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FM ANKARA 171355Z JAN 85

TO FLASH FCG

TELEGRAM NUMBER 034 OF 17 JANUARY
AND TO FLASH UKMIS NEW YORK AND NICOSIA
INFO IMMEDIATE WASHINGTON, ATHENS.

YOUR TELNO 010 TO NICOSIA AND TELECON NEILSON/SELF: CYPRUS

SUMMARY

1. IN STRESSING THE NEED FOR SECURITY GUARANTEES FOR THE TURKISH MINORITY, HALEFOGLU HAS SAID TO THE PRESS THAT SOME TURKISH TROOPS WILL NEED TO REMAIN, AS PROVIDED FOR UNDER THE 1960 GUARANTEE AGREEMENT. FAIRLY CLEAR THAT THIS WAS INTENDED AS REASSURANCE IN ADVANCE OF THE SUMMIT AND TO ALLAY MEDIA CRITICISM THAT TOO MANY CONCESSIONS WERE BEING MADE.

DETAIL

2. THE HURRIYET REPORT OF 15 JANUARY IS MAINLY ABOUT THE IMPORTANCE OF CONTINUING TURKISH GUARANTEES FOR THE MINORITY IN CYPRUS. AFTER REFERRING TO THE NEED FOR A SYSTEM IN WHICH BOTH COMMUNITIES CAN LIVE IN PEACE AND SECURITY, HALEFOGLU IS QUOTED AS SAYING THAT WHEN THE FINAL SOLUTION IS ACHIEVED, TURKISH TROOPS WILL NOT BE COMPLETELY WITHDRAWN FROM THE ISLAND. "THIS WAS NOT A CONDITION EVEN IN THE 1960 AGREEMENT. THEREFORE IT IS NOT POSSIBLE FOR THE TURKISH/CYPRIOI COMMUNITY TO EXIST WITHOUT TURKEY'S DIRECT GUARANTEES. THIS DIRECT GUARANTEE WILL BE PROVIDED BY THE TURKISH ARMED FORCES IN CYPRUS". THE HURRIYET HEADLINE, WHICH IS NOT FULLY CONSISTENT WITH HALEFOGLU'S REMARKS, WAS "THE TURKISH FORCES WILL NOT BE WITHDRAWN FROM CYPRUS".

3. THE TURCUMAN ARTICLE OF 14 JANUARY IS A MORE SPECULATIVE PIECE BASED ON DENKTASH'S PRESS CONFERENCE (REPORTED IN MY TELNO 021). THIS CONFIRMS THE KNOWN TURKISH POSITION THAT NONE OF THEIR FORCES COULD BE WITHDRAWN FROM THE ISLAND BEFORE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT. THIS IS OF COURSE WHAT ULUCEVIK TOLD US (PARA 3 OF OUR TELNO 015) IN SAYING THAT A FULL AGREEMENT HAD TO BE IN PLACE BEFORE THE TIMETABLE FOR WITHDRAWAL COULD BEGIN TO OPERATE. (

4. HALEFOGLU'S PRIVATE SECRETARY HAS NOW CONFIRMED THAT THE HURRIYET REPORT IS BOTH A FULL AND ACCURATE ACCOUNT OF WHAT HIS MINISTER HAD SAID. HE DECLINED TO CLARIFY THE STATEMENT BEYOND POINTING OUT THAT THE HEADLINE HAD BEEN MISLEADING AND THAT THE DRAFT HIGH LEVEL AGREEMENT PROVIDES FOR DISCUSSION OF BOTH GUARANTEES AND TROOP WITHDRAWALS. HOWEVER, THE CYPRUS DEPARTMENT AT THE MFA HAVE SEPARATELY TOLD US THAT DESPITE THE SENSITIVITY OF THIS ISSUE, IT HAD BEEN THOUGHT NECESSARY FOR THE MINISTER PUBLICLY TO REBUT REMARKS ATTRIBUTED TO IACOVOU IN THE TURKISH PRESS OF 11 JANUARY, THAT THE GREEK CYPRIOTS COULD NOT AGREE

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TO ANY TEMPORARY OR PERMANENT ARRANGEMENTS BEFORE TURKISH TROOPS WERE WITHDRAWN.

COMMENT

5. WHILST GREEK JITTERINESS AT THIS CRITICAL STAGE IS UNDERSTANDABLE, I BELIEVE THAT CONCERN ABOUT TURKISH MOTIVES IS ON THIS OCCASION EXAGGERATED. HALEFOGLU'S COMMENTS NEED TO BE SEEN IN THE CONTEXT OF:-

(A) THE TURKISH POSITION THAT, AT LEAST IN THEORY, THE PROVISIONS OF THE 1960 TREATY OF GUARANTEE ARE STILL IN EFFECT. MOREOVER THE TURKS REGARD THEIR CONTINUED ROLE AS GUARANTOR AS A PRE-REQUISITE FOR ANY SETTLEMENT. SINCE THE 1960 TREATY PROVIDED FOR THE PRESENCE ON CYPRUS OF 650 TURKISH TROOPS (TO OFFSET THE GREEK NATIONAL GUARD) IT FOLLOWS THAT THE TURKS TODAY STILL CONSIDER THEY HAVE A LEGAL RIGHT TO SOME RESIDUAL MILITARY PRESENCE, AND

(B) AS HALEFOGLU'S PS TOLD MY COUNSELLOR THE WHOLE QUESTION OF TROOP WITHDRAWALS AND GUARANTEES WILL BE NEGOTIATED BY ONE OF THE WORKING GROUPS AND IT IS THEREFORE NOT SURPRISING THAT HALEFOGLU SHOULD NOW BE STAKING OUT A TURKISH POSITION SEMI COLON

(C) THE TURKISH NEED, AS THE MFA HAVE EXPLAINED, TO PROVIDE PUBLIC REASSURANCE THAT THE INTERESTS OF THEIR COMMUNITY WOULD BE ADEQUATELY PROTECTED BY ANY SETTLEMENT. APART FROM IACOVOU'S COMMENTS THERE HAVE IN RECENT DAYS BEEN A NUMBER OF ARTICLES IN THE PRESS HERE CRITICISING THE GOVERNMENT FOR HAVING ALREADY MADE TOO MANY CONCESSIONS TO THE GREEK SIDE.

6. IT IS DIFFICULT TO KNOW WHETHER THE TURKS WOULD BE READY TO AGREE, AFTER A SUITABLY PHASED WITHDRAWAL, TO ACCEPT A RESIDUAL FORCE OF THE SAME TOKEN ORDER AS PROVIDED FOR IN 1960. I SUSPECT THAT THEY WOULD ARGUE THAT THERE SHOULD BE SUFFICIENT TROOPS IN THE AREA TO DETER THE GREEK CYPRIOTS FROM DEPARTING FROM THE EXACT TERMS OF ANY NEW AGREEMENT. WHETHER OR NOT THIS IS SO, I DO NOT THINK THAT THIS IS THE RIGHT MOMENT TO RAISE THIS ISSUE WITH THE TURKS HERE. SOME RISK

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OF OUR FINDING OURSELVES IN THE MIDDLE OF AN ACRIMONIOUS ARGUMENT BETWEEN THE PRINCIPLES WOULD BE CLEAR. BUT TO ALLAY GREEK AND CYPRIOT FEARS SIR JOHN THOMSON MAY WISH TO PASS ON OUR INTERPRETATION OF HALEFOGLU'S COMMENTS AND PARTICULARLY THE GLOSS PUT ON THEM BY THE TURKISH MFA. I WOULD ALSO NOT RULE OUT THE NEED FOR A HIGH LEVEL DEMARCHE HERE IF THINGS LOOKED LIKE COMING APART ON THIS ISSUE IN NEW YORK.

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