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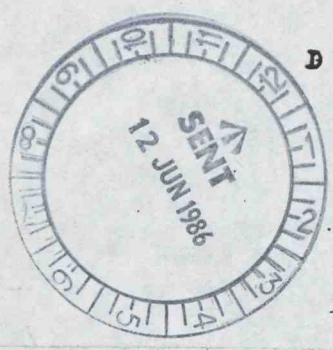
15/13

CYPRUS

PS (L)
PS/LADY YOUNG
PS/MR EGGAR
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MR DEREK THOMAS
~~MR RAYFORD~~

PS/No.10 DOWNING STREET

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GREEK CYPRIOT RESPONSE TO THE UN SECRETARY GENERAL SUMMARY

VERY NEGATIVE LETTER FROM KYPRIANOU TO PEREZ DE CUELLAR. DIFFICULT TO SEE HOW IT CAN GIVE THE LATTER A BASIS FOR CARRYING THE TURKISH SIDE ALONG WITH HIS INITIATIVE. RISK THAT DENKTASH MAY SEIZE THE EXCUSE TO TAKE NEW MEASURES TO STRENGTHEN THE POSITION OF THE TRNC.

DETAIL

1. KYPRIANOU'S 10 PAGE LETTER OF 10 JUNE TO PEREZ DE CUELLAR WILL BE RELEASED OFFICIALLY AT 1100Z TODAY. BUT HOLGER (PLEASE PROTECT) SHOWED ME THE TEXT YESTERDAY EVENING. WE WERE BOTH VERY DEPRESSED BY IT. THE CONTENTS FALL INTO PARTS. ONE IS A REASONED ARGUMENT CONCERNING THE INTEGRATED WHOLE APPROACH AS THE GREEK CYPRIOTS SEE IT, SUPPORTING KYPRIANOU'S PREVIOUS INSISTENCE THAT THE OUTSTANDING ISSUES OF THE THREE FREEDOMS, GUARANTEES, AND TROOP WITHDRAWALS MUST BE ADDRESSED BEFORE THE GREEK CYPRIOTS COULD BE EXPECTED TO COMMIT THEMSELVES ON THE OTHER ELEMENTS OF A SETTLEMENT. AS IACOVOU PUT IT TO ME YESTERDAY MORNING, THE REPLY "SCALES DOWN" THE ORIGINAL GREEK CYPRIOT POSITION TO THE EXTENT THAT INSTEAD OF MAKING PRIOR AGREEMENT ON THE THREE FREEDOMS, GUARANTEES AND WITHDRAWALS A PRE-CONDITION FOR ADDRESSING THE CONTENTS OF PEREZ DE CUELLAR'S FRAMEWORK AGREEMENT, THE GREEK CYPRIOTS NOW SPEAK OF SOME POSITIVE DECISIONS BEING TAKEN ON THESE ISSUES AT A HIGH-LEVEL MEETING AS A NECESSARY PRELIMINARY TO COMING BACK TO THE CONTENTS OF THE FRAMEWORK AGREEMENT. TO SOME EXTENT THIS COULD BE REGARDED AS FAIR ENOUGH AS A STATEMENT OF THE GREEK CYPRIOT POSITION. BUT THE OTHER PART OF THE REPLY

SOME EXTENT THIS COULD BE REGARDED AS FAIR ENOUGH AS A STATEMENT OF THE GREEK CYPRIOT POSITION. BUT THE OTHER PART OF THE REPLY CONSISTS OF A RESTATEMENT, IN UNCOMPROMISING AND POLEMICAL TERMS, OF THE GREEK CYPRIOT POSITION ON THE THREE OUTSTANDING ISSUES. IN ADDITION, UNDER THE HEADINGS OF THE THREE FREEDOMS AND GUARANTEES THE REPLY WORKS IN SEVERELY CRITICAL REFERENCES TO THE PROVISIONS IN THE UN DOCUMENT OF 28 MARCH ON TERRITORY AND CONSTITUTION RESPECTIVELY. ALTHOUGH IACOVOU TOLD ME THAT, SINCE HE HAD THE OPPORTUNITY TO COMPLAIN TO PEREZ DE CUELLAR PERSONALLY ABOUT THE UNFAIRNESS OF WHAT HE HAD DONE IN THE 28 MARCH DOCUMENT, HE HAD EXCISED ALL CRITICISM OF THIS KIND FROM THE NEW REPLY, THERE ARE STILL SOME PASSAGES WHICH PEREZ DE CUELLAR MIGHT TAKE AS DIRECTLY CRITICAL OF HIS CONDUCT OF HIS GOOD OFFICES MISSION.

2. TO SUM UP, AFTER IACOVOU HAD GIVEN ME YESTERDAY HIS VERY GENERAL ACCOUNT OF THE REPLY, I SAID THAT MY MAIN CONCERN, FOR THE SAKE OF KEEPING THE UN INITIATIVE GOING, WAS THAT THE REPLY SHOULD NOT BE CAPABLE OF BEING CONSTRUED BY THE TURKISH SIDE AS A REJECTION OF THE 28 MARCH DOCUMENT. IACOVOU ASSURED ME THAT THE REPLY COULD NOT BE TAKEN IN THIS WAY AND THAT IT WAS FULL OF CONCILIATORY STATEMENTS. NOW, HAVING READ THE REPLY, I FEAR THAT IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO READ IT AS ANYTHING OTHER THAN A REJECTION OF PEREZ DE CUELLAR'S APPROACH. AND I FOUND IT HARD TO PICK OUT ANY CONCILIATORY STATEMENTS.

3. NEITHER HOLGER NOR I HAD ANY IMMEDIATE IDEA OF WHAT PEREZ DE CUELLAR COULD DO NEXT, THOUGH THE REPLY DOES MAKE THE POINT THAT THE GREEK CYPRIOTS SUPPORT THE SECRETARY GENERAL'S GOOD OFFICES MISSION AND SEE NO SUBSTITUTÉ FOR THIS. ONE POSSIBLE COURSE FOR PEREZ DE CUELLAR MIGHT BE FOR HIM TO ABSTAIN FROM ANY INSTANT REACTION TO KYPRIANOU'S REPLY (AND GET THE MANDATE RENEWAL OUT OF THE WAY), AND WAIT A LITTLE TO SEE WHETHER INTERNATIONAL AND DOMESTIC REACTION TO IT IS CRITICAL ENOUGH TO WEAKEN KYPRIANOU'S POSITION AT ALL (CLERIDES IS ALREADY REPORTED TO HAVE DISASSOCIATED HIMSELF FROM THE REPLY). BUT ON PAST FORM I DO NOT SEE MUCH CHANGE COMING OUT OF THIS.

4. IN A SITUATION LIKE THIS THERE WOULD BE AN OBVIOUS TEMPTATION FOR DENKTASH TO MOVE AHEAD WITH NEW MEASURES TO STRENGTHEN THE POSITION OF THE TRNC, POSSIBLE DURING OZAL'S ANNOUNCED VISIT HERE FROM 2 - 4 JULY. I HAVE NO INDICATION OF ANY SUCH MOVES YET OR OF WHAT THEIR CHARACTER MIGHT BE. UNFORTUNATELY, KYPRIANOU'S REPLY GIVES US NO AMMUNITION FOR URGING RESTRAINT ON THE TURKISH SIDE. ABOUT THE ONLY ARGUMENT WE HAVE IS THAT THEY SHOULD NOT THROW AWAY THE TACTICAL ADVANTAGE THEY AT PRESENT ENJOY BY TAKING ANY MEASURES THAT WOULD BE REGARDED AS PROVOCATIVE BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY.

WILBERFORCE

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