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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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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

4. AS WELL AS DISCUSSING CYPRUS RECENTLY WITH SCHMIDT, FANFANI, BRANDT, MITTERAND AND OTHERS, HE HAD DECIDED TO TALK TO THE RUSSIANS: THIS WAS ONE OF THE MAIN REASONS WHY HE HAD CALLED IN THE SOVIET AMBASSADOR LAST WEEK. THE SOVIET POSITION HAD NOT BEEN SATISFACTORY TO GREECE. IN REPLY TO A QUESTION ABOUT RECENT COMMENDATORY REFERENCES IN THE LOCAL PRO-GOVERNMENT PRESS TO AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE UNDER UN AUSPICES, PAPANDEOU IMPLIED THAT THE IDEA WAS OF MORE INTEREST TO KYPRIANOU, FOR INTERNAL POLITICAL REASONS, THAN TO GREECE. HE DID NOT DIRECTLY LINK IT TO THE SOVIET AMBASSADOR'S CALL, BUT I ASSUME KABOSHKIN HAS BEEN PUSHING THE IDEA. STATEMENTS MADE BY FIORAKIS, GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE KKE AND KYPRIANOU AFTER THEIR MEETING IN ATHENS ON 23 FEBRUARY REFER POSITIVELY TO THE IDEA OF AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE, KYPRIANOU SAYING THAT HE HAD CONCLUDED WITH PAPANDEOU THAT IT SHOULD BE PROMOTED QUICKLY.

5. PAPANDEOU SAID THAT APART FROM MEDIATION, THERE COULD BE AN "INITIATIVE" TAKEN BY EUROPEAN POLITICAL PERSONALITIES. HE WOULD PROBABLY SUGGEST SOME SUCH INITIATIVE TO COLLEAGUES IN THE MARGINS OF THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL ON 29-30 MARCH. REFERRING TO THE ZURICH AGREEMENT, PAPANDEOU WENT ON TO SAY THAT IF NO OTHER SOLUTION WORKED MAYBE THE ROLE OF GUARANTOR POWERS SHOULD BE REVIVED. THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT SHOULD CONSIDER THIS. IT WOULD HAVE TO BE ACCEPTABLE TO ALL THREE GUARANTOR POWERS.

6. HE SUMMED UP THESE VARIOUS SUGGESTIONS AS AN ATTEMPT BY GREECE TO OPEN UP NEW AVENUES TOWARDS A SOLUTION. THE CYPRUS PROBLEM WAS DANGEROUS BECAUSE IF TURKEY DECIDED TO TAKE A BIGGER SLICE OF CYPRUS THIS COULD LEAD TO DIRECT CONFLICT WITH GREECE. THE CARD OF WITHDRAWAL FROM THE NATO MILITARY STRUCTURE PLAYED BY KARAMANLIS IN 1974 COULD NOT BE PLAYED AGAIN.

7. IN RESPONSE I DISCOUNTED SUGGESTIONS OF A FURTHER TURKISH MILITARY MOVE IN CYPRUS, AND ARGUED THAT THE INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS WERE THE RIGHT AND ONLY PROMISING AVENUE TOWARDS A SETTLEMENT. KYPRIANOU SHOULD BE GIVEN EVERY ENCOURAGEMENT TO PURSUE THEM. INTERNATIONALISATION WOULD NOT HELP AND THE SOVIET PROPOSAL FOR AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE IF REALISED COULD PREJUDICE THE CHANCES OF ANY PROGRESS TOWARDS A SETTLEMENT BETWEEN THE PARTIES. THE RUSSIANS WERE WONT TO PROMOTE IT WHENEVER THERE SEEMD TO BE MOVEMENT IN THE CYPRUS ISSUE SINCE THEIR INTEREST WAS, WITHOUT PROVOKING A CONFLIGATION, TO PREVENT A SETTLEMENT AND TO MAINTAIN TENSION BETWEEN GREECE AND TURKEY.

8. PAPANDEOU DID NOT DISPUTE MY ANALYSIS OF SOVIET MOTIVES BUT REPLIED THAT THE TWO ASPECTS OF THE CYPRUS PROBLEM MUST BE KEPT DISTINCT. THE INTERCOMMUNAL ASPECT (CONSTITUTION, TERRITORY, FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT ETC) WAS AN INTERNAL PROBLEM TO BE DISCUSSED BY THE CYPRIOT PARTIES UNDER THE AEGIS OF THE UN. BUT THE INTERNATIONAL DIMENSION WAS CREATED BY THE TURKISH MILITARY OCCUPATION. THE SOLUTION TO THIS—DEMILITARISATION— MUST BE SOUGHT INTERNATIONALLY. THE TURKS SAID THIS WOULD LEAVE THEIR MINORITY UNPROTECTED. BUT GREECE WAS PREPARED TO RECOMMEND AN INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF THE UN FORCE, AND TO PUT UP A LARGE PART OF THE COSTS REQUIRED TO POLICE CYPRUS FOR AS LONG AS IT SHOULD BE NECESSARY. GREECE WOULD ALSO WITHDRAW HER OWN TROOPS. OF COURSE THIS HAD TO BE NEGOTIATED WITH TURKEY WITH GUARANTEES TO MAKE IT STICK. PAPANDEOU ADDED THAT HE WOULD LIKE TO DISCUSS THESE INTERNATIONAL ISSUES INFORMALLY IN BRUSSELS WITH THE PRIME MINISTER AND THE SECRETARY OF STATE ON 29-30 MARCH.

9. I URGED THAT HE AND KYPRIANOU SHOULD GIVE EVERY SUPPORT TO THE CONTINUATION OF THE INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS, SINCE AN UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN THE TWO COMMUNITIES WAS AN ESSENTIAL PRE-REQUISITE OF A SETTLEMENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS HE REFERRED TO. IT HAD BEEN ENVISAGED IN THE PAST, FOR EXAMPLE AT THE TIME OF THE US/CANADIAN/BRITISH INITIATIVE, THAT AN INTERCOMMUNAL SETTLEMENT SHOULD BE SEALED BY SOME FORM OF INTERNATIONAL GUARANTEE, BUT IT WAS DANGEROUS TO INTRODUCE THIS ELEMENT IN ADVANCE OF AN UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN THE TWO PARTIES.

10. THE OFFICIAL BRIEFING OF THE GREEK VISS ON KYPRIANOU'S VISIT IS LARGELY CONSISTENT WITH WHAT PAPANDEOU TOLD ME. IT REFERS TO THE WILLINGNESS OF A DISTINGUISHED PERSONALITY TO PLAY A ROLE IN THE DISPUT AND TO THE NEED OF THE TWO SIDES TO REPLY TO SOUNDINGS ON THE ACCEPTABILITY OF AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE. A JOINT STATEMENT ISSUED AFTER THE CYPRUS PRESIDENT'S LAST MEETING WITH PAPANDEOU NOTED "FAVOURABLE PROSPECTS" FOR THE CYPRUS PROBLEM OF CONCERTED EFFORTS CONTINUED. KYPRIANOU RETURNED TO NICOSIA ON 23 FEBRUARY.

COMMENT

11. INTENSIVE EFFORTS WILL BE REQUIRED TO KEEP KYPRIANOU WITH PAPANDEOU'S ENCOURAGEMENT FROM "INTERNATIONALISING" THE PROBLEM IN SOME FORM. PAPANDEOU APPEARS TO HAVE THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL IN MIND AS AN OPPORTUNITY TO RAISE HIS CONCERNS ABOUT CYPRUS, AND IT MAY BE NECESSARY BEFORE THEN AND AT THE COUNCIL FOR EUROPEAN HEADS OF GOVERNMENT TO STEER HIM AWAY FROM THIS COURSE. TO THE EXTENT THAT MEDIATION BY AN INTERNATIONAL PERSONALITY OR A GROUP OF EUROPEANS COULD BE A SUBSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONALISATION (E.G. RECOURSE TO THE GENERAL

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ASSEMBLY OR WORSE AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE) PAPANDEOU'S IDEAS MAY LATER DESERVE CONSIDERATION. THE POINT AT WHICH MEDIATION MIGHT HELP WOULD BE AFTER KYPRIANOU HAD DECIDED TO ABANDON THE INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS BUT BEFORE HE HAS INTERNATIONALISED THE PROBLEM. BUT, AS I SEE IT, WHILE THE INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS REMAIN ACTIVE, ANY ENCOURAGEMENT TO PAPANDEOU THAT MEDIATION IS A SUBSTITUTE TO BE TAKEN SERIOUSLY WOULD RELIEVE HIM AND KYPRIANOU OF THE MOTIVE TO CONTINUE NEGOTIATIONS IN THE INTERCOMMUNAL FRAMEWORK.

12. THE POINT THAT PAPANDEOU AND KYPRIANOU HAD DISCUSSED AN APPROACH TO BRITAIN TO REACTIVATE THE ROLE OF THE GUARANTOR POWERS WAS HIGHLIGHTED BY MODIANO IN THE TIMES OF 22 FEBRUARY. BUT PAPANDEOU DID NOT SEEM TO ATTACH HIGH PRIORITY TO IT WHEN HE TALKED TO ME, AND INDEED SAID THAT THERE WAS NO 'TIME SCHEDULE' TO HIS SUGGESTION.

FCO PSE PASS ALL SAVING ADDRESSEES.

SUTHERLAND

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REQUESTED]

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