said Organisation which, no doubt, knows that Turkey's action against Cyprus constitutes an aggression and occupation of a substantial part of Cyprus territory. This action clashes with American laws and with every concept of international law. The Cyprus problem is not a dispute between two NATO member-states, Greece and Turkey.

"Besides, according to news agency reports, an American State Department spokesman has described as inaccurate reports that the American Government will submit to the Congress for ratification the defence agreement between Turkey and the United States. The American spokesman's statement has been received with satisfaction and we expect that official American assurances to Cyprus, that the arms embargo against Turkey will not be lifted before progress is made in the Cyprus problem, will be kept. Recent statements by the Turkish Foreign Minister Mr. Chaglayangil on the Cyprus problem in no way constitute progress and there is no indication so far that the Turkish side is prepared to take action which would help break the existing deadlock".

In the spring of 1978, the supporters of the lifting of the embargo on Turkey in the State Department and among NATO military circles and in the Pentagon, exerted new efforts to mislead public opinion in Cyprus and in the U.S. in view of the discussion of the subject of the embargo in the American Senate.

The government spokesman, referring to the decision of the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee against lifting of the arms embargo against Turkey, stated on May 12, 1978:

"The Cyprus Government expresses its satisfaction with the fact that the Senate Foreign Relations Committee has rejected by a large majority the proposal to lift the arms embargo against Turkey. The decision is both correct and fair. The Cyprus Government is confident that recent developments in the U.S. House of Representative and yesterday's decision of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee will finally lead to continuation of the embargo. This would be in line with the principles of justice, since the reasons for which the embargo was imposed, that is the Turkish aggression against Cyprus, the occupation of Cyprus territory by Turkish troops equipped with American weapons and the continuing violation of Human Rights, continue to exist".

Foreign circles again instigated Denktash to make a move to show to the world and particularly the American Senate the alleged Turkish "conciliatory attitude" and "good faith". On July 21, 1978, the government spokesman, referring to local criticism concerning the way and the haste with which the President of the Republic Mr. Spyros Kyprianou handled the so-called Denktash "proposal" regarding a section of Varosha town, stated that the President of the Republic knew two days earlier that Mr.

Denktash would make this proposal unfortunately inspired by a senior official of the American State Department.

The Government Spokesman described the way in which a State Department spokesman came forward to openly adopt and explain the Denktash "proposal", as inadmissible. No doubt, the target of this attempt, the spokesman added, was neither the resumption of the talks nor the solution of the Varosha problem.

The State Department spokesman in a statement on July 20, 1978, described "Denktash's new contribution as positive and indicative of the desire of the Turkish Cypriot side to show a conciliatory stand for a sustained and just solution of the Cyprus problem". The American official added that the Denktash proposal would contribute to the resumption of the intercommunal talks and expressed "the hope that the Greek Cypriot side would respond in an equally conciliatory and willing manner".

Embargo lifted

On July 25, 1978, the American Senate lifted the embargo on Turkey by 57 votes in favour and 42 against.

The Government Spokesman made the following statement on July 26:

"The decision of the U.S. Senate to lift the embargo, despite the limitations and conditions imposed, does not cease to be an action that contributes to hardening Turkish intransigence, on account of which no progress has been made towards a solution to the Cyprus problem, and to constitute violation of American laws, the more so since the invasion and occupation of Cyprus territory by Turkish troops equipped with American arms in continuing.

"The Cyprus people are possessed by a feeling of bitterness and discontent over this decision, and we want to hope that the U.S. House of Representatives will not adopt it".

On July 31, 1978, the government spokesman when asked about the prospects regarding the embargo, stated that the situation continues to be uncertain, but the Government hopes that either the embargo will not be lifted or if it is lifted, it will be lifted under conditions and limitations. It would then be up to Turkey to determine its attitude in the light of the new situation.

On August 1, 1978, the U.S. Congress lifted the arms embargo on Turkey by 208 votes in favour and 205 against, by the following decision:

**Final Formulation of the Decision
on the Lifting of the Arms Embargo Against Turkey
as Approved on 14.8.79 by the U.S. Congressional Committee**

Sec. 16(A). Section 620(X) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 shall be of no further force and effect upon the President's determination and certification to the Congress that the resumption of full military co-operation with Turkey is in the national interest of the United State and in the interest of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation and that the Government of Turkey is acting in good faith to achieve a just and peaceful settlement of the Cyprus problem, the early peaceable return of refugees to their homes and properties, the continued removal of Turkish military troops from Cyprus in the context of a solution to the Cyprus problem and the early serious resumption of the intercommunal talks aimed at a just, negotiated settlement.

(B) The Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended by inserting immediately after Section 620B the following new Section:

United States Policy regarding the Eastern Mediterranean.

Sec. 620C (A) The Congress declares that the achievement of a just and lasting Cyprus settlement is and will remain a central objective of United States foreign policy. The Congress further declares that any action of the United States with respect to Section 620(X) of this Act shall not signify a lessening of the United States commitment to a just solution to the conflict on Cyprus but is authorised in the expectation that this action will be conducive to achievement of a Cyprus solution and a general improvement in relations among Greece, Turkey and Cyprus and between those countries and the United States. The Congress finds that:

“(1) A just settlement on Cyprus must involve the establishment of a free and independent Government on Cyprus and must guarantee that the human rights of all of the people of Cyprus are fully protected.

“(2) A just settlement on Cyprus must include withdrawal of Turkish military forces from Cyprus.

“(3) The guidelines for intercommunal talks agreed to in Nicosia in February 1977, and the United Nations resolutions regarding Cyprus provide a sound basis for negotiation of a just settlement on Cyprus.

“(4) Serious negotiations, under United Nations auspices, will be necessary to achieve agreement on, and implementation of, constitutional terms within such guidelines, and

“(5) The recent proposals by both Cypriot communities regarding the

return of the refugees to the city of new Famagusta (Varosha) constitute a positive step and the United States should actively support the efforts of the Secretary General of the United Nations with respect to this issue.

“(B) The United States policy regarding Cyprus, Greece and Turkey shall be directed towards the restoration of a stable and peaceful atmosphere in the Eastern Mediterranean region and shall, therefore, be governed by the following principles:

“(1) The United States shall actively support the resolution of differences through negotiations and internationally established peaceful procedures, shall encourage all parties to avoid provocative actions and shall strongly oppose any attempt to resolve disputes through force or threat of force.

“(2) The United States will accord full support and high priority to efforts, particularly those of the United Nations, to bring about a prompt, peaceful settlement on Cyprus.

“(3) All defence articles furnished by the United States to countries in the Eastern Mediterranean region will be used only in accordance with the requirements of this Act, the Arms Export Control Act and the Agreements under which those defence articles were furnished.

“(4) The United States will furnish security assistance for Greece and Turkey only when furnishing that assistance is intended solely for defensive purposes, including when necessary to enable the recipient country to fulfill its responsibilities as a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation and shall be designed to insure that the present balance of military strength among countries of the region, including Greece and Turkey, is preserved. Nothing in this paragraph shall be construed to prohibit the transfer of arms to Greece or Turkey for legitimate self-defence or to enable Greece or Turkey to fulfill their NATO obligations.

“(5) The United States shall use its influence to ensure the continuation of the ceasefire on Cyprus until an equitable negotiated settlement is reached.

“(6) The United States shall use its influence to achieve the withdrawal of Turkish military forces from Cyprus in the context of a solution to the Cyprus problem.

“(C) Because progress towards a Cyprus settlement is a high priority of United States policy in the Eastern Mediterranean, the President and the Congress shall continually review that progress and shall determine United States policy in the region accordingly. To facilitate such a review the President shall, within 60 days after the date of enactment of this section and at the end of each succeeding 60-day period, transmit to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the Chairman of the

Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate, a report on progress made towards the conclusion of a negotiated solution of the Cyprus problem. Such transmissions shall include any relevant reports prepared by the Secretary-General of the United Nations for the Security Council.

“(D) In order to ensure that United States assistance is furnished consistent with the policies established in this section, the President shall, whenever requesting any funds for security assistance under this act of the Arms Export Control Act for Greece and Turkey, transmit to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the Chairman of the Committee on foreign relations of the Senate his certification, with a full explanation thereof, that the furnishing of such assistance will be consistent with the principles set forth in sub-section (B).

The President shall also submit such a certification with any notification to the Congress, pursuant to Section 36 (B) of the Arms Export Control Act, of a proposed sale of defence articles or services to Greece or Turkey”.

Cypriot President's statement on lifting

On August 3, 1978, Cyprus President Mr. Spyros Kyprianou, made a statement regarding the lifting of the embargo, describing the decision as a heavy blow to human rights, international law, the principles of the United Nations and also to American Laws.

The text is as follows:

“It is to be regretted that a big power such as the United States, should have given in to the blackmail of an ally, namely Turkey, who has committed and continues to commit all kinds of crimes against both the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots.

Only those who are not concerned about justice, freedom, human rights and democracy in Cyprus are rejoicing over this decision”.

The President pointed out that the change in the attitude of the American Administration and the Congress on the subject of the embargo was tantamount to indirect legalisation of the invasion and the crime which was perpetrated and continues to be perpetrated by Turkey against Cyprus, with American arms.

The President stressed that with the decision to lift the embargo, both the U.S. Administration and Congress are assuming enormous responsibilities and obligations towards Cyprus and the area.

The President said that the decision will inevitably lead to exacerbation of the situation in the area. The Cyprus people will continue their hard struggle for the implementation of United Nations resolutions pru-

dently and coolly, but also with determination, until vindication, despite all adversities.

He added:

"We shall wait to see what the next moves of the United States will be and we shall handle the serious problems arising from the lifting of the embargo accordingly".

"We have hopes that Turkey will comply with the conditions set — that Turkey will act in good faith for a just solution of the Cyprus problem and that the return of the refugees to their homes and properties and the withdrawal of the Turkish troops will be secured".

President Kyprianou praised the attitude of almost half the members of both Houses of Congress who till the last moment struggled to defend the rights of Cyprus, universal ideals, the Charter of the United Nations, human rights and, above all, to uphold U.S. Laws.

"The people of Cyprus are truly grateful to them" he stated.

The President praised the Greek community in the United States for the enormous task they accomplished, about which he said: "I am sure they will continue because the struggle for the freedom of Cyprus, far from ending, is now entering, perhaps, its most crucial phase".

Foreign Minister's statement

On August 16, 1978, on the occasion of the U.S. Congressional Committee decision on the embargo, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. N.A. Rolandis, made the following statement:

"The Cyprus Government continues to believe that the decision to lift the embargo, does not in itself pave the way for favourable developments as regards the prospects for a solution to the Cyprus problem and this because — as proved by long experience reinforced also by recent statements of Turkish leaders — Ankara does not show any intention to abandon its negative approach to the Cyprus problem.

Nevertheless, the decision of the U.S. Congressional Committee, as formulated in the final text of the Bill repealing the embargo, contains positive elements because:

(a) The conditions set maintain to some extent a link between the supply of military equipment and military aid to Turkey and the display of good faith by that country in its Cyprus policy.

(b) The compliance demanded of Turkey with the conditions set blunts to some extent the unfavourable impressions created in Cyprus

by the decision to lift the embargo and makes it possible for the United States to exert the necessary influence in the direction of Ankara.

(c) The leverage which has been maintained — though to a reduced degree — by the conditions set can, if properly used by the U.S.A., which by its decision is assuming increased responsibilities both towards Cyprus and the United Nations, contribute to the overall effort to break the present deadlock to which Turkish intransigence has led the Cyprus problem and facilitate the finding of a solution to the problem, in accordance with the United Nations resolutions.

The Cyprus Government expects that the parties concerned will duly comply with the necessary prerequisites included in the final text".

Government Spokesman's statement

On August 26, 1978, the Government Spokesman on the occasion of a visit to Cyprus by U.S. State Department Official Mr. Nimetz stated:

"As regards Mr. Nimetz's visit to Cyprus, the United States, in view of its decision to lift the embargo, is shouldering more responsibilities for the promotion of a solution to the Cyprus problem based on the U.N. resolutions.

It is recalled, in this respect, that in the final text of the decision of the two U.S. Houses of Congress on the repeal of the embargo it is stated clearly that any initiative of the U.S. Administration for the furthering of the Cyprus problem must be within the framework of the U.N. resolutions".