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INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20301

Folder: "Cyprus 092.1 (21 July 1974)," Box 3, 28-0010

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

SUBJECT: WSAG Meeting of 21 July 1974 on Cyprus

- Attendees:
- SecState Kissinger
  - SecDef Schlesinger
  - DepSecState Ingersoll
  - Acting ASD/ISA Jordan
  - Ambassador at Large McCloskey
  - Chairman JCS Brown
  - DCI Colby

Time and Place: 10:30 AM, White House Situation Room

(S) Mr. Colby started with the briefing. He said the Turks were reinforcing their beachhead in the north and in the fighting he said they were still meeting very determined opposition by the National Guard. Nicosia Airport is still in National Guard hands and the National Guard is in control of the entire country except for the Turkish beachhead, the corridor to Nicosia, and parts of Nicosia. He said Istanbul had indeed been blacked out last night but that life seemed normal today. On the Greek side he said there was less activity around Thessalonica today than there had been yesterday but Greek forces were still seen to be moving east. He said the Greek military seems to have drawn back from a plan to attack Turkish Thrace. The decision seems to have been made by the Greek Government to withdraw from NATO, at least in the military sense.

Cyprus 092

(S) Dr. Kissinger asked about the Getler article reporting on a cut-off of aid to Greece. Secretary Schlesinger said Getler had told Friedheim that he was handed that story on a platter by the State Department, but the Secretary said this may have been a cover. Dr. Kissinger said the problem with a formal cut-off of aid is that we never will get it started again and he confirmed his understanding is all we have done is temporarily to cut off delivery of heavy end items. Secretary Schlesinger said that was correct.

21 July 74

(S) Dr. Kissinger said he had talked about five times with Ecevit today and once to the Greek Foreign Minister who told him that if the United States thinks the Generals are bad we should wait until the Captains and Majors take over. Dr. Kissinger said his main objective for today was to

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achieve a cease fire which he hoped to have by the end of the day. Once that is achieved it won't matter if talks do not begin for a day or two. Ecevit wants the talks to be held somewhere closer than London and Callaghan seems to have agreed on Vienna. Dr. Kissinger said he thought Callaghan had made a mistake because, in Vienna, Callaghan will also be under pressure. He said Sisco reports from Athens that the Greeks may not be able to make a decision to send a representative to Vienna because an upheaval in the Greek Government seems imminent.

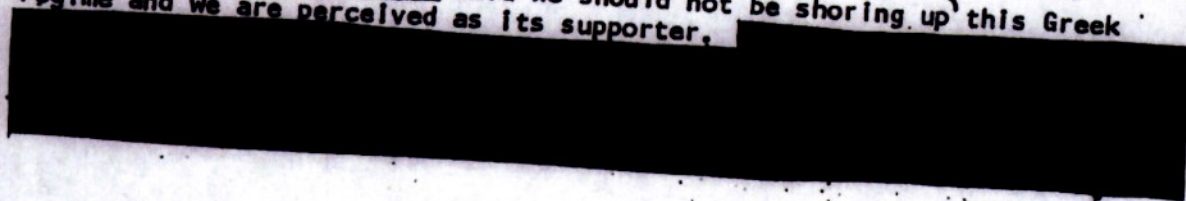
There was general discussion that the Greek Cypriots are doing better than anyone could have predicted. The Turkish communities tried to fight but in the main have been suppressed and at this point the Turks have less negotiating leverage than they want. The Turks are obviously stalling for time. Dr. Kissinger said that he could tell Ecevit that if war breaks out because of Turkish stalling this would seriously jeopardize our relations. He said Sisco's evaluation is that if the Turks do not answer soon the Greeks will have to make some move which will probably be to leave NATO. Dr. Kissinger said with both the Greek and Turkish bargaining positions so weak the only answer may be the return of Makarios. Dr. Kissinger wondered what the exact balance of forces was on the island as we go into a cease fire. Secretary Schlesinger said there really is no balance of forces because under the present circumstances that the two sides could unite under one President for Cyprus. There was some discussion as to whether the Clerides option is still open. Mr. Colby said it was difficult to see a unified government under anybody.

Secretary Kissinger asked that a group be set up under Assistant Secretary Hartman to study the possible outcomes of the Cyprus situation.

Secretary Schlesinger said he thought we were discussing Cyprus too narrowly and that we needed to discuss the implications of our continued support for the present Greek regime and the implications of that factor as well as the conflict between the two countries for NATO as a whole. He asked if we should move subtly to bring a substitute regime to Greece. Dr. Kissinger said he thought the question is where will we be a year from now? It is easy to please the Washington Post tomorrow but a successor regime in Greece could be considerably worse than the present one. Mr. Colby said that if the Greeks leave NATO we will never get them back again.

Secretary Schlesinger said we should not be shoring up this Greek regime and we are perceived as its supporter.

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(S) Dr. Kissinger asked about what would happen to US installations in Greece. Secretary Schlesinger said homeporting is going down the drain. We will not implement Phase II of homeporting and will not go ahead with berthing the carrier forward. He said Phase I of homeporting will be allowed to attrit but we could, if we send out the signal, terminate it immediately. Secretary Schlesinger underlined that we should pay no price for the maintenance of facilities we do not intend to use.

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[REDACTED]

(S) Secretary Kissinger said today we must deal solely with the cease fire, we will not deal with NATO, we will not overthrow any governments. He asked Mr. Colby what the probable successor government might be in Greece. Mr. Colby said it could be another Greek General, the Captains and Majors, or Karamanlis and the King. He said that General Davos, the Commander up in "C" Corps, would probably be the likely General and he might not be too bad inasmuch as he has lines out to Karamanlis in Paris. Mr. Colby said that CIA wanted the FBIS employees in northern Cyprus evacuated as soon as possible because their station is under fire. There was considerable discussion about evacuation, with the general decision made at this point that if anyone were evacuated all Americans should be evacuated including the several hundreds being evacuated south to the sovereign base areas.

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(P) After taking several phone calls, Secretary Kissinger came back and said that Callaghan reports the US position on a cease fire has the full support of the EC 9 and the unqualified support of the United Kingdom. Callaghan reported that there will be a Greek coup tomorrow and the group replacing Ioanidis will be worse, probably turning to the Soviet Union for support.

[REDACTED]

(P) Mr. Colby said that Ecevit really must have something out of this crisis that he could consider a gain to take to his Generals. Secretary Kissinger said that we can assure him that we will get rid of Sampson as soon as possible. Secretary Kissinger said that he would tell Ecevit that if Turkey does not agree to a cease fire,

[REDACTED]

Secretary Kissinger agreed.

(P) [REDACTED] and that all of the press statements from the State Department would center on a cease fire.

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Office of the Secretary of Defense  
Chief, RDD, ESD, WHS  
Date: 11 Aug 2019 Authority: EO 13526 + 3 U.S.C. § 552  
Declassify: \_\_\_\_\_ Deny in Full: \_\_\_\_\_  
Declassify in Part: X  
Reason: 33(n)50 X 6  
MDR: 18 -M- 1021

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Authority: EO 13526  
Chief, Records & Declass Div, WHS  
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