MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS: President Ford
Peter Agris, The Hellenic Chronicle
William L. Greener, Jr., Deputy Press Secretary to the President
Lt. General Brent Scowcroft, Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs

DATE & TIME: Monday, September 29, 1975
11:30 a.m.

PLACE: The Oval Office

The President: I believe we are facing one of the real crucial decisions in the Congress Wednesday when this comes up. I have been trying, even early in the crisis when I was Vice President, to see how we could use our influence to settle this tragic problem. I want you to know I have always had the closest relations with the Greek Americans. My first job in high school was in a Greek restaurant at lunch. So I have always had the close relationship, both a personal relationship and a business relationship. They have always helped my campaigns and I have been closely involved in AHEPA.

So it pains me very much to have the Greek Americans opposed to what I think has to be done. The fact is the situation in Cyprus is deteriorating. Instead of the embargo resolving the problem, it has delayed it and created more temper and problems rather than less.

It hasn't helped the Greek Government. I have the greatest admiration for Karamanlis and I think Bitsios is a fine Foreign Minister. I know they have to walk the fine line. But it would be tragic if they came under political danger because of failure to solve the Cyprus problem. I think there is a threat from both sides, but probably worse from the left.

Agris: Probably they would be worse than the junta.

The President: It is severely hurting NATO, and Turkey has been forced to close down certain very important and sensitive intelligence operations of the United States.
You know all these things, but it has failed to help Cyprus, it has hurt NATO and our intelligence operations and has not helped the Greeks.

I have told Demirel that if the embargo is lifted, we would expect some movement. I have told our NATO allies we would expect their help in getting movement.

I know Brademas and Sarbanes don't agree. We have met three to four times and we still have differences. But I don't see how any objective person can say Greece has been helped. If I am wrong, I would like to hear your views.

Agris: I would not say you are wrong on the facts. There may be a difference on interpretation of what might or might not happen.

Mr. Lloyd Waring is a great supporter of yours and wanted me to talk to you. I think the Greeks and even non-Greeks have confidence in our paper. We have not tried to demagogue this issue. You have never seen me in with AHEPA or the Archbishop.

I think a lot of the ill feeling is not at you but at how the State Department has handled the situation.

There were a lot of Greeks behind Durkin. The restaurant owners get to a lot of people every day.

The tragic thing if that most of the Greek American people believe in your philosophy. Hard work, law and order -- all of these things. I am not here for publicity. I want to help with a problem which is tearing me apart. I can understand your and Secretary Kissinger's attitude on the embargo. But they were as intransigent before as after. How do we know they will move?

The President: We have general assurances. Besides, there will be lots of legislation coming up. If they don't move, the cutoff can easily be re-imposed.

Agris: I am glad you told me that and that you were thinking along those lines.

One other point is our long friendship with Greece. I know Makarios is as intransigent as the Turks. Clerides I think could have gotten farther if he hadn't been tied down.
The President: Just by happenstance, Makarios and I sat next to each other at Helsinki. I told him that if we didn't get the embargo lifted, I would wash my hands of it. He didn't want that.

Agris: You have to understand Makarios. He is from a poor family and got where he is on his own. If there were an enosis, he would lose his religious independence as well as his political independence. He would be nuts to give this up, and I have been writing this way since '64. Now I know that the 40,000 Turkish troops won't budge by themselves. Makarios doesn't seem to see this. Clerides does, and he and Makarios don't see eye to eye. Karamanlis is very upset.

The President: I know. He told me.

Agris: I know the pride and ego of the Turks and what a problem we face that way. A Turk told me if you could give some aid secretly... I know it is unrealistic but they are hung up on their pride. The Greeks are much the same. That is a good part of the problem.

The President: Now we are faced with a Turkish election, with Ecevit the guy who sent the troops there and Demirel with a razor-thin margin.

We understand why Karamanlis can't come out publicly. And the Turks have this election. The consequence is that there is no movement.

Agris: But the Greeks think we could have stopped the coup and the Turkish invasion and did neither. They don't understand, in view of the strong friendship over the years and the way the Greeks have stood by us.

[There was a discussion of the legality of a Section 816 waiver, etc.]

The President: I do have a personal commitment from Demirel that he will move if the embargo is lifted, and from the NATO leaders to help produce movement.

The crucial areas at issue are that the Turks, with 18% of the population, have 40% of the land. The difference here has narrowed to 4-5%. Then there is refugee resettlement, and the nature of the government. There are really apparently no irreconcilable differences. They are soluble if we can ever get the parties to sit down for a period without outside pressures.

Agris: Karamanlis has authorized me to say that if you could give him economic aid -- I know he was asking for $250 million.
The President: We are working on that. I don't know what the whole figures are. Brent, can you get me our figures?

Agris: The other thing is the refugees. If they would only let the refugees go home. [He shows photos] I something could be done on the humanitarian side. That would take much of the sting out of the issue.

The President: I don't honestly think you will get movement before a settlement. The aid is no problem, but this we have to get the Turks to do. There is no way to get this by Wednesday.

Agris: I could have guaranteed you in August a lifting of the embargo for this humanitarian gesture. It is these refugees -- every week there are more pictures and stories.

We have the 25th Anniversary of the Chronicle coming up. If you would consider using our banquet as a forum for announcing any of these, you would be honoring us.

The President: If there is any way you can change a few votes...

[Discussion]

Agris: If the embargo is lifted, could we have a Presidential statement mentioning the Greeks?

The President: Of course.

[The meeting concluded.]
DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.6
DECISION: releasable to the public

P. I believe we are facing one of the most
difficult issues in a long time. Other than
up. Some have been trying to settle the dispute
without going up, to see how we will
resolve. I'm not sure if settling the dispute
worthwhile. I think that the first job was
at the restaurant in a German restaurant at lunch.
So I think there has been a change in relationship,
with several changes. They have always
helped me campaign and I have been
very committed in Chicago.
So it goes a very much to have a
change since opposed to what it does to be
done. It is not so set it's gone with determining
the change of the change of the change, it
was, you did it to create the change. Changed it
itself.

It cannot solve our current pluribus
administration for Kerry. I think that it's a point.
I know they have troubles for living, but it's
worth. I think they have troubles for living,
because of the change to settle the German from
I think there is nothing from both sides, but just
across.

P. It is simply trapping NATO and Turkey has
been forced to make some very important
concessions until Spain.

DECLASIFIED
E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.6
RECEIVED: 11/15/94

S.E. WARD, STATE DEPT. DIALECTIC
BY: ______________ NARA DATE: __________
Your dream are over but I'm here today to help you. I have both NATO and the G-5000 that are not helpful. 

I have told Saddam that if anybody lifted one sword I expect some movement. I have told our NATO allies we would expect their help in shutting them down.

I know Sadam and Saddam don't agree, we want to stop them now. But I don't think there's any realistic peace can very quickly change their minds. If I were wrong, I would like to learn your view.

I would not say there are many, but there may be others interested in what might or might not happen. 

This is a great example of how I wanted to talk to you. I think a leader + man from the Middle East is important in our future. We have tried to change our situation.

You have never seen me in it. Have a great day.
P: I can understand your & Sen's attitude towards China. But they were so enthusiastic before the firm that they would not lower their standards.

AP: We have grown accustomed to the reality that China will never fully recover. If they don't lower their standards, their efforts can easily be ruined.

AP: Perhaps you can still make them change, after all, they have been acting as if they were Chinese. I know Maozian and some of them are very clever. Perhaps I think it would have gotten further if we hadn't been held down.

P: Just by their own standards, Maozian is not worthy of any effort. I tell him if we didn't get in touches with him, I would not say such a thing. He didn't want that.

AP: You have to understand Maozian. He is a poor family man, and he is very honest. If there were honest people in the world, he would have been a great leader, and he would have been of great value to China.

P: The forces of communist China continue to expand in China. China now has over 40,000 troops, and they are under orders not to withdraw. Kamaras is very resolute.

AP: I know. He told me.

AP: I know the forces are capable. We should get an understanding of China.
I am quite interested in the work you are carrying on. The results are extremely
important. We need a solid foundation to build upon.

We understand why we are not going to get the
confirmation. The Times cannot support everyone in
the same manner.

A few clear issues could have stopped
the progression. I'm curious to see this
in action. They don't understand the idea of a
strong friendship in a year or two. A weak bond
stands by none.

(Discussion of the USA's recent efforts, etc.)

I do have a personal contact from jemand that is
willing to work in the USA. He is now working to
build a presence in it.

The contact seems to think that I can
be of help. He has been successful.

The times are changing and that I can
be of assistance.

This has really opened up a
wonderful opportunity. They are ready if we can
move past a few issues for a period of
time.

H. Nakamura has been present with you. If
you could give the team a call and
 ensure...
No, I was asking for 2,500 miles.

P: Are we talking about 2,500 miles? I don't know what

what figure we - blank, but it's something

The other thing is a difference. If they wouldn't

let it go away, go home. (Shows photos) If Demitra

would be seen in a demonstration like that.

That wouldn't react; that sort of be used.

P: I don't think it's true. You will get movement

before a settlement. The aid is important, but this

we have to get to the core to get this

by itself.

A: I would have guaranteed you an any advocacy

of any change for this demonstration justine

for this difference – any what this one would

result in.

as a - blank to - accompany for a whole

community. If you would consider moving

an effort of a form for community if

there, you would be moving on.

P: If there is any way you can change a few

votes...

- Demitra

1. Amendments in depth, could we have a

pre-statement mentioning a blank

of comments.