

NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION
Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

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REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL National security restriction
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Sparkman, Representatives Broomfield
and Morgan
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Senators Case and Sparkman and
Representatives Broomfield and Morgan
DATE WITHDRAWN 05/28/2004 ..
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MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~/XGDS

DECLASSIFIED w/ portions exempted

E.O. 12958 (as amended) SEC 3.3

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By dal NARA Date 8/18/10

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS: President Ford
Senator Clifford Case (R-N. J.)
Senator John Sparkman (D-Ala.)
Representative William S. Broomfield (R-Mich.)
Representative Thomas E. Morgan (D-Pa.)
Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, Assistant to the
President for National Security Affairs
John O. Marsh, Jr., Counsellor to the President
Max L. Friedersdorf, Assistant to the President
for Legislative Affairs

DATE AND TIME: February 6, 1975
11:08 a.m. - 11:57 a.m.

PLACE: The Oval Office
The White House

SUBJECT: Cyprus: Turkish Aid Cutoff

President: I really appreciate the four of you coming down on this crucial issue. This is just exploratory -- I don't have the solution. I will put it bluntly -- there are 30,000 Turks on the island. The Greeks can't get them off; we won't, and the only way to do it is to help in the negotiations. Our ability to do that is zero. It is the Greeks who are hurt by this. The Greek Cypriots are hurt by this. Only Makarios can profit from this situation. There is great potential damage to NATO. It is not inconceivable that Turkey could change in their attitude toward NATO. If so, they would have to turn East. That area thus becomes a very soft underbelly.

Henry has spent a great deal of time with Brademas and Sarbanes. They won't admit they are wrong, but they have hurt and laid the groundwork for a serious erosion of NATO. Henry?

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

Kissinger: What needs to be understood is that the views of some of the parties to this can't be made public. But we could show you. Karamanlis wants a rapid settlement to get it behind him. Makarios doesn't, because it will leave him worse off -- he is one of the causes of the crisis because of his mistreatment of the Turkish Cypriots for ten years. One cause of the delay is that Turkey hasn't had a government and everything they do has to be checked with all the political parties and the Turkish General Staff. Makarios has encouraged Soviet meddling.

The cutoff will weaken Karamanlis. He has to blame someone -- probably us. That will strengthen Papandreou.

Turkey stands between the Soviet Union and the Middle East. To drive them away from us on the eve of a possible Middle East confrontation is a disaster.

The Greek and Turkish Foreign Ministers had asked to meet with me. Karamanlis is very discouraged, and he thought this meeting was the last hope. A failure of the meeting could lead to rash action by the Greek government. The cables we get indicate this.

Case: There is no disagreement among us. Brademas and the others can be turned around by the New York Times. What is wrong on the New York Times? Can we get to them?

Morgan: Can't we get to the Greek-Americans.

Kissinger: We tried. They are being used by Papandreou and his supporters -- like Demetracopoulos. Bitsios asked: Couldn't we get rid of him? AHEPA supported the junta, but they are being driven now. Karamanlis wanted to stick Makarios with any failure. Now Makarios is working to internationalize it.

Case: I think the New York Times is the key. Talk to Scotty.

Kissinger: I did talk to Kleiman. Rosenthal wants a face-saver from Turkey first. But what little we can get won't be enough for their backers. We could get the airport and Famagusta open, and some refugees, without a deadline, but with a deadline the Greeks can't move and neither will the Turks.

President: One other issue: We have lost leverage on the poppy issue.



Broomfield: There has been concern expressed by many members. Rosenthal is very nervous. By the end of the recess you may find a different attitude. Over the longer run I think it is to your advantage. It is finally sinking in about the impact on the Middle East.

Case: I agree. Time is a problem.

Sparkman: I thought the Turks were overaggressive. Couldn't they reduce the 30,000 troops?

Kissinger:

You can't get the Turks to do more de facto than they are willing to announce.

President: I am an honorary member of AHEPA and I have Greek friends. But the Greeks have to remember they started it. Turkey moved because the Greeks moved.

Kissinger: And Makarios had reduced the Turks to ghetto status and had torn up the laws.

President: Is there any hope for repeal after the recess?

Morgan: There is a buildup. More members know the facts now.

Case: Legislatively there are two things: the Eagleton thing and the basic law. We should consider changing the basic law. I never liked that provision, because we couldn't use aid as a political and strategic tool.

President: Burton wanted me to certify there was "substantial progress." I couldn't justify that.

Kissinger: And the Greeks would have to disavow it. The two sides have to go through the ritual tough posturing -- we can't take the temperature every day.

Findley says leave the law on the books and pass a bill for funds to strengthen Turkey.



We could have Turkey put non-American equipment on Cyprus -- that would be bad. We don't want to finagle and just get in trouble with the Congress.

Case: If there is finagling, we should do it together. If we could connive in your making a finding...

President: It is too much to repeal the law. It would probably be better to have the law on the books and find some positive way around it.

Sparkman: Can't we settle the airport issue?

Kissinger: Yes. But it takes time. Without the deadline it would work out.

Sparkman: Eagleton said they are violating the law about using aid in other than self-defense.

Kissinger: We could have declared Cyprus vital and the Turkish action in self-defense, but that would be a subterfuge.

Morgan: Did you make any progress with Sarbanes?

Kissinger: Eagleton is just pursuing the law. Sarbanes has a lot of Greeks in his district. Rosenthal is scared and wants to get off. Brademas I think wants to get off it. Sarbanes is the only rigid one.

Broomfield: That's right.

Morgan: I think any leadership within the Greek community would help.

Broomfield: I doubt you can do anything with the Greek community. The only way to offset it maybe is to get the Jewish community activated.

Morgan: They better worry because of Portugal.

President: Here are three options: repeal, a waiver, or an extension.

Kissinger: On number 3, unless the extension is long, it's counter-productive.

Case: Repeal is intellectually the most attractive. It is unattractive in that the Turks can tell us what to do and get us to change our policy.



President: True. We don't like to react to their pressure, and vice versa.

Sparkman: I think repeal is a loser.

Kissinger: A waiver with a requirement for periodic reports would be O.K.

Case: That might work.

Sparkman: My Greeks haven't been very active, and I have plenty.

President: Could we have our people draft something, Doc?

Morgan: Yes, let us see something.

President: Tell your people we will have something to circulate.

Case: Can we do something with Eagleton? The trouble with a guy like him is that he's taking it as a legal moral issue.

Kissinger: I'll talk to Symington about him.

Friedersdorf: We will help,

Kissinger: My people have the thought that I should step into the press briefing because our views haven't gotten out.

Case: I wouldn't.

(All agree.)



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DESCRIPTION Brent Scowcroft's handwritten notes
from meeting with Ford, Kissinger,
Senators Case and Sparkman,
Representatives Broomfield and Morgan

CREATION DATE 02/06/1975

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