



10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

22 February 1984

CYPRUS

Mr. Francis Noel-Baker called on the Prime Minister yesterday on other business, but raised with her the question of Cyprus. He had a word with me afterwards and has today sent me a letter, a copy of which I enclose.

He is advocating a low-level, unpublicised shuttle to promote a federation of Cyprus. You will see that he is already actively canvassing this idea.

15/2/84
I should be grateful if you would let me have an early draft reply.

A. J. COLES

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FROM THE HONOURABLE
Francis Noel-Baker

London: 21.2 1984

Dear John, (*if I may*)

I will try briefly to summarise and supplement what I said this afternoon about Cyprus, whence I have just returned from my 46th visit since Eden sent me in 1956 to mediate between Harding and Macarios. We got very close to a settlement then: a much better one than any since.

Over many years, the UN method of "megaphone diplomacy" through inter-Communal talks, which often become shouting matches and always leak, have done more harm than good; with the exception of the last Macarios-Denktaş meeting; and even that eventually aborted.

Now the UN is further hamstrung by the Resolution calling on Denktaş to revoke UDI which, of course, he cannot do.

In fact, the existence of an "independent" Turkish-Cypriot State makes federation psychologically easier. Two largely autonomous "Republics" could become Provinces under a federal Government with limited powers, and would, one hopes, gradually and naturally grow together once the security and freedom from exploitation of their respective Communities had been secured.

There is no time to lose. The longer the status quo remains, the more it will freeze: a flashpoint of great danger.

I am utterly convinced that now is the time for a low-level, unpublicised shuttle backed by interested neutrals: Canada, Sweden and perhaps Austria (who provide troops and police) and Switzerland who provides money for the UN Force there.

I have approached Trudeau and Palme and have seen Probst, the head of the Swiss Foreign Ministry. And I have asked Gobbi to get the Secretary General's tacit approval without which the Swedes, in particular, may not play. This may be an obstacle.

For brevity I do not repeat the points in the enclosed paper CIR (4).

But perhaps I should add that we do not seek direct UK (or US) involvement, though their goodwill is, of course, most desirable. I have spoken to the Americans and to Wilberforce in Nicosia.

I can elaborate if you wish.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Francis Noel-Baker

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FROM THE HONOURABLE
Francis Noel-Baker

London 6 February 1984

CYPRUS INTERNATIONAL REPORT - PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

The basis for a settlement might be:

1. The status quo merging into a federation of two "independent" republics, to be called Provinces
2. Each province to have maximum autonomy (including security) compatible with Federation
3. Federal Government with, at first, powers only over Customs, Immigration, Foreign Affairs, Defence (if any)...
4. Substantial shrink of Turkish Province
5. Return of Greeks to Varosha, reopening of Nicosia Airport
6. Compensation for lost property
7. Gradual dismantling of Green Line
8. Balanced withdrawal of foreign troops from the Provinces.
9. International guarantees by Commonwealth etc

The method might be:

- a. Team of "researchers": Canadian, Swedish, self plus Yugoslav or Irish.
- b. Greek- and Turkish-Cypriot legal Consultants. Attorney-General will serve (when retired) and, perhaps, Mr Justice Onan
- c. Secretariat and Report under retired Swiss Ambassador
- d. British Administrator/Treasurer
- e. Tacit UN approval: Minister Hugo Gobbi is helping
- f. Austria to provide security, communications
- g. Contact with and approval of friendly governments: US, Vatican (Archbishop Ferraioli will help)

First responses from Canada, Sweden, Switzerland, Yugoslavia, Vatican are favourable.