

ARCHIVES PROCESSING NOTE

You will find two versions of the document withdrawal sheets in this file. The original document withdrawal sheets were completed in the 1970s and early 1980s. Since that time, many of the documents have been declassified. In an effort to make the withdrawal sheets easier to use, we have updated the withdrawal sheets, listing only the documents that are still closed. Use these updated withdrawal sheets to request Mandatory Declassification Review of closed security classified documents.

The original withdrawal sheets are in a mylar sleeve in the front of the folder. We have retained them in the file so that you can see the status of the documents when the folder was opened and the history of their declassification. Please replace the sheets in the mylar sleeve when you have finished examining them.

September 21, 2005

LBJ LIBRARY DOCUMENT WITHDRAWAL SHEET

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Doc #	DocType	Doc Info	Classification	Pages	Date	Restriction
031	cable	Athens 2799 [Sanitized 2/18/05 NLJ 04-71] Same sanitization 2-2-11 NLJ 09-281	S	1	12/14/67	A
041	cable	Athens 2572 Sanitized 2/18/05 NLJ 04-71] [dup. #102, NSF, CF, "Cyprus Crisis, Vol. 3," bx 125] Same sanitization 2-2-11 NLJ 09-281	S	3	12/02/67	A
077	cable	Athens 1618 [Sanitized 10/8/04 NLJ 04-76] same sanitization 2-2-11 NLJ 09-281	S	3	10/02/67	A
078	cable	Athens 1618 open 1-20-10 NLJ/PAC 09-66	S	3	10/02/67	A
079	cable	Athens 1552 open 2003 [dup. #198, this file; #140, NSF, Files of Saunders, "Greece 4/1/66-12/31/67," bx 11]	S	2	09/30/67	A
080	cable	Athens 1527 [Sanitized 2/18/05 NLJ 04-71] more info released 2-2-11 NLJ 09-281	S	3	09/28/67	A
082	cable	Athens 1197 [Sanitized 10/8/04 NLJ 04-76] same sanitization 2-2-11 NLJ 09-281	S	3	09/08/67	A
087	cable	Athens 1050 [Sanitized 2/18/05 NLJ 04-71] same sanitization 2-2-11 NLJ 09-281	S	2	08/28/67	A

Collection Title National Security File, Country File

Folder Title "Greece, Vol. 3"

Box Number 127

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Doc #	DocType	Doc Info	Classification	Pages	Date	Restriction
091	cable	Athens 684 [Sanitized 11/5/03 NLJ/RAC 02-217, FRUS XVI #298] Same Sanitization 2-2-11 NLJ 09-281	S	4	08/07/67	A
123	cable	Deptel 30796 to Athens [Sanitized 2/18/05 NLJ 04-71] Same Sanitization 2-2-11 NLJ 09-281	S	2	09/01/67	A
131	cable	Athens 2829 [Sanitized 10/8/04 NLJ 04-76] Same Sanitization 2-2-11 NLJ 09-281	S	2	12/16/67	A
132	cable	Athens 2829	S	2	12/16/67	A
139	cable	Athens 2561 [Sanitized 12/1/04 NLJ 04-73] Same Sanitization 2-2-11 NLJ 09-281	S	1	11/01/67	A
140	cable	Athens 2556 [Sanitized 12/1/04 NLJ 04-73] Same Sanitization 2-2-11 NLJ 09-281	S	1	11/01/67	A
142	cable	Athens 2074 [Sanitized 2/18/05 NLJ 04-71] [dup. #54, NSF, Files of Saunders, "Visit--King Constantine," bx 2] Same Sanitization 2-2-11 NLJ 09-281	S	2	11/13/67	A
150	cable	Intelligence Information Cable [Sanitized 12/27/04 NLJ 04-75] More info released 5-11-10 NLJ 09-282	S	3	01/18/68	A
151	cable	Intelligence Information Cable [Sanitized 12/27/04 NLJ 04-75] Same Sanitization 5-11-10 NLJ 09-282	S	2	01/18/68	A

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Doc #	DocType	Doc Info	Classification	Pages	Date	Restriction
152	cable	Intelligence Information Cable [Sanitized 12/27/04 NLJ 04-75] More info released 5.11.10 NLJ 09.282	S	5	12/15/67	A
153	cable	Intelligence Information Cable [Exempt 12/1/04 NLJ/RAC 04-72] exempt 5.11.10 NLJ 09.282	S	2	12/13/67	A
154	report	Intelligence Report [Sanitized 12/27/04 NLJ 04-75] same sanitization 5.11.10 NLJ 09.282	S	3	12/08/67	A
155	cable	Intelligence Information Cable [Exempt 12/27/04 NLJ 04-75] exempt 5.11.10 NLJ 09.282	S	3	11/27/67	A
156	cable	Intelligence Information Cable [Sanitized 12/27/04 NLJ 04-75] same sanitization 5.11.10 NLJ 09.282	S	2	11/25/67	A
157	report	Intelligence Report [Same sanitization 12/27/04 NLJ 04-75] More info released 5.11.10 NLJ 09.282	S	1	11/24/67	A
157a	report	Intelligence Report [Sanitized 12/27/04 NLJ 04-75] More info released 5.11.10 NLJ 09.282	S	3	11/08/67	A
158	cable	Intelligence Information Cable [Exempt 12/27/04 NLJ 04-75] exempt 5.11.10 NLJ 09.282	S	3	11/15/67	A
159	cable	Intelligence Information Cable [Sanitized 12/27/04 NLJ 04-75] same sanitization 5.11.10 NLJ 09.282	S	4	09/25/67	A

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160	cable	Intelligence Information Cable [Sanitized 12/27/04 NLJ 04-75] <i>more info released 5.11.10 NLJ 09.282</i>	S	6	08/09/67	A
162	memo	Intelligence Memorandum [Exempt 12/27/04 NLJ 04-75] <i>Exempt 5.11.10 NLJ 09.282</i>	S	1	10/04/67	A
162a	memo	Intelligence Memorandum [Exempt 12/27/04 NLJ 04-75] <i>Exempt 5.11.10 NLJ 09.282</i>	S	4	02/01/66	A
164a	memo	Rostow to Manatos <i>sanitized 5/19/09</i> [dup. #108, NSF, Files of Saunders, "Greece, 1/1/68-1/20/69," bx 10] <i>Same sanitization 3.23.10 NLJ 09.283</i> <i>open 2/11/10 per NLJ 12-230</i>	S	2	02/21/68	A
164f	report	Intelligence Report [Sanitized 12/1/04] <i>Same sanitization 5.11.10 NLJ 09.282</i> [dup. #2b, WHCF, CF, CO 94 Greece, bx 8; #107, NSF, Files of Saunders, "Greece 1/1/68-1/20/69," bx 10] <i>open 2/19/13 per NLJ 12-229</i>	S	2	undated	A
172	memo	Keeny to Rostow <i>Sanitized 3.23.10 NLJ 09.285</i>	S/FR	1	12/20/67	A
172a	memo	Nitze to Rostow <i>Sanitized 5-6-10 NLJ 09.286 (#2)</i> <i>Edg # 2c, Keeny, "Greece" Box 7]</i>	S/FR	1	12/18/67	A
172b	report	Fact Sheet <i>Sanitized 5-6-10 NLJ 09.286 (#2b+2c)</i> <i>Edg # 2b+2c, Keeny, "Greece" Box 7]</i>	S/FR	4	undated	A
178a	telconf.	Dept. of State and Athens Embassy [Sanitized 12/1/04 NLJ 04-75] <i>same sanitization 2.2.11 NLJ 09.281</i>	S	11	12/13/67	A

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Doc #	DocType	Doc Info	Classification	Pages	Date	Restriction
180	memo	Saunders to Rostow <i>open 5/19/09</i> [dup. #5, NSF, Files of Saunders, "Greece 4/1/66-12/31/67," bx 11]	S	1	12/13/67	A
180a	memo	Foster to Rostow [dup. #5, NSF, Files of Saunders, "Greece 4/1/66-12/31/67," bx 11] <i>sanitized 3-23-10 NLJ 04-283</i> <i>open 6/17/10 per NLJ 12-212</i>	S	1	12/13/67	A
184	teleconf.	dup. #178a, this file [Sanitized 12/1/04 NLJ 04-73]				A
193	cable	from Athens [Sanitized 8/17/98 NLJ 96-311] <i>sanitized 1-20-10 NLJ 09-284</i>	S	4	undated	A
198a	cable	dup. #79, this file <i>open 5/19/09</i>				A
199b	memo	Rostow to LBJ [Sanitized 4/22/03] [dup. #173, NSF, Files of Saunders, "Greece 4/1/66-12/31/67," bx 11]	S	2	07/22/67	A
199c	memo	Rusk to LBJ [Sanitized 12/1/04 NLJ/RAC 04-73], more info released 6/13/11 NLJ 09-278 and NLJ 03-304 (#93A) [dup. #174, NSF, Files of Saunders, "Greece 4/1/66-12/31/67," bx 11]	S	3	07/21/67	A
089	cable	Athens 967 <i>sanitized 10/8/04 per NLJ 04-76</i>	S	4	8/23/67	A

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FORM OF DOCUMENT	CORRESPONDENTS OR TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
#1 cable	Athens 3683 [open 10/8/04 NLJ 04-76] S 2 p	2/23/68	A
#2 cable	Athens 3682 <i>open 11-5-97 NLJ 96-307</i> S 5 p	2/23/68	A
#3 cable	Athens 3626 [open 10/8/04 NLJ 04-76] S 2 p	2/20/68	A
#4 cable	Athens 3552 [open 10/8/04 NLJ 04-76] S 1 p	2/14/68	A
#5 cable	Athens 3512 [open 10/8/04 NLJ 04-76] S 3 p	2/10/68	A
#6 cable	Athens 3511 <i>open 1-2-04</i> S 2 p	2/10/68	A
#7 cable	Athens 3510 [open 10/8/04 NLJ 04-76] S 2 p	2/10/68	A
#8 cable	Athens 3507 <i>open 11-5-97 NLJ 96-307</i> S 5 p	2/9/68	A
#9 cable	Athens 3507 <i>open 1/2/04</i> S 5 p	2/9/68	A
#10 cable	Athens 3493 <i>open 1-2-04</i> C 1 p	2/9/68	A
#11 cable	Athens 3445 <i>open 1-2-04</i> S 1 p	2/6/68	A
#12 cable	Athens 3425 <i>open 1-2-04</i> S 3 p	2/2/68	A
#13 cable	Athens 3394 <i>open 11-5-97 NLJ 96-307</i> C 2 p	2/1/68	A

FILE LOCATION

NSF, Country File, Greece, Vol. III, 8/67 - 2/68

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FORM OF DOCUMENT	CORRESPONDENTS OR TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
#14 cable	Athens 3248 S 2 p <i>open 12.04</i>	1/19/68	A
#15 cable	Athens 3246 C 2 p <i>open 1.2.04</i>	1/19/68	A
#16 cable	Athens 3439 S 2 p <i>open 1.2.04</i>	2/5/68	A
#17 cable	Athens 3238 S 3 p [open 10/8/04 NLJ 04-76]	1/19/68	A
#18 cable	Athens 3220 S 3 p <i>open 1.2.04</i>	1/17/68	A
#19 cable	Athens 2976 S 1 p <i>open 1.2.04</i>	12/28/67	A
#20 cable	Athens 2934 S 4 p <i>open 11-5-97 NLJ 96-307</i>	12/26/67	A
#21 cable	Athens 2916 S 3 p <i>open 11-5-97 NLJ 96-307</i>	12/22/67	A
#22 cable	Athens 2893 S 1 p <i>open 1.2.04</i>	12/21/67	A
#23 cable	Athens 2892 S 2 p [open 10/8/04 NLJ 04-76]	12/20/67	A
#24 cable	Athens 2859 S 1 p <i>open 1.2.04</i>	12/19/67	A
#25 cable	Athens 2849 S 1 p [open 10/8/04 NLJ 04-76]	12/18/67	A
#26 cable	Athens 2840 S 8 p <i>open 11-5-97 NLJ 96-302</i>	12/18/67	A

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FORM OF DOCUMENT	CORRESPONDENTS OR TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
#27 cable	Athens 2838 [open 10/8/04 NLJ 04-76] S 1 p	12/18/67	A
#28 cable	Athens 2828 // S 1 p	12/18/67	A
#29 cable	Athens 2826 open 1-2-04 S 1 p	12/16/67	A
#30 cable	Athens 2823 [open 10/8/04 NLJ 04-76] S 1 p	12/15/67	A
#31 cable	Athens 2799 S 1 p <i>sankind 2:18.05 NLJ 04-71</i>	12/14/67	A
#32 cable	Athens 2764 open 1-2-04 S 1 p	12/13/67	A
#33 cable	Athens 2726 open 1-2-04 S 1 p	12/13/67	A
#34 memo	Rostow to President open 9/20/02 C 1 p	12/4/67	A
#34a cable	Athens 2595 open 1-2-04 C 1 p	12/4/67	A
#35 cable	Athens 2594 open 1-2-04 S 1 p	12/4/67	A
#36 cable	Athens 2578 open 1-2-04 S 1 p	12/3/67	A
#37 cable	Athens 2577 [open 10/8/04 NLJ 04-76] S 2 p	12/3/67	A
#38 cable	Athens 2576 open 1-2-04 S 1 p	12/3/67	A

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FORM OF DOCUMENT	CORRESPONDENTS OR TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
#39 cable	Athens 2575 S 2 p [open 10/8/04 NLJ 04-76]	12/3/67	A
#40 cable	Athens 2574 S 2 p [open 10/8/04 NLJ 04-76] (Dup. #101, NSF, CF, "Cyprus Crisis, Vance Mission, Vol. 3" Box 125)	12/2/67	A
#41 cable	Athens 2572 Sanitized 2-18-05 NLJ 04-71 S 3 p (Dup. #102, NSF, CF, "Cyprus Crisis, Vol. III" Box 125)	12/2/67	A
#42 cable	Athens 2571 S 3 p [open 10/8/04 NLJ 04-76]	12/2/67	A
#43 cable	Athens 2559 S 3 p open 12-04	12/1/67	A
#44 cable	Athens 2543 S 3 p open 12-04	12/1/67	A
#45 cable	Athens 2530 C 1 p	12/1/67	A
#46a cable	Athens 2502 S 2 p	11/30/67	A
#46b cable	Athens 2501 S 3 p	11/30/67	A
#47 cable	Athens 2497 S 2 p	11/29/67	A
#48 cable	Athens 2486 S 3 p	11/28/67	A
#49 cable	Athens 2485 S 1 p	11/28/67	A
#50 cable	Athens 2484 S 1 p	11/28/67	A

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FORM OF DOCUMENT	CORRESPONDENTS OR TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
#51 cable	Athens 2483 S 1 p <i>open 1-2-04</i>	11/28/67	A
#52 cable	Athens 2482 S 4 p [open 10/8/04 NLJ 04-76]	11/28/67	A
#53 cable	Athens 2475 S 3 p	11/28/67	A
#54 cable	Athens 2473 S 4 p	11/28/67	A
#55 cable	Athens 2467 S 2 p	11/27/67	A
#56 cable	Athens 2466 C 3 p <i>open 1-2-04</i>	11/27/67	A
#57a cable	Athens 2446 S 3 p [Duplicate of #188a]	11/27/67	A
#57b cable	Athens 2445 S 2 p [Duplicate of #188b]	11/27/67	A
#58 cable	Athens 2441 S 4 p [open 10/8/04 NLJ 04-76]	11/26/67	A
#59 cable	Athens 2435 S 2 p <i>open 1-2-04</i>	11/26/67	A
#60 cable	Athens 2432 S 3 p	11/25/67	A
#61 cable	Athens 2431 S 2 p	11/25/67	A

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#62 cable	Athens 2419 [open 10/8/04 NLJ 04-76] S 2 p	11/25/67	A
#63 cable	Athens 2410 <i>open 11/02/04</i> S 2 p	11/25/67	A
#64 cable	Athens 2403 S 2 p	11/24/67	A
#65 cable	Athens 2401 S 1 p	11/24/67	A
#66 cable	Athens 2395 <i>open 9/20/02</i> S 2 p	11/24/67	A
#67 cable	Athens 2396 <i>open 9/20/02</i> S 2 p	11/24/67	A
#68 cable	Athens 2389 [open 10/8/04 NLJ 04-76] S 2 p	11/24/67	A
#69 cable	Athens 2377 [open 10/8/04 NLJ 04-76] S 2 p	11/24/67	A
#70 cable	Athens 2371 <i>open 1-2-04</i> S 2 p	11/24/67	A
#71 cable	Athens 2294 [open 10/8/04 NLJ 04-76] S 2 p	11/21/67	A
#72 cable	Athens 2199 <i>open 1-2-04</i> S 1 p	11/17/67	A
#73 cable	Athens 1896 [open 10/8/04 NLJ 04-76] S 5 p	10/25/67	A
#74 cable	Athens 1716 S 1 p "	10/12/67	A
#75 cable	Athens 1713 " S 4 p	10/11/67	A

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#76 cable	Athens 1621 [open 10/8/04 NLJ04-76] S 5 p	10/4/67	A
#77 cable	Athens 1618 <i>sanitized 10-8-04 NLJ 04-76</i> S 3 p	10/4/67	A
#78 cable	Athens 1618 S 3 p	10/4/67	A
#79 cable	Athens 1552 S 2 p [Duplicate of #198a] <i>[dup. #140, NSF, Files of Saunders, "Greece 4/1/66-12/31/67" Box 1A]</i>	9/30/67	A
#80 cable	Athens 1527 <i>Sanitized 2-18-05 NLJ 04-71</i> S 3 p	9/28/67	A
#81 cable	Athens 1385 [open 10/8/04 NLJ04-76] S 4 p	9/20/67	A
#82 cable	Athens 1197 <i>sanitized 10-8-04 NLJ 04-76</i> S 3 p	9/8/67	A
#83 cable	Athens 1155 open 11-5-97 NLJ 96-807 S 4 p	9/5/67	A
#84 cable	Athens 1155 open 11-5-97 NLJ 96-807 S 8 p	9/5/67	A
#85 memo	Morris to Rostow <i>open 1-2-04</i> S 1 p	9/5/67	A
#85a cable	Athens 1137 open 6-12-03 NLJ 02-238 S 4 p	9/4/67	A
#86 cable	Athens 1109 open 6-2-04 S 1 p	8/31/67	A
#87 cable	Athens 1050 <i>Sanitized 2-18-05 NLJ 04-71</i> S 2 p	8/28/67	A

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#88 cable	Athens 982 [open 10/8/04 NLJ04-76] S 2 p	8/24/67	A
#89 cable	Athens 967 <i>sanitized 10-8-04 NLJ 04-76</i> S 4 p	8/23/67	A
#90 cable	Athens 876 <i>open 1-2-04</i> C 1 p	8/18/67	A
#91 cable	Athens 684 <i>sanitized 11-5-02</i> S 4 p <i>same sanitization 11-5-03 NLJ/RAC 02-217 + FRIS KV1 #298</i>	8/7/67	A
#92 cable	Deptel 117560 to Athens S 1 p <i>open 1-2-04</i>	2/19/68	A
#93 cable	Deptel 110349 to Athens S 1 p <i>open 1-2-04</i>	2/5/68	A
#93a cable	Duplicate of #93 <i>open 1-2-04</i>		
#94 cable	Deptel 108701 to Athens S 1 p <i>open 1-2-04</i>	2/1/68	A
#95 cable	Deptel 108450 to Athens <i>open 1-2-04</i> S 3 p <i>(dup. #68, NSF File of Walt Rostow, "Visitas 1968" Box 17)</i>	1/1/68	A
#95a memo	Saunders to Rostow C 1 p <i>open 1-2-04</i>	2/1/68	A
#95b cable	Draft deptel to Athens C 3 p	1/31/68	A
#96 cable	Deptel 101277 to Athens S 1 p	1/19/68	A
#97 cable	Deptel 98446 to Athens S 2 p	1/13/68	A
#98 cable	Deptel 90906 to Athens C 2 p	12/29/67	A

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#99 cable	Deptel 89222 to Athens S <u>2 p</u> <i>open 1-2-04</i>	12/23/67	A
#100 cable	Deptel 86871 to Athens S <u>3 p</u> <i>open 1-2-04</i>	12/19/67	A
#101 cable	Deptel 85829 to Athens S <u>1 p</u> <i>open 1-2-04</i>	12/16/67	A
#102 cable	Deptel 84840 to Athens S <u>1 p</u> [open 10/8/04 NLJ04-76]	12/14/67	A
#103 cable	Deptel 84497 to Athens S <u>1 p</u> <i>open 1-2-04</i>	12/14/67	A
#104 cable	Deptel 83933 to Athens S <u>1 p</u> [open 10/8/04 NLJ04-76]	12/13/67	A
#105 cable	Deptel 78736 to Athens S <u>2 p</u> <i>open 1-2-04</i>	12/3/67	A
#105a cable	Duplicate of #105		
#106 cable	Deptel 78724 to Athens S <u>1 p</u>	12/3/67	A
#107 cable	Deptel 78722 to Athens S <u>1 p</u>	12/3/67	A
#108 cable	Deptel 77383 to Athens C <u>2 p</u>	11/30/67	A
#109 cable	Deptel 77197 to Athens C <u>1 p</u>	11/30/67	A
#110 cable	Deptel 77024 to Athens S <u>2 p</u>	11/30/67	A

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FORM OF DOCUMENT	CORRESPONDENTS OR TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
#111 cable	Deptel 75628 to Athens S 2 p <i>open 6-2-03 NW 02237</i>	11/28/67	A
#112 cable	Deptel 75139 to Athens S 1 p <i>open 1-2-04</i>	11/27/67	A
#113 cable	Deptel 74834 to Athens S 2 p [open 10/8/04 NLJ04-76]	11/25/67	A
#114 cable	Deptel 74187 to Athens <i>open 1-2-04</i> S 1 p	11/24/67	A
#115 cable	Deptel 73698 to Athens <i>open 1-2-04</i> C 2 p	11/23/67	A
#116 cable	Deptel 73688 to Athens C 4 p [open 10/8/04 NLJ04-76]	11/22/67	A
#117 cable	Deptel 73078 to Athens <i>open 1-2-04</i> S 1 p	11/22/67	A
#118a cable	Deptel 71799 to Athens <i>open 1-2-04</i> S 1 p	11/18/67	A
#119 cable	Deptel 52666 S 2 p <i>open 12-1-04 NLJ/PAC 04-71</i>	10/12/67	A
#120 cable	Deptel 37758 to Athens <i>open 1-2-04</i> S 2 p	9/15/67	A
#121 cable	Deptel 37293 to Athens S 2 p [open 10/8/04 NLJ04-76]	9/14/67	A
#121b cable	Duplicate of #121 "		
#122 cable	Deptel 36985 to Athens <i>open 1-2-04</i> C 2 p	9/13/67	A
#122b cable	Duplicate of #122 <i>open 1-2-04</i>		

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FORM OF DOCUMENT	CORRESPONDENTS OR TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
#123 cable <i>not open yet</i>	Deptel 30796 to Athens S 2 p <i>Sanitized 2-18-05 NLJ 04-71</i>	9/1/67	A
#124 cable	Deptel 29800 to Athens S 2 p [open 10/8/04 NLJ04-76]	8/30/67	A
#125 cable	Deptel 28361 to Athens S 1 p [open 10/8/04 NLJ04-76]	8/29/67	A
#126 cable	Deptel 17826 to Athens S 1 p <i>open 1-2-04</i>	8/8/67	A
#128 cable	Athens 3245 [open 10/8/04 NLJ04-76] S 1 p	1/19/68	A
#129 cable	Athens 2890 [open 10/8/04 NLJ04-76] S 1 p	12/20/67	A
#130 cable	Athens 2831 [open 10/8/04 NLJ04-76] S 1 p	12/16/67	A
#131 cable	Athens 2829 [sanitized 10/8/04 NLJ 04-76] S 2 p	12/16/67	A
#132 cable	Athens 2829 S 2 p	12/16/67	A
#133 cable	Athens 2782 <i>open 1-2-04</i> S 1 p	12/14/67	A
#134 cable	Athens 2755 [open 10/8/04 NLJ04-76] S 1 p <i>open 10-8-04 NLJ 04-76</i>	12/13/67	A
#135 cable	Athens 2749 S 3 p [open 10/8/04 NLJ04-76]	12/13/67	A
#136 cable	Athens 2722 [open 10/8/04 NLJ04-76] S 1 p	12/13/67	A

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FORM OF DOCUMENT	CORRESPONDENTS OR TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
#137 cable	Athens 2721 S 1 p [open 10/8/04 NLJ04-76]	12/13/67	A
#138 cable	Athens 2719 S 2 p [open 10/8/04 NLJ04-76]	12/13/67	A
#139 cable	Athens 2561 sanitized 11-15-02 S 1 p same sanitization 12-1-04 NLJ04-73	11/1/67	A
#140 cable	Athens 2556 sanitized 11-15-02 S 1 p same sanitization 12-1-04 NLJ04-73	12/1/67	A
#141 cable	Athens 2444 S 1 p open 1-2-04	11/26/67	A
#142 cable	Athens 2074 sanitized 2-18-05 NLJ04-71 S 2 p [dup. #54, NSF, Files of Saunders, "Visit - King Constantine" Box 2]	11/13/67	A
#143 cable	Athens 1715 open 10-8-04 NLJ04-76 S 1 p	10/11/67	A
#144 cable	Deptel 86367 to Athens S 1 p [open 10/8/04 NLJ04-76]	12/19/67	A
#145 cable	Deptel 85852 to Athens S 1 p	12/16/67	A
#146 cable	Deptel 84837 to Athens S 3 p [open 10/8/04 NLJ04-76]	12/14/67	A
#147 cable	Deptel 74019 to Athens open 1-2-04 S 2 p	11/23/67	A
#148 cable	Deptel 68667 to Athens open 1-2-04 S 1 p	11/14/67	A
#150 cable	Intelligence Information Cable S 3 p sanitized 96-308 9-28-99 more info released 12-27-04 NLJ04-75	1/18/68	A
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FORM OF DOCUMENT	CORRESPONDENTS OR TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
#151 cable	Intelligence Information Cable S 3 p sanitized 9-28-99 NLS 96-308 same sanit. NLS 001-127-1-12 (10/01) <i>same sanitization 12-27-04 NW04 75</i>	1/18/68	A
#152 cable	Intelligence Information Cable S 5 p sanitized 9-28-99 NLS 96-308 <i>same sanitization 12-27-04 NW04 75</i>	12/15/67	A
#153 cable	Intelligence Cable S 2 p exempt 12-1-01 NW/RAL 04-72	12/13/67	A
#154 rpt	Intelligence Report S 3 p sanitized NLS 001-127-1-15 (10/01) <i>same sanitization 12-27-04 NW04 75</i>	12/8/67	A
#155 cable	Intelligence Information Cable S 3 p Exempt NLS 001-127-1 (10/01) <i>exempt 12-27-04 NW04 75</i>	11/27/67	A
#156 cable	Intelligence Cable S 2 p sanitized NLS 001-127-1-17 (10/01) <i>same sanitization 12-27-04 NW04 75</i>	11/25/67	A
#157 rpt	Intelligence Report S 1 p sanitized NLS 001-127-1-18 (10/01) <i>same sanitization 12-27-04 NW04 75</i>	11/24/67	A
#157a rpt	Intelligence Report S 3 p sanitized NLS 001-127-1-19 (10/01) <i>more info released 12-27-04 NW04 75</i>	11/8/67	A
#158 cable	Intelligence Information Cable S 3 p Exempt NLS 001-127-1 (10/01) <i>exempt 12-27-04 NW04 75</i>	11/15/67	A
#159 cable	Intelligence Information Cable S 4 p sanitized NLS 001-127-1-21 (10/01) <i>more info released 12-27-04 NW04 75</i>	9/25/67	A
#160 cable	Intelligence Information Cable S 6 p sanitized 9-28-99 NLS 96-308 <i>same sanitization 12-27-04 NW04 75</i>	8/9/67	A
#162 memo	Intelligence Memorandum S 1 p Exempt NLS 001-127-1 (10/01) <i>exempt 12-27-04 NW04 75</i>	10/4/67	A
#162a memo	Intelligence Memorandum S 4 p " " " " " " <i>exempt 12-27-04 NW04 75</i>	2/1/66	A

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FORM OF DOCUMENT	CORRESPONDENTS OR TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
#164 memo	Saunders to Rostow S 1 p <i>open 12.1.04 NW04.77</i>	undated	A
#164a memo	Rostow to Manatos S 2 p <i>(dup. #106, NSF, Files of Saunders, "Greece, 1/1/68-1/20/69" Box 10)</i>	2/21/68	A
#164f rpt	Intelligence Report <i>Sanitized 12.1.04</i> S 2 p <i>dups. #25, WH conf. File, CO 94 Greece, 12/8; #107, Files of Saunders, "Greece 1/1/68-1/20/69," Box 10</i>	undated	A
#165 memo	Saunders to Moose C 1 p <i>open 1.2.04</i>	2/12/68	A
#165b memcon	Plytas and Saunders C 2 p <i>open 1.2.04</i> [Duplicate of #201]	1/29/68	A
#166 memo	Intelligence Memorandum S 11 p <i>Sanitized 9-28-99 NLS 96-308 open 10/18/01 NLS 001-127-1</i>	1/19/68	A
#167 memo	Saunders to Rostow S 1 p <i>open 1.2.04</i>	1/18/68	A
#168a telconf	Dept. of State and Athens Embassy S 12 p <i>open 11-5-97 NLS 96-307</i>	1/11/68	A
#169 memo	Rostow to President S 1 p <i>open 12.1.04 NW04.74</i>	1/10/68	A
#170 cable	Athens 2972 C 5 p <i>open 1.2.04</i>	12/28/67	A
#171 memo	Foster and Saunders to Rostow S 1 p <i>open 1.2.04</i>	12/28/67	A
#174 memo	Rostow to President, 10:10 a.m. S 1 p <i>open 1.2.04</i>	12/15/67	A
#174a cable	Rome 3182 S 4 p <i>open 11-5-97 NLS 96-307</i>	12/15/67	A

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FORM OF DOCUMENT	CORRESPONDENTS OR TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
#175 note	Intelligence Note 1000 S 8 p <i>open 11-5-97 NLJ 96-307</i>	12/15/67	A
#176 memo	Saunders to Rostow S 1 p <i>open 12-1-04 NLJ 04-74</i>	12/14/67	A
#178 memo	Read to Rostow S 1 p <i>open 11-5-97 NLJ 96-307</i>	12/13/67	A
#178a teleconf	Dept. of State and Athens Embassy S 11 p <i>not yet open - sanitized 11-5-97 NLJ 96-307</i> <i>same sanitization 12-1-04 NLJ 04-73</i> Sanitized NLJ 001-127-1-28 (10/01)	12/13/67	A
#180 memo	Saunders to Rostow S 1 p <i>[dup. #5, NSF, Files of Saunders, "Greece" 4/1/66-12/31/67 "Box 11"]</i>	12/13/67	A
#180a memo	Foster to Rostow S 2 p <i>sanitized 4/22/03 NLJ/RAC [dup. #5a, as above]</i>	12/13/67	A
#181 memo	Foster and Saunders to Rostow S 1 p <i>open 1-2-64</i>	12/13/67	A
#182 rpt	"Suggested Answer to Queries..." PCI 1 p	undated	A
#183 memo	Rostow to President, 8:45 p.m. S 1 p <i>open 1-2-64</i>	12/13/67	A
#184 teleconf	Duplicate of #178a <i>sanitized 12-1-04 NLJ 04-73</i>		
#185 memo	Saunders to Rostow S 1 p <i>open 12-1-04 NLJ 04-74</i>	12/11/67	A
#185a memo	Brewster to Saunders S 1 p [open 10/8/04 NLJ 04-76]	11/27/67	A
#185b ltr	Papandreou to Krag S 2 p [open 10/8/04 NLJ 04-76]	11/24/67	A

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FORM OF DOCUMENT	CORRESPONDENTS OR TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
#185c cable	Stockholm 538 [open 10/8/04 NLJ04-76] S 1 p	11/28/67	A
#185d cable	Stockholm 540 " S 2 p	11/28/67	A
#185e cable	Stockholm 541 S 2 p [open 10/8/04 NLJ04-76]	11/28/67	A
#185f cable	Deptel 77506 to Stockholm S 1 p [open 10/8/04 NLJ04-76]	11/30/67	A
#186 memo	Rostow to President C 1 p open 1-2-04	11/30/67	A
#186a memo	Duplicate of #186 open 1-2-04		
#186b cable	Duplicate of #186 open 1-2-04		
#187 cable	Draft deptel to Athens S 2 p [open 10/8/04 NLJ04-76]	undated	A
#188a cable	Duplicate of #57a open 1-2-04		
#188b cable	Duplicate of #57b		
#189 memo	Rostow to President (CAP 671021) S 2 p	11/26/67	A
#189a cable	Duplicate of #189		
#190 memo	Rostow to President (CAP 671004) S 2 p	11/24/67	A
#190a cable	Athens 2400 S 2 p	11/24/67	A
#195 memo	Rostow to President C 1 p	9/13/67	A

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FORM OF DOCUMENT	CORRESPONDENTS OR TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
#197e cable	Athens 853 C 1 p <i>open 1.2.04</i>	8/17/67	A
#197f cable	Athens 809 C 2 p <i>open 6.2.03 NY 68.238</i>	8/16/67	A
#198 memo	Saunders to Rostow S 1 p <i>open 12.1.04 NW/RAL 02.216</i>	10/10/67	A
#198a cable	Duplicate of #79		
#199 memo	Saunders to Rostow S 1 p <i>open 1.2.04</i>	8/11/67	A
#199b memo	Rostow to President S 2 p <i>sanitized 4/20/03 per NJ/RAL</i> [dup. #173, NSF Files 18 Saunders, "Greece" 4/1/66-12-31-67 "Bx 18"]	7/22/67	A
#199c memo	Rusk to President S 3 p <i>sanitized 12/64 NW/RAL 04.73</i> [dup. #174, as above]	7/21/67	A
#201 cable	Duplicate of #165b <i>open 1.2.04</i>		
#202 memcon	President, Palamas, and Rockwell C 1 p <i>open 9/20/02</i>	9/25/67	A
#202b memcon	Duplicate of #202 <i>open 9/20/02</i>		

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FORM OF DOCUMENT	CORRESPONDENTS OR TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
#172 memo	Spurgeon Keeny to Walt Rostow S/FRD 1 p.	12/20/67	A
#172a memo	Paul Nitze to Walt Rostow S/FRD 1 p.	12/18/67	A
#172b report	Fact Sheet S/FRD 4 pp.	undated	A
#193 cable	from Athens - S 4 pp. <i>Sanitized 8-17-98 NL 896-311</i>	undated	A

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TELEGRAM

~~SECRET~~ 057

PAGE 01 ATHENS 03683 231711Z

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ACTION SS 30

INFO /030 W

P 231630Z FEB 68
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4589
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA PRIORITY 850
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA 793

~~SECRET~~ ATHENS 3683

EXDIS

SUBJ: CYPRUS--CANADIAN INITIATIVE

1. CANADIAN AMB FEAVER TODAY GAVE ME COPY OF
AIDE-MEMOIRE GIVING PIPINELIS' REACTION TO THE
CANADIAN AIDE-MEMOIRE OF FEB 19. TEXT BY SEPTEL.

2. FEAVER SAID PIPINELIS EXPRESSED OPTIMISM ABOUT
THE PROSPECTS FOR THE PROPOSED CANADIAN INITIATIVE.
APPARENTLY CAGLAYANGIL WAS MOST UNHAPPY WITH THE
IDEA OF HAVING THE CANADIANS APPROACH U THANT FIRST,

PAGE 2 RUQMAT 3683A ~~SECRET~~
AS SECRETARY MARTIN HAD PROPOSED. PIPINELIS TOLD
FEAVER THAT HE HAD BEEN IN DIRECT CONTACT WITH
CAGLAYANGIL AND THEY HAD DISCUSSED THIS ASPECT.
AS INDICATED IN HIS AIDE-MEMOIRE, PIPINELIS BELIEVES
THAT THEY HAVE SATISFACTORILY RESOLVED THIS MATTER.

3. FEAVER SAID THAT PIPINELIS IS ALSO OPTIMISTIC
THAT MAKARIOS WILL BE RECEPTIVE TO THE CANADIAN

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 13292, Sec. 3.5

NLJ 04-76

By 120, NARA, Date 10-5-04

~~SECRET~~



Department of State

TELEGRAM

~~SECRET~~

PAGE 02 ATHENS 03683 231711Z

INITIATIVE. PIPINELIS DID NOT EXPLAIN THE BASIS FOR HIS OPTIMISM, BUT HE HAS SEEN BOTH ROSSIDES AND KRANIDIOTIS IN RECENT DAYS. PIPINELIS MADE TWO SUGGESTIONS DESIGNED TO MAKE MAKARIOS MORE RECEPTIVE; ONE IS THAT MAKARIOS SHOULD BE APPROACHED FIRST BY THE CANADIANS, BEFORE THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS, AND THE OTHER IS THAT THE TALKS BE CALLED A "MEETING" RATHER THAN A "CONFERENCE" TO LEND THEM LESS FORMALITY.

4. FEAVER BELIEVES THAT BOTH PIPINELIS AND CAGLAYANGIL FEEL LESS URGENCY THAN FORMERLY ABOUT

PAGE 3 RUQMAT 3683A ~~SECRET~~
PROCEEDING WITH THE CANADIAN INITIATIVE. CAGLAYANGIL REPORTEDLY SAID THE TALKS MUST BEGIN BY MARCH 22, WHILE PIPINELIS DOUBTED THE JOB COULD BE COMPLETED BEFORE THE NEXT SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING ON CYPRUS.

5. COMMENT: WE ARE REPORTING IN A SEPARATE CABLE THAT THEODOROPoulos GUESSES THAT MAKARIOS WILL BE SUBMITTING HIS NEW CONSTITUTIONAL PROPOSALS TO U THANT SOMETIME BETWEEN FEB 25 AND MARCH 4. IT SEEMS TO ME HIGHLY IMPORTANT THAT THE CANADIAN INITIATIVE BE LAUNCHED BEFORE RATHER THAN AFTER MAKARIOS TAKES THIS ACTION.

6. DEPT REQUESTED REPEAT THIS MESSAGE AS DESIRED.
GP-1. TALBOT

~~SECRET~~



Department of State

TELEGRAM

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~~SECRET~~ 730

PAGE 01 ATHENS 03682 231728Z

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ACTION SS 30

INFO /030 W

P 231600Z FEB 68
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4588
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA PRIORITY 849
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA 792

~~SECRET~~ ATHENS 3682

EXDIS

SUBJ: CYPRUS--CANADIAN INITIATIVE

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF GREEK AIDE-MEMOIRE DATED
FEB 22 GIVING PIPINELIS' ANSWER TO CANADIAN AIDE-
MEMOIRE OF FEB 19. WE HAVE POUCHED LATTER DOCUMENT
SINCE DEPT IS ALREADY AWARE ITS CONTENTS. DEPT
PLEASE PASS THIS MESSAGE TO LONDON, OTTAWA, USUN
AND USMISSION NATO.

PAGE 2 RUQMAT 3682A ~~SECRET~~
QUOTE. SECRET. AIDE-MEMOIRE. THE FOREIGN
MINISTER OF GREECE HAS CAREFULLY EXAMINED THE AIDE-
MEMOIRE OF THE CANADIAN EMBASSY, DATED FEBRUARY 19,
1968. HE PROFOUNDLY APPRECIATES THE INTEREST WHICH
THE CANADIAN GOVERNMENT HAVE ALREADY TAKEN IN THE
MATTER, AND HE WILL ENDEAVOUR TO GIVE BELOW SOME
CLARIFICATION TO THE POINTS RAISED IN THE CANADIAN
AIDE-MEMOIRE.
THE IDEA OF A MULTILATERAL CONFERENCE ON THE QUESTION
OF CYPRUS TO BE CONVENED BY CANADA ORIGINATED FROM THE FOL-

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.6
NLJ 96-307
By Ch, NARA Date 8-4-97



Department of State

TELEGRAM

~~SECRET~~

PAGE 02 ATHENS 03682 231728Z

LOWING CONSIDERATIONS SHARED BY THE FOREIGN MINISTERS OF GREECE AND TURKEY DURING THEIR LAST MEETING:

- A) THE CYPRUS PROBLEM SHOULD NOT BE LEFT TO STAGNATE ANY FURTHER, AND TO THAT EFFECT A NEW SERIOUS EFFORT SHOULD BE MADE TOWARDS A FINAL SOLUTION;
- B) THE MANDATE HELD BY THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS AT THIS STAGE, AS WELL AS THE KNOWN ATTITUDE OF SOME OF THE PARTIES CONCERNED VIS-A-VIS HIS GOOD OFFICES MAY LIMIT HIS PROSPECTS FOR TAKING A LARGER INITIATIVE AIMING AT A FINAL SOLUTION;

PAGE 3 RUQMAT 3682A ~~SECRET~~

- C) SUCH AN INITIATIVE MIGHT USEFULLY BE UNDERTAKEN BY A FRIENDLY GOVERNMENT, TRUSTED AND RESPECTED BY ALL PARTIES CONCERNED; IT WAS AGREED THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF CANADA IS EMINENTLY QUALIFIED FOR THAT PURPOSE, SINCE CANADA IS A MEMBER OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND HAS PARTICIPATED AB INITIO, IN UNFICYP, IS THEREFORE WELL ACQUAINTED WITH THE PROBLEM;
 - D) THE OBJECTIVE OF THE EXERCISE WOULD BE TO OFFER TO THE PARTIES CONCERNED, AND MORE PARTICULARLY TO GREEK AND TURKISH CYPRIOTS, THE OPPORTUNITY OF MEETING AROUND THE SAME TABLE, EXCHANGING VIEWS AND IDEAS, AND EVENTUALLY AGREEING ON A PROCEDURE, AN AGENDA AND A TIMETABLE FOR FURTHER DISCUSSIONS ON THE SUBSTANCE OF THE PROBLEM.
- IT IS WITH THESE CONSIDERATIONS IN MIND THAT THE FOREIGN MINISTERS OF GREECE AND TURKEY PROCEEDED ON FEB 10, 1968 TO THEIR SIMULTANEOUS DEMARCHE TO THE GOVERNMENT OF CYPRUS. THE FOLLOWING COMMENTS TO THE SEVERAL POINTS OF THE CANADIAN AIDE-MEMOIRE ARE INSPIRED BY THESE SAME CONSIDERATIONS:
- WITH REGARD TO POINT 2: THE GREEK GOVT ARE FIRMLY CONVINCED THAT THE AGREEMENT ON A CONSTITUTION

PAGE 4 RUQMAT 3682A ~~SECRET~~

- FOR CYPRUS IS INDEED THE MOST ESSENTIAL PREREQUISITE FOR ANY FINAL SOLUTION.
- WITH REGARD TO POINT 3: THE GREEK GOVT FULLY

~~SECRET~~



Department of State

TELEGRAM

~~SECRET~~

PAGE 03 ATHENS 03682 231728Z

SHARE THE VIEW THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF CYPRUS SHOULD BE CONVINCED THAT THE PROPOSED PROCEDURE IS NOT INTENDED TO BRING OUTSIDE PRESSURE TO BEAR UPON THEM AND THAT THEY SHOULD JOIN THE CONFERENCE FREELY AND NOT UNDER DIRECT OR INDIRECT DURESS.

■ WITH REGARD TO POINTS 4 AND 5: IT SHOULD NOT BE THE PURPOSE OF THE CONFERENCE TO RESTRICT OR PRECLUDE DISCUSSION OF ANY RELEVANT QUESTION. IT WOULD, HOWEVER, SEEM ADVISABLE TO AVOID TACKLING ALL MAJOR ISSUES AT ONCE, SINCE THIS MIGHT ADVERSELY AFFECT THE CHANCES OF SUCCESS OF THE CONFERENCE. ATTENTION SHOULD, THEREFORE, BE FOCUSED IN THE FIRST PLACE TO THE CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUE, SINCE IT IS THE "SINE QUA NON" OF ANY FURTHER DEVELOPMENT. THIS MATTER BEING ESSENTIALLY OF A DOMESTIC CHARACTER, IT MIGHT BE DECIDED TO REFER IT TO BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN THE PARTIES DIRECTLY CONCERNED, AFTER A

PAGE 5 RUQMAT 3682A ~~SECRET~~

PRELIMINARY EXCHANGE OF VIEWS AMONG ALL PARTICIPANTS.

■ WITH REGARD TO POINT 6: THE GREEK GOVT EMPHATICALLY AGREE THAT THE PROPOSED CONFERENCE IS NOT INTENDED TO SUPPLANT DISCUSSIONS AT THE UNITED NATIONS, BUT IS DESIGNED RATHER TO SUPPLEMENT THEM.

■ WITH REGARD TO POINT 7: THE QUESTIONS OF THE NATURE OF REPRESENTATION AT THE PROPOSED CONFERENCE MIGHT INDEED CAUSE SOME DIFFICULTIES. FOR THAT REASON IT WOULD SEEM ADVISABLE TO PUT LESS EMPHASIS ON THE FORMAL SIDE HABITUALLY INHERENT IN THE WORD "CONFERENCE", AND GIVE THIS GATHERING, AT LEAST AT ITS INITIAL STAGE, THE NATURE OF A FREE AND FRIENDLY EXCHANGE OF VIEWS AT THE INVITATION OF A THIRD PARTY, SUCH AS THE GOVERNMENT OF CANADA. THIS WOULD ALLOW THE PARTIES CONCERNED TO COME IN TOUCH WITH EACH OTHER WITHOUT ANY FORMAL PRELIMINARIES AND WOULD EVENTUALLY LEAD TO ESTABLISHING A PERMANENT WORKING CONTACT AMONG THEM.

■ WITH REGARD TO POINT 8: THE GREEK GOVT BELIEVE THAT IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT THE PROPOSAL FOR THE

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Department of State

TELEGRAM

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PAGE 04 ATHENS 03682 231728Z

PAGE 6 RUQMAT 3682A ~~SECRET~~
CONFERENCE BE PRESENTED AS A CANADIAN INITIATIVE.
OTHERWISE THE PARTICIPATION OF THE GOVERNMENT OF
CYPRUS MIGHT BE JEOPARDIZED, SINCE THEY WOULD CONSIDER
THE CANADIAN PROPOSAL AS BEING THE RESULT OF COLLUSION.
IN ANY CASE THE NEWS LEAKAGE ABOUT A MEETING OF THE
FOREIGN MINISTERS OF GREECE AND TURKEY CAN BE SUFFICIENTLY
EXPLAINED NOW THAT IT HAS BEEN ANNOUNCED THAT THE TWO
GOVERNMENTS HAVE AGREED TO DISCUSS THEIR BILATERAL PROBLEMS.
•WITH REGARD TO POINT 9: THE GREEK GOVT ARE IN
FULL AGREEMENT WITH THE VIEWS OF THE CANADIAN GOVERNMENT,
NAMELY THAT (A) IT IS ESSENTIAL TO INFORM THE SECRETARY
GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS IN ADVANCE, IN ORDER TO PREVENT
ANY ACTION WHICH HE MIGHT INADVERTENTLY TAKE, IF
LEFT IN IGNORANCE, AND (B) IT IS STRONGLY TO BE
WISHED THAT THE SECRETARY GENERAL MIGHT SEE HIS
WAY IN SUPPORTING THE IDEA OF THE CONVERENCE.
•WITH REGARD TO POINT 10: NICOSIA SEEMS HARDLY
TO BE THE PROPER SETTING FOR THE GATHERING, SOME QUIET
PLACE IN SWITZERLAND WOULD CERTAINLY BE MORE CONDUCTIVE
TO A CALM DISCUSSION, AS REMOTE AS POSSIBLE FROM
PUBLICITY.

PAGE 7 RUQMAT 3682A ~~SECRET~~
AS TO THE QUESTIONS FORMULATED AT THE END OF
THE CANADIAN AIDE-MEMOIRE, THE POSITION OF THE GREEK
GOVT IS AS FOLLOWS:
1. GREECE AND, AS FAR AS WE KNOW, TURKEY AS WELL ARE READY TO
PARTICIPATE AT THE LEVEL OF FOREIGN MINISTERS;
THE OTHER PARTICIPANTS MIGHT DECIDE INDEPENDENTLY THE LEVEL
OF THEIR REPRESENTATION.
2. THE APPROACH TO PRESIDENT MAKARIOS SHOULD
BE MADE AFTER THE CONSULTATIONS BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT
OF CANADA AND THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE UNITED
NATIONS AND, PREFERABLY, BEFORE PRESIDENT MAKARIOS
SUBMITS THE NEW DRAFT CONSTITUTION TO U THANT.

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PAGE 05 ATHENS 03682 231728Z

3. FOLLOWING THE ABOVE CONSIDERATIONS, THE DATE OF THE CONVERENCE COULD BE SET AROUND THE MIDDLE OF MARCH 1968.

4. THE COMMENTS ON POINTS 6 AND 9 ABOVE ILLUSTRATE THE GREEK ATTITUDE ON THIS QUESTION.

5. IN THE VIEW OF THE GREEK GOVT, THE GOVERNMENT OF CANADA WOULD OFFER THEIR GOOD OFFICES TO THE PARTIES CONCERNED WITH A VIEW TO FACILITATING A FINAL SOLUTION. CANADA WOULD, THEREFORE, ACT AS A CATALYST AND A MODERATOR FOR THE PURPOSE OF BRINGING THE PARTIES TOGETHER AND FACILITATING THE CONTACTS AMONG THEM. ATHENS, FEBRUARY 22, 1968. END QUOTE.

GP-1. TALBOT

~~SECRET~~



Department of State

TELEGRAM

~~SECRET~~ 789

2

PAGE 01 ATHENS 03626 212131Z

81
ACTION SS 30

INFO SSO 001/030 W

P 201510Z FEB 68
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4555
AMEMBASSY ANKARA 846
AMEMBASSY LONDON 528
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA 786
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA 116
USUN NEW YORK 346
USMISSION NATO 259

~~SECRET~~ ATHENS 3626

EXDIS

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y

SUBJ: CYPRUS -- CANADIAN INITIATIVE

1. CANADIAN AMBASSADOR FEAVER HAS JUST DELIVERED TO ME
COPY OF FIVE PAGE SECRET AIDE-MEMOIRE DATED FEBRUARY 19
SETTING FORTH FOREIGN SECRETARY MARTIN'S REACTIONS TO
PIPINELIS/CAGLAYANGIL REQUEST FOR CANADIAN INITIATIVE ON CYPRUS.
DOCUMENT BEGINS: QUOTE THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL

PAGE 2 RUQMAT 3626 ~~SECRET~~
AFFAIRS HAS INSTRUCTED THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR IN ATHENS AND
THE CHARGE D' AFFAIRES IN ANKARA TO CONVEY TO THE FOREIGN MINISTERS
OF GREECE AND TURKEY RESPECTIVELY HIS PRELIMINARY REACTION TO
THEIR PROPOSAL FOR A CANADIAN INITIATIVE WITH REGARD TO CYPRUS.
HE DEEMS IT IMPORTANT THAT THE GREEK AND TURKISH

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E.O. 13292, Sec. 3.5

NLJ 04-76

By ins, NARA, Date 10-5-04

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TELEGRAM

~~SECRET~~

PAGE 02 ATHENS 03626 212131Z

GOVERNMENTS BE IN AGREEMENT ON DETAILS OF THE PROPOSAL. END
QUOTE. THERE FOLLOW TEN NUMBERED PARAGRAPHS OF MARTIN'S
RECTIONS PLUS FIVE NUMBERED QUESTIONS POSED TO GOG AND GOT.

2. IF DEPARTMENT DOES NOT ALREADY HAVE TEXT THIS PAPER, SHOULD
WE REPORT IT BY TELEGRAM OR BY POUCH? OTHER ADDRESSEES
DESIRING TEXT SHOULD ADVISE US AS WELL.

GP-1

TALBOT

NOTE. HANDLED AS EXDIS PER ATHENS 3647.

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TELEGRAM

~~SECRET~~ 330

2

PAGE 01 ATHENS 03552 141156Z

7

ACTION SS 30

INFO /030 W

R 141139Z FEB 68
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4519

~~SECRET~~ ATHENS 3552

EXDIS

CANADIAN AMBASSADOR DESCRIBED GUIDELINES HE HAD RECEIVED (BUT WITHOUT INSTRUCTIONS TO EXECUTE YET) FOR NEXT TALKS WITH PIPINELIS. SAME INSTRUCTIONS GOING TO ANKARA AND PRESUMABLY BEING DISCUSSED WITH DEPARTMENT. EXCEPT THAT TONE SEEMS MORE TENTATIVE THAN DEPARTMENT URGED (STATE 114287). ONLY POSSIBLY IMPORTANT PROBLEM I PERCEIVED WAS CANADIAN GOVERNMENT'S INCLINATION TO TELL U THANT OF PRIOR GREEK-TURKISH AGREEMENT. I GAVE AMBASSADOR FEATHER MY PERSONAL VIEW THAT IMPASSE BETWEEN SYG AND GOT WOULD MAKE IT BETTER FOR CANADIANS TO PRESENT THIS TO U THANT AS THEIR OWN INITIATIVE.

TALBOT

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TELEGRAM

~~SECRET~~ 276

PAGE 01 101609Z

42
ACTION SS 30

INFO /030 W

R 101452Z
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4498
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA 843
AMEMBASSY LONDON 522
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA 782
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA UNN
USMISSION NATO 257
USUN NEW YORK 345

~~SECRET~~ ATHENS 3512

EXDIS

REF: ATHENS 3507, ANKARA 3742

1. SIR MICHAEL STEWART AND I CALLED ON FONMIN PIPINELIS TODAY TO DISCUSS SOME DIFFERENCES IN DETAIL BETWEEN HIS ACCOUNT TO US YESTERDAY AND CAGLAYANGIL'S STATEMENTS TO

PAGE 2 ATHENS 3512A ~~SECRET~~
NXAMBASSADOR HART AND BRITISH CHARGE. AHNNOTED THAT CAGLAYANGIL HAD SAID PROJECTED FOUR-PARTY CONFERENCE SHOULD ITSELF BE SECRET, THAT TURK CYPRIOTS AND GREEK CYPRIOTS SHOULD BE REPRESENTED BY "DELEGATES" RATHER THAN PRINCIPALS AND THAT THERE SEEMED TO BE SPECIAL EMPHASIS ON NECESSITY OF SPEED. I ALSO NOTED THAT TURKS APPARENTLY SOUGHT CONFERENCE DEALING WITH TWO ASPECTS: CONSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM WHICH PRIMARY CONCERN TO COMMUNITY AND STATUS OF ISLAND WHICH INVOLVED ALL SIGNATORY POWERS.

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TELEGRAM

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2° PIPINELIS CONFIRMED THAT HE HAD AGREED TO CAGLAY-ANGIL'S SUGGESTION THAT FOUR-SIDED CONFERENCE BE SECRET. THOUGH HE HAD COMMENTED SECRECY WOULD BE EXTRAORDINARILY DIFFICULT TO MAINTAIN. HE HIMSELF DID NOT PLACE SAME IMPORTANCE ON KEEPING FACT OF MEETING SECRET, ONCE ALL PARTIES WERE MEETING TOGETHER.

3° STEWART MENTIONED THAT IN TALKING WITH BRITISH CHARGE CAGLAYANGIL HAD REFERRED TO DENKTASH AS PROBABLY BETTER CONFEREES THAN KUCHUK. PIPINELIS COMMENTED THAT IF

PAGE 3 ATHENS 3512A ~~SECRET~~

DENKTASH NOMINATED A GOOD COUNTERPART MIGHT BE CLERIDIS. PIPINELIS EXPRESSED NO STRONG PREFERENCE BETWEEN MAKARIOS AND KUCHUK OR CLERIDIS OR DENKTASH AS CYPRIOT REPRESENTATIVES. ON BALANCE, HE THOUGHT IN ANY CASE IT WOULD BE USEFUL FOR CAGLAYANGIL AND HIM TO BE PRESENT PERSONALLY RATHER THAN TO DELEGATE THEIR REPRESENTATION TO OTHERS.

4° PIPINELIS AGREED THAT IT BEED IMPORTANT, BUT SUGGESTED MOST PRACTICAL TIME FOR CONFERENCE WOULD BE DURING WEEKS BETWEEN CYPRIOT ELECTIONS AND SECURITY COUNCIL'S NEXT ROUND ON CYPRUS, I.E., LATE FEBRUARY AND EARLY MARCH.

5° IN RESPONSE TO QUESTION, PIPINELIS SAID HE HAD RECEIVED NO INFORMATION THAT MAKARIOS PLANS TO FLOAT CONSTITUTIONAL DRAFT BEFORE ELECTIONS OR EVEN THAT ONE WILL BE READY FOR PUBLICATIONS SO SOON. CERTAINLY NO CONSTITUTIONAL DRAFT SHOULD BE PUBLISHED BEFORE CONFERENCE CONVENED. IN THIS CONNECTION, PIPINELIS HAD SEEN A FIRST DRAFT WHICH HAD STRUCK HIM AS QUITE INADEQUATE. PIPINELIS WELCOMED MY OFFER TO LEND HIM COPIES OF

PAGE 4 ATHENS 3512A ~~SECRET~~

CONSTITUTIONAL PROPOSALS SURFACED DURING ACHESON MISSION IN 1964.

~~SECRET~~



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TELEGRAM

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PAGE 03 101609Z

6. PIPINELIS CONFIRMED WHAT CAGLAYANGIL HAD TOLD BRITISH CHARGE, I.E., THAT CONSTITUTIONAL QUESTION WOULD BE DEALT WITH FIRST AND ONLY THEREAFTER WOULD STATUS OF ISLAND BE TAKEN UP.

7. PIPINELIS ADDED THAT IN ORDER TO HELP GET MAKARIOS IN FRAME OF MIND TO RESPOND CONSTRUCTIVELY TO PROJECTED CANADIAN INITIATIVE HE HAD YESTERDAY SENT MAKARIOS A MESSAGE SUGGESTING THAT THEY MEET AFTER CYPRIOT ELECTIONS TO CONCERT POLICIES. HE HAD EMPHASIZED THAT THEY WOULD NEED TO CONSIDER TOGETHER WHAT PATH TO PURSUE IF, AS NOW SEEMED LIKELY, UNSYG'S GOOD OFFICES EFFORTS SHOULD COME TO DEAD END.

8. IN PARTING, I EXPRESSED HOPE THIS CONSTRUCTIVE NEW INITIATIVE WOULD PROVE A SUCCESS. RATHER FERVENTLY, PIPINELIS RESPONDED THAT HE TOO HOPES SO; INDEED, IT MUST. HE CLEARLY FEELS THAT PRESENT OPPORTUNITY FOR SETTLEMENT MUST NOT BE LOST, ELSE NEW DANGERS WILL ARISE WHICH SOME FUTURE GOG MIGHT BE LESS ABLE THAN PRESENT REGIME TO NEGOTIATE EFFECTIVELY.

GP-3

TALBOT

~~SECRET~~



Department of State

TELEGRAM

~~SECRET~~ 210

PAGE 01 ATHENS 03511 101443Z

44

ACTION SS 30

INFO /030 W

R 101348Z
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4497

~~SECRET~~ ATHENS 3511

EXDIS

1. IN CONVERSATION WITH EMBOFF FEBRUARY 9 ON "WHY DON'T FOREIGNERS TRY TO UNDERSTAND APRIL 21," PATTAKOS SAID GOG HAD DECIDED TOPUBLISH NEW CONSTITUTIONAL DRAFTS "VERY SOON" (ATHENS 3425, PARA 3). GOVERNMENT'S REVISION OF MITRELIAS REVISION IS READY AND THESE TWO WILL BE PUBLISHED ALONGSIDE THE 1952 CONSTITUTION. HE NOTED GOVERNMENT'S REDRAFT HAD TAKEN ADVANTAGE OF SOME "GOOD" FOREIGN CONSTITUTIONS LIKE THAT OF THE US. AFTER DISCUSSION AND AMENDMENTS AS RESULT THEREOF, REFERENDUM WILL BE HELD WITHIN THE TERM PREVIOUSLY ANNOUNCED. FOLLOWING THAT, DECISION WILL BE MADE REGARDING ELECTIONS.

PAGE 2 ATHENS 3511A ~~SECRET~~
HE CONTINUED "WE ARE GOING TO RETURN TO PARLIAMENTARIANISM SOONER THAT YOU THINK, BUT WE ARE NOT GOING TO TELL YOU (ALL FOREIGNERS) BECAUSE OLD-HACK POLITICIANS WILL LEARN ABOUT IT AND INTRIGUE TO RECREATE CHAOTIC SITUATION APRIL 21 REVOLUTION IS TRYING TO STRAIGHTEN OUT."

2. PATTAKOS STILL HEDGES ON WHETHER OR NOT THE PMP TRIUMVIRATE INTEND TO FORM POLITICAL PARTY, SAID HIS PERSONAL DECISION IS NOT TO CONTINUE IN POLITICS BUT

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PAGE 02 ATHENS 03511 101443Z

ADMITTED THAT THIS MIGHT POSSIBLY CHANGE IN A YEAR.

GP-3

TALBOT

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TELEGRAM

~~SECRET~~ 281

7

PAGE 01 ATHENS 03510 101627Z

02

44
ACTION SS 30

INFO 1030 W

R 101348Z
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4496
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA 842
AMEMBASSY LONDON 521
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA 781
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA UNN
USUN NEW YORK 344

~~SECRET~~ ATHENS 3510

EXDIS

1. CANADIAN COUNSELOR (PROTECT SOURCE) LET EMBOFF READ
"CANADIAN EYES ONLY" TELEGRAM REPORTING YESTERDAY'S (FEBRUARY 9)
CONVERSATION BETWEEN FONMIN PIPINELIS AND CANADIAN AMBASSADOR
FEAVER. QUOTES BELOW ARE FROM FEAVER'S TELEGRAM.

2. PIPINELIS INFORMED FEAVER HEAND CAGLAYANGIL HAD AGREED
DURING RECENT SECRET TALKS THAT EFFORT MUST BE MADE TO ESTAB-

PAGE 2 ATHENS 3510A ~~SECRET~~
LISH NEW "INDEPENDENT CYPRUS" AND THAT "ACTION MUST BE TAKEN
ON AN ACCEPTABLE CONSTITUTION BEFORE PROCEEDING EVEN TO DIS-
CUSS INTERNATIONAL ASPECTS OF PROBLEM." PIPINELIS AND CAGLAYAN-
GIL ENVISAGED FOUR-PARTY TALKS, I.E. GREEKS, TURKS, AND TWO
COMMUNITIES "WITH CANADIAN OFFICER TO ACT AS CHAIRMAN IF SO
DESIRED." QUOTING PIPINELIS, FEAVER WROTE "NO OTHER INTER-
NATIONAL PERSONALITY COMMANDS SO MUCH RESPECT AS YOURSELF."
(MARTIN). PIPINELIS EXPRESSED HOPE MARTIN WOULD PERSONALLY

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NLJ 04-76
By NS, NARA, Date 10-5-04

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TELEGRAM

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PAGE 02 ATHENS 03510 101627Z

ACCEPT CHAIRMANSHIP. WITHOUT COMMITTING HIMSELF ON CANADIAN WILLINGNESS TO UNDERTAKE INITIATIVE OF THIS KIND, FEAVER INDICATED TO PIPINELIS THAT MARTIN IS NOW DEEPLY INVOLVED IN INTERNAL CANADIAN MATTERS, I.E. FIGHT TO ASSURE LEADERSHIP OF LIBERAL PARTY WHEN PEARSON RESIGNS.

3. PIPINELIS ALSO TOLD FEAVER THAT TURKS WERE OPPOSED TO BILATERAL TALKS BETWEEN TWO COMMUNITIES BECAUSE TURK-CYPRIOTS WOULD BE UNABLE TO COUNTER EFFECTIVELY "WILES" OF MAKARIOS AND THAT TURKS WERE ALSO OPPOSED TO WORKING THROUGH U THANT. PIPINELIS INDICATED HE THOUGHT U THANT WOULD FAVOR INITIATIVE BY CANADIANS. REGARDING TIMING, PIPINELIS THOUGHT ACTION

PAGE 3 ATHENS 3510A ~~SECRET~~
SHOULD NOT "BE TOO RAPID" AS, OTHERWISE, DANGER OF MAKARIOS SEEING INITIATIVE AS GOG-GOT PORPOSAL WOULD INCREASE.

4. ACCORDING CANADIAN COUNSELOR, THERE SEEMS TO BE SLIGHT DIFFERENCE OF VIEW ON TIMING AS CAGLAYANGIL TOLD CANADIAN CHARGE YESTERDAY THAT INITIATIVE SHOULD BE "MATTER OF DAYS" AND BEFORE MAKARIOS HAD CHANCE TO REVEAL HIS PLANS FOR NEW CONSTITUTION. CAGLAYANGIL WAS ALSO MORE SPECIFIC ON ROLE OF CANADIANS, I.E. RESPONSIBILITY ONLY FOR CONVOKING TALKS, WHEREVER CONVENIENT.

TALBOT

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Department of State

TELEGRAM

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~~SECRET~~ 478

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82
ACTION SS 30

INFO /030 W

P R 091615Z FEB 68
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS
TO SECSTATE PRIORITY 4494
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA 841
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA 779
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA 115
AMEMBASSY LONDON 520
USUN NEW YORK 343

~~SECRET~~ ATHENS 3507A

EXDIS

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y

1. FONMIN PIPINELIS, SUFFERING FROM THROMBOSIS INCURRED AFTER STRENUOUS RECENT ACTIVITIES AND AFFECTING HIS RIGHT LEG, SUMMONED BRITISH AMBASSADOR STEWART AND ME TO HIS HOME THIS NOON TO DESCRIBE HIS RECENT SECRET MEETING IN SWITZERLAND WITH TURK FONMIN CAGLAYANGIL AND A NEW INITIATIVE ON CYPRUS. HE MENTIONED THAT HE HAD SEEN CANADIAN AMBASSADOR ON SAME SUBJECT EARLIER TODAY AND

PAGE 2 RUQMAT 3507A ~~SECRET~~
THAT CAGLAYANGIL WAS GIVING SIMILAR INFORMATION TODAY TO OUR COLLEAGUES IN ANKARA.

2. ACCORDING TO PIPINELIS, HE AND CAGLAYANGIL AGREED TO TACKLE LONG-TERM CYPRUS SETTLEMENT BY FOCUSING FIRST ON GETTING FOR AN INDEPENDENT CYPRUS A CONSTITUTION THAT

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E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.6
NLJ 96-307
By C6, NARA Date 8-4-97



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TELEGRAM

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PAGE 02 ATHENS 03507 102149Z

WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO BOTH GREEK CYPRIOTS AND TURK CYPRIOTS. PLAN THEY DREW UP CALLS FOR JOINT SECRET REQUEST TO CANADA TO CONVENE AND CHAIR A FOUR-CORNERED CONFERENCE OF GREEK AND TURK FORMERS WITH MAKARIOS AND KUTCHUK TO SETTLE CONSTITUTIONAL QUESTIONS BUT NOT DEAL WITH OTHER OUTSTANDING ISSUES. QUESTIONS OF GREEK MILITARY PERSONNEL SERVING WITH CYPRIOT NATIONAL GUARD AND OF TREATMENT OF MINORITIES IN GREECE AND TURKEY WOULD MEANWHILE BE DEALT WITH UNDER SEPARATE PROCEDURES THAT PIPINELIS AND CAGLAYANGIL ALSO DISCUSSED.

3. PIPINELIS EMPHASIZED THAT CANADA WOULD BE ASKED TO PRESENT CONFERENCE IDEA AS EXCLUSIVELY ITS OWN, AND THAT NO RPT NO CYPRIOTS WOULD BE INFORMED OF SECRET PRIOR.

PAE 3 RUQMAT 3507A ~~SECRET~~
GREEK-TURK UNDERSTANDING. HE HOPES CANADA WILL SEE ITS WAY CLEAR TO LEAD THIS INITIATIVE DESPITE PREOCCUPATION OF GOVERNMENT LEADERS WITH FORTHCOMING ELECTIONS. AS HE SEES DESIRABLE SCENARIO, APPROACHES TO MAKARIOS AND KUTCHUK WOULD BE MADE AFTER SOME DAYS, TO REDUCE CHANCE OF CANADIAN INITIATIVE BEING LINKED TO RUMORS OF PIPINELIS-CAGLAYANGIL MEETING, BUT FOUR-WAY MEETINGS WOULD START AFTER CYPRIOT ELECTIONS LATER THIS MONTH. PIPINELIS BELIEVES UNSYG WILL WELCOME CANADIAN INITIATIVE AS ALTERNATIVE TO HIS OWN FLAGGING EFFORTS TO EXERCISE GOOD OFFICES.

4. IT WAS IMPROVED CLIMATE FOLLOWING NOVEMBER CRISIS THAT LED TO HIS MEETING WITH CAGLAYANGIL, PIPINELIS SAID. FEELINGS HAD CALMED DOWN IN GREECE AND TURKEY, TENSENESS ON ISLAND HAD RELAXED, AND ON JANUARY 12 MAKARIOS HAD TAKEN CONSTRUCTIVE STEP OF ANNOUNCING PLANS TO PRESENT A NEW CONSTITUTION FOR CYPRUS. HOWEVER, IT BECAME APPARENT NEW STORM CLOUDS GATHERING AND CONDITIONS MIGHT AGAIN DETERIORATE. BOTH HE AND CAGLAYANGIL CONCLUDED, THEREFORE, THAT TIME HAD ARRIVED FOR ACTION. CAGLAYANGIL HAD BEEN

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TELEGRAM

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PAGE 03 ATHENS 03507 102149Z

PAGE 4 RUQMAT 3507A ~~SECRET~~

GOOD ENOUGH TO SUGGEST THEY MEET SECRETLY, AND PIPINELIS HAD READILY AGREED DESPITE HIS DOCTOR'S EFFORTS TO PREVENT HIM FROM TRAVELING.

5. IN CONSIDERING NEXT STEPS ON CYPRUS, GOG HAD REASONED THAT A FINAL SETTLEMENT WOULD IN ANY CASE BE SO DIFFICULT THAT PARTIES MUST START BY CONCENTRATING ON WHAT ASPECT MOST LIKELY TO SUCCEED, OR LEAST LIKELY TO FAIL. WITH MAKARIOS' PLAN TO PRESENT CONSTITUTION, THIS HAD BECOME OBVIOUS STARTING POINT. CAGLAYANGIL AGREED WITH THIS REASONING, AND THEY HAD NO DIFFICULTY IN DECIDING TO FOCUS ON HOW TO GET A CONSTITUTION FOR AN INDEPENDENT CYPRUS THAT WOULD BE AGREEABLE TO BOTH GREEK CYPRIOTS AND TURK CYPRIOTS, LEAVING ALL OTHER ISSUES TO BE HANDLED SEPARATELY OR LATER.

6. AT FIRST PIPINELIS HAD PROPOSED THAT CONSTITUTIONAL TALKS BE CONDUCTED BETWEEN GREEK CYPRIOTS AND TURK CYPRIOTS UNDER AEGIS OF UNSYG, BUT CAGLAYANGIL HAD REJECTED THIS BECAUSE OF TURK DISTRUST OF U THANT. THEN PIPINELIS HAD PROPOSED THAT GREEK CYPRIOTS AND TURK CYPRIOTS BE STIMULATED

PAGE 5 RUQMAT 3705A ~~SECRET~~

TO MEET TOGETHER BY THEMSELVES. CAGLAYANGIL HAS FOUND THIS IDEA UNSATISFACTORY BECAUSE "YOU HAVE A STRONG ADVOCATE ON YOUR SIDE AND WE DON'T ON OURS." FINALLY THEY REACHED AGREEMENT ON A CONFERENCE AT WHICH TURK AND GREEK FORNMIN, MAKARIOS AND KUTCHUK WOULD ALL SIT TOGETHER. CAGLAYANGIL NOTED THAT THIS WAS FIRST TIME A TURKISH FOREIGN MINISTER HAD AGREED TO NEGOTIATE DIRECTLY WITH MAKARIOS.

7. HOW SHOULD SUCH A CONFERENCE BE CONVENED? PIPINELIS WAS DEFINITE THAT MAKARIOS SHOULD NOT HAVE REASON TO THINK THIS A PUT-UP JOB BETWEEN GREEKS AND TURKS. INITIATIVE WOULD NEED TO COME FROM OUTSIDE. AFTER CONSIDERING WHETHER US OR UK WOULD BE WELL SITUATED TO PLAY THIS ROLE, PIPINELIS AND CAGLAYANGIL HAD CONCLUDED IT WOULD BE BETTER

~~SECRET~~



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PAGE 04 ATHENS 03507 102149Z

FOR INITIATIVE TO COME FROM CANADA WHICH NATURALLY INTERESTED AND INVOLVED THROUGH UNFICYP. THUS THEIR SECRET REQUEST TO CANADA TODAY. MEANWHILE THEY HOPE US AND UK CAN STAND READY TO HELP AS NEEDED. IN PARTICULAR, THEY HOPE US AND UK CAN ENCOURAGE MAKARIOS TO SEE IMPORTANCE OF PROCEEDING CAREFULLY TOWARD AGREEMENT WITH TURK CYPRIOTS ON NEW CONSTITUTION.

8. IN RESPONSE TO OUR QUESTIONS, PIPINELIS TOLD STEWART

PAGE 8 RUQMAT 3507A ~~SECRET~~
AND ME THAT HE AND CAGLAYANGIL HAD ALSO DISCUSSED QUESTION OF GREEK OFFICERS AND NONCOMS WITH CYPRIOT NATIONAL GUARD. CAGLAYANGIL HAD EXPLAINED PRESSURES GOT IS UNDER TO GET ACTION. PIPINELIS HAD REPLIED THAT THROUGHOUT CRISIS HE HAD KNOWN THAT THIS WAS A QUESTION GREECE COULD NOT RESOLVE WITHOUT AGREEMENT OF MAKARIOS AND THAT PREMATURE REMOVAL OF LEADERSHIP WOULD LEAVE NATIONAL GUARD DANGEROUSLY UNDISCIPLINED. HOWEVER, IT OF LITTLE IMPORTANCE TO GREECE ITSELF WHETHER FEW MILITARY INVOLVED STAY ON ISLAND OR RETURN HOME. HE WOULD BE PREPARED TO TRY TO GET MAKARIOS' AGREEMENT TO PROGRESSIVE WITHDRAWAL OF GREEKS. GOG WOULD PREFER THAT IN ANY CASE AS SOON AS CONDITIONS SAFE AND MAKARIOS AGREES. SIR MICHAEL STEWART THEN TOLD PIPINELIS OF KYPRIANOU'S STATEMENT TO HMG JANUARY 30 THAT CYPRIOTS ACKNOWLEDGE GOG RIGHT TO WITHDRAW ITS MILITARY PERSONNEL FROM CYPRIOT NATIONAL GUARD, AND ALSO THAT MAKARIOS WANTS TO REDUCE SIZE OF NATIONAL GUARD. PIPINELIS WELCOMED THIS NEWS, ESPECIALLY AS MAKARIOS TOLD HIM HE WOULD NOT AGREE TO REMOVAL OF GREEK PERSONNEL AT THIS STAGE. PIPINELIS INDICATED HE MIGHT HAVE ANOTHER TRY ON THIS WITH MAKARIOS AFTER CYPRIOT

PAGE 7 RUQMAT 3507A ~~SECRET~~
ELECTIONS.

9. FINALLY, PIPINELIS SAID HE AND CAGLAYANGIL HAD AGREED TO ESTABLISH AMBASSADORIAL-LEVEL COMMISSION TO EXAMINE

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TELEGRAM

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PAGE 05 ATHENS 03507 102149Z

EACH COUNTRY'S COMPLAINTS ABOUT TREATMENT OF MINORITY IN OTHER COUNTRY. PRECEDENT FOR THIS EXISTS IN AVEROFF-ZORLU AGREEMENT OF 1959 THAT ACTIVATED BITSIOS-KUNERALP INVESTIGATIONS. THESE HAD PROVED USEFUL THOUGH INTRUSION OF CYPRUS CRISIS OF THAT ERA PREVENTED THEIR IMPLEMENTATION. PIPINELIS THINKS SIMILAR APPROACH MAY HELP GREECE AND TURKEY DEAL WITH COMPLAINTS NOW BEING RAISED ABOUT DIFFICULTIES EXPERIENCED BY GREEKS IN ISTANBUL, IMBROZ AND TENEDOS AND BY TURKS IN THRACE.

10. COMMENT: PIPINELIS WAS OBVIOUSLY PLEASED WITH RESULTS OF MEETING, WHOSE ACCOMPLISHMENTS APPEAR TO HAVE EXCEEDED ALL EXPECTATIONS.

PIPINELIS REPEATEDLY WARNED US OF IMPORTANCE OF AVOIDING LEAKS.

GP-3. TALBOT

~~SECRET~~

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TELEGRAM

~~SECRET~~ 747

PAGE 01 091753Z

40
ACTION SS 30

INFO / 30W

P R 091615Z FEB 68
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS
TO SECSTATE PRIORITY 4494
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA 841
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA 779
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA 115
AMEMBASSY LONDON 520
RAYHDT/USIN NEW YORK 343

~~SECRET~~ ATHENS 35071A

EXDIS

1. PRIMIN PIPINELIS, SUFFERING FROM THROMBOSIS INCURRED AFTER STRENUOUS RECENT ACTIVITIES AND AFFECTING HIS RIGHT LEG, SUMMONED BRITISH AMBASSADOR STEWART AND ME TO HIS HOME THIS NOON TO DESCRIBE HIS RECENT SECRET MEETING IN SWITZERLAND WITH TURK FONMIN CAGLAYANGIL AND A NEW INITIATIVE ON CYPRUS. HE MENTIONED THAT HE HAD SEEN CANADIAN AMBASSADOR ON SAME SUBJECT EARLIER TODAY AND

PAGE 2 RUQMAT 3507A ~~SECRET~~
THAT CAGLAYANGIL WAS GIVING SIMILAR INFORMATION TODAY TO OUR COLLEAGUES IN ANKARA.

2. ACCORDING TO PIPINELIS, HE AND CAGLAYANGIL AGREED TO TACKLE LONG-TERM CYPRUS SETTLEMENT BY FOCUSING FIRST ON GETTING FOR AN INDEPENDENT CYPRUS A CONSTITUTION THAT WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO BOTH GREEK CYPRIOTS AND TURK CYPRIOTS. PLAN THEY DREW UP CALLS FOR JOINT SECRET

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Authority FRUS 64-68, vol. 16, #361

By jc NARA, Date 12-10-07

~~SECRET~~

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PAGE 02 091753Z

REQUEST TO CANADA TO CONVENE AND CHAIR A FOUR-CORNERED CONFERENCE OF GREEK AND TURK FORMERS WITH MAKARIOS AND KUTCHUK TO SETTLE CONSTITUTIONAL QUESTIONS BUT NOT DEAL WITH OTHER OUTSTANDING ISSUES. QUESTIONS OF GREEK MILITARY PERSONNEL SERVING WITH CYPRIOT NATIONAL GUARD AND OF TREATMENT OF MINORITIES IN GREECE AND TURKEY WOULD MEANWHILE BE DEALT WITH UNDER SEPARATE PROCEDURES THAT PIPINELIS AND CAGLAYANGIL ALSO DISCUSSED.

3. PIPINELIS EMPHASIZED THAT CANADA WOULD BE ASKED TO PRESENT CONFERENCE IDEA AS EXCLUSIVELY ITS OWN, AND THAT NO RPT NO CYPRIOTS WOULD BE INFORMED OF SECRET PRIOR

PAGE 3 RUQMAT 3507A ~~SECRET~~

GREEK-TURK UNDERSTANDING. HE HOPES CANADA WILL SEE ITS WAY CLEAR TO LEAD THIS INITIATIVE DESPITE PREOCCUPATION OF GOVERNMENT LEADERS WITH FORTHCOMING ELECTIONS. AS HE SEES DESIRABLE SCENARIO, APPROACHES TO MAKARIOS AND KUTCHUK WOULD BE MADE AFTER SOME DAYS, TO REDUCE CHANCE OF CANADIAN INITIATIVE BEING LINKED TO RUMORS OF PIPINELIS-CAGLAYANGIL MEETING, BUT FOUR-WAY MEETINGS WOULD START AFTER CYPRIOT ELECTIONS LATER THIS MONTH.

PIPINELIS BELIEVES UNSYG WILL WELCOME CANADIAN INITIATIVE AS ALTERNATIVE TO HIS OWN FLAGGING EFFORTS TO EXERCISE GOOD OFFICES.

4. IT WAS IMPROVED CLIMATE FOLLOWING NOVEMBER CRISIS THAT LED TO HIS MEETING WITH CAGLAYANGIL, PIPINELIS SAID. FEELINGS HAD CALMED DOWN IN GREECE AND TURKEY, TENSENESS ON ISLAND HAD RELAXED, AND ON JANUARY 12 MAKARIOS HAD TAKEN CONSTRUCTIVE STEP OF ANNOUNCING PLANS TO PRESENT A NEW CONSTITUTION FOR CYPRUS. HOWEVER, IT BECAME APPARENT NEW STORM CLOUDS GATHERING AND CONDITIONS M YOMAGAIN DETERIORATED. BOTH HE AND CAGLAYANGIL CONCLUDED, THEREFORE, THAT TIME HAD ARRIVED FOR ACTION. CAGLAYANGIL HAD BEEN

~~SECRET~~



~~SECRET~~

PAGE 03 091753Z

PAGE 4 RUQMAT 3507A ~~SECRET~~

GOOD ENOUGH TO SUGGEST THEY MEET SECRETLY, AND PIPINELIS

HAD READILY AGREED DESPITE HIS DOCTOR'S EFFORTS TO PREVENT HIM FROM TRAVELING.

5.

IN CONSIDERING NEXT STEPS ON CYPRUS GOG HAD REASONED THAT A FINAL SETTLEMENT WOULD IN ANY CASE BE SO DIFFICULT THAT PARTIES MUST START BY CONCENTRATING ON WHAT ASPECT MOST LIKELY TO SUCCEED, OR LEAST LIKELY TO FAIL. WITH MAKARIOS' PLAN TO PRESENT CONSTITUTION, THIS HAD BECOME OBVIOUS STARTING POINT. CAGLAYANGIL AGREED WITH THIS RECREASOCBNG, AND THEY HAD NO DIFFICULTY IN DECIDING TO FOCUS ON HOW TO GET A CONSTITUTION FOR AN INDEPENDENT CYPRUS THAT WOULD BE AGREEABLE TO BOTH GREEK CYPRIOTS AND TURK CYPRIOTS, LEAVING ALL OTHER ISSUES TO BE HANDLED SEPARATELY OR LATER.

6. AT FIRST PIPINELIS HAD PROPOSED THAT CONSTITUTIONAL TALKS BE CONDUCTED BETWEEN GREEK CYPRIOTS AND TURK CYPRIOTS UNDER AEGIS OF UNSYG, BUT CAGLAYANGIL HAD REJECTED THIS BECAUSE OF TURK DISTRUST OF U THANT. THEN PIPINELIS HAD PROPOSED THAT GREEK CYPRIOTS AND TURK CYPRIOTS BE STIMULATED

PAGE 5 RUQMAT 378

? J 3 1 4 3 5

59 0335 59035#34 76 5#3 J31,3S. CAGLAYANGIL HAD FOUND THIS IDEA UNSATISFACTORY BECAUSE "YOU HAVE A STRONG ADVOCATE ON YOUR SIDE AND WE DON'T ON OURS." FINALLY THEY REACHED AGREEMENT ON A CONFERENCE AT WHICH TURK AND GREEK FONO HS,

MAKARIOS AND KUZJHUK WOULD ALL SIT TOGETHER. CAGLAYANGIL NOTED THAT THIS WAS FIRST TIME A TURKISH FOREIGN MINISTER HAD AGREED TO NEGOTIATE DIRECTLY WITH MAKARIOS.

7. HOW SHOULD SUCH A CONFERENCE BE CONVENED? PIPINELIS WAS DEFINITE THAT MAKARIOS SHOULD NOT HAVE REASON TO THINK THIS A PUT-UP JOB BETWEEN GREEKS AND TURKS. INITIATIVE

~~SECRET~~



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~~SECRET~~

PAGE 04 091753Z

WOULD NEED TO COME FROM OUTSIDE. AFTER CONSIDERING WHETHER US OR UK WOULD BE WELL SITUATED TO PLAY THIS ROLE, PIPINELIS AND CAGLAYANGIL HAD CONCLUDED IT WOULD BE BETTER FOR INITIATIVE TBFCOME KYOM CANADA WHICH NATURALLY INTERESTED AND INVOLVED THROUGH UNFICYP. THUS THEIR SECRET REQUEST TO CANADA TOBWY/" .3-,2#813 5516 #903 7J -, \$ 71 8-, J5-, \$ 43-#6 59 #310 -J ,33#3\$. IN PARTICULAR, THEY HOPE US AND UK CAN ENCOURAGE MAKARIOS TO SEE IMPORTANCE OF PROCEEDING CAREFULLY TOWARD AGREEMENT WITH TURK CYPRIOTS ON NEW CONSTITUTION.

8. IN RESPONSE TO OUR QUESTIONS, PIPINELIS TOLD STEWART

PAGE 6 RUQMAT 3507A ~~SECRET~~

AND ME THAT HE AND CAGLAYANGIL HAD ALSO DISCUSSED QUESTION OF GREEK OFFICERS AND NONCOMS WITH CYPRIOT NATIONAL GUARD. CAGLAYANGIL HAD EXPLAINED PRESSURES GOT IS UNDER TO GET ACTION. PIPINELIS HAD REPLIED THAT THROUGHOUT CRISIS HE HAD KNOWN THAT THIS WAS A QUESTION GREECE COULD NOT RESOLVE WITHOUT AGREEMENT OF MAKARIOS AND THAT PREMATURE REMOVAL OF LEADERSHIP WOULD LEAVE NATIONAL GUARD DANGEROUSLY UNDISCIPLINED. HOWEVER, IT OF LITTLE IMPORTANCE TO GREECE ITSELF WHETHER FEW MILITARY INVOLVED STAY ON ISLAND OR RETURN HOME; HE WOULD BE PREPARED TO TRY TO GET MAKARIOS' AGREEMENT TO PROGRESSIVE WITHDRAWAL OF GREEKS. GOG WOULD PREFER THAT IN ANY CASE AS SOON AS CONDITIONS SAFE AND MAKARIOS AGREES. SIR MICHAEL STEWART THEN TOLD PIPINELIS OF KYPRIANOU'S STATEMENT TO HMG JANUARY 30 THAT CYPRIOTS ACKNOWLEDGE GOG RIGHT TO WITHDRAW ITS MILITARY PERSONNEL FROM CYPRIOT NATIONAL GUARD, AND ALSO THAT MAKARIOS WANTS TO REDUCE SIZE OF NATIONAL GUARD. PIPINELIS WELCOMED THIS NEWS, ESPECIALLY AS MAKARIOS TOLD HIM HE WOULD NOT AGREE TO REMOVAL OF GREEK PERSONNEL AT THIS STAGE. PIPINELIS INDICATED HE MIGHT HAVE ANOTHER TRY ON THIS WITH MAKARIOS AFTER CYPRIOT

PAGE 7 RUQMAT 3507A ~~SECRET~~
ELECTIONS.

~~SECRET~~



~~SECRET~~

PAGE 05 091753Z

9. FINALLY, PIPINELIS SAID HE AND CAGLAYANGIL HAD AGREED TO ESTABLISH AMBASSADORIAL-LEVEL COMMISSION TO EXAMINE EACH COUNTRY'S COMPLAINTS ABOUT TREATMENT OF MINORITY IN OTHER COUNTRY. PRECEDENT FOR THIS EXISTS IN AVEROFF-ZORLU AGREEMENT OF 1959 THAT ACTIVATED BITSIOS-KUNERALPI INVESTIGATIONS. THESE HAD PROVED USEFUL THOUGH INTRUSION OF CYPRUS CRISIS OF THAT ERA PREVENTED THEIR IMPLEMENTATION. PIPINELIS THINKS SIMILAR APPROACH MAY HELP GREECE AND TURKEY DEAL WITH COMPLAINTS NOW BEING RAISED ABOUT DIFFICULTIES EXPERIENCED BY GREEKS IN ISTANBUL, IMBROZ AND TENEDOS AND BY TURKS IN THRACE.

10. COMMENT: PIPINELIS WAS OBVIOUSLY PLEASED WITH RESULTS OF MEETING, WHOSE ACCOMPLISHMENTS APPEAR TO HAVE EXCEEDED ALL EXPECTATIONS.

PIPINELIS REPEATEDLY WARNED US OF IMPORTANCE OF AVOIDING LEAKS.

GP-3. TALBOT

~~SECRET~~



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10

PAGE 01 3493 09147Z

3
ACTION SS 30

INFO /030 W

P 091105Z FEB 68
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS 3493
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY ~~486~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

EXDIS

FOR BATTLE FROM AMBASSADOR

WOULD APPRECIATE HAVING AS SPECIFIC INFORMATION AS POSSIBLE ON DATES FOR YOUR VISIT GREECE. ADMIRAL RIVERO PLANNING INITIAL VISIT GREECE AND TURKEY FOR END OF FEBRUARY AND WISHES PROCEED MAKE FIRM DATE WITH HOSTS. HE HAS ALREADY INFORMALLY PROPOSED COMING TO ATHENS ON FEB. 26. HIS VISIT WILL OCCUPY GOV MINISTERS IN ROUND OF CALLS AND OTHER PROTOCOLAIRE FUNCTIONS LIMITING THEIR AVAILABILITY TO YOU SHOULD YOUR VISITS COINCIDE. FOR THIS REASON SCHEDULING VISIT FOR SEPARATE DATES IS DESIRABLE. ADMIRAL RIVERO IS QUITE FLEXIBLE BUT TIME NOW A FACTOR IN ARRANGING HIS SCHEDULE.
GP-1. TALBOT

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~~SECRET~~ 922

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PAGE 01 ATHENS 03445 061240Z

42

ACTION SS 30

INFO MM 01/031 W

R 061215Z FEB 68
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4465

~~SECRET~~ ATHENS 3445

EXDIS

REF: STATE 108701

LETTER DELIVERED 1330 LOCAL TODAY. PAPADOPOULOS RECEIVED
ME CORDIALLY, READ UNOFFICIAL GREEK TRANSLATION CAREFULLY,
THEN EXPRESSED HIS THANKS AND SAID HE ENCOURAGED TO SEE THAT
PRESIDENT AGREES WITH HIM ON IMPORTANCE OF OUR COMMON
INTERESTS.
GP-3 TALBOT

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~~SECRET~~ 879

02

PAGE 01 ATHENS 03425 021654Z

41
ACTION SS 30

INFO /030 W

P 021600Z FEB 68
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4456

~~SECRET~~ ATHENS 3425

EXDIS:

REF: STATE 108450

1. IN FRIENDLY, FRANK 35-MINUTE SESSION WITH PRIME MINISTER PAPADOPOULOS, FOLLOWING ARE SIGNIFICAN POINTS ESTABLISHED:

2. PRIME MINISTER WARMLY ACCEPTED INVITATION FOR LUNCHEON ABOARD USS ROOSEVELT FEBRUARY 15. THIS WILL INCLUDE UNDERWAY OPERATIONS DEMONSTRATION.

3. NEW CONSTITUTION - PRIMIN SAID EXPECTS BE READY TO PUBLISH NEW CONSTITUTIONAL DRAFT AND ANNOUNCE PRECISE DATE OF PLEBISCITE VERY SOON. DECISION "ALMOST MADE" TO PUBLISH FOR

PAGE 2 RUQMAT 3425 ~~SECRET~~
FULL PUBLIC CONSIDERATION AND COMPARISON TEXTS PRESENT CON-
STITUTION, MITRELIAS COMMITTEE'S DRAFT, AND GOVERNMENT DRAFT
BASED ON LATTER. FOLLOWING FULL DISCUSSION AND POSSIBLE CHANGES
SUGGESTED BY LOCAL AND FOREIGN PUBLIC OPINION, AND BY US
GOVERNMENT AND/OR FOREIGN CONSTITUTIONAL LAW EXPERTS IF THEY
WISH, FINAL TEXT TO BE SUBMITTED TO PLEBISCITE WITHIN TIME
PERIOD PREVIOUSLY STATED.

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PAGE 02 ATHENS 03425 021654Z

4. REORGANIZATION OF STATE MACHINERY - PROGRESS IS SLOW BECAUSE DIFFICULT GET AT TRUTH AMID WELTER OF CHARGES AGAINST INDIVIDUALS--"GREEK MENTALITY HAS NOT CHANGED." PRIMIN SAID HE DOES NOT WISH DO INJUSTICE TO INDIVIDUALS. HOWEVER, HE DETERMINED MOVE AHEAD AND IF MISTAKES ARE MADE, WILL NOT HESITATE RECTIFY EVEN THOUGH ACCUSED OF RETREAT.

5. RESUMPTION FULL MILITARY ASSISTANCE - PRIMIN SAID, WHILE HE BELIEVED IT UNJUSTIFIED, HE UNDERSTOOD HOW USG COULD AFFORD "LUXURY POLICY" OF MAP SUSPENSION PRIOR EMERGENCE OF SOVIET FLEET IN EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN. BELIEVES USG CANNOT NOW AFFORD SUCH POLICY. GREECE, HE SAID, CAN BE RELIED UPON.

PAGE 3 RUQMAT 3425 ~~SECRET~~

IN ITS GEOGRAPHIC AREA, TO DO ITS FULL SHARE IN DEFENSE OF FREE WORLD BUT MUST HAVE ASSISTANCE FROM ITS FRIENDS.

6. CYPRUS - NO NEW DEVELOPMENTS, BUT PRIMIN SOMEWHAT ANXIOUS ABOUT TURKISH MOTIVES CONCERNING PARAGRAPH 4 VANCE AGREEMENT. HE EMPHASIZED THAT ON BASIS HISTORICAL EVIDENCE TURKISH POLICY NOT BASED ON SINCERITY. USG, HE SAID, MUST ADVISE TURKS APPROPRIATELY TO PREVENT FUTURE CRISIS WHICH COULD ONLY HELP THE COMMUNISTS.

7. I EXPLAINED AND PRIMIN SAID HE UNDERSTOOD PRESIDENT AND ADMINISTRATION EXTREMELY BUSY WITH OTHER MATTERS. IC COMMENTED, HOWEVER, ON ENCOURAGING SIGNS SHOWN IN GOG'S RECENT PROGRESS ON NUMBER MATTERS (EXPERIMENTAL RELAXATION PRESS RESTRICTIONS, SIGNS INCREASING ATTENTION PAID TO TRADE UNIONS, ETC.) ON WHICH THERE CONTINUING INTEREST IN U.S. I EXPRESSED OPTIMISM THAT ACCOMPLISHMENT OF VARIOUS CONSTRUCTIVE STEPS BY GOG WOULD

PAGE 4 RUQMAT 3425 ~~SECRET~~

EASE CURRENT UNFAVORABLE ATTITUDE IN SOME SECTIONS US CONGRESS AND PRESS, THUS PERMITTING US AND GREECE GET BACK ON MOST FRIENDLY BASIS ESTABLISHED SINCE 1947.

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PAGE 03 ATHENS 03425 021654Z

8. PRIMIN ASSURED ME HE UNDERSTOOD AND WOULD CONTINUE BE COMPLETELY FRANK AND SINCERE IN OUR FUTURE DISCUSSIONS FOR WHICH HE SAID HE WILL ALWAYS BE AVAILABLE. HE AGREED THAT IT WOULD BE MUTUALLY HELPFUL TO DISCUSS AND CLOSELY FOLLOW STEP-BY-STEP PROGRESS TOWARDS GOG ACHIEVEMENT OF CONDITIONS MAKING POSSIBLE FULL US SUPPORT. BUT, HE SAID, THIS "STEP-BY-STEP" PROGRESS SHOULD NOT BE MET BY A CONTINUING "WAIT-AND-SEE" USG ATTITUDE.

9. DISCUSSION ENDED WHEN PRIMIN EXPRESSED ASSURANCE THAT USG COULD COUNT ON HIS GOVERNMENT'S SINCERE DESIRE FOR FRANK AND FRIENDLY RELATIONS AND ON HIS OWN FRIENDLY FEELINGS TOWARD ME. I ASSURED HIM THAT USG AND I RECIPROCATE THE DESIRE.

10. BELIEVE THAT A GOOD BEGINNING WAS MADE TO ELIMINATE

PAGE 5 RUQMAT 3425 ~~SECRET~~

WHATEVER RESIDUE MIGHT REMAIN OF PRIME MINISTER'S RESENTMENTS, HURT FEELINGS, AND SUSPICIONS CREATED AFTER DECEMBER 13. HE WAS IN AFFABLE MOOD, SEEMED GENUINELY PLEASED WITH VISIT, AND MADE NO COMMENT ON MY REMARK AT OUTSET THAT I WAS PLEASED TO BE MEETING WITH HIM UNDER CONDITIONS AND AT AN HOUR MUCH MORE PLEASANT THAN THE LAST TIME (JANUARY 12). HE CONTINUES TO BE AWARE THAT GREECE'S EARLIEST POSSIBLE RETURN TO DEMOCRACY IS OUR DESIRE.

GP-3 TALBOT

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13

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ 800

PAGE 01 ATHENS 03394 001228Z

6
ACTION SS 70

INFO SSO 00, NSCE 00, USIE 00, CCO 00, MM 01, /071 W

O 011205Z FEB 68 ZFF-4
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4442

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ ATHENS 3394

LIMDIS

FOR BATTLE FROM TALBOT

I. NOW THAT INITIAL STEP OF RESUMING NORMAL DIPLOMATIC CONTACTS HAS BEEN TAKEN, NEXT INSTALLMENT IS HOW TO REBUILD SITUATION OF CONFIDENCE IN WHICH AMERICAN VOICE WILL BE HEARD ON ISSUES OF PARTICULAR INTEREST TO US SUCH AS SUBSTANCE RBWAGISION#OF KEY ARTICLES OF CONSTITUTION, FURTHER LIFTING OF PRESS CENSORSHIP, RELAXATION OF AT LEAST SOME ASPECTS OF MARTIAL LAW, ETC.

PAGE 2 RUQMAJ3394 ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
2. IN THIS CONTEXT PAPADOPOULOS IS KEY FIGURE. WE MUST RECOGNIZE THAT HE IS SENSITIVE, SUSPICIOUS OF AMERICAN INTENTIONS BECAUSE WE BUILT UP THE KING WHO TREATED HIM WITH NEAR-CONTEMPT, TOOK PLEASURE IN PRACTICING ONE-UPMANSHIP AND ENDED BY ATTEMPTING ILL-CONCEIVED COUNTERCOUP OF DECEMBER 13. ONE MEANS FOR REESTABLISHING MORE CONFIDENT RELATIONSHIP IS TO RESUME PRACTICE OF PAST, I.E. TO INVITE NEW MINISTER OF DEFENSE (PAPADOPOULOS) TO LUNCH WITH THE REAR ADMIRAL OF THE NEXT SIXTH FLEET VISIT

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E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.6

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ By C6, NARA Date 8-4-97



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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PAGE 02 ATHENS 03394 001228Z

(ADMIRAL LAMBERT WITH CARRIER DIVISION TASK FORCE THAT WILL VISIT GREECE FEBRUARY 8-14). ORDINARILY THIS WOULD BE ROUTINE PROCEDURE BUT IN LIGHT CURRENT CIRCUMSTANCES AFFECTING CONTINUATION USG'S SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP WITH GREECE, WOULD APPRECIATE DEPARTMENT'S APPROVAL TO MENTION SUCH CONTEMPLATED INVITATION TO PAPADOPOULOS WHEN I CALLED ON HIM FRIDAY AT 1315 LOCAL.

GP-3 TALBOT

NOTE: (#) AS RECEIVED.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



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~~SECRET~~ 893

14

PAGE 01 ATHENS 03248 191357Z

42
ACTION SS 25

INFO SSO 00, NSCE 00, CCO 00, MM 01, /026 W

O 191245Z JAN 68
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4368

~~SECRET~~ ATHENS 3248

EXDIS

1. YOU MAY WISH CONSIDER FOLLOWING SUGGESTIONS REGARDING HANDLING OF RESPONSE TO PAPADOPOULOS LETTER OF JANUARY 6 TO PRESIDENT JOHNSON (STATE 98446).

2. LETTER SEEMS TO BE AN ATTEMPT TO GIVE REASSURANCES THAT WOULD PERMIT OPENING UP OF COMMUNICATIONS AGAIN. THIS IS WHAT GOG LEADERS WANT, AND I TAKE IT THIS IS ALSO AGREED USG PURPOSE. RESPONSE TO LETTER COULD THUS BE VEHICLE FOR CONFIRMING THIS PROCESS.

3. I THEREFORE RECOMMEND THAT RESPONSE BE DIRECTLY FROM

PAGE 2 RUGMAT 3248A ~~SECRET~~
PRESIDENT TO PRIME MINISTER PAPADOPOULOS RATHER THAN AT ANOTHER LEVEL. IN ADDITION TO OBVIOUS IMMEDIATE ADVANTAGES TO US OF GIVING PAPADOPOULOS SENSE OF BEING IN DIRECT COMMUNICATION WITH THE PRESIDENT, FACT THAT THE PRESIDENT AND PRIME MINISTER HAVE ALREADY BEEN IN PRIVATE COMMUNICATIONS COULD BE HELPFUL WHEN WE FACE QUESTION OF MODE OF PUBLIC PRESIDENTIAL CONGRATULATORY MESSAGE NORMALLY SENT TO GREEK HEAD OF STATE ON MARCH 25.

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E.O. 13292, Sec. 3.4
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By jc, NARA, Date 12-10-03

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4. AS TO SUBSTANCE OF REPLY, THERE ARE SEVERAL POINTS WHICH I SEE ADVANTAGE IN MAKING ADDITION TO THE USUAL EXPRESSION OF APPRECIATION FOR THE PM'S LETTER:

(A) WELCOME ASSURANCES (PAGE 2) THAT INTENT OF THE REVOLUTION IS NOT TO IMPOSE A PERMANENT REGIME, THAT THE SUSPENSION OF SOME ARTICLES OF THE 1952 CONSTITUTION IS TEMPORARY, AND THAT FORM OF THE REGIME WILL REMAIN UNALTERED-- A CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCHY;

(B) NOTE THAT CONTINUED CONFIDENCE IS UNDERLYING DEMOCRATIC PURPOSES OF GOG IS A KEY FACTOR IN PRESIDENT'S ABILITY TO GUIDE U.S. RELATIONS WITH GREECE BEYOND

PAGE 3 RUQMAT 3248A ~~SECRET~~

PRESENT DIFFICULT STAGE, GIVEN THE EXTENT TO WHICH PUBLIC AND CONGRESSIONAL OPINION INESCAPABLY INFLUENCE U.S. POLICY FORMULATION AND IMPORTANCE ATTACHED TO THIS SAME CONSIDERATION BY OTHER NATO COUNTRIES WITH WHICH WE ARE IN TOUCH AS PART OF OVERALL EFFORT TO MAINTAIN STRENGTH AND COHESIVENESS OF NATO.

(C) FACILITATE ACCEPT PM'S ASSURANCES (WITHOUT COMMENT) REGARDING CURRENT DIFFICULTY OF SETTING PRECISE ELECTION DATE. (D) REITERATE U.S. DESIRE TO CONTINUE CLOSE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE GREEK PEOPLE WHICH HAS FACILITATED THE PURSUIT OF THE MUTUAL OBJECTIVES OF GREECE AND THE UNITED STATES SINCE THE TRUMAN DOCTRINE;

(E) NOTE INTEREST WITH WHICH WE HAVE FOLLOWED RECENT GOG STEPS IN THE ECONOMIC FIELD AS PUBLICATION OF THE FIVE-YEAR PLAN, EARLY ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE 1968 PUBLIC INVESTMENT PROGRAM AND OTHER MEASURES WHICH COULD MAKE A CONSTRUCTIVE CONTRIBUTION TO PUTTING GREECE FIRMLY ALONG ROAD TO ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT;

(F) IF, BY TIME REPLY IS PREPARED FOR THE PRESIDENT, DECISION HAS BEEN MADE TO RESUME SOME MAP DELIVERIES, NOTE THIS FACT.

TALBOT

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PAGE 01 ATHENS 03246 191339Z

42

ACTION SS 25

INFO SSO 00, NSCE 00, CCO 00, MM 01, 020 W

O 191215Z JAN 68
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1367

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ ATHENS 3246

EXDIS

REF: STATE 101277, ATHENS 3238

1. EMBOFF HAS TELEPHONED PAPADOPOULOS IN MY BEHALF AND TOLD HIM DEPARTMENT HAD INFORMED ME OF RECEIPT BY THE PRESIDENT OF LETTER PAPADOPOULOS HAD SENT HIM THROUGH UNOFFICIAL CHANNELS. AS I WOULD BE ADVISING FONMIN, I HAD NOT YET RECEIVED RESPONSE TO PASS ALONG, BUT PRIMIN WOULD UNDERSTAND THE PRESIDENT'S ESPECIALLY HEAVY BURDENS AT THIS TIME OF YEAR.

2. PAPADOPOULOS SAID HE UNDERSTOOD FULLY, GRATIFIED

PAGE 2 RUQMAT 3246A ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
LETTER HAD BEEN RECEIVED AND WOULD BE WAITING FOR REPLY.

3. PURSUANT MY INSTRUCTIONS TO PROBE PAPADOPOULOS' MOOD ADROITLY, EMBOFF TOLD PAPADOPOULOS I WANTED HIM TO KNOW I HOPED NOTHING WOULD OCCUR TO CREATE FURTHER DIFFICULTIES AND DELAY IN REACHING OBJECTIVES HE AND I HAD DISCUSSED IN LATE NIGHT MEETING LAST WEEK. PAPADOPOULOS REPLIED THAT AS REASONABLE AND LOGICAL PERSON HE WOULD ACT ON BASIS OF REASON AND LOGIC, THOUGH HE BELIEVED I AND

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PAGE 02 ATHENS 03246 191339Z

OTHER FRIENDS OF GREECE HAD DOUBTS ABOUT HIM. EMBOFF MADE NEGATIVE NOISES BUT REITERATED HOPE NOTHING DAMAGING WOULD OCCUR AS PAPADOPOULOS HAD HINTED WEEK AGO. PAPA-DOPOULOS SAID HE WANTED TO ASSURE ME NOTHING WOULD OCCUR AND HOPED TO BE ABLE TO TALK SOON WITH ME FACE TO FACE. EMBOFF THANKED PAPDOPOULOS WHO ASKED HIS REGARDS BE GIVEN TO ME.

4. I THEN GAVE SAME MESSAGE BY TELEPHONE TO PIPINELIS, WHO THANKED ME AND SAID HE HAD ALREADY HEARD THIS FROM GREEK EMBASSY IN WASHINGTON. PIPINELIS ADDED HE HOPED

PAGE 3 RUQMAT 3246A ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
TO SEE ME SOON, AS THERE ARE MANY MATTERS TO DISCUSS. I SAID I WOULD BE AVAILABLE INFORMALLY IF HE WISHED OR THAT WE COULD WAIT PENDING FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS. MATTER WAS LEFT AT THAT.

5. IN VIEW OF PAPADOPOULOS' ASSURANCES, I AM MAKING NO ATTEMPT TO GET IN TOUCH WITH MAKAREZOS TODAY.

6. PAPADOPOULOS' ASSURANCES, WHICH RELIVED MY EARLIER FEAR OF AN ANTI-NATO BLAST THIS WEEK END, ARE ESPECIALLY INTERESTING IN LIGHT OF CONTINUING REPORTS TODAY OF TENSIONS BETWEEN HIM AND REVOLUTIONARY HARDCORE GROUP. TALBOT

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TELEGRAM

SECRET 719

PAGE 01 ATHENS 03439 051956Z

47
ACTION SS 30

INFO SSO 00, NSCE 00, CCO 00, MM 01, /031 W

O 051805Z FEB 68
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4461

~~SECRET~~ ATHENS 3439

EXDIS

REF: STATE 109687

1. PRESIDENT'S EXCELLENT REPLY TO PRIME MINISTER PAPADOPOULOS CONTAINS, I BELIEVE, RIGHT TONE OF CORDIALITY AND ALSO APPROPRIATE BALANCE IN ITS REFERENCES, ON ONE HAND, TO ASSURANCES ABOUT PERSONAL REGIME, ETC. AND, ON OTHER HAND, TO RECENT CONSTRUCTIVE MEASURES OF GOG.

2. I AM STRUCK, HOWEVER, THAT LETTER REFERS IN TWO OF FOUR PARAGRAPHS TO SITUATION "PRIOR TO APRIL 21, 1967". I THINK WE MUST RECOGNIZE THAT THERE IS TENDENCY FOR PAPADOPOULOS AND OTHER COUP PARTICIPANTS TO BELIEVE THAT

PAGE 2 RUQMAY 3439 ~~SECRET~~
MOST OF WHAT IS GOOD AND POSITIVE IN POST-WAR GREEK HISTORY BEGAN ON APRIL 21 AND THAT WHAT EXISTED PRIOR TO THAT DATE WAS LARGELY CORRUPT AND NEGATIVE. THOUGH WE CERTAINLY NEED NOT ACCEPT THIS BIASED VIEW, I RECOMMEND THAT, WITHOUT ALTERING SUBSTANCE OF LETTER, WE AVOID POSSIBILITY OF MISUNDERSTANDING BY PAPADOPOULOS BY DELETING REFERENCE TO "PRIOR TO APRIL 21, 1967" IN SECOND PARAGRAPH WHERE I PRESUME "BASIC STRUCTURE OF GOVERNMENT" MEANS CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCHY.

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By jc, NARA, Date 12-10-03



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~~SECRET~~

PAGE 02 ATHENS 03439 051956Z

I SUGGEST THAT LETTER BE CHANGED TO READ " . . . AND FURTHER THAT YOU HAVE PLEDGED YOURSELF TO RETAIN THE CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCHY AS THE BASIC STRUCTURE OF GOVERNMENT."

3. I INTEND DELIVER LETTER TO PAPADOPOULOS ON FEBRUARY 6. REQUEST DEPARTMENT'S IMMEDIATE REACTION.

GP-3.
TALBOT

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TELEGRAM

~~SECRET~~ 584

PAGE 01 ATHENS 03238 190917Z

4
ACTION SS 25

INFO MM 01,SSO 00,NSCE 00,CCO 00,1026 W

O 190835Z JAN 68
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4362

~~SECRET~~ ATHENS 3238

EXDIS

FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY BATTLE

1. IN EMBASSY'S PRESENT STAGE OF SEMI-CONTACT WITH GREEK REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP IT IS OFTEN NOT EASY TO SEPARATE FACTS FROM THE MANY FICTIONS CAROMING AROUND ATHENIAN GOSSIP CHANNELS. THIS ESPECIALLY TRUE NOW THAT UNANIMITY OF ALLIED "QUARANTINE" OF GOG HAS BROKEN DOWN AND REGIME PRESSING USG AND OTHERS TO MOVE QUICKLY TO ACCEPT IT AND THUS TO HELP AVOID POSSIBLE REVOLT AGAINST LEADERSHIP BY SUBORDINATE MEMBERS OF REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE. HOWEVER, AS I HOPE I CONVEYED TO BREWSTER IN GUARDED OPEN TELECON LATE THURSDAY, INDICATORS PICKED UP IN PAST 24-36 HOURS HAVE GIVEN US HERE

PAGE 2 RUQMAT 3238A ~~SECRET~~

UNEASY FEELING THAT REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE BEING LATHERED INTO INTENSE NERVOUS EXCITEMENT AND FRUSTRATION OVER NATO BOYCOTT AND THAT FUSE COULD BE BURNING PERILOUSLY CLOSE TO FLASH POINT OF VERBAL EXPLOSION AGAINST ALLIANCE.

2. WE HAVE ONLY SCRAPS OF HARD INFORMATION; ITEMS:
A. ALONG WITH SPECIAL SECURITY MEASURES IN THESSALONIKI (THESSALONIKI 160) SOME TANKS HAVE OCCASIONALLY ROLLED IN

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E.O. 13292, Sec. 3.5
NLJ 04-76
By is, NARA, Date 10-5-04



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~~SECRET~~

PAGE 02 ATHENS 03238 190917Z

STREETS OF ATHENS SINCE WEDNESDAY NIGHT. WE DON'T KNOW SIGNIFICANCE.

B. TOM PAPPAS HAS TOLD ME THAT MAKAREZOS GOT QUITE EMOTIONAL IN TALK LATE WEDNESDAY, USING SUCH PHRASES AS "WHAT DOES YOUR AMBASSADOR WANT? WHY WON'T HE MAKE JUST SIMPLE CALLS ON US? WE CAN'T WAIT ANY LONGER." HIS COMMENTS WERE MIXED WITH BITTERLY DISPARAGING REMARKS ABOUT KING AND CRITICISM OF PAPINELIS.

C. REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE IS REPORTED TO HAVE HAD LENGTHY FULL MEETING THURSDAY. WE ARE IN DARK AS TO ISSUES

PAGE 3 RUQMAT 3238A ~~SECRET~~
DISCUSSED AND DECISIONS TAKEN.

D. SHARP TONE OF ESTIA EDITORIAL (ATHENS 3236), ARREST OF ETHNOS EDITOR (CLOSE FRIEND OF ANDREAS PAPANDREOU) AND REPORTED EFFORT TO RESIGN BY ARCHBISHOP IERONYMOS ALL HEIGHTEN SENSE OF STRAIN.

E. OUR MOST RECENT WORKING-LEVEL CONTACTS WITH REVOLUTIONARY SECOND RANK HAVE EVOKED UNUSUALLY COOL RESPONSES AND ACERBIC COMMENTS ABOUT U.S. COLICY.

3. SINCE PAPADOPOULOS' "WARNING" (EMBASSY-DEPARTMENT TELECON, JAN. 12) THAT IF HIS GOVERNMENT NOT INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTED BEFORE JAN. 20 IT COULD BE FORCED TO INTERPRET ALLIED BOYCOTT AS EXPULSION OF GREECE FROM NATO, YOU (IN TALK WITH PALAMAS) AND WE HAVE PASSED VARIETY OF SIGNALS INDICATING THAT QUESTION OF RESUMING OFFICIAL CONTACTS IS NOT FROZEN BUT RATHER IS IN MOTION AND THAT WATCHWORD MUST BE PATIENCE. WHAT TROUBLES ME IS UNCERTAINTY WHETHER THESE SIGNALS HAVE REACHED THEIR MARK.

4. I RECOGNIZE ALL THIS MAY OVERDRAMATIZE FOREIGN RELATIONS

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~~SECRET~~

PAGE 03 ATHENS 03238 190917Z

PAGE 4 RUQMAT 3238A ~~SECRET~~

IMPLICATIONS OF STRAINS WHICH EVIDENTLY COMING TO HEAD BETWEEN PAPADOPOULOS LEADERSHIP AND LADAS-LED HARDLINERS OVER CONSTITUTIONAL CLAUSES, ROLE OF KING AND OTHER FIERY DOMESTIC ISSUES. HOWEVER, IF GREEKS IN THEIR OFFENDED DIGNITY, FRUSTRATION AND IMPATIENCE SHOULD HAPPEN TO FLAIL OUT AND RUPTURE CONNECTIONS WITH NATO, COSTS TO OUR INTERESTS WOULD OBVIOUSLY BE HEAVY. THEREFORE, IF PROBINGS THIS MORNING INDICATE THERE IS JUSTIFICATION FOR OUR CONCERNS, WE WILL DO WHATEVER WE CAN (WITHIN LIMITS OF MY GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS ON MEETINGS WITH MINISTERS) TO FORESTALL PRECIPITATE GREEK MOVES.

5. IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES RAPID AND INTENSIVE ACTION COULD BE NECESSARY HERE TODAY. TAKING ADVANTAGE OF GUIDANCE IN STATE 101277, I PROPOSE TO MAKE TELEPHONIC CONTACT (THROUGH EMBOFF INTERPRETER) WITH PAPADOPOULOS AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE AND THEN TO CONVEY SAME MESSAGE BY TELEPHONE TO PIPINELIS. IF EITHER ONE SUGGESTS THAT POLICY SPEECH ADVERSE TO NATO INTERESTS IS SCHEDULED FOR SATURDAY OR SUNDAY, I PROPOSE ON MY OWN INITIATIVE TO ASK FOR INFORMAL MEETING WITH PAPA-

PAGE 5 RUQMAT 3238A ~~SECRET~~

DOPOULOS. IF THEIR COMMENTS YIELD NOTHING SO PRECISE BUT NONETHELESS LEAVE FEELING OF UNEASE, I WILL ATTEMPT TO MAKE TELEPHONE CONTACT WITH MAKAREZOS AND SAY THAT AS I DO NOT UNDERSTAND SOME ASPECTS OF HIS COMMENTS DESCRIBED TO ME BY PAPPAS I WOULD WELCOME INFORMAL CHAT WITH HIM. THIS SHOULD BRING REACTION.

6. AS WE GET A BETTER FEELING OF TODAY'S MOODS, YOU CAN EXPECT FURTHER IMMEDIATE OR FLASH REPORTS.

GP-3. TALBOT

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18

SECRET 777

2

PAGE 01 ATHENS 03220 171727Z

40
ACTION SS 25

INFO /025 W

R 171630Z JAN 68
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4352

~~SECRET~~ ATHENS 3220

EXDIS

REF: STATE 98446

1. I WELCOME STEPS OUTLINED REFTEL. CONSIDERATIONS IN
PARAGRAPH 2 COINCIDE PRECISELY WITH MY OWN ESTIMATE.

2. I SHARE UK SKEPTICISM (LONDON'S 5572) THAT I CAN
EXPECT LONG RESPIRE AFTER OFFICIAL CALL ON PIPINELIS
BEFORE BEING INVITED BY OTHER TOP MINISTERS TO MAKE
CALLS FOR DISCUSSION OF OUTSTANDING BUSINESS. EFFORT TO
DISTINGUISH BETWEEN PIPINELIS AND JUNTA LEADERS WOULD
IN MY OPINION BE AWKWARD AND OF NO VALUE. IN PLANNING

PAGE 2 RUQMAT 3220A ~~SECRET~~
PROCEDURES FOR RESTORING RELATIONS WITH GREEK REGIME, WE
MUST REMEMBER THAT POWER NOW RESIDES WITH PAPADOPOULOS
CLOSELY SUPPORTED BY PATTAPOS AND MAKAREZOS. PIPINELIS
IS AN OUTSIDER, VALUABLE AS A TECHNICIAN AND A FINE
SYMBOL TO BRIGHTEN REGIME'S INTERNATIONAL IMAGE, BUT EXCEPT ON
FOREIGN POLICY MATTERS HE PROVIDES NO SUBSTITUTE FOR
DIRECT DEALINGS WITH REAL RULERS OF GREECE.

3. MOST AMBASSADORS HERE ARE GETTING ITCHY TO RESUME
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PAGE 02 ATHENS 03220 171727Z

BUSINESS AND SOCIAL CONTACTS. WHILE BOREDOM MAY EXPLAIN THIS MOOD IN SOME OF THEM, SEVERAL HAVE LEGITIMATE AND URGENT REQUIREMENTS TO GET BACK TO WORK. MOST OF THOSE WITH WHOM I HAVE TALKED FAVOR PROCESS SUGGESTED BY DEPARTMENT OF QUIET RESUMPTION OF BUSINESS WITHOUT MAKING BIG ISSUE OF RECOGNITION QUESTION. EXCEPTION IS AUSTRIAN, WHO HAS PROPOSED TO SEVERAL COLLEAGUES THAT NATO AND COUNCIL OF EUROPE AMBASSADORS MAKE JOINT CALL ON PAPADOPOULOS TO REQUEST ASSURANCES ON CONSTITUTIONAL REFERENDUM AND ELECTION DATES AS BASIS FOR RESUMPTION OF NORMAL RELATIONS. I SHUDDER AT REPERCUSSIONS SUCH A

PAGE 3 RUQMAT 3220A ~~SECRET~~

COURSE WOULD HAVE BOTH ON REGIME'S SENSE OF DIGNITY AND ON WORLD PRESS.

4. I WOULD PROPOSE THAT WHEN CURRENT WASHINGTON CONSULTATIONS HAVE REVEALED GENERAL AGREEABILITY TO RESUMPTION OF NORMAL BUSINESS RELATIONS I BE AUTHORIZED TO CALL ON PIPINELIS TO DISCUSS CYPRUS OR SOME OTHER FOREIGN POLICY (NOT DOMESTIC) ISSUE. IF THIS DONE BEFORE I LEAVE FOR GERMANY FOR EPSILON I-68 EXERCISE JANUARY 24, THERE WOULD BE NATURAL GAP OF SIX DAYS ABSENCE FROM GREECE BEFORE I COULD BE IN CONTACT WITH OTHER MINISTERS. BY THEN, OTHER NATIONS WOULD HAVE MADE PUBLIC GESTURES AND CLIMATE SHOULD BE ACCEPTABLE FOR GENERAL GOVERNMENTAL CONTACTS.

5. RECALLING PAPADOPOULOS INTIMATION JANUARY 12 THAT HE UNDER PRESSURE FROM LADAS GROUP TO REACT TO SNUBS BY NATO MEMBERS, I BELIEVE IT WOULD BE TIMELY AND HELPFUL FOR ME TO PASS INFORMALLY TO PAPADOPOULOS HIMSELF AS WELL AS TO PIPINELIS ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF MESSAGE

PAGE 4 RUQMAT 3220A ~~SECRET~~

WHICH PRIME MINISTER SENT TO PRESIDENT VIA PRIVATE CHANNEL. (WE HAVE NO KNOWLEDGE THAT PIPINELIS IS AWARE OF THIS)

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PAGE 03 ATHENS 03220 171727Z

LETTER.) BEST TIMING WOULD BE THURSDAY (JANUARY 18) BEFORE GOVERNMENT LEADERS CRANK UP FOR WEEKEND SPEECH MAKING.

6. PAPADOPOULOS LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT AND WAY IT WAS FORWARDED SUGGEST TO ME POSSIBLE EXPLANATION OF MYSTERIOUS ALLEGED DE GAULLE MESSAGE TO PAPADOPOULOS IT COULD BE THAT PRIME MINISTER ADDRESSED A SIMILAR LETTER TO DE GAULLE AND THAT LATTER SENT BACK PROMPT AND CORDIAL RESPONSE. IF SIMILARLY INDIRECT CHANNEL USED, FRENCH AMBASSADOR WOULD NOT NECESSARILY HAVE KNOWN OF EXCHANGE.

7. IN ANY EVENT, I RECOMMEND WE NOW MOVE PROMPTLY TO GET BEYOND CURRENT ANOMALOUS POSITION FROM WHICH I BELIEVE WE HAVE NOTHING MORE TO GAIN AND WHICH COULD RAPIDLY BECOME VERY COSTLY TO OUR INTERESTS.
GP-3. TALBOT

~~SECRET~~



Department of State

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~~SECRET~~ 382

PAGE 01 ATHENS 02976 290045Z

85
ACTION SS 25

INFO SSO 00, NSCE 00, CCO 00, /025 W

0 282152Z DEC 67
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4231

~~SECRET~~ ATHENS 2976

EXDIS

REFTEL: ATHENS 2972

1. MARSHAL OF COURT PAPAGOS, NOW IN ATHENS BUT RETURNING TO ROME SATURDAY, HAS ASKED TO SEE ME SEMI-CLANDESTINELY AT NOON DEC. 29. I ASSUME WE HOLD TO LINE THAT KING MUST MAKE OWN DECISION ON RETURNING TO GREECE, THOUGH WE WOULD BE GLAD TO SEE HIM BACK WHEN HE AND BOG CONSIDER TIME APPROPRIATE.

2. PAPAGOS MAY BE ABLE TO GIVE READING ON KING'S ATTITUDE TOWARD REGENT.

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By je, NARA, Date 12/10/03

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23

~~SECRET~~ 463

20

PAGE 01 ATHENS 02934 261858Z

43

ACTION SS 25

INFO MM 01,SSO 00,NSCE 00,CCO 00, /026 W

O 261716Z DEC 67
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4210 IMMEDIATE

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.6
NLJ 96-307

By CB, NARA Date 8-4-97

~~SECRET~~ ATHENS 2934

EXDIS

1. IN RESPONSE TO MESSAGE PASSED THROUGH EMBOFF THAT I WOULD WELCOME INFORMAL PERSONAL CHAT, PATTAKOS CALLED ON ME AT HOME TODAY. (ORIGINAL RESPONSE TO CONTACT HAD COME FROM PAPADOPOULOS, WHO SUGGESTED I CALL ON HIM AT OFFICE OF MINDEF. WHEN I PASSED WORD BACK THAT THIS NOT PRACTICE. WE NEXT HEARD FROM PATTAKOS.) DISCUSSION OF POINTS RECEIVED IN RECENT TELEGRAMS ELICITED FOLLOWING INFORMATION:

A. AMNESTIES. TO BE APPLIED IMMEDIATELY TO ALL PERSONS ARRESTED BY REGIME FOR "POLITICAL" REASONS SINCE APRIL 21 (INCLUDING THOSE SENTENCED TO TERMS OF WHATEVER LENGTH BY COURTS

PAGE 2 RUQMAT 2934A ~~SECRET~~
MARTIAL), EXCEPT REPEAT EXCEPT PERSONS WITH PAST CRIMINAL RECORDS, PERSONS INVOLVED IN CRIMES OF VIOLENCE SUCH AS DYNAMITE EXPLOSIONS, AND KNOWN COMMUNISTS. FOR THE PRESENT LATTER CATEGORY COVERS THOSE NOW INTERNED ON YAROS OR LEROS ISLANDS, ABOUT 2650 PERSONS, ALTHOUGH SCREENING OF THIS GROUP GOING FORWARD. THESE PERSONS, STIMULATED BY MOSCOW RADIO, HAVE ORGANIZED INTO HARD-CORE UNITS WHICH PATTAKOS SAID WOULD BE VERY DANGEROUS TO GREEK STATE IF THEY RELEASED. HE SAID DETAINESS ON LEROS HAD NEARLY DONE IN MINISTER OF PUBLIC ORDER

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PAGE 02 ATHENS 02934 261858Z

TOTOMIS DURING VISIT JUST BEFORE DECEMBER 13. EVEN THOSE DETAINEEES (MOST OF WHOM ARE DESCRIBED IN GREEK SECURITY RECORDS AS "CATEGORY C" OR HARD-CORE COMMUNISTS) CAN STILL GAIN THEIR RELEASE BY SIMPLY ESCHEWING FUTURE POLITICAL OR ILLEGAL ACTIVITY, AND THEY ARE NOW BEING TOLD SO ONCE AGAIN. PATTAKOS SAID HE COULD NOT ESTIMATE HOW MANY PERSONS ARE BEING AMNESTIED BUT THAT IT INCLUDES ALL FORMER PARLIAMENTARIANS (PRESUMABLY EXCEPT COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBERS IN EDA), PUBLISHERS (LAMBRAKIS AND VLACHOU WERE MENTIONED AS BEING FREE TO DO WHATEVER THEY WISH), AND PERSONS COURT-MARTIALED IN CONNECTION WITH THEODORAKIS AND OTHER MASS TRIALS.

PAGE 3 RUGMAT 2934A ~~SECRET~~

B. PRESS CENSORSHIP. LIKELY TO BE EASED SOON, PERHAPS IN JANUARY, THOUGH REGIME DOES NOT YET WISH TO BE PINNED DOWN TO EXACT DATE.

C. CONSTITUTIONAL DRAFT. PLANS FOR HANDLING THIS NOT YET COMPLETE. COPIES OF DRAFT BEING DISTRIBUTED TO ALL CABINET MINISTERS NOW WITH REQUEST THEY COMPLETE THEIR COMMENTS BY JANUARY 5. (PATTAKOS SMILINGLY COMMENTED THAT "WE"--THE REVOLUTIONARY LEADERS--COULD MEET THIS DEADLINE, THOUGH HE WAS NOT CERTAIN ALL OTHER MINISTERS COULD.) DECISIONS ON HOW TO DEAL WITH CABINET SUGGESTIONS NOT YET FIRM, BUT PATTAKOS THOUGHT PAPADOPOULOS MIGHT ASK FIVE "BEST MEMBERS" OF MITRELIAS CONSTITUTIONAL COMMITTEE TO EXAMINE AND COMMENT ON CABINET PROPOSALS AND TO DRAFT DESIRED CHANGES. THEN, REGIME MIGHT GIVE FINAL DRAFT TO NEWSPAPERS, DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN, AS BASIS OF PUBLIC DISCUSSION BEFORE PLEBISCITE. BY BEGINNING OF DISCUSSION PERIOD HE ANTICIPATED PRESENT PRESS CENSORSHIP WOULD BE "FINISHED".

PAGE 4 RUGMAT 2934A ~~SECRET~~

D. ELECTIONS. CONSTITUTIONAL DRAFT "MIGHT" INCLUDE ELECTION DATE, THOUGH ACCORDING TO PATTAKOS NO DECISION MADE YET ON THIS
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PAGE 03 ATHENS 0505Z 010000

POINT. HE SAID REVOLUTUION HAD ANNOUNCED GOALS WHICH IT MUST ACHIEVE BEFORE ELECTIONS. FOR THAT REASON HE FELT ELECTIONS COULD NOT BE HELD IN 1968. HE ASKED THAT "OUR FRIENDS" NOT PUSH REGIME ON THIS POINT BUT EXPRESSED HIS READINESS TO DISCUSS ANY SPECIFIC ITEM OF REGIME'S PROGRAM FRIENDS MIGHT CONSIDER UNDEMOCRATIC.

E. KING'S RETURN TO GREECE. PATTAKOS SAID HE HAS NO IDEA WHEN KING MIGHT RETURN. HE SAID TODAY PATAMIANOS WHO HAD SEEN KING, HAD SPECIFICALLY DENIED TO PAPADOPULOS THAT HE HAD TOLD PRESS HE CERTAIN KING WOULD RETURN VERY SHORTLY. PATTAKOS THOUGHT KING'S PLANS OUGHT TO BE WORKED OUT IN CONJUNCTION WITH GOVERNMENT'S PLANS. REGIME NOT SENDING MESSAGES TO KING, HE ADDED, BUT KING SENDING HIS OWN QUESTIONS AND PROPOSALS TO WHICH GOVERNMENT GIVING RESPONSES.

2. MOOD OF PATTAKOS TODAY WAS FRIENDLY BUT FIRM. HE EXPRESSED CONFIDENCE THAT NOW GOVERNMENT WITH GENERAL PUBLIC

PAGE 5 RUGMAT 2934A ~~SECRET~~

SUPPORT CAN MOVE STRONGLY AND EFFECTIVELY. EVER SINCE 1821 GREEKS HAVE DEPENDED ON FOREIGNERS TO MAKE THEIR DECISIONS. GREECE STILL HOPES FOR FRIENDSHIP AND UNDERSTANDING AMONG POWERS, NOTABLY AMERICAS BUT IF DENIED THAT, IT CAN NOW MAKE ITS OWN WAY. (I INTERJECTED THAT US HAS BEST RELATIONSHIPS WITH ALLIES AND FRIENDS THAT STAND ON OWN FEET, AND ENCOURAGES ALL TO DO SO.) COMING YEAR, HE HOPED, WOULD BE GOOD ONE.

3. I SAID I COULD TELL HIM INFORMALLY THAT USG FINDS DECISIONS ANNOUNCED DECEMBER 23 BY PAPADOPULOS TO BE CONSTRUCTIVE. AS PATTAKOS KNOWS, NUMBER OF DEVELOPMENTS IN PAST YEAR HAVE COMPLICATED AND TROUBLED US RELATIONS WITH GREECE AND HAVE POSED OBSTACLES TO TYPE OF RELATIONSHIP WE WOULD LIKE TO HAVE WITH NATO ALLY AND FRIEND. ATTITUDES OF AMERICAN PEOPLE, ESPECIALLY AS EXPRESSED IN CONGRESS, MUST BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT IN FORMULATING US POLICY. THEREFORE, IT HELPFUL TO KNOW IN WHAT DIRECTIONS GREECE IS MOVING. THIS IS CONTEXT WITHIN WHICH AN AMERICAN CAN DESCRIBE AS CONSTRUCTIVE SUCH DEVELOPMENTS AS
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~~SECRET~~

PAGE 04 ATHENS 02934 261858Z

RECENT CIVILIANIZING OF MINISTERS, ANNOUNCEMENT OF CONSTITUTIONAL
PLEBISCITE DATES, AMNESTY, AND PROSPECTIVE LOOSENING OF PRESS

PAGE 6 RUGMAT 2934A ~~SECRET~~
RESTRICTIONS. IN ASKING ABOUT ANY SPECIFIC PLANS FOR ELECTIONS
I WAS REFLECTING AMERICAN INTEREST ALSO IN THIS ADDED STEP TOWARD
RETURN TO DEMOCRACY.

4. NEITHER PATTAKOS NOR I MADE ANY REFERENCE TO QUESTION
OF PROCEEDING WITH NORMAL WORKING RELATIONS BETWEEN USG AND
THIS REGIME.

5. COMMENT: PAPADOPOULOS STATEMENT DECEMBER 23 ON AMNESTIES
INCLUDED VAGUE AND CONFUSING VERBIAGE WHICH HARDLY JUSTIFIED
INITIAL PRESS ESTIMATES OF 2500 TO BE RELEASED IMMEDIATELY.
IN COMING DAYS EMBASSY WILL SEEK TO CLARIFY SCALE OF AMNESTIES.
IN ANY CASE, IT IS MORE SUBSTANTIAL THAN WE HAD ANTICIPATED
WOULD BE OFFERED AT THIS STAGE. GP-3

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~~SECRET~~ 006

21

2

PAGE 01 ATHENS 02918 2300214

83
ACTION SS 25

INFO MM 01/026 W

R 221410Z DEC 67
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4202
INFO AMEMBASSY ROME 282

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.6
NLJ 96-307
By 06, NARA Date 8-4-97

~~SECRET~~ ATHENS 2918

EXDIS

1. BY SEPTEL I AM REPORTING GENERAL IMPRESSION CREATED IN ATHENS BY KING'S STATEMENT, WHICH BECAME KNOWN HERE BEFORE NOON THURSDAY. GENERAL ATHENIAN IMPRESSION IS MORE ONE OF "CAPITULATION" BY KING THAN OF "SETTING OF CONDITIONS" AS REPORTED BY SOME ROME CORRESPONDENTS. THIS GENERAL FEELING WILL BE STRENGTHENED BY FACT STATEMENT IS CARRIED IN FULL IN ALL ATHENS FRIDAY MORNING PAPERS.

2. ALTHOUGH WITHOUT ANY INDICATIONS FROM EITHER ROME

PAGE 2 RUQMAT 2918A ~~SECRET~~
EMBASSY OR EMISSARIES THAT THIS MIGHT OCCUR, THERE IS POSSIBILITY THAT KING MAY SHOW UP IN ATHENS AFTER DECEMBER 23 STATEMENT OF PAPADOPOULOS, IN A BUSINESS AS USUAL STANCE. THIS RAISES SEVERAL SENSITIVE QUESTIONS ABOUT OUR MANNER OF CONTACTS IN THAT IMMEDIATE PERIOD.

3. I ASSUME THAT HIS RETURN WOULD ERASE THE SHADOW OF THE QUESTION OF RECOGNITION. IT IS ASSUMED THAT ZOITAKIS WOULD TAKE OVER SOME MINISTRY SUCH AS DEFENSE WHEN HE

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~~SECRET~~

PAGE 02 ATHENS 02918 230021Z

CEASES BEING REGENT.

4. IN THE LIGHT OF THE NEW POWER REALITIES IN GREECE (WHICH EVEN KING ACKNOWLEDGED PUBLICLY IN HIS STATEMENT), I BELIEVE IT IS IMPORTANT THAT MY FIRST CONTACT BE WITH THE GOVERNMENT, BEFORE THE KING SUMMONS ME, WHICH HE IS LIKELY TO DO IMMEDIATELY UPON HIS RETURN.

5. WE UNDERSTAND THAT PAPADOPOULOS AND COMPANY ARE SUSPICIOUS OF AMERICAN INTENTIONS AT THIS MOMENT. SOME OF THEM BELIEVE WE COLLUDED WITH KING TO REMOVE THEM.

PAGE 3 RUGMAT 2918A ~~SECRET~~
THIS WILL TAKE SOME TIME TO STRAIGHTEN OUT. HOWEVER, AS ONE PROMINENT ATHENIAN POLITICIAN SAID, A FRIENDLY AMERICAN EMINENCE GRISE IS THE ONLY RESTRAINT LEFT ON JUNTA. INCREASINGLY OUR SOURCES ADVISE THAT WE WILL HAVE MORE INFLUENCE WITH JUNTA IF WE ARE FRIENDLY ENCOURAGERS RATHER THAN SCHOOL MASTERS. LATTER STANCE RUNS RISK OF PROVOKING UNDESIRABLE ADOLESCENT REACTIONS ON THEIR PART WHICH ACCOMPLISH NOTHING FOR EITHER SIDE.

6. I WOULD THEREFORE APPRECIATE CONTINGENCY INSTRUCTIONS. IF PAPADOPOULOS SATURDAY STATEMENT TAKES SATISFACTORY POSITION ON MOS OF POINTS THAT ARE COVERED IN DEPARTMENT'S INSTRUCTION (STATE IYIUQLN AND IF WE GET INCREASING INDICATIONS THAT THE KING MIGHT INTEND TO RETURN IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE, I RECOMMEND THAT I TALK TO PAPADOPOULOS INFORMALLY WITHUT IN FIRST MEETING INDICATING THAT RESOLUTION OF QUESTION OF RESUMING NORMAL CONTACTS DEPENDS ON STATEMENTS SATISFACTORY TO US ON ALL POINTS. IT IS PROBABLE THAT PRINCIPAL MATTER HE WOULD FAIL TO COVER IN NEXT

PAGE 4 RUGMAT 2901A ~~SECRET~~
PUBLIC STATEMENT WOULD BE WHAT PROCEDURES WILL BE FOLLOWED WITH REGARD TO PRISONERS. BUT GETTING STARTED

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PAGE 03 ATHENS 02918 230021Z

IN DIALOGUE WITH PAPADOPOULOS WOULD EASE OUR RELATIONSHIPS
WITH NEW GOVERNMENT AND HOPEFULLY STRENGTHEN OUR POSITION
OF FRIENDLY WATCHDOG OF TIMETABLE AND COMMITMENTS WHICH
JUNTA NOW SEEMINGLY PREPARED TO MAKE.
TALBOT

EXD-16

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TELEGRAM

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~~SECRET~~ 100

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PAGE 01 ATHENS 02893 211050Z

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ACTION SS 25

INFO MM 011/026 W

P 210600Z DEC 67
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4191
INFO AMEMBASSY AOME PRIORITY 279

~~SECRET~~ ATHENS 2893

EXDIS

REF: ATHENS 2892

PLEASE PREFACE PARAGRAPH ONE WITH "REF: STATE 86871."

TALBOT

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~~SECRET~~ 803

23

12

PAGE 01 ATHENS 02892 212106Z

85
ACTION SS 25

INFO MM 01/026 W

P R 202153Z DEC 67
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4190
INFO AMEMBASSY ROME 278

~~SECRET~~ ATHENS 2892

E X D I S

REF: STATE 86871

1. I HAVE FAILED TO EFFECT PRIVATE CONTACT WITH PAPADOPOULOS TODAY. (FOR PURPOSES OF YOUR INSTRUCTION, HE MUCH TO BE PREFERRED TO PATTAKOS.)

2. BEFORE MAKING FRESH EFFORT THURSDAY, MAY I HAVE YOUR VIEWS ON DESIRABILITY DELAYING EXECUTION OF INSTRUCTION UNTIL WEEKEND? DECISION OF KING TO MAKE PUBLIC STATEMENT (ROME 3293) POSES PROBLEM OF HOW TO APPROACH PAPADOPOULOS AT THIS MOMENT WITHOUT LOOKING LIKE KING'S STOOGES. MOREOVER, TODAY'S TIDBITS OF

PAGE 2 RUGMAT 49419 ~~SECRET~~

INFORMATION STRENGTHEN OUR HUNCH (ATHENS 2888), THAT PAPADOPOULOS MAY ALREADY HAVE DECIDED TO MAKE PRECISE PLEDGES ON CONSTITUTIONAL REFERENDUM AND PROBABLY EVEN ELECTION DATE ON DECEMBER 23, THUS ONE-UPPING KING AND MEETING OUR BASIC DEMANDS ON HIS OWN INITIATIVE. FOR FIRST TIME, JUNTA'S INTERESTS LIE IN POLITICISING THEIR MOVEMENT. IF WE BELIEVE THEY PERCEIVE THIS, THEN THEY ALSO PROBABLY RECOGNIZE THAT SPEEDY CONSTITUTIONAL REVISION AND EARLY ELECTIONS ARE TO THEIR ADVANTAGE, SO THAT THEY CAN GET A REGULARIZED PUBLIC MANDATE.

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By us, NARA, Date 10-5-04



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PAGE 02 ATHENS 02892 212106Z

3. IF IN FACT PAPADOPOULOS HAS DECIDED TO MOVE IN THIS DIRECTION, HE WOULD ONLY BE IRRITATED BY RECEIVING AGAIN AT THIS MOMENT OUR ADVICE TO DO SO. ONCE HIS ANNOUNCEMENT MADE, I COULD (BE IN STRONGER POSITION TO) EXERT STRONGER INFLUENCE BY BEING ABLE TO CONGRADULATE HIM ON STEPS (HE HAD) JUST ANNOUNCED AND THEN TO PRESS HIM TO CARRY THROUGH TO CONCLUSION. IF ON OTHER HAND PAPADOPOULOS HAS DECIDED NOT TO FOLLOS THIS COURSE, I DOUBT I COULD PERSUADE HIM -- IN FACE OF KING'S MESSAGE -- TO BE MORE FORTHCOMING THIS SATURDAY. WE WOULD THEN

PAGE 3 RUQMAT 49419 ~~SECRET~~

FACE MAJOR TASK OF PERSUASION WHOSE END RESULT WOULD BE ATTAINED JUST AS SOON, I BELIEVE, IF WE SHOULD START DIALOGUE NEXT WEEK ON BASIS OF WHAT PAPADOPOULOS HIMSELF ANNOUNCES RATHER THAN BY STARTING IT THURSDAY IN SEEMING NERVOUS REACTION TO KING'S STATEMENT.

4. IN SUMMARY, I WOULD NOW PEFER TO AWAIT OPPORTUNITY TO ASSESS IMPACT OF KING'S STATEMENT AND PAPADOPOULOS' OWN DECLARATION SCHEDULED DECEMBER 23 BEFORE EXECUTING INSTRUCTION. PLEASE ADVISE.

GP-3
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~~SECRET~~ 975

24

PAGE 01 ATHENS 02859 191434Z

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ACTION SS 25

INFO SSO 00, NSCE 00, CCC 00, MM 01, /026 W

Z 191400Z DEC 67
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC FLASH 4175
INFO AMEMBASSY ROME FLASH 0276

~~SECRET~~ ATHENS 02859

EXDIS

REF: ROME 3233 AND 3235

1. FORWARDING BY SEPTTEL ANALYSIS PREPARED TODAY OF GENERAL SITUATION HERE AS BETWEEN GOVERNMENT AND KING.
2. RECOMMEND THAT KING BE ASKED TO WITHHOLD PUBLIC STATEMENT TODAY PENDING COMMENT BY USG.
3. FURTHER RECOMMEND I BE AUTHORIZED TO MAKE IMMEDIATE PRIVATE CONTACT WITH PIPINELIS. IF EITHER GOVERNMENT'S

PAGE 2 RUGMAT 2859A ~~SECRET~~
PROPOSED STATEMENT OR KING'S PROPOSED STATEMENT (ROME 3235) WERE TO BE ISSUED, FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS WOULD PRESUMABLY BE BLOCKED. WE HAVE DEFINITE FEELING THAT POTAMIANOS' KNOWN DEFICIENCIES MAY BE DISTORTING PRESENT NEGOTIATIONS. PIPINELIS COULD AT LEAST PROVIDE PRECISION IN SHAPING FORMULA THAT WOULD COVER KING'S POSSIBLE RETURN TO GREECE. AT MINIMUM I COULD LEARN FROM PIPINELIS WHETHER JUNTA'S POSITION AGAINST KING'S IMMEDIATE RETURN IS AS HARD AS POTAMIANOS MAKES IT SOUND.

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~~SECRET~~ 746

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INFO MM 01/026 W

02

R 181546Z DEC 67
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4168

~~SECRET~~ ATHENS 2849

EXDIS

1. USING FALSE NAME BUT WITHOUT ATTEMPTING TO DISGUISE HER WELL KNOWN VOICE MRS. ELENI VLACHOU TELEPHONED ME TODAY. SHE CONSIDERED TIME HAD COME FOR HER TO DO "SOMETHING TO HELP SITUATION." AT HER REQUEST I RECEIVED HER HUSBAND AT EMBASSY RESIDENCE. HE CONVEYED HER REQUEST THAT AMERICANS HELP HER GET OUT OF THIS COUNTRY. WHEN I EXPRESSED UNDERSTANDING OF HER DESIRE BUT INABILITY TO HELP, HE SAID SHE WOULD TRY IN ANY CASE TO GET AWAY SO SHE COULD BE ACTIVE OUTSIDE. SHE FELT THIS BEST CONTRIBUTION SHE COULD NOW MAKE TO GREECE.

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~~SECRET~~ 554

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ACTION SS 25

INFO MM 01, /026 W

P R 181000Z DEC 67
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4165
INFO AMEMBASSY ROME 274

~~SECRET~~ SECTION 1 OF 2 ATHENS 2840

EXDIS

1 PATTAKOS CAME TO MY DOOR LATE SUNDAY EVENING AND STAYED FOR WHAT PROVED TO BE TWO-HOUR TALK. KNOWING I NOT CALLING ON MINISTERS, HE HAD EARLIER IN EVENING SOUGHT THROUGH INTERMEDIARY (JUSMAGG COLONEL, OLD FRIEND) TO ARRANGE RENDEZVOS AT SOME NEUTRAL PLACE AS HE AND I HAD DONE IN DAYS IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING APRIL 21, AND HAD BEEN TOLD IT NOT POSSIBLE FOR ME TO DO SO. HE OBVIOUSLY KNEW HE WOULD NOT BE TURNED AWAY IF HE CAME TO MY HOUSE.

PAGE 2 RUQMAT 2840//QA ~~SECRET~~

2. MESSAGES PATTAKOS CONVEYED WERE THAT REVOLUTION NOW COMPLETELY IN CHARGE, THAT KING STILL "LOVED" BUT REVOLUTION IN NO HURRY TO HAVE HIM BACK, THAT CONSTITUTIONAL REVISION WILL GO FORWARD EXPEDITIOUSLY, AND THAT ELECTIONS LIKELY WITHIN YEAR OR TWO WITH REVOLUTIONARY LEADERS PROBABLY LEADING GOVERNMENT PARTY. I WAS ABLE TO GET IN FEW POINTS ON PROBLEMS THAT AMERICANS AND OTHER FOREIGN COUNTRIES HAVE WITH THIS REGIME. FOLLOWING SPECIFICS INDICATE SOME OF HIS MORE INTERESTING COMMENTS.

3. KNOWLEDGE OF KING'S PLANS TO MOUNT COUNTER-COUP.

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E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.6

NLJ 96-307

By Cb, NARA Date 8-4-97

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PATTAKOS ASSERTED KING'S CROWN HAD ORIGINALLY SCHEMED TO TAKE OVER COUNTRY FROM THESSALONIKI ON OCTOBER 2 (OCHI DAY). PATTAKOS HIMSELF HAD WARNED KING TO "BE CAREFUL; DON'T COUNT ON GENERALS BECAUSE JUNIOR OFFICERS ARE ALL WITH US." ON OCTOBER 23 HE HAD TOLD GENERAL PERIDIS, CG "C" CORPS, AND HIS CHIEF OF STAFF BRIGADIER VIDALIS (BOTH SUBSEQUENTLY KEY FIGURES, ULTIMATELY ARRESTED BY THEIR OWN STAFF OFFICERS, IN DECEMBER 13 FIASCO) THAT HE UNDERSTOOD THEY WERE INVOLVED IN PLANS TO SUPPORT KING IN MOVE

PAGE 3 RUQMAT 2840/1A ~~SECRET~~

AGAINST REVOLUTION BUT TO BE CAREFUL BECAUSE THEY COULD NOT SUCCEED. THEN, "SOME DAYS" BEFORE DECEMBER 13, REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP HEARD FROM JUNIOR OFFICERS IN NORTH THAT TAKEOVER SCHEME WOULD BE ACTIVATED SOON. PATTAKOS SAID THEY HAD REPLIED, "WE DON'T BELIEVE YOU, BUT IN ANY CASE GET SET. PREPARE TO EXPECT THE UNEXPECTED." BY MONDAY, DECEMBER 11, ACCORDING TO PATTAKOS, REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP KNEW OF PLAN TO MOVE DECEMBER 13 BUT WERE SO CONFIDENT SITUATION COULD BE CONTROLLED THAT PATTAKOS LEFT ATHENS AS SCHEDULED TO GIVE SPEECH AT KALAVRYTA. AS DAY WORE ON AND LOYALTY (TO REVOLUTION) OF TROOPS ALL THROUGH NORTH WAS CONFIRMED, LEADERS SENT RADIO MESSAGES TO COMMANDERS WHO MIGHT ENCOUNTER KING TO TELL HIM THEY WOULD WELCOME HIS STAYING IN GREECE BUT HE WAS FREE TO LEAVE IF HE CHOSE. THIS MESSAGE WAS DELIVERED TO KING BY MAJOR IN CHARGE OF KAVALLA AIRFIELD JUST BEFORE ROYAL FAMILY DEPARTED FOR ITALY. PATTAKOS STILL DOES NOT KNOW WHY KING DECIDED TO LEAVE COUNTRY. MAYBE HE FEARED FOR HIS LIFE, BUT THAT WAS NOT NECESSARY.

PAGE 4 RUQMAT 2840/1A ~~SECRET~~

4. WHY KING MOVE ON DECEMBER 13. PATTAKOS SAID HE MYSTIFIED WHY KING HAD DECIDED TO TRY TO PULL DOWN GOVERNMENT. HE ALSO EXPRESSED IRRITATION THAT KING HAD NOT PREVIOUSLY TOLD

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REVOLUTIONARY LEADERS OF HIS COMPLAINTS AGAINST THEM. HE AND MAKAREZOS HAD BOTH GONE TO KING IN DAYS JUST BEFORE DECEMBER 13 URGING ONCE AGAIN THAT PAPADOPOULOS BE MADE SECOND DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AND KING HAD REPLIED HE MUST AWAIT DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER SPANDIDAKIS' RETURN FROM NATO MEETING BEFORE GIVING REPLY. MAKAREZOS AS ECONOMIC MINISTER HAD ADDED THAT ROYAL EXPENSES NEEDED REVISION WITH KING GETTING MORE FUNDS AND PALACE EMPLOYEES BEING HIRED AND PAID BY STATE RATHER THAN FROM PRIVY PURSE. KING HAD OBJECTED HE COULDN'T DEAL WITH THAT NOW, BUT LATER HAD TELEPHONED MAKAREZOS TO SAY HE APPROVED. PATTAKOS SUSPECTED KING ALSO UNHAPPY ABOUT FORTHCOMING CONSTITUTIONAL DRAFT, SINCE KING HAD PREVIOUSLY ASKED FOR ENHANCED POWERS, E. G., FULL COMMAND OVER ARMED FORCES (INCLUDING PRIVILEGE NAMING HEADS OF SERVICES), WHICH CONSTITUTIONAL COMMISSION UNABLE TO ENDORSE. GENERAL PICTURE PAINTED BY PATTAKOS WAS OF POWER-HUNGRY YOUNG KING WHO DID NOT UNDERSTAND HE WOULD

PAGE 5 RUHMAT 2840/1A ~~SECRET~~

BE LOVED SO LONG AS HE CONTENT TO REIGN RATHER THAN RULE.

5. WHAT NEXT BETWEEN KING AND GOVERNMENT? PATTAKOS SAID ARCHBISHOP IERONYMOS HAD SEEN KING IN ROME SATURDAY AND BROUGHT BACK PAPER "IN WHICH KING ASKS TOO MUCH." REVOLUTION WANTS KING BACK, PATTAKOS INSISTED, BUT TIME NOT RIPE YET. KING IS NOW BEATEN MAN, AS HIS FRIENDS SHOULD RECOGNIZE. PROBLEM IS PEOPLE ALREADY DISLIKE KING FOR WHAT HE DID, AND IF THEY SHOULD LEARN ALL THAT GOVERNMENT KNOWS ABOUT HIS ACTIONS AND STATEMENTS IN CONNECTION WITH DECEMBER 13, HE WOULD BE REJECTED. SO REVOLUTION MUST PREPARE GROUND CAREFULLY AND SHOULD NOT BE RUSHED.

6. GOVERNMENT'S PLANS. FIRST TASK, PATTAKOS SAID, IS TO GET ON WITH CONSTITUTION. IT WAS TO HAVE BEEN READY DECEMBER 15, BUT THERE HAS BEEN ONE WEEK'S SLIPPA... NO MORE. HE NOW SUSPECTS THAT KING AND PRIME MINISTER KOLLIAS WERE TRYING TO DELAY CONSTITUTION, THOUGH THEY HAD NOT ADMITTED THAT. HE COULD NOT EXPLAIN MY INFORMATION THAT DRAFT HAD BEEN COMPLETED BY DECEMBER 10 AND WAS TO BE PRESENTED.

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WITH OFFICIAL TRANSLATIONS, ON DECEMBER 13 OR 14. NOR
WOULD HE ADMIT TO KNOWLEDGE WHETHER THIS WEEK'S FINAL

PAGE 6 RUQMAT 2840/1A ~~SECRET~~

DRAFTING IS TOUCHING ONLY CLAUSES NOT YET FINISHED ON
DECEMBER 13 OR IS INCLUDING REVISIONS, IN LIGHT OF NEW
CIRCUMSTANCES, OF ARTICLES PREVIOUSLY AGREED TO. CONSTITU-
TION WILL BE GOOD ONE, HE INSISTED. ONE OR TWO YEARS MIGHT
BE NECESSARY TO LEAD COUNTRY TO ELECTION. IN MEANTIME
REVOLUTION COULD NOT PROPERLY BE DESCRIBED AS MILITARY
REGIME; WE WOULD SEE ALMOST IMMEDIATELY THAT GOVERNMENT
LEADERS ARE RESIGNING MILITARY COMMISSIONS. ALSO, ALTHOUGH
HE HAD PREVIOUSLY STATED HE WOULD NEVER GO INTO POLITICS,
HE WAS NOW CONSIDERING THAT. PATTAKOS SAID RIGHT THAT
PAPADOPOULOS SHOULD BE PRIME MINISTER. HE HIMSELF HAD
PUSHED FOR TIS IN REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL, BECAUSE HE KNOWS
PAPADOPOULOS IS A BETTER MAN THAN HE IS. HE, PATTAKOS, IS
ALWAYS A GOOD SECOND MAN, HE THINKS HE WAS CERTAIN
PRESENT GOVERNMENT COULD WIN COMFORTABLE MAJORITY IN
COUNTRY.

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~~SECRET~~ 555

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ACTION SS 25

INFO MM 01/026 W

P R 181008Z DEC 67
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4166
INFO AMEMBASSY ROME 275

~~SECRET~~ SECTION 2 OF 2 ATHENS 2840

EXDIS

7. ARRESTS AND OTHER CIVIC RIGHTS QUESTIONS. IN RESPONSE MY REFERENCE TO NEW WAVE OF ARRESTS, PARRAKOS SAID MANY POLITICIANS PICKED UP BECAUSE NOW IT MORE THAN EVER CLEAR THEY COULD NOT BE TRUSTED. HOWEVER, ALL WOULD BE RELEASED ALMOST IMMEDIATELY "EXCEPT THOSE FOUND TO BE DEFINITELY INVOLVED IN KING'S ATTEMPT." WE TALKED ALSO OF CONDITIONS OF OTHERS WHO HAVE BEEN DETAINED, OF FREEDOM OF PRESS AND SPEECH, ETC. HE REITERATED EARLIER PLEDGES THAT THESE

PAGE 2 RUQMAT 2840/2A ~~SECRET~~
WOULD BE TAKEN CARE OF (IN DUE COURSE).

8. FOREIGN POLICY. "WE ARE PRO-WEST. ALL OUR PEOPLE ARE PRO-WEST. ONLY ONE IN A THOUSAND IS A COMMUNIST. WE SHALL BE FIREND OF AMERICA WHETHER OR NOT AMERICA IS OUR FRIEND-- NOT TO SERVE AMERICA'S INTERESTS, BUT BECAUSE WE KNOW AMERICA IS BEST COUNTRY FOR GREEKS TO BE WITH. WE HAVE BEEN YOUR FRIENDS SINCE APRIL 21, EVEN THOUGH YOU CUT MILITARY AID, AND WE SHALL CONTINUE. BUT IT WILL BE HARD TO EXPLAIN TO OUR PEOPLE WHY AMERICA IS BEST FOR US IF YOU TURN AWAY FROM US."

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9. OCCASIONALLY IN COURSE OF LENGTHY EXPOSITION DESCRIBED IN FOREGOING PARAGRAPHS, I GOT IN SOME EXPLANATIONS OF AMERICAN VIEWS OF PRESENT SITUATION INCLUDING FOLLOWING:

10. LEGAL STATUS. PATTAKOS TENDED TO DOWNGRADE LEGAL QUESTIONS OF CURRENT STATUS OF KING AND REGENT AS MERE CURTAIN TO HIDE OTHER OBJECTIONS BY AMERICANS AND OTHERS TO PRESENT REGIME. I INSISTED IT MATTER OF IMPORTANCE

PAGE 3 RUGMAT 2840/2A ~~SECRET~~

WHETHER REGENT OPERATING AS CONSTITUTIONAL REPRESENTATIVE OF SOVEREIGN. PATTAKOS SAID IT EVIDENT PRESENT GOVERNMENT IS "REAL" GOVERNMENT OF GREECE, AND IT HAS ALREADY SAID KING WELCOME TO COME BACK TO REIGN. I RESPONDED THAT UNTIL THIS SORTED OUT, QUESTION OF STATUS AWKWARD FOR ALL.

11. RULE BY MILITARY. I COMMENTED THAT REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT SEEMS SURPRISED BY NEW WAVE OF CRITICISM AFTER EVENTS OF PAST WEEK WHICH IN FACT WERE PRECIPITATED BY KING NOT BY REVOLUTIONARY LEADERS. REASON FOR THIS INCREASED CRITICISM, I SUGGESTED, IS THAT REGIME HAS LOST PROTECTIVE LEGAL AND POLITICAL UMBRELLA PROVIDED BY KING AND CIVILIANS. REIME MINISTER BETWEEN APRIL 21 AND DECEMBER 13. IN EUROPE IN 1960'S MILITARY REGIMES REPUGNANT TO MANY PEOPLE ON BOTH SIDES OF ATLANTIC WHO GREW UP WITH FASCISM AND NAZISM. NOW THAT UMBRELLA REMOVED, STORMS OF CRITICISM FALLING DIRECTLY ON HEADS OF MILITARY MINISTERS. JUST AS GREECE ITSELF ADAPTING TO FACT OF MILITARY-CONTROLLED GOVERNMENT, SO OUTSIDE WORLD NOW CANNOT BLINK THAT POWER LIES IN HANDS OF MILITARY GROUP--AND THIS NOT

PAGE 4 RUGMAT 2840/2A ~~SECRET~~

A POPULAR POSTURE. (IT WAS AT THIS POINT THAT PATTAKOS DENIED GOVERNMENT IS MILITARY AND STATED MINISTERS RESIGNING THEIR SERVICE COMMISSIONS.)

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12. ROLE OF "HARD-LINE" JUNIOR OFFICERS. I COMMENTED THAT MANY WHO BELIEVE REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP CAN SEE ADVANTAGES IN MOVING TOWARD ELECTIONS STILL REGARD JUNIOR "HARD-LINE" CADRES (FREQUENTLY DESCRIBED AS CLASS OF 1943 AT MILITARY ACADEMY, AS COMPARED TO LEADERS' CLASS OF 1940), AS DETERMINED TO KEEP MILITARY RULE GOING FOR 10, 15 OR 20 YEARS. PATTAKOS ACKNOWLEDGED THEY TALK THIS WAY, BUT INSISTED THAT "WE CONTROL THEM. DON'T LISTEN TO THEM; SEE WHAT WE SAY AND DO." HE CITED NOW FAMILIAR ORDER BY PAPADOPOULOS AND PATTAKOS LAST THURSDAY COUNTERMANDING COLONEL LADES'S ORDER THAT PHOTOGRAPHS OF KING AND QUEEN BE REMOVED FROM OFFICIAL BUILDINGS.

13. DENIAL OF NORMAL CIVIC RIGHTS. ANOTHER MAJOR EXTERNAL COMPLAINT, I SAID, IS THAT GOVERNMENT MUST BE WEAK TO HAVE TO SUPPRESS ITS INTERNAL OPPOSITION BY PENAL DETENTION.

PAGE 5 RUGMAT 2840/2A ~~SECRET~~

STRONGER GOVERNMENTS CAN PERMIT OPPONENTS TO SPEAK OUT AND PUBLISH NEWSPAPERS. NOT THAT I WAS JUSTIFYING FORMER "FREE" GREEK PRESS, WHICH WAS NOT SUBJECT TO CANONS OF TASTE OR LIBEL LAWS OF SORT THAT USA HAS FOUND NECESSARY TO RESTRICT PRESS LICENSE. BUT OUTSIDERS CANNOT IGNORE TIGHT PRESS RESTRICTIONS OR DETENTION OF HUNDREDS OF PERSONS WITHOUT TRIAL. PATTAKOS AND PAPADOPOULOS HAD PREVIOUSLY TOLD ME THESE MEASURES WOULD BE TEMPORARY, AND WE STRONGLY HOPED THEY WOULD BE VERY TEMPORARY.

14. ENTIRE CONVERSATION WAS AMICABLE BUT FRANK. AT CONCLUSION I TOLD HIM I WOULD LET HIM KNOW WHEN MY INSTRUCTIONS RECEIVED REGARDING FUTURE RELATIONS WITH CURRENT GREEK AUTHORITIES.

15. COMMENT. I INFER PATTAKOS INITIATED THIS CHARACTERISTICALLY RAMBLING TALK IN EFFORT TO PERSUADE USG TIME IS RIPE TO PICK UP WORKING RELATIONS WITH THIS GOG. IT IS PART OF HIS PERSONALITY PATTERN OF A COMPULSION TOWARD "TOGETHERNESS" AND A REFLECTION OF HIS SIMPLE VILLAGER'S

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PSYCHOLOGY THAT BEING FACE-TO-FACE EVEN WITHOUT SIGNIFICANT
CONVERSATION, HELPS IN CREATING UNDERSTANDING. I BELIEVE
HE IS ALSO CONSCIOUS OF PRESSURES HOTHEADS AND
HARDLINERS MAY EXERT TO "GO IT ALONE" IF THERE IS GREAT
LAG IN NORMAL CONTACTS. WITHOUT DIVULGING THIS CONCERN
HE COULD BE SEEKING SOME ENCOURAGEMENT FOR THE STAND HE,
MAKAREZOS AND PAPADOPOULOS ARE NOW (MORE AND MORE)
PUBLICLY TAKING AGAINST THE "LADAS V970". PATTAKOS
ISSUED NO THREATS BUT MADE IT CLEAR THAT IN HIS VIEW
CURRENT REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT IS ENTITY WITH WHICH USG
WILL NEED TO DEAL IF IT IS TO STAY IN GREECE. MIXED WITH
THIS WAS A DEFINITE PITCH FOR USG UNDERSTANDING THAT
REVOLUTIONARY LEADERS ARE DEMOCRATES AT HEART AND WILL
MOVE EXPEDITIOUSLY TOWARD ELECTIONS. AND THEY MAY DO
JUST THAT (WITHIN YEAR OR TWO), NOW THAT THEY CAN SEE WAY
CLEAR TO WIN ELECTIONS WITHOUT EFFECTIVE INTERFERENCE OF
KING OR OLD-HAT POLITICIANS.

GP-3. TALBOT

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ACTION SS 25

INFO MM 01,1026 W

R 180905Z DEC 67
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4164

~~SECRET~~ ATHENS 2838

CORRECTED COPY FORM R ONLY, VICE 2828
EXDIS

REF: ATHENS 2829

1. WIFE OF GEORGE RALLIS, FORMER ERE (CONSERVATIVE) DEPUTY AND FORMER MINISTER OF PUBLIC ORDER, CAME TO HOME OF EMBOFF YESTERDAY EVENING TO ASK IF EMBASSY COULD GET HER HUSBAND OUT OF GREECE. RALLIS IS NOW IN HIDING (UNSPECIFIED) AND IS NOW BEING SOUGHT BY JUNTA. MRS. RALLIS SAID THAT, THOUGH HER HUSBAND WAS IN NO WAY INVOLVED IN DECEMBER 13 EVENTS, HE FEARS THAT REGIME WILL CHARGE HIM, PAPALIGOURAS (NOW IN CUSTODY), AND SEVERAL OTHER LEADING POLITICIANS WITH

PAGE 2 RUGMAT 2838A ~~SECRET~~
COMPLICITY AND WILL SENTENCE THEM TO LONG PERIODS OF IMPRISONMENT OR WORSE.

2. EMBOFF INDICATED ALL HE COULD DO WAS TO TRANSMIT HER HUSBAND'S REQUEST TO AMBASSADOR. LIKE AVEROF, RALLIS IS ABLE FORMER MINISTER AND STRONG FRIEND OF WEST AND US.

GP-3.

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~~SECRET~~ 421

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ACTION SS 25

INFO MM 01, /026 W

R 180905Z DEC 67
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4164

~~SECRET~~ ATHENS 2828

EXDIS

REF: ATHENS 2829

1. WIFE OF GEORGE RALLIS, FORMER ERE (CONSERVATIVE) DEPUTY AND FORMER MINISTER OF PUBLIC ORDER, CAME TO HOME OF EMBOFF YESTERDAY EVENING TO ASK IF EMBASSY COULD GET HER HUSBAND OUT OF GREECE. RALLIS IS NOW IN HIDING (UNSPECIFIED) AND IS NOW BEING SOUGHT BY JUNTA. MRS. RALLIS SAID THAT, THOUGH HER HUSBAND WAS IN NO WAY INVOLVED IN DECEMBER 13 EVENTS. HE FEARS THAT REGIME WILL CHARGE HIM, PAPALIGOURAS (NOW IN CUSTODY), AND SEVERAL OTHER LEADING POLITICIANS WITH

PAGE 2 RUGMAT 2838A ~~SECRET~~
COMPLICITY AND WILL SENTENCE THEM TO LONG PERIODS OF IMPRISONMENT OR WORSE.

2. EMBOFF INDICATED ALL HE COULD DO WAS TO TRANSMIT HER HUSBAND'S REQUEST TO AMBASSADOR. LIKE AVEROF, RALLIS IS ABLE FORMER MINISTER AND STRONG FRIEND OF WEST AND US.

GP-3.

TALBOT

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~~SECRET~~ 717

29

PAGE 01 ATHENS 02826 161316Z

42
ACTION SS 25

INFO SSO 00, NSCE 00, MM 01, CCO 00, /026 W

2

O 160940Z DEC 67
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4154
INFO AMEMBASSY ROME 272

~~SECRET~~ ATHENS 2826

EXDIS

REFERENCE: ROME 3181

RE PARA 2 REFTEL, REQUEST DEPARTMENT'S GUIDANCE ON WHAT
NEWS AND ESTIMATE OF SITUATION SHOULD BE PASSED TO KING
CONSTANTINE.

GP-1.
TALBOT
B

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~~SECRET~~ 679

PAGE 01 ATHENS 02823 152005Z

43
ACTION SS 25

INFO SSO 00, NSCE 00, CCO 00, MM 01, /026 W

O R 151842Z DEC 67
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS
TO AMEMBASSY ROME 271 IMMEDIATE
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 4152

~~SECRET~~ ATHENS 2823

EXDIS

REF: ROME 3181 PARA I

1. PLEASE INFORM GENERAL DOVAS COL. MARSHALL
HAS BEEN IN TOUCH WITH MRS DOVAS. SHE WAS DELIGHTED
TO HAVE WORD OF GENERAL, SAYS SHE IS WELL AND NEEDS
NOTHING, SENDS ALL HER LOVE.

2. EMB REP SPOKE WITH MRS KOLLIAS. SHE WAS
NATURALLY CONCERNED ABOUT HIM BECAUSE HE LEFT WITH
NO COAT AND NO MONEY. SAYS TO TELL HIM SHE IS WELL AND

PAGE 2 RUQMAT 2823A ~~SECRET~~
AWAITS NEWS OF WHEN THEY MAY MEET.
GP-3 TALBOT

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~~SECRET~~ 789

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PAGE 01 ATHENS 02799 141626Z

43
ACTION INRD 10

INFO ES 06,RSC 01,RSR 01,018 W

Rdston

R 141510Z DEC 67
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4135

~~SECRET~~ ATHENS 2799

ROGER CHANNEL

1. I SEE ADVANTAGE IN SENDING ASSISTANT ARMY ATTACHE
LEPCZYK, WHOSE PERSONAL RELATIONSHIP WITH KING IS KNOWN
TO DEPARTMENT, TO ITALY

[REDACTED]

3.3
(b)(3)(1)
1.4(c)

2. BELIEVE LEPCZYK'S TRIP COULD BE ACCOMPLISHED BY ROUTINE
US MILITARY FLIGHT

[REDACTED]

3.3 (b)(1)
1.4 (c)

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NARA, Date 1-20-11

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~~SECRET~~

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2

PAGE 01 ATHENS 02764 132216Z

87 83

ACTION SS 25

INFO SSO 00, NSCE 00, CCC 00, DODE 00, CIAE 00, NSAE 00, MM 01, 1026 W

Z 132150Z DEC 67 ZFF-6

FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC FLASH 4106

INFO USMISSION NATO FLASH 184

~~SECRET~~ ATHENS 2764

FOR THE SECRETARY

PROPOSE TO ATTEMPT TO SEE PAPADOPOULOS SHORTLY TO GET
HIS STORY OF EFFORT TO SET UP NEW GOVERNMENT WITH HIMSELF
AS PRIME MINISTER. NEED FLASH RESPONSE ATHENS 2751.

TALBOT

NOTE: HANDLED EXDIS
PER S/S-0

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SECRET 721

PAGE 01 ATHENS 02726 131213Z

4
ACTION SS 25

INFO SSO 00, NSCE 00, CCO 00, MM 01, 1026 W

2

Z 131035Z DEC 67
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC FLASH 4077
INFO USMISSION NATO FLASH 165

~~SECRET~~ ATHENS 2726

FOR THE SECRETARY

EXDIS

AT 1215 LOCAL WE HAVE NOT YET HEARD WHETHER KING'S PLANE LEFT TATOI. ALL TELEPHONE LINES TO NORTH OF GREECE OUT OF SERVICE. SIX TANKS LEFT ATHENS HEADQUARTERS SHORT WHILE GO. I HAVE JUST BEEN ASKED TO GO IMMEDIATELY TO GREEK GENERAL STAFF HEADQUARTERS TO MEET COLONELS PAPADOPOULOS AND MAKAREZOS, AND I AM ON MY WAY. WILL REPORT FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS. ADDITIONAL EIGHT TANKS AND FOUR ARMoured PERSONNEL CARRIERS SIGHTED KIFISSIA 12:15 MOVING SOUTH POSSIBLY TO RADIO STATION. FOUR MORE TANKS HAVE ALSO LEFT GOUDI IN DIRECTION PENTAGON. ATHENS RADIO STILL NOMAL.

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7

INFORMATION

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

34

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Monday, December 4, 1967
5:05 p.m.

Mr. President:

I am sure you will want to read
this evidently sincere evaluation of
Cy's performance, by Phil Talbot.

W. W. Rostow

Athens 2595

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EX-100, 1-1-85
NSC Memo, 10/1/67, Re: Dept. Guidelines
By cbm, NARA, Date 8-26-02

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PAGE 01 ATHENS 02595 041202Z

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ACTION

1967 DEC 4 19 06

INFO SS 80,SSO 00,NSCE 00,/080 W

R 040955Z DEC 67 ZFG
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4003

Rostow

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FOR THE SECRETARY FROM AMBASSADOR

1. CY VANCE HAS JUST LEFT HERE AFTER ONE OF THE MOST EXTRAORDINARY DIPLOMATIC PERFORMANCES I HAVE EVER SEEN. AS I DON'T NEED TO TELL YOU, HIS PHYSICAL DRIVE AND ENDURANCE ARE ALREADY FABLED. EQUALLY IMPRESSIVE WAS HIS COMBINATION OF INTELLECTUAL CLARITY, TOUGHNESS, PERSISTENCE AND FORCE ALONG WITH HIS DISARMINGLY GENTLE PERSONALITY. HIS CONSTANT CONSIDERATION OF OTHERS' VIEWS AND HIS EVIDENT SINCERITY OF PURPOSE HELPED GREATLY, I AM SURE, TO PERSUADE MINISTERS WITH WHOM HE DEALT TO

PAGE 2 RUQMAT 2595A ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
KEEP SEARCHING FOR NEW FORMULAE. IT HAS BEEN AN INSPIRATION TO WORK WITH SUCH A MAN.

2. I MUST ADD THAT HE AND ALL OF US WERE WELL SERVED BY HIS SMALL STAFF. JOHN WALSH IN PARTICULAR WAS A TOWER OF STRENGTH AND A FOUNT OF GOOD HUMOR THROUGHOUT THEIR INEXPRESSABLY GRUELING SCHEDULE.
TALBOT

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PAGE 02 ATHENS 02595 041202Z

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Seen by Mr. Boston

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PAGE 01 ATHENS 02594 040944Z

12
ACTION SS 35

INFO SSO 00,MM 01,NSCE 00,/036 W

cy Poulos

O 040849Z DEC 67
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4002

~~SECRET~~ [ATHENS 2594]

EXDIS

EYES ONLY FOR THE SECRETARY

REF: STATE 78736

VANCE FELT IT UNWISE TO DELAY DEPARTURE FROM ATHENS
AS ANOTHER SCHEDULE CHANGE MIGHT CAUSE SPECULATION
THAT A NEW HITCH HAD OCCURRED. THEREFORE, HE TOOK
OFF AT 0920 LOCAL WITH PLANS FOR FUEL AND REST STOP
IN AZORES. ARRIVAL AT ANDREWS PLANNED FOR ABOUT 11PM EST.
TALBOT

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36
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~~SECRET~~ 675

PAGE 01 ATHENS 02578 031533Z

45

ACTION SS 35

INFO NSCE 00, CIAE 00, SSO 00, DODE 00, USIE 00, NSAE 00, CCO 00, MM 01,

/036 W

Z 031522Z DEC 67
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC FLASH 3989
INFO USUN NEW YORK FLASH 254
AMEMBASSY ANKARA 712
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA 659

~~S E C R E T~~ ATHENS 2578

EXDIS

1. CONFIRMING TELECON WITH BATTLE 1435 HOURS GMT. JUST TALKED TO PIPINELIS WHO SAYS THAT ALTHOUGH BITSIOS ALREADY HAS INSTRUCTIONS SUPPORT ISSUANCE APPEAL BY SYG, HE WILL TELEPHONE HIM AGAIN IMMEDIATELY AND ASK HIM TO GIVE STRONG SUPPORT IN THIS SENSE. PIPINELIS ALSO CONFIRMED TO ME THAT GOG WILL RESPOND QUICKLY AND POSITIVELY IN ACCORDANCE WITH GOT-GOG AGREEMENT.

2. I HAVE JUST PASSED ABOVE POINTS BY TELEPHONE TO DUTY OFFICER EMBASSY ANKARA.

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TELEGRAM

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~~SECRET~~ 662

PAGE 01 ATHENS 02577 031350Z

45
ACTION SS 35

INFO NSCE 00, CIAE 00, SSO 00, DODE 00, USIE 00, NSAE 00, CCO 00, MM 01,

/036 W

Z O 031256Z DEC 67
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS
TO AMEMBASSY NICOSIA FLASH 658
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6988
AMEMBASSY ANKARA 711
USUN NEW YORK 253

~~SECRET~~ ATHENS 2577

EXDIS

REF: ATHENS 2576

TEXT OF PRIMIN KOLLIAS APPEAL TO MAKARIOS;

1° QUOTE I AM INFORMED THAT THE FINALIZATION OF THE
AGREEMENT FOR THE REMOVAL OF THE PRESENT CRISIS MEETS
WITH DIFFICULTIES AS TO THE WORDING OF ITS ARTICLE 4
CONCERNING THE NEW MANDATE TO UNFICYP FOR SECURING INTERNAL

PAGE 2 RUQMAT 2577A ~~SECRET~~
PEACE IN THE ISLAND.

2° ON THIS POINT, MY GOVERNMENT HAS, AS
YOU KNOW, RESERVED
FROM THE BEGINNING, YOUR RIGHTS AS A CHIEF OF STATE. HOWEVER,
FROM COMPARING THE WORDING
UNDER DISCUSSION OF ARTICLE 4,
MY GOVERNMENT HAS CLEARLY THE IMPRESSION THAT YOU MAINTAIN

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PAGE 02 ATHENS 02577 031350Z

IN ANY CASE ALL LATITUDE OF NEGOTIATION REGARDING THE CONTENT OF THE UNFICYP MANDATE, AND THEREFORE THERE IS NO DANGER THAT YOU WOULD EVENTUALLY ACCEPT A MANDATE INCOMPATIBLE WITH THE INTERESTS OF CYPRUS AND GREECE.

3. ON THE CONTRARY, SHOULD AN ACCORD NOT BE REACHED ON THAT POINT, THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE AGREEMENT WITH REGARD TO ITS OTHER POINTS RISKS TO BECOME IMPOSSIBLE, AND THIS MIGHT BRING US BACK TO AN EXTREMELY DANGEROUS SITUATION.

4. I SUPPOSE YOU HAVE NO DOUBTS AS TO THE REALITY OF THE TURKISH THREAT AND YOU ARE AWARE OF THE LIMITED ASSISTANCE WHICH GREECE CAN OFFER AT THIS MOMENT IN A STRUGGLE WHICH, WHATEVER ITS RESULT, WILL CAUSE INCALCULABLE DISASTER TO

PAGE 3 RUQMAT 2577A ~~SECRET~~
THE CYPRIOT PEOPLE.

5. HAVING IN MIND THE WIDER INTERESTS OF OUR NATION OF WHICH I BEAR AT THIS MOMENT THE BURDEN, AS WELL AS THE GENERAL INTERNATIONAL SITUATION I APPEAL TO YOUR BEATITUDE TO FACILITATE THE CONCLUSION OF A FINAL AGREEMENT ON THE BASIS OF THE TEXTS UNDER DISCUSSION.

6. OTHERWISE, THIS ACCORD REACHED AFTER SO MANY LABOURS WOULD BREAK DOWN AND THE CONSEQUENCES THEREFROM WOULD BE INCALCULABLE. UNQUOTE.

GP-3. TALBOT

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TELEGRAM
25

~~SECRET~~ 65

PAGE 01 ATHENS 02576 031239Z

3
ACTION SS 35

INFO NSCE 00, CIAE 00, SSU 00, DODE 00, USIE 00, NSAE 00, CCO 00, MM 01,
/036 W

Z 0 031230Z DEC 67
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS
TO AMEMBAFCY NICOSIA FLASH 657
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3987
AMEMBASSY ANKARA 710
USUN NEWYORK 252

~~SECRET~~ ATHENS 2576

EXDIS

REF: ATHENS 2575

NEW GOG APPEAL TO MAKARIOS SIGNED BY PRIMIN KOLLIAN
(NOT KING) NOW BEING TRANSMITTED. TEXT FOLLOWS. TALBOT

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TELEGRAM
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~~SECRET~~ 610

PAGE 01 ATHENS 02575 031123Z

12
ACTION SS 35

INFO NSCE 00, CIAE 00, SSO 00, DODE 00, USIE 00, NSAE 00, CCO 00, MM 01,
/036 W

7 0 031004Z DEC 67
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS
TO AMEMBASSY NICOSIA FLASH 656
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3986
AMEMBASSY ANKARA 709
USUN NEWYORK 251

~~SECRET~~ ATHENS 2575

EXDIS

1. AFTER PIPINELIS AND I HAD REVIEWED CURRENT BIDDING AT 1200 LOCAL, HE AGREED TO ASK KING TO MAKE FINAL APPEAL TO MAKARIOS TO ACCEPT ORIGINAL VERSION OF PARAGRAPH 4. KING'S ARGUMENT WOULD BE: (A) VERSION DOES NOT ELIMINATE MAKARIOS' ROOM FOR MANEUVER; (B) ALL OTHER VERSIONS HAVE BEEN INTENSIVELY CANVASSED WITHOUT SUCCESS; AND (C) FAILURE TO REACH ACCORD WOULD PRECIPITATE CONSEQUENCES HARMFUL NOT ONLY TO CYPRUS BUT TO ALL HELLENISM. PIPINELIS NOT CERTAIN KING WOULD ACT

PAGE 2 RUQMAT 2575A ~~SECRET~~
WITHOUT CABINET APPROVAL, WHICH WOULD TAKE TOO MUCH TIME, NOR SANGUINE THIS APPEAL WOULD BE SUCCESSFUL, BUT AGREES MOMENT HAS COME TO EXERT EVERY POSSIBLE INFLUENCE ON MAKARIOS.

2. PIPINELIS ASSURED ME HIS PUBLIC STATEMENT YESTERDAY (FBIS KYRENIA DEC 2) NOT REPEAT NOT INTENDED TO GIVE MAKARIOS EXCUSE FOR BELIEVING CYPRIOT AGREEMENT NO LONGER

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PAGE 02 ATHENS 02575 031123Z

ESSENTIAL TO IMPLEMENTATION GOG-GOT ACCORD. IF MAKARIOS TRIES THAT ARGUMENT, YOU MAY SAY PIPINELIS HAS REPUDIATED IT TO ME.

3. IN EVENT OF CONTINUED MAKARIOS ADAMANCY, PIPINELIS URGED
IE PROCEED ALONG LINES WHICH I NOW FIND LAID
OUT IN VANTO 82. I TOLD HIM WE WOULD TRY EVERYTHING
POSSIBLE BUT COULD NOT BE CERTAIN OF GOOD RESULT.
THEREFORE, GREEK GOVERNMENT SHOULD DO ANYTHING IT COULD
THINK OF TO HELP PERSUADE MAKARIOS THAT HIS AGREEMENT TODAY
IS ESSENTIAL.

4. PIPINELIS HIMSELF IS CERTAIN MAKARIOS COULD ACCEPT
ORIGINAL PARAGRAPH 4 WITHOUT DAMAGE TO CYPRIOT INTERESTS.

GP-3. TALB
P

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TELEGRAM
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~~SECRET~~ Y 02

PAGE 01 ATHENS 02574 022200Z

83

ACTION SS 35

INFO NSCE 00, CIAE 00, SSO 00, DUDE 00, USIE 00, NSAE 00, CCO 00, MM 01,

/036 W

P R 022010Z DEC 67
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS
TO USMISSION NATO PRIORITY 137
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 3985
AMEMBASSY ANKARA 708
AMEMBASSY LONDON 423
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA 655
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA 083
USUN NEW YORK 250

~~SECRET~~ ATHENS 2574

EXDIS

NATUS

REF: USMISSION NATO 800, 801

I DO NOT KNOW WHY PIPINELIS TODAY IS PROJECTING DIFFERENT MOODS

PAGE 2 RUQMAT 2574A ~~SECRET~~
TO DIFFERENT ADDRESSEES. IN FACE OF LATEST UNCERTAINTIES IN
NICOSIA AND WHILE CONTINUING DEMONSTRATE RESPONSIBLE MODERATION
TO US AS ENCOURAGEMENT TO VANCE EFFORTS, HE MAY BE BEGINNING TO
BUILD RECORD OF GREEK RESENTMENT AGAINST TURKISH SHIFTING POSI-
TION AND PRESSURES IN ORDER TO (A) MOBILIZE NATO AND INTERNATIONAL
OPINION AGAINST TURKEY IN EVENT OF MILITARY ACTION AGAINST CYPRUS
(AND POSSIBLY GREECE) EVEN AFTER RECENT INTENSIVE PEACE EFFORTS,

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AND (B) DEMONSTRATE ULTIMATELY TO GREEK OPINION THAT GREECE
ACTED HONORABLY AND WAS CAUGHT NOT BY ITS WEAKNESS BUT BY
TURK PERFDY. SOME ELEMENTS IN GOG WOULD CERTAINLY LIKE TO
MAKE SUCH A RECORD.

GP-3. TALBOT

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~~SECRET~~ 270

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47
ACTION SS 35

INFO SSO 00,MM 01,1036 W

R 021552Z DEC 67
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3984
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA 707
AMEMBASSY LONDON 422
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA 654
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA 082
USMISSION NATO 136
USCINCEUR

~~SECRET~~ ATHENS 2572

EXDIS

1. SHOULD PAINFULLY CONSTRUCTED GOG-GOT AGREEMENT COME APART AND THUS CONFRONT US ONCE MORE WITH DANGER OF TURKISH INVASION OF CYPRUS, THIS EMBASSY HAS VERY STRONG DOUBTS, WHICH ARE SHARED BY US MILITARY COMMUNITY [REDACTED] THAT GREEK MILITARY WOULD BE WILLING STAND ASIDE, EVEN DURING SC DEBATE, ONCE

3,3
(b)(1)

PAGE 2 RUQMAT 2572A ~~SECRET~~
GREEK FORCES NOW ON CYPRUS JOINED IN BATTLE WITH TURKISH LAND-ING FORCES. THERE IS ONLY SLIGHTEST PROSPECT WE COULD PREVAIL UPON GOG TO REFRAIN, EVEN FOR SHORTEST POSSIBLE PERIOD, FROM ATTACKING INVASION FLEET AT SEA EVEN THOUGH TALKS IN NEW YORK MIGHT BE SHOWING SOME PROSPECT OF SUCCESS.

2. GREEK PENTAGON BELIEVES THAT ONLY CHANCE FOR MILITARY SUCCESS AGAINST INVASION IS TO HIT TURKISH SHIPS AT SEA, PARTICULARLY LARGER AND SLOWER TARGETS SUCH AS
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PAGE 02 ATHENS 0257Z 021646Z

TROOP TRANSPORTERS AND TANK-BEARING FERRIES. YOUNG RHAF PILOTS HAVE ALREADY VOLUNTEERED FOR ONE-WAY MISSIONS TO ATTACK FLEET AND ARE PREPARED TO USE LAST BIT OF FUEL TO DIVE INTO LANDING SHIPS. GREEKS KNOW THAT ONCE TURKS ASHORE LATTER WILL ENJOY VASTLY SUPERIOR AIR STRENGTH.

3. WE CONCLUDE THAT ONCE GREEK FORCES COME UNDER ATTACK GOG WILL INEVITABLY COME TO THEIR RESCUE. ON MAINLAND GOG FORCES WILL CONTINUE MAINTAIN

PAGE 3 RUGMAT 2572A ~~SECRET~~
DEFENSIVE POSTURE AT LEAST INITIALLY OR UNTIL SITUATION ON CYPRUS BECOMES DESPERATE AND DIVERSIONARY ATTACK IN NORTH APPEARS ONLY OPTION TO TAKE PRESSURE OFF CYPRUS BATTLE.

4. REGARDLESS OF WHEN OR WHERE ATTACKED, GREEK MILITARY REMAIN CONFIDENT THEY CAN GIVE A GOOD ACCOUNT OF THEMSELVES. THEY EXPECT TO LOSE BATTLE OF CYPRUS BUT BELIEVE THEY CAN STOP ANY TURKISH ASSAULT AGAINST MAINLAND GREECE. THEY ANTICIPATE AN ATTACK IN BOTH PLACES, AND CONSIDER THAT CYPRUS WOULD SOON BECOME A SECONDARY CONSIDERATION.

5. A FINAL POINT OF AGREEMENT HERE IS THAT PRESENT GREEK GOVERNMENT COULD NOT SURVIVE IF GOG FORCES RESTRAINED ONCE TURKEY LAUNCHED ATTACK. WE CANNOT PREDICT WHAT WOULD FOLLOW, BUT ESTIMATE IT WOULD BE MORE EXTREMIST, BITTER AND ANTI-AMERICAN TO EXTENT OF BLAMING DEBACLE ON USG.

PAGE 4 RUGMAT 2572A ~~SECRET~~

6. IN SUBMITTING FOREGOING WE DO NOT WISH TO INTERJECT UNDULY PESSIMISTIC NOTE AT THIS DIFFICULT STAGE IN NEGOTIATIONS BUT NEVERTHELESS BELIEVE PRUDENCE REQUIRES US
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PAGE 03 ATHENS 02572 021646Z

TO EXAMINE ALL THE POSSIBILITIES HOWEVER GRIM

GP-2• TALBOT

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~~SECRET~~ 154

PAGE 01 ATHENS 02571 021440Z

42

ACTION SS 35

INFO NSCE 00, CIAE 00, SSO 00, DODE 00, USIE 00, NSAE 00, CCO 00, MM 01,

/036 W

Q 021328Z DEC 67
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3983
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA IMMEDIATE 706
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA 653
AMEMBASSY LONDON 421
USMISSION USUN NY 246
USMISSION NATO 135

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~~SECRET~~ ATHENS 2571

EXDIS

1. I SAW PIPINELIS AT 1300 LOCAL TO COMPARE IMPRESSIONS OF DEVELOPMENTS OF RECENT HOURS. WE BOTH ASSUMED OUTCOME OF TODAY'S VANCE-MAKARIOS MEETING, WHICH SO FAR AS WE KNEW WAS STILL CONTINUING, WOULD BE CRUCIAL TO WHOLE EFFORT SINCE NOVEMBER 15 TO AVOID WAR.

PAGE 2 RUQMAT 2571A ~~SECRET~~

2. PIPINELIS EXPLICITLY STATED HE HAS PRESSED MAKARIOS TO ACCEPT PARAGRAPH 4 WITH FINAL SENTENCE APPROVED BY GOT AND GOG AND ACCEPTABLE TO UNSYG (USUN 2690). TO HELP MAKE PARAGRAPH 4 MORE PALATABLE TO MAKARIOS, PIPINELIS THIS MORNING HAD SENT HIM TERMS OF CAGLAYANGIL LETTER WHICH CONFIRMED THAT MEASURES DIRECTED TOWARD DEACTIVATION OF CYPRIOT NATIONAL GUARD WOULD BE IMPLEMENTED IN PARALLEL

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PAGE 02 ATHENS 02571 021440Z

WITH DEVELOPMENT OF NEW INTERNAL SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS.

3. EARLIER TODAY PIPINELIS HAD BEEN ASKED BY TURKISH AMBASSADOR TULUY FOR GOG APPROVAL OF SUBSTANTIALLY DIFFERENT TYPE OF APPEAL BY SYG ALONG LINES OF LATTER'S "TAKING NOTE OF AGREEMENT REACHED" BY GOVERNMENTS CONCERNED. AS HE HAD TOLD ME FRIDAY EVENING AND I HAD RELAYED TO AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG IN TELECON, PIPINELIS INFORMED TULUY THAT THIS WOULD BE UNACCEPTABLE TO GOG. TULUY HAD EXPLAINED THAT GOT WANTED THIS CHANGE TO HELP DEMIREL WITH DOMESTIC POLITICAL OPINION. PIPINELIS COMMENTED TO ME THAT, AS U. S. HAD REALIZED, GOG HAS ITS

PAGE 3 RUQMAT 2571A ~~SECRET~~
OWN DOMESTIC PROBLEMS AND IT ESSENTIAL TO MAINTAIN FORMULA OF GREEK ACTIONS BEING TAKEN IN RESPONSE TO APPEAL BY SYG NOT AS ACCEPTANCE OF TURKISH DEMANDS.

4. TO "ENCOURAGE" TULUY AND HIS GOVERNMENT BY GIVING ASSURANCE OF GOG INTENTIONS TO CARRY OUT ALL ITS OBLIGATIONS UNDER AGREEMENT PROMPTLY AND FULLY, PIPINELIS HAD TOLD TULUY THAT WITHIN FOUR HOURS AFTER SYG'S APPEAL ISSUED AND GOVERNMENTS ACCEPTED IT, A SHIP WOULD BE DISPATCHED FROM PIRAEUS TO PICK UP FIRST GREEK TROOPS BEING WITHDRAWN FROM CYPRUS. (PIPINELIS HAD RECEIVED GREEK MILITARY ASSURANCES THIS FEASIBLE AND WOULD BE DONE. GOG INTENDS TO SEND NAVAL VESSEL WITH THIS SHIP.)

5. PIPINELIS EXPRESSED HOPE, WHICH HE DESCRIBED AS BASED ON GOOD REASON, THAT EVEN IF MAKARIOS SHOULD REJECT PARAGRAPH 4 OF AGREEMENT WAR COULD BE AVOIDED. GOG-GOT AGREEMENT CAN IN FIRST INSTANCE STAND BY ITSELF, HE SAID. WITH WITHDRAWAL OF GREEK TROOPS, TURKEY COULD TAKE CALCULATED RISK THAT MAKARIOS WOULD SUBSEQUENTLY DEMOBILIZE CYPRIOT NATIONAL

PAGE 4 RUQMAT 2571A ~~SECRET~~
GUARD. AS GOT SHOULD KNOW, GREECE HAS NOW DECIDED UPON

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PAGE 04 ATHENS 02571 021440Z

BE REALISTIC ENOUGH TO ACCEPT. INDEED, MAKARTOS HAD ONCE

PAGE 6 RUQMAT 2571A ~~SECRET~~
ADMITTED TO PIPINELIS HIMSELF THAT THIS WAS HIS GENERAL
APPROACH TO PROBLEMS.

GP-3 TALBOT

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PAGE 01 ATHENS 02559 011715Z

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ACTION SS 35

INFO SSO 00, NSCE 00, CCO 00, MM 01, /036 W

Z 011620Z DEC 67
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC FLASH 3974
USMISSION USUN NY 244
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA 648
AMEMBASSY ANKARA 701

Roslow

~~SECRET~~ ATHENS 2559

EXDIS

VANTO 67

REQUEST FLASH CLEARANCE FOR ALTERNATE TEXTS IN NICOSIA FOR
USE IN MEETINGS WITH MAKARIOS TONIGHT:

QUOTE: TEXT ONE: DEAR MR VANCE: YOU HAVE INFORMED ME THAT
THE GOVERNMENTS OF GREECE AND TURKEY WOULD BE PREPARED TO
REVISE THE LANGUAGE OF PARAGRAPH 4 OF THE DOCUMENT, ANNEXED

PAGE 2 RUQMAT 2559A ~~SECRET~~
TO MY PREVIOUS LETTER TO YOU, DATED NOV 30, 1967, AS FOLLOWS:

"IN RESPONSE TO THE APPEAL OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL, UNFICYP,
UNDER ITS EXISTING MANDATE, WOULD BE AVAILABLE
TO UNDERTAKE AN ENHANCED
AND BROADER PACIFICATION ROLE,
WHICH WOULD INCLUDE SUPERVISION OF DISARMAMENT OF ALL
FORCES CONSTITUTED AFTER 1963 AND NEW PRACTICAL ARRANGEMENTS
FOR THE SAFEGUARDING OF INTERNAL SECURITY INCLUDING THE

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 13292, Sec. 3.4

State Dept. Guidelines

By *jc*, NARA, Date 12-10-03

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PAGE 02 ATHENS 02559 011715Z

SAFETY OF ALL CITIZENS."

IF THIS LANGUAGE WERE APPROVED BY THE GOVERNMENTS OF GREECE AND TURKEY, AND IF THE SECRETARY GENERAL WERE TO ADDRESS AN APPEAL ALONG THE FOLLOWING LINES:

ON NOVEMBER 24 I EMPHASIZED THE NEED FOR THE UN THROUGH ITS APPROPRIATE ORGANS TO DO ALL IT CAN TO REVERSE THE TREND TOWARD WAR RESULTING FROM THE CYPRUS QUESTION. THE SECURITY COUNCIL MET AND ON NOVEMBER 25 CALLED UPON ALL THE PARTIES CONCERNED TO SHOW THE UTMOST

PAGE 3 RUQMAT 2559A ~~SECRET~~
MODERATION AND RESTRAINT AND TO REFRAIN FROM ANY ACT WHICH MIGHT AGGRAVATE THE SITUATION IN CYPRUS AND CONSTITUTE A THREAT TO THE PEACE. THE SECURITY COUNCIL FURTHER REQUESTED ALL CONCERNED URGENTLY TO ASSIST AND COOPERATE IN KEEPING THE PEACE AND ARRIVING AT A PERMANENT SETTLEMENT IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE RESOLUTION OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL OF 4 MARCH 1964.

IN THE LIGHT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL CONSENSUS AND THE CONTINUING TENSION IN THE AREA, AS SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS, I NOW URGE THE GOVERNMENTS OF GREECE AND TURKEY TO TAKE IMMEDIATE STEPS TO REMOVE ANY THREAT TO THE SECURITY OF EACH OTHER AND OF CYPRUS, AND AS A FIRST STEP ALONG THE LINES OF MY PREVIOUS APPEAL TO BRING ABOUT AN EXPEDITIOUS WITHDRAWAL OF THOSE FORCES IN EXCESS OF THE TURKISH AND GREEK CONTINGENTS. IN ADDITION UNFICYP UNDER ITS EXISTING MANDATE WOULD BE AVAILABLE TO UNDERTAKE AN ENHANCED AND BROADER PACIFICATION ROLE, WHICH WOULD INCLUDE SUPERVISION OF DISARMAMENT OF ALL FORCES CONSTITUTED AFTER 1963 AND

PAGE 4 RUQMAT 2559A ~~SECRET~~

NEW PRACTICAL ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE SAFEGUARDING OF INTERNAL SECURITY INCLUDING THE SAFETY OF ALL CITIZENS.

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PAGE 03 ATHENS 02559 011715Z

THE GOVERNMENT OF CYPRUS WOULD ACCEPT SUCH APPEAL. UNQUOTE.

TEXT TWO WOULD BE THE SAME AS TEXT ONE WITH THE
EXCEPTION OF AN ADDITIONAL SENTENCE ADDED TO THE APPEAL AND

PARAGRAPH 4 AS FOLLOWS: QUOTE THE SECRETARY GENERAL
WOULD OFFER HIS GOOD OFFICES TO WORK OUT THE SPECIFICS WITH THE
INTERESTED PARTIES. UNQUOTE

FOR NICOSIA JOHN WALSH

IT APPEARS LAST TWO SENTENCES PARA 6 THIS MESSAGE MAY BE
GARBLED OR SOMETHING OMITTED. PLEASE CLARIFY FOR ADDRESSEES.
TALBOT

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PAGE 01 ATHENS 02543 011231Z

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ACTION SS 35

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/036 W

Z 011155Z DEC 67
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC FLASH 3968
AMEMBASSY ANKARA 698
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA 646
AMEMBASSY LONDON 419
USUN NEW YORK 243
USMISSION OTTAWA 080
USCINCEUR

~~SECRET~~ ATHENS 2543

EXDIS

VANTO 66

SUBJ: VANCE MEETING WITH FONMIN PIPINELLIS
DECEMBER 1.

PAGE 2 RUQMAT 2543A ~~SECRET~~
AT REQUEST VANCE, AND IN ORDER AVOID PRESS
ATTENTION, FONMIN PIPINELLIS CAME TO RESIDENCE AT
1130. AMB. TALBOT AND JOHN WALSH WERE PRESENT.

VANCE TOLD THE MINISTER THAT MAKARIOS' RECALCITRANCE
HAS DEALT US A GRAVE SETBACK. WE MUST GET HIM TO SIGN ON
TO THE AGREEMENT TO DEGREE SUFFICIENT TO SATISFY BOTH
GOT AND SYG. OTHERWISE THE ENTIRE AGREEMENT WILL COME

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E.O. 13526, SR 3.4
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By , NARA, Date 12-10-03

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PAGE 02 ATHENS 02543 011231Z

APART AND THE THREAT OF WAR WILL BE EXCEEDINGLY DANGEROUS. MAKARIOS MUST BE MADE REALIZE THAT AN INVASION IS A PROBABILITY IF HE DOESN'T COOPERATE QUICKLY. WE RECOGNIZE THAT HE HAS TROUBLES WITH PARA 4 BUT HE MUST PAY FOR THE EVENTS OF NOVEMBER 14-15.

PIPINELLIS SAID HE HAD PRESSED KYPRIANOU TO SEND INSTRUCTIONS TO ROSSIDES TO INFORM SYG THAT GOC APPROVED FIRST 3 PARAS, THUS PERMITTING SYG TO GO AHEAD WITH APPEAL COVERING THOSE PARAS. FURTHERMORE, IN PIPINELLIS OPINION, U THANT COULD ISSUE APPEAL WITHOUT ANY COMMENT FROM COUNTRIES. WE TOLD HIM THIS WAS NOT

PAGE 3 RUQMAT 2543A ~~SECRET~~
OUR INFORMATION ABOUT HIS INTENTIONS. AT THIS POINT WE HAD NOT RECEIVED USUN'S 2682 AND NICOSIA'S 836.

VANCE TOLD MINISTER THAT GOT WOULD NOT ACCEPT APPEAL OMITTING PARA 4 AND WE MUST PUT MAXIMUM PRESSURE ON GOC TO COOPERATE IN THIS RESPECT. AFTER EXAMINING TEXT OF REVISED PARA 4, AS WELL AS TENTATIVE FALL-BACK TEXT WHICH WE HAVE CONCOCTED, PIPINELLIS SAID GOG ACCEPTS EITHER FORMULATION. HE ALSO SAID HE WOULD PRESS MAKARIOS TO ACCEPT PARA 4 AS WRITTEN AND ENCOURAGED VANCE TO FLY TO NICOSIA SOONEST.

PIPINELLIS TOLD VANCE THAT CABINET HAD ABSOLUTELY CRITICAL MEETING YESTERDAY WITH THE MILITARY WHO WERE UPSET ABOUT THE AGREEMENT AND THAT HE HAD SPOKEN VERY HARSHLY TO THEM. HE FELT THE MEETING HAD EASED THE PRESSURES IN MILITARY CIRCLES.

HE ALSO TOLD US THAT SUBJECT TO APPROVAL BY SPANEDAKIS, WHO WAS NOT PRESENT, GOG HAD AGREED SEND

PAGE 4 RUQMAT 2543A ~~SECRET~~
NAVAL SHIP WITHIN 4 HOURS OF ISSUANCE OF APPEAL BY SYG

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

PAGE 03 ATHENS 02543 011231Z

TO CYPRUS TO EMBARK MORE THAN BATTALION. SHIP WILL BE ESCORTED. THERE WILL BE NO DELAY BY GOG IN IMPLEMENTING WITHDRAWAL AGREEMENT.

PIPINELLIS TOLD VANCE GOG WISHED ASSURANCES THAT GOT WOULD WITHDRAW TURK FORCES IN EXCESS OF CONTINGENT LEVELS IN PHASE WITH GREEK WITHDRAWALS. VANCE PROVIDED CATEGORIC ASSURANCES BASED ON HIS CONVERSATIONS WITH DEMIREL AND CAGLAYANGIL. PIPINELLIS SAID HE WAS SATISFIED WITH THIS ASSURANCE.

TALBOT

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Department of State

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TELEGRAM

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PAGE 01 ATHENS 02530 310315Z

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ACTION SS 36

INFO CCO 00, MM 01, NSCE 00, CIAE 00, SSO 00, DODE 00, USIE 00, NSAE 00,
1036 W

Z 010247Z DEC 67
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC FLASH 3959
AMEMBASSY ANKARA 692
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA 640

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ ATHENS 2530

EXDIS

VANTO 61

REF: STATE 77507

IN VIEW BELCHER'S FLASH ACCOUNT CONVERSATION WITH KYPRIANOU,
WILL PROCEED WASHINGTON THIS MORNING UNLESS ADVISED OTHERWISE.
TAKE-OFF WILL BE SLIGHTLY DELAYED DUE ENGINE TROUBLE. PLEASE
FLASH REPLY. TALBOT

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E.O. 13292, Sec. 3.4
State Dept. Guidelines
By jc, NARA, Date 12-10-03

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

37/

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

46/

Thursday, November 30, 1967
7:10 AM

Mr. President;

Attached are the latest cables
from Mr. Vance.

Arthur M. McCafferty
Arthur McCafferty

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Sanford Davis

PAGE 01 ATHENS 02502 300508Z

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ACTION SS 35

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INFO MM 01,SSO 00,NSCE 00,CIAE 00,DODE 00,NSAE 00,USIE 00,CCO 00,

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Z 300430Z NOV 67
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC FLASH 3938
USUN NEWYORK 229
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA FLASH 682
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA 631

~~SECRET~~ ATHENS 2502

EXDIS

VANTO 54

FOR SECRETARY RUSK AND AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG

1. MY MISSION IS NOW ABOUT FINISHED AND I TRUST THAT WE
HAVE IN FACT DEFUSED THE EXPLOSIVE SCENE IN THIS AREA.
I BELIEVE THAT THE PEACE KEEPING SCENE SHOULD BE TRANS-
FERRED TO NEW YORK. IN SEPARATE MESSAGES I HAVE TRANSMITTED

~~PAGE 2 RUQMAT 2532A SECRET~~

COPIES OF THE AGREEMENT WHICH HAS BEEN APPROVED BY THE GOT, ^{Government of Turkey}
AND BY THE GOVERNMENTS OF GREECE AND CYPRUS WITH QUALIFICA-
TIONS. LETTERS DESCRIBING THESE QUALIFICATIONS HAVE BEEN
SENT TO ME BY THE RESPECTIVE FOREIGN MINISTERS AND SUBSE-
QUENTLY SUBMITTED TO YOU.

2. THE UNIQUE AGREEMENT BETWEEN TURKEY, GREECE AND CYPRUS

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E.O. 13292, Sec. 3.4

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By *jc*, NARA, Date 12-10-03

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~~PAGE 02 ATHENS 02502 300508Z~~

FUNDAMENTALLY INVOLVES THREE BASIC POINTS: (1) GREEK WITHDRAWAL FROM CYPRUS; (2) TURKISH STANDDOWN OF ITS MOBILIZATION LEVEL; AND (3) EXPANDED PACIFICATION EFFORTS ON CYPRUS.

3. DIPLOMATIC COMMUNICATION LINKS BETWEEN THE THREE COUNTRIES ARE BADLY BLURRED AND WE MUST CONTINUE TO PLAY AN ACTIVE ROLE FOR SOME TIME TO COME. I WOULD LIKE TO SEE THE COORDINATING ROLE IN THE STAGE JUST AHEAD IN IMPLEMENTING THE AGREEMENT QUICKLY TRANSFERRED TO NEW YORK. I HOPE THE (SYG) WILL ISSUE AN APPEAL TODAY ACTIVATING THE WITHDRAWAL/DEMOBILIZATION PROCESS. IN ORDER FOR THIS TO TAKE PLACE, WE MUST OBTAIN GOG, GOT, AND

Secretary General U Thant

~~PAGE 3 RUQVYT 2502A S E C R E T~~

SYG AGREEMENT. THIS REQUIRES PROMPT ACTION IN ANKARA, ATHENS, AND NEW YORK. I HAVE ASKED AMBASSADOR TALBOT TO SEE PIPINELIS AND AMBASSADOR HART TO SEE CAGLAYANGIL IMMEDIATELY TO REQUEST THEY AUTHORIZE THEIR PERM REPS IMMEDIATELY TO CONSORT WITH ARTHUR GOLDBERG IN IMMEDIATE APPROACH TO U THANT TO WORK OUT IMMEDIATE APPEAL AND PROMPT RESPONSE BY GOG AND GOT TO START THE WITHDRAWAL/STANDDOWN PROCESS. I BELIEVE THIS CAN BE DONE. I VERY MUCH WISH SYG APPEAL AND GOT-GOG RESPONSE TO BE ISSUED IF AT ALL POSSIBLE PRIOR TO MY DEPARTURE FROM ATHENS WHICH WILL BE (0800) ATHENS TIME FRIDAY UNLESS YOU FEEL IT SHOULD BE EARLIER. MY REASONING IS TWO-FOLD IN THIS RESPECT: (1) DON'T WASTE A MINUTE WHEN A POWDER-KEG IS OPEN AND A SPARK IS RUNNING AND (2) OUR NATIONAL INTERESTS WILL BENEFIT FROM THE COMPLETION OF THE DEFUSING PROCESS BEFORE I LEAVE THE AREA THIS IS A TOUGH WORLD AND THE UNITED STATES SHOULD FIGHT FOR OUR PROPER NATIONAL BENEFITS FOR ACTIONS WHICH THE PRESIDENT HAD THE COURAGE AND LEADERSHIP TO TAKE.

- 1:00 AM EST

GP-3. TALBOT

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PAGE 01 ATHENS 02501 300946Z

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ACTION SS 35

INFO NSCE 00, CIAE 00, SSO 00, DODE 00, USIE 00, NSAE 00, CCO 00, MM 01,
/036 W

Z 300405Z NOV 67
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC FLASH 3937
AMEMBASSY ANKARA 681
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA 1619
AMEMBASSY LONDON 410
USUN NEWYORK 228
USMISSION NATO 121
CINCEUR

~~SECRET~~ ATHENS 2501

EXDIS

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VANTO 53

SUBJECT: VANCE MEETING WITH ARCHBISHOP MAKARIOS - NOV 29-30

PAGE 2 RUQMAT 2501A ~~SECRET~~
VANCE, ACCOMPANIED BY AMB. BELCTER AND JOHN WALSH,
MET WITH ARCHBISHOP MAKARIOS, PRESIDENT OF THE PARLIAMENT
CLERIDES AND FONMIN KYPRIANOU IN 6 AND 3/4 HOUR MARATHON
SESSION, ENDING AT 0245. MISSION LEFT FOR ATHENS AT 0345.

MAKARIOS STUBBORNLY AND CLEVERLY DEFENDED A DEFECTIVE
GOC WRITTEN COMMENTARY INTO THE EARLY MORNING HOURS.

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Authority Pres 64-18102-16, #334
By jc NARA, Date 12-10-03

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PAGE 02 ATHENS 02501 300946Z

FINALLY, HIS BEATITUDE GAVE WAY SUFFICIENTLY TO PERMIT THE COMPLETION OF A DRAFT WHICH SEEMS SUFFICIENTLY FORTHCOMING TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE OVERALL DEFUSING EFFORT NEGOTIATING WITH HIM UNDER CIRCUMSTANCES THREATENING EXISTENCE OF HIS COUNTRY CAN BE FAIRLY DESCRIBED AS UNIQUE EXPERIENCE.

TEXT OF THE SECRET WRITTEN GOC COMMENT SIGNED BY SPYROS KYPRIANOU, MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, FOLLOWS:

QUOTE DEAR MR. VANCE

WE WELCOME THE MANY AND STRENUOUS EFFORTS WHICH HAVE BEEN MADE IN RECENT DAYS TO PRESERVE PEACE IN THIS AREA.

PAGE 3 RUQMAT 2501A ~~SECRET~~

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS, REFERRING TO THE PROPOSALS CONTAINED IN THE ATTACHED TEXT, WISHES TO STATE ITS POSITION AS FOLLOWS:

1. THE FIRST THREE PARAGRAPHS OF THE SAID PROPOSALS CONCERN PRIMARILY THE GOVERNMENTS OF GREECE AND TURKEY AND HAVE ALREADY BEEN AGREED UPON BY THEM. THE GOVERNMENT OF CYPRUS ACKNOWLEDGING THE AFORESAID AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENTS OF GREECE AND TURKEY CONSIDERS IT AS A FIRST STEP ON THE LINES OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL'S APPEAL OF NOVEMBER 24, 1967, FOR THE PHASED WITHDRAWAL OF ALLFORCES AND COMPLETE DEMILITERISATION. IT, THEREFORE, MAINTAINS THAT SUCH PHASED WITHDRAWAL SHOULD INCLUDE THE GREEKS AND TURKISH CONTINGENTS BECAUSE IT FIRMLY BELIEVES THAT, IN THIS WAY, THE CAUSE OF PEACE WOULD BE BEST SERVED.

2. THE PACIFICATION MEASURES STATED IN PARAGRAPH 4 ARE OBJECTIVES OF THE CYPRUS GOVERNMENT.

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PAGE 03 ATHENS 02501 300946Z

PAGE 4 RUQMAT 2501A ~~S E C R E T~~

3. THE CYPRUS GOVERNMENT QUESTIONS THE NEED FOR
"AN ENLARGED AND IMPROVED MANDATE FOR UNFICYP." IT SUGGESTS
THAT THE THREE GOVERNMENTS DISCUSS THIS ISSUE WITH THE
SECREARY-GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS IN NEW YORK.

4. THE GOVERNMENT OF CYPRUS WILL ASK THE SECURITY
COUNCIL FOR GUARANTEES AGAINST MILITARY INTERVENTION
IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE LAST PARAGRAPH OF THE SECRETARY-
GENERAL'S APPEAL OF NOVEMBER 24, 1967. YOURS SINCERELY,
SPYROS KYPRIANOU, MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS. UNQUOTE

DETAILED REPORT ON MEETING WILL BE SUBMITTED IN SEPTEL.

GP-3. TALBOT

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ACTION SS 80

INFO NSCE 00, CIAE 00, SSO 00, DODE 00, USIE 00, NSAE 00, CCO 00, 1967 NOV 29 04 07

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FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS
TO US MISSPLN NATO IMMEDIATE 117
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA IMMEDIATE 677
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA 626
SECSTATE WASHDC 3933
USCINCEUR

~~SECRET~~ ATHENS 2497

LIMDIS

PLEASE PASS TO DEPUTY SYG ROBERTS FOLLOWING MESSAGE
FROM SYG BROSI0

BEGIN TEXT

1. I VISITED ANKARA THIS MORNING AS FORSEEN IN MY
PROCEEDING MESSAGE. I ARRIVED AT 8:30 A.M. AND HAD

PAGE 2 RUQMAT 2497A ~~SECRET~~
BREAKFAST WITH TURKISH FOREIGN MINISTER TO WHOM I
LISTED THE POINTS ON WHICH THE GREEKS STILL SOUGHT
CLARIFICATION. AFTER A LONG, DIFFICULT BUT COURTEOUS
DISCUSSION THE FOREIGN MINISTER, AFTER CONSULTATION WITH
PRIME MINISTER DEMIREL, STATED HIS GOVERNMENT WAS READY
TO GIVE THE DESIRED CLARIFICATIONS IN AN INTERPRETATIVE
LETTER. THE FORMULATION OF THESE CLARIFICATIONS PROVED

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By je, NARA, Date 12-10-03

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PAGE 02 ATHENS 02497 291945Z

SOMEWHAT ARDUOUS, BUT AFTER FURTHER DISCUSSIONS IN WHICH I MADE SEVERAL COMPROMISE SUGGESTIONS, THE LETTER, SIGNED BY THE FOREIGN MINISTER, WAS HANDED TO ME.

2. AFTER LUNCH WITH THE FOREIGN MINISTER DURING WHICH VARIOUS ASPECTS OF PRESENT AND FUTURE PROBLEMS WERE DISCUSSED, I LEFT FOR ATHENS WHERE GREEK FOREIGN MINISTER PIPINELIS RECEIVED ME AT 5:45 P.M. HE RECEIVED THE TURKISH INTERPRETATIVE LETTER WITH GREAT SATISFACTION. HE ALSO MADE INITIALLY NO OBJECTION TO ONE REQUEST CONCERNING THE FORMAL NOTIFICATION OF ACCEPTANCE BY GREEK GOVERNMENT OF THE AGREED TEXT FORMULATED BY THE TURKS, BUT RAISED ON SECOND THOUGHTS ONE PROBLEM WHICH

PAGE 3 RUQMAT 2497A ~~SECRET~~

AT THE PRESENT MOMENT IS STILL BEING THRASHED OUT. THE POINT WHILE OF NO MAJOR IMPORTANCE, REQUIRES CAREFUL HANDLING AND I THEREFORE PROPOSE TO STAY IN ATHENS TONIGHT. I SHALL TELEPHONE YOU TONIGHT TO INFORM YOU OF THE CHANGE IN MY PLANS. IF ALL GOES WELL, I HOPE TO RETURN TO BRUSSELS TOMORROW 30 NOVEMBER.

3. I JUST RECEIVED YOUR MESSAGE OF 29 NOVEMBER. THE QUESTION OF MAKARIOS IS INDEED UPPERMOST IN THE MIND OF VANCE. I DO INTEND TO REMAIN IN AREA UNTIL FIRM AGREEMENT BETWEEN GREECE AND TURKEY IS REACHED. I TRUST THIS MOMENT IS NEAR AND BELIEVE THAT MY RETURN TO BRUSSELS ON 30 NOVEMBER IS POSSIBLE. PLEASE CONVEY MY THANKS TO AMBASSADORS FOR THEIR KIND FEELINGS. THE FOLLOWING MAY BE TOLD TO CYPRUS CLUB AMBASSADORS IN STRICT CONFIDENCE. END TEXT.
GP-2. TALBOT

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~ LINDIS



Department of State

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PAGE 01 ATHENS 02486 282227Z

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ACTION SS 35

INFO MM 01,SSO 00,NSCE 00,CIAE 00,DODE 00,USIE 00,CCO 00,NSAE 00,
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Z 282143Z NOV 67 ZFF-4
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC FLASH 3924
AMEMBASSY ANKARA 671
AMEMBASSY LONDON 402
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA 620
USUN NEW YORK 221
US MISSION NATO 112
CINCEUR

~~SECRET~~ ATHENS 2486

EXDIS

VANTO 43

SUBJECT: VANCE MEETING WITH FOMNIM PIPNELIS-NOVEMBER 28

1. VANCE, ACCOMPANIED BY AMBASSADOR TALBOT AND JOHN WALSH,

PAGE 2 RUQMAT 2486A ~~SECRET~~
MET WITH FOMNIM PIPINELIS AT 2130. PIPINELIS CAME DIRECTLY
TO THE ISSUE. HE SAID CABINET HAD ACCEPTED GOT PROPOSALS
AND HE WOULD PRESENT LETTER TO THAT EFFECT TO VANCE.
DECISION WAS REACHED AFTER MOVING SCENE IN CABINET. IT
WAS NOT EASY BUT IT WAS RIGHT. HE HOPED THIS WOULD BE THE
BEGINNING OF END OF SAD STORY OF CONFLICT WITH TURKS OVER
CYPRUS.

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Authority FRENS 64-68, vol. 116, # 330

By je NARA. Date 12/10/03

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PAGE 02 ATHENS 02486 282227Z

2. PIPINELIS SAID HE ALSO HOPED TURKS WOULD NOT TRY SCORE PROPAGANDA VICTORY AS RESULT GOG DECISION. SAID HE HAD PREPARED LENGTHY STATEMENT EMPHASIZING NO VALUE IN WINNING OR LOSING IN GREEK-TURK RELATION, AND POINTING OUT AGREEMENT WILL NOT SETTLE EVERYTHING BUT IT WILL OPEN THE DOOR TO DIRECT CONTACTS BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES.

3. VANCE SAID HE WISHED EXPRESS HIS DEEP PERSONAL ADMIRATION FORMINISTER. HIS DECISION HAD BEEN VERY COURAGEOUS.

PAGE 3 RUQMAT 2486A ~~SECRET~~

4. PIPINELIS SAID GOG WISHED SEEK CERTAIN CLARIFICATIONS AND WOULD REQUEST BROSID VISIT ANKARA TOMORROW MORNING. FIRST OF THESE CONCERNED MAKARIOS. GOG ACCEPTED TURK PROPOSALS IN GOOD FAITH BUT COULD NOT COMMIT MAKARIOS RE PARA 4. GOVERNMENT WAS PREPARED, HOWEVER, TO TRY BRING HIM ABOARD. SECOND CONCERNED RELATIONSHIP IN SOME PARA BETWEEN ELIMINATION OF NATIONAL GUARD AND CONSTITUTING NEW FORCE. GOVERNMENT BELIEVED THESE ACTIONS SHOULD BE PARALLEL. THIRD CONCERNED DEFINITION OF MILITARY PERSONNEL IN PARA 3. VANCE INTERRUPTED AT THAT POINT TO EXPRESS BELIEF EACH SIDE SHOULD HOLD OWN INTERPRETATION THAT ISSUE. FOURTH WAS GOG DESIRE STRETCH WITHDRAWAL PERIOD FROM 45 TO 60 DAYS IN ORDER PROVIDE LOGISTICAL AND ELBOW ROOM.

5. VANCE SUGGESTED THAT ONCE WITHDRAWALS BEGAN ISSUES LIKE THIS SHOULD BE PRACTICAL SUBJECTS FO DISCUSSION WITH TURKS. PIPINELIS ENDED DISCUSSION BY EXPRESSING FIRM CONVICTION THAT WAR WOULD HAVE OCCURRED
TOT PRESIDENT
JOHNSON SENT THE VANCE MISSION TO SEARCH FOR A PEACEFUL

PAGE 4 RUQMAT 2486A ~~SECRET~~

SOLUTION ON BQQALF MVS GOVERNMENT HE EXPRESSED TO BE
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PAGE 03 ATHENS 02486 282227Z

APPRECIATION TO PRESIDENT.

6. TEXT OF LETTER FROM PIPINELIS TO VANCE FOLLOWS:

QUOTE I HAVE THE HONOUR TO INFORM YOU THAT THE GREEK GOVERNMENT ACCEPT THE PROPOSALS CONTAINED IN THE ATTACHED TEXT, ON THE UNDERSTANDING THAT THE MEASURES TO BE TAKEN BY THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT TO REMOVE THE CRISIS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE LETTER OF THE FOREIGN MINISTER OF TURKEY, DATED NOVEMBER 28, 1967, SHALL BE IMPLEMENTED IN GOOD FAITH.

THE GREEK GOVERNMENT WISH TO POINT OUT THAT, AS FAR AS THE PROVISIONS OF PARAGRAPH 4 ARE CONCERNED, WHICH THEY READ AS ALSO COVERING THE QUESTION OF THE NATIONAL GUARD, THEY CANNOT ENGAGE THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE GOVERNMENT OF CYPRUS, WHOSE RIGHTS, MUST REMAIN BY NECESSITY RESERVED. UNQUOTE.

GP-3. TALBOT

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PAGE 01 ATHENS 02485 282145Z

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ACTION SS 35

INFO MM 01,SSO 00,NSCE 00,CIAE 00,DODE 00,USIE 00,CCO 00,1036 W

Z 282136Z NOV 67
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC FLASH 3923

SECRET ATHENS 2485

EXDIS

VANTO 42

FOR SECRETARY FROM VANCE

1. NOW THAT GREEKS AND TURKS HAVE REACHED AGREEMENT
I PLAN FLY NICOSIA IN FEW HOURS. GETTING MAKARIOS ABOARD
WILL BE EXTREMELY DIFFICULT. THE GREEKS HAVE AGREED LEAN
ON HIM AND I BELIEVE UK WILL DO LIKEWISE. WE HAVE KEY
ROLE THIS RESPECT AND I WOULD WISH YOUR VIEWS ON HOW FAR
I COULD GO WITH HIM. COULD I, FOR EXAMPLE, FLATLY INFORM
HIM THAT IF HE ENDEAVORS TORPEDO TENUOUS GREEK/TURKEY
ACCORD WE WOULD BE PREPARED WITHDRAW US SUPPORT IN FROM
HIS REGIME?

2. PLEASE REPLY NICOSIA.
GP-3. TALBOT

NOTE: PASSED USUN BY OCT.

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ACTION SS 35

INFO SSO 00, NSCE 00, CIAE 00, DODE 00, USIE 00, CCO 00, /035 W

Z 282040Z NOV 67 ZFF-6
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS
TO AMEMBASSY ANKARA FLASH 670
SECSTATE WASHDC FLASH 3922
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA 619
AMEMBASSY LONDON 401
USUN NEW YORK 220
US MISSION NATO 111
USCINEUR

EXDIS

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~~SECRET~~ ATHENS 2484

EXDIS

VANTO 41

FOR HART FROM VANCE

1. INFORM CAGLAYANGIL SOONEST THAT GREEKS HAVE ACCEPTED THE GOT PROPOSALS PRESENTED BY ME TO THEM TODAY. ALSO INFORM HIM I AM FLYING TO NICOSIA EARLY MORNING HOURS.

2. PIPINELIS IN LIGHT FACT I MUST GO NICOSIA WISHES BROSIO GO ANKARA EARLY MORNING MAKE CLEAR TO TURKS THAT GREEKS CANNOT SPEAK FOR MAKARIOS.

3. PLEASE RECEIPT BY FLASH DELIVERY INFO.

4. IN LIGHT OF FACT VANCE HAS TSILL TO GET MAKARIOS ON BOARD ALL ADDRESS HOLD INFO TIGHTLY

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PAGE 02 ATHENS 02484 232105Z

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TALBOT

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PAGE 01 ATHENS 02483 282027Z

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ACTION SS 35

INFO SSO 00, NSCE 00, DODE 00, CIAE 00, USIE 00, CCO 00, /035 W

Z 281933Z NOV 67
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS
TO AMEMBASSY NICOSIA FLASH 618
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC FLASH 3921
AMEMBASSY BEIRUT 764
AMEMBASSY ANKARA 669
EHKGZYLK STUTTGART 38
CINCEUR

~~SECRET~~ ATHENS 2483

VANTO 40

1. YOU HAVE SEEN ANKARA 2612. I HAVE NOTHING TO ADD TO THAT
NO WOULD I RECOMMEND DELAYING FURTHER EVACUATION OF AMERICANS.

2. LATER THIS EVENING PLAN SEE GREEK FOREIGN MINISTER AGAIN.
IF RESULT IS HOPEFUL I WILL TRAVEL TO NICOSIA TONIGHT OR EARLY
TOMORROW MORNING.
TALBOT

NOTE: HANDLED EXDIS PER S/S-O.

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PAGE 01 ATHENS 02482 281742Z

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ACTION SS 35

INFO SSO 00, NSCE 00, USIE 00, DODE 00, CIAE 00, CCO 00, /035 W

Z 281635Z NOV 67 ZFF-6
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC FLASH 3920
AMEMBASSY ANKARA 668
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA 617
USUN 218
AMEMBASSY LONDON 400
US MISSION NATO 110
USCINCEUR

~~SECRET~~ ATHENS 2482

EXDIS

VANTO 39

REF: VANTO 37 (ATHENS 2473)0

PAGE 2 RUQMAT 2482A ~~SECRET~~

SUBJECT: VANCE MEETING WITH FOREIGN MINISTER CAGLAYANGIL AND
PRIME MINISTER DEMIREL-NOVEMBER 28, 1967

AT 2200 FOREIGN MINISTER CAGLAYANGIL OPENED MEETING WITH
VANCE, HART AND WALSH, WITH COMMENT THAT HE HAD BEEN
ON HIS FEET TALKING AND URGING PEACE SINCE HE LEFT US AT 1000
PREVIOUS MORNING. HE HAD TAKEN OUR DRAFT ACCORD DIRECTLY
TO PRIME MINISTER. (HIS STAFF LATER TOLD US HE HAD BEEN
GREATLY PLEASED BY OUR DRAFT AND WAS PREPARED TO ACCEPT IT
ALMOST WITHOUT CHANGE.) THEY HAD THEN GONE TOGETHER TO
PRESIDENT AND SUBSEQUENTLY TO CABINET WHERE HE HAD

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PAGE 02 ATHENS 02482 281742Z

EXPLAINED OUR PROPOSAL. CABINET, IN TURN, HAD DECIDED THAT HE, DEMIREL AND OTHERS SHOULD CONSULT LEADERS OF THE POLITICAL PARTIES, A PROCEDURE WHICH TOOK 5 AND ONE HALF HOURS. THESE CONSULTATIONS HAD BEEN DIFFICULT. THEY HAD BEEN ACCUSED BY POLITICAL LEADERS OF NEGOTIATING WITH GREEKS DESPITE THEIR PROMISE THAT THEY WOULD NOT DO SO PRIOR TO GREEK WITHDRAWAL. HE HAD EVEN BEEN CALLED A TRAITOR AND HAD OFFERED HIS RESIGNATION.

DEMIREL AND CAGLAYANGIL HAD REPORTED THESE VIEWS TO CABINET.

PAGE 3 RUQMAT 2482A ~~SECRET~~

HE AND TECHNICIANS OF FOREIGN OFFICE HAD TRIED TO EXPLAIN RATIONALE AND ADVANTAGES OF VANCE DRAFT. FINALLY, CABINET HAD DECIDED THAT IT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE TO MAKE SOME CHANGES IN TURKISH DRAFT WHICH VANCE HAD TAKEN TO ATHENS ON NOVEMBER 25 BUT IT WOULD NOT ACCEPT VANCE DRAFT.

AT VANCE'S REQUEST, TURKS THEN RAN THROUGH SERIES OF CHANGES THAT THEY WERE AUTHORIZED BY CABINET TO CONSIDER. ALTHOUGH CERTAIN OF THESE CHANGES REPRESENTED IMPROVEMENTS TO A POOR BASIC DRAFT, THEY ALSO INTRODUCED A VARIETY OF TROUBLE-SOME ELEMENTS. THIS WAS PARTICULARLY TRUE IN RESPECT TO PARA 4, CONCERNING UNFICYP FUNCTIONS. THE ADROIT PHRASEOLOGY DEVELOPED BY AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG AND SUBMITTED ON NOVEMBER 26 TO CAGLAYANGIL WAS TURNED INTO NON-OPERATIVE MISHMASH, WHICH INEVITABLY WOULD BE OPPOSED BY GREEK AND CYPRIOT GOVERNMENTS AND BE UNACCEPTABLE TO UN SYG.

IN ADDITION TO THESE TEXTUAL PROLBEMS, CAGLAYANGIL INFORMED VANCE THAT THREE-MONTH PHASED GREEK WITHDRAWAL WAS UNACCEPTABLE. THE MOVEMENT WOULD HAVE TO BE COMPLETED IN

PAGE 4 RUQMAT 2482A ~~SECRET~~

30 DAYS. VANCE STRONGLY OBJECTED TO THIS DECISION. HE POINTED OUT THAT AT CAGLAYANGIL'S REQUEST HE HAD ASKED FON MIN PIPINELLIS TO SUBMIT A WITHDRAWAL SCHEDULE IN WRITING. THIS HAD BEEN DIFFICULT FOR PIPINELLIS TO DO IN FACE OF STRONG

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PAGE 03 ATHENS 02482 231742Z

CABINET OPPOSITION AND VANCE BELIEVED SCHEDULE SUBMITTED WAS BOTH REASONABLE AND A SUBSTANTIAL CONCESSION TO GOT. HE DOUBTED THAT GOG WOULD ACCEPT THIS DEMAND AND URGED THAT SCHEDULE BE RAISED TO AT LEAST 60 DAYS. CAGLAYANGIL SAID CABINET WAS ADAMANT AND HE COULD NOT HELP.

VANCE THEN REQUESTED TO SEE PRIME MINISTER DEMIREL ON THIS SUBJECT. DEMIREL, WHO SEEMED BOTH EXHAUSTED AND HIGHLY AGITATED, REPEATED CAGLAYANGIL'S STATEMENT WHEN VANCE URGED THAT THE TIME LIMIT BE RAISED TO AT LEAST 60 DAYS. VANCE THEN TOLD HIM WITH CONSIDERABLE VIGOR THAT UNLESS TIME-LIMIT WERE INCREASED HIS MISSION WOULD BE DOOMED AND WAR WOULD OCCUR. HE WARNED HIM THAT WORLD WOULD NEVER UNDERSTAND WHY GOT HAD REFUSED THIS REQUEST. WITH A NOTICEABLE SHUDDER, DEMIREL AGREED TO URGE CABINET TO GRANT REQUEST. IN A FEW MINUTES, HE RETURNED WITH

PAGE 5 RUQMAT 2482A ~~SECRET~~
STATEMENT THAT CABINET HAD AGREED TO 45-DAY PERIOD AND HE COULD DO NO MORE.

FOR SEVERAL HOURS VANCE ATTEMPTED TO PERSUADE GOT TO MODIFY DRAFT PARA 4 TO PROVIDE SOME POSSIBILITY OF ACCEPTANCE BY GOG, GOC AND SYG. THIS WAS ESSENTIALLY AN EXERCISE IN FUTILITY. VARIOUS FORMULATIONS WERE PREPARED AND SUBMITTED TO CABINET WHICH WAS MEETING IN AN ADJOINING ROOM. CABINET HAD UP A FULL STEAM OF CHAUVINISM AND BECAME INCREASINGLY NEGATIVE AS NIGHT WORE ON. EXPLANATIONS OF WHY FORMULATIONS WERE NOT OPERATIVE AND WOULD PREVENT REALIZATION OF TURKISH OBJECTIVES WERE FUTILE. FINALLY, THERE WAS NO RECOURSE BUT TO ACCEPT TURKISH DRAFT AND LEAVE FOR ATHENS.

AS SUN DIMLY APPEARED THROUGH MORNING SMOG, JOB WAS DONE AND VANCE MISSION SEEMED CLOSE TO ITS END. A WEARY CAGLAYANGIL SUMMED UP WITH SEMI-ULTIMATUM. THIS, HE SAID, WAS END OF LINE. CABINET WAS NOT IN MOOD TO ACCEPT ADDITIONAL PROPOSALS. EVEN IF WE PRESENT MOST LOGICAL PROPOSITION,

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PAGE 04 ATHENS 02482 281742Z

PAGE 6 RUQMAT 2482A ~~SECRET~~

HE SAID, THEY WILL TURN IT DOWN. THIS WAS REALITY. HE THEN SAID ALL OPPOSITION PARTIES WOULD BE WATCHING GREEK REPATRIATION. AS RESULT OF EXTENSIVE EFFORTS OF VANCE MISSION CABINET ASSUMED THAT US WOULD SUPERVISE AND GUARANTEE WITHDRAWAL.

VANCE COLDLY INFORMED HIM THIS WAS NOT A FACT. IF SUPERVISORY MACHINERY WAS DESIRED GOT MIGHT CONSIDER UNFICYP. IF AGREEMENT WERE REACHED BY GOT AND GOG ON STATEMENT OF ACCORD, OUR MORAL INFLUENCE WOULD BE USED AGAINST BREACHES BY EITHER SIDE OF AGREEMENT. THIS, HOWEVER, WAS AS FAR AS WE WOULD GO.

VANCE SAID HE VERY MUCH REGRETTED THAT DRAFT HE WOULD CARRY TO ATHENS WAS DANGEROUSLY INADEQUATE FOR TASK OF SAFEGUARDING PEACE. SINCE IT REPRESENTED POSITION OF GOT, HOWEVER, HE WOULD DELIVER IT TO GOG. WHILE HE WOULD NOT PREDICT OUTCOME, HE COULD NOT BE SANGUINE.

IN SUM, MARATHON EXCHANGES HAD BEEN QUITE DIFFICULT. HAVING AN EDITORIAL GROUP OF TWENTY TRUCULENT AND UNCOMPREHENDING MINISTERS FLY-SPECK LANGUAGE OF A RATHER COMPLEX DOCUMENT WAS AN EXTRAORDINARY EXPERIENCE. THE GOT GAVE EVERY APPEARANCE OF BEING WITHOUT EXECUTIVE LEADERSHIP. POLITICAL SCENE AT THIS POINT IN TIME SEEMED TO EPITOMIZE A PECULIAR FORM OF DEMOCRACY RUNNING AMOK. WAR HYSTERIA WAS QUITE HIGH AND WILL TO STRIKE APPEARED VERY STRONG. UNLESS GOG ACCEPTED DEMANDS OF TURKS EMBODIED IN DOCUMENT RESULTING FROM THESE TRYING EXCHANGES, TURKS MIGHT STILL FEEL SAME WAY.
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PAGE 01 ATHENS 02475 281244Z

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H 02, SAH 03, P 04, INR 07, ACDA 16, AID 30, RSR 01, /171 W

Z 281215Z NOV 67
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC FLASH 3916
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA FLASH 666
AMEMBASSY LONDON 398
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA 615
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 217
JFFHNA/USMISSION NATO 108
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~~SECRET~~ ATHENS 2475

VANTO 38

REF: VANTO 37

SUBJECT: VANCE MEETING WITH FONMIN PIPINELIS - NOVEMBER 28

1. VANCE, ACCOMPANIED BY AMBASSADOR TALBOT AND JOHN WALSH,
CALLED ON FONMIN PIPINELIS AT 1130, SHORTLY AFTER THEIR

0-83 2 RUQMAT 2475A ~~SECRET~~
RETURN TO ATHENS. THEODOROPOULOS ALSO PRESENT.

2. VANCE OPENED DISCUSSION WITH STATEMENT SITUATION VERY
GRAVE. HE THEN RAN THROUGH EVENTS AND MEETINGS IN ANKARA

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By je NARA. Date 12-10-03

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PAGE 02 ATHENS 02475 281244Z

REPORTED SEPTTEL, REPORTING THAT GREEK DRAFT ACCORD HAD BEEN BADLY RECEIVED. AFTER SUMMARIZING THE VERY DIFFICULT MEETING THAT HE HAD IN EARLY MORNING HOURS WITH CAGLAYANGIL HE HANDED OVER THE TWO GOT DOCUMENTS EMITTING FROM THAT SESSION, NAMELY LETTER TO HIM FROM CAGLAYANGIL LIMITING GREEK WITHDRAWAL PERIOD TO 45 DAYS AND GOT DRAFT ACCORD REPRESENTING "FINAL" TURK POSITION.

3. VANCE SAID HONESTY COMPELLED HIM TO STATE TIME IS VERY SHORT AND TURKS WILL NOT ACCEPT ANY CHANGE IN DRAFT. THIS IS FACT OF LIFE.

4. PIPINELIS SAID THIS WAS ULTIMATUM WHICH HE INSTINCTIVELY INCLINED REJECT. FROM BEGINNING TO END OF VANCE PROCESS HE HAD TRIED TO SETTLE ISSUE. WITH EACH EXCHANGE, HOWEVER,

PAGE 3 RUQMAT 2475A ~~SECRET~~
TURKS HAD RAISED THE PRICE.

5. WHILE HE DID NOT SEEM TO BOGGLE OVER 45-DAY LIMIT ON WITHDRAWAL AND DID NOT HAVE PARTICULAR DIFFICULTIES WITH OPERATIVE PARAS AFFECTING GREECE-TURKEY RELATIONS, PARA 4 CONCERNING UNFICYP OPERATIONS APPEARED IMPOSSIBLE TO HIM. GREECE, HE SAID, COULD TAKE STEPS ON ITS OWN BUT IT CANNOT MAKE DECISIONS FOR CYPRUS. FURTHERMORE, HE WAS CONVINCED THAT CHAOS WOULD RESULT IF GREEK FORCES WERE WITHDRAWN AND THE NATIONAL

GUARD WAS DISBANDED BEFORE SOME OTHER FORCE WERE CONSTITUTED. HE SAID HE COULD NOT RECOMMEND THIS TO HIS GOVERNMENT - SINCE IT MAKES NO SENSE. FURTHERMORE IT WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE TO CARRY THE CABINET WITH THIS PROPOSITION OR TO GET MAKARIOS TO ACCEPT IT.

6. TALBOT THEN POINTED OUT THAT PARA 4 AS DRAFTED BY TURKS WAS NOT OPERATIVE AND FURTHERMORE LANGUAGE IMPLIED PARALLELISM BETWEEN PHASING OUT NATIONAL GUARD AND CONSTITUTING NEW FORCE. VANCE POINTED OUT THAT PROVISIONS OF PARA WOULD BE IMPLEMENTED BY UN AND NOT BY GOT. THERE-

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PAGE 03 ATHENS 02475 281244Z

PAGE 4 RUQMAT 2475A ~~SECRET~~
FORE, PARALLELISM AND TIMING WAS IN HANDS OF UN. IN
ADDITION, HE HAD MADE PERFECTLY CLEAR TO TURKS THAT PARA
AS DRAFTED WAS NOT OPERATIVE. TURKS HAVE ALSO SPECIFICALLY
STATED THEY HAVE NOTIME LIMITS IN MIND RE PWZ#.

7. THIS EXCHANGE SOMEWHAT BUOYED PIPINELIS WHO SAID HE
WOULD DISCUSS LETTER AND DRAFT ACCORD WITH CABINET. AT
VANCE'S URGING HE AGREED WITHHOLD NEGATIVE DECISION
UNTIL HE TALKED TO BROGIO AND TO US. VANCE TOLD HIM WE
HAD SOME IDEAS WHICH MIGHT HELP.

TALBOT

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC FLASH 3915
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA FLASH 665
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA 614
AMEMBASSY LONDON 397
US MISSION NATO 107
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 216
CINCEUR

~~SECRET~~ ATHENS 2473

VANTO 36

EXDIS

SUBJECT: VANCE MEETING WITH FONMIN CAGLAYANGIL AND PRIME
MINISTER DEMIREL - NOVEMBER 28

1. VANCE, ACCOMPANIED BY AMBASSADOR HART AND JOHN WALSH,
HAD A FIVE AND ONE-HALF HOUR MEETING BEGINNING AT 0200

PAGE 2 RUQMAT 2473 ~~SECRET~~
THIS MORNING WITH FONMIN CAGLAYANGIL WHO WAS ASSISTED BY
TURKMAN AND BULAK. AT 0900 THE MISSION DEPARTED FOR ATHENS,
CARRYING A DRAFT TO BE PRESENTED TO THE GOG ON AN "ACCEPT IT
OR ACCEPT WAR" BASIS. THIS PAPER IS FINAL TURKISH POSITION
WHICH YOU WILL NOTE REJECTS MOST OF MY DRAFT.

2. WE HAVE GRAVE DOUBT GREEKS WILL AGREE TO THIS DOCUMENT.

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EVEN IF THEY DO PARAGRAPH #4 AS INSISTED UPON BY TURKS DOES NOT PROVIDE BASIS FOR SYG TO ACT UNLESS THREE COUNTRIES AGREE TO PARAGRAPH #4 AND MAKARIOS WOULD AGREE. IN ADDITION TIME RUNNING OUT AND IF MAKARIOS DID NOT AGREE WITHIN VERY SHORT PERIOD OF TIME TURKS MAY MOVE. WE ARE TRYING TO FIND SOME WAY AROUND THIS PROBLEM BUT HAVE NO ANSWER YET. PERHAPS SYG COULD ISSUE APPEAL BASED ON POINTS 1, 2, AND 3 OF CURRENT DRAFT AND ACT UNILATERALLY ALONG LINES OF PARAGRAPH #4 OF DRAFT VANCE PRESENTED TO TURKS WHICH WAS REJECTED. THIS WOULD TAKE GREAT COURAGE ON PART OF SYG AND WOULD CARRY RISK THAT TI WOULD

PAGE 3 RUQMAT 2473 ~~SECRET~~
NOT BE ACCEPTED BY TURKS WHO ALREADY HAVE REJECTED IT, OR BY CYPRIOTS. (REQUEST FLASH COMMENTS OF DEPARTMENT AND GOLDBERG.) WILL CONTINUE TO SEEK BETTER ALTERNATIVE.

3. IN ADDITION TURKS REJECTED GREEK TIME TABLE AND HAVE INSISTED ON TOTAL WITHDRAWAL WITHIN 45 DAYS. (TEXT OF PERTINENT CAGLAYANGIL LETTER TO ME IS ATTACHED). WE DO NOT KNOW WHETHER GREEKS CAN SWALLOW THIS.

4. PLAN TO MEET WITH GREEK FOREIGN MINISTER IMMEDIATELY ON ARRIVAL. THEN PLAN TO SEE ROLZ-BENNETT TO GET HIS VIEWS AND HELP.

5. AS RESULT OF LAST NIGHT'S SESSION WHICH WILL BE REPORTED IN DETAIL IN CABLE TO FOLLOW WE HAVE QUESTION AS TO DEMIREL'S ABILITY TO CONTROL HIS CABINET. HE APPEARED SHAKEN AND UNDER GREAT STRAIN. WE WERE INFORMED HE WAS TURNED DOWN ON MORE THAN ONE OCCASION IN URGING ACCEPTANCE BY TURKS OF SOME OFFPOINTS IN VANCE DRAFT.

TEXT OF ~~GOT DRAFT ACCORD~~ ~~HANDED VANCE NOV 28 AS FOLLOWS:~~

~~QUOTE~~ 1. THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS WOULD ADDRESS AN APPEAL TO THE GOVERNMENTS OF TURKEY, GREECE AND CYPRUS, SUCH AN APPEAL TO INCLUDE:

A REQUEST THAT THE GOVERNMENTS OF TURKEY AND GREECE

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PAGE 03 281131Z

TAKE IMMEDIATE STEPS TO REMOVE ANY THREAT TO THE SECURITY OF EACH OTHER AND OF CYPRUS AND AS A FIRST STEP ALONG THE LINES OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL'S PREVIOUS APPEAL TO BRING ABOUT AN EXPEDITIOUS WITHDRAWAL OF THOSE FORCES IN EXCESS OF THE TURKISH AND GREEK CONTINGENTS.

2. THE GOVERNMENTS OF GREECE AND TURKEY WOULD DECLARE THEIR READINESS TO COMPLY FORTHWITH WITH THE APPEAL OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL.

3. THEREUPON THE GREEK GOVERNMENT WOULD WITHDRAW EXPEDITIOUSLY ITS MILITARY FORCES AND MILITARY PERSONNEL AND EQUIPMENT FROM CYPRUS. ACCOMPANYING THIS, THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT WILL

~~PAGE 5 RUQMAT 2473 SECRET~~

TAKE ALL THE NECESSARY MEASURES FOR REMOVING THE CRISIS.

4. IN RESPONSE TO THE APPEAL OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL, THERE SHOULD BE AN ENLARGED AND IMPROVED MANDATE FOR ~~UNFICYP~~ GIVING IT AN INCREASED PACIFICATION ROLE, WHICH WOULD INCLUDE SUPERVISION OF DISARMAMENT OF ALL FORCES CONSTITUTED AFTER 1963 AND NEW PRACTICAL ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE SAFEGUARDING OF INTERNAL SECURITY INCLUDING THE SAFETY OF ALL CITIZENS. ~~UNITE~~

5. FOLLOWING ACCOMPANYING LETTER DATED NOV 28 FROM FONMIN CAGLAYANGIL ALSO GIVEN VANCE:

6. QUOTE DEAR MR. VANCE;

7. RECOGNIZING THE GREAT IMPORTANCE OF REDUCING TENSIONS BETWEEN GREECE AND TURKEY EXPEDITIOUSLY, IT IS SUGGESTED THAT THE PROPOSED TIMETABLE FOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE GREEK FORCES CONTAINED IN THE LETTER OF THE GREEK FOREIGN MINISTER TO YOU BE REDUCED FROM

THREE MONTHS TO 45 DAYS. IT IS ALSO STRESSED THAT THIS WITHDRAWAL SHOULD TAKE PLACE IN A CONTINUING PROCESS

~~SECRET~~

PAGE 04 281131Z

PAGE 6 RUQMAT 2473 ~~SECRET~~
AND CARRIED OUT IN GOOD FAITH.

8. ON ITS PART THE GOVERNMENT OF TURKEY WILL TAKE IN PARALLEL ALL THE NECESSARY MEASURES FOR REDUCING THE CRISIS. THIS MEANS THAT WITH THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE WITHDRAWAL OF GREEK FORCES THE GOVERNMENT OF TURKEY WILL STAND DOWN THE CURRENT STATE OF READINESS OF ITS FORCES, AND IN PARALLEL WITH FURTHER GREEK WITHDRAWALS WILL REDUCE THE MILITARY PREPAREDNESS OF ITS FORCES TO LEVELS IN EFFECT PRIOR TO NOVEMBER 15, 1967. IHSAN SABRI CAGLAYANGIL UNQUOTE.

GP-3

TALBOT

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FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3912
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA IMMEDIATE 663
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA 612
AMEMBASSY LONDON 396
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA 069
USCINCEUR
USMISSION NATO 105
USUN NEW YORK 214

~~SECRET~~ ATHENS 2467

EXDIS

REF: STATE 75139

1. VANCE STILL IN ANKARA. FROM POINT OF VIEW OF
GOG IMPORTANT CONSIDERATION IS TANGIBLE ACQUIESCENCE

PAGE 2 RUOMAT 2467A ~~SECRET~~
OR CONCURRENCE OF GOC IN UNFICYP'S ASSUMING
ENHANCED PACIFICATION ROLE UNDER PARA 4 OF TEXT
TRANSMITTED ANKARA 2591. WE UNDERSTAND UN
WOULD SHARE THIS CONCERN SINCE UNFICYP'S BROADER
ROLE COULD CUT ACROSS SOME INTERNAL ADMINISTRATIVE
PREROGATIVES WHICH UN HAS NOT YET TOUCHED.

2. SECONDARY CONSIDERATION IS THAT ANY GOG IS
WARE OF DURABILITY OR STABILITY OF MAKARIOS

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By jc, NARA, Date 12-10-03

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"TACIT" ACQUIESCENCE IN ANY PROJECT. IN THIS CASE CONCURRENCE IN UNFICYP'S ROLE WOULD BE PRIMARY NOT WHETHER GOG WILLING TO IMPOSE. ALL INDICATIONS SO FAR ARE THAT GOG WILL GO ALL OUT TO IMPOSE GOG/GOT AGREEMENT. HOWEVER, AS IN PAST, GOG CONSIDERATION OF CONCESSIONS TO TURKS IS TEMPERED BY ITS AWARENESS HOW MUCH THEY CAN SUCCESSFULLY IMPOSE BY FORCE OR PERSUASION.

TALBOT

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ACTION NEA 15

INFO EUR 20, NSCE 00, CIAE 00, SSO 00, DODE 00, USIE 00, NSAE 00, CCO 00,
SP 02, SS 20, GPM 03, SC 01, NSC 10, RSC 01, SAH 03, L 03, H 02, P 04,
INR 07, IO 15, RSR 01, /107 W

Z 272227Z NOV 67
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS
TO USUN NEW YROK FLASH 213
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA FLASH 662
SECSTATE WASHDC 3911
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA 611

FS

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ ATHENS 2466

ANKARA FOR VANCE

1. AMBASSADOR HAS DISCUSSED WITH FONMIN DELAY
OF TRANSMISSION AND RELEASE OF GOG REPLY TO UNSYG APPEAL
(TEXT BELOW) WHICH HAD BEEN SCHEDULED FOR 0100 HOURS
LOCAL.

2. AMBASSADOR SUGGESTED SOME POINTS IN MESSAGE
IF RELEASED BEFORE CONCLUSION VANCE DISCUSSION
COULD BE MISINTERPRETED BY TURKS AND POSSIBLY

PAGE 2 RUQMAT 2466A ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
STIFFEN THEIR POSITION. FOMTTFUZYW # WOULD STOP
RYKLWD # HERE AND TELEPHONE BITSIOS IMMEDIATELY.
TEXT QTE I HAVE RECEIVED YOUR MESSAGE OF NOVEMBER
24, 1967 AND ONCE AGAIN I EXPRESS TO YOU THE THANKS
OF THE GREEK GOVT FOR YOUR CONCERN AS WELL AS FOR

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THE MISSION OF MR.
CYRUS VANCE

THE GREEK GOVT IS READY TO ACCEPT YOUR SUGGESTIONS

AND TO ENDORSE YOUR MESSAGE AS A WHOLE. IT MUST NFJRYXPVES #DRAW LRHHZZITI #MOST SERIOUSLY THAT IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT THE TURKISH GOVT GIVE FORMAL ASSURANCES THAT IT SHALL DESIST FROM THE USE OF FORCE OR THREAT OF THE USE OF FORCE, THAT IT SHALL RESPECT THE SOVEREIGNTY, INDEPENDENCE AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF THE REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS AND THAT IT SHALL REFRAIN FROM ANY MILITARY INTERVENTION IN THE AFFAIRS OF THE REPUBLIC. FURTHERMORE, IF THERE IS TO BE A WITHDRAWAL OF NON-CYPRIOI FORCES FROM THE ISLAND, THIS MOVE SHOULD BE ACCOMPANIED BY A RECALL OF MEASURES OF MILITARY PREPAREDNESS

PAGE 3 RUQMAT 2466A ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
TAKEN BY THE TURKISH GOVT AND DIRECTED AGAINST BOTH GREECE AND CYPRUS. WE FURTHER AGREE WITH YOU THAT THE AIM SHOULD BE THE ULTIMATE COMPLETE WITHDRAWAL OF NON-CYPRIOI FORCES FROM CYPRUS OTHER THAN THOSE OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND TO THAT END FURTHER EFFORTS SHOULD BE MADE.

IN ACCEPTING YOUR SUGGESTIONS THE GREEK GOVT MAKES A DEFINITE CONTRIBUTION TO PEACE. SO DOES THE GOVT OF CYPRUS BY REPLYING IN A FAVOURABLE WAY TO YOUR MESSAGE. YOU ARE, HOWEVER, AWARE THAT A ONE-SIDED ACCEPTANCE AND IMPLEMENTATION OF YOUR SUGGESTIONS WOULD EXPOSE TO THE GREATEST DANGERS NOT ONLY CYPRUS, BUT PEACE IN GENERAL. FOR THERE IS AT THIS MOMENT NO ASSURANCE THAT THE THREATS TO THE PEACE ON THE PART OF TURKEY WILL NOT BE REPEATED NOR THAT TURKEY RENOUNCES THE USE XO RHLAJFEN#PURSUING ITS OBJECTIVES. IT IS THEREFORE OBVIOUS HOW GRAVE A RESPONSIBILITY DEVOLVES UPON

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THE UNITED NATIONS, SHOULD THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF

PAGE 4 RUQMAT 2466A ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
GREECE AND CYPRUS TO THE PRESERVATION OF PEACE
NOT BE MATCHED BY THE OTHER SIDE. UNQTE

3. REUTERS HAS JUST CONFIRMED PROPOSED RELEASED
ATHENS "POSTPONED".

GP-3 TALBOT

#AS RECEIVED. CORRECTION TO FOLLOW.

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