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TO PRIORITY FCO

TELEGRAM NO 384 OF 20 DECEMBER 83.

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

INFO SAVING CBFC, PARIS, BONN, ROME, UKDEL NATO.

CYPRUS PROBLEM.

SUMMARY

1. KYPRIANOU PLANNING VISITS TO LONDON, WASHINGTON AND NEW YORK IN THE NEW YEAR (SUBJECT TO HIS MEETING WITH PAPANDEOU ON 23 DECEMBER). CLAIMS TO BE DETERMINED TO PURSUE ACTIVELY AN OVERALL SETTLEMENT WHICH WOULD HAVE THE EFFECT OF REVERSING TURKISH CYPRIOT UDI. BUT THIS REQUIRED PUBLIC PRESSURE FOR PLAIN REVERSAL OF UDI TO BE MAINTAINED. KYPRIANOU APPEARING TO FAVOUR CONSULTATIONS UNDER TREATY OF GUARANTEE IN PARALLEL FORM. PROMISES SPECIFIC SUGGESTIONS ON PROCEDURE AND SUBSTANCE AFTER HIS MEETING WITH PAPANDEOU.

DETAIL.

2. KYPRIANOU INVITED ME FOR A GENERAL TALK ON THE MORNING OF 20 DECEMBER IN PREPARATION FOR HIS VISIT TO ATHENS ON 22/23 DECEMBER. HE SAID THAT THEREAFTER HE WOULD CONTACT ME ABOUT PLANS (ALREADY TENTATIVELY REPORTED IN THE PRESS HERE) FOR A FUTHER VISIT TO THE PRIME MINISTER IN LONDON ON HIS WAY THROUGH TO WASHINGTON AND NEW YORK.

3. KYPRIANOU CLAIMED THAT HE WAS DETERMINED TO DO ALL HE COULD TO PURSUE AN OVERALL SETTLEMENT WHICH WOULD HAVE THE EFFECT IN PRACTICE OF REVERSING THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE NORTH. HE THOUGHT THAT, PARADOXICALLY, THE SITUATION NOW PRESENTED THE OPPORTUNITY FOR A SETTLEMENT. BUT FOR THIS TO BE ACHIEVED, IT WAS INDISPENS-ABLE IN PUBLIC TO KEEP UP THE PRESSUPE ON TURKEY FOR REVERSAL OF UDI IN ACCORDANCE WITH SCR 541. KYPRIANOU ASKED HOW I SAW THINGS.

4. I SAID THAT OUR EFFORTS TO CONVINCCE THE FORMER TURKISH GOVERNMENT THAT THE ONUS LAY ON THEM TO MAKE A MOVE THAT WOULD BE SUFFICIENT HAD SHOWN NO RESULT. I DID NOT KNOW WHETHER WE COULD EXPECT ANYTHING DIFFERENT FROM THE NEW TURKISH GOVERNMENT. (I MENTIONED MR RUSSELL'S PENDING CALL ON THE NEW FOREIGN MINISTER AND ALSO THE REASONABLY SATISFACTORY RESPONSE WE HAD RECEIVED TO OUR REPRESENTATIONS IN ANKARA AND TO DENKTASH OVER UNFICYP). SO FAR AS CONCERNED THE GREEK GOVERNMENT, RECENT REPORTS I HAD SEEN SUGGESTED THAT SOME PEOPLE IN ATHENS WERE, LIKE KYPRIANOU HIMSELF, WONDERING HOW ADVANTAGE COULD BE TAKEN OF THE PRESENT SITUATION TO SECURE MOVES TOWARDS A SETTLEMENT. I ADDED THAT, ON THE QUESTION OF TRIPARTITE CONSULTATIONS UNDER THE TREATY OF GUARANTEE, I THOUGHT THAT THE BALL RESTED IN THE GREEK COURT

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BUT THAT PAPANDREOU MIGHT BE IN TOUCH WITH US AGAIN AFTER KYPRIANOU'S MEETING WITH HIM ON 23 DECEMBER. MEANWHILE IN NEW YORK THE UN SECRETARY-GENERAL, WHO HAD BEEN PREOCCUPIED WITH THE IMMEDIATE PROBLEM OF THE UNFICYP MANDATE RENEWAL, DID NOT SEEM TO FEEL THAT THE TIME HAD YET ARRIVED FOR HIM TO TAKE AN INITIATIVE, THOUGH WE WANTED HIM TO DO SO.

5. ON TREATY OF GUARANTEE CONSULTATIONS, KYPRIANOU APPEARED TO FAVOUR THESE BEING HELD IN PARALLEL FORM, BECAUSE OF THE RISK THAT ANY TRIPARTITE MEETING WOULD AT ONCE BREAK DOWN. HE SAID THAT IN THEIR PRIVATE TALKS IN NEW DELHI, THE PRIME MINISTER HAD NOT APPEARED TO EXCLUDE PARALLEL CONSULTATIONS.

I ASKED HIM WHAT USEFUL RESULT HE THOUGHT COULD BE THE OBJECTIVE OF CONSULTATIONS, IN WHATEVER FORM THEY WERE HELD. AT FIRST HE SAID THAT CONSULTATIONS UNDER THE TREATY OF GUARANTEE WERE ESSENTIAL AS A MEANS OF KEEPING UP THE PRESSURE ON TURKEY AND SHOWING THAT THE OTHER TWO GUARANTOR POWERS WERE INVITING HER TO LIVE UP TO HER OBLIGATIONS WITH THE AIM OF SECURING REVERSAL OF UDI. I SAID THAT SUCH A HEAD-ON APPROACH WOULD SURELY RESULT IN RAPID COLLAPSE OF THE CONSULTATIONS. I PROBED KYPRIANOU FURTHER ON WHAT HE THOUGHT THEIR OBJECTIVE COULD BE. HE THEN SAID THAT THE PRIME MINISTER HAD ASKED HIM IN NEW DELHI WHETHER HE WOULD BE PREPARED FOR SOME GREEK AND TURKISH MAINLAND TROOPS TO REMAIN IN CYPRUS. HE HAD ANSWERED THAT HE WOULD PREFER THEM ALL TO GO BUT WOULD BE PREPARED FOR NATIONAL CONTINGENTS TO REMAIN AS UNDER THE TREATY OF ALLIANCE. HE SUGGESTED THAT THIS WAS ONE SUBJECT WHICH COULD USEFULLY BE ADDRESSED IN TRIPARTITE CONSULTATIONS, WHICH HE REGARDED AS AN ESSENTIAL ACCOMPANIMENT TO ANY EFFORTS BY THE UN SECRETARY-GENERAL, WHO HE DID NOT THINK WOULD BE ABLE TO GET ANYWHERE ON HIS OWN. HE WAS NOT EXPECTING US TO BECOME MEDIATORS OF AN OVERALL SETTLEMENT IN PLACE OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL. KYPRIANOU ENDED BY PROMISING TO CONTACT ME WITH MORE SPECIFIC SUGGESTIONS SHORTLY AFTER HIS RETURN FROM ATHENS.

6. SEE MIFT (NOT TO ALL).

7. FCO PLEASE PASS SAVING ADDRESSEES.

WILBERFORCE

THIS TELEGRAM  
WAS NOT  
ADVANCED

REPEATED AS REQUESTED

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PS/MR RIFKIND

PS/MR LUCE

PS/MR WHITNEY

PS/FUS

SIR J BULLARD

MR WRIGHT

SIR C TICKELL

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MR ADAMS

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ADDITIONAL DISTN

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