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MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

~~SECRET/NODIS/XGDS~~

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS: President Ford
 Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, Secretary of State
 and Assistant to the President for
 National Security Affairs
 Lt. General Brent Scowcroft, Deputy Assistant
 to the President for National Security Affairs

DATE AND TIME: Saturday, August 24, 1974
 9:20 - 10:04 a.m.

PLACE: The Oval Office

Kissinger: Brent will call Annenberg.

We have set September 18th for your UN speech. You will be the only one that week.

President: Okay. Give me a draft speech.

Kissinger: On the Greece-Turkey situation. We got Clerides to talk to Denktash. Then he went to Athens. We don't know whether this is posturing or whether Clerides now won't talk to the Turks.

We must keep the Soviets out of the negotiations. We must try to keep the UN Conference from happening or make sure that nothing comes from it.

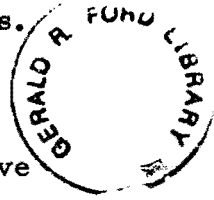
We must show the Greeks they can't use the Soviet Union against us. We must tell Karamanlis.

It is important to keep the Greeks with the West, but it must not be the French being the scavengers riding on an anti-American wave in Greece. I hope that the French will cooperate in keeping it out of the Security Council. We must tell the Greeks that the status quo works against them. We can't use our influence against the Turks unless the Greeks stop their anti-Americanism.

CLASSIFIED BY Henry A. Kissinger
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 EXEMPTION CATEGORY 5 B 3
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DECLASSIFIED
 E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5
 NSC MEMO, 11/24/88, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES
 BY MA, NARA, DATE 2/22/14
 State Review 2/19/14



I told the Greek Americans that if this anti-Americanism is encouraged, they were putting Papandreu into office. There was no anti-Greek sentiment or tilting.

We need Europe's support to prevent the Security Council meeting. See if the Greeks are willing to have serious talks on strategy. I think you shouldn't write a letter yet--they will publish it--but I will on your behalf.

President: Shouldn't we continue our talks with Clerides?

Kissinger: Could we send Brown a note from you thanking him for the message?

Brown should see Clerides. Intransigence will freeze the situation -- that is what Turkey wants. The Greeks stirring up international opinion will accomplish nothing.

I could write Ecevit saying we oppose a Security Council meeting, but the Soviet Union has asked for joint auspices and we can't get anything going without some Turkish concessions which we would hold in trust. Tell the Greeks that whatever their assessment of the past is, they can't get anything without our help. They should send someone here or that Kissinger will go to Europe.

President: Who would they send? Mavros?

Kissinger: They probably can't send anyone here -- maybe I'll go to Europe. Karamanlis is a smart politician -- he can't be doing this because of Cyprus. He must be trying to court the left with anti-Americanism. The danger is he can't go so far as Papandreu. Also, bringing in the Soviets is totally against their interests and must indicate Karamanlis' concern.

President: Would the military stop anything bad from happening?

Kissinger: From the beginning of the change in Greece, I said it would be tough for them to stop with Karamanlis. Military intervention next time might well take a Qaddafi-like form. The reason we weren't anti-Greek at the outset of the Cyprus problem is we foresaw problems for the Greeks and didn't want to be blamed. Karamanlis came in and we got blamed anyway. I was worried about Greece deployments. A Makarios-Papandreu atmosphere in Greece is a poor prospect. That is why we can't break with the Turks.



To stop the Turks we would have had to threaten a cutoff and promise them two-thirds of what they got. The Greeks couldn't have it and we still would have been the whipping boy. Now we must extract from the Turks and we are better off that way now.

I told the Greek-Americans there is no possible motive for us to be anti-Greece, and I sent Kubisch to their convention. In two to three weeks they will bring a larger group down and you might want to meet with them.

President: Good. Then you will do these three things today. Will the Security Council meeting go?

Kissinger: Anyone can call for a meeting. We should maneuver against it, and if it happens, we should make no move to help. We can't let the Soviets be used as blackmail against us.

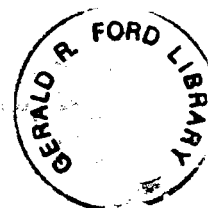
President: Will the Europeans be with us?

Kissinger: The Turks will oppose. Maybe the French will be with us, if they see their real interests. The British want to hit a home run. The Chinese probably will oppose. The Greeks either don't want a negotiation now or they are being very irresponsible.

The meeting shouldn't be more than 20 minutes, so the other Europeans don't get nervous.

You should meet Giscard only after you meet Schmidt. They mentioned January -- that may be a trial balloon. You could make noises about him being welcome here, or you could go to Martinique. Say you appreciate close consultation between Kissinger and Sauvagnargues on the Greek-Turkish crisis. Sauvagnargues will be here for the UN and you should meet him. Tell him if the situation takes an anti-American form and the Soviet Union starts to move in between NATO states, it would be bad.

We started to have talks and broke off. You could make an elliptical remark.



Two 10 Sept

P/K

✓

25 -

24 Aug 74

Clafidas

~~P/K~~

K Brent will call Ammanby. We have set 15 Sept for UK speech. You will be only one that work.

P Ok. And we draft speech.

K On A-T kit. We got Chicks to ~~talk~~ talk to Durbach. Then he went to Ottawa - we don't know whether this is pushing a whether Chicks want talk now to Trucks.

We must keep Sov out of negot. We must try to keep UK safe from happening a that nothing comes from it.

We must show Greeks they can't use SO against us.

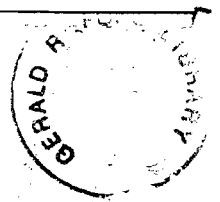
Tell C-M

It important to keep Greeks w/c West, but it must not be Fr. being scavengers taking on an anti-Arm. war in Greece. Hope that Fr. will cooperate in keeping it out of SC.

We must tell Greeks that we work against them - we can't use infl. against Trucks unless Greeks stop anti-Arm.

~~Fr. if Trucks~~ Greeks want T to go back to Aug 9 - that is impossible. Until a willing to face reality, we can do nothing. After this cap, we can get back 25-30%.

I see why Greeks can't move right now, but just to stop anti-Arm.



Papandreou

I told Greek - com that if anti - com is encouraged, they were putting Papandreou into office. There was no anti - G sentiment or tilting.

Q We need E com support & present S C mtg.

See if Greeks willing to have serious talks as strategy. I think you should not write yet (they will prohibit it) but I will be your behalf.

P Shouldn't we continue our talks w/ Chavos

* K Could we send Brown a note from you thanking him for messages?

Brown should see Gents. Intramission will freeze sit - that what T wants. Greeks stalling up with opinion will accomplish nothing.

I could write E com trying us against S C mtg, but S U has asked for joint copies & we can't get anything going w/o some T concessions which we would hold in trust

Tell G what our true assessment of post, they can't get anything w/o our help. They should send someone here or K want go to E com.

P Who send? Murres?

K Probably can't send anyone here - maybe ^{to} E com.

Kara. is smart politician - he can't be doing this because of Cyprus. He must be trying to create a left w/ anti - com. Danger is he can't go so far as Papan. Also, bringing in Loro is totally against their interests & must indicate



Kahn on conference.
P would military stop anything, but?
I was the beginning of Greek change, I said it would
be tough to stop w/ Korea. ~~The~~ military intervention
some night time might well be Qaddafi like.

Reason we weren't anti-Greek at context of Cyprus is
we pressure probs for Greeks & didn't want to be blamed.
Korea came in & we got blamed anyway. I would
be about Greek disputes. ~~That~~ A Makrisio-
Papandreas in Greece is pro prospect.
That why we can't break w/Turks.

Strategically, we To stop Turks we would have
had to threaten cutoff & promise them 2/3 of what
they got. Greeks couldn't have bought it & we still
would have been whipping boy. Now we
must extract from Turks & we are better off that
way now.

I told Ge-Aren these are possible motives for us
to be anti-G & set Kerenski & their convention.
In 2-3 weeks they bring a large group down &
you might want to meet w/them

P Good. Then you will do those 3 things today. Will
SC vote go.

K Anyone come all for vote. We should maneuver
against it & if it happens, we should make us
more to help. We won't let Sues be used as blackmail
against us.

P Will F now be w/us

K Turks will appear. Maybe F & Q they see their real
interests. Be. want a home run. PRC part will appear.



Cracks either don't want a night now or they
being very insignificant.

Why shouldn't he wear down 20 min, so other
Ernie don't get nervous.

You should meet Orin and only after Schmidt.

They want to see you - that's maybe a trial
fun. You could make a point about his being
welcome here or you could go to Washington.

Say you appreciate what Orin is doing, but K & Sauer
on Arab-Turk crisis. Same behavior for UK &
you should meet. Tell him if a set takes
action on form of SU starts to move in
but NATO ~~per~~ states would be bad.

We should start since talks + talk 1/6.

You could make a slight remark

