

ADVANCE COPIES

520

CYPRUS

PS (C)  
PS/LADY YOUNG  
PS/MR RENTON  
PS/PUS  
MR DEREK THOMAS  
MR JENKINS

PS/No.10 DOWNING STREET

D I O CABINET OFFICE

HD/SED  
HD/UND  
DEP HD/PUSD (2)  
HD/NEWS DEPT

RESIDENT CLERK

IMMEDIATE



CONFIDENTIAL

DESKBY 260900Z

FM ANKARA 260900Z JAN 85

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 065 OF 26 JANUARY

INFO IMMEDIATE (DESKBY FIRST CONTACT) TO NICOSIA, ATHENS UKMIS  
NEW YORK, WASHINGTON.

ROUTINE UKREP BRUSSELS, UKDEL NATO, MODUK (SEC(O)(C)), PARIS,  
BOKN, ROME STRASBOURG.

YOUR TELNO 033: CYPRUS: PRIME MINISTERS MESSAGE

SUMMARY

1. PRIME MINISTER'S MESSAGE DELIVERED THROUGH HALEFOGLU.  
HE WAS FRIENDLY BUT GAVE NOTHING AWAY. DENKTASH HAS ANNOUNCED  
ELECTIONS FOR 23 JUNE. BUT ANKARA MAY NOT HAVE MADE UP THEIR  
MIND HOW TO PLAY THEIR HAND. THERE IS A MEETING OF THE NATIONAL  
SECURITY COUNCIL TODAY.

DETAIL

2. I DELIVERED THE PRIME MINISTER'S MESSAGE TO MR OZAL THROUGH  
HALEFOGLU YESTERDAY EVENING. IN DOING SO I EXPLAINED THAT MRS  
THATCHER'S MESSAGE WAS THE RESULT OF TALKS BETWEEN THE SECRETARY  
GENERAL, THE PRIME MINISTER AND YOURSELF IN LONDON ON 23 JANUARY.  
THE SECRETARY GENERAL HAD UNDERLINED HIS DETERMINATION TO CARRY  
ON WITH HIS EFFORTS TO REACH A SETTLEMENT ON THE CYPRUS PROBLEM.  
PEREZ DE CUELLAR HAD ATTACHED PARTICULAR IMPORTANCE TO NEITHER  
SIDE DOING ANYTHING MEANWHILE WHICH WOULD MAKE THE PROCESS OF  
REACHING AGREEMENT MORE DIFFICULT. WE RECOGNISED THE HELPFUL  
INFLUENCE WHICH THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT HAD BROUGHT TO BEAR ON  
DENKTASH BEFORE THE NEW YORK SUMMIT. THE PRIME MINISTER WAS  
ASKING MR OZAL THAT THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT SHOULD CONTINUE TO USE  
THEIR INFLUENCE. SPECIFICALLY IT WAS VITAL THAT MR DENKTASH  
SHOULD NOT TAKE FURTHER STEPS TOWARDS CONSTITUTIONAL CONSOLIDATION  
OF NORTHERN CYPRUS. MRS THATCHER HAD ALSO WRITTEN TO KYPRIANOU.

3. HALEFOGLU SAID THAT THE POSITION IN CYPRUS WAS NOT EQUAL.  
THE GREEKS HAD RECOGNITION AND ECONOMIC PROSPERITY. THE TURKS  
HAD NEITHER. THEY COULD NOT GO ON INDEFINITELY LIVING WITH THIS  
UNEQUAL STATUS. MOREOVER DENKTASH PERSONALLY WAS IN A VERY  
DIFFICULT POLITICAL SITUATION AT HOME. HE NEEDED TO DO SOMETHING.  
TURKEY COULD NOT AFFORD TO SEE HIM "HANG HIMSELF". HIS  
LEADERSHIP WAS INDISPENSIBLE. IF HE WERE TO BE POLITICALLY  
DEFEATED IT WOULD BE A MAJOR SET BACK. NO ALTERNATIVE TO HIM WAS  
IN SIGHT. FURTHERMORE DENKTASH HAD ACCEPTED EVERY ONE OF THE  
SECRETARY GENERAL'S PROPOSALS. OUR DEMARCHE SHOULD BE ADDRESSED  
TO THE MAN WHO HAD RAISED "19 OBJECTIONS TO 14 ARTICLES" OF  
THE SECRETARY GENERAL'S DOCUMENTATION. IT WAS NOT POSSIBLE TO ASK

TO THE MAN WHO HAD RAISED '19 OBJECTIONS TO 14 ARTICLES' OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL'S DOCUMENTATION. IT WAS NOT POSSIBLE TO ASK OF DENKTASH MORE THAN HE COULD DELIVER. HE MUST HAVE ELECTIONS AND HAD SAID THAT THESE WOULD BE IN JUNE. (DENKTASH'S ANNOUNCEMENT OF ELECTIONS ON 23 JUNE IS FEATURED PROMINENTLY IN THE TURKISH PRESS TODAY.) HALEFOGLU CLAIMED THAT DENKTASH HAD SAID AS MUCH TO KYPRIANOU AND THAT NEITHER KYPRIANOU NOR PEREZ DE CUELLAR HAD OBJECTED.

4. HALEFOGLU THEN WENT ON TO SAY THAT A FUTURE SUMMIT IN HIS VIEW SHOULD NOT BE HELD IN NEW YORK BUT CYPRUS. APART FROM THE EXPENSE WHICH A NEW YORK VENUE IMPOSED ON THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS, IT WAS ABSURD FOR THE PRINCIPALS TO TRAVEL 6,000 MILES TO NEW YORK WHEN THEY LIVED HALF A MILE APART. HALEFOGLU UNDERSTOOD THAT BOTH LEADERS HAD AGREED THAT A HOT LINE BETWEEN THEM MIGHT BE ARRANGED. HALEFOGLU CONCLUDED BY SAYING THAT IN HIS VIEW A CYPRUS SETTLEMENT COULD ONLY BE REACHED BY THE TWO COMMUNITIES. IT COULD NOT BE IMPOSED FROM OUTSIDE THROUGH CONDITIONS WHICH ONE SIDE FOUND UNACCEPTABLE.

5. I REPEATED THAT IN THE SECRETARY GENERAL'S VIEW AND OUR OWN IT WAS ESSENTIAL THAT NOTHING SHOULD BE DONE WHICH WOULD WIDEN THE GAP SEMI COLON ALSO THAT THE PRIME MINISTER HAD WRITTEN TO KYPRIANOU. I THEN REFERRED TO DENKTASH'S RECENT REMARKS THAT ANY NEW NEGOTIATIONS WOULD HAVE TO START FROM SCRATCH. WAS THAT REALLY THE CASE IN THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT'S VIEW? HALEFOGLU SAID THAT HE COULD NOT ANSWER THE QUESTION. HE WAS NOT IN A POSITION TO INTERPRET DENKTASH'S THINKING. DENKTASH HAD SAID HE WOULD HAVE TO CONSULT HIS PARLIAMENT. HE HAD BEEN GIVEN A MANDATE FOR HIS PREVIOUS STAND. HALEFOGLU THOUGHT IT PREMATURE TO TRY TO ASSESS HIS FUTURE INTENTIONS. OUR DISCUSSION CONCLUDED WITH MY REPEATING THE IMPORTANCE WHICH THE PRIME MINISTER AND YOU ATTACHED TO AVOIDING ANY PROVOCATIVE ACTION.

#### COMMENT

6. I WAS IMMEDIATELY PRECEDED IN MY CALL ON HALEFOGLU BY MY AMERICAN COLLEAGUE. I HAVE NOT HAD A CHANCE TO COMPARE NOTES, BUT HALEFOGLU REMARKED THAT WE SHOULD PERHAPS HAVE HAD A TRI-PARTITE MEETING. SO I TAKE IT THAT STRAUZ-HUPE'S MESSAGE WAS THE SAME.

7. AS YOU WILL SEE HALEFOGLU GAVE NOTHING AWAY. HE WAS BLAND AND AFFABLE BUT UNYIELDING. THIS MAY REFLECT THE FACT THAT ANKARA ARE KEEPING AN OPEN MIND AS TO HOW TO PLAY THE HAND IN THE NEW

7. AS YOU WILL SEE HALEFOGLU GAVE NOTHING AWAY. HE WAS BLAND AND AFFABLE BUT UNYIELDING. THIS MAY REFLECT THE FACT THAT ANKARA ARE KEEPING AN OPEN MIND AS TO HOW TO PLAY THE HAND IN THE NEW SITUATION. HALEFOGLU SAID THERE WOULD BE A MEETING OF THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL TODAY AND WE MAY BE ABLE TO LEARN MORE ABOUT TURKISH INTENTIONS THEREAFTER. WHAT DID COME ACROSS WAS THAT HALEFOGLU FELT NO NEED FOR THE TURKS TO BE DEFENSIVE ABOUT THE BREAK-DOWN IN NEW YORK. THEY APPEAR TO HAVE DECIDED THAT THEY COULD NOT HOLD BACK DENKTASH ENTIRELY AND INDEED MAY HAVE SEEN ADVANTAGE IN SIGNALLING CLEARLY THE CONSEQUENCES IF KYPRIANOU CONTINUED TO "MISS THE BOAT", IE THE OTHER LANE OF THE TWIN TRACK. AT THE SAME TIME THE ADVANTAGES TO THEM OF A SETTLEMENT REMAIN AS THEY WERE BEFORE NEW YORK. THE FACT THAT DENKTASH IS NOT CALLING FOR ELECTIONS BEFORE MID SUMMER SUGGEST THAT THE TURKS ARE PREPARED TO GIVE THE SECRETARY GENERAL A LITTLE MORE TIME. ALSO NO DECISION SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN TAKEN AS YET ON THE TIMING OF ANY REFERENDUM ON THE CONSTITUTION. THIS SEEMS TO BE IN LINE WITH HAKTANIR'S RECENT COMMENTS TO HUMPHREY IN NEW YORK TO THE EFFECT THAT THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT WOULD GIVE IT TILL THE SUMMER BEFORE FINAL DECISIONS WERE TAKEN. BUT I DOUBT WHETHER THE TURKS ARE GOING TO INSIST THAT KYPRIANOU SHOULD COME TO THEM AND EXTRACTING ANY FURTHER CONCESSIONS OR EVEN NUANCES FROM THEM TO FACILITATE THIS IS GOING TO BE VERY DIFFICULT.

RUSSELL

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