MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS:
President Gerald R. Ford
Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, Secretary of State
and Assistant to the President for
National Security Affairs
Joseph J. Sisco, Under Secretary of State
for Political Affairs
Amb. William Crawford, U. S. Ambassador
to Cyprus
Amb. Jack Kubisch, U. S. Ambassador to Greece
Amb. William B. Macomber, Jr.,
U. S. Ambassador to Turkey
Lt. General Brent Scowcroft, Deputy Assistant
to the President for National Security Affairs

DATE AND TIME: Tuesday, January 7, 1975
        4:35 - 5:15 p.m.

PLACE: The Oval Office

SUBJECT: Cyprus

Kissinger: Macomber tries to stay out of town so I don't stick him with
the Congressional Liaison job.

The President: You wore out a lot of shoe leather.

Macomber: I had two tours.

Kissinger: Mr. President, these people have been carrying a lot of the
burden.

Let me sum up where we are. At Brussels, the outline of the
talks was agreed to. At that time the question of guarantees was raised.
I told you I called Esenbel and he agreed to start the talks tomorrow. He asked for one wrinkle -- that everyone agree to submit the final results to a meeting of five powers -- which is not the same as a guarantee.

For concessions, we will aim for the opening of the airport, the port of Famagusta, the withdrawal of some troops, and the return of some refugees. We won't get all these, but with two or three we could move the Congress. We have to get a longer extension this time.

The President: If we get three or four of them, isn't that substantial progress?

Kissinger: This package would alleviate most of the conditions, but we can't get it all in the few weeks available. We also hope to step up the pace of talks to three or four per week. The Greeks have given up most of their earlier demands. The major issues now are the extent of the Turkish area, the powers of the central government, and the refugees.

The President: Will other issues, like Law of the Sea in the Aegean, be thrown in?

Kissinger: The Greeks are willing, but it would complicate it.

Macomber: It could follow the Cyprus talks.

Kubisch: The situation in Greece has improved greatly, and the American position has improved from the bad position of last summer. Karamanlis has done a great job in the country. He understands the need for close U.S. ties and he supports it, but he can't move fast publicly. He has the Greek side all held together for now, but he can't hold them for long. He wants a quick settlement and is willing to concede much. He is willing to follow with talks on the Aegean, on overflights, and so on -- and move to a real detente. We are on a good trend in Greece.

The President: How did Wayne Hays do?

Kubisch: He talked Turkey, but they know he is a friend and he has credibility. He gave a press conference and did a great job.

Macomber: He was good in Turkey, too. The Turks want to be European and oriented toward us. They don't work democracy very well. They had bad luck in the last election but Ecevit's government was good. If there is
an election, Ecevit will win big and the other parties don’t want that. The military are getting impatient. They will agree to elections at some point, but it will be a weak government until it is over.

The President: Will the military agree to a reasonable settlement?

Macomber: Yes. They are tough. They are incredulous that the United States could do what was done -- but they are deeply grateful to you and Secretary Kissinger.

The President: It was really tough last October and in December. We had this Demetracopolous who really incited the Greek community here.

Macomber: Their problem is they see this little island so close to their shores, with their countrymen being screwed for such a long time by nine million Greeks far away. They like Karamanlis but they are determined it won’t happen again. They are very offended that the United States turned on them. If it wasn’t for you two, Turkey would be down the drain.

Kissinger: We will pay for this for years to come.

Macomber: If there is an aid cutoff, our influence will be almost zero. We have many installations there. With their fine Army and the Straits, they are really an asset.

The President: Do they control Denktash?

Macomber: Yes. But it is a weak caretaker government.

Crawford: Cyprus is a tragedy, from the paradise it used to be. It is now a divided island. There are only 12,000 Greeks in the Turkish zone and 18,000 Turks in the Greek zone. The Turks move into the big villages but there are no jobs. There is a political division and economic division now -- which doesn’t make sense. Even the Turkish Cypriots say “Turkey didn’t come in to save us, but for their own purposes.” The Greek Cypriots are now becoming disillusioned with Greece. So both of them are disillusioned. Now there is a sort of a Cypriot nationality coming out of this. Denktash and Clerides are old friends and were raised together. But looking over Clerides’ shoulder is Makaarios and Greece; over Denktash’s shoulder is the Turks. But still their relationship is the best possible for negotiations.
Kissinger: Karamanlis is playing Makarios skillfully. If Makarios blesses the agreement, he is off the hook; if Makarios rejects it, Karamanlis can say he tried and can stick Makarios with it. If the Turks could give up a little, they could get a lot. Makarios won’t stay quiet for long. He wants a stalemate so he can maneuver and get the Soviet Union in.

Macomber: I agree.

Kissinger: Few Greeks will go back to the Turkish zone.

Macomber: But the Greeks and Turks hate each other. They have trouble getting together.

The President: Henry and I have been talking this subject since my first day. Keep it moving and we will try to take care of the Congress. We need enough progress to get us over the hump, and Bill [Macomber], you can use my name to get the Turks to move.

Crawford: I hope we can get aid money for Cyprus, too.
The + suppose th. but he can't move fast

pontly. He has cloth tied all tight together

the zones. But he can't hold them for long.

We want a quick settlement. Willing to consider

Willing if there will do anything that

a real distance. We can good found in

I heard you ask

I'm the deadusty thing that they know. He found +

the road. Since this very a big giant job.

We was good in Tuesday. Thursday went to the fruit

corner to round. They don't know. Denning say

will find tuck in intersection but exist part pos

of conclusion. Exist will win big + cost big. Pos

don't want that. Wanting getting important. They

will agree to election at some point but will

got into town.

I will mind your name & settlement

We say. They things, remind that is called +

what your was done but thing already graduate

to age or k.

I got really things last SAT + in Dec. We had

this development + really invited Creek

community.

On Their part is they are this little island so one

of this countryman being trouble for long time

by E. will Creek forevery. They like knew but

determined it won't happen again. They

very offered that US cannot stand. If not for you

2 trouble would be down the drain.

K will will pay far far questions.

On fr rate, our influence will be almost zero.
We had many installments there - a lot of fun.

Annie from Jojo's Circus, they are really mean.

Do they control Dunkeinh?

Yes, Dunkeinh is a work of art.

Continued: a town in Egypt for a temple, fun -

I brought it to the end. It's now a dish of reality.

Only 1,000 Greeks and 1,000 Romans.

The map is big, no evil, but no evil. They're practical, division - a lot of division now - which doesn't make sense.

From Egypt - say, I didn't come in to occupy, but for their own purposes.

The Egyptians are now becoming disillusioned.

So it's here, then there is a sort of Egyptian reality coming out of this. Dunkeinh is:

Calvino are old friends and wish together. They don't know what the other is thinking. Their videos:

case. Dunkeinh is Tink.

This relationship is a legal possibility in some vegetation.

K. Kane is playing basketball skillfully. If basketball interesse, the is a box. If basketball interesse to K. Kane won't to fail. They wish.

If these could get up, they could get it. Basketball won't stagnate for long. He wants a sturdy tree can maintain yet 30 min.

In Japan:

K. Two Greeks will go for a trip.

Bart C.T. hate each other. They have trouble getting together.

P: If I knew taking this subject more may get clear.

Keep it moving. We will try to take care of long.
Dr. Smith,

We need to get in touch with you. It's about the change in your name and the procedures.

I hope we can get in touch and answer your questions.

Sincerely,

[Signature]