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January 21, 1977

Presidential Review Memorandum/NSC 5

TO: The Vice President
    The Secretary of State
    The Secretary of Defense

ALSO: The United States Representative to the
       United Nations
       The Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff
       The Director of Central Intelligence

SUBJECT: Cyprus/ Aegean (U)

The President has directed that the Policy Review Committee
undertake, under the chairmanship of the Department of State,
a review of Cyprus and the situation in the Aegean. This review should
assess our interests and objectives, and the possibilities for moving
toward a peaceful solution of both disputes, in light of the new Admin-
istration's accession to office.

The review should:

1. Provide a State/CIA assessment of the current positions of the
   principal parties—the Greek and Turkish Cypriot leaders, the Greek,
   Turkish and Cypriot Governments. The assessment should include
   what each expects of the United States in the near term. It should
   evaluate the domestic pressures each faces, and discuss the possibility
   that those pressures will lead to defined developments affecting partic-
   ular American strategic interests in Greece and Turkey. It should
   also describe the relationship between the Cyprus question and the
   disputes over the Aegean continental shelf and air space.

2. Examine the components of a Cyprus settlement: territorial
   adjustments, form of government, economic requirements, and
   guarantees, including the role of the United Nations or other outside
   powers. (State)

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3. Analyze alternatives available to the United States in order to promote a settlement, likely reactions of the parties, kinds of American commitments required, and implications for the mid-term. (State, Defense)

4. Assess, as a special feature of alternative strategies, the two Defense Cooperation Agreements with Greece and Turkey, and the bearing of those agreements on the Cyprus and Aegean disputes. (State, Defense, JCS)

5. Review the possibilities for involving our European allies in the process of settling the disputes, including assessments of various forms of U.S.-European cooperation and/or types of negotiating forums. (State)

6. Review the state of Congressional and public opinion toward the Cyprus question and the two base agreements, and suggest, as an integral part of our diplomatic approach, strategies for dealing with Congress and the general public.

The review should be no more than 20 pages in length. It should be completed by January 27, in time to be submitted to the Policy Review Committee in the week of January 31.

Zbigniew Brzezinski