



10 DOWNING STREET  
LONDON SW1A 2AA

*See Stephen.*  
From the Private Secretary

15 December 1988

**CYPRUS: TURKISH PRIME MINISTER'S REPLY  
TO THE PRIME MINISTER'S MESSAGE**

Thank you for your letter of 14 December covering Mr. Ozal's reply to the Prime Minister's recent message about Cyprus, and recommending that the Prime Minister now herself send a message to President Vassiliou. The Prime Minister does not see much point in sending a further message to President Vassiliou just now, but would be content for our High Commissioner in Nicosia to speak in the terms proposed in your letter.

*your clerk,*

(C. D. POWELL)

Stephen Wall, Esq.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

CONFIDENTIAL

cele ①



Prime Minister  
A fairly unhelpful  
reply from Mr.  
Denktash.

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

14 December 1988

I do not see much

point in a further message from you  
to President Vassiliou at this point. Perhaps

Dear Charles,

our High Commissioner can speak  
to him. Yes Agree no message.  
14/12/88

Cyprus: Turkish Prime Minister's Reply  
to Prime Minister's Message

I enclose the text of a message from Mr Ozal dated 10 December in reply to the Prime Minister's recent message on Cyprus. It was delivered by the Turkish Embassy yesterday afternoon.

Mr Ozal has, as expected, indicated his government's firm backing for the positions Mr Denktash has adopted on the main issues in the intercommunal talks (as did the Turkish Foreign Minister when he called on the Foreign Secretary in Brussels last week). Mr Ozal has made clear also his government's entire sympathy with the Turkish Cypriot approach to the "Three Freedoms", founded in the common perception that the Turkish Cypriot community suffered greatly in the 11 years up to the Turkish military intervention in 1974 and that their rights should not be made subordinate now to Greek Cypriot rights. Mr Ozal invited the Greek Cypriot leadership to respond positively to the "legislative concerns" of the Turkish Cypriot side.

As the Prime Minister told President Vassiliou on 25 November, it is now up to him to produce fresh proposals of his own. The Prime Minister may wish to reinforce this view through a personal message to Mr Vassiliou, acquainting him with Mr Ozal's considered thoughts on the way forward to a negotiated Cyprus settlement. Alternatively, if she wishes to avoid a proliferation of personal messages at this stage, the High Commissioner in Nicosia might be instructed to speak to the President on the Prime Minister's behalf.

On a point of detail, the reference in the first full paragraph on page 2 of Mr Ozal's letter is to the 1977 High Level Agreement between the late President Makarios and Mr Denktash. Its Third Guideline is: "Questions of principles, like freedom of movement, freedom of settlement, the right of property and other specific matters, are open for discussion, taking into consideration the fundamental

/basis



basis of a bi-communal federal system and certain practical difficulties which may arise for the Turkish Cypriot community". Mr Denktash has contended for the last 11 years that the expression, "practical difficulties", was intended to cover Turkish Cypriot concerns about security. He has also told President Vassiliou during the talks that President Makarios did not envisage in 1977 that those Greek Cypriots concerned would return to their property in the north, and that Guideline 3 was drafted with this in mind. President Vassiliou disputes this but, with Makarios dead and Waldheim no longer involved, it is difficult for him to disprove Denktash's contention.

Yours,  
Stephen Wall

(J S Wall)  
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq  
10 Downing Street

Ankara, 10th December, 1988

Dear Prime Minister,

Thank you for your letter of 5th December. I was glad to learn that you appreciate the significance of the new proposals presented by President Denktas in New York. I understand President Denktas had the opportunity to elaborate his views on these issues during his recent contacts in London. I would expect that the clarifications he has made on his proposals would meet the concerns expressed in your letter.

My Government, as I am sure you recognize, supports the aim of a bicomunal, bizonal federation based on the political equality of the two sides. This has been the agreed objective of all previous efforts under the mission of good offices of the U.N. Secretary-General since the Denktas-Makarinos Agreement of 1977. During the present negotiating process, President Denktas has been asking Mr. Vassiliou whether they are ready to share power, and to enter into a new partnership with the Turkish Cypriots on the basis of equality. The two sides, it may be recalled, started out as politically equal partners 28 years ago, and equality is the basic feature of the federal concept. So far Mr. Vassiliou has been evading a clear answer on these central questions which will determine whether a federation can be established in Cyprus.

Once this fundamental issue is satisfactorily resolved, all other ancillary matters, including the so-called "three freedoms", can be addressed with common sense and vision. President Denktas has already illustrated how this can be done. What matters at this stage in this regard, seems to be an agreement on questions of principle, such as the necessity of a "transitional period" and the "regulation" of these freedoms which you have also underlined in your letter. Let me just stress here that these are very valid Turkish Cypriot ideas which enjoy our support.

Mr. Vassiliou's allegation of "sweeping limitations" is unfounded. Such a description can only apply to the traumatic period when the Turkish Cypriots were denied not only these three, but the entire spectrum of rights and freedoms for more than a decade. The bicomunal system of 1960 was a democracy, but it turned

Rt. Hon. Mrs. Margaret Thatcher  
Prime Minister of the United Kingdom  
of Great Britain and Northern Ireland  
London

./..

into a tyranny when the Greek Cypriots monopolized all political and economic power through violence. Western Europe then preferred to ignore or act indifferent in the face of what was taking place in Cyprus. The Turkish Cypriots understandably now need to be assured that their right to life and a secure existence is not any less important than the "three freedoms" of the Greek Cypriots.

As I see it, the difficulty stems from the Greek Cypriot position which calls for an immediate and unconditional implementation of these freedoms. The Greek Cypriot side also presents them as the single decisive issue for a federal solution. This is clearly an exaggeration. I do not believe that such a position can be upheld either in the light of past experiences or of the criteria contained in the Denktas-Makarinos agreement under Guideline 3. The Greek Cypriot side should respond in a spirit of accommodation to the Turkish Cypriot proposals.

I do not think that it would be appropriate for me to go into the intricacies of the various matters to be addressed in order to reach a comprehensive settlement in Cyprus. This is up to the two peoples there and their representatives. We shall continue to play a constructive role to promote a settlement under which the two peoples in Cyprus can peacefully coexist. I would hope that the Greek Cypriot leadership might be induced to respond positively to the legitimate concerns of the Turkish Cypriot side.

Before concluding, I feel the need to touch on a matter which seems to have influenced the message carried in your letter. You have kindly reflected to us the concerns of Mr. Vassiliou since the Greek Cypriot leader had the opportunity to meet with you and to express personally his side's thoughts on the course of the ongoing negotiating process in Cyprus. With full respect and without prejudice to your Government's policy of recognition regarding Cyprus, I think it would only be fair if you could also receive President Denktas in order to enable him to present the Turkish Cypriot case.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Turgut Ozal

CIPWS: Units of  
Pres. Vassilou  
PT2

