

consist of 50 or so ma... can plant bombs in front of public buildings, kidnap and murder to their hearts' content in a tightly-policed capital, distribute leaflets, deliver letters, and talk to journalists on lines they know the police must be tapping, all without getting caught.

Cyprus

Home soon?

FROM OUR NICOSIA CORRESPONDENT

A psychological breakthrough, at least? The meeting on January 27th between the Greek Cypriot leader, President Makarios, and Mr Rauf Denktash, the head of the Turkish Cypriot community, produced no agreement on matters of substance. But the discussions were surprisingly cordial, and touched on every important issue with nary a "yok", that favourite Turkish negative, from Mr Denktash. And besides throwing a bridge over a chasm of mistrust, the talks also revealed common ground on two major points.

First, the integrity of the Cypriot nation-state should be preserved: this seems to rule out straight partition, or the right of secession for the Turkish Cypriots from a possible federal arrangement. Second, the principle of freedom of movement between the Greek and Turkish areas, demanded by the Greek Cypriots, was agreed to by Mr Denktash, a major change in the Turkish Cypriot position. Mr Denktash said that every other issue was negotiable, including his suggestion that the Turkish zone should take up 32.8% of the island. The Turks seem to be thinking in terms of trading off people against territory: to hand back small but once heavily populated Greek areas so as to increase the number of Greek Cypriot refugees who can go home without substantially reducing the Turkish Cypriot's physical share of the island. Such areas might include the Varosha section of Famagusta city and large villages along the Nicosia-Famagusta road and in the area south of Morphou.

Significantly, the initiative for the talks came from the Turkish Cypriot side. It could be that the Turkish armed forces have now decided that they want a settlement. The American squeeze on military aid to Turkey may have made the Turkish generals think that it would be better to settle directly

Ball or Mr Clark Clifford should head the proposed American conciliation mission. Mr Ball had a flaming row with President Makarios when he tried, and failed, to impose a partition plan

meet on February 12th. Already Greek Cypriot refugees are speculating about being home for Easter. But home for Christmas would be more realistic, and event that only if things go well.

European Community

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Transatlantic atom split

Brussels

The new American administration wants its European allies to take tougher action to safeguard nuclear installations and stop the spread of nuclear weapons. It is prepared to use every diplomatic means to achieve this, but if all else fails it would be ready to cut its supplies of enriched uranium to Europe. This message emerged during the visit of Vice-President Walter Mondale to European capitals last week. West Germany is under particularly heavy fire because of its agreement to sell a nuclear fuel cycle to Brazil—a deal the United States is determined to stop in its present form. But the American stand affects all member states of Euratom (the same Nine as the EEC).

The Euratom countries are already subject to one embargo. Since the start of this year Canada has granted no licences to export nuclear material (mainly natural uranium) to the Nine. This is because Euratom has failed to align its safeguards with those of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), the watchdog of the nuclear non-proliferation treaty. By the end of last year the Europeans should have agreed to a system under which Euratom officials would continue to inspect nuclear installations in member states, but submit results to the IAEA, which would occasionally send in its own men to check up. However, France, which has not signed the non-proliferation treaty, turned down the deal.

Since Euratom could not act as one, its members (France apart) are now trying separately to reach ad hoc

arrangements with the IAEA, in the hope that this will satisfy the Canadians. More talks with them are to be held this month. The Americans take a tougher view altogether. They want the IAEA's own safeguards strengthened. In Brussels it is feared that the IAEA might be upgraded so much that Euratom's own procedures would be made redundant. The Americans also want stronger protection for nuclear installations, for example against terrorism.

But all this adds to costs, and the economics of nuclear power are already a matter of fierce dispute in Europe. Under American pressure some Euratom members may be ready to agree to the expense of extra controls. Europe has only fledgling uranium enrichment facilities of its own at present and must rely mainly on the United States and partly on the Soviet Union for supplies. But France, for instance, may not agree to added controls. The Americans might then be prepared to provide uranium to some Euratom states but not to others. This could spell the end of Euratom's nuclear common market.

The American reaction to Germany's DM 12 billion deal with Brazil is just as serious. The deal includes not only reactors but enrichment and reprocessing plants which the Americans insist could be used to make bombs. The Germans point out that they have written tough safeguards into the agreement, including inspection by the IAEA. But the Americans say loopholes remain. Anyway, what international sanctions could be used against

Demirel's eye on Washington

Senior Turkish officials are elated by the success of the meeting between **Archbishop Makarios** and the Turkish Cypriot leader, **Mr Denktash**, in Nicosia last Thursday; they consider it an unqualified propaganda triumph for Denktash. According to sources

in Ankara, the Turkish government is now planning new diplomatic manoeuvres towards a Cyprus solution.

These will include a further token withdrawal of Turkish troops from northern Cyprus; 1,000 men were pulled out a fortnight ago. What is not clear, however, is whether this signifies a definite shift in Turkish policy on Cyprus or is merely a cosmetic exercise calculated to impress the new American president. Most informed observers in Ankara think it is the latter. But there is also some visible movement in the Cyprus situation, which has been deadlocked since the summer of 1974.

The Makarios-Denktash meeting was set up by the Turkish government with some help from the United Nations. About six weeks ago, the Turkish foreign ministry induced Denktash to write to Makarios proposing a meeting. Three draft letters were exchanged between Ankara and Nicosia before the final text of this letter was agreed upon. The phrasing was judicious, putting stress on the humanitarian aspects of the Cyprus problem – so that Makarios felt he could not reject it, though he had no enthusiasm whatsoever for the encounter. Simply by meeting Denktash as his political equal, the archbishop conferred on the Turkish Cypriot leader the kind of political recognition the Greek Cypriots had ruled out for years.

During the three-hour meeting, the two men harangued each other in volatile Cypriot fashion and traded insults – and jokes – with typical Cypriot abandon. But broadly speaking the meeting was a success.

The main stumbling block now may be the attitude of **Mr Erbakan**, the leader of the Turkish National Salvation party. A militant Islamic right-winger, Mr Erbakan declared a week ago – on the eve of the Nicosia meeting – that a federal settlement in Cyprus was impossible while Makarios was in power, and that northern Cyprus must proclaim its independence without further delay. Since **Mr Demirel**, the Turkish prime minister, depends on the votes of Erbakan's party to keep his coalition government in office, it is hard to see how he can make significant concessions to Makarios.

Before the meeting, Demirel gave explicit instructions to Denktash not to propose any figure for the area of the island which the Turkish Cypriots would retain – but Denktash reportedly suggested the figure of 32.8 per cent. This corresponds to the Turkish Cypriots' claim that before 1974 they legally owned that proportion of the island's territory.

Mr Ecevit, the leader of the opposition Republican People's party, has welcomed the Makarios-Denktash meeting in notably cautious terms. In a lunch on Monday with foreign correspondents, he argued that the Cyprus question should be settled through direct negotiations between Turkey and Greece.

With a Turkish general election scheduled for October, it is hard to see how Ecevit can give his blessing to a settlement which could be represented as a triumph for his arch-rival Demirel. What the Demirel government is really interested in is not Cyprus so much as early ratification of the billion dollar military aid agreement with America. Gestures towards Makarios are not the only card it has to play. Turkey's foreign minister, **Mr Caglayangil**, is off to Moscow next weekend for talks with **Mr Gromyko**. It has also been disclosed that a top-level Turkish military mission will visit Rumania in April.

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