

CYPRUS: ADVANCE COPIES

14 (17)

PS (6)  
PS/LADY YOUNG  
PS/MR WHITNEY  
PS/PUS  
~~SIR J BULLARD~~  
MR JENKINS

PS/No.10 DOWNING STREET  
D I O CABINET OFFICE

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HD/SED  
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RESIDENT CLERK

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TO FLASH FCC.,

TELNO 723 OF 3 DECEMBER 1983.,

GEPEATED AS IMMEDIATE INFO TO NICOSIA, ANKARA, WASHINGTON,  
UKMIS NEW YORK AND UKDEL NATO.,

REPEATED AS PRIORITY INFO TO UKREP BRUSSELS, CBFC, MODUK (DS11),  
BONN, PARIS AND ROME.,

REPEATED AS ROUTINE INFO TO ISTANBUL.

MY TELEGRAM NO. 722: CYPRUS: GUARANTOR POWER CONSULTATIONS

1. I DO NOT KNOW WHAT BRIEF THE PRIME MINISTER WILL HAVE FOR HER DISCUSSION WITH PAPANDEU (SEMICOLON) BUT I SUGGEST THAT THE FOLLOWING POINTS SHOULD BE BORNE IN MIND. I START FROM THE ASSUMPTION THAT ANY FORM OF TALKS UNDER THE TREATY OF GUARANTEE RUN A STRONG RISK OF LEAVING US WITH A GOOD SHARE OF THE BLAME FOR FAILURE. ON THAT BASIS OUR AIM SHOULD BE TO AVOID BECOMING ENGAGED IN ANY SUCH TALKS WHILE ALSO, TO THE EXTENT POSSIBLE, AVOIDING ALLOWING THE GREEKS TO DRAW THE CONCLUSION THAT WE ARE LETTING THEM DOWN.

2. IF YOU ACCEPT THAT, WITH WHATEVER NUANCE, THE PRIME MINISTER SHOULD REFUSE TO GO DOWN THE PATH OF PARALLEL DISCUSSIONS WITH THE GREEKS AND THE TURKS, I RECOMMEND THAT THE PRIME MINISTER SHOULD SEE PAPANDEU LATER RATHER THAN SOONER DURING THE ATHENS COUNCIL. THIS WILL RETAIN FOR AS LONG AS POSSIBLE THE INCENTIVE FOR PAPANDEU TO TAKE ACCOUNT OF OUR VIEWS IN HIS STEERING OF THE COUNCIL.

3. AT LEAST FORMALLY PAPANDEU WILL EXPECT A REPLY TO HIS QUESTIONS ABOUT OUR OBJECT IN REACTIVATING THE TREATY OF GUARANTEE AND THE SUBJECTS TO BE DISCUSSED (MY TUR). I SUGGEST THAT THE REPLY

AND THE SUBJECTS TO BE DISCUSSED (MY TUR). I SUGGEST THAT THE REPLY SHOULD INCLUDE THE THOUGHT THAT OUR AIM IS TO WORK FOR A CYPRUS SOLUTION. FOG THAT IT IS ESSENTIAL FOR THE MAJOR PARTIES (AND OF COURSE ALSO FOR THE PARTIES DIRECTLY CONCERNED ON THE GROUND) TO BE PREPARED TO TALK TO EACH OTHER. DISCUSSION BETWEEN THE GUARANTOR POWERS IS ONE WAY OF FACILITATING THAT AND OF ASSISTING SIMILAR EFFORTS BY THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS. THE TOPICS FOG DISCUSSION WOULD NO DOUBT HAVE TO BE DECIDED BY REPRESENTATIVES OF THOSE ATTENDING THE MEETINGS. BUT WE WOULD EXPECT THEM TO INCLUDE MEASURES FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION NO. 541.

4. SUBJECT TO THE ABOVE, I SUGGEST THAT THE PRIME MINISTER SHOULD BASE HER FURTHER RESPONSE TO PAPANDREOU ON THE FOLLOWING:-

- (A) THE GREEK SUGGESTION OF PARALLEL TALKS WOULD NOT BE PRACTICABLE. THERE WOULD BE WIDE SCOPE FOR MISUNDERSTANDING RECRIMINATION AND DELAY.
- (B) IN ANY CASE THE NATURAL MEANING OF ARTICLE IV OF THE TREATY OF GUARANTEE (''UNDERTAKE TO CONSULT TOGETHER'') IS FOR THE THREE GUARANTOR POWERS TO MEET TO WORK OUT MEANS OF DEALING WITH BREACHES OF THE PROVISIONS OF THE 1960 TREATY.
- (C) BY AGREEING TO TALK UNDER THE TREATY OF GUARANTEE THE TURKS HAVE IMPLICITLY RECOGNISED THE CONTINUING VALIDITY OF THAT TREATY. THE GREEKS, BY ACCEPTING TRIPARTITE TALKS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE TREATY, WOULD BE GIVING THEMSELVES THE OPPORTUNITY TO CONFRONT THE TURKS WITH THE FACT THAT THE ACTION TAKEN BY DENKTASH AND TURKEY'S RECOGNITION OF IT ARE IN BREACH OF THE VERY TREATY WHOSE VALIDITY THE TURKS HAVE RECOGNISED.
- (D) (NOT FOG USE IF IT CAN BE AVOIDED). THE TURKISH RESPONSE, TO THE EFFECT THAT THEY ACCEPT TRIPARTITE TALKS IF THESE ARE ACCEPTED BY BOTH OTHER GUARANTOR POWERS, DOES NOT AMOUNT TO ACCEPTANCE OF PARALLEL TALKS.9

5. I RECOGNISE THAT THE ABOVE POINTS ARE ALL ARGUMENTS IN FAVOUR OF GREEK ACCEPTANCE OF TRIPARTITE DISCUSSIONS AND THEREFORE ON THE FACE OF IT INCONSISTENT WITH OUR AIM OF AVOIDING ANY TALKS (PARAGRAPH 1 ABOVE). BUT, JUDGING BY WHAT PAPANDREOU SAID TO ME YESTERDAY, THERE IS VIRTUALLY NO RISK THAT THE GREEKS WILL BE CONVINCED. FOR THEM THE REFUSAL TO SIT DOWN WITH THE TURKS HAS BEEN MADE INTO A QUESTION OF PRINCIPLE. MOREOVER THEY HAVE JUST PATCHED UP AN AGREEMENT TO THAT EFFECT WITH THE GREEK CYPRIOTS DURING KYPRIANOU'S RECENT VISIT.

R H O D E S

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