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TELEGRAM NUMBER 203 OF 18 AUGUST 1981

INFO PRIORITY UKMIS NEW YORK, WASHINGTON, ATHENS, ANKARA, PARIS,

BONN, ROME,

INFO SAVING MODUK (DS11) AND CBFC (ACTIONED BY NICOSIA)

MY TELNO 201: CYPRUS: INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS

1. WHEN I SAW THE FOREIGN MINISTER THIS MORNING HE EMPHASISED THE DISAPPOINTMENT FELT BY ALL MEMBERS AT THE NATIONAL COUNCIL MEETING ON 14 AUGUST OVER THE TURKISH PROPOSALS. ROLANDIS SAID THAT EVEN THE MOST MODERATE AND CONSTRUCTIVE MEMBERS, INCLUDING CLERIDES AND AKEL, HAD FELT THAT THE TURKS HAD NOT COME NEARLY FAR ENOUGH TO PROVIDE A BASIS FOR PROGRESS. LYSSARIDES HAD BEEN IN FAVOUR OF REJECTING THE PROPOSALS AND BREAKING OFF THE DIALOGUE. THE DECISION FOR THE COUNCIL HAD BEEN CONFINED TO THE QUESTION WHETHER THE DIALOGUE SHOULD BE CONTINUED, DESPITE THE INADEQUACY OF THE TURKISH PROPOSALS. IN THE EVENT IT HAD BEEN DECIDED TO CONTINUE THE DIALOGUE.

2. REFERRING TO THE TERRITORIAL ASPECTS, ROLANDIS AGAIN SAID THAT THE MOST MINUTE CALCULATIONS CONDUCTED BY MRS SOULIOTIS AND THE LAND REGISTRATION BOARD SHOWED THAT THE TURKS WOULD RETAIN 33.5 PER CENT OF THE TERRITORY OF THE REPUBLIC. THE CYPRIOTS HAD BEEN LED TO BELIEVE, NOT LEAST ON THE BASIS OF THE IMPRESSIONS OF MITSOTAKIS AFTER HIS TALK WITH TURKMEN, THAT THE TURKISH OFFER WOULD BE MUCH BETTER THAN THIS. I SAID THAT I HAD HEARD A FIGURE NEARER 32 PER CENT FOR TERRITORY TO BE RETAINED BY THE TURKISH SIDE BUT IT SEEMED TO ME A NARROW APPROACH TO JUDGE THE TERRITORIAL PROPOSALS ONLY ON A BASIS OF PERCENTAGES. WERE NOT THE PROPOSALS THE BEST WHICH THE GREEK CYPRIOT SIDE HAD SO FAR RECEIVED? THERE HAD BEEN A MOUNTING DEMAND FOR TERRITORIAL PROPOSALS FROM THE TURKISH SIDE. THEY HAD COME, INCLUDING A MAP, AND THIS WAS SURELY A STEP FORWARD IN ITSELF. MOREOVER I GATHERED THAT THE VAROSHA ELEMENT WAS MORE FAVOURABLE TO THE GREEK CYPRIOTS THAN ANYTHING SO FAR PROPOSED.

3. ROLANDIS ACCEPTED THAT THERE HAD BEEN A MOVE. THE FACT THAT THERE WAS A DETAILED MAP WAS CERTAINLY A STEP FORWARD AS WAS THE PRESENTATION OF THE VAROSHA ELEMENT. BUT THESE WERE VERY SMALL STEPS.

4. I ASKED WHAT THEIR TACTIC WOULD NOW BE. I HAD NOTED THE PRESIDENT'S REFERENCES TO A "DEMAND FOR AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE". WHAT DID THIS MEAN? DID THEY HAVE IN MIND SOMETHING LIKE A SPECIAL U.N. SESSION, AND IN WHAT CIRCUMSTANCES?

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*See especially the*  
*last paragraph.*

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5. ROLANDIS SAID THAT THE NEXT MEETING (ON 19 AUGUST) WOULD BE CONCERNED WITH PROCEDURE. THE GREEK CYPRIOT SIDE WOULD ANNOUNCE THEIR DECISION TO CONTINUE THE DIALOGUE BUT WOULD NOT GO FURTHER IN COMMENTING ON THE TURKISH PROPOSALS. AT THE FOLLOWING MEETING THEY WOULD PUT FORWARD A PAPER THE COMPOSITION OF WHICH HAD NOT YET BEEN DECIDED. IT WOULD CERTAINLY CONTAIN AN EXPLANATION OF THE REASONS WHY THE GREEK CYPRIOTS FOUND THE TURKISH PROPOSALS UNACCEPTABLE. BUT BEFORE SETTLING THE FORM OF THIS PAPER THE CYPRIOTS NEEDED TO CONSULT OTHERS, ESPECIALLY THE GREEKS. ROLANDIS SAID THAT DURING HIS VISIT TO ATHENS TODAY AND TOMORROW HE WOULD BE SEEING RALLIS, MITSOTAKIS AND ALL PARTY LEADERS INCLUDING PAPANDREOU. HE DID NOT WISH TO IMPLY THAT THE GREEK GOVERNMENT WOULD MAKE DECISIONS FOR THE CYPRUS GOVERNMENT BUT THE GREEKS ALWAYS SUPPORTED CYPRUS AND THEIR VIEWS WOULD BE OF THE GREATEST IMPORTANCE IN REACHING A DECISION ON THE WAY FORWARD.

6. ROLANDIS SAID THAT THERE HAD BEEN GENERAL AGREEMENT AT THE NATIONAL COUNCIL THAT THE OPPORTUNITY OF RECOURSE TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY SHOULD NOT BE LOST FOR A SECOND TIME. THE FORM THIS WOULD TAKE HAD NOT BEEN DECIDED. HE WOULD BE GOING TO NEW YORK FOR THE SPECIAL SESSION ON NAMIBIA STARTING ON 6 SEPTEMBER AND WOULD TAKE THE OPPORTUNITY TO SOUND OUT THE NON-ALIGNED.

7. MAKING USE OF UKMIS NEW YORK TELNO 734, I SAID THAT THE IDEA OF A SPECIAL SESSION ON CYPRUS SEEMED UNLIKELY TO PROSPER EVEN IF ONE THOUGHT IT A GOOD IDEA. RECOURSE TO THE UN WOULD SURELY BE BOUND TO UNDERMINE THE PROCESS OF THE TALKS WHICH PROVIDED THE BEST PROSPECT FOR PROGRESS. MOREOVER INTERNATIONALISATION MUST PLAY FURTHER INTO THE HANDS OF THE RUSSIANS AND THEIR FRIENDS. DID ROLANDIS THINK THAT HE WOULD HAVE MUCH SUPPORT IN NEW YORK FOR ANY SPECIAL MOVE OR INDEED FOR RECOURSE TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY WHEN THE TURKS HAD JUST MADE AN OFFER ON TERRITORY, HOWEVER INADEQUATE?

8. ROLANDIS SAID THAT THE CYPRUS GOVERNMENT'S PLANS FOR RECOURSE MUST BE SEEN AS CONTINGENCY PLANS. THEY WERE FOR THE EVENT THAT THE TALKS FAILED (HE CONFIRMED THAT BY THIS HE MEANT WERE BROKEN OFF). IN SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES THE GREEK CYPRIOTS WOULD HAVE NO OTHER CHOICE. THEY MUST PREPARE THE GROUND AGAINST THE WORST OUTCOME.

9. ROLANDIS ADDED THAT HE UNDERSTOOD MY POINTS ABOUT A SPECIAL SESSION. ONE POSSIBILITY WOULD BE TO AIM AT SUCH A SESSION AFTER THE FORTHCOMING GENERAL ASSEMBLY IF BY THEN IT WAS CLEAR THAT THE TALKS HAD FAILED. ANOTHER MIGHT BE TO DECLARE THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY STILL IN SESSION FOR CYPRUS IN CASE THERE WERE

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A NEED FOR A SPECIAL MEETING ON CYPRUS. THIS PROCEDURE, OR SOMETHING LIKE IT, HAD BEEN FOLLOWED IN THE CASE OF THE MIDDLE EAST SOME YEARS AGO.

10. I CONCLUDED BY ASKING HIM WHETHER THE CYPRIOT PAPER TO BE PRESENTED AT THE MEETING FOLLOWING THAT ON 19 AUGUST WOULD INCLUDE COUNTER-PROPOSALS. ROLANDIS SAID HE COULD GIVE NO OFFICIAL REPLY SINCE NO DECISION HAD BEEN TAKEN. HE DID NOT HOWEVER RULE OUT THIS POSSIBILITY, BUT THE TURKISH PROPOSALS DID NOT ENCOURAGE MORE THAN A MINIMAL MOVE BY THE GREEK CYPRIOT SIDE.

### COMMENT:

11. DESPITE WHAT HE SAID, I HAD THE IMPRESSION THAT ROLANDIS EXPECTED THAT THE GREEK CYPRIOTS WOULD IN FACT MAKE COUNTER-PROPOSALS, THOUGH THESE WOULD BE VERY LIMITED. I AM STRENGTHENED IN THIS VIEW BY THE FACT THAT THE GREEK AMBASSADOR HAS CONFIRMED TO GOBBI THAT COUNTER-PROPOSALS ARE LIKELY. CLERIDES HAS ALSO TOLD ME THAT HE EXPECTS COUNTER-PROPOSALS TO BE MADE.

12. IT IS CLEAR THAT THE ATTITUDE OF THE GREEK GOVERNMENT, AS ROLANDIS FINDS IT IN ATHENS, WILL PLAY A KEY ROLE IN DETERMINING FUTURE GREEK CYPRIOT TACTICS.

FCO PASS SAVING MODUK (DS11)

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CHAIMS  
CABINET OFFICE

ADDITIONAL DISTN:  
CYPRUS

THIS TELEGRAM  
WAS NOT  
ADVANCED

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[PASSED] AS REQUESTED

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