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TO IMMEDIATE FCO

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INFO IMMEDIATE ANKARA

INFO PRIORITY ATHENS, NICOSIA, WASHINGTON

INFO ROUTINE MODUK (SEC (O) (C))

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

MIPT: **CYPRUS**

1. THE SECRETARY-GENERAL'S REQUEST FOR OUR ASSISTANCE WITH THE TURKS SHOULD BE SEEN IN THE LIGHT OF THE ASSURANCE GIVEN TO HIM BY THE PRIME MINISTER IN LONDON ON 23 JANUARY THAT HE COULD COUNT ON OUR SUPPORT IN CONTINUING HIS EFFORTS. HIS OVERRIDING CONCERN, AS HE STATED PUBLICLY IN HIS REPORT ON THE FAILED HIGH-LEVEL MEETING, IS THAT THE ADVANCES THAT WERE MADE UP TO 17 JANUARY SHOULD BE PRESERVED AND THAT NEITHER SIDE SHOULD TAKE STEPS IN THE WAKE OF THE FAILURE OF THE HIGH-LEVEL MEETING THAT WOULD MAKE A RESUMPTION OF THE NEGOTIATIONS UNDER HIS AUSPICES MORE DIFFICULT IF NOT IMPOSSIBLE.
2. SO FAR AS THE TURKISH SIDE IS CONCERNED, THIS MEANS THAT DENKTASH CANNOT BE ALLOWED TO RESILE FROM HIS ACCEPTANCE OF THE DOCUMENTATION PREPARED FOR THE JANUARY MEETING. NOR CAN HE BE ALLOWED TO EXCLUDE AN EARLY SECOND HIGH-LEVEL MEETING ON THE GROUNDS THAT HE MUST HOLD ELECTIONS IN JUNE FIRST. TURKMEN'S COMMENTS ON THIS ASPECT ARE ENCOURAGING BUT YOU WILL NO DOUBT WANT TO URGE THE TURKS AT THE POLITICAL LEVEL NOT TO LET DENKTASH OFF THE LEASH. HIS PREVIOUS RECORD IS SUCH THAT WE CANNOT COUNT ON HIS ESCHEWING THE CREATION OF FAITS ACCOMPLIS WHICH WILL GIVE THE GREEK SIDE THE EXCUSE EITHER TO DEMAND THE CONSTRUCTION OF A WHOLE NEW BASIS FOR A SECOND HIGH-LEVEL MEETING OR TO BRING THE ISSUE BACK THE THE SECURITY COUNCIL. 'INTERNATIONALISATION' WOULD BE THE KISS OF DEATH FOR THE SECRETARY-GENERAL'S EFFORTS.
3. THIS LATTER CONSIDERATION, COMBINED WITH THE PRESENT DOMESTIC PRESSURE ON KYPRIANOU TO RESUME NEGOTIATIONS, SUGGESTS THAT THE SECRETARY-GENERAL IS RIGHT TO THINK IN TERMS OF A NEW HIGH-LEVEL MEETING SOONER RATHER THAN LATER. HE IS ALSO RIGHT TO PLAN ON GETTING ASSURANCES OF SUCCESS IN ADVANCE OF SUCH A MEETING. ANOTHER FAILED SUMMIT WOULD BE COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE. HIS SPECIFIC REQUEST FOR A PUBLIC TURKISH UNDERTAKING ON TROOP WITHDRAWALS HAS TO BE SEEN AS PART OF A TACTICAL SITUATION IN WHICH KYPRIANOU HAS TO BE INDUCED TO CLIMB DOWN GRACEFULLY AGAINST THE RISK (VERY MUCH EVIDENT IN TURKISH MINDS) THAT KYPRIANOU WILL SIMPLY POCKET ANY TURKISH CONCESSION. IT MAY BE THAT EVEN TO SUGGEST THAT THE TURKS MIGHT BE WILLING TO MAKE SUCH A STATEMENT WOULD COMPROMISE OUR INFLUENCE IN ANKARA. IF SO, PERHAPS THE MOST YOU COULD AIM FOR WOULD BE A PRIVATE ASSURANCE TO YOURSELF THAT YOU MIGHT PASS TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL.

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4. I SHARE THE VIEW EXPRESSED BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TO THE PRIME MINISTER THAT THE DOCUMENTATION PREPARED FOR THE HIGH-LEVEL MEETING IN JANUARY WAS, IF NOT IDEAL, VERY NEARLY THE BEST KYPRIANOU COULD GET. I THINK THE ONLY CHANCE, HOWEVER SLIM, OF GETTING SETTLEMENT LIES IN HIS ACCEPTING THE SUBSTANCE OF THAT DOCUMENTATION. HE APPEARS TO HAVE COME CLOSE TO DOING SO AT THE END OF THE MEETING THOUGH BY THAT TIME HE HAD LOST THE TACTICAL ADVANTAGE AND GIVEN DENKTASH THE EXCUSE TO STAND PAT. EQUALLY, SINCE HE CANNOT BE EXPECTED TO SIGN EXACTLY WHAT HE REJECTED, THERE WILL HAVE TO BE SOME COSMETIC CHANGES TO THE DOCUMENTATION. IN HIS CONVERSATION WITH ME TURKMEN DID NOT RULE OUT SOME COSMETIC REPACKAGING. THIS IS ALSO A POINT WHICH YOU MIGHT WANT TO PURSUE IN ANKARA.

FCO PSE PASS [✓] SAVING

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