

BACKGROUND NOTE TO ORAL QUESTION No. H-255-76 by  
MR SPICER TO THE CONFERENCE OF FOREIGN MINISTERS

on 9 February 1977

Subject - Relations with Cyprus

What policy approach does the Conference of Foreign Ministers have in relation to the problem of Cyprus?

1. Neither the attempts of the Nine nor of the United Nations Secretary-General to resolve the Cyprus problem created by the Turkish invasion of 1974 can be said to have had much success to date. The Nine Foreign Ministers have repeatedly had Cyprus on the agenda of their meetings since July 1974, and successive Presidents-in-Office have tried to bring both sides in the island together. Mr Waldheim, in his repeated contacts in 1975 and 1976 with the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot leaders, has hardly even been able to institute 'jaw-jaw' in place of 'war-war'.

Recent events in Cyprus

2. In June 1976 elections were held in that part of the island occupied by the Turks in 1974, to elect a President and 40 members of the National Assembly of the Federal Turkist Republic of Cyprus.<sup>+</sup> The result was a victory for Mr Denktash and his right-wing National Union party. These elections served to confirm the division of the island and the determination of the Turks to seek a federal solution.

3. On 5 September 1976 a parliamentary election was held in the Greek Cypriot part of the island. The result was a sweeping victory for a coalition of centrists, Socialists and Communists, pledged to support President Makarios. The Conservative party of Mr Clerides,

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<sup>+</sup> The Greek Cypriot population of the island numbers almost 700,000, the Turkist Cypriot population about 150,000 people. The Turks occupy an area of about two-fifths of the island.

opposed to the President, polled an average of only 24% of the votes, compared to the coalitions average share of 70% (the remaining votes were cast for independents). The coalition won all 35 seats in the Assembly.

4. The main issues at the election were Archbishop Makarios' policies of non-alignment on an international level and the 'long-term struggle' against the Turkish occupation; Mr Clerides' party argued for a pro-Western policy with the aim of gaining support against the Turks in order to end partition. Mr Clerides chose to ally his party with an extreme pro-Enosis faction which was bitterly opposed to Archbishop Makarios, thus probably losing many votes.

5. The most recent development in Cyprus has been the meeting, brought about by the Secretary General of the United Nations, Mr Waldheim, held on 27 January 1977 between President Makarios and Mr Denktash, the community leaders. It was their first meeting since 1973 and represents the successful culmination of many months patient diplomacy by Mr Waldheim. A further meeting, on this occasion to be attended by Mr Waldheim, will take place on 13 February in Nicosia.

6. For his part Mr Clerides said in Brussels on 27 January that he was seeking a contribution from the Nine to the solution of the Cyprus problem. He hopes that the Nine and the US Government will agree to bring pressure to bear on the Turkish Government with this aim.

Action by the Conference of Foreign Ministers

7. In early September the President-in-Office of the Conference, Mr Max Van der Stoel, visited Ankara with President Ortoli for talks with the Turkish Government. They told the latter that they would give no support to Mr Denktash, President of the Federal Turkish Republic of Cyprus. Mr Van der Stoel told the Political Affairs Committee of the European Parliament in October 1976 that the Nine believed that all aspects of the Cyprus problem had to <sup>be</sup> open to negotiation if any progress towards its solution was to be achieved. This view had been put by him to both the Greek and Turkish Governments, with the aim of seeking their support in re-establishing consultations between the two communities.

8. On 17 November 1976, in a statement to the European Parliament, Mr Van der Stoel reaffirmed the Nine's belief that -

'a solution must be reached by means of negotiations and must aim at maintaining and guaranteeing the independence sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus'.<sup>†</sup>

9. The Nine, Mr Van der Stoel continued, were maintaining close contact on Cyprus with the then US Government. The Carter Administration is likely to adopt a different approach to Cyprus than that of President Ford and Dr. Kissinger. The 'Greek lobby' in the USA is well established in the Democratic majority in Congress, and is expected to exercise some influence over the new President. In addition, Mr Carter said on 16 September 1976 that the policy of the Ford Administration of

'tilting away from Greece and Cyprus has proved a disaster for NATO and for American security interests.'<sup>\*\*</sup>

#### EEC-Cyprus Association Council

10. The EEC-Cyprus Association Council is responsible for the oversight and management of the Association Agreement of 1973. At its meeting on 4 May 1976, the Council issued a Press Release, whose terms extended beyond the purely economic aspects of the Association Agreement.<sup>‡</sup> The salient point to note in the statement is the Community's reaffirmation of the condition in the Association Agreement that association must benefit the people of Cyprus as a whole.

11. The first stage of the Association expires on 30 June, before which negotiations should have been carried to a conclusion on the future development of the Association. With this aim in mind, the Commissioner for External Relations, Mr Haferkamp, met the Cyprus Foreign Minister Mr Christophides, and the Minister for Trade and Industry, Mr Plerides on 3 February. The Nine Foreign Ministers

<sup>†</sup> See Annex 1, OJ Annex No. 209, to Debates of the European Parliament, November 1976, p. 96

<sup>\*\*</sup> The Times, 16.11.76

<sup>‡</sup> Annex 2

discussed Cyprus at their London meeting on 31 January and instructed the Political (Davignon) Committee to report to them on the effect of political developments in the island on the Association negotiations. The economic aspect of the negotiations will include discussion of EEC concessions to Cypriot agricultural products, imports of Cyprus sherry, and questions of economic, financial and technical cooperation.

Future policy of the Nine

12. The Nine have in recent weeks been awaiting the inauguration of President Carter and the consequent definition of US policy in regard to Greece, Turkey and Cyprus. Few indications have so far been given publicly of this policy, but it can be expected to give general support for the Greek and Greek-Cypriot positions. One manifestation of such a policy would be for the US and the Nine to bring pressure to bear on Turkey to make conciliatory moves in Cyprus, in order to give the inter-community negotiations some chance of making progress.

13. There are perhaps three possible lines of development in Cyprus. First, the talks between the two sides may be pointless and result in a position of stalemate, implying the acceptance of de facto partition. Second, the talks may result in a weak central government holding the ring between two self-governing communities. This solution implies de jure rather than de facto partition and will probably be resisted by President Makarios. A third (and remote) possibility is the occupation by Turkish forces of that part of the island under Greek Cypriot control. This seems a most unlikely policy for Turkey to adopt, given the strength of the Turkish position in the island at present and the certainty that US opinion would thereby be further alienated.

Possible supplementary questions

1. What information can the President-in-Office give the House on the Carter Administration's policy on Cyprus and the reaction of the Conference of Foreign Ministers to it?
2. What effective political pressure could the Nine exert on both the Greek and Turkish Governments, in the light of the need to negotiate the extension of the Association Agreement with Cyprus, in order to bring the two Cypriot communities together?
3. To what extent are the Community's current accession negotiations with Greece affecting the attitude of on the one hand the Greek and on the other hand the Turkish Governments?

### Van der Stoep

the General Assembly on 28 September last, I announced the intention of the Nine not to recognize Transkei in October. This decision was based on the view that the granting of independence to Transkei stemmed from South Africa's policy of apartheid, which the Nine reject.

Thirdly, with a view to contributing towards a breakthrough in the Zimbabwe question, the Nine decided to issue a forceful Community statement declaring their full support for the British proposals for a conference in Geneva which might pave the way towards a majority government within two years. As regards Namibia, the Nine asked Pretoria what measures the South African Government was taking with a view to finding a swift and acceptable solution to this problem. I should like to remind you in connection with the apartheid regime in South Africa itself that the critical dialogue between the countries of the Community and South Africa is continuing.

Finally, I can inform you that the question of the recognition of the Republic of the Comoros will also be discussed within the context of political cooperation.

I now come to the Cyprus question, which is a regular topic of discussion among the Nine. We have examined the possibilities of finding a swift solution to the conflicts on and around the island.

Our basic premise has always been that a solution must be reached by means of negotiations and must aim at maintaining and guaranteeing the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus. Following the fifth round of talks under the auspices of the Secretary-General of the United Nations in February of this year, it emerged that the representatives of the Greek and Turkish communities in Cyprus were not prepared to meet around the conference table again in May under Mr Waldheim's chairmanship, as had been agreed at the end of the fifth round. Since then, the Member States have again both jointly and severally taken every opportunity to urge a resumption of the inter-community discussions in accordance with the offer of good offices made by the nine Ministers of Foreign Affairs on 13 February 1975 in Dublin, when they also assured the Secretary-General of the United Nations once more of their support in the implementation of the task assigned to him by the Security Council, i.e. to endeavour to achieve a lasting solution which would be acceptable to all parties involved in the conflict. These activities, including the contacts with both negotiating parties in Cyprus, both by and on behalf of the Presidency, were among the factors which led Mr Waldheim to take the initiative of inviting Mr Papadopoulos and Mr Onan to New York on 3 September last to discuss with him the possibility of resuming the negotiations under his leadership. After these talks both sides said that they were willing to resume the talks in Nicosia under the chairmanship of the special representative of the Secretary-

General in Cyprus, although no date was yet decided on.

Mr President, in my capacity as President of the Council of Foreign Ministers of the Community, I too discussed the Cyprus question with the heads of the Greek and Turkish Governments and with my colleagues, the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, during my visits to Athens and Ankara in August and September respectively. On these occasions and during my later meetings with my Turkish and Greek colleagues I explained the position of the Nine, and urged them to use their influence to bring about a rapid resumption of inter-community consultation regarding the major issues in Cyprus, which so far has not been possible, mainly owing to procedural problems. The Nine are maintaining close contact with the Government of the United States on this matter, again via the Netherlands Government, which currently occupies the Presidency of the Council.

Mr President, I should now like to speak about European political cooperation and East-West relations. As the 'follow-up meeting' to the Helsinki security conference draws nearer, by which I mean the coming conference in Belgrade, interest in this subject is increasing. This interest is reflected not only in the many meetings of the Working Party on the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe within the framework of European political cooperation, but also in the fact that the follow-up to Helsinki has figured regularly on the agenda of the Political Affairs Committee during the last few months. The working party I have just mentioned was able to complete its analysis of the text of the Final Act this summer — an extremely time-consuming but useful undertaking which resulted in a number of documents together totalling several hundred pages. The Nine will be able to use this analysis as a basis for their work in Belgrade, particularly in connection with the assessment of how the agreements reached in Helsinki have been implemented. The exchange of information and opinions on this question has been pursued, and its results include a series of parallel representations by the Nine in Moscow aimed at improving economic information. The preparation for the Belgrade conference got under way with a study of a number of practical and theoretical aspects. Clearly, it will only be possible to make final choices for Belgrade at a fairly late stage, in the light of the East-West situation as a whole. Nevertheless, it is useful even at this early juncture to reflect on the various options open to us. Thus the questions currently under consideration include the areas in which it might be possible for us too to submit new proposals, with a view to both maintaining the multilateral dialogue and to achieving some progress in certain matters of interest to the Nine. In addition, we must bear in mind that some neutral countries which are still extremely interested in the follow-up to Helsinki may also make proposals, and the Nine would be well-advised to ensure as efficient cooperation as possible with this group.

EEC-CYPRUS  
A S S O C I A T I O N

- Association Council -

P R E S S   R E L E A S E

Brussels, 4 May 1976

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JOINT PRESS RELEASE

The third meeting of the EEC - Cyprus Association Council was held on Tuesday 4 May 1976 at the Charlemagne Building, Brussels, with Mr John Cl. CHRISTOPHIDES, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Cyprus in the Chair.

The delegation of the Republic of Cyprus also included Mr Michael G. COLOCASSIDES, Minister of Commerce and Industry; Mr Titos PHANOS, Ambassador, Permanent Delegate to the European Economic Community; Mr George ELIADES, Director-General, Ministry of Commerce and Industry; Mr Nicos AGATHOCLEOUS, Counsellor of the Permanent Delegation to the European Economic Community; Mr Theophilos HADJITHEOUPHILOU, Head of the European Economic Community Office, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Mr Stavros ORPHANOU, Secretary of the Permanent Delegation to the European Economic Community and Mr Christodoulos PASIARDIS, Minister's Cabinet, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The Community Delegation was led by Mr Gaston THORN, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Luxembourg and President in office of the Council of the European Communities.

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The Member States were represented as follows:

Belgium:

Mr Renaat VAN ELSLANDE                    Minister for Foreign Affairs

Denmark:

Mr Ivar NØRGAARD                         Minister for External Economic  
Affairs and Nordic Affairs

Mr Jens CHRISTENSEN                     State Secretary,  
Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Germany:

Mr Hans-Jürgen WISCHNEWSKI            Minister of State,  
Ministry of Foreign Affairs

France:

Mr Jean-Marie SOUTOU                    Ambassador,  
Permanent Representative

Ireland:

Mr Brendan DILLON                        Ambassador,  
Permanent Representative

Italy:

Mr Eugenio PLAJA                         Ambassador,  
Permanent Representative

Luxembourg:

Mr Jean DONDELINGER                     Ambassador,  
Permanent Representative

Netherlands:

Mr L.J. BRINKHORST                      State Secretary,  
Ministry of Foreign Affairs

United Kingdom:

Sir Donald MAITLAND                     Ambassador,  
Permanent Representative

The Commission was represented by:

Sir Christopher SOAMES                  Vice-President



The delegation of the Republic of Cyprus conveyed the Cyprus Government's appreciation for the holding of the third meeting of the Association Council and expressed its views on a number of outstanding problems relating to the functioning, application and development of the Association Agreement and in particular the problems involved in the Community's overall approach to the Mediterranean as well as the question of Cyprus sherry. It also underlined its concern over the delay in the solution of the problems within the context of the overall Mediterranean approach of the Community and made an urgent plea for appropriate solutions without further delay.

The Community, concerned with the present state of affairs in Cyprus, and because no development truly satisfactory for the parties concerned had taken place since the last meeting of the Association Council, recalled that its ambition was to contribute towards the re-establishment of conditions enabling all the citizens of Cyprus to live once more in a climate of peace and stability. The Community remains committed to developing its relations with Cyprus, in particular by the enlargement and strengthening of the present agreement for the benefit of the economy of Cyprus as a whole. The Community expressed the hope that the work being carried out towards this end within its institutions would, in the near future and by means of a genuine effort towards mutual understanding, culminate in bringing to Cyprus - its communities living together in a spirit of harmony - the full benefit of the Community's cooperation and that of its Member States.