MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

SECRET/NODIS/XGDS

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS:
President Ford
Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, Secretary of State
Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs
Bulent Ecevit, Former Turkish Prime Minister, Leader of Republican People's Party
Amb. Melih Esenbel, Turkish Ambassador to the United States
Amb. Hasan Esat Isik, Republican People's Party Foreign Affairs Advisor.

DATE AND TIME:
Thursday, July 29, 1976
10:40 - 11:37 a.m.

PLACE:
The Oval Office

[The press came in for photos. There was small talk about Ecevit's being Secretary Kissinger's student, and the fact that the President had spoken before the Kissinger seminar, too. The press then left].

The President: When did you enter parliament?

Ecevit: 1957. I had to leave here to campaign.

The President: First let me apologize for the incident in New York [the assassination attempt by a Greek Cypriot]. I assure we will do our best to ensure it will not happen again.

Ecevit: Thank you, Mr. President. These things can happen anywhere. The security has been fine and they risked their lives for me -- otherwise I might have been killed.

Henry A. Kissinger

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The President: We are delighted to have you here. I would be interested in your comments on our mutual interests, and I'd like to hear your suggestions for how we can improve things.

Ecevit: I would like to thank you for receiving me and for what you and Dr. Kissinger have done to maintain the ties with Turkey against domestic pressure. That has been the major influence in calming the Turkish people over the situation. The Republican People's Party is doing its best not to inflame the situation.

My general observation is that the Turkish people have always been independent, so they are very proud, and any government which appears too pliant is opposed.

For that reason, when I was in power in 1974, I am sure Dr. Kissinger would tell you we were not an easy ally. But in 1974, the Turkish people developed friendly attitudes toward the United States and NATO. There were no slogans and no anti-American demonstrations.

Kissinger: That is why the tragedy is that we couldn't move decisively in 1974 soon after the Cyprus crisis.

Ecevit: We had problems which developed within my coalition and I had to leave office in November and cancel Dr. Kissinger's trip because I couldn't deliver on my promise.

The President: Tragically, it has been more than two years now. We have irrational elements in this country on Cyprus. But I have done my best to maintain friendly relations without regard to domestic concerns. I just hope we can find a way out.

Ecevit: Yes. I asked to form a minority government because I thought if the problem wasn't solved right away it would be more difficult. The new Government inherited my coalition so they weren't able to make many moves. I had been critical of the Government and urged them to make some conciliatory moves. Then, of course, Makarios returned to Cyprus. I have the feeling the Greek Government is losing its interest in a solution to Cyprus, and they can't influence Makarios. So all of these things conspire to make movement difficult, and the longer it goes the more difficult it becomes. I had a plan in 1974, but it no longer applies. If we win in 1977, we will put forth a plan. Of course, the Greeks are intransigent because they think they can get American and Western support.
The West appears to be aware of only the Cyprus problem between Greece and Turkey, whereas the major problem is the Aegean. Greece is laying claim to the whole of the Aegean — she has used NATO missions to reinforce that claim. They have been making seismic exploration in the Aegean without opposition. When I came in, we asked for discussions to solve the problem. The junta said there were no problems because the Aegean is theirs. So we sent a seismic ship out. Greece objected and we said, "So, let's talk." They refused. The Greeks have used their public relations skills on the issue to make it appear one-sided in favor of Greece.

The President: Haven't both sides agreed to submit it to the ICJ?

Ecevit: The Greeks proposed it. My Government thinks it is important to have talks first.

This is a big issue between us. What the West should do is to induce Greece and Turkey to negotiate all our problems simultaneously, but separately. In that way, things could get going. I mentioned it to Waldheim who thought it had merit.

The President: Under the UN, or bilaterally?

Ecevit: Bilaterally. The UN has no role now in the Aegean except to give friendly support for talks. The other point is the West shouldn't appear as if they support the Greeks against Turkey. Particularly the U.S. should keep equidistant between Greece and Turkey.

If I could, I would like to mention our difficult problems. I spoke yesterday with Congressional Armed Services Committees.

The President: How did it go?

Ecevit: I am not filled with optimism. I didn't have the impression they were sure the treaty would pass.

The President: We are forthrightly in favor of it.

Kissinger: Did you tell them what the consequences would be?

Ecevit: Yes. But we must be careful. We aren't volatile like the Greeks, but when we act responsibly we don't get the publicity.
Demirel makes sour statements which may sound a little dangerous -- like leaving NATO or warning of the consequences. I never say anything like that. I say that whatever happens, that is no reason to leave NATO because it is important for many reasons. I have kept my party in line on this issue. I don't think the Eastern Europeans would be happy if we left NATO. They can't say it, but we feel it.

The President: Romania or Yugoslavia?

Ecevit: Yes, and even further.

But if the treaty fails we would have to develop a new NATO relationship. We couldn't go on as in the past. Turkey would crack under it. Our defense expenditures are the highest in NATO. I have given this explanation to the Congress and told them they have been proven wrong on their predictions about Turkey. On the poppies, for example. The UN has investigated and said there is no opium leakage.

The President: I am dedicated to pushing the Turkish Treaty.

Kissinger: Frankly, I think the Greeks are trying to delay to prevent the Turkish Treaty from passing. I think we must separate them and push the Turkish Treaty.

The President: We will do whatever is needed.

[The Turkish press comes in for photos. Secretary Kissinger leaves. The Turkish press leaves.]

The President: Why don't you tell me a bit about the Turkish domestic situation?

Ecevit: There is a terrorist campaign from the extreme right, which is protected by some of the Government parties. By one party directly and by the Justice Party indirectly. There is a danger of militant counteraction from the left. We are trying to calm our party, but we have no influence on the extreme left. There have been 50 or so students killed and the terrorists are protected. Now they are penetrating the labor unions. I think all of this is being done because the conservative parties in power are different than those of the West. In the West, all of them are dedicated to the rules of the game. In developing countries, the conservatives fear democracy.
Nevertheless, I am confident of the future of the democracy in Turkey. We have a good constitution, an independent judiciary, a free press, a free labor movement, and a strong opposition party. Our Army has a tradition of intervening -- right or wrongly -- when it sees the country in trouble, but it has never wanted to rule. Now it is, thankfully, very reluctant to intervene in any way.

May I say frankly that in Turkey, many people suspect indirect CIA involvement in covert actions in Turkey.

The President: They must be approved by me and it is not and will not be done.

Ecevit: I believe whatever you say. As you know, such operations sometimes have a life of their own. I hesitate to mention it, but I thought you should know.

The President: I am glad you mentioned it to give me a chance to go on the record. There is absolutely no truth to the stories.

May I reemphasize the importance we ascribe to good bilateral relations with NATO. This Administration will maximize its efforts to maintain good relations and to contribute to a strong NATO. We must do our share -- especially with Congress, with the Treaty and to keep them from taking ill-advised action as they have done in the past. On the other hand, it is important that Turkey do its best to resolve the Cyprus problem. We understand Makarios' game. Cyprus is a cancer which is harmful to this Administration or to any U.S. administration. To the degree you can help in opposition, I hope you will work for progress. October, 1977 is a long way away. I hope to win in November.

Ecevit: I hope so.

The President: I plan to, but I have reason to believe Carter might be pro-Greece.

Ecevit: I know. I have seen his statements. I wish you well this fall. We know who our friends are.

The President: Can you have elections earlier than October 1977?

Ecevit: Only by an absolute majority of the Parliament.
DEC class 

P1 ECWnt
27 July 26

Dear Max,

I am writing to follow up on our correspondence regarding the
situation in NLF, DATE

I understand your concern about the impact of the recent events on
people in the area. I also acknowledge the difficulties you face in
implementing the new measures. I believe that we need to work
collaboratively to address these issues.

Thank you for your continued efforts in this regard.

Best regards,

Declasified

Authority to declassify: 12/14/04; status: 12/14/04

By: NLF, DATE: 12/14/04
was not originally ugly. But in 14, 
I people always had people in the crews, and as I
was not, I was always alone, and as I
nothing. There were no changes, except as

I that why they are not we could not move
evening to 74 after correction by our

I We had just by I was in my condition 
and I have in Norr an small King because
I couldn't believe in my promise.

I Frequently it has been more than I say
now. We have to understand that in
this country on Cypress, but I have been
my best to understand what I said.

To domestic reasons, I left her without

find a way out.

yes, I have been a missionary girl because
I don't if I had more red I might say
it would be more quiet. The more I had
understood my condition so they presented
a make many noises. I had been afraid
I could say anything near enough.

I mean, of course, understand what I meant.
I have a feeling of grateful but it's being.
I understand the problem of Cypress, that
they can't understand it. So all their
enemies to make movement if I may
not. But we may do it be some

But I had a plan in 74, but it
We cannot apply 9.  We're not sure
the plan.
Opening a Greek war was ridiculous. They
think they can get 91.  We had
support.
There was no way to support a
Greek war, but 6-7, whereas a major
problem. Greece is Lysimachus' plan.
In essence, Greece has asked Korea
military to support that claim. They
have been making several attempts
to a Greek war. After 2
weeks or so, we asked for discussion to start
again. They agreed, we discussed it
again. We put pressure on Greece
again. We went to a German subject. Greece
objected, we put it to 20, but talk. They
disagreed. The Greeks have made
their P.R. policies on a case to make it appear
we sided with Greece.
I don't want both agreed to return to 4-5
I Greeks proposed my Court thinks important
to have Talks 1st.
Traces a big issue, but now. What
a Court shall be 3 to make a court
a major issue. Further, the Court's not going.
I think I would put it on the issue
that it isn't work.
And/or I am beliebted?

Believed. Oh, has no rule ever in any
except from 9 support parties.

The main point is that shall hit year
as if they support Gumbs against Monday.

Pantri CD should help quickly, but
Go T.

If well, I could talk to notice was
defence. Def the estimate of Cong. As.

P: How did it go?

E: Got failed. Not optimistic. I didn't have
emotions they were countenanced pass.

P: Were just participally in factasket.

E: Did you tell them? Everyone was?

E: Yes, but we must be careful. We can't
violates the, because, but unless we act
most we don't get funding.

Darnick makes some statements with my
sound a little dangerous. The thing.

Not a morning of everyone. Doesn't
say anything but that. For whatever
suggests that we wanna less rate show
it important for many reasons. I have
helped my party in this matter.

I don't think E. Could could be happy.

In we left Nettie. They can't try it. I but
was feel it.

P: Summum Yes.
Yes, we have a finite.

Best if we try to find a new relationship.

We must find a way to live with it. We must find a way to coexist.

I have given this explanation to a group of kids. They have given me some feedback about it. One kid said, for example, the UN has limited its goal. There is no opinion backing this.

P: (Discussing our determination to push for the Treaty)

K: Frankly, I think the Greeks are trying to defy the protocol in order to avoid the Treaty from happening.

I think we must negotiate this just like a Treaty.

P: We will determine the facts.

(Taken in press room)

(K leaves)

(Taken in press room)

I: Why don't you tell me the domestic cat.

E: There is tension and the new system right now is protected by some of the parties.

By one country and by some parties.

There is a change of mind.

Infringement from the left. We are trying to defend our party, but we have no influence on extreme left.
There have been 50 or so students tutored by

teachers and protected by the city and

protesting a police murder. I think all this

during state income & expenditure politics

was part of the culture of that

long boot, all are celebrated the role of

crowd in urging evacuation, evacuation

from town. Nevertheless I can only

feel that the change of T. & W. has been a good

event, on one hand justifying a free

jurisdiction, a free press, a free labor movement, a strong

opposition party. One thing has the

benefit of being a money - rather

in state industry in thinly, but it has

never wanted to vote. Don't it so, thankfully.

my feeling to continue in any way.

They are probably that in T. every

people expect radical leftists to remain a

major and all others out

left in order to this book to oppressed.

It but the very factually that is no

all movement in existence in

T. I think must be opposed by me.

and it is not so will not it do.

A I believe whatever so say. As your

and effects remain to a life

of this man. I have to mention it

but that you should know.

P I think you mentioned it before me.
a chance to jorney near. This is absolutely as wish to a place.
May I emphasize the importance of
searching for good blends relations with
This Admin will carry out efforts
to further good relations -- to extend
Army Needs. We must do our share
get to camp and treat to bring them
from being ill -- ailments of them or they
have. On other hand, it may that
Turkey due to deal to matter. Sys.tar
my. We understand for you that.
Egypt on is same which is now part
in this Admin to stay US Admin.
For this you can -- as in question &
will use for you. Out ??
so long away. I hope to come
in her...

P 22.8p.0

I plan to, but I have reason to believe
center might in may 30, can.

I hope, I have been there recently.
I wish you well this fall, can

They became friends one.

P can your agree relations earlier then

at 7.6

F only by separate majority of

parliament.