

GRS 1090
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FM NICOSIA 020840Z FEB 82
TO PRIORITY FCO
TELEGRAM NUMBER 52 OF 2 MARCH
INFO PRIORITY ATHENS, ANAKRA, UKMIS NEW YORK, WASHINGTON, ROUTINE
PARIS, BONN, ROME, UKDEL NATO
INFO SAVING CBFC (ACTIONED NICOSIA)

Cyprus
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Prime Minister
Papandreu's activities in
Cyprus could be raised at
Osaka time.

A.S.C. 3/3

PAPANDREOU'S VISIT

1. PREDICTABLY, DESPITE PREVIOUS GREEK CYPRIOT ASSERTIONS TO THE CONTRARY, SHOW AND RHETORIC PLAYED THE MAJOR PART IN THE VISIT OF THE GREEK PRIME MINISTER WHICH LASTED JUST OVER 48 HOURS. (SINCE IT RAN FROM NOON ON 27 FEBRUARY TO THE AFTERNOON OF 1 MARCH COMMENTATORS, AND PAPANDREOU HIMSELF, DESCRIBED IT AS A 3-DAY VISIT.) WHAT WE SAW HAD THE FLAVOUR OF A CONSUMMATE PERFORMANCE IN AN ELECTION CAMPAIGN.

2. THE TONE WAS SET WHEN ON HIS ARRIVAL PAPANDREOU PROMISED TO CYPRUS THE SUPPORT OF GREECE, QUOTE THE METROPOLIS OF HELLENISM UNQUOTE FOR THE STRUGGLE TO FINAL VICTORY. HE SAID THAT A WORLD-WIDE QUOTE CRUSADE UNQUOTE HAD BEGUN TO PUBLICISE THE QUOTE CRIME COMMITTED AT THE EXPENSE OF THE PEOPLE OF CYPRUS UNQUOTE AND THAT QUOTE INTERNATIONALISATION UNQUOTE OF THE CYPRUS PROBLEM WOULD BRING A HARSH REALITY BEFORE THOSE WHO DID NOT WANT TO KNOW. AS HE PUT IT, WITH THIS NEW PHASE OF THE STRUGGLE QUOTE THE SUN HAS BEGUN TO RISE AT THE END OF THE TUNNEL UNQUOTE.

3. THOUSANDS OF GREEK CYPRIOTS TURNED OUT TO WELCOME THIS FIRST VISIT BY A GREEK PRIME MINISTER : AT THE AIRPORT; AT THE ENTRY TO NICOSIA WHERE HE RECEIVED A SYMBOLIC GOLDEN QUOTE HALF KEY UNQUOTE OF THE CITY; AT THE ARCHBISHOPRIC AND ON THE ROAD TO THE PRESIDENTIAL PALACE. NO DOUBT THE NUMBERS WERE SWELLED BY THE EARLY CLOSURE OF SCHOOLS AND GOVERNMENT OFFICES AND THE CANCELLATION OF SPORTING EVENTS. BUT IT WOULD BE WRONG TO UNDERESTIMATE EITHER THE GENUINE WARMTH OF THE WELCOME FROM ALL SECTIONS OF THE POPULATION, OR THEIR CAPACITY FOR WISHFUL THINKING ABOUT PAPANDREOU'S ABILITY TO BRING CLOSER A SOLUTION OF THE CYPRUS PROBLEM. THIS HE FREQUENTLY EMPHASISED MUST INCLUDE THE REMOVAL OF TURKISH (AND ALL FOREIGN) FORCES FROM THE ISLAND AND THE RETURN OF ALL REFUGEES TO THEIR QUOTE ANCESTRAL HOMES UNQUOTE. THE THEATRICAL ATMOSPHERE WAS EMPHASISED BY THE ARCHBISHOP'S SPEECH WHEN HE PRESENTED PAPANDREOU WITH A GOLD MEDAL OF ST BARNABAS, THE HIGHEST CHURCH HONOUR OF CYPRUS. THE ARCHBISHOP DECRIED WHAT HE DESCRIBED AS THE IDEAS OF WALDHEIM AS WRONGLY SEEING THE PROBLEM AS SIMPLY INTERCOMMUNAL. HE THEN ATTACKED THOSE WHO DESCRIBED POLITICS AS THE QUOTE PURSUIT OF THE POSSIBLE UNQUOTE. WHEN ALL HAS BEEN LOST QUOTE THE IMPOSSIBLE BECOMES POSSIBLE IN THE SOUL AND THOUGHT OF HIM WHO STRUGGLES UNQUOTE.

CONFIDENTIAL

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4. APART FROM GENERAL ATMOSPHERICS FOUR PUBLIC PRONOUNCEMENTS OF PAPANDEOU ARE NOTABLE:

(A) INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS: ON ARRIVAL, AT HIS ADDRESS TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES AND AT HIS PRESS CONFERENCE PAPANDEOU EMPHASISED THAT HE AND KYPRIANOU AGREED THAT THE TALKS SHOULD CONTINUE BUT ADDED THAT THERE WAS NO OPTIMISM ABOUT THEIR LIKELY OUTCOME. HE SAID THAT BOTH HE AND THE PRESIDENT FELT THAT THEY HAD A DUTY NOT TO REJECT ANY MEANS WHICH COULD LEAD TO PROGRESS BUT WENT ON TO REFER TO THE LIKELY QUOTE DEGENERATION UNQUOTE OF THE TALKS AND SAID THAT THERE WAS NO NEED TO WAIT FOR THEIR COLLAPSE BEFORE PROCEEDING ON THE PATH OF INTERNATIONALISATION. AT THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES HE SAID THAT THE TALKS WERE IN ANY CASE NOT CONCERNED WITH THE MOST IMPORTANT ISSUE WHICH COULD BE SUMMED UP IN THE WORD QUOTE OCCUPATION UNQUOTE:

(B) INTERNATIONALISATION OF THE CYPRUS PROBLEM:

APART FROM THE QUOTE CRUSADE UNQUOTE (PARA 1 ABOVE) PAPANDEOU REFERRED TO THE POSSIBILITY OF RECOURSE TO THE UNGA AND OF AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE TO BE HELD UNDER UN AUSPICES. HE SAID THAT BOTH THE GREEK AND CYPRUS GOVERNMENTS AGREED ON THE DESIRABILITY OF SUCH A CONFERENCE AND APPEARED TO ENVISAGE IT AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR A GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION OR AS AN ADDITIONAL MOVE AFTER RECOURSE TO THE GA. HE SAID THAT THE METHOD AND TIMING OF ANY SUCH MOVES WERE A QUESTION OF TACTICS ON WHICH HE COULD NOT ELABORATE:

(C) HE DID NOT DIRECTLY ANSWER A QUESTION ABOUT THE RUMOURS OF QUOTE INTERNATIONAL INITIATIVES UNQUOTE BUT SAID THAT HE WAS NOT THINKING OF FORMAL MEDIATION. IF HE WERE ASKED WHAT INTERNATIONAL FIGURE MIGHT BE PREPARED TO BE HELPFUL HE WOULD NAME WILLI BRANDT:

(D) ASKED ABOUT GREECE'S ROLE AS A GUARANTOR POWER PAPANDEOU SAID THAT THIS CREATED A FORMAL OBLIGATION WHICH HIS GOVERNMENT ACCEPTED. BUT THE REAL POINT WAS THAT A CRIME HAD BEEN COMMITTED AGAINST AN INDEPENDENT MEMBER OF THE UN. HE ADDED THAT WE SHOULD NOT FORGET THAT BRITAIN WAS ALSO A GUARANTOR POWER WHICH HAD NOT FULFILLED ITS DUTY.

COMMENT

5. TO JUDGE FROM HIS PUBLIC PERFORMANCE PAPANDEOU'S AIM WAS TO EMPHASISE THAT HIS ADVENT TO POWER REPRESENTED A GENUINE BREAK WITH THE PAST AND A FRESH START FOR GREECE AND CYPRUS. HE REFERRED TO THE GREAT QUOTE BETRAYAL UNQUOTE REPRESENTED BY THE COUP FOR WHICH GREECE MUST ACCEPT RESPONSIBILITY: BUT THE IMPLICATION WAS THAT HE AND HIS PARTY WERE NOT THE GUILTY ONES AND THAT THEY WOULD NOW WORK GENUINELY TO PUT THINGS RIGHT.

6. CYPRIOTS ARE ALL TOO READY TO BELIEVE THAT OTHERS CAN AND SHOULD SOLVE THEIR PROBLEMS. WITH HIS EMOTIONAL ASSURANCES OF SYMPATHY AND SUPPORT PAPANDEOU WILL HAVE ENCOURAGED THIS ILLUSION. WHATEVER IMMEDIATE POLITICAL BENEFIT PAPANDEOU MAY HAVE ACQUIRED

2
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IN CYPRUS OR IN GREECE, OR KYPRIANOU IN CYPRUS, THE END RESULT WHEN IT BECOMES CLEAR THAT HE CANNOT DELIVER WILL BE EVEN GREATER FRUSTRATION.

7. MUCH OF WHAT PAPANDEOU SAID PUBLICLY WILL BE BOUND TO BE SEEN BY THE TURKS AS PROVOCATIVE. HE REFERRED TO QUOTE TURKISH EXPANSIONISM UNQUOTE AS THE COMMON LINK BETWEEN THE AEGEAN AND CYPRUS PROBLEMS. ON HIS DEPARTURE HE SAID THAT GREECE SOUGHT PEACE IN THE AEGEAN AND THE MEDITERRANEAN BUT THERE WAS NO REASON WHY SHE SHOULD GIVE UP ANY TERRITORY OR AIR SPACE OR WHY SHE SHOULD CONTINUE TO ACCEPT THE OCCUPATION OF ANY PART OF THE REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS. ALL THIS WILL GIVE THE TURKS A PRETEXT, OR REASON, TO GO SLOW IN THE INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS, IF THEY DO NOT REACT IN OTHER WAYS. WHATEVER PAPANDEOU MAY HAVE SAID IN GREECE ITSELF IT IS QUITE ANOTHER THING FOR HIM TO MAKE SUCH A DEMONSTRATION IN CYPRUS.

8. PAPANDEOU'S FAINT PRAISE FOR THE INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS, SET AGAINST HIS OTHER PRONOUNCEMENTS, CAN ONLY FURTHER UNDERMINE THE CREDIBILITY OF THE TALKS.

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FM NICOSIA 241055Z FEB 82

TO IMMEDIATE F C O

TELEGRAM NUMBER 47 OF 24 FEBRUARY 1982

AND IMMEDIATE TO ATHENS, ANKARA, WASHINGTON, INFO PRIORITY UKMIS

NEW YORK, ROUTINE PARIS, BONN, UKDEL NATO

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

PAPANDREOU'S VISIT TO CYPRUS

1. THE CYPRUS FOREIGN MINISTER ASKED ME TO CALL ON 24 FEBRUARY. ROLANDIS SAID THAT THE CYPRIOT AND GREEK AUTHORITIES HAD INFORMATION, PARTLY FROM INTELLIGENCE SOURCES, THAT THE TURKS WERE PLANNING ACTION DESIGNED TO EMBARRASS THE GREEK PRIME MINISTER DURING HIS VISIT TO CYPRUS FROM 27 FEBRUARY TO 1 MARCH. ACCORDING TO ONE SOURCE THE TURKS MIGHT "CREATE INCIDENTS OF A MILITARY NATURE". ANOTHER POSSIBILITY WAS THAT THEY MIGHT FLY MILITARY AIRCRAFT AT LOW ALTITUDE OVER NICOSIA AND OTHER PARTS OF THE REPUBLIC AT IMPORTANT MOMENTS OF THE VISIT, FOR EXAMPLE WHEN PAPANDREOU WAS ADDRESSING THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OR LAYING A WREATH AT THE TOMB OF MAKARIOS.
2. ROLANDIS SAID THAT THE CYPRUS GOVERNMENT HAD DECIDED THAT THE INFORMATION SHOULD BE BROUGHT TO THE NOTICE OF THE PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL TOGETHER WITH AN EXPRESSION OF THEIR SERIOUS CONCERN AT THE EFFECT OF ANY SUCH TURKISH ACTION. IT WOULD OF COURSE NOT BE HELPFUL FOR THE INTERCOMMUNAL DIALOGUE. THE CYPRUS GOVERNMENT HAD NOT DECIDED WHAT THEIR REACTION WOULD BE. ONE CONTINGENCY PLAN WAS TO CALL FOR AN EMERGENCY MEETING OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL.
3. ROLANDIS SAID THAT HIS INSTRUCTIONS WERE TO CONVEY THIS INFORMATION TO THE GOVERNMENTS CONCERNED. HE WAS NOT SPECIFICALLY ASKING THAT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT SHOULD TAKE ANY ACTION. IT MIGHT HOWEVER BE CONSIDERED IN LONDON THAT, IF THERE WAS SUBSTANCE IN THE REPORTS, IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO SPEAK TO THE TURKISH AUTHORITIES IN ADVANCE OF PAPANDREOU'S VISIT WITH A VIEW TO DETERRING THEM FROM CREATING SUCH INCIDENTS.

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14.

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4. I UNDERTOOK TO REPORT WHAT ROLANDIS HAD SAID. I ADDED THAT I HAD NO INFORMATION TO SUPPORT WHAT HE HAD SAID ABOUT POSSIBLE TURKISH INTENTIONS.

5. UNLESS THERE IS GOOD REASON TO SUSPECT THAT THE TURKS PLAN ACTION OF THE KIND SUGGESTED BY ROLANDIS, THERE IS OF COURSE THE RISK THAT ANY FORMAL APPROACH IN ANKARA WOULD SUGGEST THAT WE HAD SWALLOWED A GREEK LINE. YOU MAY WISH TO CONSULT THE AMERICANS. TO BE EFFECTIVE ANY ACTION WOULD NO DOUBT NEED TO BE TAKEN IN CONCERT WITH THEM.

FCO PLEASE PASS SAVING MODUK (DS11)

RHODES

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2

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Prime Minister
You should be aware of
Papandreu's more active policy
on the Cyprus question - and his
desire to "internationalize"
the issue, perhaps through the
European Council.

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FM ATHENS 240930Z FEB 1982

TO PRIORITY FCO TEL NO 65 OF 24 FEB 1982
RPTD PRIORITY INFO NICOSIA, ANKARA, WASHINGTON, BONN
AND UKMIS NEW YORK

A. J. C.

SAVING INFO TO PARIS, ROME, UKDEL NATO, MADRID AND MOSCOW

ATHENS TELNO 63: CALL ON PAPANDREOU, 23 FEBRUARY, CYPRUS

MS

1. I CALLED ON PAPANDREOU ON 23 FEBRUARY. THE APPOINTMENT WHICH HE HAD BEEN UNABLE TO GIVE TO ME BEFORE THE EC HEADS OF MISSION CONFERENCE CAME THROUGH ON THAT DAY, CONVENIENTLY BETWEEN HIS SERIES OF MEETINGS WITH KYPRIANOU IN ATHENS AND THE LIAISON VISIT I SHALL BE MAKING NEXT WEEK TO ANKARA. THE MAIN SUBJECT DISCUSSED WAS CYPRUS: I ALSO RAISED THE QUESTION OF SPAIN AND NATO, AND THE GREEK APPROACH TO THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY, FOR WHICH SEE MY TWO FOLLOWING TELEGRAMS. THE MEETING WHICH TOOK PLACE AT PAPANDREOU'S PRIVATE HOUSE AT KASTRI LASTED OVER AN HOUR. HE WAS ALONE. I WAS ACCOMPANIED BY LLEWELLYN SMITH.

2. PAPANDREOU GAVE A LENGTHY DISCUSSION ON THE CYPRUS ISSUE FOLLOWING KYPRIANOU'S VISIT, BUT DID NOT SAY HOW HE SAW HIS OWN VISIT TO CYPRUS, NOW CONFIRMED BY THE GOVERNMENT SPOKESMAN FOR 27 FEBRUARY TO 1 MARCH. HIS EVALUATION, BASED ON WHAT KYPRIANOU AND ROLANDIS SAID, WAS THAT THE PROSPECTS FOR INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS WERE NOT GOOD. THEY WOULD CONTINUE - HE COULD NOT SAY HOW LONG - AND THE GREEK GOVERNMENT WOULD NOT INTERRUPT THEM. WHEN THEY CAME TO AN END THE CYPRUS GOVERNMENT WOULD HAVE TO MAKE SOME MOVE IN THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA. RECOURSE TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY ON ITS OWN WAS NOT PROMISING, SINCE ON PAST FORM, THIS COULD NOT LEAD TO A SETTLEMENT.

3. AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND PAPANDREOU HAD BEEN CONSIDERING WAYS OF ESCAPING FROM THE DEADLOCK. ONE RECOURSE WHICH HE PERSONALLY FAVOURED WAS MEDIATION BY A PROMINENT OR PROMINENT FIGURES UNDER UN AUSPICES. SOME PEOPLE, INCLUDING BRANDT TO WHOM HE HAD SPOKEN IN BONN, WERE INTERESTED. MEDIATION WOULD INVOLVE GREECE, TURKEY AND CYPRUS AND THEREFORE COULD NOT TAKE PLACE WITHOUT TURKISH AGREEMENT. BUT THERE HAD BEEN NO CONTACT WITH THE TURKS YET.

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14. AS WELL