The original documents are located in Box 5, folder "Cyprus, 1974 WH" of the National Security Advisor. NSC Europe, Canada, and Ocean Affairs Staff Files, 1974-1977 at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

Destury 2000

SECRET

## DEPARTMENT OF STATE BRIEFING PAPER

Bilateral Talks During UNGA:

Cyprus -- Foreign Minister Christophides

Caprus

## Setting

You met Christophides at the UNGA a year ago and (presumably) you saw him last in May when you visited Nicosia for talks with Gromyko. Christophides lost his cabinet post during the coup and was reinstated as Foreign Minister just a few days ago. He is pro-Makarios.

The fragile negotiating process established in Nicosia under the umbrella of the Clerides-Denktash talks on "humanitarian" issues has produced agreements on prisoner exchanges and the principle of geographic federation. Clerides' political position, however, is increasingly precarious as a result of Makarios' efforts to upstage and undercut him at every turn, and Clerides has reportedly threatened to resign in the near future unless Greece and Makarios give him unequivocal public support.

Christophides' principal interest will be to urge the US to exert maximum pressure on the Turks to make concessions so that progress toward a settlement can be made. He believes we have the moral responsibility as well as the ability to elicit such concessions.

Our objective is to strengthen the fragile negotiating mechanism, to assure the GOC of our desire to be helpful and to get the parties to determine their own minimum requirements and the outlines of a possible settlement.

## Issues/Talking Points

## 1. Cyprus Negotiations

Cypriot Position: Greek Cypriot leaders

E.O. 12958 (as amended) SEC 3.3

State Dept Guidelines

NARA, Date 3 | 32 | 11

GDS .

recognize that it is in Cyprus' interest to make rapid progress toward a negotiated settlement. However, they believe it is politically impossible to go much further in this direction without some meaningful Turkish concession(s) on territorial, troop withdrawal, or refugee questions.

U.S. Position: We appreciate the problems facing Greek and Greek Cypriot leaders but believe that the longer discussions of outstanding political issues are delayed, the more difficult it will be to achieve a settlement.

### Your Talking Points:

- -- The Clerides-Denktash talks are a positive and hopeful element in the situation and we admire Clerides' courage and statesmanship in the face of very difficult circumstances. We support these talks and are working to foster a climate in which political discussions would lead toward a mutually acceptable political settlement.
- -- We understand the Greeks' need for some kind of Turkish gesture before fuller discussions can begin and are prepared to be helpful in this regard. It is our judgment, however, that delay will only harden positions and that it is therefore in the Cypriots' interest to get fuller discussions started as soon as possible.
- -- Makarios' statements about possible CIA involvement in the coup and US responsibility for the Turkish landing and ensuing developments are most unhelpful. It is difficult for the US to play a constructive role or to continue to have contact with Makarios while he is misrepresenting our motivations and intentions.



#### SECRET

-3-

- -- We believe that Makarios' return to Cyprus at this time would raise tensions on the island and greatly complicate efforts now underway to make progress toward a negotiated political settlement.
- -- It is important for the Cyprus Government to tell us in concrete terms how it views the possible outlines of a settlement. Only if it deals with us frankly and realistically can we be of assistance.
- -- We hope that polemics on the Cyprus question can be avoided at the UN. Acrimonious debate will only cloud the atmosphere and set back efforts to achieve a fair and lasting settlement.

Department of State September 1974



# Bilateral Talks During UNGA: Cyprus -- Foreign Minister Christophides

Drafted: EUR/SE: RWE Cman: NCLedsky: IO/UNP: XVunovich

Clearances: NSC - Mr. Clift

C - Mr. Blackwill

IO

P - Mr. Sisco

EUR - Mr. Stabler





WASHINGTON

September 3, 1974

MEMORANDUM FOR:

JEANNE DAVIS

FROM:

JAMES FALK

The attached letter from Governor Bowen of Indiana concerning the plight of the Cypriots is being forwarded to you for direct reply on behalf of the President.

Thank you for taking care of this correspondence.

Attachment



## OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA 46204

OTIS R. BOWEN, M. D. GOVERNOR

August 26, 1974

JF 28

The Honorable Gerald R. Ford President of the United States RETThe White House Washington, D.C.

Dear President Ford:

I am enclosing a letter addressed to you that was given to me by Reverend Evagoras Constantinides, Chairman of the Coordinating Committee for Cyprus Relief in Indiana. Father Ev, as he is known by those who know him best, was born and raised in Cyprus and obviously has great interest and concern in behalf of the Cypriots. He feels very strongly about the situation as do the thousands of Greek citizens in our state. I have great sympathy with their cause and hope that a satisfactory resolution of this most difficult problem will be quickly attained.

Kindest personal regards,

minowen

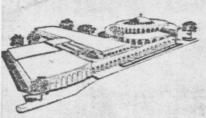
Otis R. Bowen, M.D.

Governor

ORB:pak

Enclosure

No R. FOROLLER



## SS. Constantine and Helen Greek Orthodox Church

\*\*MERRILLVILLE, INDIANA 46410 \* PHONE [219] 769-248

August 20, 1974

The Honorable Gerald Ford President of the United States The White House Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

Upon the assumption of the awesome responsibilities of the presidency, I pray that Almighty God grant you the strength, guidance and inspiration to lead our nation to new heights of enlightment.

You have correctly stated that the "national nightmare" of Watergate is over.

But if the domestic Watergate, which was brought about by "dirty tricks" of the previous administration, is over the foreign Watergate is not. Much more dirtier tricks are perpetrated on humanity by your Secretary of State, such as "Kissinger's Rape of Cyprus." Having planned with the Greek Junta, the other Henry (Tasca) and the C.I.A., the internal takeover of Greece and the emasculation of her armed forces, he engineered the overthrow of Makarios because, we are told, he was afraid that he was becoming the Castro of the Mediterranean. Yet, Makarios did give the United States radar bases on the island. No, Mr. President, Kissinger was not afraid of Makarios any more than was the proverbial ox afraid of the mosquito sitting on his horn. Temperamental Henry simply didn't want another man shuttling from Peking to Africa to Europe, from the capital of one non-aligned nation to the other, sharing the limelight with him and keeping Cyprus independent.

With private and public statements about his grave concern for the "suppression" of the Turkish Cypriots by the Greek Cypriots (two peoples who lived in peace and harmony from the time that the Turks first set foot on this Greek island in 1571, when they conquered it from the Venetians, until 1957 when Turkey was invited back to Cyprus by the treachery of the British) he conspired with the Turks for the partition of the island. And much like Nero who was fiddling while Rome was burning, Mr. Kissinger was ignoring all pleas from all directions while watching with glee and satisfaction the Turkish hordes rolling over the defenseless population with American tanks and armor, supported by phantom jets in their "victorious drive to liberate the 'suffering' Turkish Cypriots." And now that the partition has become a fact he is going through the motions of making empty gestures of concern.

While the State Department spokesman, Mr. McClosky, was "deploring the use of force as unjustifiable" and condemning the military aggressiveness of Turkey, what was the most powerful nation on earth doing? Stopping aggression and barbaric invasion as the Johnson Administration did in 1964 and 1967. Of course not. Why not? Because Mr. Kissinger did not want to, period. And Mr. McClosky labeled this naked tilting of Mr. Kissinger in favor of Turkey (not unlike his tilting in the India-Bangladesh situation) as "baloney." And he went on to threaten Greece (!) and Turkey that military aid would be stopped if they went to war with each other!!

Ludicrous! What did Greece do to provoke such treatment? Nothing more than overthrow the Junta which with the aid, support and protection of the C.I.A., Henry Tasca
and the State Department, crushed freedom in Greece, overthrew Makarios and brought
in the Turks as "liberators." What a great reward for the new democratic government
of Greece. But it isn't the first time that this has happened. Back in September 1955,
when the Turks in Constantinople were desecrating churches, digging up the graves of
the Orthodox Patriarchs and strewing their bones in the Streets, and raping Greek women,
what did the then Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, do? He warned both Greece
and Turkey to behave themselves and stop acting like children!

How easy it is to preside over the dismemberment or humiliation of another country and to impose upon it immoral solutions to its problems only because the country is either small or weak!

And now that the Turks, 18% of the population of Cyprus, have taken 54% of the area, 84% of the arable land and 80% of the natural resources of Cyprus, what will be next? Some of the Greek oil in the Aegean, or maybe another Greek island or two. Why not. Greece has too many of them and too near Turkey!

Mr. President, it may well be that America's domestic moral fiber has been restored with the thrashing out of Watergate. But America's moral fiber in foreign relations, under the direction of Henry Kissinger, has reached a new low.

It would be divine justice and a true catharsis of this hubris, the "Kissinger Rape of Cyprus", which Mr. Kissinger has flung in the face of Hellenism all over the world, if Mr. Karamanlis would stick to his action of pulling the Greek forces out of NATO and turn the vacated bases on Crete and the Greek mainland to Russia! After all, if we are so interested in detente, yearn for their friendship and give them our wheat, could they be so bad? Or is diplomacy synonymous with hypocrisy? Besides why is NATO necessary when America acts unilaterally and does not consult with the other NATO countries.

There is still time, Mr. President, to rectify the "Kissinger Rape of Cyprus" and to salvage American morality and the American name abroad. At the Conference Table America should tell Turkey—"You have gone too far. Either you pull all your troops out of Cyprus and sit at the Conference Table where we will consider 'larger voice' for the Cypriot Turks or we shall stop all military aid to you, even impose sanctions." And, for good measure, the matter of the Turkish opium should be thoroughly aired.

Wishful thinking? Not if you rise to the occasion, Mr. President, and see to it that justice is done to this beleaguered island.

Sincerely

Reverend Evagoras Constantinides, Chairman Coordinating Committee for Cyprus Relief in Indiana

P.S. The tragic killing of Ambassador Davies in Cyprus is condemned and deplored.

Even the frustration and desperation that injustice has brought to the terrified victims of naked aggression cannot justify it.

### NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

### WITHDRAWAL ID 033864

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL .		ÇNational security restriction
TYPE OF MATERIAL		ÇBriefing Paper
CREATOR'S NAME		Robert Gates
TITLE		Clerides-Denktash Private Meeting on September 11
CREATION DATE		09/13/1974
VOLUME		2 pages
COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER	ID	033900117
		NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER. NSC EUROPE, CANADA, AND OCEAN AFFAIRS STAFF: FILES
BOX NUMBER		
FOLDER TITLE		
DATE WITHDRAWN		06/08/2011

WITHDRAWING ARCHIVIST . . . TMH

TRANSMITTED BY: (Qate & Time Stamp)		RECEIVED BY: (Date & Time Stamp)
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SA 107/4 13 mm 10 39	8/5 #	SITUATION ROOM
LDX MESSAGE NO. 224	^	, NO. PAGES
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## DEPARTMENT OF STATE

### Bilateral Talks During UNGA:

### Cyprus -- Foreign Minister Christophides

### Setting

You met Christophides (CHRIS-TOH-FEE-DEEZ) at the UNGA a year ago. Christophides lost his cabinet post during the coup and was reinstated as Foreign Minister just a few days, ago. He is pro-Makarios.

A fragile negotiating process has been established in Nicosia under the umbrella of the Clerides-Denktash talks on "humanitarian" issues. Clerides has conceded the principle of geographic federation in these talks, but, owing to his own tenuous political position and to Makarios' efforts to upstage and undercut him, he has been unable to take such a position publicly.

Christophides' principal interest will be to urge the US to exert maximum pressure on the Turks to make concessions so that formal negotiations can get underway. He believes we have the moral responsibility as well as the ability to elicit such concessions.

Our objective is to strengthen the fragile negotiating mechanism, to assure the GOC of our desire to be helpful and to get the parties to determine their own minimum requirements and the outlines of a possible settlement.

## 1. Cyprus Negotiations

Cypriot Position: Greek Cypriot leaders recognize that it is in Cyprus' interest to make rapid progress toward a negotiated settlement.

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E.O. 12958 (as amended) SEC 3.3

State Dept Guidelines

\_NARA, Date \_3 | 32 | 11

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However, they believe it is politically impossible to go much further in this direction without some meaningful Turkish concession(s) on territorial, troop withdrawal, or refugee questions.

U.S. Position: We appreciate the problems facing Greek and Greek Cypriot leaders but believe that the longer formal negotiations are delayed, the more difficult it will be to achieve a settlement.

### Your Talking Points:

- -- We are pleased to see that Denktash and Clerides have approached their discussions in a serious and statesmanlike way. We admire Clerides' courage in the face of a very difficult circumstance and believe these talks can provide the basis for expanded discussions.
- -- We understand the Greeks' need for some kind of Turkish gesture before formal negotiations can begin and we are prepared to be helpful in this regard. It is our judgment, however, that Cypriots have more to lose by delay than Turkey and that it is therefore in their interest to get negotiations started as soon as possible.
- -- The U.S. has no "plan" for a settlement. Our view, however, is that the situation seems to require some form of federalized solution. It is for the Cypriots themselves to decide what kind of federal arrangements they would live with, but it seems clear that the Turks will settle for nothing less.
- -- It is important for the Cyprus Government to tell us in concrete terms how it views the

possible outlines for a settlement. Only if it deals with us frankly and realistically can we be of assistance.

### 2. Cyprus in the UNGA

The non-aligned may see advantage in inscribing a UNGA item on Cyprus on the agenda to bring their weight to bear in favor of a non-aligned sovereign, and independent Cyprus, free from the control of NATO countries. The Soviets would support such a move to disrupt the "NATO role" in current peacemaking and peacekeeping efforts. We have had indications that Cyprus might move for inscription unless Turkey demonstrates its willingness to move promptly from de facto partition to a fair negotiated settlement.

### Your Talking Points

-- We hope that polemics on the Cyprus question can be avoided at the UNGA. Acrimonious debate will only cloud the atmosphere and set back efforts to achieve a fair and lasting settlement.

Department of State
September 1974

## Bilateral Talks During UNGA:

## Cyprus -- Foreign Minister Christophides

Drafted: EUR/SE RWErdman: NCLedsky: IO/UNP: XVunovich

Clearances: EUR - Mr. Hartman

NSC - Mr. Clift

C - Mr. Blackwill

IO -

P - Mr. Sisco



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### Briefing Item

UK Defense Review and Sovereign Bases on Cyprus: The German Ambassador in London has been told by the Foreign Office that the British have decided to give up the sovereign base areas in Cyprus, according to a ranking German embassy official. The Germans apparently take the information seriously, although the US embassy continues to receive unequivocal signals from reliable British sources that no decisions have been taken on the outcome of the defense review. In conveying this report to Bonn, the German embassy is recommending consideration of NATO subvention to the British along the lines of the NATO contribution to rent for British bases in Malta.

With the German report in mind, our Embassy asked the Deputy Under Secretary at the Ministry of Defense, Hockaday, to confirm that no ministerial decisions had been reached regarding the defense review and, specifically, regarding the British presence in Cyprus. He stated that this was the precise state of the matter. Hockaday said that a withdrawal from Cyprus was one of a number of options which were being examined in the review, but that no decisions had been taken.

Our embassy believes that the German source received an imprecise report from Ambassador von Hase or that the latter drew the wrong conclusion from what he was told. What is interesting about the epicode,

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E.O. 12958 (as amended) SEC 3.3 NSC Nemo, 3/30/06, State Dept. Guidelines; State view 12/3/03

SECRET 2

according to the embassy, is von Hase's concern about possible British withdrawal and his thinking along the lines of a Malta solution to help Britain remain on Cyprus.

RGates:9/18/74





-> Chift 3669

A

## THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

September 19, 1974

Dear Mr. President:

Allow me to express my appreciation for your sincere expression of sympathy and condolence on the death of Ambassador Davies. Your thoughtful remarks and compassionate sharing of our sorrow encourage us to continue our search for a just and lasting peace on Cyprus.

Grall R. Ful

His Excellency
Helmut Kohl
Acting President of the
Federal Republic of Germany
Bonn



## THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

September 19, 1974

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you for your expression of sympathy on the passing of Ambassador Davies. His tragic death emphasizes for us and all the world the urgent need for a just and lasting peace on Cyprus.

Sincerely,

John R. Ful

His Excellency
Josip Broz Tito
President of the Socialist Federal
Republic of Yugoslavia
Belgrade



## 60

## THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

September 19, 1974

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

Thank you for your expressions of sympathy and sincere condolences on the passing of Ambassador Davies. His tragic death emphasizes for us and all the world the urgent need for a just and lasting peace on Cyprus.

Sincerely,

His Excellency Nicos G. Dimitriou Ambassador of Cyprus 2211 R Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20008



3669

ACTION September 10, 1974

#### MEMORANDUM FOR SECRETARY KISSINGER

FROM:

A. Denis Clift

SUBJECT:

Reply to Condolences on the Death of

Ambassador Davies

FRG Acting President Kohl, Yugoslav President Tito and Cypriot Ambassador Dimitrou have sent messages to the President expressing their condolences on the death of Ambassador Davies.

The memorandum to the President for your signature at Tab I forwards the messages and recommends that he sign the replies of appreciation at Tabs A, B and C.

The President's replies have been coordinated with Paul Theis.

#### RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum to the President at Tab I.

RGates:gw:9/10/74



### ACTION

#### MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

Henry A. Kissinger

SUBJECT:

Reply to Condolences on the Death of Ambassador

Davies

Acting West German President Kehl, Yugoslav President Tito and Cypriot Ambassador Dimitrou have sent you messages expressing their condolences on the death of Ambassador Davies. (Tab D)

The letters for your signature to Acting President Kohl at Tab A, Yugoslav President Tito at Tab B and Ambassador Dimitrou at Tab C express appreciation for their sympathy and thoughtful remarks on the passing of Ambassador Davies.

Your replies have been coordinated with Paul Theis.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letters at Tabs A, B and C.

RGates:gw:9/10/74



EMBASSY
OF THE
FEI REPUBLIC OF GERMANY
WASHINGTON, D. C.

August 22, 1974

Dear Mr. President,

in the absence of Ambassador von Staden I have the honor to transmit to you the following telegram from the President of the Bundesrat and Acting President of the Federal Republic of Germany, Mr. Helmut Kohl:

"Zum Tode des amerikanischen Botschafters in Nicosia, Rodger Davies, und seiner Mitarbeiterin übermittle ich Ihnen und den Angehörigen der Opfer meine herzliche Anteilnahme.

Das deutsche Volk teilt mit mir die Bestürzung und Empörung, die ich über diesen sinnlosen Anschlag empfinde. Ich bin wie Sie überzeugt, daß dieses tragische Geschehen allen Beteiligten die Pflicht auferlegt, alles in ihren Kräften stehende zu tun, um den Konflikt auf Zypern friedlich beizulegen.

Für den Präsidenten der Bundesrepublik

Deutschland

gez. Helmut Kohl

Präsident des Bundesrates"

A courtesy translation reads as follows:

"On the occasion of the death of the U.S. Ambassador in Nicosia, Mr. Rodger Davies, and a member of the Embassy, I convey to you

His Excellency Gerald Ford

The President of the United States Washington, D.C.



and to the next of kin of the victims my sincere sympathy. The German people share with me in the consternation and indignation about this senseless assault. I am like you convinced that this tragic event leaves to all those involved the obligation to undertake every possible effort to settle the Cyprus conflict through peaceful means.

sgd. Helmut Kohl

President of the Bundesrat and Acting President of the Federal Republic of Germany"

Respectfully yours, habee,

Hans H. Noebel

Minister









Washington, D.C. 20520

August 30, 1974

MEMORANDUM FOR LIEUTENANT GENERAL BRENT SCOWCROFT
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Condolences from Acting President Kohl of the Federal Republic of Germany

Acting President Kohl of the Federal Republic of Germany has transmitted through the German Embassy in Washington a letter expressing his condolences on the death of Ambassador Davies (attached).

We recommend that the President approve the attached letter (also attached) expressing his appreciation.

George S. Springsteen Executive Secretary

### Attachments:

1. Suggested reply.

2. Condolence letter from Acting President Kohl.



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HIS EXCELLENCY MR GERALD FORD

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

WASHINGTON

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ON THE OCCASION OF THE TRAGIC DEATH OF YOUR AMBASSADOR IN
THE REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS MR RODGER DAVIES, I EXTEND TO YOU MY
SINCERE SYMPATHIES.

JOSIP BROZ TITO





#### DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

August 30, 1974

MEMORANDUM FOR LIEUTENANT GENERAL BRENT SCOWCROFT THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Condolences from President Tito on Death of Ambassador Davies

President Tito of Yugoslavia has sent to President Ford his condolences on the death of Ambassador Davies (attached).

We recommend that the President approve the suggested letter acknowledging President Tito's condolences (also attached).

George S. Springsteen Executive Secretary

### Attachments:

1. Suggested reply.

2. Condolence telegram from President Tito.



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2024625772 TOMT WASHINGTON DC 53 08-19 1227P EDT

. PMS PRESIDENT GERALD FORD, DLR

WHITE HOUSE DC 20500

DEEPLY SHOCKED BY THE ATROCIOUS CRIME OF THE ASSASSINATION OF US AMBASSADOR TO CYPRUS ROGER DAVIS. I WISH TO CONVEY TO YOU

O 14 AND YOUR GOVERNMENT THE EXPRESSION OF MY DEEPEST SYMPATHY AND
15 SINCEREST CONDOLENCES. IN CONDEMNING THIS CRIME I SHARE IN THE

GRIEF OF HIS FAMILY AND THE US GOVERNMENT OVER THE LOSS OF SUCH

A FINE MAN

N G DIMITRIOU CYPRUS AMBASSADOR TO US

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#### PEPARTMENT OF STATE



Washington, D.C. 20520

August 30, 1974

MEMORANDUM FOR LIEUTENANT GENERAL BRENT SCOWCROFT THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Letter of Condolence from Cypriot Ambassador Dimitriou

Cypriot Ambassador Dimitriou has cabled to the President his condolences for the assassination of Ambassador Davies condemning this crime and expressing his grief (attached).

We recommend that the President approve the suggested letter acknowledging the Ambassador's condolences (also attached).

George S. Springsteen Executive Secretary

### Attachments:

Suggested reply.

2. Condolence telegram from Ambassador Dimitriou.

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Briefing Item

Richev's Cyprus Mission: Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Richev's mission to Turkey, Greece and Cyprus seems to be a success.

Ilichev received a warm reception in Athens, and his Nicosia visit is going very well. He has portrayed the Soviet Union as sympathetic to the plight of the Greek Cypriots and has proclaimed an identity of views with his hosts. At the same time, he has sought to preserve the image of even-handedness by meeting with Denktash.

Ilichev's reception in Ankara was somewhat cooler than in Athens and Nicosia, but he went out of his way to avoid offending the Turks. He sought renewed Turkish assurances that Ankara is not opposed to a sovereign and nonaligned Cyprus. In return, he offered explicit Soviet approval of a federated state. In an attempt to keep bilateral relations on the right track, llichev promised that the Turkish finance minister will have a "most fruitful" visit to Moscow this October.

The Turks received the impression from Ilichev's conduct that Moscow is increasingly concerned that the situation on Cyprus will become frozen, amounting to a de facto partition that could result in US military use of the island.

RGates: 9/19/74

DECLASSIFIED

NSC Memo, 3/30/06, State Dept. Guidelines ; State v. en 12/3/03 E.O. 12958 (as amended) SEC 3.3

SECRET

## NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

### WITHDRAWAL ID 034352

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL .		ÇNational security restriction
TYPE OF MATERIAL		ÇLetter
DESCRIPTION		re US-British Relations, With Routing Slip Attached
CREATION DATE		09/19/1974
VOLUME		3 pages
COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER COLLECTION TITLE	ID	 033900117 NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER. NSC EUROPE, CANADA, AND OCEAN AFFAIRS STAFF: FILES
BOX NUMBER	: :	5
DATE WITHDRAWN WITHDRAWING ARCHIVIST .	: :	07/06/2011 TMH

### ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

ACTION September 26, 1974

MEMORANDUM FOR SECRETARY KISSINGER

FROM:

A. Denis Clift

SUBJECT:

Presidential Reply to Cyprict Ambassador Dimitriou's Congratulations

On August 9, the Cypriot Ambassador in Washington, Nicos Dimitriou, sent a telegram to the President congratulating him on his new office.

The memorandum for your signature to the President at Tab I would forward a brief letter of appreciation for his signature.

The President's letter has been coordinated with Paul Theis.

### RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum to the President at Tab I.

RGates:nw:9/26/74

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL



## ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

### ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

Henry A. Kissinger

SUBJECT:

Reply to Cypriot Ambassador Dimitriou's

Congratulations

On August 9, the Cypriot Ambassador in Washington, Nicos Dimitriou sent you a telegram of congratulations on your assumption of the Presidency.

The letter for your signature at Tab A would express appreciation to Ambassador Dimitriou for his kind message and assure him that our efforts will continue to be directed toward a just and lasting settlement of the Cyprus problem.

Your letter has been coordinated with Paul Theis.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter to Ambassador Dimitriou at Tab A.

RGates:nw:9/26/74

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL



Dear Mr. Ambassador:

Please accept my sincere appreciation for your kind message on my assumption of office as President of the United States. You may be assured that our earmest efforts will continue to be directed toward a just and lasting settlement of the Cyprus problem.

Sincerely,

His Excellency Nicos G. Dimitriou Ambassador of Cyprus 2211 R Street, N.W. Washington, D. C. 20008

RGates:nw:9/26/74







### DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

September 24, 1974

MEMORANDUM FOR LIEUTENANT GENERAL BRENT SCOWCROFT
THE WHITE HOUSE

SUBJECT: Suggested Reply to Congratulations from Ambassador Nicos Dimitriou

The Cypriot Ambassador in Washington, Nicos Dimitriou, sent a telegram to President Ford on August 9, 1974, congratulating the President on his assumption of office.

Our proposed reply for signature by the President is attached.

George S. Springsteen Executive Secretary

#### Attachments:

1. Suggested Reply

2. Telegram from Ambassador Dimitriou



# Proposed Reply to Ambassador Nicos Dimitriou of Cyprus

"Dear Mr. Ambassador:

Please accept my sincere appreciation for your kind message on my assumption of office as President of the United States. You may be assured that our strenuous efforts will continue to be directed toward a just and lasting settlement of the Cyprus problem.

Sincerely,

Gerald R. Ford."



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ICS IPMMTZZ CSP 1074 FUE 9 FM 2 38

2024628435 TOMT WASHINGTON CC 135 08-09 0234P EOT

PMS PRESIDENT GERARD R FORD, DLR

WHITE HOUSE DC

"PLEASE ACCEPT THE EXPRESSION OF MY WARKEST SINCEREST CONGRATULATIONS
"UPON YOUR ASSUMPTION OF THE PRESIDENCY AS WELL AS MY BEST WISHES
FOR A SUCCESSFUL DISCHARGE OF YOUR DUTIES IN THIS HIGHEST OFFICE
TO THE BENEFIT NOT ONLY OF THE UNITED STATES BUT ALSO THE WHOLE
FREE WORLD.

IN THIS TRAGIC HOUR IN IT'S HISTORY CYPRUS LOOKS TO YOU AND
YOUR ADMINISTRATION IN THE HOPE THAT YOU WILL DO EVERYTHING
POSSIBLE FOR THE PRESERVATION OF IT'S INDEPENDENCE, UNITY AND
TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY. I HOPEFULLY LOOK FORWARD TO THE CONTINUATION
AND FURTHER EXPANSION OF THE AMICABLE AND CORDIAL RELATIONS
THICH HAVE EXISTED DETISEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES AND IN THIS,

I PLEGE MYSELF TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE UPMOST OF MY ABILITY.

MAY THE ALMIGHTLY GIVE YOU STRENGTH AND WISDOM TO EFFECTIVELY

COPE WITH THE ENORMOUS CHALLANGE BEFORE YOU.

NICOS DIMITRIOU AMBASSADOR OF CYPRUS

NNNN



-9 Clift

7418918



#### DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

Cypius 10A

September 27, 1974

MEMORANDUM FOR LIEUTENANT GENERAL BRENT SCOWCROFT
THE WHITE HOUSE

SUBJECT: Copy of Reply to Congratulations from Archbishop Makarios to President Ford

Archbishop Makarios sent a congratulatory telegram on August 10 to President Ford on the occasion of the President's assumption of office. Makarios also appealed for the President's intervention to end what the Archbishop termed "violations by Turkey of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrities (sic) of Cyprus."

Attached for your information is a copy of the

reply by Assistant Secretary Hartman.

George S. Springsteen Executive Secretary

#### Attachments:

1. Copy of reply

2. Telegram from Archbishop Makarios

SERVICO OF BRANCO



# ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE WASHINGTON, D.C. 20520

SEP 271974

Dear Ambassador Dimitriou:

I have been requested by the President to reply to Archbishop Makarios' congratulatory telegram of August 10, received on the occasion of the President's assumption of office.

I would be most grateful if you would thank His Beatitude for his thoughtful message of congratulations and assure him that the United States remains fully committed to a just and lasting settlement of the Cyprus problem.

Sincerely,

Arthur A. Hartman Assistant Secretary for European Affairs

His Excellency Nicos G. Dimitriou, Ambassador of Cyprus.



The While Areas Washington

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ETATPRIORITE

HIS EXCELLENCY MR GERALD FORD

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

WHITEHOUSE

23

21

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71

WASHINGTONDC

ON THE ASSUMPTION OF YOUR HIGH DUTIES AS PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA I CONVEY TO YOU MY HEARTIEST CONGRATULATIONS AND WARMEST WISHES FOR EVERY SUCCESS IN THE MOST DIFFICULT TASK THAT LIES AHEAD.

COL ETATPRIORITE

LGD353 HIS PAGE 2/50

AS YOU ARE AWARE MR PRESIDENT CYPRUS IS GOING THROUGH
TRAGIC AND CRITICAL TIMES, I APPEAL TO YOU TO INTERVENE

URGENTLY SO THAT AN END

MAY BE PUT TO THE VIOLATIONS BY TURKEY OF THE INDEPENDENCE COMMA SOVEREIGNTY AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITIES, OF CYRPRUS

WHICH IS CAUSING SO MUCH HUMAN

LGD353 HIS PAGE3/31

SUFFERING AND LOSS OF LIFE STOP MAY GOD GUIDE YOU IN YOUR EFFORTS FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A BETTER AND HAPPIER WORLD STOP

ARCHBISHOP MAKARIOS PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS

NNN



Cyprus

SECRET

ACTION September 30, 1974

#### MEMORANDUM FOR SECRETARY KISSINGER

FROM:

A. Denis Clift

SUBJECT:

Presidential Reply to Acting President Clerides

On August 17, Acting President Clerides sent a telegram to President Ford reviewing the problems he faces as a result of Turkish military actions -- namely the need to assist those displaced by hostilities and the need to meet the nation's economic erisis. He expressed the hope that the President would be able to assist Cyprus with these problems.

The Department of State's proposed reply for the President's signature was forwarded with the memorandum at Tab II. That reply addresses Clerides as the President of Cyprus. The question of what title to use when addressing Clerides has already been considered, and I believe it is agreed that he should be addressed as the Acting President of Cyprus, not the President.

The memorandum for your signature to the President at Tab I would forward a proposed reply for his signature to Acting President Clerides. The President's reply reviews the steps that he has already taken to assist Cyprus. The text of the President's reply has been coordinated with Paul Theis.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum for the President at Tab I.

RGates: nw: 9/30/74

GECRET - GDS

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 12958 (as amended) SEC 3.3
NSC Memo, 3/30/06, State Dept, Guidelines
By NARA, Date, 3/22/1/



SEGRET

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

Henry A. Kissinger

SUBJECT:

Reply to Acting President Clerides of Cyprus

On August 17, Acting President Clerides sent you a telegram (copy of text at Tab B) reviewing the situation in Cyprus. He discusses the Turkish military moves and the fact that they have resulted in displacement of thousands of Cypriots. He informs you that his most immediate and urgent problem is that of coping with the wounded and displaced persons and the immense economic problems confronting Cyprus. In closing, he appeals to you for such financial and other assistance as the United States may be able to offer.

At Tab A for your signature is a letter to Acting President Clerides stating your continued concern ever the problems confronting Cyprus and reviewing the steps you have already taken to assist Cyprus. Your letter notes that the United States already has pledged \$3 million and made available \$1.5 million in relief supplies to assist those displaced by the hostilities, and that you have authorized an additional \$750,000 grant to the International Committee of the Red Cross.

I recommend that you sign the letter at Tab A. The text of your reply to the Acting President Clerides has been coordinated with Paul Theis.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter at Tab A.

RGates: nw: 9/30/74

SECRET

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 12958 (as amended) SEC 3.3

NSC Memo, 3/30/06, State Dept. Guidelines

By NARA, Date 3/22/11



Dear Mr. President:

In reply to your message of August 17, I want you to know how deeply concerned and distressed I am at the calamity which has enveloped your country and created such deep hostility between two of our best friends and closest allies.

I deplore the use of force and, as you know, the United States has done its best in the efforts which have led to a halt in the fighting. You are aware that we have offered and stand ready to be of assistance in the negotiations.

You have rightly stressed in your message the need for immediate assistance to those Cypriots who have been injured and displaced by the hostilities. The United States has to date pledged \$3 million towards meeting such needs and has made available \$1.5 million in relief supplies. Because of the deep humanitarian concern of the American people, I have authorized an additional \$750,000 grant to the International Committee of the Red Cress. You will not find us wanting in efforts to help relieve the suffering of your countrymen.

Sincerely,

His Excellency Glafcos Clerides Acting President of The Republic of Cyprus Nicosia

RGates: Aw: 9/30/74

E. FOROUSERAP

## Text of Message

The President
The White House

On the 3rd of August 1974 I already informed you of the callous attack on the island Republic of Cyprus by Turkey with a force of two divisions, over two hundred tanks and complete control of the air by the Turkish Air Force. In three days of bitter fighting our small forces of about 10,000 young conscripts armed mainly with small arms fought valiantly and heroically against vastly superior military forces suffering heavy casualties in dead and wounded. Our hospitals and private clinics are full whilst there is a great shortage of hospital beds, medicine and drugs of all kinds. Civilian casualties exceed four thousand and their number is still mounting.

The Turkish invading force without any provocation and arrogantly refusing to even put forward any legal pretext for justifying its invasion has proceeded to expand its initial bridghead around Kyrenia Town and now it seized and occupies 40-0/0 of the total area of Cyprus. The International Red Cross reports that already over 100.000 have become displaced persons having been forced to flee the areas overcome by the Turkish invading forces which were populated by 180,000 people 120,000 of which are Greek Cypriots. I wish to stress that though the Turkish minority of Cyprus forms only 17.8 per cent of the population owning only 12.8 per cent of the privately owned land of the island the invading forces from Turkey have now seized by military force 40 per cent of the land of Cyprus. Although the area seized by the invading Turkish forces comprise 40 per cent of the area of Cyprus it contributes about 70 per cent to the economic output of the whole country.

The political future of Cyprus looms very gloomy indeed but my most immediate and urgent problem is the survival of the wounded and displaced persons and to cope with the immense economic problems created by the invasion in order to save the country from economic collapse.

In this effort I urgently appeal to Your Excellency for such financial and other assistance of all kinds as your country may extend to us. I understand that the International Red Cross is also addressing an appeal to all countries giving details of the type of aid which is urgently needed.

The Republic of Cyprus, the people and government of Cyprus and myself shall be eternally grateful for any assistance that you may find it within your power to give in this, the darkest hour of our history.

Glafcos Clerides
President of the Republic of Cyprus







#### DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

August 22, 1974

MEMORANDUM FOR MAJOR GENERAL BRENT SCOWCROFT THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Letter from President Clerides (NSC-868)

Attached is a suggested reply from the President to the message of August 17 from Cypriot President Clerides.

George S. Springsteen
Executive Secretary

### Attachments:

1. Suggested Reply.

2. Incoming Correspondence.



#### SUGGESTED LETTER

Dear Mr. President:

In reply to your message of August 17, I want you to know how deeply concerned and distressed I am at the calamity which has enveloped your country and created such deep hostility between two of the United States' friends and allies.

I need not say to you that I deplore the use of force to resolve problems, however difficult, and that the United States has done its best to bring a halt to the fighting. You know that we have offered and stand ready to be of assistance in getting negotiations underway.

You have rightly stressed in your message the need for immediate assistance to those Cypriots who have been injured and displaced by the hostilities.

The United States has to date made available \$900,000 towards meeting the need and I have just authorized an additional \$500,000 grant to the International

Committee of the Red Cross. Ambassador Brown has been asked to assess further needs urgently and you will,

I believe, not find us wanting in our efforts to relieve the suffering of your countrymen.

Sincerely,

Gerald R. Ford

His Excellency
Glafcos Clerides,
President of The Republic of Cyprus,
Nicosia



C-868

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

7415656

August 20, 1974

MEMORANDUM FOR

GEORGE SPRINGSTEEN Executive Secretary Department of State

Message to the President from Cyprus Leader Clerides

Dist to: EUR -Action

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S/AM S/P S/S TMB

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RF

Attached is a recent message from Cyprus leader Clerides to President Ford. We would appreciate recommendations on a reply by tomorrow. August 21. Mr. Clerides had also sent a message to President Nixon on August 4 but in the transition period no action was taken on State's suggested reply. State may wish to take that into account in the current action.

Jean Davis

EXPEDITE



The Phile Ronne Washington

WN8 431 VIA RCA

NICOSIA CYPRUS 1630 17 AUGUST 1974

THE PRESIDENT

THE WHITE HOUSE

N. P. A.L.

ON THE 3RD OF AUGUST 1974 I ALREADY INFORMED YOU OF
THE CALLOUS ATTACK ON THE ISLAND REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS BY TURKEY
WITH A FORCE OF TWO DIVISIONS OVER TWO HUNDRED TANKS AND
COMPLETE CONTROL OF THE AIR BY THE TURKISH AIR-FORCE
IN THREE DAYS OF BITTER FIGHTING OUR SMALL FORCES OF
ABOUT 10,000 YOUNG CONSCRIPTS ARMED MAINLY WITH SMALL ARMS



FOUGHT VALLIANTLY AND HEROICALLY AGAINST VASTLY SUPERIOR
MILITARY FORCES SUFFERING HEAVY CASUALTIES IN DEAD AND
WOUNDED. OUR HOSPITALS AND PRIVATE CLINICS ARE FULL
WHILST THERE IS A GREAT SHORTAGE OF HOSPITAL BEDS MEDICINE
AND DRUGS OF ALL KINDS. CIVILIAN CASUALTIES EXCEED FOUR
THOUSAND AND THEIR NUMBER IS STILL MOUNTING.
THE TURKISH INVADING FORCE WITHOUT ANY PROVOCATION
AND ARROGANTLY REFUSING TO EVEN PUT FORWARD ANY LEGAL
PRETEXT FOR JUSTIFYING ITS INVASION HAS PROCEEDED TO
EXPAND ITS INITIAL BRIDGHEAD AROUND KYRENIA TOWN AND

NOW IT SEIZED AND OCCUPIES 40-0/0 OF THE

TOTAL AREA OF CYPRUS. THE INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS REPORTS

THAT ALREADY OVER 100.000 HAVE BECOME DISPLACED PERSONS

HAVING BEEN FORCED TO FLEE THE AREAS OVERCOME BY THE

TURKISH ENVADING FORCES WHICH WERE POPULATED BY

180,000 PEOPLE 120,000 OF WHICH ARE GREEK CYPRIOTIS

I WISH TO STRESS THAT THOUGH THE TURKISH MINORITY OF

CYPRUS FORMS ONLY 17.8 PER CENT OF THE POPULATION

OWNING ONLY 12.8 PER CENT OF THE PRIVATELY OWNED LAND

OF THE ISLAND THE INVADING FORCES FROM TURKEY HAVE

NOW SEIZED BY MILITARY FORCE 40 PER CENT OF THE LAND
OF CYPRUS ALTHOUGH THE AREA SEIZED BY THE INVADING
TURKISH FORCES COMPRISE 40 PER CENT OF THE AREA OF
CYPRUS IT CONTRIBUTES ABOUT 70 PER CENT TO THE ECONOMIC
OUTPUT OF THE WHOLE COUNTRY.

THE POLITICAL FUTURE OF CYPRUS LOOMS VERY GLOOMY INDEED.
BUT MY MOST IMMEDIATE AND URGENT PROBLEM IS THE SURVIVAL
OF THE WOUNDED AND DISPLACED PERSONS AND TO COPE WITH
THE IMMENSE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS CREATED BY THE INVASION IN
ORDER TO SAVE THE COUNTRY FROM ECONOMIC COLLAPSE.

FOR SUCH FINANCIAL AND OTHER ASSISTANCE OF ALL KINDS AS YOUR COUNTRY MAY EXTEND TO US.

I UNDERSTAND THAT THE INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS IS ALSO ADDRESSING AN APPEAL TO ALL COUNTRIES GIVING DETAILS OF THE TYPE OF AID WHICH IS URGENTLY NEEDED.

THE REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS, THE PEOPLE AND GOVERNMENT OF SYPRUS AND MYSELF SHALL BE ETERNALLY GRATEFUL FOR ANY ASSISTANCE THAT YOU MAY FIND IT WITHIN YOUR POWER TO GIVE IN THIS, THE DARKEST HOUR OF OUR HISTORY

PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

WASHINGTON

October 15, 1974

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MEMORANDUM FOR:

THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

ROBERT S. INGERSOLL, ACTING SECRETARY

SUBJECT:

Assistance to UNHCR for Cyprus Refugee Operations and Transfer of Foreign

Assistance Funds

The situation on Cyprus has resulted in great human misery for thousands of people, both Turks and Greeks, who have been displaced from their homes. Nearly one-third of the island's population has been rendered homeless and is living under conditions of duress and extreme hardship. International assistance totalling over \$8.2 million was provided through a number of multilateral and bilateral channels, including the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and the existing United Nations Structure in Cyprus before September 1. The United States provided over \$3.2 million toward this earlier effort.

On August 20, U.N. Secretary General Waldheim named Sadruddin Aga Khan, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), as coordinator of UN relief assistance on Cyprus. As a result of his visit to Cyprus and a review of the situation, the UNHCR has submitted a new request for \$22 million in cash and in kind to the international community for relief efforts through the end of 1974. This amount was broken down into \$9 million for immediate requirements and the remainder for short-term assistance required for the rest of the calendar year. We proposed to provide one-third (\$7.3 million). This share is consistent with the pattern of our past contributions to emergency programs of the UNHCR.

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The support of the international community in the next few months is critical. The UN High Commissioner for Refugees has made clear that the situation of displaced refugees and other elements of the Cypriot population should not be allowed to deteriorate into a more or less permanent burden. The refugee problem is highly political and its extent and duration will depend in large part upon progress toward a negotiated settlement. Efforts to reach a settlement will most likely continue well into the Spring and we therefore expect that there will be additional appeals for further assistance to the UNHCR in 1975.

Because U.S. interests are served by the success of the UNHCR effort, we believe we should respond generously to the request. However, the Agency for International Development has already committed most of the Contingency Fund available under the current Continuing Resolution for this and other disasters. Therefore, other funds must be sought to provide up to \$5 million of the proposed \$7.3 million share.

Through a Presidential Determination, Section 2(c) of the Migration and Refugee Assistance Act of 1962 provides access to funds appropriated under the Foreign Assistance Act to meet unexpected urgent refugee and migration needs.

We believe that it would be in the national interest for the U.S. to meet one-third of the total UNHCR request and that the enclosed Presidential Determination transferring up to \$5 million for refugee assistance, added to the \$1.4 million already provided, would enable the U.S. to meet its share of relief costs through December. As the cash needs of the UNHCR are urgent, we propose not to insist on formal matching but it is reasonable to expect that our contribution will represent no more than one-third of the total amount collected from the international community at the end of this phase of UNHCR efforts.

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## Recommendation:

That you sign the enclosed Determination Order transferring \$5,000,000 in Foreign Assistance Funds.

Enclosure:

Presidential Determination Order

UNCLASSIFIED



# THE WHITE HOUSE

Pres	siden	tial	Det	ermin	ation
No.					

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY OF STATE

Subject:

Determination pursuant to Section 2 (c) of the Migration and Refugee Assistance Act of 1962 (The "Act") authorizing the transfer of up to \$5 million of funds made available under the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended.

In order to meet unexpected and urgent refugee relief needs arising in connection with events in Cyprus, I hereby determine, pursuant to Section 2 (c) of the Act, that it is important to the national interest that up to \$5,000,000 of funds available for use in Fiscal Year 1975 under the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, be transferred to and consolidated with funds made available to the Department of State for this Act. These funds will be provided to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to assist in his relief effort in Cyprus pursuant to Section 2 (b) (1) of the Act.

The Secretary of State is authorized to direct the transfer of funds for this purpose from appropriation accounts under the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, and to consolidate the funds so transferred with funds made available to the Department of State for this Act.

The Secretary of State is requested to inform the appropriate Committees of Congress of this determination and the transfer of funds made under this authority.



#### NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

#### WITHDRAWAL ID 033865

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL .	 . ÇNational security restriction
TYPE OF MATERIAL	 . ÇBriefing Paper
CREATOR'S NAME	 . Robert Gates
DESCRIPTION	 . Re Cyprus
CREATION DATE	 . 10/16/1974
VOLUME	 . 1 page
COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER COLLECTION TITLE	. 033900117 . NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER. NSC EUROPE, CANADA, AND OCEAN AFFAIRS STAFF: FILES
BOX NUMBER	
DATE WITHDRAWN WITHDRAWING ARCHIVIST .	

-> Clift

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# NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

November 11

TO BUD MACFARLANE

Denis Clift believes the attached letter is OBE and believes to should be closed out. If the President wants to write Clerides at this time, which Denis does not necessarily recommend, we would have to start afresh.

RECOMMENDATION

Close out

Reopen?

TORB LIGHTAR

3619

SECRET

ACTION September 30, 1974

MEMORANDUM FOR SECRETARY KISSINGER

FROM:

A. Denis Clift 227

SUBJECT:

Presidential Reply to Acting President Clerides

On August 17, Acting President Clerides sent a telegram to President Ford reviewing the problems he faces as a result of Turkish military actions -- namely the need to assist those displaced by hostilities and the need to meet the nation's economic crisis. He expressed the hope that the President would be able to assist Cyprus with these problems.

The Department of State's proposed reply for the President's signature was forwarded with the memorandum at Tab II. That reply addresses Clerides as the President of Cyprus. The question of what title to use when addressing Clerides has already been considered, and I believe it is agreed that he should be addressed as the Acting President of Cyprus, not the President.

The memorandum for your signature to the President at Tab I would forward a proposed reply for his signature to Acting President Clerides. The President's reply reviews the steps that he has already taken to assist Cyprus. The text of the President's reply has been coordinated with Paul Theis.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum for the President at Tab I.

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 12958 (as amended) SEC 3.3 NSC|Memo, 3/30/06, State Dept. Guidelines

NARA, Date 3/22



SECRET - GDS

MEMORANDUM

# THE WHITE HOUSE

CLIFT F-11 6323

December 26, 1974

SECRET

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

Henry A. Kissinger

SUBJECT:

Cyprus Negotiations

## Background

The following is a brief report on recent developments in the Cyprus negotiations. During my bilateral consultations with both the Greek and Turkish Foreign Ministers at Brussels, December 11-13, both parties agreed that substantive negotiations should resume promptly between Rauf Denktash (leader of the Turkish Cypriots) and Glafcos Clerides (leader of the Greek Cypriots and former Acting President of Cyprus during Archbishop Makarios' absence) on Cyprus. The new round of talks between the two leaders were to include political matters as well as the humanitarian issues discussed in the past.

After some initial false starts, Clerides and Denktash finally met in plenary session on December 19 and 20. At the plenary meetings the two parties agreed on the following points:

- -- All constitutional issues will be discussed. Denktash has finally accepted Clerides as the "full empowered representative of the Greek Cypriot community and its negotiator."
- -- The sequence of negotiations will first deal with the powers and authority of the federal government, then define the nature of the federation (bizonal or multiregional). With these matters settled, the two sides would discuss economic and humanitarian issues. In this regard, I have been suggesting that both sides take the opposite approach to the negotiations: that is, to reach agreement quickly on the less contentious issues, thus creating an atmosphere of accomplishment which will lead toward solution of the more complex problems.

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E.O. 12958 (as emended) SEC 3.3

NSC Memo, 3/30/06, State Dept. Guidelines

NARA, Date 3/32/11

TORO COROTA

SECRET - GDS

A major point of contention has surfaced: Denktash quite unexpectedly raised the question of international guarantees (possibly Five Powers -- Turkey, Greece, the United Kingdom and the two Cypriot communities) for any agreement reached during the negotiations between the two leaders. This matter was not discussed at Brussels and Clerides had no instructions. Clerides has requested guidance from Athens which has been slow in coming. In the meantime, official announcement of resumption in the talks is being delayed until Clerides receives instructions and the two leaders can work out compromise language on the guarantees.

It should be noted that Archbishop Makarios has shown a preference for expanding the number of guarantors, possibly to include some or all of the permanent representatives to the UN Security Council, or some non-aligned nations. The Greeks, with an eye to the Archbishop's preferences and the pressure of aid cut-off on the Turks, are moving slowly. The U.S. position is plain to all sides: that substantive talks must begin immediately without prejudging ultimate issues such as international guarantees. In any event, we are exploring various options to break the apparent impass if some sort of compromise cannot be reached between the parties.

### Outlook

Substantive meetings between Denktash and Clerides are tentatively scheduled to resume on January 6, provided that the question of international guarantees can be quickly resolved. In the meantime, I plan to meet in Washington with our ambassadors to Nicosia, Athens and Ankara during the week of January 6 to review the current situation and coordinate the next step in our strategy. The objective will be to take advantage of the present momentum and sense of urgency in order to reach an early agreement. Clerides and Denktash know each other well and can be expected to bargain seriously. The basic problem will be to make their respective sponsors in both Athens and Ankara live up to the spirit of the Brussels agreements and remain within reasonable bounds. At the same time, we must insure that Makarios continues to maintain the relatively low profile he assumed upon returning to Cyprus in early December, for he has the potential for mischief and could upset any agreement reached. In this regard, I believe that he is slowly becoming aware of the realities of the situation on Cyprus and will not present a serious obstacle to success.

SECRET

ACTION December 26, 1974

MEMORANDUM FOR SECRETARY KISSINGER

FROM:

A. Denis Clift

SUBJECT:

Cyprus Negotiations

The information memorandum for your signature to the President at Tab A would forward a status report on the Cyprus negotiations.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum at Tab A.

GFlynn: nw:12/26/74



DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 12958 (as amended) SEC 3.3
NSC Memo, 3/30/06, State Dept. Guidelines
By NARA, Date 3/32//1

