

Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim
PROS, UNNUMBERED

31/07/1978 - 7/08/1978

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TO: GALINDO POHL, NICOSIA

FROM: THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

DATE: 31 JULY 1978

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1978 JUL 31 PM 8:11

W. J. ...
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1. Further to our 921, I should like you to inform both President Kyprianou and Mr. Denktash of substance of our observations on their respective positions concerning Varosha. You should also convey to them my personal disappointment concerning certain elements of those positions, which may even be in certain respects incompatible with discharge mission of good offices entrusted to me by Security Council.
2. I continue to believe that GkCyp resettlement of Varosha under UNFICYP control could markedly improve the situation in island for benefit of all concerned, and enhance chances of progress on broader issue. Matters of this kind should not be negotiated by public statements, leaks and denunciations, but confidentially and where advisable in framework of my good offices mission.
3. You might point out to Denktash that his proposal would gain credibility if it provided for resettlement of GkCyps in bulk of Varosha under UNFICYP control in conditions of safety, and without any threat of re-expulsion. As is case throughout buffer zone, UNFICYP is in position to make arrangements that will take into account legitimate security requirements of both sides. Incidentally, Ambassador Turkmen has questioned whether re-expulsion element is serious part of Turkish proposal.
4. You should convey to Kyprianou my surprise at his position about basing intercommunal talks "particularly" on General Assembly resolution 3212. Kyprianou knows that in its resolution 367, entrusting me with mission of good offices, Security Council referred to paragraph 4 of resolution 3212, which speaks of contacts and negotiations between two communities with view to reaching mutually acceptable settlement. As for substantive elements of 3212, Council has endorsed them and urged parties to implement them, but it has not made them mandatory, and has not suggested that they should restrict interlocutors in arriving at agreements.
5. Makarios-Denktash guidelines provide specifically that

freedom of movement and settlement are "open for discussion", subject to certain considerations. Consequently, implementation of these principles should not repeat not be treated as absolute, but has to be negotiated. I might add that I consider February 1977 guidelines to have been significant step forward, and their repudiation by either side, albeit indirect, would raise serious questions about that side's willingness to negotiate seriously.

6. You might also remind Kyprianou that I made strenuous efforts, during his visit to New York, to help arrange meeting between him and Ecevit. On other hand, I cannot regard such meeting as precondition for negotiations. Above all, I cannot properly be involved in moves by either side to challenge authority or credentials of ~~opposed~~ leadership of other side, and I consider approach of this kind to be unproductive.

7. Both leaders should realize that I shall in due course have to report on recent developments to Security Council.

8. Grateful if you would explore further with both sides possibilities of bringing positions closer together on Varosha proposals. It would be regrettable if what appears to be relatively promising development were permitted to go to waste.

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U N N U M B E R E D

RA
7/8

TO: GUYER/URQUHART

FROM: GALINDO-PONL

DATE: 7 AUGUST 1978

U N N U M B E R E D

1 DENKTASH HAVING BEEN INDISPOSED LAST WEEK RECEIVED ME TODAY 7 AUGUST WITH D/SRSG.

2. I BROUGHT TO HIS ATTENTION THOSE POINTS IN YOUR 921 AND IN SEGEN'S UNNUMBERED OF 31 JULY WHICH ARE RELEVANT TO TKCYP SIDE.

3. ON QUESTION OF GEOGRAPHIC EXTENT THERE IS EVIDENTLY LITTLE FLEXIBILITY, IF ANY, IN TKCYP POSITION. DENKTASH REITERATED THAT EVERYBODY HAD KNOWN FOR YEARS WHAT WAS MEANT BY VARDHA AND THAT FOR PURPOSES OF PROPOSED INTERIM ADMINISTRATION ALL THAT COULD BE DISCUSSED WAS WHICH PART OF AREA CURRENTLY SEALED OFF BY TURKISH FORCES WOULD BECOME AVAILABLE FOR GKCYF RESETTLEMENT, FOR INSTANCE WHETHER FROM DEMOCRATIA AVENUE SOUTHWARDS OR FROM A POINT SLIGHTLY NORTH OF THAT AVENUE. DENKTASH CONSIDERS KYPRIANOU'S PROPOSAL FOR HAVING ALL GKCYFS RETURN TO FALAGUSTAS WHICH WOULD, AMONG OTHERS, LEAD TO FRESH ENCIRCLEMENT OF OLD CITY, PREPOSTEROUS.

4. DENKTASH SOFTENED HIS STAND REGARDING FATE OF GKCYPS WHO WOULD HAVE SETTLED IN VAROSHA UNDER INTERIM ARRANGEMENT; SHOULD INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS COLLAPSE (UNFICYP 1267 PARA.1(C)). WHILE IN EVENT OF SUCH COLLAPSE SPECIAL STATUS FOR VAROSHA (INTERIM ADMINISTRATION) WOULD COME TO END; THOSE GKCYPS HAVING RESETTLED COULD REMAIN; BUT UNDER TKCYP ADMINISTRATION. WHAT TKCYP SIDE WISHED TO AVOID WAS LOSS OF VAROSHA TO GKCYP SIDE PENDING OVERALL SETTLEMENT OF CYPRUS PROBLEM. AT SAME TIME VAROSHA SHOULD SERVE TO KEEP GKCYPS AT NEGOTIATING TABLE. DENKTASH DID NOT FAVOUR IDEA OF PUTTING VAROSHA IN UN-CONTROLLED BUFFER ZONE BECAUSE; HE ASSERTED; THIS WOULD MEAN LOSS OF VAROSHA PRIOR TO SUCH OVERALL SOLUTION. HOW COULD UN; AND FOR THAT MATTER TKCYP SIDE; PREVENT VAROSHA FALLING INTO GKCYP HANDS IF LARGE NUMBER OF GKCYPS WERE TO RESETTLE IN BUFFER ZONE; HE ASKED RHETORICALLY. BASICALLY HE COULD NOT DEPART FROM PROPOSALS IN HIS OPEN MESSAGE OF 20 JULY. BUFFER ZONE IDEA MIGHT COME AT SUBSEQUENT STAGE IN LIGHT OF EXPERIENCE GAINED.

5. DENKTASH EMPHASISED THAT HIS OPEN MESSAGE WAS MEANINGFUL GESTURE; ALSO DESIGNED TO GET INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS RE-STARTED; AND THAT SINCERITY AND GOOD FAITH OF HIS PROPOSALS SHOULD NOT BE COMPARED WITH THOSE OF KYPRIANOU.

6. I AM AFRAID THAT IN LIGHT OF THE TWO MEETINGS I HAD WITH EACH OF MY INTERLOCUTORS GAP BETWEEN RESPECTIVE POSITIONS CONCERNING VAROSHA REMAINS WIDE; AS BOTH SIDES APPEAR TO CLING TO THEIR ENTIRELY INCOMPATIBLE PROPOSALS OF 20 AND 24 JULY RESPECTIVELY.

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INTRODUCE FAMAGUSTA PROPOSAL ON FLOOR OF UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES ON 31 JULY, LINKING IT IN SOME FASHION WITH LIFTING OF EMBARGO. GENERALLY, KYPRIANOU SEEMED, HOWEVER, TO IMPLY THAT SOLUTION OF CYPRUS PROBLEM SHOULD NOT BE SOUGHT THROUGH MEANS OF INTERIM ARRANGEMENTS ON FAMAGUSTA/VAROSHA. HE ALSO REMARKED AGAIN THAT NO PROGRESS COULD EVER BE ACHIEVED AS LONG AS DENKTASH WAS IN CHARGE IN NORTH.

4. CONCLUDING, KYPRIANOU REPEATED HIS EARNEST RECOMMENDATION THAT UN SHOULD LIE LOW FOR SOME TWO MONTHS UNTIL AFTER SEPTEMBER MEETING OF SECCO, AT WHICH TIME CONSEQUENCES OF LIFTING OR NON-LIFTING OF PARTIAL EMBARGO AGAINST TURKEY COULD ALSO BE BETTER ASSESSED.

5. KYPRIANOU FEELS THAT AT THIS STAGE OPEN DIPLOMACY IS ESSENTIAL AND HE PLANS THEREFORE TO ATTEND SEPTEMBER SECCO MEETING IN PERSON AND LATER THAT MONTH TO ADDRESS GA PLENARY. HE BELIEVES THAT AFTER THIS PHASE OF OPEN DIPLOMACY NEW OPPORTUNITIES MAY EMERGE FOR STRENGTHENED MISSION OF GOOD OFFICES ON YOUR PART AND FOR PRODUCTIVE QUIET DIPLOMACY. KYPRIANOU ADDED THAT HE WOULD SEND YOU LETTER CONVEYING HIS PRESENT THINKING AND STRATEGY UPON HIS RETURN FROM GREECE WHERE HE WILL SPEND SOME TEN DAYS AS FROM 4 AUGUST AS GUEST OF GREEK GOVERNMENT, BUT ON PURELY PRIVATE VISIT.

6. DESPITE ABOVE STAND WHICH SEEMS TO RULE OUT, FOR IMMEDIATE FUTURE, TANGIBLE PROGRESS ON VAROSHA QUESTION, PLAN TO SEE DENKTASH TO CONVEY YOUR OBSERVATIONS ENDALL

COL 31 921 1. 2. 1293 3. 24 31 4. 5. 4 6

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W *SG. MR*
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1/8

TO: SECRETARY-GENERAL
FROM: GALINDO-POHL
DATE: 1 AUGUST 1978
U N N U M B E R E D

YOUR UNNUMBERED OF 31 JULY AND NO. 921 FROM GUYER/URQUHART.

1. PRESIDENT KYPRIANOU RECEIVED ME MORNING 1 AUGUST- FOREIGN MINISTER ROLANDIS AND DIRECTOR-GENERAL PELAGHIAS JOINED US IN COURSE OF MEETING. D/SRSG ASSISTED ME.

2. ESSENCE OF YOUR CABLES WAS CONVEYED TO KYPRIANOU. HIS REACTION WAS THAT ANY ATTEMPT TO REACH SOLUTION ON FAMAGUSTA AND MORE GENERALLY TO RESUME INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS WAS FUTILE AT THIS JUNCTURE AND SHOULD AWAIT OUTCOME OF SECCO MEETING CYPRUS GOVERNMENT WILL REQUEST EARLY SEPTEMBER (UNFICYP 1293 BBB). IN LIGHT OF THAT OUTCOME, BE IT POSITIVE OR NEGATIVE IN PROCEDURAL OR SUBSTANTIVE SENSE, YOU, ACCORDING TO KYPRIANOU, WOULD BE IN MUCH BETTER POSITION THAN NOW TO EXTEND YOUR GOOD OFFICES. KYPRIANOU ASSERTED THAT AT THIS STAGE ONLY GAMES OF IMPRESSIONS WERE BEING PLAYED, WITH ATTENDANT RISK OF JEOPARDISING YOUR PRESTIGE.

3. IN SAYING ALL THIS, KYPRIANOU CLUNG TO HIS 24 JULY PROPOSAL ON FAMAGUSTA. ACCORDING TO PELAGHIAS SOME CONGRESSMEN TRIED TO