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PREM 19/157

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Confidential Filing

The PM's meeting with Mr Alexos  
Michaelides, President of the Cyprus House  
of Representatives

CYPRUS

March 1980

Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date
<del>25-3-80</del>							
<del>29-10-80</del>							
3-11-80							
26.11.80							

**CLOSED**

PREM 19/157

CONFIDENTIAL



FILE  
CYPRUS

Subject

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

26 November 1980

Dear Paul,

Call by Mr. Michaelides

The 'President of the Cyprus House of Representatives' called on the Prime Minister yesterday afternoon. Apart from the usual courtesies, the conversation was entirely devoted to the present situation in Cyprus.

Mr. Michaelides told the Prime Minister that in his view the inter-communal talks now taking place under UN auspices would not bring results. The Turkish Cypriot side were not ready for a solution. There would have to be some parallel diplomatic activity. The longer the present situation continued the more difficult it would be to solve. If another five years passed, the gap between the two sides would be unbridgeable. But people should not be under the illusion that partition would be an acceptable solution. Deadlock would be bound to have the most serious repercussions. As it was, the Left was gaining dangerously in strength. It was exerting more influence as the Greek Cypriots became increasingly frustrated. The frustration had shown itself in criticism of his own visit to the United Kingdom. It might well in due course be turned against the Sovereign Base Areas.

Mr. Michaelides said that the situation might well be worse after the forthcoming Parliamentary elections. He thought that these were likely to lead to increasing polarisation within the Greek Cypriot community. The Left favoured direct confrontation with Mr. Clerides. They sought to gain strength by driving the moderates out of politics. A further complication would be that the elections would show that President Kyprianou only enjoyed the support of a small minority. The economy was also likely to deteriorate. Growing unemployment would lead to additional discontent. Inflation was now running at 15 per cent which was very high compared with past levels.

The Prime Minister asked whether the change of regime in Turkey would be of any help. Mr. Michaelides said that he thought it might make progress easier. The military regime were in firmer control of the situation than their civilian predecessors had been. Moreover, they would not have to go beyond the principles already conceded by the politicians. They merely had to implement the proposition that Cyprus was one country. However the Cyprus crisis was itself merely one symptom of the more general Turkish crisis

/which found

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CONFIDENTIAL

- 2 -

which found its roots in repeated failures to tackle basic problems. Mr. Michaelides did not explain in detail what he meant by parallel diplomatic action. But he made clear that he thought no-one was better placed than the United Kingdom to help. He thought that we, backed by the European Community and the United States, should try to "seek the specifics in the problem". The present process would get nowhere. The eventual consequence of the present stalemate would be unrest and a very difficult situation. The Prime Minister did not comment on Mr. Michaelides' references to possible action by the United Kingdom. She merely said that Mr. Michaelides' account had been a depressing one and that, given the strategic importance of Cyprus, a solution was needed very badly.

*Yours ever*

*Nicholas Alexander*

Paul Lever, Esq.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

CONFIDENTIAL

CALL ON THE PRIME MINISTER BY MR ALECOS MICHAELIDES, 'PRESIDENT OF THE CYPRUS HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES ': TUESDAY 25 NOVEMBER

POINTS TO MAKE

Cyprus Problem

1. Delighted at continuation of talks. UN are handling well. Your assessment?
2. We ready to help; actively following backstage; but important not to cut across UN.
3. Main thing is to keep talks going, making progress where possible, pending conjuncture of strong flexible governments in Ankara and Nicosia able to make necessary major concessions.
4. Basis for settlement remains Turkish concession of territory (main point for negotiations at present), and Greek concession of constitution giving Turks effective self-government, including security. Hence inevitably restrictions on freedom of movement/ settlement, at least initially.

Cyprus Internal

5. Greek Cypriot scene confusing. Is power of left growing?

Sovereign Base Areas

6. Sovereign Base Areas important to Western interests. Grateful Cypriot cooperation. (Defensive.) Considering your aide memoire on aid; but reply is unlikely to show change in our position.

Students' Fees (Defensive)

7. Regret decision to raise fees firm.

BACKGROUNDMichaelides' Visit

1. He is invited (COI Category I) as leading Greek Cypriot politician, not as 'President of the House of Representatives'. Treatment as Mr Speaker Thomas' opposite number would imply recognition of Greek Cypriot 'parliament', which does not function in accordance with 1960 Treaties.

UK Interests in Cyprus

2. These arise from:
- (a) our continuing need for Sovereign Base Areas;
  - (b) need to preserve peace between Greek and Turkish allies;
  - (c) our residual role as guarantor power;
  - (d) Cypriot community in UK.

Cyprus Problem

3. Between 1963, when bicomunal constitution broke down, and 1974, Turkish Cypriots were enclaved and harassed by Greeks. Since Turkish invasion in 1974, de facto partition on ground. Only possible basis for settlement is loose biregional federation, with Greek Cypriots conceding, in constitution, effective Turkish Cypriot autonomy; and Turkish Cypriots conceding substantial territory (at present 20% of population, occupying nearly 40% of Republic). UK, with US and Canada, proposed this in 1978. Both sides rejected it; but it led indirectly to current UN initiative.

4. Intercommunal talks under UN auspices resumed 16 September after lapse of over a year. Serious risk that last year's breakdown could recur. UN therefore deliberately started talks at slow pace with one meeting per week and four agenda items taken weekly in rotation: Varosha (Greek suburb of Famagusta, now in Turkish hands); goodwill measures; constitution; and territory.

5. Atmosphere generally good; Greek Cypriot restraint in not pursuing traditional propaganda victory at UN General Assembly has helped. Initial bargaining positions have been set out and some common ground identified, but not on essentials. Greek Cypriot

/constitutional

constitutional proposals remain maximalist, eg, insisting on complete freedom of movement/settlement immediately. But Greeks leaving room for manoeuvre, whereas Turks have pointedly refused to make any territorial proposals at all. (This refusal, if prolonged, constitutes greatest threat to talks at present.)

6. Talks will recess for month over Christmas. Way forward uncertain. Dr Waldheim reportedly favours interim package of concessions by Turks on Varosha and Greeks on goodwill measures, eg, economic 'blockade'. But this presents problems: Turks unwilling to yield major card in exchange for promises on which Greeks could renege; Greeks reluctant to make concessions implying recognition of Turkish Cypriot 'state'. Little prospect of breakthrough. Military government in Ankara heavily preoccupied at home; anxious not to be seen as cause of breakdown; but reluctant to push hard-line Turkish Cypriot leadership to concessions. Greek Cypriot government probably too weak to be flexible.

#### Cyprus Internal

7. President Kyprianou weak and discredited. His party has split. Others, notably and most recently Michaelides, forming parties to compete for the 'Makarios' centre votes in parliamentary and Presidential elections (due in spring 1981 and 1983 respectively). Fragmentation of the centre likely to benefit communist and extreme left parties and perhaps Clerides' right wing Rally party. But Michaelides probably the leading Presidential candidate.

#### SBAS

8. Growing criticism from Greek Cypriot left wing. Cyprus Government on the whole cooperative. But important to avoid drift into untenable situation.

9. Need to contain pressures led Cypriots to claim £250 m British aid, which they sometimes depict as payment for costs to them arising from SBAs, and which they regard as their right under 1960 Treaty. We deny this. We are 'considering' latest aide memoire (which they know to be hopeless), pending an essentially negative reply; but our policy is to play issue long and low-key.

/Student

Student Fees

10. Strong Cypriot protests at decision to increase overseas students' fees to full cost. Cypriots claim they suffer particularly because no university in Cyprus and educational system UK-oriented. Efforts within Whitehall to secure special treatment for them have failed.

Foreign and Commonwealth Office  
20 November 1980



ALECOS MICHAELIDES

'President of (Greek Cypriot) ~~the~~ House of Representatives' since September 1977.

Born 1933. Studied Liverpool (handicrafts) and USA (business). Established own industrial/tourist business 1972. Manager of Paphos Beach Hotel 1974.

Democratic Party (DEKO) MP and spokesman 1976. Succeeded Kyprianou as President of the House 1977. Critical of Kyprianou's lack of leadership. After long hesitation, broke with DEKO to form his own centre group, the New Democratic Party (NDP), with 6 members in the 35 House of Representatives, in September.

His performance has been capable and at times impressive; (he acts as President when Kyprianou is abroad). Despite close links with the Church, his views are generally moderate, especially in private. Compared with Kyprianou, has a youthful and dynamic image. Intelligent, but indecisive and inexperienced. His first goal is to gain sufficient NDP seats in the spring election to ensure reelection as President of the House. His standing as front runner for the Presidency in 1983 depends on this.

Married: three children. He and his wife speak good English.

VISIT OF MR ALECOS MICHAELIDES: 22-28 NOVEMBER 1980

22 November

Arrives (Flt BA 749 from Dusseldorf). Met and escorted to Hyde Park Hotel.

24 November

- 0915 Dept of Industry to meet Miss M Mueller, Deputy Secretary Regional Development then
- 1020 Mr L Lightman, Under Secretary Regional Policy and Development Grants Division.
- 1230 Lunch at the Tate Gallery restaurant with HE Mr S S Ramphal Commonwealth Secretary-General.
- PM Dept of Environment.
- Evening Speaker's dinner.

25 November

- 1045 Palace of Westminster to meet Sir Robin Vanderfelt, Secretary-General, Commonwealth Parliamentary Association.
- 1130 Mr Peter Cobb, Secretary of CPA, followed by pre-lunch drinks with other CPA members.
- 1545 Meeting with Prime Minister.
- Evening Reception and dinner by British/Cyprus Parliamentary group.

26 November

- 1100 Dept of Education to meet Secretary of State, Mr Mark Carlisle
- 1300 for Lunch at Lancaster House given by Mr Hurd, Minister of  
1315 State, FCO.
- 1530 Meeting with Lord Privy Seal (provisional).
- Evening Visit to theatre

27 November

Day spent visiting the New Forest and Beaulieu (stately home) and its enterprises.

Night spent at Chewton Glen Hotel.

28 November

Return to London: depart to Cyprus Flt BA 586 on 29 November

CYPRUS: VITAL STATISTICS

1. Population and Land Area (whole island)

(a) Land Area	9251 km <sup>2</sup> of which:
	59.2% Greek Cypriot controlled
	35.1% Turkish Cypriot controlled
	2.77% Sovereign Base Areas
	3% Buffer zone
(b) Population	620,000
	(505,000 Greek Cypriots)
	(115,000 Turkish Cypriots)

2. Political Parties (strength in House of Representatives)

Democratic Party (DEKO) (supporting President Kyprianou)	11
AKEL (communist)	9
New Democracy Party (Mr Michaelides)	6
EDEK (extreme left)	4
Centre Union	3
Independent	1
Democratic Rally (right)	1
	<hr/>
TOTAL	35
	<hr/>

3. Gross National Product (Greek Cypriot Section)

	<u>1978</u>
(a) Total	US\$1,370m
(b) Growth Rate (1974-79)	11%per annum approx.
(c) Per Capita	US\$2,110

4. Trade with UK

	<u>1980</u> (est)
UK Exports to Cyprus	£118.8m
UK Imports from Cyprus	£113.9m
UK Share of Cyprus Imports	20%
UK Share of Cyprus Exports	23%
Position in UK's Export League Table (1979)	50th (of 150)

Cyprus



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

21 November 1980

for Paul

Dear Michael,

Cyprus: Call on the Prime Minister by

Mr Michaelides: 25 November

I enclose a brief for the Prime Minister's use during this call, together with a personality note on Mr Michaelides, a copy of his programme and a sheet of vital statistics.

Yours OBR

Paul

(P Lever)  
Private Secretary

M O'D B Alexander Esq  
No 10 Downing Street  
LONDON SW1



BACKGROUNDMichaelides' Visit

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Foreign and Commonwealth Office  
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21 NOV 1980



TR1/985

*for call on Tuesday 25 Nov.*

CENTRAL OFFICE OF INFORMATION

Background note on

His Excellency Mr Alecos MICHAELIDES  
President of the House of Representatives and  
Deputy Leader of the Democratic Party

CYPRUS

~~12 - 19 May 1980~~

---

His Excellency Mr Alecos Michaelides will be visiting Britain as a guest of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office and the Central Office of Information and the Welsh Office have been asked to prepare his official programme.

Mr Michaelides is 47 years old and was elected to the House of Representatives in 1976. He has held his present position as President of the House of Representatives since 1977. He also acts as President of the Republic when President Kyprianou is abroad.

He was educated locally and in UK (Chester College, Liverpool University), where he received a diploma in handicrafts. Initially a school teacher but eventually became Director of the Xeros Technical School in 1960. Later he studied in the USA and obtained an MSc degree at Georgia University, Atlanta. On his return to Cyprus he worked as a senior administrative officer in several industrial enterprises and in 1972 established his own business in the industrial and tourist field. In 1974 he was appointed Manager of the Paphos Beach Hotel by the owners, the Kykko Monastery.

Mr Michaelides has travelled widely in his official capacity and although he has visited Britain many times privately, this will be his first official visit to this country. His programme will include discussions on political affairs, regional development and education.

Mr Michaelides will be accompanied by his wife and both speak good English.

---

Programme Organiser:

Miss Suzanne Stanton  
Overseas Visitors and Information Studies Division  
Central Office of Information  
Hercules Road, London SE1

Tel. 01-928 2345, Ext 748

23 April 1980

20 NOV 1980



Carpus

BIF. 21/11/80

Confirmed with G. R.  
that the invitation has  
been replied to

RFJ  
3/11/80.

Please retain this note  
on file.



Mr Speaker

Speaker's Office House of Commons London SW1A 0AA

31st October 1980

*Dear Miss Stephens.*

Thank you so much for your letter about Mr Michaelides. I need hardly say that the Speaker is exceedingly grateful to the Prime Minister.

I will certainly send you a note on the individual nearer the time.

*Yours sincerely,*

*Leeds*

Miss Caroline Stephens  
Private Secretary  
10 Downing Street  
London SW1.





Mr Speaker

## The Speaker

requests the pleasure of the company of

*Speaker  
J. T. P.  
3/11/16*

The Rt. Hon. the Prime Minister and Mr. Denis Thatcher

in the State Rooms, Speaker's House

on Monday, 24<sup>th</sup> November

Please reply to  
Speaker's Secretary (Invitations)  
House of Commons  
London SW1A 0AA

Dinner 8.00 for 8.30 p.m.  
Black tie

BIF 21-11-80

CYPRUS

OS

file



10 DOWNING STREET

*From the Private Secretary*

29 October 1980

The Prime Minister is going to meet with Mr. Alecos Michaelides, the President of the Cyprus House of Representatives on Tuesday 25 November. This request came via the Speaker.

I would be grateful if your office could supply a background brief by close of play on Friday 21 November.

CAROLINE STEPHENS

Christopher Jebb, Esq.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

OS



10 DOWNING STREET

*From the Private Secretary*

29 October 1980

Thank you for your letter of 28 October about Mr. Alecos Michaelides.

The Prime Minister would be delighted to meet him and, Parliamentary duties permitting, Tuesday 25 November at 1545 in her room at the House of Commons would be most convenient. I would be grateful if you could, nearer the time, send us a background note on this gentleman.

CAROLINE STEPHENS

Sir Noel Short, M.B.E., M.C.

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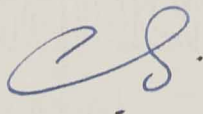
PRIME MINISTER

The attached letter from the Speaker's Secretary asks whether you would see Mr. Alecos Michaelides, the President of the Cyprus House of Representatives. He was in fact due to come in the summer, and you had agreed to see him, but this had to be cancelled at short notice.

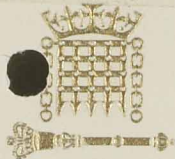
Sir Noel Short suggests Tuesday, 25 November at 1545, following Questions. This is the day after you return from Rome and apparently you will not have to make a statement and therefore this time would be convenient.

Agree?

Yes Mr.



28 October 1980



Mr Speaker

Speaker's Office House of Commons London SW1A 0AA

28th October 1980

*Dear Miss Stephens.*

Earlier this year the Prime Minister very kindly undertook to receive Mr Alec Michaelides, the President of the Cyprus House of Representatives, for a brief conversation: your letter of 25th March refers. In the event, as you may recall, the visit was cancelled as Mr Michaelides had to stand in for the Head of State.

It has now been resurrected, and he is due here from 24th to 28th November. If the Prime Minister could once again find time to receive him for a few minutes, the Speaker would be exceedingly grateful. From our point of view the most convenient time would be after Prime Minister's Questions on Tuesday, 25th November; say at 3.45 p.m. But obviously we should meet the P.M.'s convenience.

*Yours sincerely.*

*Leeds*

Miss Caroline Stephens  
Private Secretary  
10 Downing Street  
London SW1.

28 OCT 1980

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Mr Speaker

From Sir Noel Short MBE MC.

Speaker's Office House of Commons London SW1A 0AA

26th March 1980

*Cyprus.*  
Conrad *28.*  
*27/3.*  
*turn*

*My dear Clive,*

Thank you so much for your letter of  
21st March about Mr. Michaelides.

The Speaker is extremely grateful to  
the Prime Minister for agreeing to see him,  
and I will be in touch with Miss Stephens  
about details.

*Yours ever,*

*Neil*

Clive Whitmore Esq  
Principal Private Secretary  
10 Downing Street.

MFJ

*Cyprus*

BF 12.5.80

25 March 1980

The Prime Minister is meeting Mr. Alecos Michaelides, the President of the Cyprus House of Representatives, on Tuesday 13 May and I would be grateful if your office could prepare a short background brief. Could this reach us by close of play on 12 May.

CS

Malcolm Adams, Esq.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

*A*



25 March 1980

Further to our conversation on the telephone, I am writing to confirm the Prime Minister would be very happy to see Mr. Alecos Michaelides, the President of the Cyprus House of Representatives, and the meeting will take place at 1600 hours in the Prime Minister's room at the House of Commons on Tuesday 13 May.

You kindly said that you would be letting me have some background information on Mr. Michaelides.

CS

Miss C. Sansbury.

file

21 March 1980

Thank you for your letter of 12 March about the forthcoming visit of Mr. Alecos Michaelides, the President of the Cyprus House of Representatives.

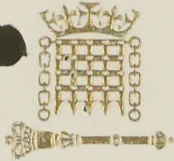
I have consulted the Prime Minister, and she would be very happy to see Mr. Michaelides for 10 or 15 minutes.

Caroline Stephens here in this office will be in touch with your people to arrange the precise date and time.

C. A. WHITMORE

Sir Noel Short, M.B.E., M.C.

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Mr Speaker

From Sir Noel Short MBE MC.

Speaker's Office House of Commons London SW1A 0AA

12th March 1980

*None*  
*Any PPs?*

*My dear Chris,*

I am not sure whether you are aware that Mr. Alecos Michaelides, President of the Cyprus House of Representatives, is expected on an official visit to this country between 12th and 19th May. He will be here as the guest of the Government, although the Speaker, because of his personal acquaintance with Mr. Michaelides, will be playing a prominent part in the arrangements.

I understand from the Speaker that Mr. Michaelides has expressed a hope of meeting the Prime Minister during the course of his visit, if only for a few minutes. Although the Speaker recognises that this is not a formal visit at his own invitation, he hopes very much that the Prime Minister would be able to manage a short meeting nevertheless. If so, we could discuss possible timings.

*Yours ever.*

*Lord*

C A Whitmore Esq  
10 Downing Street  
London SW1.



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COMMUNICATIONS

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