

**The original documents are located in Box 2, folder “Greece - Prime Minister Caramanlis” of the National Security Adviser’s Presidential Correspondence with Foreign Leaders Collection at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.**

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MEMORANDUM

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN...  
1

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

August 19, 1974

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT  
FROM: HENRY A. KISSINGER HK  
SUBJECT: Message from Premier Karamanlis

The following personal message to you from Premier Karamanlis of Greece has just been received telephonically:

"May I convey to you, Mr. President, my deepest sympathy and consternation for the tragic death of Ambassador Davies. The Greek Government, and I personally, condemn without equivocation and in the strongest possible terms all acts of violence resulting in loss of human life.

"In these tragic circumstances, I express to you, Mr. President, my warmest condolences for the death of a distinguished American diplomat in the performance of his duty.

Constantine Karamanlis"



AD

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

4046

~~SECRET~~

ACTION

September 13, 1974

MEMORANDUM FOR SECRETARY KISSINGER

FROM: A. Denis Clift *ADC*

SUBJECT: Letter from Greek Prime Minister Karamanlis  
Regarding the Retirement of General Goodpaster

Prime Minister Karamanlis has written the President thanking him for indicating his readiness to assign General Haig to succeed General Goodpaster and taking note of the fact that General Haig has the complete trust of the President.

The memorandum for your signature to the President at Tab I forwards the Prime Minister's letter and summarizes its contents.

RECOMMENDATION

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

*mt [unclear]*

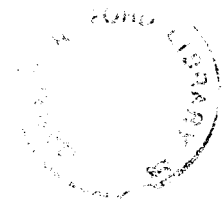
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DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5

NSC MEMO, 11/24/98, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES

BY llg, NARA, DATE 3/3/04



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MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

4046

~~SECRET~~

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Henry A. Kissinger

SUBJECT: Letter from Greek Prime Minister Karamanlis  
Regarding the Retirement of General Goodpaster

Prime Minister Karamanlis has written (letter at Tab A) thanking you for informing him of your readiness to assign General Haig to succeed retiring General Goodpaster. Mr. Karamanlis takes note of your decision and of the fact that General Haig has your complete trust.

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED  
E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5  
NSC MEMO, 11/24/98, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES  
BY         , NARA, DATE 3/5/04



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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

September 12, 1974

~~SECRET/NODIS~~

MEMORANDUM FOR LIEUTENANT GENERAL BRENT SCOWCROFT  
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Letter From Greek Prime Minister  
Constantine Caramanlis

Attached is a letter from Greek Prime Minister  
Constantine Caramanlis which takes note of the  
President's readiness to assign General Haig as  
Commander in Chief of United States Forces in Europe.

*George S. Springsteen*  
George S. Springsteen  
Executive Secretary

Attachment:

As stated

~~SECRET/NODIS~~

GDS

64 3/5/04



20

EMBASSY OF GREECE  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

S E C R E T  
-----

Athens, September 10, 1974

Dear Mr. President,

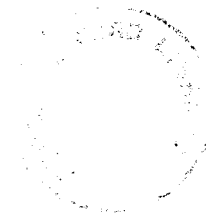
I wish to thank you for your letter of August 30, 1974, by which you inform me of your readiness to assign General Alexander M. Haig to succeed retiring General Andrew Goodpaster as Saceur and Commander in Chief of United States Forces in Europe.

I do take due note of your decision as well as of the fact that, as you kindly communicate to me, General Haig has your complete trust.

Yours sincerely,

CONSTANTINE CARAMANLIS

The Honorable  
Gerald R. Ford  
President of the  
United States of America  
Washington D.C.



38

NSC CORRESPONDENCE PROFILE

DOC		RECD		LOG NBR		INITIAL ACTION O
MO	DA	MO	DA	HR		
9	12	9	13	10	7404046	Clift

SOURCE/CLASS/DESCRIPTION

TO: PRES \_\_\_\_\_ FROM: KISSINGER, H \_\_\_\_\_ S/S 7417594 REFERENCE: \_\_\_\_\_ CIRCLE AS APPROPRIATE  
 KISSINGER \_\_\_\_\_ COLBY, W \_\_\_\_\_ OTHER \_\_\_\_\_ UNCLAS LOG IN/OUT  
 SCOWCROFT X SCHLESINGER, J \_\_\_\_\_ C NO FORN NODIS  
 DAVIS \_\_\_\_\_ ST EX SEC \_\_\_\_\_ X EYES ONLY EXDIS  
 S CODWORD  
 TS SENSITIVE

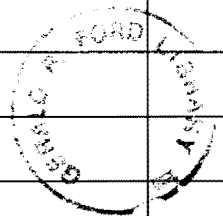
SUBJECT: *State funds etc to Pres from Greek PM  
 Complains to Carrasman his 2d his status  
 to ussga Gen Harjos Civil Jones in Europe*

DISTRIBUTION/INITIAL ACTION ASGMT

INTERNAL ROUTING AND DISTRIBUTION			REC CY FOR	ACTION REQUIRED
	ACTION	INFO		
ADVANCE CYS TO HAK/SCOWCROFT				MEMO FOR HAK (_____)
STAFF SECRETARY				MEMO FOR PRES (_____)
FAR EAST				REPLY FOR _____ (_____)
SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA				APPROPRIATE ACTION _____ (_____)
MID EAST / NO. AFRICA / SO. ASIA				MEMO TO _____ (_____)
EUROPE / CANADA	<u>X</u>		<u>X</u>	RECOMMENDATIONS _____ (_____)
LATIN AMERICA				JOINT MEMO _____ (_____)
UNITED NATIONS				REFER TO _____ FOR: _____ (_____)
ECONOMIC				ANY ACTION NECESSARY? _____ (_____)
SCIENTIFIC				CONCURRENCE _____ (_____)
PROGRAM ANALYSIS				DUE DATE: <u>9-20</u>
NSC PLANNING				COMMENTS: (INCLUDING SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS)
CONGRESSIONAL				
OCEANS POLICY				
INTELLIGENCE				

SUBSEQUENT ROUTING/ACTIONS

DATE	FROM	TO	S	SUBSEQUENT ACTION REQUIRED (OR TAKEN):	CY TO
9/13		HAK	<u>X</u>	Pres for info (9/20)	
9/15		N&C/B		Clift - any further action (see 5' clift no 14)	
9/15		C		Scowcroft disapproved	



NSC/S INSTR DISP

DISPATCH \_\_\_\_\_  
 CY RQMTS: SEE ABOVE PLUS: \_\_\_\_\_  
 NOTIFY \_\_\_\_\_ & DATE \_\_\_\_\_ BY \_\_\_\_\_  
 SPECIAL DISPOSITION: \_\_\_\_\_  
 CROSS REF W/ \_\_\_\_\_  
 SUSPENSE CY ATTACHED: \_\_\_\_\_ FOLDER: \_\_\_\_\_

MICROFILM & FILE RQMTS:  
 M/F'D \_\_\_\_\_ BY \_\_\_\_\_  
 CRT ID: \_\_\_\_\_  
 OPEN \_\_\_\_\_  
 CLOSE \_\_\_\_\_

SA SF  
 HP NS  
 WH EP  
PA DY

*File*

**EMBASSY OF GREECE**  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

November 20, 1974

Colonel Richard Kennedy  
Deputy Assistant to the President  
for N.S.C. Planning  
First Floor, West Wing  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Colonel Kennedy:

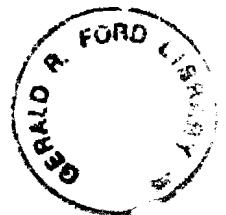
Confirming the telephone conversation today between this Embassy and your office, I am forwarding to you, attached hereto, a message addressed to the President of the United States by the Premier of Greece, Mr. Constantine Karamanlis, dated November 19th, 1974, and would request you to be kind enough to bring it to the attention of the President.

Sincerely,

*M. J. Alexandrakis*

Menelas Alexandrakis  
Ambassador

enc. : Text of message





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EMBASSY OF GREECE  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

TEXT OF TELEGRAM

ATHENS, NOVEMBER 19, 1974

THE HONORABLE  
GERALD R. FORD  
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
WASHINGTON D.C.

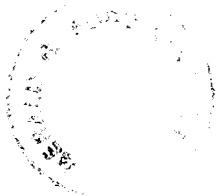
DEAR MR. PRESIDENT,

I WAS SINCERELY MOVED BY YOUR MESSAGE OF CONGRATULATIONS.  
THE SMOOTH RETURN TO THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS OF GOVERNMENT IN  
CONDITIONS OF PEACE AND STABILITY HAS INDEED SHOWN THE COURAGE  
AND POLITICAL MATURITY OF THE PEOPLE OF GREECE AND IS AN EVENT  
IN WHICH WE ALL HAVE CAUSE OF REJOICING.

IN ASSUMING MY DUTIES I AM FULLY ALIVE TO THE HEAVY RESPON-  
SIBILITY OF RESPONDING TO THE EXPECTATIONS OF MY COUNTRYMEN AND, IN SO  
DOING, I AM LOOKING FORWARD TO A CONSTRUCTIVE AND MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL  
RELATIONSHIP WITH THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IN THE SPIRIT OF  
SHARED IDEALS, MUTUAL CONFIDENCE AND FRIENDLY TIES WHICH UNITE  
OUR TWO PEOPLES.

WITH HIGHEST REGARDS,

CONSTANTINE KARAMANLIS



**EMBASSY OF GREECE**  
**WASHINGTON, D. C.**

Colonel Richard Kennedy  
Deputy Assistant to the President  
for N.S.C. Planning  
First Floor, West Wing  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.



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EMBASSY OF GREECE  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

TEXT OF TELEGRAM

ATHENS, NOVEMBER 19, 1974

THE HONORABLE  
GERALD R. FORD  
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
WASHINGTON D.C.

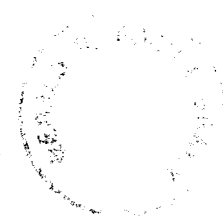
DEAR MR. PRESIDENT,

I WAS SINCERELY MOVED BY YOUR MESSAGE OF CONGRATULATIONS.  
THE SMOOTH RETURN TO THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS OF GOVERNMENT IN  
CONDITIONS OF PEACE AND STABILITY HAS INDEED SHOWN THE COURAGE  
AND POLITICAL MATURITY OF THE PEOPLE OF GREECE AND IS AN EVENT  
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RELATIONSHIP WITH THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IN THE SPIRIT OF  
SHARED IDEALS, MUTUAL CONFIDENCE AND FRIENDLY TIES WHICH UNITE  
OUR TWO PEOPLES.

WITH HIGHEST REGARDS,

CONSTANTINE KARAMANLIS



*Plg filed MR General*

4A



# Department of State

# TELEGRAM

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ 1548

PAGE 01 STATE 236856

84  
ORIGIN SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /026 R

DRAFTED BY EUR/SE: JDAY  
APPROVED BY SECRETARY  
EUR: JGLOWENSTEIN  
WH: GEN. SCOWCROFT  
S/S: LCJOHNSTONE

(4)

*D/H*

- AFR/UN \_\_\_\_\_
- EUR/CAN \_\_\_\_\_
- EE \_\_\_\_\_
- LA \_\_\_\_\_
- NEA/SA \_\_\_\_\_
- PRC \_\_\_\_\_
- SEA \_\_\_\_\_
- WOC/PLNS \_\_\_\_\_
- PGM/ANL \_\_\_\_\_
- SCI/ENV \_\_\_\_\_
- ECON \_\_\_\_\_
- OPNL/INT \_\_\_\_\_
- SS/FR \_\_\_\_\_
- CONGR \_\_\_\_\_

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INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA IMMEDIATE  
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EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: GR, PFOR

RY *ld* MARA DATE *3/5/04*

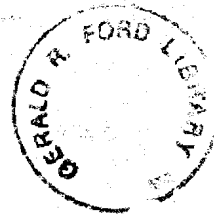
DECLASSIFIED  
E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5  
STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES, *State Review 9/16/03*

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL MESSAGE TO GREEK PRIME MINISTER

1. PLEASE CONVEY FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO PRIME MINISTER CARAMANLIS FROM THE PRESIDENT AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

2. BEGIN TEXT: DEAR MR. PRIME MINISTER: IT WAS A GREAT PERSONAL PLEASURE FOR ME TO SEE AND TALK WITH YOU IN HEL-SINKI, AND I AM GRATEFUL FOR THE EFFORTS THAT YOU HAVE MADE SINCE THEN TO KEEP US INFORMED OF YOUR VIEWS ON MATTERS OF MUTUAL CONCERN. AMBASSADOR KUBISCH HAS REPORTED FULLY HIS RECENT CONVERSATION WITH YOU, AND I WANT YOU TO KNOW THAT I SHARE COMPLETELY YOUR BELIEF ON THE IMPORTANCE OF ACTING NOW TO RESOLVE THE CYPRUS PROBLEM.

3. YOU AND I HAVE DIFFERED ON THE WISDOM OF THE CONGRESSIONAL EMBARGO ON US ARMS TO TURKEY, BUT WE HAVE BOTH BEEN



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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*Department of State*

**TELEGRAM**

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PAGE 02 STATE 236856

STRIVING TO ACHIEVE THE SAME GOAL, NAMELY A JUST AND LASTING SETTLEMENT OF THE CYPRUS PROBLEM. IT IS MY CONVICTION THAT THE UNITED STATES WILL BE IN A BETTER POSITION TO INFLUENCE THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT ON CYPRUS NOW THAT THE EMBARGO HAS BEEN PARTIALLY LIFTED, AND I CAN ASSURE YOU THAT WE SHALL SHORTLY BEGIN A MAJOR EFFORT TO TRY TO BREAK THE CURRENT IMPASSE IN THE NEGOTIATIONS.

4. IN THIS ENDEAVOR, WE WILL BE GUIDED BY THE PRINCIPLES THAT SECRETARY KISSINGER ENUNCIATED IN HIS SEPTEMBER 22 ADDRESS TO THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY, INCLUDING THE PRINCIPLES THAT THE PRESENT DIVIDING LINES CANNOT BE PERMANENT. SINCE THE TERRITORIAL ARRANGEMENTS ON THE ISLAND ARE A KEY ISSUE IN ANY SETTLEMENT, WE SHALL SEEK SPECIFICALLY TO PERSUADE THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT TO SHOW UNDERSTANDING AND FLEXIBILITY ON THIS QUESTION.

5. IT WOULD BE OUR HOPE THAT THE DEVELOPMENT OF SPECIFIC PROPOSALS ON TERRITORY BY TURKEY WILL PROVIDE A BASIS FOR AN EARLY RESUMPTION OF THE INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS BETWEEN MR. CLERIDES AND MR. DENKTASH AND THAT THESE TALKS, ONCE RESTARTED, CAN PROCEED TO ADDRESS ALL THE OUTSTANDING ISSUE IN A SYSTEMATIC AND SUSTAINED MANNER. THE NEGOTIATIONS WILL NOT BE EASY, BUT YOU CAN BE SURE THAT THE UNITED STATES IS READY TO ASSIST THE PARTIES IN EVERY WAY POSSIBLE TO ACHIEVE PROGRESS. LET ME ALSO ASSURE YOU THAT WE ARE WILLING TO DO WHATEVER WE CAN TO FACILITATE A RESOLUTION OF THE GREEK-TURKISH PROBLEMS OVER THE AEGEAN AND THAT I FIRMLY BELIEVE THESE PROBLEMS MUST BE SOLVED THROUGH PEACEFUL MEANS.

6. WE ALSO WISH TO MEET, AS QUICKLY AND SYMPATHETICALLY AS POSSIBLE, GREECE'S REQUEST FOR ECONOMIC AND MILITARY ASSURANCE. IT IS IN OUR COMMON INTEREST THAT OUR LONG-STANDING ALLIANCE RELATIONSHIP BE RESTORED AND STRENGTHENED. IN THIS CONNECTION, LET ME EMPHASIZE THE IMPORTANCE TO BOTH OF OUR GOVERNMENTS AS WELL AS TO OUR MUTUAL ALLIES, OF A RESUMPTION BY GREECE OF A FULL ROLE IN NATO. AT THE SAME TIME, I HOPE THAT YOUR GOVERNMENT WILL CONTINUE TO SHOW APPRECIATION OF THE IMPORTANCE OF US MILITARY FACILITIES, WHOSE PRESENCE IN GREECE, I BELIEVE, SERVES THE SECUR-

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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Department of State TELEGRAM

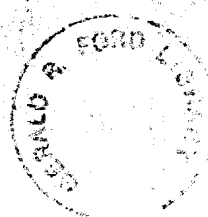
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PAGE 03 STATE 236856

RITY INTERESTS OF BOTH COUNTRIES AND OF THE NATO ALLIANCE AS A WHOLE. I THINK IT IMPORTANT THAT WE REACH AN EARLY AGREEMENT ON THE SIZE AND SCOPE OF OUR MILITARY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM.

7. FINALLY, LET ME NOTE THAT OUR CRITICS WILL INEVITABLY PORTRAY THE CONGRESSIONAL ACTION TO LIFT THE EMBARGO AS CONDONING THE TURKISH MILITARY ACTION ON CYPRUS LAST YEAR. I WANT YOU TO KNOW THAT WE DO NOT CONDONE THE TURKISH ACTION, NOR DO WE CONDONE THE LACK OF PROGRESS TOWARDS A CYPRUS SETTLEMENT OVER THE PAST YEAR. AS I HAVE EMPHASIZED, THE LIFTING OF THE EMBARGO WILL ENABLE THE UNITED STATES TO PLAY A POSITIVE ROLE IN TRYING TO ACHIEVE A FAIR AND LASTING SETTLEMENT OF THE CYPRUS PROBLEM, AND I HOPE THAT THE PEOPLE OF GREECE WILL COME TO VIEW THIS WEEK'S CONGRESSIONAL ACTION IN THAT LIGHT.

SINCERELY, GERALD R. FORD. END TEXT. KISSINGER



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NOT TO BE REPRODUCED WITHOUT THE AUTHORIZATION OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

TEXTS

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

6625

*Handwritten initials and numbers*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

URGENT ACTION

October 3, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR GENERAL SCOWCROFT

FROM: Mr. Clift *[Signature]*

SUBJECT: Presidential Messages to Prime Ministers Caramanlis and Demirel

The Department of State has submitted for White House clearance Presidential messages (at Tab B) to Prime Ministers Caramanlis and Demirel following the recent Congressional approval of legislation partially lifting the arms embargo against Turkey.

Our revised texts -- cleared with Paul Theis' office -- are at Tab A for your review and approval. State (EUR) indicates that Secretary Kissinger has already approved their drafts, but this is not clearly shown on the State cables.

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve the revised Presidential messages at Tab A for State's immediate dispatch to Athens (Prime Minister Caramanlis) and Ankara (Prime Minister Demirel).

APPROVE \_\_\_\_\_

DISAPPROVE *[Signature]* \_\_\_\_\_

*8/8 notified (Antoinette) 5:10 p.m. 10/3/75 [Signature]*

*approve State Texts (It is too difficult to check what changes have been made)*

XGDS of E. O. 11652 by authority of Brent Scowcroft; Exemption Category Section 5(B)(3).

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (XGDS)

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5

NSC MEMO, 11/24/98, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES, *state declass 9/16/03*  
BY *[Signature]*, NARA, DATE *3/5/04*

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SUBJECT: Presidential Message to Greek Prime Minister

1. Please convey following message from the President to Prime Minister Caramanlis.

2. Begin Text: Dear Mr. Prime Minister: I was very pleased to meet with you in Helsinki at the time of the European Security Conference. I am grateful for the efforts you have made since then to keep us informed of your views on matters of mutual concern. Ambassador Kubisch has reported fully his recent conversation with you, and I want you to know I share completely your belief on the importance of acting now to resolve the Cyprus problem.

You and I have differed on the wisdom of the Congressional embargo on U. S. arms to Turkey, but we both have been striving to achieve the same goal, namely a just and lasting settlement of the Cyprus problem. I am convinced that the United States will be in a better position to influence the Turkish government on Cyprus now that the embargo has been partially lifted. I can assure you that very soon we shall begin a major effort to try to break the current impasse in the negotiations.

In this endeavor, we will be guided by the principles that Secretary Kissinger enunciated, at my request, in his September 22 address to the U. N. General Assembly, including the principles that the present dividing lines cannot be permanent. Since the territorial arrangements on the

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E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5

NSC MEMO, 11/24/98, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES

BY

NARA, DATE

State Review 9/16/03



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

- 2 -

island are a key issue in any settlement, we shall seek specifically to persuade the Turkish government to show understanding and flexibility on this question.

I hope the development of specific proposals on territory by Turkey will provide a basis for an early resumption of the intercommunal talks between Mr. Clerides and Mr. Denktash and that these talks, once resumed, can address all the outstanding issues in a systematic and productive manner. The negotiations will not be easy, but you can be sure that the United States is ready to assist the parties in every way possible to achieve progress. Let me also assure you that we are willing to do whatever we can to facilitate a resolution of the Greek-Turkish problems over the Aegean. I firmly believe these problems must be solved through peaceful means.

We also wish to meet, as quickly and sympathetically as possible, Greece's needs for economic and military assistance. It is in our common interest that our longstanding Alliance relationship be restored and strengthened. In this connection, let me emphasize the importance to both our governments, as well as to our mutual allies, of a resumption by Greece of a full role in NATO. At the same time, I hope your government will continue to show appreciation for the importance of U.S. military facilities, whose presence in Greece, I believe, serves the security interests of both countries and of the NATO Alliance as a whole.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

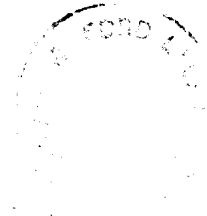


~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

- 3 -

Finally, let me re-emphasize that the partial lifting of the embargo will enable the United States to play a positive role in trying to achieve a fair and lasting settlement of the Cyprus problem. I hope the people of Greece will come to view this week's Congressional action in that light. Sincerely, Gerald R. Ford. END TEXT.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



110

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SUBJECT: Presidential Message to Turkish Prime Minister

1. Please convey the following letter from the President to Prime Minister Demirel.
2. BEGIN TEXT: Dear Mr. Prime Minister: I am most pleased, as you must be, by the vote October 2 in the House of Representatives to lift the Turkish arms embargo. As you know, the Administration has strongly supported this legislation, not because we agree with each of its provisions, but because passage seemed to us a vital first step in rebuilding the trust and friendship which has so long characterized the relationship between our two countries.

I am confident this assessment is correct and that the opportunities now open to us both will be utilized to the fullest in the weeks ahead.

What is clearly needed now is early and visible movement toward a Cyprus settlement, and the re-activation of military facilities which are vital to both of our countries and to the Western Alliance structure. The United States Government will be prepared to work closely and cooperatively with the Government of Turkey on both these issues.

Ambassador Macomber has been in Washington this past week, and has been most helpful in explaining to the Congress the unfortunate effects the

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E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5

NSC MEMO, 11/24/98, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES *State Review 9/16/03*  
BY WJ, NARA, DATE 3/5/04

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

- 2 -

embargo has had. I have asked him to return to Ankara this weekend to talk to you at greater length about how we may proceed together to rebuild and revitalize our relationship which has meant so much to the peace and security of the region for thirty years. Sincerely, Gerald R. Ford. END TEXT.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



Gen Scowcroft

Athens, October 8, 1975

6992

Dear Mr President,

Thank you ever so much for your message of 3rd October 1975.

I very carefully read your views on the course that would best serve our efforts to solve the problem of Cyprus and I noted especially your assurance that you shall soon undertake a major effort to break the deadlock in the negotiations and to try to persuade the Turkish government to show understanding and flexibility in particular on the issue of territorial arrangements. This is indeed the key to the whole problem.

I would like to hope that, this time, your intervention in Ankara shall prove effective since the reason that, as you explained to me in Helsinki, was impairing the efficacy of your action on Cyprus has now been set aside. If the Turkish government should once again fail to respond, we shall be heading towards a further deterioration of the situation, which we have a common duty to prevent.

His Excellency  
Gerald Ford,  
President of the United States,  
Washington D. C.  
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DECLASSIFIED  
E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5  
STATEDEPT, GUIDELINES, State Review 9/16/03  
BY 14 NADA DATE 3/5/04

Turning now to the question of economic and military assistance to my country, I shall not try to conceal, Mr President, my surprise at your linking it to the return of Greece to the military organization of the North Atlantic Treaty and to our negotiations on American bases in Greece.

You are well aware from my letter of 28th August 1974, of the very serious reasons which compelled me to take the decision of our leaving the military branch of NATO. Nothing, absolutely nothing, has happened since then to justify a reappraisal of the Greek position. The tragedy of Cyprus is still with us, while Turkey advances inadmissible claims on the Aegean. The concern shown by our Allies in NATO for these questions of vital importance to us was up to now if not marginal at least totally ineffective.

I would like to add, however, that with regard to both NATO and the negotiations on American bases, my government has acted and still acts cautiously and responsibly, on the basis of the criterion of our national interest.

As is known, Greece does not withdraw from the Atlantic Alliance. She only seeks a reajustment - imposed by circumstances - of her position within the military branch of NATO. Moreover, as I stated in the Greek Parliament, Greece belongs and wishes to belong to the West.

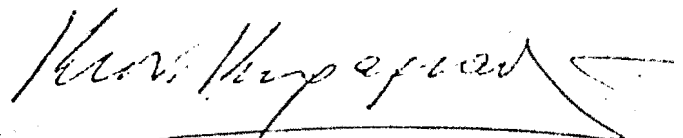
Therefore, you will understand that I cannot accept that these questions be connected with the economic and

military assistance that you intend to approve for Greece. Greek - American relations are going through a very delicate phase and it is precisely because I believe in the necessity of the links between our two countries, that I think that instead of giving Greek public opinion further cause of resentment we ought to work rather towards restoring its former warm feelings for the United States. You have at your disposal both the means and the ways of contributing decisively to this goal, and I would like you to rest assured that as far as I am concerned everything possible has been and shall be done in this respect.

You are not unaware, Mr President, of the fact that this country faces great and very acute problems emerging as it does from a seven-year dictatorship and from the nightmare of the Cyprus tragedy. To cope with them, it needs the understanding and assistance of all those who have a stake in the stabilization of its democratic institutions, only recently restored.

In this sense, Mr President, I would like to thank you warmly for the interest that you express in your letter towards my country - an interest which corresponds to the traditional friendship between our two peoples who have fought together twice in defense of our common ideals.

With warmest regards,



Constantine Karamanlis



6A

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

URGENT  
VIA LDX

~~SECRET~~ (GDS)

April 9, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR

Mr. George S. Springsteen  
Executive Secretary  
Department of State

SUBJECT: Message to Prime Minister  
Caramanlis of Greece from  
the President

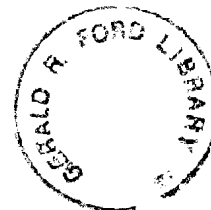
The Department of State is requested to dispatch  
immediately to Embassy Athens the attached message  
from the President to Prime Minister Caramanlis.

*J. W. Davis*  
fn  
Jeanne W. Davis  
Staff Secretary

Attachment

~~SECRET~~/GDS

40514  
4/13/76





~~SECRET~~

FROM THE PRESIDENT

TO PRIME MINISTER CARAMANLIS

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

I very much appreciated your message of April 1 regarding the interests Greece and the United States share, and in this context, your concern over the recent agreement the United States has signed with Turkey.

In replying I would first reaffirm, as we discussed last year, the very great importance I attach to further improving US-Greek relations. This is in the interests of both our countries and is totally in keeping with the deep friendship between our peoples. Thus I agree fully on the exchange of views already begun at the ministerial level. Secretary Kissinger has kept me informed regarding his exchanges with Foreign Minister Bitsios, and I am confident that we should be able to reach a mutually satisfactory solution in keeping with our interests both in strengthening US-Greek relations and in furthering the prospects for peace and stability in the Eastern Mediterranean.

You can be sure that I will continue to treat this as a matter of the highest priority. I am looking forward to discussing the entire range of issues of current importance to our countries during your very welcome visit to the United States this June.

With warm personal regards,  
Gerald R. Ford.

DECLASSIFIED  
E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5  
NSC MEMO, 11/24/98, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES  
BY 604, NARA, DATE 2/5/04



~~SECRET~~

- 2 -

The Prime Minister's message reflects the Greek government's concern that the new US-Turkish defense agreement favors Turkey over Greece and may serve to destabilize the delicate balance of power in the Eastern Mediterranean area. In this connection, the Greek government "suspended" talks with the United States on the future of U. S. bases in Greece and asked for assurances of U. S. support for Greece in the event of a Greek-Turkish confrontation in the Aegean, together with a level of U. S. aid for Greece equal to that assured Turkey in the new DCA. Additionally, Prime Minister Caramanlis has contacted the heads of government of the EC-9 asking that they express Greece's concerns to the United States.

As you know, Secretary Kissinger has been giving the Greek request careful study and has been in close and continuing contact with Greek Foreign Minister Bitsios on this matter. They are currently working to reach agreement on an exchange of letters for public release, stating U. S. support for assistance levels for Greece comparable with Turkey while avoiding an explicit commitment on our part to intervene in any Greek-Turkish dispute in the Mediterranean or Aegean.

The message for your approval to Prime Minister Caramanlis at Tab A would thank him for his letter of April 1, note the continuing contacts between the Secretary of State and the Greek Foreign Minister, and express your confidence that the present concern of the Greek government over the US-Turkish defense agreement can be resolved in a way which will benefit both countries and help preserve and strengthen the peace and stability of the Eastern Mediterranean area.

The text of your message has been cleared with Douglas Smith of Robert Hartmann's office.

## RECOMMENDATION

That you approve the message to Prime Minister Caramanlis at Tab A for immediate dispatch to Athens.

APPROVE           *9/27*DISAPPROVE           ~~SECRET~~ (GDS)

60

MEMORANDUM

~~THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN...~~

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

1999

~~SECRET~~

ACTION  
April 8, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Brent Scowcroft *BS*

SUBJECT: Reply to Prime Minister Constantine  
Caramanlis of Greece

Following the signing of the US-Turkish Defense Cooperation Agree-  
ment (DCA), Prime Minister Constantine Caramanlis of Greece sent  
you the following message:

"April 1, 1976

Dear Mr. President:

I am convinced that the recent United States-Turkish agree-  
ment raises most serious problems for Greece and dangers  
for the peace of this region.

Our two foreign ministers have already exchanged views on  
the situation and I have the feeling that these problems can  
be resolved to the benefit of the United States, Greece, Turkey  
and the Free World.

Knowing your statesmanship and your personal interest in  
settling the tragic situation obtaining in this area of the world,  
I would be obliged if you would give your full support to the  
arrangements now being discussed.

Warm regards,

Sincerely,

Constantine Caramanlis"

~~SECRET~~ (GDS)

*ba 3/5/04*



## MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL


1999

~~SECRET~~URGENT ACTION

April 5, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

FROM:

Mr. Clift 

SUBJECT:

Reply to Prime Minister Constantine  
Caramanlis of Greece

Prime Minister Constantine Caramanlis of Greece sent the President a message (quoted in full at Tab I) expressing the Greek government's concern over the signing of the new US-Turkish Defense Cooperation Agreement.

The Department of State has forwarded (at Tab III) the proposed text of the President's reply to Prime Minister Caramanlis. In my opinion, the State draft is a good one -- I have made only a few minor editorial changes. It thanks the Prime Minister for his recent letter, notes the continuing contact between the Secretary of State and the Greek Foreign Minister, and expresses the President's confidence that problems between the U.S. and Greece can be worked out to the benefit of both countries.

If you agree, the memorandum for your signature to the President at Tab I would forward the text of the Prime Minister's letter, together with a brief reply. Your memorandum would also provide a brief review of the efforts to meet Greek needs for assurance and to get the bases negotiations resumed. Doug Smith has cleared the text.

## RECOMMENDATION

1. That you sign the memorandum for the President at Tab I.
2. Following the President's approval, that Jeanne Davis transmit (Tab II) the text of the President's message to State for dispatch to Athens.

APPROVE \_\_\_\_\_

DISAPPROVE \_\_\_\_\_

~~SECRET~~ (GDS)

bwh 2/5/04

THE WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

TIME SENT:

'76 APR 9 AM 11 30

BOX NR:

408

PAGES:

2

SITUATION ROOM

RECEIVED:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

1976 APR 9 AM 11 36

DESCRIPTION/COMMENT

IA	_____	DIA/G	_____
STATE	✓	DIA/H	_____
SEC	_____	TREAS	_____
NSC	_____	NPIC	_____
NSA	_____	ERDA	_____

Return to

TO: J. DAVIS ←

FROM: H. SPRINGSTEEN

Sub. SECRETARY

→ NSC/S

2015



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

S/S 7607107

Washington, D.C. 20520

April 5, 1976

SECRET

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. BRENT SCOWCROFT  
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Suggested Reply to Prime Minister  
Caramanlis' Message to the President

Attached is a suggested reply to Prime Minister Caramanlis' message to the President of April 1, expressing concern about the recent U.S.-Turkish Defense Cooperation Agreement. (Athens 3076)

The issues under discussion between the Secretary and the Greek Ambassador relate to the Greek request that we publicly express our opposition to the use of military force in the Aegean and that we provide a multi-year military assistance commitment to Greece. We believe that the President's reply should avoid getting into the substance of these issues and instead should simply express the President's confidence that they can be resolved in a way which will benefit both our relations with Greece and peace and security in the Eastern Mediterranean.

*George S. Springsteen*  
George S. Springsteen  
Executive Secretary

Attachment:

Suggested Reply

~~SECRET~~  
GDS

lh 3/5/04



SUGGESTED LETTER

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

Thank you very much for your letter of April 1. Secretary Kissinger has kept me fully informed regarding the conversations he has had with Ambassador Alexandrakis and the exchange of messages with Foreign Minister Bitsios. I fully support the positions the Secretary has taken in the interest of strengthening U.S.-Greek relations.

I am equally confident that the issues they are discussing can be resolved in a way which will benefit not only the relations between our two countries but also peace and security in the Eastern Mediterranean.

I have personally admired the steps you have taken to strengthen democratic rule in Greece and to find peaceful solutions to problems with your neighbors. You can be assured that I want to do everything possible to assist you in these efforts.

Sincerely,

Gerald R. Ford

His Excellency

Constantine Caramanlis,

Prime Minister of the Republic of Greece,

Athens.

Department of State



REWRITE Tab A 1999

~~SECRET~~

FROM THE PRESIDENT  
TO PRIME MINISTER CARAMANLIS

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

I very much appreciated your message of Apr 8 1 regarding the interests Greece and the United States share, and in this context, your concern over the recent agreement the United States has signed with Turkey.

In replying I would first reaffirm, as we discussed last year, the very great importance I attach to further improving US-Greek relations. This is in the interests of both our countries and is totally in keeping with the deep friendship between our peoples. Thus I agree fully on the exchange of views already begun at the ministerial level. Secretary Kissinger has kept me informed regarding his exchanges with Foreign Minister Bitsios, and I am confident that we should be able to reach a mutually satisfactory solution in keeping with our interests both in strengthening US-Greek relations and in furthering the prospects for peace and stability in the Eastern Mediterranean.

You can be sure that I will continue to treat this as a matter of the highest priority. I am looking forward to discussing the entire range of issues of current importance to our countries during your very welcome visit to the United States this June.

With warm personal regards,

Gerald R. Ford.

Rewrtn:GenS:ms:4/8/76

DECLASSIFIED  
E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5  
NSC MEMO, 11/24/08, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES  
BY ltd, NARA, DATE 3/6/04



SECRET

- 2 -

REWRITE p. 2 1999

The Prime Minister's message reflects the Greek government's concern that the new US-Turkish defense agreement favors Turkey over Greece and may serve to destabilize the delicate balance of power in the Eastern Mediterranean area. In this connection, the Greek government "suspended" talks with the United States on the future of U. S. bases in Greece and asked for assurances of U. S. support for Greece in the event of a Greek-Turkish confrontation in the Aegean, together with a level of U. S. aid for Greece equal to that assured Turkey in the new DCA. Additionally, Prime Minister Caramanlis has contacted the heads of government of the EC-9 asking that they express Greece's concerns to the United States.

As you know, Secretary Kissinger has been giving the Greek request careful study and has been inclose and continuing contact with Greek Foreign Minister Bitsios on this matter. They are currently working to reach agreement on an exchange of letters for public release, stating U. S. support for assistance levels for Greece comparable with Turkey while avoiding an explicit commitment on our part or intervene in any Greek-Turkish dispute in the Mediterranean or Aegean.

The message for your approval to Prime Minister Caramanlis at Tab A would thank him for his letter of April 1, note the continuing contacts between the Secretary of State and the Greek Foreign Minister, and express your confidence that the present concern of the Greek government over the US-Turkish defense agreement can be resolved in a way which will benefit both countries and help preserve and strengthen the peace and stability of the Eastern Mediterranean area.

The text of your message has been cleared with Douglas Smith of Robert Hartmann's office.

**RECOMMENDATION**

That you approve the message to Prime Minister Caramanlis at Tab A for immediate dispatch to Athens.

APPROVE

*JRH*

DISAPPROVE

\_\_\_\_\_

Rewrtn:GenS:ms:4/8/76

SECRET (GDS)

*MA 3/5/04*



~~SECRET~~

FROM THE PRESIDENT

TO PRIME MINISTER CARAMANLIS

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

I very much appreciated your message of April 1 regarding the interests Greece and the United States share, <sup>and</sup> in this context, your concern over the recent agreement the United States has signed with Turkey.

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You can be sure that I will continue to treat this as a matter of the highest priority. I am looking forward to discussing the entire range of issues of current importance to our countries during your very welcome visit to the United States this June.

With warm personal regards,

Gerald R. Ford.



DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5

NSC MEMO, 11/24/98, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES

BY         , NARA, DATE 2/5/04

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

- 2 -

The Prime Minister's message reflects the Greek government's concern that the new US-Turkish defense agreement favors Turkey over Greece and may serve to destabilize the delicate balance of power in the Eastern Mediterranean area. In this connection, the Greek government "suspended" talks with the United States on the future of U.S. bases in Greece and asked for assurances of U.S. support for Greece in the event of a Greek-Turkish confrontation in the Aegean, together with a level of U.S. aid for Greece equal to that assured Turkey in the new DCA. Additionally, Prime Minister Caramanlis has contacted the heads of government of the EC-9 asking that they express Greece's concerns to the United States.

*As your former*  
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The text of your message has been cleared with Douglas Smith of Robert Hartmann's office.

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve the message to Prime Minister Caramanlis at Tab A for immediate dispatch to Athens.

APPROVE \_\_\_\_\_

DISAPPROVE \_\_\_\_\_

~~SECRET~~ (GDS)

*NA 3/5/04*



**NSC CORRESPONDENCE PROFILE**

DOC		RECD			LOG NUMBER
MO	DA	MO	DA	HR	
4	5	4	6	12	7601999

INITIAL ACTION 0

TO: PRES            FROM: SECSTATE Chift S/S            UNCLAS LOG IN/OUT  
 SCOWCROFT            SECDEF            LOU NO FORN NODIS  
 HYLAND            DCI            X REF            EYES ONLY EXDIS  
 DAVIS            STATE EXSEC            CODEWORD  
 OTHER            TS SENSITIVE

SUBJECT: Chift May to Pres for Pms Caramanlis  
of Greece re 205 - Greek Relations

SOURCE/CLASS/DESCRIPTION

DISTRIBUTION/INITIAL ACTION ASGMT

INTERNAL ROUTING AND DISTRIBUTION				REC CY FOR
ACTION	CONCURRENCE	COORDINATE	INFO	
ADV CYS SCROFT/WGH				
STAFF SECRETARY				
CONGRESSIONAL				
ECONOMIC				
EUR/CANADA/OCEANS				
FAR EAST/PRC				
INTELLIGENCE				
LATIN AMERICA				
MID EAST/NO. AFRICA				
NSC PLANNING				
PROGRAM ANALYSIS				
SCIENTIFIC				
SUB-SAH/AFRICA/UN				

ACTION REQUIRED

MEMO FOR SCOWCROFT           

MEMO FOR PRES           

REPLY FOR           

APPROPRIATE ACTION           

MEMO            TO           

RECOMMENDATIONS           

JOINT MEMO           

REFER TO            FOR:           

ANY ACTION NECESSARY?           

CONCURRENCE           

DUE DATE:           

COMMENTS: (INCLUDING SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS)

Chift: Caramanlis, Caramanlis

SUBSEQUENT ROUTING/ACTIONS

DATE	FROM	TO	STATUS	SUBSEQUENT ACTION REQUIRED (OR TAKEN)	DUE	CY TO
4/5				joined by 7602015		
4/5		Chift	X	Decision	4/12	
4-8		NSC/S		Pres approved Mem		
4-9		Chift	S	Notify State	4/9	
4/9		C		Trans of Mem to State		

NSC/S DISP INSTR

DISPATCH            NOTIFY           

SPECIAL DISPOSITION: Per Ldy 4-9-76

SPECIAL INDEXING:           

SUSPENSE CY ATTACHED X

MICROFILM & FILE ROOMS

M/F/D            BY           

CRT ID:            NS DY

OPEN            WH SA FP

CLOSE            PA