THE WHITE HOUSE

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CONFIDENTIAL

E.O. 13292, Sec. 3.4 NSC Memo, 1/30/95, State Guidelines

By C , NARA, Date 12-11-03

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Congratulatory Message to Cyrus Vance

5/5 internal

Thursday, November 30, 1967, 5:00 P.M.

OKar revised

Secretary Rusk recommends that you send at once the following congratulatory message to Cy Vance:

"Dear Cy:

"At a critical time for peace in the Eastern Mediterranean you accepted from me at a moment's notice a difficult and highly important mission. I asked nothing less of you than to help the Governments of Greece, Turkey and Cyprus avoid a major war and a terrible human tragedy. With courage, perceptiveness, skill, and total dedication you pursued this formidable task, and you succeeded, Because of your efforts, and those of the Secretary General of NATO and the Secretary General of the United Nations through his Special Representative, the Governments concerned have been helped to save peace. It is not often possible to say of a man 'he helped prevent a war, ' but I say this now to you have my profound gratitude and admiration, and that of the American people. I am sure these sentiments are shared by the peoples of the Eastern Mediterranean region in particular, and by all men of good will everywhere.

"I look forward to seeing you tomorrow. Sincerely, Lyndon B. Johnson"

OK to send Call Me

For W. W. Rostow Browley Smith

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13292, Sec. 3.4

NSC Memo, 1/30/95, State Guidelines
By ____, NARA, Date 1/2 -11-0-3

1860

CONFIDENTIAL

Thursday, November 30, 1967, 5:00 P.M.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Congratulatory Message to Cyrus Vance

Secretary Rusk recommends that you send at once the following congratulatory message to Cy Vance:

"Dear Cy:

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"I look forward to seeing you tomorrow. Sincerely, Lyndon B. Johnson"

W. W. Rostow

BKS for

BKS:amc

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AnEmbassy ATHENS FLASH

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DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13292, Sec. 3.4

NSC Memo, 1/30/95, State Guidelines
By C., NARA, Date 1/2 1/03

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RATUS

Please deliver following message to Mr. Vence from President Johnson: QUOTE
Dear Cy: At a critical time for peace in the Eastern

Lasked nothing less of you than important mission to help the Governments of Greece, Turkey and Cyprus avoid a major war and a terrible human tragedy. With courage, perceptiveness, ekill, and total dedication you pursued this formidable task, and you succeeded, because of your afforts, and those of the Secretary General of NATO and the Secretary General of the United Nations through his Special Representative, the Governments concerned have been helped to save peace. It is not often possible to say of a man INNER QUOTE he helped prevent a war END INNER QUOTE, but I say this now to you. You have my profound gratitude and admiration, and that of the American people. I am sure these sentiments are shared by the peoples of the Eastern Mediterranean region in particular, and by all men of good will everywhere.

I look forward to essing you tomorrow. Sincerely, Lyndon B. Johnson END QUOIE. //

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E.O. 13292, Sec. 3.5

NLJ 04-76

By is, NARA, Date 10.5-04

In concert with your British and Canadian colleagues and subject to confirmation from Ankara that GOT regards five points as valid basis for discussions, contact urgently Government of Greece and make presentation along following lines:

- 1. The Governments of Canada, UK, US have been in continuous consultation with respect to the dangerous situation in Cyprus and in the Eastern Mediterranean. These Governments consider it imperative that the Covernments of Turkey and Greece reject use of force in this delicate eituation and seek on an urgent basis a peaceful course which will remove immediate tensions and improve prospects for longer term solutions. 2. The Covernments of US, UK and Canada, in wew of their deep concern over the dangerous situation in which they chare a common interest, are willing to do all possible to assist the parties concerned in bringing about resolution of the current and long-term difficulties. The three governments are in touch with the Covernment of Turkey which had has advanced certain proposals as hereinafter set forth: (here include five points contained para 2 Deptel to Ankaa) The Government of Turkey has indicated its willingness to accept the foregoing as the basis for a solution to the difficult problems facing the countries concorned.
- 3. In addition to the suggestions made by the Government of Turkey which might well form a basis for discussion, the Canadian Ambassador wishes to make available a highly informal working paper which has been in preparation for some time before the current crisis.

It is the opinion of these three governments that an early meeting between representatives of Greece and Turkey, possibly in a third

-SHORKT

~ 2 ~

country, might be a constructive step toward a solution to the current crisis. If it appears useful, and the working paper commends itself, arrangements could be made for this paper to be put forward more formally prior to such a meeting.

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

188

Sunday, November 26, 1967

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

You can see from these cables Cy left for Ankara in pretty good shape from Athens.

WWR

1880

SECRET ATHENS 2446

EXDIS

VANTO

SUBJ: VANCE MEETING WITH FORMIN PIPINELIS, NOVEMBER 26

1. VANCE, ACCOMPANIED BY AMBASSADOR TALBOT AND JOHN WALSH, CALLED ON FORMIN TO RECEIVE GREEK REACTIONS TO DRAFT ACCORD AS MODIFIED IN NOVEMBER 25 MEETINGS IN ANKARA. PIPINELIS REPORTED CABINET HAD REVIEWED DRAFT IN LONG AND DIFFICULT SESSION AND HAD PREPARED REVISED DRAFT WHICH HE REQUESTED VANCE TO PRESENT TO GOT TOMORROW. TEXT CONTAINED IN IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING CABLE. ATTACHEO.

PAGE 2 RUQMAT 2446 S E C R E T

2. AFTER QUICK REVIEW VANCE SAID HE WOULD OF COURSE CARRY
OUT WISHES OF GOG BUT IT WAS HIS JUDGMENT THAT THEIR DRAFT;
COULD NOT BE SOLD TO GOT. WITH TIME RUNNING OUT, IT IS
IMPERATIVE TO MINIMIZE TEXTUAL CHANGES. WITH THIS THOUGHT
IN MIND HE HAD PREPARED DRAFT WHICH REPRESENTS FAIR
BALANCE BETWEEN DESIRES OF TWO COUNTRIES AND WHICH HAS

(VANCE)

CEORRO

DECLASSIFIED

Ru Je. NARA, Date 12-10-03

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REASONABLE CHANCE OF ACCEPTANCE IN ANKARA. TEXT FOLLOWS: QUOTE

- 1. THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS WOULD ADDRESS AN APPEAL TO THE GOVERNMETS OF TURKEY, GREECE AND CYPRUS, SUCH AN APPEAL TO INCLUDE. INTER ALIA;
- A. AN INVITATION TO GHE GOVERNMENTS OF TURKEY AND GREECE TO REAFFIRM THE INDEPENDENCE AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF THE REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS.
- B. A REQUEST THAT THE GOVERNMENTS OF TURKEY AND GREECE TAKE IMMEDIATE STEPS TO REMOVE ANY THREAT TO THE SECURITY OF OF EACH OTHER AND OF CYPRUS AND AS A FIRST STEP ALONG THE
- OF MY PREVIOUS APPEAL TO BRING ABOUT AN EXPEDITIOUS WITHDRAWAL OF GREEK AND TURKISH FORCES, IN EXCESS OF THOSE PRESENT IN 1963.

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- 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 WILL WITHDRAW EXPEDITIOUSLY ITS MILITARY FORCES FROM CYPRUS. ACCOMPANYING THIS, THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT WILL TAKE ALL THE NECESSARY MEASURES FOR REMOVING THE CRISIS.
- 4. IN RESPONSE TO THE APPEAL OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL,
 THE THREE COUNTRIES UNDERTAKE TO SEEK FROM THE SECURITY
 COUNCIL AND ENLARGED AND IMPROVED MANDATE FOR UNFICYP GIVING IT
 AN INCREASED PACIFICATION ROLE AND CALLING UPON IT TO ASSIST
 IN SETTING UP EXPEDITIOUSLY NEW PRACTICAL ARRANGEMENTS FOR
 THE SAFEGUARDING OF INTERNAL SECURITY (INCLUDING THE SAFETY
 OF ALL CITIZENS) AND THE SUPERVISON OF DISARMAMENT. UNQUOTE

PAGE 4 RUQMAT 2446 S E C R E T 3. IN EXPLAINING TEXT, VANCE EMPHASIZED THAT HIS OBJECT WAS

CECDET.

SECRET

Photo Com & Borney & State of Ford & Sound & Sound & Comment & To Borney & Comment & C

TO STOP OUTBREAK OF WAR AND NOT TO SOLVE ALL PROBLEMS OF CYPRUS. THEREFORE, TEXT COULD NOT BE AS INCLUSIVE AS EITHER PARTY MIGHT WISH. ON OTHER HAND, TEXT SEMS FAIR TO BOTH AND COULD PROVIDE MEDIUM FOR RESOLUTION PRESENT CRISIS.

- 4. AFTER DISCUSSION NUMBER ELEMENTS OF VANCE DRAFT,
 PIPINELIS SAID IT WOULD NOT BE FEASIBLE TO REASSEMBLE
 THE CABINET TO REVIEW PAPER BEFOR VANCE'S DEPARTURE. HE THEN
 PROPOSED A "GENTLEMEN'S AGREEMENT." VANCE SHOULD
 PRESENT THE GREEK DRAFT TO GOT TOMORROW. IF IT IS REJECTED,
 VANCE SHOULD THEN PRESENT SHIS DRAFT. IF TURK CONCURRENCE
 IS OBTAINED, PIPINELIS PLEDGED HIMSELF TO SUPPORT THE DRAFT
 IN CABINET. HE ALSO AUTHORIZED VANCE TO INFORM GOT THAT
 HE HAD REAGNABLE CONFIDENCE THAT GOG WOULD APPROVE THE
- 5. IN DISCUSSING GOT PLANS FOR REDUCTION MOBILIZATION LEVELS, PIPINELIS SAID GOG PLACED HIGH PRIORITY ON REMOVAL INVASION FLEET WHICH HAD BEEN ASSEMBLED IN TURK PORTS

PAGE 5 RUQMAT 2446 S E C R E T
AND WOULD LIKE TO OBTAIN LETTER FROM GOT COVERING REDUCTION
SCHEDULES COMPARABLE TO THEIR LETTER ON WITHDRAWAL SCHEDULES.
VANCE SAID HE WOULD URGE GOT TO PROVIDE SUCH A LETTER.
TALBOT
BT

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#AS RECEIVED.

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SECRET ATHENS 2445

EXDIS

VANTO
FOND IN PIPINELLIS PRESENTED COUNTER-DRAFT THIS EVENING TO VANCE. WHILE AGREEING TO DELIVER IT TO GOT, VANCE EXPRESSED CONVICTION THAT IT WOULD BE REJECTED. TEXT FOLLOWS:

QUOTE 1. THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS HAS ADDRESSED AN APPEAL TO THE GOVERNMENTS OF GREECE, TURKEY AND CYPRUS ON NOVEMBER 24, 1967.

- 2. ON NOVEMBER 25, 1967 THE SECURITY COUNCIL OF THE UNIED NATIONS HAS REACHED A CONSENSUS, NOTING WITH SATISFACTION THE EFFORTS OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL.
- 3. IN RESPONSE TO THE APPEAL OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL, THE

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PAGEMANA STURNS COAAS 27 ALMEN

GVERNMENTS OF GREEC. AND TURKEY WOULD DECLARE .HAT THEY AGREE TO THE REDUCTION OF FORCES SUGGESTED THEREIN WITH A VIEW TO THE ULTIMATE COMPLETE DEMILITARIZATION, AND THAT THEY SHALL DESIST FOR THE USE OF FORCE OR THE THREAT OF USE OF FORCE TO ACHIEVE THEIR ENDS; SHALL RESPECT THE SOVEREIGNTY, INDEPENDENCE AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF THE REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS; AND SHALL REFRAIN FROM ANY MILITARY INTERVENTION IN THE AFFAIRS OF THAT REPUBLIC.

PACE TO STATE OF THE PARTY OF T

4. THEREUPON, THE GREEK GOVERNMENT, IN RESPONSE TO THE APPEAL OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS. ACCEPTS TO WITHDRAW ITS MILITARY FORCES FROM CYPRUS. TO IMPLEMENT THIS DECISION, IT WILL RECALL ONE BATALLION FORTHWITH.

PARALLEL TO THIS WITHDRAWAL, THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT WALL
RECALL THE MASURES OF PREPAREDNESS AGAINST GREECE AND
CYPRUS.

5. IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE APPEAL OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL, AND WITH THE CONSENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS, AN ENLARGED AND IMPROVED MANDATE FOR UNFICYP WOULD BE SOUGHT, GIVING IT AND INCREASED PACIFICATION ROLE AND THE TASK OF BRINGING ABOUT NEW PRACTICAL ARRANGEMENS FOR THE SAFEGUARD OF INTERNAL SECURITY (INCLUDING SAFETY FOR ALL CITIZENS). UPON COMPLETION OF THESE ARRANGEMENTS, THE GREEK AND TURKISH GOVERNMENTS WILL WITHDRAW THEIR MILITARY PERSONNEL FROM CYPRUS UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF UNFICYP. UNQUOTE.

GP-3 TALBOT

November 26, 1967

FROM WALT ROSTOW

FOR THE PRESIDENT

INFORMATION GEORGE CHRISTIAN

sent wires
CAP671021

Greek response to Ankara's counterproposals last night was initially favorable, although Cy is staying in Athens most of today to work out some troublesome language (and, hopefully, to get some sleep). There is still room for a breakdown in this effort, but Cy tentatively felt last night that the Turks had turned the corner yesterday and decided they had a chance of gaining their objectives without war.

In addition to holding the Turks, Cy seems to have surmounted the first negotiating hurdles -- who backs down first and general agreement that illegal Greek forces on Cyprus must withdraw. The Turks can bill this as a victory, although in a secret annex to the agreement Cy has worked out, they agree to announce some steps toward demobilization within four hours after Greece announces its plans for withdrawal.

Now two new problems are coming into focus:

First is Makarios. He's decided that he's safe now and is going to use the crisis to eliminate formal Turk presence on Cyprus once and for all. He is going to insist on withdrawal even of those small military contingents from Greece and Turkey allowed by the 1960 agreements. Once Cy has agreement in Athens and Ankara, his next job will be to bring Makarios into line.

DECLASSIFIED

Authority NLJ 98-278 (*64)

NARA Date 12-11-03

SECRET

Next is U Thant. He has already called for the "total demilitarization" of Cyprus and may side with Makarios on pulling out even the legal Greek and Turk contingents. More important, Arthur Goldberg has pointed out the difficulty of expanding the role of the UN force on the island. The agreement Cy has worked out envisages the UN force assuming much greater responsibility for order and for security of the Turk minority. Arthur says the USSR and France will make it hard for U Thant to take on that responsibility unless he can interpret his present mandate broadly enough to include it -- and he's notably wary of interpreting his mandates broadly. Arthur also points out that we will have to be ready to pick up much of the initial bill.

Many things could still go wrong. However, it seems as if Cy achieved his first objective yesterday -- giving the Turks some confidence that they could get what they want without going to war. Unless the Turks were putting on a good show of toughness at the lower levels and flexibility at the top, it looks from here as if President Sunay was largely responsible for yesterday's Turkish decision to give him a chance. We will never know for sure, but it looks as if your extremely warm talks with him last spring may have paid off yesterday. Now we have an obligation to support whatever arrangement Cy can work out.

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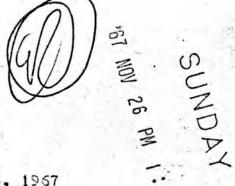
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FROM WALT ROSTOW
TO THE PRESIDENT
INFO GEORGE CHRISTIAN
CITE CAP671021

SECRET



NOVEMBER 26, 1967

GREEK RESPONSE TO ANKARA'S COUNTERPROPOSALS LAST NIGHT WAS INITIALLY FAVORABLE, ALTHOUGH CY IS STAYING IN ATHENS MOST OF TODAY TO WORK OUT SOME TROUBLESOME LANGUAGE (AND, HOPEFULLY, TO GET SOME SLEEP). THERE IS STILL ROOM FOR A BREAKDOWN IN THIS EFFORT, BUT CY TENTATIVELY FELT LAST NIGHT THAT THE TURKS HAD TURNED THE CORNER YESTERDAY AND DECIDED THEY HAD A CHANCE OF GAINING THEIR OBJECTIVES WITHOUT WAR.

IN ADDITION TO HOLDING THE TURKS, CY SEEMS TO HAVE SURMOUNTED THE FIRST NEGOTIATING HURDLES -- WHO BACKS DOWN FIRST AND GENERAL AGREEMENT THAT ILLEGAL GREEK FORCES ON CYPRUS MUST WITHDRAW. THE TURKS CAN BILL THIS AS A VICTORY, ALTHOUGH IN A SECRET ANNEX TO THE AGREEMENT CY HAS WORKED OUT, THEY AGREE TO ANNOUNCE SOME STEPS TOWARD DEMOBILIZATION/WITHIN FOUR HOURS AFTER GREECE ANNOUNCES ITS PLANS FOR WITHDRAWAL.

NOW TWO NEW PROBLEMS ARE COMING INTO FOCUS:

FIRST IS MAKARIOS. HE'S DECIDED THAT HE'S SAFE NOW AND IS GOING TO USE THE CRISIS TO ELIMINATE FORMAL TURK PRESENCE ON CYPRUS ONCE AND FOR ALL. HE IS GOING TO INSIST ON WITHDRAWAL EVEN OF THOSE SMALL MILITARY CONTINGENTS FROM GREECE AND TURKEY ALLOWED BY THE 1960 AGREEMENTS. ONCE CY HAS AGREEMENT IN ATHENS AND ANKARA, HIS NEXT JOB WILL BE TO BRING MAKARIOS INTO LINE.

DECLASSIFIED

Authority NLJ 98-778 (#64)

By (12. NARA, Date (21/03)

NEXT IS U THANT. HE HAS ALREADY CALLED FOR THE "TOTAL DEMILITARIZATION" OF CYPRUS AND MAY SIDE WITH MAKARIOS ON PULLING OUT EVEN THE LEGAL GREEK AND TURK CONTINGENTS. MORE IMPORTANT, ARTHUR GOLDBERG HAS POINTED OUT THE DIFFICULTY OF EXPANDING THE ROLE OF THE UN FORCE ON THE ISLAND. THE AGREEMENT CY HAS WORKED OUT ENVISAGES THE UN FORCE ASSUMING MUCH GREATER RESPONSIBILITY FOR ORDER AND FOR SECURITY OF THE TURK MINORITY. ARTHUR SAYS THE USSR AND FRANCE WILL MAKE IT HARD FOR U THANT TO TAKE ON THAT RESPONSIBILITY UNLESS HE CAN INTERPRET HIS PRESENT MANDATE BROADLY ENOUGH TO INCLUDE IT -- AND HE'S NOTABLY WARY OF INTERPRETING HIS MANDATES BROADLY. ARTHUR ALSO POINTS OUT THAT WE WILL HAVE TO BE READY TO PICK UP MUCH OF THE INITIAL BILL.

MANY THINGS COULD STILL GO WRONG. HOWEVER, IT SEEMS AS IF CY ACHIEVED HIS FIRST OBJECTIVE YESTERDAY -- GIVING THE TURKS SOME CONFIDENCE THAT THEY COULD GET WHAT THEY WANT WITHOUT GOING TO WAR. UNLESS THE TURKS WERE PUTTING ON A GOOD SHOW OF TOUGHNESS AT THE LOWER LEVELS AND FLEXIBILITY AT THE TOP, IT LOOKS FROM HERE AS IF PRESIDENT SUNAY WAS LARGELY RESPONSIBLE FOR YESTERDAY'S TURKISH DECISION TO GIVE HIM A CHANCE. WE WILL NEVER KNOW FOR SURE, BUT IT LOOKS AS IF YOUR EXTREMELY WARM TALKS WITH HIM LAST SPRING MAY HAVE PAID OFF YESTERDAY. NOW WE HAVE AN OBLIGATION TO SUPPORT WHATEVER ARRANGEMENT CY CAN WORK OUT.

SEPRET

DTG: 261657Z NOV 67

November 24, 1967

FROM WALT ROSTOW

FOR THE PRESIDENT

sent Rock CAP671004

It now looks as if Vance may have something to take back to Ankara that could stay the Turks hands. The big question is whether the Turks at this point are so wound up that they don't really want a way out. Vance sees the Turk Foreign Minister at 8:00 a.m. tomorrow (1:00 a.m. EST).

The Greek Foreign Minister has agreed to a document which incorporates most of the Turks¹ five points. The agreement calls for U Thant to appeal to Greece, Cyprus and Turkey to take certain steps, most importantly immediate arrangements for withdrawing some Greek troops and for de-escalating Turk war preparations. The key element is that the Greeks would be giving in to U Thant and not to Ankara. The notion of simultaneous and matching responses to U Thant also helps get around the big issue of who moves first.

We have no word yet that the Greek junta has bought the Foreign Minister's plan. It's also possible that the Turks won't consider it enough. But at least Cy can return to Ankara before the Saturday evening deadline with a proposal in hand.

The UN Security Council meets tonight probably, but our strategy will be -- at Vance's request -- to say nothing ourselves and try to minimize what others say and have the meeting adjourned without a resolution.

Authority NLJ 98-33 (49)
P. JCLICO. NARA. Date 12-1103

SECRET-

The task is complicated by a Greek government leak to the London
Times and the New York Times on the proposed package. We fear it will
complicate Cy's task tomorrow. Nick Katzenbach talked with the New York
Times which agreed to kill the story if the London Times didn't actually
run it.

Full text of proposal follows:

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SECRET HCE587

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S E C R E T ATHENS 2400

EXDIS

VANTO 13

REF: ATHENS 2396 AND STATE 74187

FOLLOWING DISCUSSION REPORTED OUR REFTEL, PIPINELLIS DRAFTED AND CLEARED WITH CABINET WORKING PAPER FOR DISCUSSION WITH VANCE MISSION AND ULTIMATE SUBMISSION TO GOT. IN REVIEWING PAPER THIS EVENING. CERTAIN CHANGES WERE SUGGESTED BY VANCE AND ACCEPTED BY

PAGE 2 RUGMAT 2400A SECRET
PIPINELLIS FOR IMMEDIATE SUBMISSION TO CABINET FOR FINAL APPROVAL
THIS EVENING.

VANCE SCHEDULED ARRIVE ANKARA Ø5ØØ AND PRESENT DOCUMENT AS FINALLY CLEARED BY CABINET TO CAGLAYANGIL AT Ø5ØØ MEETING.

CURRENT TEXT FOLLOWS:

- QUOTE

SEGRET

Authority NLJ 98 33 (49)

Rycles. NARA. Date 21-03

XEROX FROM QUICK COPY

PASE 22 ATHENS SEASS 2420084

- 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, INTER ALIA:
- A) AN INVITATION TO THE GOVERNMENTS OF TURKEY AND GREECE TO REAFFIRM THE INVIOLABILITY AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF THE REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS;
- B) A REQUEST THAT THE GOVERNMENTS OF GREECE AND TURKEY
 TAKE IMMEDIATE STEPS TO REMOVE ANY THREAT TO THE SECURITY OF EACH

RACE 3 RUSMAT 2433A S E C R E T
OTHER AND OF CYPRUS AND TO BRING ABOUT A REDUCTION OF MILITARY FORCES
IN CYPRUS.

- 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 TAKE IMMEDIATE STEPS FOR THE REPATRIATION OF...X... NUMBER OF GREEK MILITARY PERSONNEL FROM CYPRUS; ON ITS SIDE THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT WOULD TAKE IMMEDIATE STEPS TO REDUCE THEIR MILISRY PREPAREDNESS TO THE LEVELS IN EFFECT PRIOR TO NOVEMBER 14. 1967.
- 4. IN RESPONSE TO THE APPEAL OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL,
 THE CYPRUS GOVERNMENT SHOULD DECLARE THAT THEY ARE READY TO
 COOPERATE WITH A UN MISSION WHICH WOULD STUDY ON THE SPOT AND
 PROPOSE NTW PRACTICAL ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE SAFEGUARD OF THE INTERNAL
 SECURITY (INCLUDING SAFETY OF MINORITIES) AND THE TERRITORIAL
 DEFENCE OF CYPRUS.
- 5. THE SECRETARY GENERAL WOULD THEREUPON SEND A MISSION OF

PAGE 4 RUGHAT 2455A S E C R Z T MILITARY AND POLICE EXPERTS TO CYPRUS FOR THE ABOVE PURPOSE.

SECRET

PAGE 33 ATHENS DEADE EARDSOL

6. A PHASED WITHDRAWAL OF GREEK MILITARY PERSONNEL FROM CYPRUS WOULD TAKE PLACE, SUCH WITHDRAWAL TO COINCIDE WITH AND CORRESPOND TO THE PHASED BUILD-UP OF THE NEW ARRANGEMENTS ENVISAGED UNDER 4 ABOVE. THE SAME WOULD APPLY TO TURKISH MILITARY PERSONNEL IN CYPRUS.

UNQUOTE

SCHIENTS ON TEXT WILL BE SUBWITTED SEFTEL.

TALEST

XNROX FROM QUICK COPY

November 20, 1967 MEMORANDUM FOR MARVIN WATSON Having checked with State, I see no reason why Mr. Dameris should not carry on the discussions with Greek officials that are described in the attached memo. More and more, we are depending on this sort of low visibility contact to preserve our relationship. The Greek junta is doing a good job in reforming certain basic Greek economic and bureaucratic structures. If Mr. Dameris can contribute, so much the better. W. W. Rostow BKS:mlc

gla

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

November 17, 1967

MEMORANDUM FOR WWR THROUGH EDWARD FRIED AND BROMLEY SMITH

Having checked with State, I see no reason why Mr. Dameris should not carry on the discussions with Greek officials that are described in the attached memo. More and more, we are depending on this sort of low visibility contact to preserve our relationship. The Greek junta is doing a good job in reforming certain basic Greek economic and bureaucratic structures. If Mr. Dameris can contribute, so much the better.

Harold H. Saunders

THE WHITE HOL WASHINGTON

To Ed Fried
Do you have a
view for walt?
Room
11/14/67

1910

November 17, 1967

MEMORANDUM FOR WWR THROUGH EDWARD FRIED AND BROMLEY SMITH

Having checked with State, I see no reason why Mr. Dameris should not carry on the discussions with Greek officials that are described in the attached memo. More and more, we are depending on this sort of low visibility contact to preserve our relationship. The Greek junta is doing a good job in reforming certain basic Greek economic and bureaucratic structures. If Mr. Dameris can contribute, so much the better.

Harold H. Saunders

THE WHITE HOUSE

To Ed Fried

Do you have a riew for walt? Brown 11/14/67

191-2

To:

Walt Rostow

From:

Marvin Watson

November 13, 1967

For your recommendation, please.

191-0

THE WHITE HOUSE

November 13, 1967

191-4

MEMORANDUM FOR MARVIN WATSON

FROM:

Mike Manatos 7. 7.

Thano Dameris was in to see me the other day and I suggested he send me a memorandum (attached) regarding the informal discussions on the possible re-structuring banking industry of Greece which certain officials would like to carry on with Thano.

You will note from the memorandum that Thano has the judgment which would not embarrass any Government official.

Is there any reason why he should refuse to cooperate with these officials? The fact that he does speak Greek is an important consideration.



FEDERAL DEPOSIT INSURANCE CORPORATION . WASHINGTON

191-8

November 8, 1967

Memorandum to THE HONORABLE MIKE N. MANATOS
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT
The White House Office

Pursuant to our verbal conversation on Monday, November 6, below please find, in essence, our discussion:

On Thursday, November 2, I was advised, in writing, by the Minister of Coordination, Greece, that they are interested in possible future discussions leading to a profitable re-structuring of the banking industry in that country.

On previous occasions, informal off-the-record discussions have been held by me and various personnel of the Greek government, whereby factual statistic and historical data have been verbally transmitted showing the banking system, FDIC coverage, and regulations as presently operational in the United States.

At all times during our past informal discussions, I have reiterated the fact that it is not proper for me, as Assistant to the Director of the FDIC, to speak as an official representative, and that either the Chairman or Director would have to act in that capacity. Since the Director's Office is presently vacant, the sole responsibility to act as an authoritative spokesman lies with the Chairman, or the government's designee.

They have indicated their aim is not necessarily to have official representation but a discussion of an informal nature, and I was contacted primarily because of my Greek-American background as well as training and education in both banking and law.

In the event that I receive a positive request for the purpose of further discussing the success of our banking system, permission to participate in such discussions is hereby requested.

On my own, I desire to limit my participation to factual and historical data pertaining to our banking structure. I assure you that at no time will I make any attempt, directly or indirectly, by innuendo or otherwise, that my presence be sanctioned as a spokesman for the U.S. government or for the FDIC, unless otherwise directed.

I do feel that, being of Greek-American descent, I am able to communicate on an informal productive basis and that, as discussions pursue, relations between the two countries could enhance, and economic conditions improved in Greece, by they structuring a more free competitive banking system.

Please advise.

Thano Dameris

Assistant to the Director

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

192

September 30, 1967

Return LX

FOR WALT ROSTOW

From Joe Califano

For your information.

1922

LITTON INDUSTRIES, INC., 9370 SANTA MONICA BOULEVARD . BEVERLY HILLS, CALIFORNIA 90213

CHARLES B. THORNTON, CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

September 8, 1967

Mr. Joseph A. Califano, Jr. Special Assistant to the President The White House Washington, D. C.

Dear Joe:

You probably have heard of Litton Industries' program for "nation building," particularly our present one in Greece. I have attached to this letter a brief write-up of our Greece venture for your information and any others in the White House that you might think would be interested in having some knowledge of it.

Look forward to seeing you again soon.

Sincerely yours,

Charles Thornton

LITTON INDUSTRIES, INC., 9370 SANTA MONICA BOULEVARD + BEVERLY HILLS, CALIFORNIA 9021

STATUS REPORT: THE LITTON INDUSTRIES' PROJECT IN GREECE

Background

In May 1967, Litton Industries signed a contract with the Greek Government to manage a major economic development program for Crete and the Western Peloponnesus. The contract, subject to periodic reviews, runs for 12 years. Apart from its ambitious goals, the program is highly significant for another reason: it brings the experience and proven capabilities of private enterprise into the challenging arena of nation building on a long-term and large-scale basis.

At the heart of this pioneering development program will be Litton's use of systems management, a technique that has been developed and refined in the United States -- primarily in defense and space programs -- since World War II. In essence, the systems management technique will approach the Greek development project in an overall "master plan" way, rather than on a piecemeal basis. Thus, Litton's management resources will work to define the problems and opportunities, set the goals, weigh the various alternative approaches, establish a coordinated program for accomplishing the goals and, with the concurrence and assistance of the Greek Government, implement these goals.

Comment

The application of private enterprise and systems management to the challenge of nation building has aroused tremendous interest among intellectuals around the world. Moreover, it has begun to bridge the traditional gaps between government, industry and educational institutions in a way that had never before been anticipated.

Current Political Implications

As the contract explicitly states, the project is in no way political. Litton, proceeding solely as a private enterprise, had been working since 1965 with two predecessor Governments of Greece -- the Papandreou and Stephanopolis Governments. Each of the three successive Greek Governments, including the present one, has favored the economic development project; and each has favored the appointment of Litton Industries to work with the Greek Government in directing and implementing the program. Concurrently, Litton has maintained close contact with the U.S. Department of State and the Agency for International Development, receiving excellent cooperation from both agencies.

Objectives

Basic objectives of the Greek Government-Litton Industries partnership are to improve living standards and per capita income in Crete and the Western Peloponnesus. This will be done by attracting industry and foreign capital, and by developing improved transportation, agriculture and tourism. While neither Litton nor the Greek Government profess to have a "magic formula" for successful economic development, both are highly optimistic about the project and use of the systems management approach. In short, each party has pledged a "best effort" commitment.

Specifically, the plan for Crete includes significantly increasing tourist capacity, irrigating many thousands of acres of the Messara Plain, and developing mines and industry so as to substantially increase employment. In Western Peloponnesus, Litton proposes that Greece greatly increase hotel accommodations, and build new airports, industrial centers and harbors. A series of plans has already been formulated for the overall project, which will advance it from the "feasibility study" stage into the "capital creation" stage.

It is Litton's expectation, as well as the Greek Government's that as many Greek personnel as possible will be involved in the development program. As the program continues, moreover, Litton will propose procedures for training Government personnel, and for the eventual assignment of operational responsibilities to the Government.

Interim Results

In the less than four months that have passed since the contract was signed, a number of important steps have been taken:

- ... Litton International Development Corp., a wholly owned subsidiary, has been created. LIDC will direct the Greek project, and will initiate and direct other multinational projects as well. Robert M. Allan Jr., who reports directly to Litton Chairman Charles B. Thornton and President Roy L. Ash, is LIDC's president. Mr. Allan had previously been president of Cyprus Mines Corp., a diversified, worldwide firm engaged in shipping and the development of natural resources.
- ... Gordon Pehrson, formerly a corporate vice president of International Minerals & Chemical Co. (and previously a top civilian systems management expert on U. S. Government programs) has been named project director in Athens. In addition, the first highly qualified team of experts, ranging from doctors of medicine and engineers to seismologists and agronomists; has been hired to implement the program and is presently on the job in Greece.
- ... Nearly 400 corporations have already indicated interest in the project. And many have been meeting actively with Litton's staff to review the possibility of investment. The minimum investment goals, in this connection, are \$240 million by 1970 and \$840 million by 1978.

193

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WASHINGTON 61

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FLASH WASHINGTON

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SANITIZED E.O. 13292, Sec. 3.

ZRAMAZE

REF WASHINGTON 73633

FROM: USDAO AMEMB ATHENS

TO: DIA WASHINGTON

CITE USDAO 1187

1. SEN SYMINGTON ARRIVED ATHENS FR TEL AVIV MORNING
24 SEPT, MET BY AND TALBOT, WR GEORGE WARREN, MSA OFFICER
EMBASSY

DATT MET AT AMB TALBOT'S RESIDENCE
NOON TEA; SENIOR EMB OFFS PRESENT AND CHIEF JUSMAG--NO GREEKS.
SEN SYMINGTON HAD DINNER WITH KING CONSTANTINE AND AMB
EVENING 24TH; WORKING BREAKFAST 25TH AT RESIDENCE WITH AMB,
POL COUNSELOR OF EMBASSY, AND COL. GEORGE PAPADOPOULOS,
MINISTER TO PRIME MINISTER AND ACKNOWLEDGED COUP LEADER.
SEN HAD NO RPT NO OTHER CONTACTS WITH GREEKS. HE DEAPRTED
ATHENS MORNING 25 SEPT.

2. DURING COURSE OF CONTACTS, AMB TALBOT ABLE TO CONVEY EMB POSITION AND THINKING ON GREEK SITUATION. SEN

3.3

PAGE 2 MATHENS 772 SECRET

· SYMINGTON, IN TURN, REFLECTED PREOCCUPATION VIET NAM PROBLEM. TOLD DATT AT NOON TEA THAT US SIMPLY HAD TO GET OUT OF VIET NAM -- SAID COST OF WAR (\$79 MILLION) PER DAY WAS BANKRUPTING US. SAID HE BELIEVED A RATIONAL CASE COULD BE MADE FOR US BEING IN VIET NAM. BUT IF RPT IF MADE. THEN SAME RATIONAL APPLICABLE ALL WESTERN ALLIES, AND IT OBVIOUS THEY NOT RPT NOT GOING TO RESPOND. IN ABSENCE OF SUCH RESPONSE, US HAD NO RPT NO ALTERNATIVE BUT TO GET OUT ON ANY TERMS. DEPLORED LACK OF PHILLIPINE SUPPORT AND SAID SOUTH KOREAN SUPPORT MISLEADING BECAUSE US HAD MORE TROOPS IN KOREA THAN KOREANS HAD IN VIET NAM AND US FOOTING BOTH BILLS. SAID ANTI-WAR SENTIMENT IN US HAD GROWN SO MUCH IN PAST FEW MONTHS THAT US ON VERGE OF REAL NATIONAL CRISIS. COMMENT: CAPT CASSELL, USN, ACCOMPANYING SEN AS ESCORT. TOLD DATE THIS HAD BEEN CONSTANT COMMENT OF SEN THROUGH TRIP -- SAID SEN KEPT ASKING HIM WHAT HE WAS GOING TO LIVE ON AFTER HE RETIRED. INASMUCH AS US WOULD BE TOO BANKRUPT TO PAY RETIRED OFFICERS.

AT NOON TEA AND SUBSEQUENT LUNCHEON. TOLD SAME

3.3 (b)(1)

2014

3.3

ADDING VIET NAM WAS LONGEST IN US HISTORY SINCE REVOLUTION.

WHEN ASKED QTE HOW DO WE GET OUT? UNGTE, ANSWER

WAS QTE HOW DO WE GET OUT OF THIS BUILDING IF IT STARTS

FALLING DOWN? UNQTE.

- 4. ON FOREIGN POLICY IN GENERAL, SEN SYMINGTON REMARKED
 TO DATT THAT US HAD BUILT ITS HOUSE ON A FEW PILLARS OF SAND,
 AMONG THEM SELF-DETERMINATION WHICH SOMETIMES NOT RPT NOT
 REALISTIC AND IMPOSSIBLE TO POLICE BY US.
- SHARE SENATOR'S VIET NAM VIEWS) SAYS MEETING WITH KING AT SUPPOER PRODUCED GOOD AND CLEAR UNDERSTANDING BY SENATOR OF KING'S DESCRIPTION HIS PURPOSES AND INTENTIONS. SAYS SENATOR'S IMMEDIATE REACTION WAS KING ON EXACTLY RIGHT TRACK AND US SHOULD SUPPORT HIM. BREAKFAST WITH GREEK STRONG MAN PAPADOPOULOS PRODUCED REALISTIC, OPEN DISCUSSION BETWEEN TWO, HAND AMBASSADOR SAYS SENATOR GAVE CONVINCING SUPPORT TO EMBASSY CONCEPT FUNDAMENTAL IMPORTANCE OF GREECE RETURNING TO CONSTITUTIONALITY.

 AMB ARGUED FOR FLEXIBILITY WITHIN OVERALL POLICY GUIDELINES IN ORDER GIVE US MORE LEVERAGE ACHIEVE NCU RESUMED

30/4

(6)(

PAGE 4 TATHENS 772 S.E.C.R.E.T.

CONSTITUTIONALITY. HE BELIEVES SENATOR LEFT WITH CONVICTION

NEED FOR LIMITED RESUMPTION MILITARY AID POLICY OF ASSISTANCE;

1.F., WITHOUT ITEMS SUCH AS TANKS AND COMBAT AIRCRAFT

FOR PRESENT.

PAPADOPOULOS GAINED GREEK FAVOR, IN SOME MEASURE AT LEAST, ON PART OF SENATOR. HIS FIRST REACTION TO DATT REMARKS ON GREEK SITUATION BROUGHT RATHER BRISTLING COMMENT THAT IF SITUATION IN GREECE HAD BEEN SO BAD FROM COMMUNIST THREAT STANDPOINT, WHY HADN'T KING AND ARMY DONE WHAT COUP GROUP HAD DONE? SENATOR, INITIALLY,

3:3 (b)(1)

THERE IS NO REAL USSR OR BULGARIAN THREAT HERE ANYMORE. UN.PTE.

7. SENATOR'S DETAILED SURVEY ISRAELI/ARAB WAR SCENE,
AND CONTACTS WITH ISRAELI LEADERS, HAD OBVIOUSLY LEFT
PROFOUND IMPRESSION OF RESPECT FOR ISRAELI MILITARY
CAPABILITIES. GP-1

SECRET

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194

MEMO FOR WWR

September 28, 1967

SUBJECT: Presentation of Credentials by New Ambassadors

We may be missing an opportunity for making the most of the meetings with the President at which new Ambassadors present their credentials. As it now stands, the whole affair is handled through Protocol channels. We never see the President's written remarks, and no one gives the President any talking paper to use in his brief substantive talk with the new Ambassador.

What really awakened me to the pitfalls in this process was the attached news story, which followed the new Greek Ambassador's ceremony Monday. State automatically releases the exchange of formal remarks, so no leaks are responsible for this story. It just means that a public statement by the President is going on the record with--as far as I know--no White House clearance. This one doesn't happen to do any harm, but it does show that the door is open for something to go awry in the future.

Fortunately, in this case, the President had just thoroughly briefed himself for his talks with King Constantine, so he had something quite relevant to say to Ambassador Palamas. However, I don't think we should leave to chance giving the President an opportunity to use one of these short meetings to make important points. We ought at least to have a chance to give him a short talking paper.

If you agree, this requires two procedural changes: (1) Require State to clear the President's formal remarks with the White House. (2) Give members of the staff at least a few hours' notice of the scheduled presentation. As it is, we usually find out after the presentation is over since we don't get copies of the President's schedule.

I might add that I find these occasions excellent opportunities to get off on the right foot with the new Ambassadorë. I understand that members of the staff are welcome at these ceremonies and think we ought to use them to maximum advantage. Our presence at White House functions where the Ambassadors are involved gives them a point of contact that can often take the burden off your shoulders yet still give them a sense that the President's staff cares.

Hal Saunders

Att: News clipping on "LBJ Nudges Greece on Democracy"

LBJ Nudges Greece on Democracy

Associated Press Greece's new ambassador to ance.

was couched in polite terms of ism in Greece." the traditional exchange of re- "You can find that the peo-referendum on a new consti-

tional democracy.

Replying to the remarks of ident declared.

President Johnson told member" of the Atlantic Alli-last spring. Greece, he said,

onal democracy. be greatly facilitated by an In Athens yesterday, Greek
The President's warning early return to constitutional Interior Minister Brig. Styli-

poulos-Palamas, the President an indirect reference to the tional rule.

the second section of the second second

hailed Greece as "a faithful military coup in his country Greece's new ambassador to ance.

Recalling the recent visit the United States yesterday that Greece can count on continued American military aid only if it returns to constitutions assist in keeping Greece a strong partner in NATO would and civilization."

"remains strongly devoted to the Western world. She is determined to thwart any attempt to shake the very foundations of her traditions and civilization." "remains strongly devoted to

anos Pattakos said a national marks when a new foreign ple of this country, like the envoy presents his creden tials.

The transfer of the first time the to see this happen," the Presentials to see this happen, the Present tials. Replying to the remarks of ident declared. When it planned to move Ambassador Christian Xantho The Ambassador made only toward a return to constituMEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

CONFIDENTIAL

Wednesday, September 13, 1967

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Further Backgrounding on King Constantine

Two sources now -- Senator Pell who saw Constantine in Newport and Minister Papagos who was with the King here--have suggested that we let out on background that the King raised the question of our resuming military aid.

The purpose of such backgrounding would be to counter the unfortunate Washington Post headline yesterday which quoted the King as saying the military government "is not my government." He'd like credit for at least raising the subject closest to the junta's heart so it would not look as if he came down here on a purely social fling.

State would do this with the weekly news magazines if at all. But since the King's main talks were with you, State wouldn't think of backgrounding this way without your permission. Is this much OK with you, or would you prefer continued silence on the subject?

W) al Rostow

No

IF TRUE OK.

CONFIDENTIAL

DECLASSIFIED

Authority NLJ 94-360 (#26)
By 1949? NARA. Date 12-11-03

THE WHITE HOUSE

September 4, 1967

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. JORDEN

SUBJECT: Greek handling of the political Left after the insurgency

An essential fact in understanding the Greek handling of the situation is that in August 1949 the Communists explicitly abandoned the armed struggle. In other words, there was not a gradual diminishing of the conflict but a complete cessation at a given moment of time.

At the time of the stand-down, most of the leaders and a substantial portion of the ranks of the Communist movement fled Greece. Of those who remained, many thousands (exact figure unavailable right now) were arrested and put in island indoctrination camps. These included not only known perpetrators of criminal acts, but leaders and activists of all kinds. A screening process took place and loyalty oaths were required for release. The detention process, however, was a long one, and in 1961 there were still some 3,000 people being held in the indoctrination centers. After Papandreau became prime minister in 1964, all except a few hundred known murderers were released.

On the election front, the Left was permitted to contest all elections from the time of the stand-down. The Left Democratic Front contested the 1950 election and won 18 out of 250 seats. The high point for the Left was in 1958, at which point they won 24% of the vote and 74 out of 300 parliamentary seats. Since that election, the Left, now called the EDA, has been getting about 12-14% of the popular vote. The adoption of a marginal rather than a proportional representation system has resulted in the virtual exclusion of the Left from the Parliament.

There is a fellow named Lagoudakis, who is a genuine expert on this period of Greek history. He has, in fact, devoted considerable study to the similarities between the Greek and Vietnamese situations and has in preparation a paper on the subject. He is out of town today but will be back on Tuesday. We can at that time dig into this subject in greater detail.

191

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

August 18, 1967

BKS -

I assume you will be getting from State suggested answers to the attached telegrams reporting that Andreas Pappandreou is in critical condition and is asking us to provide medical aid.

However, in case you get any phone calls from Walter Heller or his friends in the meantime, I am attaching two cables from Phil Talbot in response to State's urgent query. Both report no basis for the rumors which have apparently stimulated these telegrams.

Hal Saunders

Attached: Athens 853

5

1972

Mr. Saunders,

FYI: we have sent a copy of attached to S/S for their draft reply.

Alice Caubet

The Mhite Mouse Blassington

1967 AUG 16 AM 10 32

WAO49 PD

WUX CHICAGO ILL 16 1247A CDT THE PRESIDENT, ATTN W W ROSTOW

THE WHITE HOUSE

LATE, VERIFIABLE INFORMATION FROM GREECE INDICATES ANDREAS
PAPPANDREOU TO BE IN CRITICAL CONDITION. MEDICAL AID IS
NEEDED IMMEDIATELY

ARISTOTLE SOTER.

2

August 16, 1967

197-0

Mr. Saunders:

The attached has been sent to State for a draft reply.

Judy Holter

The Mhite Mause

1967 AUG 16 PM 3 10

WAO75 PD

EVANSTON ILL 16 1155A CDT THE PRESIDENT, ATTN W W ROSTOW

THE WHITE HOUSE

URGENTLY REQUEST INTERCESSION TO SAVE LIFE OF ANDREAS

PAPANDREOU IMPRISONED IN GREECE AND REPORTED SERIOUSLY ILL

GEORGE I BLANKSTEN CHAIRMAN POLITICAL SCIENCE DEPT

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY.

Sound

CONFIDENTIAL

HCE177

RECEIVED

PAGE 01 ATHENS 09853 172333Z

92-35 ACTION NEA 19 ... ALU 1/ 23 48

INFO SS 35,GPM 03,H 02,P 04,USIE 00,NSC 10,CIA 04,RSC 01,NSA 02,

INR 07,000 01,L 03,550 00,NSCE 00,CCO 00,RSR 01,/092 W

O 171905Z AUG 67 ZFF-4 FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3091

CONFIDENTIAL ATHENS 353

1. PATTAKOS, WITH WHO I HAVE JUST TALKED, INSISTS THAT ANDREAS PAPANDREOU HAS SUFFERED NO "GALLOPING TUBERCULOSIS" OR OTHER SERIOUS HEALTH DIFFICULTY SINCE BEING IMPRISONED. PATTAKOS SAID HE LAST INTERVIEWED ANDREAS AT PRISON AUGUST 14. AT THAT TIME ANDREAS COMPLAINED OF SOME DEFICIENCY OF WHITE CORPUSCLS WHICH CAUSED HIM TO FEEL WEAK. DOCTOR OF JAIL HOSPITAL, WHO WAS PRESENT AT INTERVIEW, SAID THIS NOT A SERIOUS MATTER AND DID NOT INVOLVE EITHER TUBERCULOSIS OR LEUKENIA. PATTAKOS ASSERTS THAT WHEN TALKING WITH PRESSMEN LATER HE REFERRED TO "GALLOPING TUBERCULOSIS" AS DISEASE ANDREAS HAD SUFFERED IN PAST YEARS BUT HAD ASURED PRESS THAT NO SUCH TROUBLE NOW.

PAGE 2 RUGHAT 853A C O N F I D E N T I A L 2. AS ALREADY REPORTED (ATHENS 809) MRS. PAPANDREOU TOLD EMBOFF AUGUST 15 THAT HER HUSBAND IN GOOD HEALTH. CP-3. TALBOT

CONFIDENTIAL

COMFIDENTIAL

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13292, Sec. 3.4
State Dept. Guidelines
By C., NARA, Date 121-03



Department of State

TELEGRAM

197-+

- CONFIDEN-IAL

PAGE 01 ATHENS 00809 161024Z

9 ACTION NEA 19

INFO SS 35, GPM 03, L 03, H 02, P 04, USIA 12, NSC 10, CIA 04, RSC 01, NSA 0

INR 07,000 01, RSR 01,/104 W

P 161003Z AUG 67 FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3068

CONFIDENTIAL ATHENS 809

REF: STATE 21,200

I. EMBASSY FINDS STRANGE REPORT THAT ANDREAS PAPANDREOU HAD "GALLOPING CONSUMPTION" ONLY "A FEW WEEKS AGO", PARTICULARLY SINCE HELLER FOUND HIM IN GOOD HEACTH IN LATE JULY: ALSO MARGARET PAPANDREOU MADE NO MENTION OF ANY RECENT ILLNESS OF ANDREAS DURING CONVERSATION-WITH EMBOFF YESTERDAY EVENING. ON CONTRARY, SHE CLAIMED ANDREAS IS IN EXCELLENT HEALTH.

2. WE HAVE NO NEW INFORMATION ON WHEN INDICTMENT WILL BE SERVED OR WHEN TRIAL WILL BE HELD. THAT PATTAKOS ADMITTED TO JORNALISTS THAT ANDREAS HAD REQUESTED HE BE BROUGHT TO TRIAL AS SOON AS POSSIBLE MAY INDICATE THAT JUNTA PLANS TO ACT IN

PAGE 2 RUGMAT 809A CONFIDENTIAL.

HIS CASE IN NEAR FUTURE, INCIDENTALLY, MARGARET PARANDREOU

ALSO TOLD EMBOFF THAT SHE AND ANDREAS WERE AGREED THAT HE
SHOULD DEFINITELY LEAVE GREECE IF EVER GIVEN OPPORTUNITY,

EITHER BEFORE OR AFTER A TRIAL, DESPITE ADVICE THEY HAVE BEEN
RECEIVING FROM SOME PARTIES THAT HE SHOULD REMAIN IN JAIL AND
DEVELOP CASE OF MARTYROOM, WHICH HE MIGHT CAPITALIZE POLITICALLY
IN LATTER YEARS.

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.6 NLJ 02 - 238 By iso, NARA, Date 6.6-03

CONFIDENTIAL



Department of State

TELEGRAM

-CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 ATHENS 00809 161024Z GP-3. TALBOT

COMP TO CHE ! A!

5

SECRET

October 10, 1967

MEMO FOR WALT ROSTOW

THROUGH: BILL JORDEN - Looks OK. WY

SUBJECT: Cable for Clearance -- Greek Flag in Vietnam

Phil Talbot has had an informal feeler from the Greek regime which suggests they're thinking of trying to trade off an offer of help in Vietnam for a more lenient position on US military aid.

From the viewpoint of US-Greek relations, I can't see this kind of trade working at all. The same people, by and large, who most vehemently oppose military aid to Greece also oppose what we're doing in Vietnam.

I think State's attached response is about right. But since this is clearly a Vietnam matter, you and Bill should be clearing this too.

The one alternative to the language as drafted if you think we ought to steer clear would be to add this clause to the final sentence:". . . but you should leave no impression that this will in any way serve as a quid pro quo for resuming military aid."

Not needed.

Hal Saunders

Att: Athens 1552, 9/30/67

aline July

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 13292, Sec. 3.5 NLJ/R9C 02-216 By cbm , NARA, Date 9-28-64

SECRET



Department of State

TELECT

A 9 -

SECRET

PAGE 01 ATHENS 01,552 3013112

ACTION NEA 19

FILE COPY

INFO EA 19, GPM 03, SC 01, RSC 01, USIA 12, H 02, NSC 10, L 03, INR 07, P 04,

CIA 04,000 01,SP 02,SS 35,NSAE 00,SAH 03,SAL 0LBDDLR1,AID :30,

/178 W

R 301230Z SEP 67 FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3447

S E CREJ ATHENS 1552

DAVIS
FRIED
GHISBURGH
HAMILTON
JESSUP
JOHNSON

JORDEN KEENY

__LEONHART __ROCHE __SAUNDERS

_TAYLOR

1. DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER SPANDIDAKIS ASKED ME LAST EVENING WHETHER IT WOULD BE "VERY HELPFUL" SHOULD GREECE OFFER SOME FORM OF MILITARY CONTRIBUTION TO VIETNAM. GREECE'S CONTRIBUTION COULD IN ANY EVEN ONLY BE SMALL, HE SAID.

BUT HE WONDERED WHETHER
WOULD BE SYMBOLICALLY USEFUL. I REPLIED THAT I WAS SURE THE
UNITED STATES WOULD WELCOME CONTRIBUTIONS FROM ANY OF ITS ALLIES.
PENDING DEPARTMENT'S GUIDANCE I DID NOT HOWEVER PROBE FOR
DETAILS OF WHAT SORT OF CONTRIBUTION HE MIGHT HAVE IN MIND.

PAGE 2 RUGMAT 1552 S E G R E T

2. FOR SOME TIME IT HAS SEFMED LIKELY THIS GREEK REGIME WOULD GET AROUND TO CONSIDERING WHETHER A SYMBOLIC CONTRIBUTION TO VIETNAM WOULD HELP STRAIGHTEN OUT ITS RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATE, PARTICULARLY ON MILITARY ASSISTANCE. NOW THAT PRESSURES OF ADVERSE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY ACTIONS ARE MOUNTING, GREEKS MIGHT ACTIVELY PURSUE QUESTION. THEY WOULD PROBABLY CONSIDER SUCH AN OFFER, (JUST AS I SUSPECT THEY INTERPRET THEIR PROJECTED ASSISTANCE TO CONGOI, AS A WAY OF HELPING US WHERE WE NEED

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13292 Sec 3.4
By ICIC. NARA Data 5 15 00

SECRET



Department of State

-SECRET

PAGE 02 ATHENS 01552 301311Z

HELP AND THUS EARNIG WARMER UNITED STATES SUPPORT FOR THIS REGIME.

3. HOW FAR, IF AT ALL, SHOULD EMBASSY ENCOURAGE FUTURE GREEK APPROACHES ON THIS QUESTION?

GP-3 TALBOT

SECRET

Stel to be level with August 11, 1967

MEMORANDUM FOR WWR

SUBJECT: Greece at Your "See Me" Session

The Battle-Hoopes consensus is that you'd probably better not even raise the attached Greek memo this afternoon.

You know what Secretary McNamara has said: "If you can guarantee that going forward won't damage the MAP bill, okay. Or if State wants to move ahead and can give me that guarantee, okay." He has talked with Katzenbach.

No one is prepared to give that kind of guarantee. Moreover, Battle feels honor-bound to tell a few key Senators and Congressmen before we do anything different from what we've been doing. And the next few days are obviously not the time for that.

Reluctantly they feel there's no practical alternative to lying low, probably until after the aid bill gets through conference.

So I guess this will still be in your folder when you get back.

Hal Saunders

Att: Memo for Pres.

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13292, Sec. 3.4

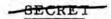
NSC Memo, 1/30/95, State Guidelines
By NARA, Date 12.11-03

July 22, 1967 -- 3:25 p.m. Vote In Serale

Mr. Rostow,

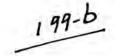
Mary Slater telephoned to say the President's response to your memo *Normilization of Military Aid to Greece was "see me after McNamara Lat the a well testimony. "

Approved For Release 2002/03/10 : NLJ-001-127-1-33-6



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON



Saturday, July 22, 1967

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Beginning to Normalize Military Aid to Greece

Immediately after the Greek coup, we suspended shipment of all major military aid items, partly to signal our genuine displeasure and partly to put us in a better position with our domestic liberals. Now Secretary Rusk believes we should resume limited shipments in response to the coup government's limited steps back toward constitutional government.

His main concern is to avoid damaging our basic relationship with Greece. First, Greece is a NATO ally, and mounting dissatisfaction with us has already encouraged some officers to talk about following De Gaulle's example. But more immediately important, Greece is one of the few nations we can still count on in the eastern Mediterranean. During the Arab-Israeli war, Greece alone provided staging areas for our evacuation aircraft and port facilities for the Sixth Fleet.

25X1A USIA facilities operated without restriction. Ambassador Talbot and the Secretary feel that continuing the complete suspension of major items any longer will provide the makings of a confrontation between us and this government and jeopardize our free use of these facilities without improving our ability to influence its return to constitutional processes.

He does not recommend taking the wraps off altogether. We still want to hold onto whatever leverage we can to press the regime down the course it has set for itself for revising the constitution, holding elections and putting the colonels back in the field. Therefore, he recommends that Phil Talbot be authorized when he returns to Athens next week to tell the government we are beginning to relax our restrictions and are ready to release certain items (listed in the attached, page 2, para. 4). He would also say, however, that further relaxation will depend on their staying on course.

SECRET

Approved For Release 2002/03/10: NLJ-001-127-1-33-6

Authority RAC-NL 1 001+27-1-33
By is NARA Date 3-26-03

If it were not for the Congressional debate on military aid, no one would hesitate to make this recommendation to you. However, in the aftermath of the coup, Luke Battle did promise to let a few of the most interested members know when we resumed shipments. While we have the authority to resume any time, we are morally committed to tell them what we're doing, and this obviously isn't the best time.

I believe we can make a convincing case that the foreign policy considerations should override our understandable distaste for doing business with a military regime in a country like Greece. Actually, this is a small step, and we will maintain tight control. We can't treat our NATO relationship lightly, and we don't want to push Greece in France's direction. And many of the more liberal members will be impressed by the importance of our position in Greece to Israel.

If you approve the Secretary's recommendation, Talbot would carry the message back to Athens, and State would quietly inform interested members on the Hill after Secretary McNamara's testimony Wednesday. Your alternative, of course, is to wait until you have the results of Congressional soundings before giving approval. You are the better judge; my own thought is that there might be some advantage where we have a good case in showing that we're not going to let Congress cow us.

Incidentally, you will be pleased to know that this recommendation comes to you not only from the Interdepartmental Regional Group for the Near East (which has functioned well since you set up the system last year) but also from the Senior Interdepartmental Group which met for the first time in quite a while to discuss this question.

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	W. Rostow
Approve	
Wait till we have Congressional	soundings
See me	

SECRET



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

WASHINGTON



SECRET NODIS July 21, 1967

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT THE WHITE HOUSE

SUBJECT: Normalization of US-Greek Relations

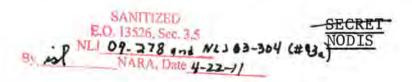
We have had a number of interdepartmental discussions recently on the subject of normalizing our relations with the Greek Government. Both in the Regional Group under Assistant Secretary Battle and in the Senior Group chaired by Under Secretary Katzenbach, with Ambassador Talbot present on both occasions, certain steps in this direction have been agreed upon. I am in accord with the conclusions reached.

From the point of view of our relations with Greece, I consider the steps outlined below important to our interests. Ambassador Talbot is returning to Greece at the end of next week and should be able to tell the Greek Government something positive on this score shortly after he arrives.

Recommendation: That you approve the actions described below:

Foreign Policy Aspects

- 1. Since the April military coup we have withheld delivery on certain major arms to Greece and been quite cool in our relations with the Government with the idea not only of exhibiting disapproval of the methods by which the junta seized control but also, hopefully, of encouraging some return, however gradual, to more constitutional processes.
- 2. We now believe these tactics are no longer useful and that, if continued longer, may be counterproductive. The King has come to the same conclusion. Ambassador Talbot considers it quite possible the Greeks, although highly desirous of close relations with us, may adopt the same tactics by causing certain difficulties with some of our facilities there.



- 3.3 (b)(1)
- 3. We have in Greece facilities important to the Air Force, the Navy, and USIA; they have increased in value since the Arab-Israeli war. That war underlined the importance of Greece (along with Turkey and Iran) to U. S. interests.
- 4. We propose that Ambassador Talbot be authorized to inform the Greek Government of certain relaxations as set forth below, making clear that future actions in this regard will be related to progress in the restoration of constitutional processes: (a) a coastal minesweeper (\$2.9 million); (b) one F-104G trainer (\$1.5 million); (c) sidewinder missiles and related equipment which are excess to the needs of the Netherlands (no charge); and (d) 175mm cannons (8-\$1.05 million). These items were chosen (a) as having a clear NATO context and (b) as obviously not lending themselves to the suppression of civil disturbances.
- 5. We believe we should not release just yet either tanks, helicopters, or other heavy equipment. (With respect to FRG shipment of military assistance to Greece, particularly including tanks, we believe we should give the Germans the go-ahead signal in the near future but not just at this time.)

Congressional Problems

- 1. Although the timing of this action is not particularly favorable given this concern in Congressional quarters with respect to arms programs, both sale and grant, nevertheless, we believe we must proceed and that the over-all interest of foreign policy requires that we do so as soon as possible. We judge that although there will be some adverse reaction in Congress and elsewhere, it will not be great and can be reasonably contained by stressing the following:
 - a. This is a minimum step.
 - b. Greece, like Turkey and Iran, emerges as particularly important to the U. S. given the uncertainties in the Middle East and the Soviet thrust in that area.



- c. It is essential that we maintain Greece as an active and functioning member of NATO under whose umbrella the arms programs are developed.
- d. We must avoid pressing Greece in the direction of the French with their lukewarm and unhelpful posture in a NATO context.
- 2. If you approve the above course of action, we will undertake a certain amount of educational work on the Hill. How much can perhaps better be determined after the appearance on July 26 of Secretary of Defense McNamara before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in a hearing on military assistance programs.

Dean Rusk

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DECLASSIFIED E.O. 13292, Sec. 3.4 NSC Memo, 1/30/95, State Guidelines NARA, Date 12-11-03 January 29, 1968 MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION PARTICIPANTS: Mr. George Plytas, ex-Mayor of Athens

Harold H. Saunders

Mr. Plytas had come to see Mr. Rostow. Mr. Rostow met him briefly but had to excuse himself to handle other urgent business so I spent an hour and a quarter with him discussing the situation in Greece.

He began by describing his own experience with the military regime. After the April coup at the request of the regime, he had retained his dual position as Mayor of Athens and President of the association of all Greek municipalities. His main disagreement with the regime developed over the regime's efforts to dismiss a large number of municipal councils and to replace them with friendly nonentities. Mr. Plytas was in Strasbourg at a meeting of a subcommittee of the Council of Europe when King Constantine launched his counter-coup on December 13. He went to Rome to see the King, was asked twice by the military regime to resume his duties in Athens and was replaced when he refused.

He said his purpose in coming to the US was to describe the situation in Greece and support the return of the King. He believes the military regime intends to stay in power for some time. He does not think the Constitution will be a genuine effort to return to full civil liberties and representative government. He does not believe the conservatives, of which he is one, will be able to overthrow this regime. The Communists, he believes, do have the potential to overthrow it. Whether they have the opportunity will depend on how soon the military regime returns the country to Constitutional government.

When we discussed the role of the King, he said--based on his own conversations with the King--that the King should remain outside the country until his conditions for return are met. He personally felt that the King had not set stiff enough conditions, but he bowed to the King's views on this subject. Plytas has a substantial insurance business in Greece which he has left behind; he says he will not return until the King can.

In discussing the US role, he showed mild displeasure over our having resumed normal diplomatic contacts, but at the same time, he did not feel we should cut ourselves off completely from the government at Athens. In response to my question on what role we should play in

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the future, he said he did not think that we should resume military aid and he hoped we would discourage private investment.

On the latter point, he cited the fact that the junta had made much of our "excepting" Greece from our controls on private investment in our new balance of payments program. Even though I explained that our criteria had been purely economic and were unrelated to the present political situation in Greece, he said that the regime had taken political advantage of our "exception." He suggested that we privately discourage American money from going into Greece until constitutional processes had been restored. He suggested that this could be done through the financial community without the USG's getting openly involved. When I asked whether he felt we should encourage damage to the long-range economic development of Greece for the sake of making a temporary political point, he hedged and said we should subtly discourage capital from going to Greece for the time being.

Comment: Mr. Plytas seemed moderate and not emotionally critical of our posture, though there is an undercurrent of feeling that somehow we ought to have less to do with the military regime. He clearly did not act as if he had any specific message from the King to deliver (despite that was the impression he gave Mr. Manatos when arranging the appointment). He said he was here to talk to anybody interested in the situation in Greece and to do what he can to explain the dangerous forces at work there. When I described our dilemma and the tightrope we felt we must walk between blessing the regime and slamming the door on it, he agreed that our options are limited, although he did seem to feel that the options of the regime are similarly limited and that we should not fear their walking out of NATO.

I think he left with the feeling that he had met his responsibilities here; he did not ask to see the President or anyone else and seemed to have nothing more to say. He doesn't seem likely to attack the Administration openly, but his reservations about our posture may well feed those who want to.

Harold H. Saunders

18462

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Memorandum of Conversation

FOR THE RECORD

Approved in White House 9/28/67

DATE: September 25, 1967

SUBJECT: Presentation of Credentials by New Greek Ambassador

PARTICIPANTS: The President

Ambassador Christos Palamas

NEA - Stuart W. Rockwell, Deputy Assistant Secretary

OPIES TO:

S/S White House

American Embassy, Athens

NEA/GRK

During his conversation with Greek Ambassador Palamas following the latter's presentation of credentials on September 25, the President said that he had very much enjoyed his meetings with King Constantine. The President expressed regret at the publicity which had surrounded a reported remark by the King during his meeting with the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and which had been interpreted that the King had disowned the present Greek Government. He did not mean that at all, the President continued. It was the same as if some foreign visitor, in conversation with the President, had referred to "your Congress". The President in reply might have said that it was not his Congress. This did not mean that he was unaware of the existence of the Congress or did not like it. It would merely mean that the President had not created the Congress.

The Ambassador said he knew that King Constantine was deeply appreciative of the warmth of his reception here in Washington and of the time and attention which the President had devoted to his visit. Mr. Rockwell added that this was confirmed in telegrams from Ambassador Talbot in Athens.

The President wished the Ambassador all success in his mission here and added that he would be available to the Ambassador for discussion of any problem which could not be solved at other levels of the United States Government.

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CONFIDENTIAL ATTACHMENT

Washington, .C. 20520

s/s 16482

September 27, 1967

TO:

Mr. Walt. W. Rostow

The White House

FROM:

Benjamin H. Read

Executive Secretary

White House approval

Enclosed for White House approval prior to distribution is the memorandum of conversation between the President and Ambassador Christos Palamas of Greece.

The President's remarks are sidelined in blue.

Enclosure:

As stated.

CONFIDENTIAL ATTACHMENT

RECEIVED ROSTOW'S OFFICE

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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B.O. 12958, Sec. 3.5

NSC Memo, 1/30/95, State Dept. Guidelines
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