

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

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MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS: President Ford  
 Bipartisan Congressional Leadership  
 Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, Secretary of State and  
 Assistant to the President for National Security  
 Affairs  
 Lt. Gen. Brent Scowcroft, Deputy Assistant to  
 the President for National Security Affairs

DATE AND TIME: Tuesday, August 20, 1974  
 8:30 a.m.

PLACE: The Cabinet Room  
 The White House

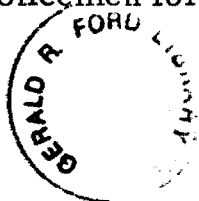
President: It is important that we have continuity.

[After some discussion of other subjects the President asked Dr. Kissinger to brief.]

Kissinger: Briefly about the development of the Cyprus situation and where we are. It started when the Greek junta used the Greek officers in Cyprus to overthrow Makarios and put in a government with support of the EOKA, as an attempt to bring about enosis.

In 1960 the Constitution was set up; in 1964 Makarios overthrew it. In 1967 there was another one and since then the Turkish people had been living in ghettos and the Turks thought the U. S. had kept them from getting their rights. The Makarios overthrow and the junta's unpopularity gave the Turks an opportunity to rectify the situation. They moved in. Initially we were under heavy pressure to overthrow the Greek government. We tried to keep the crisis from being internationalized and to prevent the change of the constitutional government in Cyprus. The junta fell, Karamanlis came in, and the British got the talks started. We kept in the background so as not to look like we were the policemen for every civil war.

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~~TOP SECRET~~ XGDS (3)  
CLASSIFIED BY: HENRY A. KISSINGER

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E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5  
NSC MEMO, 112498, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES, state de view 3/9/04  
BY: [signature] NARA, DATE 3/25/04

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- 2 -

Clerides we think is a good man.

We support the Greek government, but since it had replaced the junta it didn't feel it could make concessions. It was afraid of being caught between the left and the right. The Greek Cypriots are willing to make concessions. Also the British got mad at the Turks and put pressure on them, thus relieving the pressure on the Turks for concessions.

The solution was to be greater autonomy for the Turkish Cypriots and restoration of the 1960 Constitution. But the negotiations stalemated. The Turks then attacked and now hold 55 percent of the good land and the best part.

Greek emotions are high, but the U. S. could have prevented it only by putting forces around the island sufficient to balance the Turkish forces.

The cut-off of aid would not have affected the battle and would have forced the Turks either to the Soviet Union or to a Qaddafi-type regime. It also would have gotten us embroiled in all the details of the negotiations.

We threatened if they went to war with each other that it would be a very serious move.

We now must get them to the conference table. We said yesterday that we insist that Turkey maintain the ceasefire line and negotiation is essential. I made a statement on this. I read this position to Ecevit and he agreed, and he agreed also to give up some territory and reduce his forces.

The reaction to our statement has been positive. The Greek tempers seem to be cooling. Clerides gave a good statement -- he is willing to negotiate without severe preconditions. We have encouraged the British to put forward a federal solution giving more autonomy. After it is discussed more, we will offer to play a more active role.

So: A war was stopped; the Turks will give up some of their gains; and the Turks will reduce some of their forces.

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The pressures on the Greek government were severe. They couldn't go to war and so they kicked at us a bit.

President: We have dismissed our duty. Our position is the right one. We can't go into every hot operation. We were working with all the parties.

Remember, the situation was precipitated by the Greek government, and one that was disapproved of by the U.S. and the world. When they did it, they couldn't take advantage of it--but the Turks could and did. Now we are assured there will be some moderation in the negotiation.

My relations with the Greek community have always been excellent. They don't think so much of me right now but I think they will come around as things go forth.

Kissinger: Even the Greeks will eventually see it was our influence which made for Turkish moderation.



# Relationship Inty 20 Aug

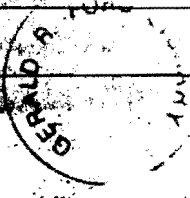
P Important that we have continuity

K Briefly about development of set & where we are.  
 Started when junta used Greek species another  
 We & put in a program w/ support of SKA  
 for invasion.  
 In 1960 court set up, in 64 in another  
 it, in 67 another one & since then Turkish  
 people had been living in gastros & that I thought  
 US had kept them from getting their rights.  
 Then the invasion another & junta support  
 gave I support to set up set. They would in  
 initially we under heavy pressure another  
 Greek govt. we tried to keep cases from  
 being integrated & to prevent change of constituted  
 govt in Cyprus. Junta fell, Karamanli came in  
 & he got Cyprus started. We had help in  
 background so not look like we presence for  
 all civil war.

Colin... a great man.

We support Greek govt but since it had  
 replaced junta it didn't feel it could make  
 concessions - fear of being caught but left  
 & right. Greek by pressure willing to make concessions  
 Also he got mad at Turks & put pressure on them  
 thus relieving pressure on Turks for concessions

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 NSC MEMO, 11/24/98, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES, State Review 3/19/04  
 BY hsk, NARA, DATE 3/25/04



Solution was greater autonomy for T. Beggs  
+ rest of 1960s. But negotiations  
stalled.

Turks attacked + now hold 55% of good land  
+ best part.

Greek interests are high, but US could have pushed  
only by putting faces around ~~some~~ some of the  
Islamic Turk forces.

Control of air would not have affected battle +  
would have pushed Turkey to 50% to a Qaddafi  
type regime. It also would have gotten us  
involved in all details of negot.

We threatened if they went to arms w/ each other  
but it very serious.

We now must get them to conf table. We <sup>said</sup>  
<sup>negotiation</sup> insist T maintain C-E line; negot essential  
(statement of HAK) Deal = partition T  
E coast + he agreed + also to give us territory + reduce  
power.

Reaction to our statement has been positive. Greek  
Congress seem to be cooling. C. thinks your special  
statement - willing to negot w/ so share pre condition.  
We have encouraged B. to put forward a federal  
solution giving more autonomy. After it is discussed  
more, we will offer to play a more active role.  
So: agenda stopped

Turks will give up marginal areas

T will reduce some power

Pressure on Greek govt under review. Could it  
get worse + so they back out no a bit.

P We have discussed lately. Our position is  
right now. I won't go into very hot spot. We would  
work w/ all parties.

Assembly, a sit was facing by Greek govt was  
disapproved of by US + world. When they



did it they couldn't take account of it - but T  
could do it. Now we assumed there <sup>would</sup> be  
some motivation in negotiation.

My relations w/ Greek community have changed  
somewhat. They don't think so much of me right  
now but I think they will come round as things  
go forth.

1/2

Even Greeks will eventually see it and influence  
will be made for T motivation.

P

