

FCO 9/2934 WSC 010/1 AA Cypriot leader President

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CLERIDES, GLAFCOS

Leader of the Centre-Right-Wing Democratic Rally Party.

Born 1919. Educated locally and at London University (LL B), where he associated with the Cypriot Communists. He is the son of the late John Clerides who opposed Makarios in the 1960 Presidential Election. Active service with the RAF. A POW in Germany (1942-5). Built up flourishing law practice 1951-60. Involved with EOKA. Took part in Cyprus Constitutional Conference 1959. Minister of Justice in Interim Government 1959-60. President of the House of Representatives from 1960 to 1976. In the Archbishop's absence acted as President of the Republic. One of the triumvirate which planned the intercommunal fighting of 1963/4. He clandestinely visited Prague in 1966 and arranged the purchase of a quantity of Czech arms. In 1969 founded Unified Party in association with Georghadjis and elected its President.

When the Sampson regime collapsed in July 1974 he became Acting President, in accordance with the Constitution. His performance revealed a politician of high calibre. After the Archbishop's return as President, Clerides joined forces with Karamanlis to pin Makarios down to a "joint line" which did not rule out geographical federation for Cyprus. His long association with the Denktash in the intercommunal talks with the Turkish Cypriots made him a natural interlocutor in the further talks which followed the Turkish invasion.

In April 1976 Clerides was forced to resign as Greek Cypriot interlocutor (which he had been since 1968) after a public outcry against his fulfilling a private undertaking to Denktash to give him an advance sight of the Greek Cypriot proposals in the intercommunal talks. Makarios, who had contrived Clerides' downfall, announced elections to the House of Representatives as a means to complete the removal of Clerides from active politics. Clerides formed the "Democratic Rally" party and campaigned for a flexible approach to intercommunal talks and for abandonment of the sterile policy of "internationalisation", thereby setting himself up in clear opposition to Makarios. Clerides' hopes of success were effectively neutralised by the electoral coalition between the Democratic Party, AKEL and EDEK. In the 1976 elections Clerides did not even retain his own seat in the House of Representatives. He withdrew from the 1978 Presidential Election after the kidnapping of Kyprianou's son in December 1977 and in March 1978 withdrew from the advisory National Council, so that he could feel free to criticise the Government.

Articulate and privately reasonable and flexible. But it is open to doubt whether he is any longer likely to provide effective leadership if he gets the chance. His reluctance in 1974 to see Archbishop Makarios return and his Party's remaining connections with the extreme Right are likely to prove a handicap.

Personally always most friendly. Married to a charming Anglo-Indian who speaks little Greek, is frustrated by life in Cyprus and makes little secret of her wish to escape to London. One daughter who now studies in West Germany. He speaks English fluently.

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DENKTASH, RAUF

Vice-President of the Republic since 1973. Self-styled "President of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus".

Born Paphos 1924. Educated locally. Barrister (Lincoln's Inn); law practice. Crown Counsel 1950. Resigned in 1957 and became Chairman of the Federation of Cyprus Turkish Associations; campaigned against Enosis and for partition and probably stimulated the Turkish Cypriot anti-Enosis riots of 1958. Prominent in the formation of the TMT although he kept aloof from the operational side. By 1960 he was the main political rival of Dr Kutchuk. President of the Turkish Communal Chamber 1960-73. Was largely responsible for Turkish intransigence which led to the constitutional deadlocks over the questions of income tax and the municipalities. Played a prominent part when fighting broke out in December 1963. Attended the London Conference (1964). The Cyprus Government refused to allow his return to Cyprus until April 1968. He spent the intervening four years in Turkey apart from a brief clandestine visit to Kokkina, the Turkish Cypriot coastal enclave, in 1964 and an attempt to return in 1967 which resulted in his capture and expulsion back to Turkey. In 1967 appointed in his absence Vice-President of the Executive Committee of the Provisional Turkish Cypriot Administration. 1968 appointed his community's representative in the intercommunal talks with Clerides. He was elected Vice-President in 1973 after the Turkish authorities had forced Dr Kutchuk and another candidate out of the running.

For a time Denktash seemed to lose political ground after the Turkish invasion. His unpopularity seemed largely due to his inability to fulfil rash pledges, to the ineffective and, in some cases, venal ministers with whom he surrounded himself, and to the administrative confusions necessarily resulting from the resettlement of large numbers of people. However, his triumph in the first TFSC "presidential" election in June 1976, when he won hands down over his nearest rival, Berberoglu, clearly showed that while he may not be loved, he is still regarded as the Turkish Cypriot community's natural leader. Since there is no heir-apparent, even among those parties in opposition to Denktash, his personal position as "President of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus" seems secure enough, at least for the foreseeable future. The mainland security apparatus and former strong-arm men of the TMT can almost certainly ensure his political survival for so long as it suits Ankara's book.

Prospects for the intercommunal talks improved after Denktash's meeting with Makarios in February 1977, but since then little has resulted from this meeting, or Denktash's subsequent meetings with President Kyprianou in January 1978 and May 1979. (Intercommunal talks arranged after the latter meeting broke down after only four sessions.) Though obliged to appear to be seeking a negotiated settlement, Denktash would probably prefer to become the first President of an independent Turkish Cypriot State, which Ankara continues to oppose.

He suffers from an inferiority complex which makes him emotional and quick tempered if, as frequently happens, he feels or imagines that he is being misunderstood or underestimated. But can be charming, with a mischievous sense of humour when relaxed.

Married. Four children (two sons; twin daughters). Speaks English and Greek fluently.

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PAPADOPOULOS, TASSOS

Former Greek Cypriot interlocutor in the intercommunal talks: member of the House of Representatives.

Born 1934. Studied Law at London University, where he was President of the Pancyprrian Students' Union of Britain. Barrister (Gray's Inn). Returned to Nicosia in 1955 to practise; prominent on the propaganda and political side of EOKA, defending many of its members in Court. Acted on occasions as a link between Makarios and Grivas. Helped organise the assault on the Turkish Cypriot community in 1963.

Minister of the Interior in the interim government 1959, and member of the Greek Cypriot delegation to the London Conference. Minister of Labour and Social Insurance 1960-70. Closely involved with the Unified Party, whose representative he was on the National Council. (Vice-President of the House of Representatives and Parliamentary Leader of the Unified Party from 1970 to 1976, and briefly President of the House after the resignation of Clerides). As a Minister he was conscientious and forward-looking, and his Ministry was well run and progressive. He was active as Parliamentary Leader of the Unified Party. Well regarded by Makarios.

Replaced Clerides as negotiator in the intercommunal talks in April 1976. His few meetings with his Turkish Cypriot counterpart produced no break-through and Papadopoulos made no effort to gloss over what he regarded as Turkish Cypriot intransigence. Disassociated himself from Clerides in 1976 when the Rally opposed Makarios. Elected to the House of Representatives by agreement among the pro-Makarios coalition of parties as an "Independent".

It is believed that Makarios backed Papadopoulos as a future leader of the Centre-Right to take over and re-unite the supporters of both Clerides and Kyprianou. However Makarios died before this plan came to fruition and Kyprianou became President. Papadopoulos barely concealed his dislike and low opinion of Kyprianou. After publicly challenging Kyprianou's handling of the Cyprus problem, Papadopoulos was sacked as negotiator in July 1978.

Although not popular on Right or Left and lacking a personal following, he is undoubtedly able and has an eye on the main chance. In an island where political talent is limited, Papadopoulos is quite likely to make a comeback.

In February 1972 he married the young widow Photini of Polycarpus Georghadjis who had been assassinated. They have two children of their own and there are two from the previous marriage. As she is a daughter (natural) of the late millionaire Anastassis Leventis who financed Karamanlis during his Parisian exile, this gives him a family link to Karamanlis, and he keeps this connection in good repair.

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