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FM ATHENS 021450Z DEC 83

TO FLASH FCO.,

TELNO 722 OF 2 DECEMBER 1983.,

REPEATED AS IMMEDIATE INFO TO NICOSIA, ANKARA, WASHINGTON,

UKMS NEW YORK, UKDEL NATO,

REPEATED AS PRIORITY INFO TO UKREP BRUSSELS, CBFC, MODUK (DS11),

BONN, PARIS, ROME.,

REPEATED AS ROUTINE INFO TO ISTANBUL.

M.H.P.T. (NOT TO ALL): CYPRUS: GUARANTOG POWER CONSULTATIONS

SUMMARY

1. PAPANDEOU EXPLAINS THAT AT HIS MEETING WITH THE PRIME MINISTER HE WOULD WANT TO ASK ABOUT HER INTENTIONS IN PROPOSING REACTIVATION OF THE TREATY OF GUARANTEE AND ABOUT THE SUBJECTS TO BE DISCUSSED.
2. PAPANDEOU REQUESTED A REFUSAL TO TALK DIRECTLY TO TURKS WITHOUT REVOCATION OF TURKISH CYPRIOT UDA.
3. CLEAR IMPLICATION THAT PAPANDEOU IS LOOKING TO US TO PULL HIS CHESTNUTS OUT OF THE FIRE AND CALCULATES THAT WE SHOULD TAKE A GOOD SHARE OF BLAME FOR FAILURE.

DETAIL

4. WHEN WE HAD FINISHED DISCUSSING THE ATHENS COUNCIL, PAPANDEOU HIMSELF RAISED HIS PROPOSAL FOR A PRIVATE TALK WITH THE PRIME MINISTER ABOUT CYPRUS.

5. He said that he had reported his suggestion and had no reason to suppose that Mrs Thatcher would not be ready to discuss Cyprus with him. It would help if he could have an indication of the points which he wished to put to her.

6. PAPANDREOU SAID THAT HE WOULD PUT THE QUESTION THE OTHER WAY ROUND. WHAT DID THE PRIME MINISTER HAVE IN MIND BY HER PROPOSAL TO REACTIVATE THE TREATY OF GUARANTEE? WHAT SUBJECTS WOULD THOSE CONCERNED BE EXAMINING? HE THEN WENT ON TO MAKE THE FOLLOWING POINTS:-

- (A) THE GREEKS WERE VERY FRIGHTENED OF TRIPARTITE CONSULTATIONS BETWEEN THE GUARANTOR POWERS. THEY FORESAW THE POSSIBILITY OF FAILURE WHICH WOULD LEAVE THE SITUATION WORSE THAN AT PRESENT. THAT WAS TO SAY NOTHING OF THEIR UNWILLINGNESS TO SIT DOWN WITH THE TURKS AFTER WHAT HAD OCCURRED (SEMICOLON) AND TO APPEAR TO LEGITIMISE A FAULT ACCOMPLISHED WITH TURKISH TROOPS STILL OCCUPYING NORTH CYPRUS (SEMICOLON)
- (B) THE GREEKS WERE FED UP WITH A CONTINUOUS PROCESS OF MAKING CONCESSIONS. THERE HAD TO BE A LIMIT (SEMICOLON) THIS HAD NOW BEEN REACHED (SEMICOLON)
- (C) NEITHER THE GREEKS, NOR THE GREEK CYPRIOTS, WERE READY FOR DISCUSSIONS WITH THE TURKS, OR THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS, UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS UNLESS THE DECLARATION OF UDIH HAD BEEN REVOKED (SEMICOLON)
- (D) IN VIEW OF (A) TO (C) ABOVE, THE GREEKS SAW NO ALTERNATIVE TO BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS WITH BRITAIN, COMPLEMENTED BY BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN BRITAIN AND TURKEY. MRS THATCHER COULD PLAY A VERY IMPORTANT ROLE. THE ONLY COURSE FOR THE GREEK CYPRIOTS WAS BILATERAL TALKS WITH THE UN SECRETARY GENERAL. THE GREEKS SAW THE NEED TO AVOID A SITUATION IN WHICH MILITARY ACTION WAS POSSIBLE, PARTICULARLY GIVEN THE EXPLOSIVE STATE OF THE AREA (SEMICOLON)
- (E) NO GREEK GOVERNMENT HAD EVER DISCUSSED DETAILS OF THE CYPRIOT PROBLEM WITH TURKEY. PAPANDREOU WAS NOT GOING TO BREAK THAT RULE.

7. He said that he supposed that if there were an offer from the Turkish side which the Cypriots judged sufficiently attractive to merit examination, the Greek side (he emphasised that he was not suggesting that the Greeks would be the ones to assess the merits of any Turkish offer or to negotiate about it) might be prepared to discuss it.

8. PAPANDREOU DID NOT RESPOND TO THIS. HE SAID THAT IT WOULD BE DIFFERENT IF THE GREEKS WERE ASKED TO 'RATIFY' A PACKAGE DEAL.

8. PAPANDEOU DID NOT RESPOND TO THIS. HE SAID THAT IT WOULD BE DIFFERENT IF THE GREEKS WERE ASKED TO "RATIFY" A PACKAGE DEAL. HE ADDED THAT THE GREEKS HAD BEEN PLEASED BY OUR STAND AND THAT OF THE UNITED STATES, BOTH OF WHICH THEY THOUGHT TO BE GENUINE. HE WOULD BE SEEING SHULTZ NEXT WEEK (THE GREEK PRESS HAS ANNOUNCED THAT THIS MEETING WILL BE HELD IN BRUSSELS IN THE MARGINS OF THE NATO MEETING).

9. PAPANDEOU SAID THAT THE BEST TIME FOR A MEETING WITH THE PRIME MINISTER MIGHT BE IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE AFTERNOON SESSION OF THE COUNCIL ON 4 DECEMBER.

COMMENT

10. THE CLEAR IMPLICATION OF THE WAY IN WHICH PAPANDEOU SPOKE WAS THAT HE IS AIMING TO GET US TO PULL HIS CHESTNUTS OUT OF THE FIRE. NO DOUBT HE ALSO CALCULATES THAT IN THE EVENT OF FAILURE WE SHALL BE LANDED WITH A GOOD SHARE OF THE BLAME. HE TALKED ABOUT THE NEED FOR REALISM, BUT HIS ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE POSSIBILITY OF ANY CONTACT WITH THE TURKISH SIDE GIVES NO SIGN OF A WILLINGNESS TO WORK DIRECTLY FOR A SOLUTION WHETHER UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE GUARANTEE TREATY OR THE UNITED NATIONS.

G H O D E S

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Security Council

Distr.
GENERAL

S/RES/541 (1983)
18 November 1983

RESOLUTION 541 (1983)

Adopted by the Security Council at its 2500th meeting,
on 18 November 1983

The Security Council,

Having heard the statement of the Foreign Minister of the Government of the Republic of Cyprus,

Concerned at the declaration by the Turkish Cypriot authorities issued on 15 November 1983 which purports to create an independent State in northern Cyprus,

Considering that this declaration is incompatible with the 1960 Treaty concerning the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus and the 1960 Treaty of Guarantee,

Considering, therefore, that the attempt to create a "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus" is invalid, and will contribute to a worsening of the situation in Cyprus,

Reaffirming its resolutions 365 (1974) and 367 (1975),

Aware of the need for a solution of the Cyprus problem based on the mission of good offices undertaken by the Secretary-General,

Affirming its continuing support for the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus,

Taking note of the Secretary-General's statement of 17 November 1983,

1. Deplores the declaration of the Turkish Cypriot authorities of the purported secession of part of the Republic of Cyprus;

2. Considers the declaration referred to above as legally invalid and calls for its withdrawal;

3. Calls for the urgent and effective implementation of its resolutions 365 (1974) and 367 (1975);
 4. Requests the Secretary-General to pursue his mission of good offices, in order to achieve the earliest possible progress towards a just and lasting settlement in Cyprus;
 5. Calls upon the parties to co-operate fully with the Secretary-General in his mission of good offices;
 6. Calls upon all States to respect the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus;
 7. Calls upon all States not to recognize any Cypriot State other than the Republic of Cyprus;
 8. Calls upon all States and the two communities in Cyprus to refrain from any action which might exacerbate the situation;
 9. Requests the Secretary-General to keep the Security Council fully informed.
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APPENDIX B

DRAFT TREATY OF GUARANTEE (1960)

The Republic of Cyprus of the one part, and Greece, Turkey and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland of the other part,

- I. Considering that the recognition and maintenance of the independence, territorial integrity and security of the Republic of Cyprus, as established and regulated by the Basic Articles of its Constitution, are in their common interest,
- II. Desiring to co-operate to ensure respect for the state of affairs created by that Constitution,

Have agreed as follows:—

ARTICLE I

The Republic of Cyprus undertakes to ensure the maintenance of its independence, territorial integrity and security, as well as respect for its Constitution.

It undertakes not to participate, in whole or in part, in any political or economic union with any State whatsoever. It accordingly declares prohibited any activity likely to promote, directly or indirectly, either union with any other State or partition of the Island.

ARTICLE II

Greece, Turkey and the United Kingdom, taking note of the undertakings of the Republic of Cyprus set out in Article I of the present Treaty, recognise and guarantee the independence, territorial integrity and security of the Republic of Cyprus, and also the state of affairs established by the Basic Articles of its Constitution.

Greece, Turkey and the United Kingdom likewise undertake to prohibit, so far as concerns them, any activity aimed at promoting, directly or indirectly, either union of Cyprus with any other State or partition of the Island.

ARTICLE III

The Republic of Cyprus, Greece and Turkey undertake to respect the integrity of the areas retained under United Kingdom sovereignty at the time of the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus, and guarantee the use and enjoyment by the United Kingdom of the rights to be secured to it by the Republic of Cyprus in accordance with the Treaty concerning the Establishment of the Republic of Cyprus signed at Nicosia on to-day's date.

ARTICLE IV

In the event of a breach of the provisions of the present Treaty, Greece, Turkey and the United Kingdom undertake to consult together with respect to the representations or measures necessary to ensure observance of those provisions.

In so far as common to the three guaranteeing Powers reserves the right to take action with the sole aim of re-establishing the state of affairs created by the present Treaty.

ARTICLE V

The present Treaty shall enter into force on the date of signature. The original texts of the present Treaty shall be deposited at Nicosia.

The High Contracting Parties shall proceed as soon as possible to the registration of the present Treaty with the Secretariat of the United Nations, in accordance with Article 102 of the Charter of the United Nations.