

CYPRUS

PS

PS/LADY YOUNG

PS/MR RENTON

PS/PUS

MR DEREK THOMAS

MR JENKINS

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~~HD/SED~~

HD/UND

DEP HD/PUSD (2)

HD/NEWS DEPT

DESKBY 301230Z FCO.

PS/No.10 DOWNING STREET

D I O CABINET OFFICE



CONFIDENTIAL

FM NICOSIA 30110Z

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NO 29 OF 30 JANUARY 85.

INFO PRIORITY ATHENS, ANKARA, UKMIS NEW YORK, WASHINGTON,  
MODUK (SEC(O)(C)).

INFO SAVING UKDEL NATO, UKREP BRUSSELS, ROME, PARIS, BONN.

YOUR TEL 19 : CALL ON KYPRIANOU : 30 JANUARY.

SUMMARY.

KYPRIANOU KEEN TO KEEP UP THE MOMENTUM BY PURSUING HIS PROPOSAL FOR A NEW HIGH LEVEL MEETING WHICH WOULD DISCUSS THE FOUR MAIN ISSUES AND REMIT CONSTITUTIONAL MATTERS TO A WORKING GROUP. SUGGESTION OF DISCUSSING THE THREE FREEDOMS IN CONJUNCTION WITH TERRITORY, AND GUARANTEES IN CONJUNCTION WITH TROOP WITHDRAWALS. PROBLEM OVER THE VENUE OF A NEW HIGH LEVEL MEETING. POSSIBILITY OF DIRECT CONTACT BETWEEN KYPRIANOU AND DENKTASH IN NICOSIA TO SORT OUT THE BASIS OF ONE.

DETAIL.

1. ALTHOUGH KYPRIANOU IS COMING IN FOR CONSIDERABLE POLITICAL CRITICISM, HE DID NOT FIND HIM PARTICULARLY TENSE OR ANXIOUS. AFTER HE HAD GIVEN HIM MY IMPRESSION OF DENKTASH'S REASONS FOR HOLDING ELECTIONS AND OF HIS CURRENT GENERAL APPROACH TO NEGOTIATIONS, KYPRIANOU DID NOT UTTER A WORD OF THE WORRIES WHICH PANAYIDES EXPRESSED IN LONDON ABOUT THE DECISION ON ELECTIONS. INSTEAD, OUR DISCUSSION FOCUSED IN A POSITIVE WAY ON HOW TO KEEP UP THE MOMENTUM OF NEGOTIATIONS. KYPRIANOU SAID THAT THE PRIME MINISTER'S ADVICE IN HER RECENT MESSAGE (YOUR TEL 16), TO WHICH HE WOULD BE REPLYING, WAS IN CONFORMITY WITH HIS OWN THINKING.

2. KYPRIANOU ARGUED THAT PROGRESS ON THE MAIN ISSUES COULD ONLY COME IN NEGOTIATIONS AT THE LEVEL OF DENKTASH AND HIMSELF, AND HE WAS THEREFORE KEEN TO PURSUE THE PROPOSAL HE HAD PUT FORWARD IN NEW YORK FOR A NEW HIGH LEVEL MEETING WHICH WOULD TRY TO MAKE PROGRESS ON THE FOUR MAIN ISSUES AND AGREE TO REMIT CONSTITUTIONAL MATTERS TO A WORKING GROUP. HE DID NOT THINK THAT HOLGER WAS CAPABLE OF MAKING PROGRESS ON THE DELICATE ISSUES OF SUBSTANCE THROUGH A UN SHUTTLE IN NICOSIA. (BOTH MACOVOU AND MAVROMMATIS HAVE EXPRESSED DISAPPOINTMENT TO US ON LEARNING THAT THE UN SECRETARY-GENERAL DID NOT INTEND AT PRESENT TO APPOINT A NEW SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE). WITHOUT COMMITMENT, KYPRIANOU VOICED THE IDEA THAT PROGRESS MIGHT BE MADE EASIER IF THE SUBJECT OF THE THREE FREEDOMS WERE DISCUSSED IN CONJUNCTION WITH TERRITORY, AND GUARANTEES IN CONJUNCTION



IN CONJUNCTION WITH TERRITORY, AND GUARANTEES IN CONJUNCTION WITH TROOP WITHDRAWALS (EVEN THOUGH IN PRINCIPLE HE DID NOT ACCEPT THAT THERE WAS A CONNECTION BETWEEN THE LATTER TWO). THIS IDEA WOULD FIT IN WITH THE INTEGRATED WHOLE APPROACH. HE ENCOURAGED HIM IN THIS.

3. DESPITE MY WARNING KYPRIANOU REPEATEDLY THAT HE DID NOT THINK DENKTASH WOULD GO, BEFORE HIS ELECTION, TO A NEW HIGH LEVEL MEETING IN NEW YORK, THOUGH HE WOULD FIND IT DIFFICULT TO REFUSE TO PARTICIPATE IN NICOSIA, KYPRIANOU APPEARED ADAMANT THAT NEW YORK SHOULD BE THE VENUE. HE ARGUED THAT IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE TO KEEP PRIVATE THE CONTENT OF ANY MEETING IN CYPRUS (THOUGH HE SHOULD HAVE THOUGHT THE SAME APPLIED TO NEW YORK) AND THAT IF A MEETING WERE HELD HERE BOTH HE AND DENKTASH WOULD FIND THEMSELVES THE PRISONER OF POLITICAL FORCES. (ON 29 JANUARY, HOWEVER, MAVROMMATIS HAD ACTUALLY ADVANCED TO ME THE SUGGESTION THAT PEREZ DE CUELLAR SHOULD COME TO NICOSIA FOR A SHORT HIGH LEVEL MEETING WITH A LIMITED AGENDA, WHICH COULD BE PRESENTED IN SUCH A WAY AS NOT TO AROUSE UNDUE EXPECTATIONS : SO THERE IS A POSSIBILITY THAT KYPRIANOU MIGHT BE BROUGHT ROUND TO THIS). IN FURTHER DISCUSSION, KYPRIANOU DID NOT RULE OUT THE POSSIBILITY OF A PREPARATORY MEETING BETWEEN HIMSELF AND DENKTASH IN NICOSIA TO SORT OUT THE BASIS FOR A SUBSTANTIVE HIGH LEVEL MEETING. KYPRIANOU SAID THAT HE HAD NO FIXED VIEWS ON THE TIMING OF THE LATTER, BUT THE SOONER THE BETTER.

4. WE AGREED GOOD-HUMOUREDLY NOT TO RAKE OVER THE ASHES OF THE NEW YORK MEETING, SINCE PLENTY OF OTHER PEOPLE WERE DOING THAT. BUT AT ONE POINT, WHEN KYPRIANOU STARTED SPECULATING ABOUT THE REASONS FOR TURKISH INFLEXIBILITY, HE GAVE HIM MY VIEW THAT, AFTER THEIR TWO MAJOR CONCESSIONS IN NOVEMBER THE REPEATED TURKISH MESSAGES THAT THERE WOULD BE NO FURTHER CONCESSIONS REPRESENTED A CLEAR SIGNAL THAT IT WAS NOW KYPRIANOU'S TURN TO MOVE AND THAT THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT HAD BEEN DISAPPOINTED WHEN HE HAD FAILED TO DO SO. HE DID NOT BELIEVE THAT THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT WANTED THE NEGOTIATIONS EITHER TO STOP OR TO FAIL. KYPRIANOU DID NOT PROTEST AT ANY OF THIS. HE ALSO COMMENTED THAT HE DID NOT REGARD THE NEW YORK MEETING AS A COMPLETE FAILURE SINCE A GOOD PERSONAL RELATIONSHIP HAD PREVAILED THROUGHOUT BETWEEN DENKTASH AND HIMSELF. HE EVEN PAID TRIBUTE TO DENKTASH FOR HIS CONCILIATORY AND EASY MANNER. HE DID NOT APPEAR, HOWEVER, TO HAVE ANY IMMEDIATE INTENTION OF FOLLOWING UP DENKTASH'S SUGGESTION FOR INFORMAL CONTACTS BETWEEN THE TWO OF THEM IN NICOSIA.

#### CONCLUSION.

5. IT WILL TAKE MORE TIME AND CONTACTS (ESPECIALLY BY THE UN) BEFORE IT BECOMES CLEAR HOW BEST THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS CAN BE CARRIED FORWARD. BUT I AM NOT TOO DISCOURAGED BY THE MEETINGS I HAVE HAD WITH DENKTASH AND KYPRIANOU.

6. FCO PLEASE PASS SAVING ADDRESSEES.

WILBERFORCE  
BT