

GRS 500
UNCLASSIFIED
DESKBY 121000Z FCO
FM UKMIS NEW YORK 120250Z MAY 84
TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELEGRAM NUMBER 489 OF 11 MAY 1984
INFO IMMEDIATE WASHINGTON, NICOSIA, ATHENS, ANKARA
PRIORITY PARIS, BONN, ROME, UKDEL STRASBOURG,
ROUTINE UKREP BRUSSELS, UKDEL NATO, CBFC.

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| WSC 012/2 | | |
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| 15 MAY 1984 | | |
| WORK OFFICER | | |
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MIPT: CYPRUS: SECURITY COUNCIL

1. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF MY EXPLANATION OF VOTE ON SCR 550 OF 11 MAY.

1. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF MY EXPLANATION OF VOTE:

MY DELEGATION VOTED IN FAVOUR OF THE RESOLUTION WHICH THE COUNCIL HAS JUST ADOPTED. WE DID SO BECAUSE WRONG HAS BEEN DONE AND IT IS IMPORTANT FOR THE COUNCIL TO CONDEMN IT. IN ITS RESOLUTION 541 LAST NOVEMBER THE COUNCIL DEPLORED THE DECLARATION BY THE TURKISH-CYPRIOOT AUTHORITIES OF THE PURPORTED SECESSION OF PART OF THE REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS. THAT WRONG HAS NOW BEEN COMPOUNDED BY THE PURPORTED EXCHANGE OF AMBASSADORS AND THAT THE COUNCIL HAS NOW RIGHTLY CONDEMNED.

ALTHOUGH WE VOTED FOR THE RESOLUTION WE DO NOT REGARD IT AS IDEAL. IT HAS SEVERAL DRAWBACKS WHICH I WILL COME TO IN A MOMENT. FIRST, HOWEVER, I MUST RE-EMPHASISE THE MAIN POINTS I MADE IN MY INTERVENTION IN THE DEBATE THIS MORNING. THE FUNDAMENTAL AND LONG TERMS ASPECTS OF THE SITUATION IN CYPRUS ARE COMPLICATED. WE SHALL NOT MAKE THEM SIMPLER OR EASIER OF SOLUTION BY OVER-EMPHASISING THE PARTICULAR WRONG-DOING WHICH WE ARE NOW CONDEMNING. NO PARTY TO THE DISPUTE HAS A MONOPOLY OF VIRTUE. ALL PARTIES HAVE MADE MISTAKES. ALL PARTIES HAVE ACTED IN CONTRAVENTION OF AGREEMENTS. IF ACTIONS OR THREAT OF ACTION OF THIS SORT PERSIST IT INEVITABLY MEANS A SERIOUS WORSENING OF THE SITUATION.

THE DOWNWARD SPIRAL OF EVENTS TOWARDS CATASTROPHE MUST BE HALTED. INDEED IT MUST BE REVERSED. WE MUST CREATE AN UPWARD SPIRAL. THE WAY TO DO THIS IS FIRST AND FOREMOST, THROUGH THE SECRETARY GENERAL'S GOOD OFFICES. WE APPLAUD THAT PART OF OUR PRESENT RESOLUTION WHICH CALLS ON ALL PARTIES TO SUPPORT THIS. WE WILL JUDGE THE MERITS AND THE DEGREE OF SUPPORT WHICH IS DUE TO EACH PARTY BY THE EXTENT TO WHICH THEY OBEY THIS INJUNCTION.

WE ARE CONFIDENT THAT THE SECRETARY-GENERAL UNDERSTANDS THE PROBLEM IN ALL ITS COMPLEXITIES AND WE EXPECT HIM TO STRIVE HIS UTMOST TO SECURE AGREEMENT. BUT HE CANNOT DO THIS WITHOUT THE COOPERATION OF THE PARTIES. WE HAVE A PROVERB IN ENGLISH THAT WHILE YOU CAN BRING A HORSE TO WATER YOU CANNOT MAKE HIM DRINK. IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT THE PARTIES TO THE DISPUTE SHOULD EXPRESS THEIR READINESS TO DRINK. I WOULD OBSERVE IN PARENTHESIS THAT

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THE CONSEQUENCES OF NOT DRINKING ARE DRASTIC. IF THE PARTIES WILL PUT ASIDE PASSION AND THINK OF THEIR OWN FUTURE IN REALISTIC AND UNEMOTIONAL TERMS, WE BELIEVE THAT THEY WILL FIND ACCEPTABLE AND INDEED SENSIBLE THE PRINCIPLES WHICH I ENUNCIATED AT THE END OF MY STATEMENT THIS MORNING.

I NOW TURN TO THE DRAWBACKS WE FOUND IN THE PRESENT RESOLUTION. THE FIRST IS THAT IT SEEMS EITHER TO GO TOO FAR OR NOT TO GO FAR ENOUGH. THERE IS A CERTAIN CONFUSION BETWEEN THE SHORT TERM AND THE LONG TERM. WE REGRET THAT IT DOES NOT SAY SOME OF THE THINGS CONTAINED IN MY SPEECH THIS MORNING. WE REGRET THAT IT LOOKS FORWARD IN SOME RESPECT AND NOT OTHERS. WE ARE NOT SURE THAT IN A PRACTICAL SENSE IT IS POLITICALLY HELPFUL TO INCLUDE IN THE RESOLUTION OPERATIVE PARAGRAPHS 5 AND 6. WE ALSO HAVE RESERVATIONS ABOUT OPERATIVE PARAGRAPH 10. AS FOR OPERATIVE PARA 8, WE REGARD ITS CORRECT INTERPRETATION AS OF CRUCIAL IMPORTANCE. WE ARE MUCH CONCERNED THAT MIS-INTERPRETATION OF IT MIGHT WORSEN THE SITUATION. I HAVE VOTED IN FAVOUR OF THE RESOLUTION ON THE UNDERSTANDING DERIVED FROM THE CO-SPONSORS THAT OPERATIVE PARAGRAPH 8 MEANS THAT THE SECRETARY-GENERAL'S MANDATE SET OUT IN SCR 367 (1975) REMAINS WHOLLY VALID. IT IS OUR UNDERSTANDING THAT THE SECRETARY GENERAL HAS A FREE HAND. HE WILL OF COURSE TAKE ACCOUNT OF THE PRINCIPLES OF THE CHARTER AND OF RELEVANT RESOLUTIONS BUT THAT IS ALL. THE SECRETARY GENERAL IS AS FREE AFTER THE RESOLUTION AS HE HAS ALWAYS BEEN IN THE PAST. THE LATTER PART OF OPERATIVE PARAGRAPH 8 IS MEANT TO RELATE TO THE EVENTUAL OVERALL SOLUTION OF THE CYPRUS PROBLEM, NOT TO THE SECRETARY GENERAL'S MANDATE.

ON THAT UNDERSTANDING MR. PRESIDENT, AND WITHOUT BELIEVING THAT THE RESOLUTION IS PERFECT WE SUPPORT IT BECAUSE IT HAS SOME GOOD THINGS IN IT. WE WISH TO MAKE IT VERY PLAIN THAT THE PASSAGE OF THIS RESOLUTION IS NOT TO BE TAKEN AS AN EXCUSE FOR FURTHER WRONGS. NOR FOR THE ADOPTION OF INTRANSIGENT POSITIONS ON ANY SIDE. MESSAGE WE INTEND TO CONVEY THROUGH THIS RESOLUTION IS THAT THE FUTURE OF BOTH COMMUNITIES IN CYPRUS IS AT RISK AND THAT THE WAY FOR THEM TO SUPPORT THEIR OWN FUTURE SECURITY AND WELL BEING IS TO COOPERATE WITH THE SECRETARYGENERAL IN THE EXERCISE OF HIS GOOD OFFICES. THOSE WHO DO NOT WILL LOSE FRIENDS.

THOMSON

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PS/LADY YOUNG
PS/MR RIFKIND
PS/MR LUCE
MR MILES

PS/MR WHITNEY
PS/PUS
SIR J BULLARD
MR WRIGHT
SIR C TICKELL
SIR J LEAHY
MR ADAMS
MR CARTLEDGE
MR EGERTON
LORD N GORDON LENNOX
MR RENWICK
MR J THOMAS
MR JENKINS
BUCKINGHAM PALACE

ADDITIONAL DISTN:
CYPRUS