

The original documents are located in Box 7, folder “Cyprus Crisis (13)” of the Kissinger-Scowcroft West Wing Office Files at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

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1. Obtain the Presidential Libraries Mandatory Review Request Form (NA Form 14020).
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NLF-NSC_ILCC-5-2-4-3

July 22

10:00 am

- In fighting July 22~~a~~ prior to implementation of a cease-fire called for ~~them~~ by the UN Security Council, ~~British~~ Turkish and Greek reinforcements were reported landing at Kyrenia and Nicosia. The formulation and acceptance of the cease fire was the result of intensive negotiations spearheaded by the U.S. and Britain.
- In London, British Foreign Secretary Callaghan announced that Turkey and Greece ~~now~~ had agreed to begin talks with Britain on the Cyprus crisis in Geneva later in the week.
- A Turkish radio broadcast ~~reported~~ stated that the commander of ~~the 3rd Army Corps~~ the 3rd Army Corps in northern Greece, Lt. General Davos, had staged a coup. Though strongly denied in Athens, the report was given wide credence in Greece. Subsequent reports suggested that Davos had threatened to mount a coup unless the junta turned power over to the politicians.
- Turkish Premier Ecevit stated in a press conference that "the Turkish presence on the island is now irrevocably established." He stated that the 10 mile corridor held by the Turkish forces from the beachhead west of Kyrenia to Nicosia "will be a permanent base of strength ~~now~~ for the Turkish people on the island." and that Kyrenia would be ~~forever~~ "forever Turkish." He asserted that Turkey had achieved its military objectives.
- In Washington Archbishop Makarios met with Secretary Kissinger. Before the meeting Kissinger stated that a return ~~now~~ by Makarios to power "is certainly not excluded."
- At a Washington Press conference Secretary Kissinger expressed the belief that "a rather complicated crisis which had dangers of internationalization had been overcome" by Greece's and Turkey's acceptance of the cease fire. He stated that he had been in touch with Soviet leaders throughout the crisis and ~~that~~ "these exchanges have been constructive." He stated that ~~there~~ was "a total unanimity of views between Europe and the U.S. on the Cyprus situation." He stated that the U.S. opposed the idea of partitioning the island between Greece and Turkey. He stated that he had proposed the previous day that ~~them~~ a cease fire start at 10:00 am today and that negotiations begin ~~now~~ almost immediately after. He had cleared the proposal by phone with British Foreign Secretary Callaghan and French Foreign Minister ~~Sauvagnargues~~ Sauvagnargues, before relaying it by phone to Turkish Premier Ecevit and then to Greek Premier ~~Androutsopoulos~~ Androutsopoulos. Turkey had accepted first, then, two hours later Greece, and finally, the Sampson government in Cyprus.
- At the UN, amid reports of continued fighting, SYG Waldheim, asked the council to increase the size of UNFICYP from 2,300 to 5,000 troops. In response, Great Britain offered to transfer additional men and equipment to the unit from British bases on Cyprus.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION
Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

WITHDRAWAL ID 034954

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL ÇNational security restriction

TYPE OF MATERIAL ÇTelegram

DESCRIPTION re Cyprus

CREATION DATE 07/22/1974

VOLUME 1 page

COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 033200179

COLLECTION TITLE NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER.
KISSINGER-SCOWCROFT WEST WING OFFICE
FILES

BOX NUMBER 7

FOLDER TITLE Cyprus Crisis (13)

DATE WITHDRAWN 08/29/2011

WITHDRAWING ARCHIVIST HJR

~~SECRET~~

COPY 14 OF 15 COPIES

3



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
PASS-00 ATHENS 04756
ACTION CCO-00

~~SECRET~~ CA0385
Department of State
220448Z

TELEGRAM

INFO OCT-01 PASS-00 1001 W

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O P 220330Z JUL 74
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4334
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA PRIORITY
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY
USMISSION NATO PRIORITY

CONTROL: 5926Q
RECD: JULY 22, 1974
0115AM

~~SECRET~~

ATHENS 4756

EXDIS DISTRIBUTE AS NODIS POLTO 4P

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: OVTP (SISCO, JOSEPH J.)
SUBJECT: CONVERSATION WITH GOG OFFICIALS

FOR SECRETARY FROM SISCO

1. SUMMARY: I MET AT 2300 WITH ARMED FORCES COMMANDER IN CHIEF GENERAL BONANOS (NO. 2 MAN IN COUNTRY) AND NAVY COMMANDER ARAPAKIS. THEY INDICATED THAT THERE IS LITTLE TIME LEFT BEFORE GREECE GOES TO WAR BUT NOT MUCH. THEY VERY STRONGLY URGED US TO DO THE NECESSARY WITH ANKARA TO GET CEASEFIRE. I PROMISED WE WOULD INTENSIFY OUR EFFORTS.

2. AFTER YOU AND I HAD DISCUSSED A STRATEGY FOR USG DIPLOMATIC CAMPAIGN TO ACHIEVE A CEASEFIRE, I CALLED BONANOS BACK. I OUTLINED PARAMETERS OF OUR DIPLOMATIC PLAN AND NOTED THAT CEASEFIRE WOULD BE SET FOR 4100 P.M. TOMORROW ATHENS TIME. I EMPHASIZED THIS WAS USG NOT GOG PROPOSAL AND HAD FULL BACKING OF OUR GOVERNMENT. I SAID WE WOULD GET BACK TO BONANOS AS SOON AS WE HAD DEFINITE WORD FROM ANKARA. BONANOS REPLIED THE GOG WOULD TAKE NO PRECIPITOUS ACTION DURING THE NIGHT.

~~SECRET~~

4/1/11

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~~SECRET~~



Department of State

TELEGRAM

~~SECRET~~

PAGE 02 ATHENS 04756

3. THE FORMIN THEN CALLED AND I PASSED THE SAME MESSAGE TO HIM. THE FORMIN SAID THAT AS SOON AS WE HAD RECEVIT'S REPLY I SHOULD CONTACT HIM IMMEDIATELY. END SUMMARY.

4. GENERAL BONANOS HAD JUST RETURNED FROM NRC MEETING. HE WAS OBVIOUSLY TIRED BUT CALM. HE OPENED CONVERSATION BY SAYING HOW DIFFICULT IT IS TO HOLD IN CHECK 20,000 OFFICERS, 300,000 MEN WHO HAD BEEN TRAINED TO FIGHT, WHOSE MORALE AND ANGER WERE HIGH, WHO FELT HUMILIATED. HE SAID ALL OF THEM ARE AWARE OF THE REPEATED DELAYS IN ARRANGING A CEASEFIRE AND THIS ONLY MADE SITUATION MORE DIFFICULT. I TOLD HIM I CONSIDER MYSELF TO BE AN OLD SOLDIER WHO HAD BEEN IN A FOXHOLE OR TWO. IT HAS BEEN MY EXPERIENCE THAT THE VERY BEST SOLDIERS ARE MEN OF PEACE NOT MEN OF WAR AND HE IMPRESSED ME AS BEING ONE OF THE BEST.

5. GENERAL BONANOS SAID TURKISH PERFORMANCE IN THE CYPRUS CRISIS WAS TRULY EXTRAORDINARY WITH NO APPARENT REGARD OR RESPECT FOR ITS NATO ALLIES COLLECTIVELY AND WITH PARTICULAR DISDAIN FOR THE US, WHOSE COUNSEL SEEMS TO BE COMPLETELY IGNORED. HE WONDERED WHERE TURKEY WAS GETTING THE POWER TO ACT IN CYPRUS AND OBSERVED THAT ATTITUDE OF GREEK PEOPLE TOWARD THE US IS AT A VERY DELICATE POINT. HE SAID THE US IS A SUPERPOWER (CLEAR IMPLICATION WAS THAT WE SHOULD BE ABLE TO CONTROL TURKEY IF WE TRULY DESIRED TO DO SO). HE SAID HE WAS AWARE OF MY EFFORTS AND THOSE OF THE PRESIDENT AND YOURSELF TO BRING ABOUT A CEASEFIRE BUT ASKED WHY WE HAD HAD NO RESULTS. HE SAID OUR DEMARCHES ONLY SEEMED TO MAKE TURKEY MORE DETERMINED TO IGNORE THE U.S. THE GREEKS ARE READY TO DO THEIR VERY BEST AND HAVE CAPACITY FOR BOTH GOOD AND BAD. THE LIMITS TO THEIR PATIENCE AND RESTRAINT HAVE ALMOST BEEN REACHED.

6. I REPLIED THAT THE GENERAL COULD HAVE NO DOUBTS IN HIS MIND AS TO WHAT WE ARE TRYING TO DO, WHAT WE HAVE TRIED TO DO, AND WILL CONTINUE TO TRY TO DO FOR OUR MUTUAL BENEFIT. THIS HAS BEEN A VERY DIFFICULT DAY FOR YOU AND FOR US. I AM AWARE OF THE TRAGIC LOSS OF LIFE

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~~SECRET~~



Department of State

TELEGRAM

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PAGE 03 ATHENS 04756

ON CYPRUS. AS I SEE IT GREECE IS NOT LOSING. GREECE IS NOT ALONE. US HAS BEEN AND WILL CONTINUE TO BE GREECE'S BEST FRIEND. THE SECURITY COUNCIL IS NOW CRITICIZING TURKEY. THE SAME IS TRUE OF NATO. GREECE'S RESTRAINT HAS BEEN RECOGNIZED. WE HOPE YOU CAN GIVE US FURTHER TIME. THE PRESIDENT AND SECRETARY OF STATE HAVE TOLD ME TO STAY AS LONG AS THERE IS HOPE. WE UNDERSTAND WHAT YOU ARE EXPERIENCING. WE HOPE YOU WILL PERSEVERE IN YOUR RESTRAINT AS WE WILL PERSEVERE IN OUR EFFORTS TO GET THE FIGHTING TO STOP. I TOLD HIM IT WAS CLEAR THAT WE ARE ACTING IN GOOD FAITH. I TOLD HIM I WOULD NOT KNOW WHETHER ECEVIT WAS UNABLE TO PREVAIL OVER OTHER MEMBERS OF HIS GOVERNMENT OR WHETHER TURKEY WAS DELIBERATELY STALLING IN ORDER TO BUY TIME FOR FURTHER MILITARY ACTION.

7. GENERAL DONANOS SAID HE WAS CALM ALTHOUGH TIRED. HE SAID HIS MOTHER, SISTER, BROTHER-IN-LAW AND TWO NEPHEWS LIVE IN CYPRUS. HE HAD BEEN TOLD THERE WOULD BE A CEASEFIRE AT 12 NOON, THEN AT 3, THEN AT 4, THEN AT 6. GREEK UNITS HAD BEEN ORDERED TO APPLY THE CEASEFIRE AT ALL FOUR TIMES BUT NOTHING HAPPENED. HE SAID CLEARLY THE TURKS HAVE OBJECTIVES ON THE GROUND AND THAT IS WHY THEY CANCEL THE CEASEFIRES. HE SAID HE APPRECIATED OUR PROBLEMS AND OUR FRIENDSHIP BUT BELIEVED WE SHOULD BE STRONGER IN DEALING WITH THE TURKS.

8. I ASKED WHAT WE COULD DO TOMORROW. HE SAID TO CONTINUE OUR EFFORTS TO GET A CEASEFIRE BEFORE IT IS TOO LATE. I SAID IT IS LATE AND WE ARE TIRED BUT THE US WILL CONTINUE WITH ALL THE POWER IT HAS. I AM CONFIDENT MORE THAN EVER HE IS A REAL MAN OF PEACE AND HE WILL CONTINUE PRACTICE RESTRAINT. THE IMPORTANT THING IS FOR THE US AND GREECE TO REMAIN TOGETHER. US WILL NOT FORGET GREEK HONESTY AND RESTRAINT AND AWARENESS THAT RASH ACTION ON ITS PART WOULD GIVE THE SOVIETS A BIG GAIN IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN.

9. AT THAT POINT ADMIRAL ARAPKIS SPOKE UP AND SAID THAT TURKISH ATTITUDE TOWARD THE CEASEFIRE APPEARED TO BE BASED ON THE MISCALUCLATION THAT GREEKS WILL NEVER GO TO WAR. GREEK HISTORY PROVES THE OPPOSITE. THAT IS WHY THE SITUATION IS VERY TRAGIC. I SAID WE SHOULD AVOID FURTHER TRAGEDY.

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Department of State

TELEGRAM

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-4- ATHENS 4756

10. AFTER YOU AND I DISCUSSED OUR PLAN TO LAUNCH DIPLOMATIC EFFORT TO HAVE CEASEFIRE CALLED FOR 4:00 P.M. ATHENS TIME TOMORROW, I CALLED GENERAL BONANOS AND TOLD HIM THAT THE PRESIDENT AND YOU HAVE DECIDED TO LAUNCH A MAJOR DIPLOMATIC CAMPAIGN TO ACHIEVE A CEASEFIRE. CONSEQUENTLY WE WILL SET CEASEFIRE TIME FOR 4:00 P.M. TOMORROW ATHENS TIME. YOU ARE ATTEMPTING TO INTERVENE WITH ECEVIT AT THIS VERY MOMENT. PM WILSON IS ALSO GOING TO INTERVENE WITH THE GOT. WE WILL HAVE SECGEN OF NATO CONTACT THE GOT IN ORDER TO HAVE THE CEASEFIRE AT 4:00 P.M. TOMORROW. IN ADDITION WE ARE GOING TO GET THE MEMBERS OF NATO TO INTERVENE AS WELL. IN OTHER WORDS THIS WILL BE A COORDINATED CAMPAIGN AND ALL WILL SAY THE SAME THING AND SET SAME CEASEFIRE TIME IN TELLING THIS TO THE TURKS.

11. I INTERRUPTED MY CONVERSATION WITH BONANOS AT THIS MOMENT TO TAKE YOUR CALL IN WHICH YOU SAID THAT ECEVIT HAD ACCEPTED OUR PROPOSAL IN PRINCIPLE. I THEN TOLD BONANOS I HAD JUST SPOKEN WITH YOU AND YOU HAD JUST THIS MINUTE SPOKEN WITH ECEVIT. I REPORTED THAT YOU HAD TOLD ECEVIT THE US HAD DECIDED THAT THE CEASEFIRE WILL GO INTO EFFECT AT 4:00 P.M. TOMORROW, AS I EARLIER INDICATED TO BONANOS. PM ECEVIT HIMSELF HAS ACCEPTED THIS PROPOSAL IN PRINCIPLE. HE IS CONVENING HIS NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL MOMENTARILY TO PUT THE PROPOSAL BEFORE THEM. ECEVIT HAS PROMISED TO CALL SECRETARY KISSINGER AS SOON AS THE COUNCIL HAS ACTED.

12. I THEN TOLD BONANOS THAT I POINTED OUT TO YOU THAT OUR GREEK FRIENDS HAD RECEIVED THIS KIND OF WORD BEFORE FROM ECEVIT AND MIGHT NOT BELIEVE IT THIS TIME. YOU HAD RESPONDED THAT THIS A USG NOT GOT PROPOSAL AND HAS FULL BACKING AND SUPPORT OF THE US.

13. I HAD TRIED TO GET THIS WORD TO THE GOG BUT I HAD BEEN UNABLE TO REACH ANYONE. I TRIED THE PM, THE FONMIN AND IOANNIDES. I ASKED BONANOS IF I COULD GET THE WORD OUT OR IF HE COULD DO IT ON MY BEHALF. BONANOS REPLIED THAT I SHOULDN'T WORRY ABOUT IT; I WOULD BE ABLE TO CONTACT THEM IN THE MORNING. THE GOG WOULD TAKE NO PRECIPITOUS

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TELEGRAM

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-5- ATHENS 4756

ACTION DURING THE NIGHT. I NOTED THAT WE SHOULD BE HEARING TURKISH COUNCIL'S DECISION SOME TIME DURING THE NIGHT. WHEN I DO, WHO SHOULD I CONTACT? BONANOS REPLIED THAT I SHOULD CALL HIS OFFICE, THEY WILL GET ME IN TOUCH WITH NECESSARY PEOPLE IN THE GOG.

14. IMMEDIATELY AFTER I SPOKE WITH GENERAL BONANOS THE FORMIN CALLED ME. I SAID TO HIM THAT I JUST HAD A LONG CONVERSATION WITH BONANOS SINCE HE WAS THE ONLY ONE IN GOG I COULD REACH. I TOLD THE FORMIN I HAD REPORTED TO YOU THAT THE LATEST GOG PROPOSAL WAS NOT ACCEPTABLE. I ADDED THAT GOG POSITION WAS UNDERSTANDABLE. I REPORTED TO FONMIN THE SAME INFORMATION I JUST TOLD BONANOS CONCERNING OUR MAJOR DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS TO HAVE THE CEASEFIRE GO INTO EFFECT AT 4:00 P.M. TOMORROW. I ALSO NOTED ECEVIT'S ACCEPTANCE IN PRINCIPLE AND THAT TURKISH NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL IS NOW MEETING ON OUR PROPSAL AND I SHOULD HAVE AN ANSWER THIS EVENING. THE FORMIN ASKED THAT I CONTACT HIM AS SOON AS WE HEARD. I CLOSED BY EMPHASIZING THAT THIS IS A USG INITIATIVE AND PROPOSAL. WE HAD DECIDED THAT THIS WAS THE ONLY WAY TO RESOLVE THE ISSUE AND I WOULD GET BACK IN TOUCH WITH HIM AS SOON AS WE RECEIVED WORD FROM ECEVIT.

SISCO

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SECRET

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FLASH
DE RUEHC #8091 2030246
Z 220244Z JUL 74 ZFF4
FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO ALL NATO CAPITALS FLASH
USMISSION NATO FLASH 4501
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA FLASH 6000
AMEMBASSY CAIRO FLASH 8265
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW FLASH 4153
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS FLASH 1166
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK FLASH 7754

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ STATE 158091

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, CY, GRK, TY
SUBJECT: CYPRUS CEASEFIRE

1. FOLLOWING ANNOUNCEMENT WILL BE MADE IN WASHINGTON AT MIDNIGHT EDT: QUOTE: THE U.S. GOVERNMENT ANNOUNCES THAT THE GOVERNMENTS OF GREECE AND TURKEY AGREE TO THE CEASEFIRE, AS PROVIDED IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION OF JULY 20, 1974, AT 1400 GMT ON JULY 22. THIS ANNOUNCEMENT WILL BE CONFIRMED BY THE GREEK AND TURKISH GOVERNMENTS AT 3:00 A.M. EDT, 9:00 A.M. ATHENS TIME AND 10:00 A.M. ANKARA TIME. UNQTE,

2. FOR BONN, LONDON, PARIS AND USUN: WE HAVE BEEN IN TOUCH DIRECTLY FROM WASHINGTON WITH CALLAGHAN, GENSCHER, SAUVAGNARGUES AND WALDHEIM.

3. FOR USNATO: YOU SHOULD IMMEDIATELY INFORM LUNS OF FORTHCOMING ANNOUNCEMENT. KISSINGER
BT

BO. [unclear]

By NR [unclear] 4/11/11

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



RECALLED/

PSN:1056457

CSN:HCE 391

PAGE 01

OF 01

TOR:203/0250Z

DTG:220244Z JUL 74

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DE RUFHNA #4025 2030320
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FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC FLASH 6854
SECDEF WASHDC FLASH

INFO ALL NATO CAPITAL PRIORITY 4288
AMEMBASSY ANKARA IMMEDIATE 2464
AMEMBASSY ATHENS IMMEDIATE 2070
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA PRIORITY 0185
USMISSION US NEW YORK PRIORITY 1161
USDOSOUTH PRIORITY
USNMR SHAPE PRIORITY
CINCUSAFE PRIORITY
COMSITHFLT PRIORITY
USCINCEUR PRIORITY
USDOCOLANOSOUTHEAST IZMIR PRIORITY
CINCUSNAVEUR PRIORITY

~~SECRET~~ USNATO 4025

EXDIS
E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT, PFOR, CY, TU, GR, NATO
SUBJECT: CYPRUS
REFS: A) STATE 158086; B) USNATO 4023

1. PURSUANT TO INSTRUCTIONS, I CALLED SYG LUNS AT 0245 LOCAL TIME AND EXPLAINED THAT PRESIDENT NIXON HAD PROPOSED TO GREEK AND TURKISH PRESIDENTS THAT CEASE FIRE GO INTO EFFECT AT 1400 GMT ON JULY 22.

2. I THEN PROPOSED THAT WE SEND A MESSAGE IN NAME OF ALLIES TO GREEK AND TURKISH FORNMIN SUPPORTING THIS INITIATIVE.

3. I OBSERVED THAT IT WOULD BE MORE DESIRABLE TO HAVE THE SPECIFIC TIME FOR THE CEASE FIRE SANCTIONED BY ALL ALLIES AT A NAC MEETING, BUT AGREED WITH HIM IT WOULD BE IMPRACTICAL TO HAVE THE MEETING NOW AND REGULAR WORKING HOURS ON JULY 22 MIGHT BE TOO LATE. I SUGGESTED THAT HE USE THE NAC MEETING WE HAD EVENING OF JULY 21 AS BASIS FOR ACTION. I THEN READ HIM A DRAFT

***** WHSR COMMENT *****

KENNEDY LL (SENT TO SCOWCROFT)

PSN:056512

PAGE 01

TOR:203/04:17Z

DTG:220315Z JUL 74

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NO [unclear] [unclear]

By HR 4/1/11

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OF A MESSAGE THAT HE MIGHT SEND, WHICH REFERS TO THE NAC (REF B) AND STATES THAT HE HAS JUST HEARD OF PRESIDENT'S PROPOSAL TO HAVE CEASE FIRE TAKE EFFECT AT 1400 GMT. (TEXT FOLLOWS).

4. LUNS WAS PROFUSELY GRATEFUL FOR PRESIDENT'S INITIATIVE AND FOR MY SUGGESTIONS FOR CARRYING IT FORWARD. HE THINKS IT COULD NOT HAVE BEEN DELAYED ANY LONGER, AND HE SAID HE THOUGHT THE PRESIDENT WAS RIGHT IN SAYING THAT WE CAN NO LONGER CONTINUE THE EXISTING SITUATION.

5. MESSAGE IS TO BE SENT BY GREEKS AND TURKS IN THEIR OWN CHANNELS, HAS BEEN SENT BY NATO INTERNATIONAL STAFF TO ALL NATO CAPITALS ON NATO-WIDE NET, AND IS TO BE SENT BY US AND UK IN THEIR OWN CHANNELS FOR BACK UP.

6. I UNDERSTAND THAT FRENCH WILL ALSO DELIVER A MESSAGE IN ATHENS AND ANKARA ON BEHALF OF ALL EC MEMBERS. TEXT WILL BE ALONG LINES OF NOTE ALREADY SENT TO UK EMBASSIES.

7. IF WASHINGTON WANTS NAC TO ORGANIZE FURTHER INDIVIDUAL DEMARCHES BY EACH ALLY IN ATHENS AND ANKARA, A 9:00 AM MEETING CAN BE ARRANGED IF I HAVE BEEN INSTRUCTED BY 0700 AM LOCAL TIME. HOWEVER, I WOULD APPRECIATE IT IF WASHINGTON WOULD ALSO SEND INSTRUCTIONS TO EACH ALLIED CAPITAL TO ASK FOMINS TO PROVIDE INSTRUCTIONS FOR THIS MEETING.

8. AS ALTERNATIVE, WASHINGTON MAY SIMPLY WISH TO INSTRUCT EMBASSIES IN ALLIED CAPITALS TO ASK EACH HOST GOVERNMENT TO FOLLOW UP CABLE BY SYG LUNS WITH ITS OWN INDIVIDUAL DEMARCHE TO THE SAME EFFECT.

9. TEXT FOLLOWS OF MESSAGE NOW SENT BY LUNS IN ACCORDANCE PARA 5 ABOVE:

DURING THE EVENING OF JULY 21, THE NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL AGAIN DISCUSSED THE DEEPENING CRISIS OVER CYPRUS. THERE WAS BROAD, AND I MAY SAY UNANIMOUS, SUPPORT FOR A CEASE FIRE TO END THIS TRAGIC CONFLICT WHICH HAS BROUGHT TWO NATO ALLIES TO THE VERY BRINK OF WAR. IT IS EVIDENT THAT THE CURRENT SITUATION IS THREATENING THE EXISTENCE OF THE ALLIANCE AND THAT THIS STATE OF AFFAIRS CANNOT BE PERMITTED TO CONTINUE.

I HAVE WRITTEN TO YOU THREE TIMES BEFORE ON THIS URGENT MATTER BUT I MUST NOW, ON THE BASIS OF THE MOST RECENT MEETING OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL, RENEW MY APPEAL TO YOU TO DO ALL YOU CAN TO BRING AN END TO THIS FIGHTING.

I AM AWARE THAT THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES HAS REQUESTED YOUR GOVERNMENT TO INSTITUTE A CEASE FIRE AT

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~~SECRET~~

*****S COPY

1400 GMT ON JULY 22. HAVING HEARD THE VIEWS OF ALL MEMBERS OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC ALLIANCE, EXPRESSED REPEATEDLY DURING THIS CRISIS, I AM NOW, AS SECRETARY GENERAL AND ON BEHALF OF THE ALLIANCE, FULLY ENDORSING THE REQUEST THAT YOUR GOVERNMENT AGREE TO AND OBSERVE A CEASE FIRE AT 1400 GMT ON JULY 22.

I AM SENDING A PARALLEL MESSAGE TO THE HELLENIC/TURKISH GOVERNMENTS.

RUMSFELD.

BT

~~SECRET~~

NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION
Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

WITHDRAWAL ID 034955

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL ÇNational security restriction

TYPE OF MATERIAL ÇReport

DESCRIPTION re Cyprus Situation

CREATION DATE 07/22/1974

VOLUME 3 pages

COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 033200179

COLLECTION TITLE NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER.
KISSINGER-SCOWCROFT WEST WING OFFICE
FILES

BOX NUMBER 7

FOLDER TITLE Cyprus Crisis (13)

DATE WITHDRAWN 08/29/2011

WITHDRAWING ARCHIVIST HJR



DIA SPOT REPORT

DATE: 22 July 1974
TIME: 0905 EDT

SUBJECT: Possible Coup in Greece (C)

REFERENCE: Telecon USDAO Athens 0845 EDT (U)

1. (C) USDAO Athens reports that the US Base Commander at Athenai Air Base was contacted by a Greek Brigadier General who informed him that a coup was in progress. The Brigadier also stated that LT GEN Davos was the leader of the coup. If true, this would indicate that Greek Army Corp C, which Davos commands, is in rebellion against the Ioannidis Government.

2. (C/NPD) The USDAO had indications that some unusual activity was taking place in Athens but could not confirm that a coup was taking place. Press sources, however, have reported that tanks were seen in the streets of Athens. Although Davos may be a primary leader, it is likely that other high ranking officers are involved.

DECLASSIFIED

AUTHORITY RAI NVE-KS WWO of 7-9-2-2 1/13/06

BY 14 **NLF DATE** 7/9/09

PREPARED BY:
 LT Litsinger
 DI-5D1
 x76801/Gray 42

RELEASED BY:

Richard A. Szymczyk
RICHARD A. SZYMCIYK
 Colonel, USA
 Chief, Western Area Division
 Directorate for Intelligence

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- CSAF; CV; CVA (3 Cys)
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- CNO (NOP-009, IP)
- AFIN (Alert Officer, via Tube)
- White House Sit Room (via LDX)
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- DDO NMCC (NMCC Rep)
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CIA (LDX)

6-1655/01-501
 Control Number
 5 Jun 74

DIA SPOT REPORT SEQUENCE NO. 74-053

EXEMPTION CATEGORY: 1
 DECLASSIFY ON: 100 YRS TO DATE

NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION
Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

WITHDRAWAL ID 034956

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL ÇNational security restriction

TYPE OF MATERIAL ÇReport

DESCRIPTION re Cyprus Situation

CREATION DATE 07/22/1974

VOLUME 4 pages

COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 033200179

COLLECTION TITLE NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER.
KISSINGER-SCOWCROFT WEST WING OFFICE
FILES

BOX NUMBER 7

FOLDER TITLE Cyprus Crisis (13)

DATE WITHDRAWN 08/29/2011

WITHDRAWING ARCHIVIST HJR

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INTELLIGENCE-CYPRUS
BY FRED S. HOFFMAN

WASHINGTON (AP) -- U.S. INTELLIGENCE MISREAD TURKISH MILITARY INTENTIONS TOWARDS CYPRUS, ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS ACKNOWLEDGE. "IT WAS OUR CONVENTIONAL WISDOM THAT THE TURKS COULD BE TALKED OUT OF LANDING ON CYPRUS," ONE OFFICIAL SAID. "OBVIOUSLY, WE WERE WRONG."

HISTORY PLAYED A PART IN THE MISJUDGMENT BY U.S. INTELLIGENCE AS WELL A NUMBER OF GOVERNMENTS, INCLUDING THE BRITISH, WITH WHOM THE UNITED STATES CONSULTED AS THE CRISIS DEEPENED. SECRETARY OF STATE HENRY A. KISSINGER RECALLED SATURDAY THAT DURING THE 1964 AND 1967 CYPRUS CRISES THE TURKS EMBARKED TROOPS, BUT DID NOT INVADE THE ISLAND.

THEREFORE, KISSINGER SAID, MANY MEMBERS OF THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY AND FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS THOUGHT THIS SAILING OF TROOPS FROM SOUTHERN TURKEY MIGHT AGAIN BE A MANEUVER TO BRING PRESSURE ON GREECE IN DIPLOMATIC NEGOTIATIONS, RATHER THAN A FORERUNNER OF INVASION. EARLIER, THE SAILING ITSELF CAME AS A SURPRISE TO MANY U.S. OFFICIALS, ALTHOUGH THEY WERE AWARE TURKEY HAD CONCENTRATED TROOPS AND TANKS ON ITS SOUTHERN COAST.

PENTAGON SOURCES REPORTED THE TURKS HAD CLOSED OFF THE AREA AROUND THE PORT OF MERSIN, EXCLUDING U.S. ATTACHES AND OTHER OBSERVERS. PENTAGON OFFICIALS INSISTED ALL LAST WEEK THAT THE UNITED STATES WAS NOT CONDUCTING AERIAL RECONNAISSANCE OVER SOUTHERN TURKEY AND CYPRUS, OR THE WATERS BETWEEN. THEY SAID THEY WERE DEPENDING ON THE BRITISH FOR THAT KIND OF INFORMATION AS THE UNITED STATES STROVE TO MAINTAIN A LOW MILITARY PROFILE IN THE SITUATION.

BUT EVEN WITH KNOWLEDGE THAT THE TURKISH FORCE HAD SAILED, OFFICIALS SAID THEY HAD NO WAY OF KNOWING WHAT THE TURKS INTENDED. - U.S. INTELLIGENCE HAS COME UNDER CRITICISM IN TWO MAJOR CRISES IN THE PAST SIX YEARS. IT WAS ACCUSED OF FAILING TO ANTICIPATE THE SOVIET INVASION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA IN 1968 AND OF MISINTERPRETING THE SIGNS OF AN IMMINENT ARAB ATTACK ON ISRAEL LAST OCTOBER.

MEANWHILE, THERE ARE INDICATIONS TURKEY MAY HAVE RECONSIDERED BRIEFLY BEFORE TAKING THE PLUNGE INTO CYPRUS. KISSINGER SAID HE FIRST WAS INFORMED FRIDAY EVENING THAT THE TURKISH FLEET WAS HEADING FOR SHORE, BUT THAT LATER INFORMATION INDICATED THE SHIPS HAD TURNED AROUND AND WITHDRAWN OUTSIDE CYPRUS' TERRITORIAL WATERS.

BUT KISSINGER SAID THAT ABOUT 25 MINUTES LATER, AMID FRANTIC EFFORTS TO GAIN A 48-HOUR RESPITE FOR LAST-DITCH NEGOTIATIONS, HE GOT WORD THAT THE TURKISH FORCE HAD REVERSED COURSE AGAIN AND A SPECIAL U.S. ENVOY WAS INFORMED THAT THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT HAD DECIDED TO LAND ON CYPRUS.

07-22-74 09:32EDT



MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~TOP SECRET/SENSITIVE~~ XGDS

July 24, 1974

MEMORANDUM FOR SECRETARY KISSINGER

FROM:

Jeanne W. Davis

SUBJECT:

Minutes of the Washington Special Actions
Group Meeting held July 22, 1974

Attached are the minutes of the Washington Special Actions Group Meeting held July 22, 1974, to discuss Cyprus.

Attachment

cc: Gen. Scowcroft
Mr. Kennedy
Mr. Saunders



UNCLASSIFIED COPY
OF CLASSIFIED ATTACHMENTS

~~TOP SECRET/SENSITIVE~~ XGDS

106

NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION
Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

WITHDRAWAL ID 034957

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL ÇNational security restriction

TYPE OF MATERIAL ÇMinute

DESCRIPTION WSAG Meeting Minutes

CREATION DATE 07/22/1974

VOLUME 10 pages

COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 033200179

COLLECTION TITLE NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER.
KISSINGER-SCOWCROFT WEST WING OFFICE
FILES

BOX NUMBER 7

FOLDER TITLE Cyprus Crisis (13)

DATE WITHDRAWN 08/29/2011

WITHDRAWING ARCHIVIST HJR

22 July 1974

10c

BRIEFING FOR
22 JULY WSAG MEETING

CYPRUS

I. Both sides, having agreed to a cease-fire for 1000 Washington time today, appear to be making last minute efforts to improve their positions. Fighting resumed this morning, particularly in the Kyrenia area on the northern coast.

A. There are good indications that the Greeks landed elements of two battalions of paratroops and marines at Nicosia airport early today. (The Turks never did take the airport.) These are the first regular Greek troops to have been brought to the island.

B. The Turks, at the same time, landed additional troops from 11 ships at their beachhead around Kyrenia.

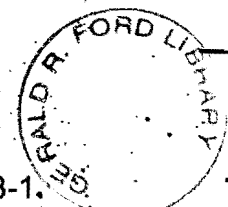
II. Ankara and Athens are both saying that they are satisfied with their military performances, and what appears to have become a military standoff.

A. Ankara claims that its principal objective

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AUTHORITY RAE NLF-K-S_WWOF-7-9-3-1 9/9/04

BY NLF DATE 7/9/09



was to secure a beachhead, and control of a corridor to Nicosia.

1. In yesterday's heavy fighting, however, the Turkish regular forces made little headway, and by nightfall had clearly lost the initiative. Even the buildup on the beachhead apparently went slowly, with only a few tanks coming ashore.
- B. Turkish forces do hold about a 15-mile beachhead in the vicinity of Kyrenia on the northern coast, and the key mountain pass controlling the road leading south to Nicosia. In the capital, Turkish paratroops are in the Turkish quarter and hold positions around the city. Some forces from the coast may have reached the city, but the road between Kyrenia and Nicosia is not secure.
- C. Athens is pleased that the Greek Cypriot forces were able to contain the Turkish regular forces. Elsewhere on the island, the Greek Cypriot forces have gained the upper hand in intercommunal fighting. Stories of Greek Cypriot atrocities continue to come in, but we have no

-2-

~~TOP SECRET~~

confirmation of these. UN forces on the island have not reported any mass executions or other excesses.

- D. On the mainland, the Greeks yesterday were still moving reinforcements toward the Turkish border, and there were some reports that Ankara was also sending more troops to the area. The border itself, however, was calm.

III. Soviet response to the situation on Cyprus has continued to be limited and low key.

- A. Yesterday, four of the five Soviet warships that were located between Crete and Cyprus apparently began moving west, away from Cyprus. The remaining ship, a guided-missile cruiser, is still southwest of Cyprus

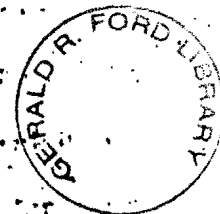
25X1

- B. Three Soviet naval ships remain in the Cyprus area: a destroyer, a mine sweeper, and an intelligence collector.

IV. The crisis may be affecting the political scene in Athens--especially the decision making process.

- A. [redacted] the Greek leadership now appears to be speaking with a

~~TOP SECRET~~



since the coup last November, Ioannidis may be forced to share power. Government decisions apparently are being made by a "war council."

B. Prime Minister Androutsopoulos told Secretary Sisco yesterday that young military officers would take over the government within 24 hours.

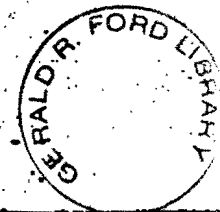
1. such a move might be planned in cooperation with Ioannidis to neutralize the moderates or, more likely, to solidify his position should his Cyprus endeavor fail.
2. The cease-fire announcement, however, could deter or postpone such an attempt.

V. The cease-fire--if it holds--leaves a messy situation on the ground in Cyprus, which will complicate efforts to work out a solution.

A. The Turkish failure to render their corridor to the Nicosia enclave secure means that they lack the easily defensible core area they would need to establish partition; they further lack sufficient territory to accommodate resettlement of the other Turkish enclaves most were captured by the Cyprus National Guard.

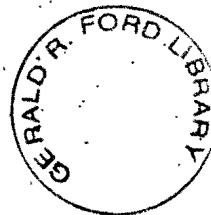
-4-

~~TOP SECRET~~



- B. This outcome increases the possibility that some form of ostensibly independent Cyprus state will continue to exist, though Athens and Ankara will have a much more direct role on the island than they had under the Makarios regime.
- C. The Cyprus National Guard's relative success against the Turks has relieved immediate pressure against Ioannidis for his handling of the Cyprus issue. It probably does not guarantee his position for very long, however, and the crisis of recent days has undoubtedly increased ferment within the ranks of the Greek military.
- D. The future of US-Greek relations becomes increasingly uncertain to the extent that the NATO alliance appears to be responsible for blocking of Greek desires. There is strong pro-US sentiment in the Greek military hierarchy, however, that could well survive even this extended ferment.

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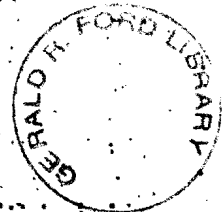


tative comments on the prospects for a negotiated settlement following the cease-fire, but it continues to call for the restoration of the "lawful government of Cyprus."

- A. TASS last night reported that the cease-fire was in effect and this morning emphasized that the halt in fighting is only the first step in the implementation of the Security Council's resolution.
- B. TASS took note of Secretary General Waldheim's request for an increased UN presence on Cyprus in order to carry out the cease-fire.

-6-

~~TOP SECRET~~



23 July 1974

DCI BRIEFING FOR
23 JULY WSAG MEETING

CYPRUS

I. The cease-fire apparently was not broken overnight, but there are reports of scattered fighting near the Nicosia airport and in Kyrenia this morning.

A.

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

suggested that

the airport was in Turkish hands. The airport has been a key objective since their landings on Saturday.

B. The Greeks claimed this morning, however, that they still controlled the airport, although fighting in the vicinity had rendered it inoperable.

C.

[Redacted]

the Turks now have set up a roadblock on the road leading to the airport and are attacking in battalion strength.

D. Nicos Sampson's foreign minister, Dimitrios Dimitriou, [Redacted]

25

[Redacted]

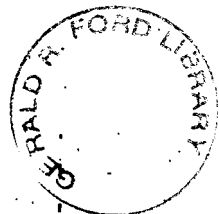
ask that every effort be

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AUTHORITY *RAC NLF-K-S_WWOF-7-9-3-1 9/9/04* ~~TOP SECRET~~

BY *llh* NLF DATE *7/9/09*



made to stop the fighting. He said that in one half hour an announcement would be broadcast that Glafkos Clerides has been appointed president of Cyprus in place of Sampson.

II. The Greeks remain satisfied with their performance in resisting the Turkish invasion [redacted]

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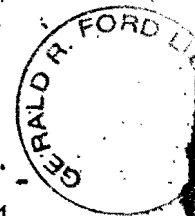
[redacted]

A. They claim that they prevented the Turks from controlling a strip of land along the northern coast, although the Turks hold Kyrenia and did gain better access from the sea to the Turkish sector of Nicosia.

B. The Greeks evidently still hold some positions in Kyrenia. The Turkish commander in the area has threatened to bomb Kyrenia Castle unless the Greeks holed up in the castle surrender.

1. At last word, the Turks were attacking the castle with tanks, forcing a halt in the evacuation of foreign nationals from the Kyrenia area after some 300 had been taken aboard the British ships.

2. In other evacuation moves, a US Navy ship left the British sovereign base area of Dhekelia in southeastern Cyprus early to-



day for Beirut carrying about 400 Americans and other foreign nationals.

III. Conditions on the Turkish mainland may be returning to normal. The US defense attache reports from Ankara that three Turkish airports closed during the fighting have been reopened to civilian aircraft.

A. Turkey may have received some military aid from Libya yesterday, although not the ten Mirage aircraft that some reports had suggested.

[redacted] reports that two Boeing 707s were loaded with wooden cases yesterday morning.

B. On the political front, [redacted] both the left and right in Ankara increasingly view the Cypriot intervention as a disaster.

1. The rightists reportedly view the decision to intervene as an error perpetrated by leftist elements to destroy the NATO alliance. The leftists reportedly consider the intervention to be a failure by the military, poorly planned and ineptly executed.
2. [redacted]

pressures

~~TOP SECRET~~



on the Turkish military to seize control in Ankara have increased as a result of the intervention. Dissatisfaction with the Ecevit government reportedly had been growing prior to the intervention, partly as a result of the government's release of political prisoners and uncertainty generated by the poppy issue.

IV. In Athens, the US embassy reports a tense and strained mood but no indications of unusual activity beyond that consistent with the mobilization still in effect.

A. Although Athens has denied widespread rumors of a rebellion in C corps and the return of ex-Prime Minister Karamanlis, other reporting indicates that officers in C corps, the main army force in northern Greece and Thrace, have been divided over the wisdom of attacking Turkey.

B. [redacted] regular
Greek troops have been withdrawn from the Bulgarian border and moved to the Evros River area, which borders Turkey.

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[Redacted]

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V.

[Redacted]

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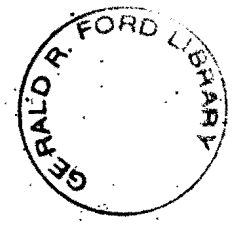
but there have been no other changes in the status of the Soviet military forces.

[Redacted]

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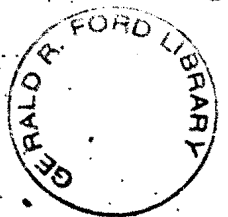
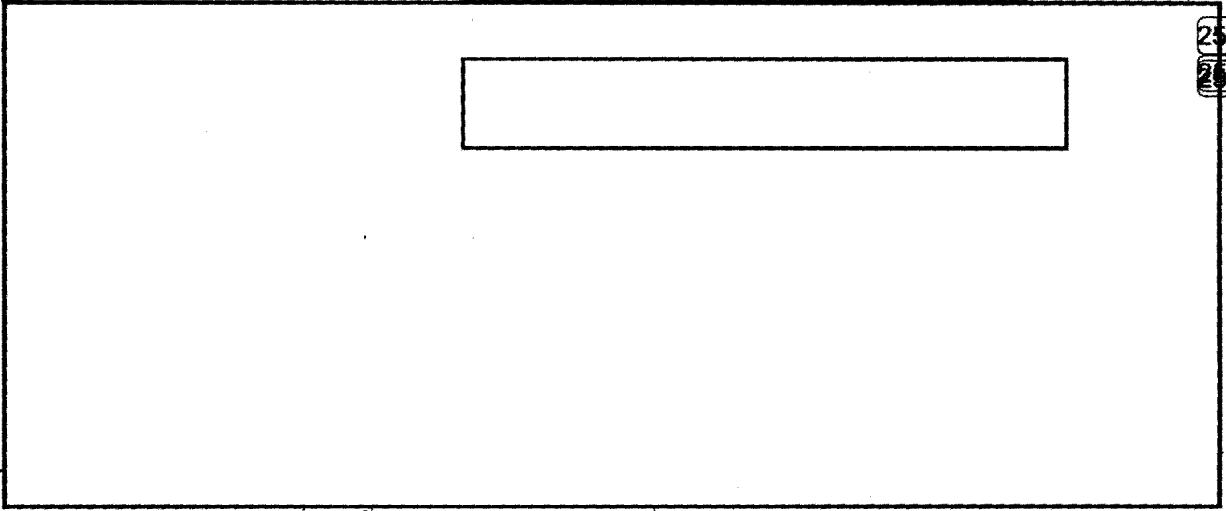
VI. The Soviet government has not yet made any authori-

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The USDAO in Athens has reported further indications of a coup in Greece led by General Davos, commander of "C" corps, in Thess.



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REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL ÇNational security restriction

TYPE OF MATERIAL ÇReport

DESCRIPTION re Cyprus Situation

CREATION DATE 07/22/1974

VOLUME 9 pages

COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 033200179

COLLECTION TITLE NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER.
KISSINGER-SCOWCROFT WEST WING OFFICE
FILES

BOX NUMBER 7

FOLDER TITLE Cyprus Crisis (13)

DATE WITHDRAWN 08/29/2011

WITHDRAWING ARCHIVIST HJR

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WITHDRAWAL ID 034959

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL ÇNational security restriction

TYPE OF MATERIAL ÇTelegram

CREATOR'S NAME WH Situation Room

RECEIVER'S NAME McFarlane for Gen. Scowcroft

DESCRIPTION Summary of various significant events

CREATION DATE 07/22/1974

VOLUME 3 pages

COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 033200179

COLLECTION TITLE NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER.
KISSINGER-SCOWCROFT WEST WING OFFICE
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FOLDER TITLE Cyprus Crisis (13)

DATE WITHDRAWN 08/29/2011

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REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL ÇNational security restriction

TYPE OF MATERIAL ÇReport

DESCRIPTION re Cyprus Situation

CREATION DATE 07/22/1974

VOLUME 4 pages

COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 033200179

COLLECTION TITLE NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER.
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BOX NUMBER 7

FOLDER TITLE Cyprus Crisis (13)

DATE WITHDRAWN 08/29/2011

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1. (C/NFD) DAO CANNOT FACTUALLY SUBSTANTIATE ATTEMPTED COUP;
DAO OBSERVERS HAVE CHECKED OUT EACH LEAD AND HAVE COME-UP
NEGATIVE; BELIEVE SOTRY FROM GERMANY RADIO STATION WHICH TALKED
ODWD SEN RON IN THE ARMY OF NORTHERN GREECE AND GENERAL DAYOS
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OF THE ATHENS CIVIL POPULATION HAS TAKEN UP THE WAVE OF EMOTION
AND THEY ARE ACTING TRUE TO CHARACTER; IF FACTS PROVE OTHERWISE
AS DAY WEARS ON WE WILL ADVISE.
GDS 31 DEC 80
BT
#4783

PAGE 1

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BY: [Signature] NLF DATE 1/21/09

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NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION
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REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL ÇNational security restriction

TYPE OF MATERIAL ÇTelegram

CREATOR'S NAME WH Situation Room

RECEIVER'S NAME McFarlane for Gen. Scowcroft

DESCRIPTION re Cyprus Situation

CREATION DATE 07/22/1974

VOLUME 2 pages

COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 033200179

COLLECTION TITLE NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER.
KISSINGER-SCOWCROFT WEST WING OFFICE
FILES

BOX NUMBER 7

FOLDER TITLE Cyprus Crisis (13)

DATE WITHDRAWN 08/29/2011

WITHDRAWING ARCHIVIST HJR

NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION
Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

WITHDRAWAL ID 034962

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL ÇNational security restriction

TYPE OF MATERIAL ÇTelegram

DESCRIPTION re Cyprus

CREATION DATE 07/22/1974

VOLUME 1 page

COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 033200179

COLLECTION TITLE NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER.
KISSINGER-SCOWCROFT WEST WING OFFICE
FILES

BOX NUMBER 7

FOLDER TITLE Cyprus Crisis (13)

DATE WITHDRAWN 08/29/2011

WITHDRAWING ARCHIVIST HJR

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17

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AUTHORITY RAC NLF-CODEWORD-4-1-6-0 9/21/2005
BY M/D NARA, DATE 3/14/2011



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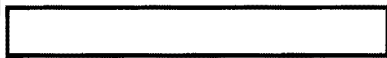
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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
July 22, 1974

NSC/state
Guidelines

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INTELLIGENCE MEMORANDUM

AUTHORITY RAC NLF-CODEWORD-4-1-6-0

BY W/O NARA, DATE 3/14/2011 9/21/2005

CYPRUS

Situation Report Number 22
(As of 1600 EDT)

(All times cited are Nicosia time, unless otherwise specified)

CEASE-FIRE STATUS

1. The cease-fire deadline in Cyprus passed today with no let-up in the fighting. The senior UN authority in Cyprus reports that the National Guard is cooperating in the cease-fire negotiations, but he is having serious problems with Turkish ambassador Inhan. The ambassador is reported to be under severe emotional strain which has made him wholly uncooperative. UN officials have asked that Ankara assign another person -- preferably a senior military commander -- with whom they can carry out further negotiations. Inhan claims he has received instructions from Ankara simply to "blame UNFICYP." Meanwhile, President Nicos Sampson has broadcast an appeal to Greek Cypriots to respect the cease-fire.



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[REDACTED]

2. Turkish Prime Minister Ecevit told a press conference today that the Turkish presence on Cyprus is now irrevocably established and that his country is now in a position to contribute much more to an overall solution than it had before. He said, however, that making peace would be much more difficult than making war. He noted, for instance, that even as the cease-fire was going into effect, Greek Cypriots were committing genocide against the Turkish minority and that his government had called for UN intervention in such places as Famagusta, Chatos, Kokkina, and Paphos.

3. In answer to questions from reporters, Ecevit gave credit to the US for its role in establishing the cease-fire, and said that no effort had been made to pressure him by threatening the withdrawal of US military aid. Responding to questions about efforts to achieve a settlement, Ecevit said that Turkey would go to Geneva without any pre-conditions. He repeated several times, however, that the northern city of Kyrenia was in Turkish hands, and would remain so to provide Turks an opening to the sea.

GREECE - NATO

4. The Greek military representative at SHAPE told General Goodpaster today that Greece had never pulled out of the NATO alliance, although later in his remarks he used the phrase "now that we are again a member of the alliance." The NATO military committee was informed that all Greek military officers were being put on 24-hour notice for movement as part of the mobilization of the Greek armed forces. The Greek representative at SHAPE says that his government will inform NATO through official channels of any decision to recall Greek staff officers and emphasized that Greece intends to honor its obligations to the alliance.

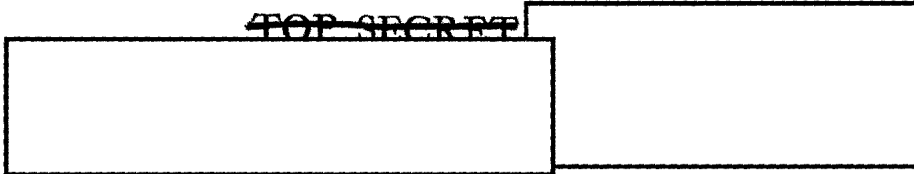
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EVENTS IN GREECE

5. The US embassy in Athens reports a tense and strained mood but no indications of unusual activity beyond that consistent with the mobilization still in effect. Athens has denied widespread rumors of a rebellion in C corps and the return of ex-Prime Minister Karamanlis. King Constantine has issued a statement from London stating that he would never return to power as the result of a military coup. Further reporting from reliable sources in Thessaloniki, however, indicates that officers in C corps, the main army force in northern Greece and Thrace, have been divided over the wisdom of attacking Turkey.

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6. [redacted] regular Greek troops have been withdrawn from the Bulgarian border and moved to the Evros River area, which borders Turkey. Inductees replaced these troops. The source believes that regular troops have also been withdrawn from the Yugoslav and Albanian borders.

7. Before the cease-fire was announced, the Greeks apparently had a plan under consideration to support the fighting on Cyprus from Crete. [redacted]

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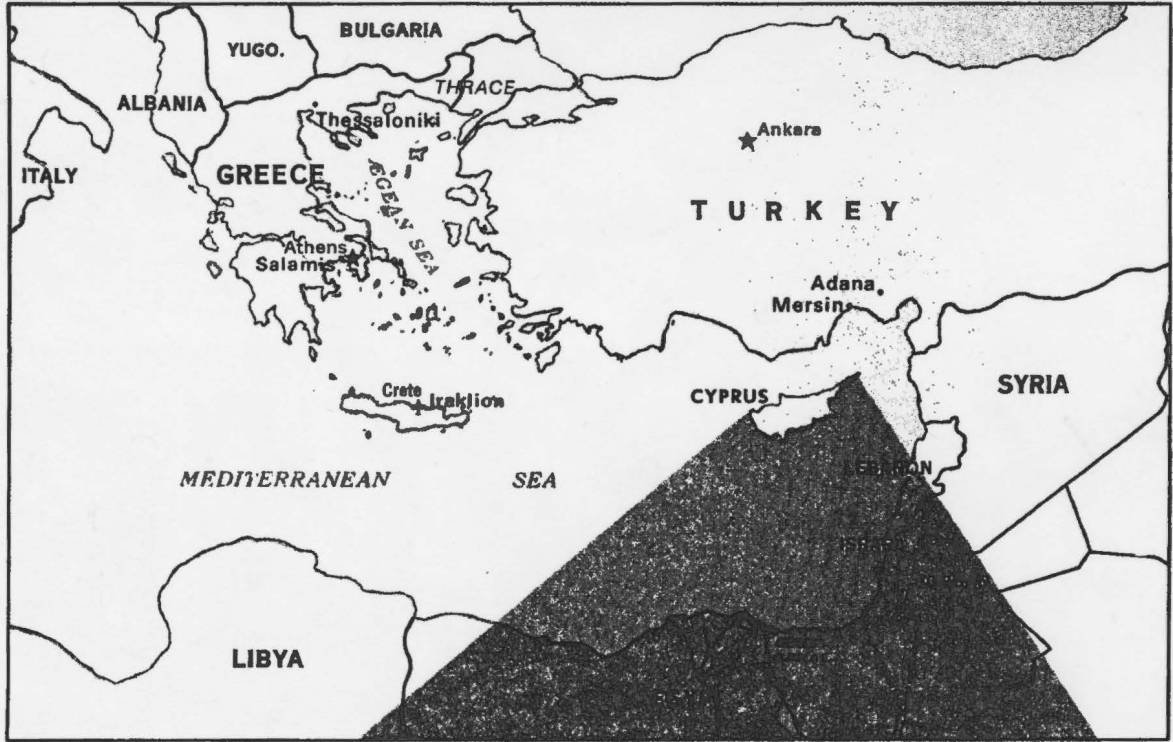
[redacted] in Athens reports that six F-4 and ten F-5 aircraft landed today at Iraklion air base on Crete. One of the F-4s reportedly crashed while attempting to land. Although the F-5s could not effectively operate over Cyprus from Crete, the island would be well within the range of the F-4 fighter-bombers.

8. [redacted] the Iraklion harbor master directed all docked ships to offload cargo this morning. Passengers attempting to depart the port were told that all ferries would be used for troop movement.



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 UK Sovereign base area

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FIGHTING ON CYPRUS

9. The cease-fire is not holding, according to [redacted] UN sources, and the press.

10. Turkish aircraft continued attacking Greek Cypriot positions after the cease-fire north of the Kyrenia range, at Nicosia airport, and near Chatos. The Greek charge in Nicosia claimed that Turkish forces launched a ground attack with supporting mortar fire against Greek Cypriot forces after the cease-fire. The Greek Cypriot headquarters advised Greek army headquarters in Athens that the Turks were not honoring the agreement and were firing at Greek Cypriot units in several areas. The Greek Cypriot National Guard commander asked Athens for instructions, but apparently received no response.

11. Press reports indicate that as the cease-fire hour passed Greek Cypriot artillery units continued to fire on Turkish positions near Nicosia and along the road from the capital to the Turkish beachhead at Kyrenia. [redacted]

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12. In late afternoon, about the time the cease-fire was to become effective, a Turkish general officer reported that the Turks had occupied all of the area from the beachhead at Kyrenia to Saint Hilarion. He reported, and a Greek source confirmed, that all Greek Cypriot resistance at Kyrenia had collapsed. He also indicated that a village four miles southwest of Kyrenia has been captured by an armored brigade task force. [redacted]

25X1

[redacted] as of 1800, Turkish military forces continued attacking Nicosia airport, Saint Hilarion, and positions held by regular Greek military forces on Cyprus.

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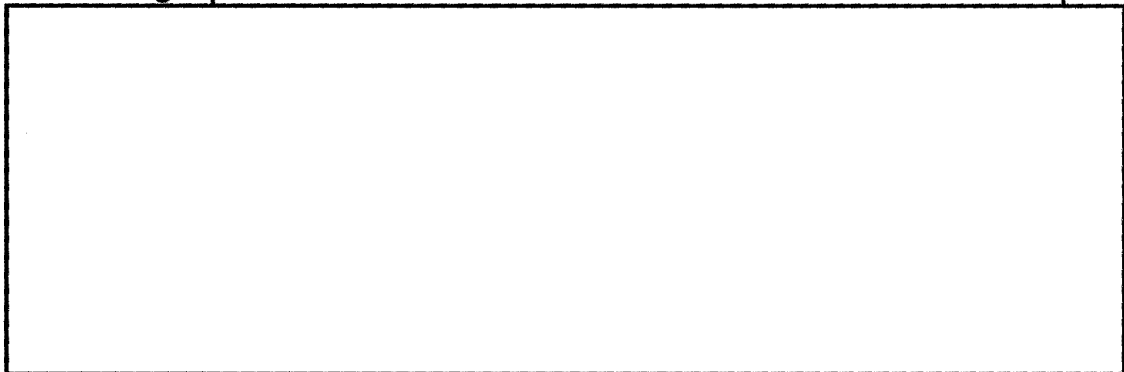


SOVIET REACTION

13. There have been no Soviet commentaries on the cease-fire or on the prospects for a negotiated settlement. TASS reported that Turkey, in keeping with the resolution of the UN Security Council, agreed to the cease-fire. The Greek acceptance and the efforts made by the US and Britain to arrange the cease-fire and to organize subsequent negotiations have not been mentioned.

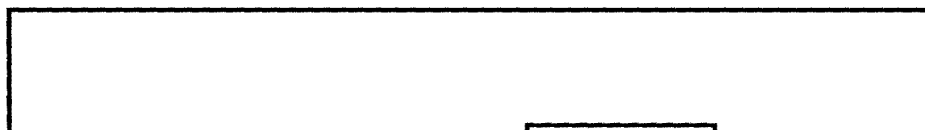
14. There has been no significant change in the status of Soviet and East European forces since this morning.

25X1



LATE ITEM

16. Cypriot Foreign Minister Dimitriou has told a US government representative that some members of the Cypriot Council of Ministers have submitted their resignations, but they have not yet been accepted. Most members of the council have decided that they will resign unless the UN can enforce a cease-fire or negotiations requested by UNFICYP at the local Cypriot level can be held.



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TO MCFARLANE FOR GEN. SCOWCROFT
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State Review
3/3/04
EO. 13526
4/1/11
NR

TOSCO 234

STATE 158131
TOPOL 70 ZFF ANKARA ONLY
E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, CYD
SUBJECT: SITUATION REPORT NO. 13

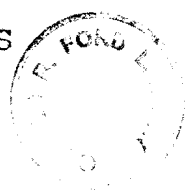
1. TURKEY, GREECE ACCEPT CEASE-FIRE. TURKISH PRIME MINISTER ECEVIT ANNOUNCED AT 0300 EDT JULY 22 THAT ANKARA HAD ACCEPTED THE PROPOSED CEASE-FIRE IN CYPRUS. HE PRAISED THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE TURKISH ARMED FORCES ON THE ISLAND AND DECLARED THAT IN THE FUTURE NO ONE WOULD BE ABLE TO VIOLATE THE RIGHTS OF CYPRIOT TURKS. ATHENS ANNOUNCED ITS ADHESION TO THE CEASE-FIRE AGREEMENT SHORTLY AFTER 0500 TODAY; UNDER SECRETARY SISCO HAD BEEN INFORMED ON JULY 21 BY ADMIRAL ARAPAKIS THAT GREECE WOULD CONFIRM THE CEASE-FIRE AS PROMISED.

2. BRITISH PROPOSE VIENNA MEETING. THE BRITISH EMBASSY IN WASHINGTON INFORMED THE DEPARTMENT EARLY JULY 22 THAT THE FOLLOWING INSTRUCTIONS HAD BEEN SENT TO BRITISH EMBASSIES IN ANKARA AND ATHENS FOR TRANSMITTAL TO THE TURKISH AND GREEK FOREIGN MINISTRIES:

"(FOREIGN SECRETARY) CALLAGHAN VERY PLEASED ABOUT CEASEFIRE BUT FEELS WE SHOULD MOVE TO OPERATIVE

PARAGRAPH FIVE OF SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 353, AND PROPOSES THERE SHOULD BE A MEETING IN VIENNA 1000 GMT ON JULY 23."

THE BRITISH AMBASSADOR IN ANKARA DELIVERED THE VIENNA INVITATION SHORTLY AFTER THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE TURKISH ACCEPTANCE OF THE CEASE-FIRE, AND THE SECRETARY'S MESSAGE TO ECEVIT WAS DELIVERED IMMEDIATELY THEREAFTER.



3. JULY 21 NAC MEETING. AT THE SPECIAL NAC MEETING, NATO SECRETARY GENERAL LUNS ANNOUNCED THAT THE GREEK CHIEF OF STAFF HAD ORDERED GREEK OFFICERS IN SHAPE AND THEIR FAMILIES TO LEAVE. GREEK OFFICERS IN ALL NATO COMMANDS ARE REPORTEDLY UNDER 24-HOUR NOTICE TO RETURN

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HOME, ACCORDING TO A BRITISH NATO MILITARY OFFICIAL. THE GREEK AND TURKISH REPRESENTATIVES TRADED ACCUSATIONS; THE GREEK ACCUSED TURKEY OF ESCALATING THE ACTION BY BOMBING NICOSIA AND OTHER CIVILIAN CENTERS AND STATED ATHENS COULD NO LONGER REMAIN INACTIVE. THE TURKISH REPRESENTATIVE CLAIMED THE GREEKS WERE PLANNING TO LAUNCH AN ATTACK AGAINST THE TURKS AND PROMISED RETALIATION TO "THE FULL EXTENT OF (TURKEY'S) POWER."

THE BELGIAN REPRESENTATIVE SAID, AFTER THE MEETING, THAT HE WONDERED WHETHER THE TIME HAD NOT COME TO CONSIDER WHAT SANCTIONS THE ALLIES MIGHT IMPOSE ON GREECE AND TURKEY SHOULD THE TWO GO TO WAR. AMBASSADOR RUMSFELD COUNSELED CAUTION AND MODERATION IN CONSIDERING THIS QUESTION, AND SYG LUNS SUPPORTED HIM. KISSINGER

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FM THE SITUATION ROOM //TOSCO 235//

TO MCFARLANE FOR GEN. SCOWCROFT

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TOSCO 235

ATHENS 4791

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINS GR

SUBJ/ PUBLIC RESTIVENESS AFTER CEASEFIRE ANNOUNCEMENT

1. RUMORS OF "C" CORPS REBELLION AND RETURN OF KARAMANLIS SOURCED PRINCIPALLY FROM DEUTSCHE WELLE JULY 22 BROADCAST ARE CIRCULATING WIDELY IN CITY. SOME MOVEMENT OF MILITARY EQUIPMENT, MAINLY TRUCKS, FUEL TANKERS, AND SOME TANKS HAS ADDED TO ANXIETY. REPORTS FROM THESSALONIKI REPEAT RUMORS OF KARAMANLIS' RETURN AND "C" CORPS DEFECTION, AND ONE WILD RUMOR THERE WENT SO FAR AS TO ALLEGE THAT ATHENS CONSTITUTION SQUARE IS IN FLAMES WHICH IT IS NOT. RUMORS HAVE SELF-PERPETUATING EFFECT AS PUBLIC NERVES AND PSYCHE STRETCHED FOLLIWING WEEKEND CYPRUS WAR. CEASEFIRE ANNOUNCEMENT AT 11:30 A.M. LED TO A PRIORI REASONING FOR MANY THAT CERTAIN MILITARY ELEMENTS DISSATISFIED WITH CEASEFIRE WOULD MOVE AGAINST BRIG. GEN. IOANNIDES AND NOVEMBER 25 REGIME. SOME ATHENS SHOPS CLOSED EARLY. ONE ACTIVE DUTY BRIGADIER GENERAL IN HELLENIC AIR FORCE CALLED 7206 AIR BASE LEGAL COUNSELOR TO INFORM HIM THAT COUP HAD STARTED.

2. EMBASSY VERIFICATION EFFORTS PRODUCE NEGATIVE FINDINGS AND THERE APPEARS NO ACTIVITY BEYOND THAT CONSISTENT WITH MOBILIZATION WHICH IS STILL IN EFFECT. ATHENS IS TENSE AND STRAINED FROM ACTIVITIES OF LAST FORTY-EIGHT HOURS. AIRPORT REMAINS CLOSED WHICH KEEPS STRANDED LARGE NUMBER OF TOURISTS AND TRAVELERS. POLITICAL OFFICER WHO DROVE THROUGH CITY AT 1600 FOUND EVERYTHING QUIET. TASCA

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By LLR 9/1/74


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DE WTE 4909 2031652
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TO MCFARLANE FOR GEN. SCOWCROFT
ZEM
UNCLAS WH42498

TOSCO 237

ANKARA 5812
E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PFOR, TU, GR, CY
SUBJECT: PRIMIN ECEVIT'S STATEMENT ON CEASEFIRE
FOLLOWING IS STATEMENT DELIVERED BY TURKISH PRIMIN ECEVIT AT PRESS
CONFERENCE HELD AT FIVE P.M. LOCAL TIME IN ENGLISH AND TURKISH AND
CARRIED OVER TURKISH RADIO AND TELEVISION:
"THE RESPONSE TO THE CALL FOR CEASEFIRE IN CYPRUS, TO THE UN
CALL FOR A CEASEFIRE IN CYPRUS, THE CEASEFIRE IN CYPRUS WILL BE
EFFECTIVE AS OF NOW. THE TURKISH MILITARY OPERATION THERE HAS
REACHED ITS OBJECTIVES OF THREE DAYS. EFFECTIVE TURKISH PRESENCE
ON THE ISLAND IS NOW IRREVOCABLY ESTABLISHED. THIS WILL CREATE
NEW POSSIBILITIES FOR FOUNDING VIABLE AND FAR SOLUTIONS TO THIS
PROBLEM. WE WILL BE IN A POSITION TO CONTRIBUTE MUCH MORE THAN
BEFORE TO SUCH SOLUTIONS. THE TASK BEFORE US NOW IS PEACE BUT SOME-
TIMES MAKING PEACE IS MORE DIFFICULT THAN MAKING WAR. I AM AFRAID
THIS WILL BE THE CASE AS FAR AS PEACE IN CYPRUS IS CONCERNED. I AM
NOT SAYING THIS BECAUSE OF THE HARD FEELINGS THAT MAY EXIST BETWEEN
THE TWO COMMUNITIES ON THE ISLAND. WE SHALL DO OUR UTMOST TO HAVE
SUCH FEELINGS BURIED IN THE PAST. I AM REFERRING TO CERTAIN
PRACTICAL DIFFICULTIES. THERE IS AT THE MOMENT A VOID OF
AUTHORITY, POLITICAL AUTHORITY IN CYPRUS. WE DO NOT KNOW
WHETHER THOSE WHO HOLD OFFICE THERE WILL BE IN A POSITION TO
RESPOND TO CALLS OF PEACE AND CEASEFIRE. IF THE REPORTS
WE HAVE JUST BEEN RECEIVING ARE TRUE, THERE MAY BE A VOID
OF POLITICAL AUTHORITY IN GREECE AS WELL. WE SHALL OF COURSE
TRY TO OVERCOME SUCH DIFFICULTIES AS BEST AS WE CAN. I HOPE
THAT THE COLLECTIVE CONSCIENCE AND COMMON SENSE OF THE
PEOPLE WILL FILL SUCH VOID TO A GREAT EXTENT. WE ALSO RELY
ON THE UN FOR STABILIZING THE SITUATION FOR ESTABLISHING REAL
PEACE ON THE ISLAND. I AM AFRAID THE UN PEACE FORCE ANYWHERE
IN THE WORLD SOMETIMES REFAINS TOO MUCH FROM INVOLVEMENT. BUT
I THINK THERE IS A REAL CALL FOR DUTY FOR THE UN PEACE FORCE IN
CYPRUS TODAY. RIGHT AT THIS MOMENT WHAT MIGHT BE CALLED
GENOCIDE IS TAKING PLACE IN MANY CASES IN CYPRUS IN CERTAIN
QUARTERS WHERE THE TURKS ARE IN A MINORITY AND HAVE NO PROTECTION-
PLACES LIKE FAMAGUSTA, CHATOS, KOKKINA, PAPHOS. THIS IS
GOING ON AND THUS FAR THE UNITED NATIONS HAS NOT INTERVENED.
A FEW MINUTES AGO MY FIREND FOREIGN MINISTER
PROFESSOR GUNES HAS TELEPHONED TO THE SECRETARY GENERAL



END OF PAGE 01

FO THE UNITED NATIONS WALDHEIM AND ASKED FOR HIS PERSONAL INTERVENTION AND I AM GRATEFUL TO SAY MR. WALDHEIM HAS SAID HE WILLHAVEKXGOSANE. THESE ARE THE MAIN DIFFICULTIES THAT WE ARE UP AGAINST, THAT WE WILL BE UP AGAI ST WHILE TRYING TO MAKE THE CEASEFIRE EFFECTIVE AND ESTABLISH PEACE IN CYPRUS. DURING OUR EFFORTS TO FIND A SOLUTION TO THE IMMEDIATE CRIS IN CYPRUS, WE HAVE RECEIVED COOPERATION FROM MANY COUNTRIES, WE HAVE BEEN IN CLOSE AND ALMOST CONSTANT CONTACT WITH OUR FIRENDS THE UNITED STATES AND THE UNITED KINGDOM ON THIS ISSUE AND THEY HAVE CERTAINLY CONTRIBUTED A LOT TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF CONDITIONS FOR A CEASEFIRE.

"I AM ALSO OF COURSE GRATEFUL IN THE NAME OF THE TURKISH PEOPLE FOR THE PROMPT INTEREST THAT THE UN AND THE SECURITY COUNCIL HAVE TAKEN IN THIS MATTER. I WOULD LIKE TO ADD THE GRATITUDE OF THE TURKISH PEOPLE, TO ALL THE MEMBERS OF THE ARMY FOR THE GREAT SUCCESS THEY HAVE SHOWN IN THE CYPRUS OPERATION."

MACOMBER

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NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION
Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

WITHDRAWAL ID 034963

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL ÇNational security restriction

TYPE OF MATERIAL ÇReport

DESCRIPTION re Cyprus Situation

CREATION DATE 07/22/1974

VOLUME 4 pages

COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 033200179

COLLECTION TITLE NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER.
KISSINGER-SCOWCROFT WEST WING OFFICE
FILES

BOX NUMBER 7

FOLDER TITLE Cyprus Crisis (13)

DATE WITHDRAWN 08/29/2011

WITHDRAWING ARCHIVIST HJR

22

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FLASH
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Z 221718Z JUL 74
FM JCS

INFO SECSTATE WASH DC
WHITE HOUSE WASH DC
CNO WASH DC
CSA WASH DC
Z 221400Z JUL 74 ZFG
FM USDAO/ATHENS GR

TO DIA WASHDC
USCINCEUR VAHINGEN GER
INFO COMNAVINTCOM WASHDC
CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON ENG
CINCUSAREUR HEIDELBERG GER
COMSIXTHFLT
USNMR SHAPE BRUSSELS
650 MI GP IZMIR TUR//REG III/
USDAO NICOSIA CYPRUS
USDAO ANKARA TURKEY
DIRNSA FORT GEORGE C. MEADE MD

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION 0806 JUL 74

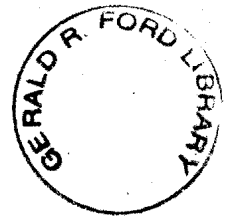
DIA FOR DI-5; ECJ2-0/ECJ2-A/ECJ2-R (USCINCEUR VAHINGEN)
SUBJ: RUMORED COUP D-ETAT ATHENS (C/NFO)

1. (C/NFO) DAD CANNOT FACTUALLY SUBSTANTIATE ATTEMPTED COUP.
DAD OBSERVERS HAVE CHECKED OUT EACH LEAD AND HAVE COME-UP
NEGATIVE. BELIEVE SOTRY FROM GERMANY RADIO STATION WHICH TALKED
OF DISSENTION IN THE ARMY OF NORTHERN GREECE AND GENERAL DAVOS
TAKE OVER IS BASIS OF SELF PERPETUATING RUMOR. A PORTION
OF THE ATHENS CIVIL POPULATION HAS TAKEN UP THE WAVE OF EMOTION
AND THEY ARE ACTING TRUE TO CHARACTER. IF FACTS PROVE OTHERWISE
AS DAY WEARS ON WE WILL ADVISE.

GDS 31 DEC 80
BT

DECLASSIFIED

AUTHORITY RAC mlf-KCS WWS-7-9-6-8 1/13/06
BY ml NLF DATE 7/9/09



***** WHSR COMMENT *****

KENNEDY, LL --- SENT TO SC

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NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION
Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

WITHDRAWAL ID 034965

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL ÇNational security restriction

TYPE OF MATERIAL ÇTelegram

DESCRIPTION re Cyprus

CREATION DATE 07/22/1974

VOLUME 1 page

COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 033200179

COLLECTION TITLE NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER.
KISSINGER-SCOWCROFT WEST WING OFFICE
FILES

BOX NUMBER 7

FOLDER TITLE Cyprus Crisis (13)

DATE WITHDRAWN 08/30/2011

WITHDRAWING ARCHIVIST HJR

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FLASH
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DE RUQMAT #4812/1 2032250
Z 222235Z JUL 74
FM AMEMPASSY ATHENS

State Review
3/3/04
BY HR 4/1/11

TO SECSTATE WASHDC FLASH 4368

~~SECRET~~ SECTION 1 OF 2 ATHENS 4812

EXDIS
E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PEDR, CY, TU, GR
SUBJECT: CYPRUS: GREEK CONCERNS REGARDING TURKISH FAILURE
TO OBSERVE CEASEFIRE

1. AFTER I HAD LEFT AIRPORT AND AS SECRETARY SISCO'S PLANE HAD JUST TAXIED TO END OF RUNWAY PRIOR TO TAKEOFF URGENT CALL WAS RECEIVED FROM PM'S OFFICE TO EFFECT HE AND FM WISHED TO MEET AGAIN WITH SISCO. PLANE WAS CALLED BACK AND I RETURNED TO AIRPORT WHICH TIME SISCO SPOKE DIRECTLY WITH PM ON TELEPHONE.

2. PM EXPRESSED DEEP GREEK CONCERN THAT TURKS NOT OBSERVING CEASEFIRE, WERE CONTINUING TO BRING IN NEW MATERIEL AND REINFORCEMENTS ANOWERE STILL BOMBING. SISCO EXPLAINED THAT GOG MUST EXPECT SOME INITIAL PROBLEMS IN IMPLEMENTING CEASEFIRE AND PROMISED PM THAT US WOULD DO EVERYTHING IT COULD TO SEE THAT ALL CONCERNED OBSERVED IT. HE TOLD PM I WOULD IMMEDIATELY GET IN TOUCH WITH STATE DEPARTMENT OPERATIONS CENTER TO ASK FOR STATUS OF CEASEFIRE AND ANY INFORMATION WE MIGHT HAVE REGARDING TURKISH VIOLATIONS. HE POINTED OUT RESPONSIBILITIES OF UN FOR IMPLEMENTING AND SUPERVISING CEASEFIRE AND PROMISED HE WOULD PERSONALLY CALL SYG WALDHEIM TOMORROW MORNING AFTER HIS RETURN TO WASHINGTON. HE ALSO GAVE PM HIS WASHINGTON TELEPHONE NUMBER AND TOLD HIM TO CALL HIM DIRECTLY AT ANY TIME.

3. I ALSO SPOKE WITH PM BY TELEPHONE AND AT THIS REQUEST WENT TO THIS OFFICE FROM THE AIRPORT. BEFORE LEAVING AIRBASE HOWEVER I TELEPHONED OPERATIONS CENTER TO CARRY OUT FIRST STEP SISCO HAD PROMISED SO THAT I WOULD HAVE ANY ADDITIONAL INFORMATION I MIGHT



***** WHSR COMMENT *****

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USE IN MY CONVERSATION WITH PM. AS DEPARTMENT AWARE, I INDICATED HOPE THAT USUN COULD GIVE US DAILY REPORTS ON STATUS OF CEASEFIRE TO USE AS APPROPRIATE WITH GOG

4. PM AND FM KYPREOS RECEIVED ME AND A/DCM IMMEDIATELY. AT OUTSET I EXPLAINED I HAD JUST TELEPHONED WASHINGTON AND HAD BEEN INFORMED THAT SECRETARY HAD ALREADY EMPHASIZED US CONCERN REGARDING NECESSITY FOR STRICT OBSERVANCE OF CEASEFIRE TO UNSYG. MOREOVER I HAD FOUND THAT ASSISTANT SECRETARY BUFFUM WAS ON TELEPHONE TO AMBASSADOR MACOMBER IN ANKARA TO INSTRUCT HIM TO IMPRESS UP TURKS ONCE AGAIN URGENCY OF FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF CEASEFIRE. I TOLD HIM ALSO THAT EMBASSY WOULD BE RECEIVING CURRENT REPORTS FROM USUN ON WAY IN WHICH CEASEFIRE BEING IMPLEMENTED.

5. PM BEGAN BY EXPRESSING HIS DEEP CONCERN AT PRESENT SITUATION. GOG WAS IN VERY DIFFICULT POSITION BECAUSE FROM US ASSURANCES IT HAD FIRST BELIEVED CEASEFIRE COULD TAKE PLACE WITHIN TWENTY-FOUR HOURS; THEN IT HAD BEEN DEFERRED AND TIME SET FOR TWO P.M. ATHENS TIME TODAY; AND NOW AFTER CEASEFIRE WAS TO BEGIN AT FOUR P.M. IT STILL WAS NOT BEING OBSERVED. TURKS HAD TAKEN ADVANTAGE OF TIME ON FIRST TWO OCCASIONS BUT NOW ALL MILITARY ACTIVITY SHOULD STOP IMMEDIATELY AND COMPLETELY. ON CONTRARY AND BEYOND COMPREHENSION WAS FACT THAT TURKS WERE STILL ENGAGED IN BOMBING, BRINGING IN NEW MATERIEL AND IN HEAVY FIGHTING IN CERTAIN AREAS. I INTERJECTED THERE WERE PRACTICAL PROBLEMS AND THERE WERE BOUND TO BE SOME INCIDENTS, BUT I THOUGHT WE MUST RECOGNIZE CERTAIN PRACTICAL PROBLEMS IN GETTING EVERYTHING IN PERFECT ORDER AT ONCE. PM RESPONDED THAT "HELL IS PAVED WITH GOOD INTENTIONS" BUT HE DID NOT EVEN CREDIT TURKS WITH THEM. TURKY WAS VIOLATING ITS PROMISES AND GOG WAS ENTITLED TO ASK WHETHER, WHEN AND IF PARTIES SAT DOWN TOGETHER FOR DISCUSSIONS AND TURKS CONTINUED TO ACT IN THIS WAY ANY RESULTS WOULD BE EXPECTED. HE RETURNED TO POINT OF CONTINUED TURKISH MILITARY ACTIVITY, THIS TIME MENTIONING USE OF TANKS AND EXPRESSED HOPE TURKS WOULD STOP BUT WARNED THAT IF THEY DID NOT GREEKS WOULD EITHER "GO THERE WITH MATERIEL AND MEN OR TRY TO STOP THEM BY OUR OWN MEANS". HE EMPHASIZED THAT "THERE IS NO THIRD COURSE" AND SOMETHING HAD TO BE DONE. I SAID THERE WAS A THIRD COURSE WHICH WAS AN ALL OUT EFFORT BY ALL CONCERNED TO MAKE THE UN SUPERVISION OF THE CEASE FIRE EFFECTIVE. HE ASKED WHO WILL CONVINCE YOUNGER GREEK OFFICERS AND BE ABLE TO TEL THEM THINGS DEVELOPED IN RIGHT

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WAY IF SITUATION ON ISLAND CONTINUED AND WHAT COULD
BE SAID TO THEM. HE EMPHASIZED THAT GREEKS DID NOT
RELY ON TURKISH PROMISES BUT ON WHAT SECRETARY KISSINGER
HAD SAID DIRECTLY TO THEM IN HIS TELEPHONE CALLS AND
ON "HONOR AND STRENGTH" OF U.S. HE AGAIN SAID
THAT IF US COULD NOT STOP ALL THIS TURKISH MISCHIEF GOG
WOULD DO SOMETHING ELSE.
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DE RUQMAT #4812 2032237
Z 222235Z JUL 74
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC FLASH 4369

~~SECRET~~ SECTION 2 OF 2 ATHENS 4812

EXDIS

6. PM REPEATED THAT GOG WAS IN SERIOUS SITUATION. AFTER FOUR P.M. WHEN CEASEFIRE WENT INTO EFFECT IT AND TO DRAW A LINE. I VOLUNTEERED TO CHECK SITUATION DIRECTLY WITH AMERICAN AMBASSADOR IN NICOSIA AND TOLD PM AND FM THAT I KNEW OUR AMBASSADOR IN NICOSIA WAS FOLLOWING SITUATION CLOSELY. THEY INDICATED THEY WOULD LIKE TO KNOW HIS ASSESSMENT OF SITUATION AND AT MY SUGGESTION AGREED TO PUT IN TELEPHONE CALL. KYPREDS INTERJECTED THAT WHILE GOG PREPARED FOR TALKS IN GENEVA IT WAS GOING NOWHERE UNLESS CEASEFIRE EFFECTIVE. HE HAD TOLD FOREIGN SECRETARY CALLAGHAN PRECISELY THIS WHEN LATTER HAD TELEPHONED HIM. I TOLD HIM US WANTED BOTH TO SEE CEASEFIRE FAITHFULLY IMPLEMENTED AND DISCUSSIONS UNDERWAY WITH OBJECTIVE OF RESTORING PEACE IN CYPRUS.

7. PM SAID SITUATIONS MAY BE BEYOND INDIVIDUAL CONTROL, OBSERVING STUDENTS OF HISTORY FREQUENTLY MADE THIS POINT. I RESPONDED THAT THIS APPLIED TO HISTORY BUT AS LONG AS WE WERE ALIVE WE MUST TRY TO MAKE THINGS WORK. HIS ANSWER WAS THAT FACTS ARE FACTS AND THINGS CAN BE STRONGER THAN INDIVIDUALS. I REASSURED HIM THAT US REALIZED HOW IMPORTANT CEASEFIRE WAS, EMPHASIZING UNUSUAL STEP INVOLVED US IN TAKING INITIATIVE TO BRING IT ABOUT. I SAID HE COULD BE SURE US WOULD MAKE ALL OUT EFFORT TO INSURE ITS EFFECTIVENESS. I REMINDED HIM IT WAS A CEASEFIRE IN PLACE IN ACCORDANCE WITH SC RESOLUTION AND THAT UNFYCIP WAS ALREADY THERE, EXPERIENCED AND FAMILIAR WITH TERRAIN.

8. PM ASSURED ME STRICT ORDERS HAD BEEN GIVEN GREEK MILITARY TO COMPLY ONE HUNDRED PERCENT WITH

*****WHSR COMMENT*****

KENNEDY,LL (SENT TO SCOWCROFT)

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AGREEMENT. IN THE FACE OF THIS, TURKISH VIOLATIONS NOT ACCEPTABLE. HE ALSO RAISED QUESTION OF ALTERNATIVE ACTION BUT DID NOT KNOW WHAT FORM IT MIGHT TAKE. I RESPONDED THAT WE HAD TO RETURN TO REASON, PATIENCE WAS NEEDED, AND WE MUST EXPECT INITIAL DIFFICULTIES. HIS ANSWER WAS THAT IT TOOK TWO PARTIES TO HAVE AN AGREEMENT AND TURKS SIMPLY WERE NOT LIVING UP TO AGREEMENT. I INTERJECTED THAT OUR AMBASSADOR IN ANKARA HAD REPORTED TURKS WANTED CEASEFIRE TO SUCCEED AND AGAIN RETURNED TO POINT THAT I KNEW BOTH UN AND US WOULD BE MAKING GREAT EFFORT IN ANKARA AND ON ISLAND WITH TURKS.

9. AT THIS POINT IN CONVERSATION TELEPHONE CALL TO NICOSIA CAME THROUGH AND I REVIEWED SITUATION WITH AMBASSADOR DAVIES. JUST BEFORE THEN KYPREDS TALKED WITH SAMPSON AND CYPRIOT FM WHO APPARENTLY CONFIRMED THAT CONSIDERABLE FIGHTING WAS STILL IN PROGRESS. AFTER I COMPLETED MY CONVERSATION I TOLD THEM THAT AMBASSADOR DAVIES HAD INDICATED SITUATION HAD BEEN DIFFICULT BUT WAS RELATIVELY QUIET AT TIME OF CALL ALTHOUGH SOME FIGHTING WAS CONTINUING. I CONCLUDED THAT WE MUST CONTINUE TO WORK TOGETHER TO MAKE CEASEFIRE SUCCEED, AGREED IT WAS NOT AN EASY TASK BUT REPEATED WE MUST MAKE IT SUCCEED AND I BELIEVED WE WOULD BE ABLE TO DO SO.

10. I TOLD PM HE SHOULD FEEL FREE TO GET IN TOUCH WITH ME AT ANY TIME. HE REMAINED PESSIMISTIC, AND I SENSED THAT ALTHOUGH SOME OF HIS PESSIMISM WAS A REFLECTION OF FATIGUE ITS ROOTS WERE DEEP AND HISTORICALLY BASED GREEK SUSPICION AND MISTRUST OF TURKS. AS WE DEPARTED I AGAIN ASSURED HIM THAT WE WOULD CONTINUE TO DO EVERYTHING WE COULD WITH UN AND GOT TO MAKE CEASEFIRE WORK.

11. IN MY JUDGMENT WE FACE SOME VERY DIFFICULT DAYS AND IT WILL BE ESSENTIAL FOR ME TO HAVE AS FULL INFORMATION AS I CAN REGARDING EFFORTS OF UN TO IMPLEMENT CEASEFIRE AND OUR OWN EFFORTS WITH TURKS TO SAME END.

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PAGE 02

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FM USMISSION USUN NEWYORK

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 4809

INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS PRIORITY 843
AMEMBASSY ANKARA PRIORITY 892
AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY 9082
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY 5268
AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY 264
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA PRIORITY 804
USMISSION NATO PRIORITY 5949
USCINCEUR PRIORITY UNN
USCOCOSOUTH PRIORITY UNN
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LIMITED OFFICIAL USE USUN 2531
E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PFOR UN CY
SUBJ: CYPRUS IN SC: UNFICYP AUGMENTATION: REQUEST FOR
AIRLIFT OF FINNISH CONTINGENT
REF: USUN 2532

1. UN'S GEORGE LANSKY EARLY EVENING JULY 22 REQUESTED US PROVIDE AIRLIFT FROM HELSINKI TO CYPRUS FOR CONTINGENT OF 200 FINNISH TROOPS, AND PERSONAL GEAR, ON WEDNESDAY, JULY 24, FINNISH PARLIAMENTARY APPROVAL ANTICIPATED TUESDAY, WITH TROOPS READY FOLLOWING DAY. PLAN WOULD BE TO FLY INTO NICOSIA AIRPORT IF POSSIBLE; OTHERWISE WOULD USE DHEKELIA.

2. LANSKY EXPLAINED THAT SWEDEN, CANADA AND UK, ALL ALREADY APPROACHED BY UN, HAVE DIFFICULTIES IN SUPPLYING LIFT BY WEDNESDAY AND UN THEREFORE PUTTING REQUEST TO US.

3. IN VIEW OF UNFICYP DEFICIT ALREADY EXISTING, OF

*****WHSR COMMENT*****

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DESIRABILITY OF PRE-EMPTING SOVIETS AND OF OTHER US INTERESTS INVOLVED, RECOMMEND WE AGREE TO AIRLIFT GRATIS.

4. ACTION REQUESTED: RESPONSE BY MORNING JULY 23.

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COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 033200179

COLLECTION TITLE NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER.
KISSINGER-SCOWCROFT WEST WING OFFICE
FILES

BOX NUMBER 7

FOLDER TITLE Cyprus Crisis (13)

DATE WITHDRAWN 08/29/2011

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E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: CY
SUBJECT: GENEVA MEETING OF UK, TURKISH & GREEK
REPRESENTATIVES

REF: STATE 158230; ATHENS 4808

1. PURSUANT TO REFTEL I RAISED AGAIN POINT WITH FOREIGN MINISTRY OF GREEK ATTENDANCE GENEVA MEETIN ON WEDNESDAY. IN ADDITION TO OTHER POINTS ALREADY MENTIONED, I ADDED THAT HIGH LEVEL TURKISH REPRESENTATION AT SUCH MEETING LIKELY TO ENCOURAGE EFFECTIVE COOPERATION GOT TO CONTRIBUTE TO FULLY EFFECTIVE CEASE FIRE.
2. IN REPLY MFA OFFICER STATED THAT THIS DI NOT CORRESPOND, AS USO AWARE, TO GOG VIEW. HOWEVER IN RESPONSE TO MY INQUIRY, HE WOULD PURSUE MATTER FURTHER. LATER HE CALLED TO SAY MFA WOULD HAVE FURTHER INFORMATION FOR ME ON THIS POINT TOMORROW MORNING. IT IS UNLIKELY TO DIFFER FROM POSITION TAKEN WITH ME AND SISCO BY PRIME MINISTER AND FOREIGN MINISTER IN RECENT MEETINGS.
3. IT IS LIKELY THAT ONE REASON FOR HARD GOG POSITION IS THAT IT WISHES RETAIN OPTIONS FOR ITS FUTURE ACTIONS RELEVANT TO SECURING ITS OWN SELF-DEFENSE AND PRESERVATION ITS NATIONAL INTERESTS. THEREFORE WE ARE STILL FACED IN MY VIEW WITH PROBLEM OF PERSUADING TURKISH MILITARY THAT THE CONTINUANCE OF THE TACTICS THEY ARE CURRENTLY FOLLOWING, I.E., SEEKING TO MAKE ADVANTAGE OF ITS OWN VIOLATION OF CEASE-FIRE,

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NO. 313104

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TELEGRAM

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-2- ATHENS 4813 22 JUL '74

MUST UNEQUIVOCALLY AND IMMEDIATELY CEASE. I BELIEVE THAT ONLY A CLEAR MESSAGE TO GO TO MILITARY WILL SERVE THIS PURPOSE. HOW THIS MESSAGE CAN BEST BE FORMULATED IS FOR THE DEPARTMENT AND THE USG GENERALLY TO DECIDE. IT IS INCREASINGLY OBVIOUS THAT THE TURKS ARE CONTINUING TO SEEK MILITARY OBJECTIVES WHICH SO FAR HAVE BEEN UNABLE TO ACHIEVE. IN CONCLUSION, I MUST WARN THAT IT WILL NOT BE LONG BEFORE WE ARE FACED ONCE AGAIN WITH A DEEP CRISIS AS A RESULT OF GREEK MILITARY REACTION IN REPLY TO THESE PROVOCATIONS AND CONTINUING TRANSGRESSIONS OF TURKEY.

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E.O. 11652: XGDS-2 - IMPOSSIBLE TO DETERMINE DATE

TAGS: ARR. BY IS

SUBJ: SYRIAN ALLEGATIONS OF DISENGAGEMENT AGREEMENT VIOLATIONS

REF: STATE 159965

1. ISRAELI MINISTER SHALEV CONTACTED ATHERTON JULY 18 WITH ISRAELI RESPONSE TO REQUESTS FOR INFORMATION WHICH BISCO PUT TO SHALEV AS REPORTED REFTEL. ISRAELI RESPONSES ON THREE POINTS WERE AS FOLLOWS:

(A) ISRAEL IS CONSTRUCTING ANTI-TANK DITCH AND FENCE ALONG LINE A OPPOSITE QUNEITRA.

- ACTION IS NOT RPT NOT CONTRARY DIS-
ENGAGEMENT AGREEMENT.

(B) ISRAEL IS WELL AWARE THAT MILITARY PERSONNEL ARE NOT PERMITTED BETWEEN LINES A AND A-1, AND THERE ARE NO MILITARY PERSONNEL IN THAT AREA.

(C) RE ACTIVITY ON SLOPES OF HILLS FACING QUNEITRA, ISRAEL IS BUILDING ROAD THERE WHICH IS NECESSARY TO CIRCUMVENT

QUNEITRA. THERE ARE NO RPT NO MILITARY PERSONNEL INVOLVED AND, ONCE ROAD IS COMPLETED, THERE WILL BE NO PERSONNEL THERE. ISRAELI CHIEF OF STAFF HAS GIVEN THIS INFORMATION TO GENERAL SILLASVUO IN RESPONSE TO SYRIAN COMPLAINT CONVEYED THROUGH HIM.



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-2- STATE 159046 23 JUL 74

2. SCOTTS SHOULD CONVEY FOLLOWING TO GENERAL SHIHABI IN RESPONSE TO SHIHABI'S QUERIES REPORTED DAMASCUS 14091

(A) ISRAELIS CONFIRM THAT THEY ARE BUILDING ANTI-TANK DITCH AND FENCE ALONG LINE A OPPOSITE QUNEITRA. SINCE AREA WEST OF LINE A REMAINS UNDER ISRAELI CONTROL ACCORDING TO TERMS OF DISENGAGEMENT AGREEMENT, AND SINCE AGREEMENT PROVIDES ONLY THAT ISRAELI MILITARY FORCES WILL BE WEST OF LINE A-1 IN QUNEITRA AREA BUT DOES NOT PROHIBIT SUCH ACTIVITY AS CONSTRUCTION OF DITCH AND FENCE BETWEEN LINES A AND A-1, THIS WOULD NOT APPEAR TO US TO BE A VIOLATION.

(B) ISRAELIS INFORM US THEY ARE AWARE OF PROHIBITION ON MILITARY PERSONNEL BETWEEN LINES A AND A-1 AND ASSURE US THAT THEY HAVE NO RPT NO MILITARY PERSONNEL IN THAT AREA. IF SYRIANS HAVE DOUBTS ON THIS POINT, IT WOULD APPEAR UNDOF IN CARRYING OUT ITS INSPECTION RESPONSIBILITIES.

(C) ISRAELIS INFORM US THAT THEY ARE OBSERVING THEIR UNDERTAKING THAT THERE SHOULD BE NO FORCES OR WEAPONS ON THE EASTERN SLOPES OF THE HILLS FACING QUNEITRA. THEY SAY THAT THE ACTIVITY SHIHABI HAS REPORTED IS THE CONSTRUCTION OF A ROAD WHICH HAS BECOME NECESSARY BECAUSE OF THE NEED TO CIRCUMVENT QUNEITRA AND THAT NO RPT NO MILITARY PERSONNEL ARE INVOLVED. KISSINGER

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DRAFTED BY: NEA ALATHERTON, JR. APPROVED BY: THE SECRETARY
CLEARANCES: S/S MR. TALUM

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E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PFOR, CY
SUBJECT: PRESS CONFERENCE BY SECRETARY KISSINGER ON CYPRUS
SITUATION JULY 22

FOLLOWING IS COMPLETE TRANSCRIPT OF SECRETARY'S PRESS
CONFERENCE.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: I THOUGHT I WOULD REVIEW FOR YOU THE
EVENTS OF THE LAST 36 HOURS TO TELL YOU WHERE WE ARE
AND WHAT IS LIKELY TO HAPPEN NOW; AND TAKE A FEW QUESTIONS
CONFINED TO THE CYPRUS SITUATION, GREECE AND TURKEY ON A
SOMEWHAT INFORMAL BASIS.

ON SATURDAY IN SAN CLEMENTE I GAVE A REVIEW OF THE DIPLO-
MACY OF LAST WEEK; SO LET ME PICK IT UP FROM SATURDAY:

AFTER THE TURKISH LANDING, OUR EFFORTS WERE, FIRST, TO
PREVENT A GREEK-TURKISH WAR FROM ERUPTING;

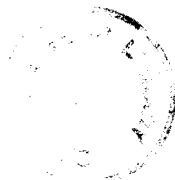
SECONDLY, TO KEEP OPEN THE POSSIBILITY OF A SETTLEMENT OF
THE CYPRUS ISSUES ALONG CONSTITUTIONAL LINES; AND

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THIRDLY, TO PREVENT A FURTHER INTERNATIONALIZATION OF THE CONFLICT.

OBVIOUSLY, THE PRIME NECESSITY FOR THIS WAS TO BRING ABOUT A CEASE-FIRE. WE OPERATED WITH GREAT INTENSITY, BOTH IN ANKARA AND ATHENS. JOE SISCO WAS IN ATHENS WHEN THE INVASION OCCURRED. AND WHEN THE TURKISH LANDINGS IN CYPRUS OCCURRED, HE SPENT SATURDAY MORNING IN ATHENS, AND THEN WENT BACK TO ANKARA.

HE RECEIVED A TURKISH AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE TO A CEASE-FIRE, WHICH HE THEN TOOK BACK TO ATHENS -- AT WHICH POINT ALL THE PARTIES DISCOVERED THAT IT WAS EASY TO TELEPHONE WASHINGTON; AND WE WERE IN VERY INTENSIVE CONTACT WITH PRIME MINISTER ECEVIT, THE GREEK PRIME MINISTER, FOREIGN MINISTER CALLAGHAN, THE FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTER AND TOWARDS THE END THE GERMAN FOREIGN MINISTER.

OUR EFFORT THROUGHOUT WAS THAT THIS WAS AN ISSUE AFFECTING NATO, AFFECTING WESTERN EUROPE, IN WHICH WE SHOULD WORK IN THE CLOSEST COOPERATION WITH OUR ALLIES AND PARTICULARLY WITH GREAT BRITAIN, WHICH HAD A RELATIONSHIP AS ONE OF THE GUARANTORS OF THE ZURICH AGREEMENT. THROUGHOUT THE PERIOD, AS I POINTED OUT SATURDAY, THERE HAS BEEN A COMPLETE UNANIMITY AS TO OBJECTIVE AND VERY SUBSTANTIAL AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE UNITED KINGDOM AND THE UNITED STATES IN EVERY FACET OF THE DIPLOMATIC PROCESS, AND A COMPLETE COORDINATION OF OUR EFFORTS.

THERE HAS ALSO BEEN A VERY CLOSE COOPERATION WITH THE FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTER IN HIS CAPACITY OF PRESIDENT OF THE COMMUNITIES COUNCIL OF MINISTERS. AND IT WAS IN THIS MANNER THAT WE PROCEEDED.

NOW I WON'T GO THROUGH ALL THE COMPLICATIONS OF THE NEGOTIATIONS DURING THE DAY, WHICH WERE PURSUED ON TWO TRACKS.

THE UNITED STATES CONCENTRATED ON GETTING THE CEASE-FIRE; THE UNITED KINGDOM CONCENTRATED ON GETTING THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS STARTED AFTER THE CEASE-FIRE. THE ATTEMPT HAS BEEN MADE TO GET A CEASE-FIRE ESTABLISHED AND THEN HAVE THE UNITED KINGDOM INVITE GREECE AND TURKEY TO A MEETING.

THE DIFFICULTIES DURING THE DAY AROSE BECAUSE, AS ALWAYS IN THESE CEASE-FIRE NEGOTIATIONS, THERE WERE INFINITE TECHNICAL DISPUTES -- FOR AT ONE POINT THE TURKS THOUGHT THAT A GREEK FLEET WAS APPROACHING CYPRUS -- AND WERE

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RELUCTANT TO MAKE A CEASE-FIRE WHILE THE GREEK FLEET WAS APPROACHING CYPRUS. THE GREEKS DENIED THAT THERE WAS A GREEK FLEET.

TO DO ALL OF THIS ON TRANS-ATLANTIC TELEPHONE HAD MANY COMPLEXITIES. THERE WAS, IN FACT, SOME DISPUTE ON WHETHER IT MIGHT BE A TURKISH FLEET.

I WON'T PURSUE THE COMPLEXITY OF MILITARY OPERATIONS IN A CONFUSED SITUATION. ALL I WANT TO SAY IS THAT THIS HAS DELAYED MATTERS SOMEWHAT.

THEN IN THE AFTERNOON, THE TURKISH PRIME MINISTER CALLED OVER HERE WITH A PROPOSAL THAT HE WOULD ACCEPT A CEASE-FIRE IN PRINCIPLE PROVIDED THE GREEKS WOULD SEND A REPRESENTATIVE TO ANY PLACE IN EUROPE, AND THEN AT THAT PLACE THEY WOULD NEGOTIATE THE MODALITIES OF THE CEASE-FIRE, AFTER WHICH THE CEASE-FIRE WOULD GO INTO EFFECT.

EACH ONE OF THESE PHONE CALLS -- AND A COMPLEX SERIES OF PHONE CALLS -- THEN INVOLVED SISCO IN ATHENS. AND IT WAS APPARENT THAT WE WEREN'T GOING TO GET ANYWHERE ON THIS BASIS BECAUSE THE GREEKS, PREDICTABLY, REJECTED THIS.

AND SO ABOUT SIX O'CLOCK YESTERDAY AFTERNOON WE THOUGHT IT MIGHT BE TIME TO COME UP WITH AN AMERICAN PROPOSAL -- AND THEREFORE, WE PROPOSED TO THE TURKISH PRIME MINISTER THAT, AFTER CONSULTATION WITH FOREIGN MINISTER CALLAGHAN AND THE FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTER, WE PROPOSED TO THE TURKISH FOREIGN MINISTER THAT A CEASE-FIRE GO INTO EFFECT.

WE GAVE THE TIME AT 1400 TODAY GREENWICH MEAN TIME, AND THAT THIS SHOULD BE FOLLOWED ALMOST IMMEDIATELY BY NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN GREECE AND TURKEY, UNDER UNITED KINGDOM AUSPICES.

THIS WAS SUPPORTED BY THE UNITED KINGDOM AND BY FRANCE -- AND FRANCE, IN TURN, WAS BACKED BY THE NINE.

TURKEY ACCEPTED THIS AROUND NINE O'CLOCK LAST NIGHT -- OR EIGHT O'CLOCK LAST NIGHT -- AND THEN WE HAD TO GET GREEK ACCEPTANCE.

HAVING OBTAINED GREEK ACCEPTANCE, THE PROBLEM WAS TO FIND A MEANS BETWEEN TWO PARTIES THAT HAVE NO GREAT CONFIDENCE IN EACH OTHER TO ACHIEVE A SIMULTANEOUS ANNOUNCE-

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MENT SO THAT EACH PARTY WOULD HAVE ENOUGH CONFIDENCE THAT AN ANNOUNCEMENT WOULD, IN FACT, BE MADE.

AND THIS LED TO THE SOLUTION THAT WE WOULD MAKE THE ANNOUNCEMENT HERE, AND AFTER THAT, EACH PARTY WOULD CONFIRM OUR ANNOUNCEMENT.

BUT THESE ARE THE MECHANICS OF HOW THE CEASE-FIRE WAS ACHIEVED. THE PROBLEM NOW IS, "WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?" OUR EXPECTATION IS THAT WITHIN THE NEXT FEW DAYS, HOPEFULLY BY WEDNESDAY, PROBABLY THE FOREIGN MINISTERS OF GREECE AND TURKEY WILL MEET UNDER BRITISH AUSPICES IN GENEVA AND THESE TALKS CAN SETTLE THE CONSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS OF CYPRUS AND ALL OTHER ISSUES THAT STEM FROM RECENT EVENTS. AND WE BELIEVE, THEREFORE, THAT A RATHER COMPLICATED CRISIS WHICH HAD DANGERS OF INTERNATIONALIZATION HAS BEEN OVERCOME.

WE HAVE BEEN IN TOUCH WITH THE SOVIET UNION THROUGHOUT, AND WE BELIEVE THAT THERE WILL BE NO COMPLICATIONS FROM THAT SIDE. AND THESE EXCHANGES HAVE BEEN CONSTRUCTIVE.

SO WE HOPE THAT DURING THE COURSE OF THE WEEK WE CAN MOVE THE SITUATION TOWARDS A SOLUTION THAT WILL BE ACCEPTABLE. THERE HAVE BEEN REPORTS, WITH WHICH YOU'RE FAMILIAR, THAT THERE MAY BE A COUP IN GREECE AT THIS MOMENT. BUT WE HAVE VERY SKETCHY REPORTS, AND WE CAN'T FORM ANY CLEAR JUDGMENT AS TO THE COMPLEXION OF THE FORCES THAT MIGHT TAKE OVER THE GOVERNMENT. AND I'M NOT CONFIRMING THAT EITHER OFFICIALLY. WE'VE HAD NO OFFICIAL WORD. WE HAVE HAD THE FRAGMENTARY REPORTS THAT YOU ALWAYS GET AT THE BEGINNING OF A CRISIS.

SO THIS IS WHERE WE ARE. I'LL BE GLAD TO ANSWER A FEW QUESTIONS.

Q: MR. SECRETARY, DID YOU THREATEN TO CUT OFF MILITARY AID TO BOTH GREECE AND TURKEY IN ORDER TO GET THEM TO ACCEPT THE CEASE-FIRE?

A: I MADE CLEAR ON SATURDAY IN SAN CLEMENTE THAT NO WAR WOULD BE FOUGHT BETWEEN NATO ALLIES WITH AN OPEN AMERICAN SUPPLY LINE. SO THIS PUT A LIMIT TO THE ESCALATION THAT COULD BE CONDUCTED.

AS TO THE OTHER STEPS THAT WERE TAKEN, THERE WERE NO SPECIFIC THREATS MADE. IT WAS VERY CLEAR THAT WE WOULD CONSIDER A CONTINUATION OF A MILITARY CONFRONTATION

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BETWEEN NATO ALLIES AS A VERY GRAVE MATTER.

Q: MR. SECRETARY, I GET THE IMPRESSION THAT "CONSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS," A PHRASE WHICH HAS BEEN USED FREQUENTLY, IS A CODEWORD FOR SOMETHING ELSE. DOES IT MEAN A REVERSAL OF THE COUP WHICH TOOK PLACE A WEEK

AGO AND THE REMOVAL OF MR. SAMPSON?

A: AT THE RISK OF AGAIN BEING CRITICIZED OF TILTING, LEANING, OR OTHER ADJECTIVES, WE BELIEVE CONSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS INVOLVE A SOLUTION WITHIN THE OBVIOUSLY CONSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK WHICH EXISTED IN CYPRUS BEFORE THE COUP. AND IT IS ONE OF THE SUBJECTS FOR NEGOTIATION AMONG THE PARTIES IN GENEVA.

Q: MR. SECRETARY, COULD THAT INVOLVE A RETURN TO POWER OF ARCHBISHOP MAKARIOS?

A: THAT IS CERTAINLY NOT EXCLUDED.

Q: WILL HE BE IN GENEVA?

A: I DO NOT BELIEVE HE WILL BE IN GENEVA IN THE FIRST INSTANCE. BUT I BELIEVE THAT IN THE FIRST INSTANCE THE FRAMEWORK OF THOSE NEGOTIATIONS WILL BE THE SAME AS THE ONE THAT ESTABLISHED THE ORIGINAL ARRANGEMENTS. BUT I EXPECT, AS YOU KNOW, TO SEE ARCHBISHOP MAKARIOS THIS AFTERNOON AND WILL GET THE BENEFIT OF HIS VIEWS.

Q: HOW WELL IS THE CEASE-FIRE GOING?

A: WELL, THE CEASE-FIRE BETWEEN MILITARY FORCES IS GOING, APPARENTLY, VERY WELL. HOWEVER, THERE IS ALSO COMMUNAL FIGHTING GOING ON. AND THERE, IT IS, APPARENTLY, NOT HOLDING QUITE AS WELL.

WE HAVE BEEN IN URGENT CONTACT WITH THE SECRETARY-GENERAL. I TALKED TO HIM AT SOME LENGTHS THIS MORNING. AND SECRETARY BUFFUM HAS ALSO BEEN IN CONTACT WITH HIM. AND I'VE ALSO TALKED TO THE TURKISH PRIME MINISTER ON THE TELEPHONE THIS MORNING WITH A VIEW TOWARDS STRENGTHENING THE UN FORCES THERE TO ASSURE COMMUNAL PEACE. AND WE HAVE BEEN ASSURED OF THE COOPERATION OF ALL THE PARTIES.

Q: WHAT DO YOU MEAN BY "COMMUNAL FIGHTING", MR. SECRETARY?

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A: COMMUNAL FIGHTING BETWEEN THE GREEK AND TURKISH COMMUNITIES ON THE ISLAND AS OPPOSED TO THE CYPRIOT AND TURKISH MILITARY FORCES ON THE ISLAND.

Q: MR. SECRETARY, COULD YOU ADDRESS YOURSELF IN MORE DETAIL -- I KNOW IT'S DIFFICULT -- TO THE GENEVA TALKS -- WHAT THE MANDATE FOR THE TALKS WILL INCLUDE? WILL THEY INCLUDE, AS WELL AS A SETTLEMENT OF THE CURRENT CRISIS, THE LONGER-TERM ISSUES WHICH HAVE BEEN UNDER DISCUSSION FOR MANY YEARS BETWEEN THE TURKS AND THE GREEKS?

A: WELL, OBVIOUSLY, IF THERE IS A DOMESTIC UPHEAVAL IN GREECE AT THIS MOMENT, IT IS DIFFICULT TO PREDICT WHAT EACH PARTY IS PREPARED TO DISCUSS. MOREOVER, THESE TALKS ARE BEING CONDUCTED UNDER BRITISH AUSPICES AND, THEREFORE, THEY WILL HAVE TO TAKE A LEADING ROLE IN IT. THE UNITED STATES VIEW WOULD BE THAT IN VIEW OF RECENT EVENTS, ONE SHOULD GO TO THE ROOT OF THE ISSUES AND ATTEMPT TO SETTLE ALL THE OUTSTANDING ISSUES AFFECTING GREECE AND TURKEY, PARTICULARLY AS THEY BEAR ON THE CYPRUS PROBLEM.

Q: MR. SECRETARY, YOU SAID EARLIER YOU DIDN'T -- YOU WERE NOT CONFIRMING ANY COUP IN ATHENS OR ANY CHANGE IN GOVERNMENT IN ATHENS?

A: NO.

Q: BUT I ASSUME FROM YOUR SUBSEQUENT AND PREVIOUS REMARKS THAT YOU STILL EXPECT THAT WHATEVER EMERGES POLITICALLY OR DOESN'T EMERGE, THE ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE MEETING IN GENEVA WILL CONTINUE. IN OTHER WORDS, SOME GREEKS OF SOME SORT WILL ATTEND. (LAUGHTER)

A: JOE SISCO IS ON THE WAY BACK, AND IT IS MY IMPRESSION THAT HE WILL NOT SOON AGAIN VOLUNTEER FOR A MISSION. (LAUGHTER) BUT, BEFORE HE LEFT, HE HAD SOME TALKS WITH GREEK GOVERNMENTAL LEADERS; AND WE BELIEVE THAT THE ARRANGEMENTS THAT WERE MADE LAST NIGHT WILL STICK, THOUGH THERE MAY BE A DELAY OF 24 HOURS IN THE BEGINNING OF THE TALKS.

THIS IS WHY I SAID "PROBABLY ON WEDNESDAY," BUT I THINK THAT THE SUBSTANCE OF THE ARRANGEMENTS WILL BE MAINTAINED.

Q: WHETHER HE VOLUNTEERS OR NOT, WILL YOU SEND HIM TO GENEVA?

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A: NO. I NEED HIM HERE NOW. I'M SENDING BILL BUFFUM, THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, TO GENEVA.

Q: MR. SECRETARY, WHEN YOU TALK ABOUT RESTORING THINGS TO THEIR PRIOR STATE, WHAT WOULD YOU RECOMMEND BE DONE WITH THE FORCE OF 650 GREEK MILITARY OFFICERS -- WHICH SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN SUCH A CRITICAL ISSUE?

A: WELL, I THINK THIS IS AN ISSUE THAT WILL HAVE TO BE SETTLED IN GENEVA BECAUSE IT HAD ONE CONNOTATION LAST WEEK AND IT MAY HAVE A DIFFERENT CONNOTATION IN A DIFFERENT CONTEXT UNDER PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES WHEN THERE ARE LARGE TURKISH FORCES ON THE ISLAND.

LET ME SAY, INCIDENTALLY, THAT LAST WEEK THE OBSTACLE WAS NOT WHAT POSITION THE UNITED STATES MIGHT OR MIGHT NOT HAVE TAKEN ON THE 650 GREEK OFFICERS, BECAUSE WE WERE WILLING TO SUPPORT ANY SOLUTION LAST WEEK THAT COULD GAIN THE CONSENSUS OF, SAY, TURKEY AND BRITAIN. THE DIFFICULTY WAS THAT A SERIES OF DEMANDS WERE MADE IN WHICH THIS WAS ONLY A SMALL PART THAT GREW UNACCEPTABLE AS BETWEEN TURKEY

AND BRITAIN. AND, THEREFORE, WE NEVER GOT TO THE ISSUE OF THE 650 OFFICERS. SO WHAT CONCRETE POSITION WE WILL TAKE WILL DEPEND SOMEWHAT ON THE POSITION THE PARTIES TAKE.

Q: WELL, WOULD IT BE POSSIBLE FOR TROOPS ON BOTH SIDES TO REMAIN BEHIND?

A: IT IS POSSIBLE FOR TROOPS OF BOTH SIDES TO REMAIN BEHIND; IT IS POSSIBLE FOR TROOPS OF BOTH SIDES TO LEAVE; IT IS POSSIBLE FOR TROOPS OF BOTH SIDES TO BE SUBSTANTIALLY REDUCED. SO IT IS, AT THIS POINT, DIFFICULT TO PREDICT WHAT THE PRECISE OUTCOME WILL BE BECAUSE, OBVIOUSLY, WHEN YOU HAVE SOME SIX-THOUSAND TURKISH TROOPS ON THE ISLAND, YOU'RE IN A DIFFERENT SITUATION THAN YOU WERE LAST WEEK.

Q: ARE YOU GOING TO USE --

Q: MR. SECRETARY, DOES THE UNITED STATES HAVE A POSITION ON PARTITION?

A: OUR POSITION IS THAT WE SUPPORT THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND SOVEREIGNTY OF CYPRUS AND, THEREFORE, THIS WOULD NOT BE AN AMERICAN SOLUTION; AND WE DON'T THINK THAT

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BY THE COUP IN CYPRUS, AND I SIMPLY WOULD LIKE TO POINT OUT TO YOU LADIES AND GENTLEMEN THAT OBVIOUSLY THE MAN MOST CONCERNED IN CYPRUS, NAMELY ARCHBISHOP MAKARIOS ALSO WAS TAKEN BY SURPRISE, SO THAT THE INFORMATION WAS NOT EXACTLY LYING ON THE STREET.

LATE IN THE DAY YESTERDAY, IT BECAME APPARENT IN ATHENS THAT THERE WAS A CERTAIN RESTIVENESS, SO THAT IN THIS SENSE, WE WERE AWARE OF THE FACT THAT THE EVENTS OF THE LAST WEEK WERE NOT CONSIDERED UNANIMOUSLY IN ATHENS AS A COMPLETE SUCCESS. AND THIS GAVE A PARTICULAR URGENCY TO THE NEED TO BRING ABOUT A CEASE-FIRE DURING THE NIGHT AND IT WAS ONE OF THE REASONS WHY WE TOOK A RATHER ACTIVE AND EVEN MORE ACTIVE ROLE TOWARDS THE END OF THE DAY. SO WE HAD SOME GENERAL INFORMATION.

MARILYN. I'LL TAKE TWO MORE QUESTIONS.

Q: MR. SECRETARY, BEFORE THE TURKISH INVASION, DID THE UNITED STATES WARN THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT THAT IT WOULD LOSE AID IF IT MOVED, MILITARY AID?

A: NO, BUT WE MADE VERY CLEAR THAT WE WERE VERY STRONGLY OPPOSED TO MILITARY ACTION.

Q: MR. SECRETARY, WHAT ARE WE DOING ABOUT THE 3,000 AMERICANS ON THE ISLAND? ARE THEY GOING TO BE TAKEN OUT?

A: THE AMERICANS ARE BEING EVACUATED. I THINK --

Q: BY U.S. FORCES?

A: BY AMERICAN HELICOPTERS. WE HAVE OFFERED THE BRITISH THAT WE WOULD BE WILLING TO SEND IN A MARINE COMPANY TO THE BRITISH BASE IF THAT WOULD HELP THEM, IF THEIR FACILITIES WERE OVERLOADED. I DON'T BELIEVE THEY HAVE ACCEPTED IT YET, AND IT MAY NOT BE NECESSARY, BUT AMERICAN HELICOPTERS WILL TAKE THEM OFF THE BRITISH BASE, AND THEN THERE IS AN ENCLAVE NEAR KYRENIA ABOUT WHICH WE HAVE NOW BEGUN NEGOTIATIONS FOR THEIR REMOVAL.

I MIGHT ALSO SAY THAT WE HAVE BEEN ASKED BY THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT TO HELP THEM IN THE EVACUATION OF SOME OF THEIR 150 CIVILIANS IN NISCOSIA. A SOVIET SHIP IS GOING INTO THE PORT -- I NEVER CAN REMEMBER THE NAME -- IN THE SOUTH OF CYPRUS, AND WE ARE COOPERATING WITH THE SOVIET UNION TO BRING THIS ABOUT.

LAST QUESTION.

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THIS IS A LIKELY OUTCOME. BUT AT THIS STAGE IT IS DIFFICULT FOR US TO WRITE THE SCENARIO OF A NEGOTIATION THAT HASN'T STARTED.

MR. BINDER?

Q: MR. KISSINGER, THERE WAS A REPORT OF A JOINT BRITISH-U.S. NOTE TO THE GREEK AND TURKISH GOVERNMENTS CALLING FOR A CEASE-FIRE, A TOUGHLY WORDED NOTE.

A: THE EXACT SEQUENCE IS THAT I FIRST MADE THE PROPOSAL ON THE TELEPHONE TO PRIME MINISTER ECEVIT AROUND 6 O'CLOCK, U.S. TIME, LAST NIGHT. AND IT WAS THE FIRST TIME THAT THE UNITED STATES MADE A CONCRETE PROPOSAL IN WHICH IT SAID SOMETHING OTHER THAN WE PROPOSE A CEASE-FIRE. WE SAID WE PROPOSE A CEASE-FIRE AT THIS HOUR TO BE IMPLEMENTED IN THIS MANNER.

THIS WAS FOLLOWED UP BY A PRESIDENTIAL LETTER TO THE PRESIDENTS OF GREECE AND TURKEY, AND THIS IN TURN WAS BACKED BY A BRITISH NOTE AND A COMMON MARKET NOTE.

I BELIEVE THAT SEVERAL OF THESE NOTES ARRIVED AFTER THE PARTIES HAD ALREADY ACCEPTED THE CEASE-FIRE. BUT GIVEN

THE STAGGERED TIMING FOR FIRST AN AMERICAN ANNOUNCEMENT AND THEN A CONFIRMATION OF THIS ANNOUNCEMENT BY GREECE AND TURKEY, WE PERMITTED THESE NOTES THAT DID EXPRESS THE URGENCY EVERYONE FELT TO BE DELIVERED BY ALL THE PARTIES -- BY ALL OUR FRIENDS AND OURSELVES -- SO THAT THE PARTIES KNEW THAT THIS WAS A MATTER THAT WAS NOT TAKEN LIGHTLY IN THE UNITED STATES AND IN EUROPE, AND THAT THERE WAS TOTAL UNANIMITY OF VIEW BETWEEN EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES ON THIS ISSUE.

Q: MR. SECRETARY, YOUR EXPECTATIONS THAT THE GENEVA TALKS MAY IN FACT TAKE PLACE WITH ONLY A 24-HOUR SLIPPAGE WOULD SEEM TO INDICATE THAT WHATEVER MAY OR MAY NOT BE HAPPENING IN GREECE DID NOT TAKE YOU BY COMPLETE SURPRISE.

A: IF I ANSWER THIS QUESTION, I GET INTO MAJOR DIFFICULTIES, BECAUSE IF I SAY IT TOOK US BY COMPLETE SURPRISE, YOU WILL SAY "INTELLIGENCE FAILURE." AND IF I SAY IT DIDN'T TAKE US BY COMPLETE SURPRISE, YOU WILL SAY OTHER THINGS. (LAUGHTER)

MAY I MAKE ONE GENERAL POINT. I HAVE READ MANY LEARNED ARTICLES DURING THE WEEK OF WHY WE WERE TAKEN BY SURPRISE

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Q: MRSECRETARY, WHAT IS OUR POLICY NOW ON RECOGNITION OF GOVERNMENTS? ARE WE PREPARED TO RECOGNIZE WHATEVER GOVERNMENT WILL COME TO POWER IN GREECE, IN CYPRUS?

A: WELL, OUR BASIC POLICY IS TO RECOGNIZE DE FACTO GOVERNMENTS. IN CYPRUS, IT IS A MORE COMPLICATED PROBLEM, BECAUSE THE GOVERNMENTS IN CYPRUS ALSO HAVE RESULTED FROM CONSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS THAT HAVE INTERNATIONAL SANCTION, AND THEREFORE WE WOULD EXPECT THIS TO BE THE SUBJECT OF NEGOTIATION AND NOT SIMPLY BE DECIDED ON A DE FACTO BASIS.

THANK YOU, VERY MUCH. KISSINGER
BT

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July 22

Kennedy
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#ZZ
RNR 526
SNAP... CYPRUS - ACCEPTANCE
ANKARA, JULY 22, REUTER -- TURKEY HAS ACCEPTED THE U.N.
CALL FOR A CEASEFIRE IN CYPRUS WITH EFFECT FROM 10 AM EDT
TODAY, THE STATE RADIO ANNOUNCED.

REUTER 0403

#ZZ
RNR 003
CYPRUS-ACCEPTANCE 2 ANKARA (RNR 526...ANNOUNCED)
THE ANNOUNCEMENT WAS MADE SEVERAL HOURS AFTER THE UNITED
STATES HAD SAID THAT GREECE AND TURKEY HAD AGREED TO OBSERVE
THE CEASEFIRE CALLED FOR BY THE U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL.

MORE 0014

#ZZ
RNR 004
CYPRUS-ACCEPTANCE 3 ANKARA:
A STATEMENT BY PRIME MINISTER BULENT ECEVIT SAID TURKEY WAS
A PEACE-LOVING NATION AND WAS ACCEPTING THE CEASEFIRE CALL.
HE SAID TURKISH FORCES WHICH INVADED THE ISLAND ON SATURDAY
HAD BEEN SUCCESSFUL IN THEIR OPERATIONS.

REUTER 0015



LP
FBIS 68*****

Kennedy
LH J

REUTER REPORTS GREECE ACCEPTS CEASE-FIRE

LONDON REUTER IN ENGLISH 0909 GMT 22 JUL 74 X

(TEXT) ATHENS, JULY 22, REUTER--GREECE HAS ACCEPTED THE
U.N. CALL FOR A CEASEFIRE IN CYPRUS WHICH WILL GO INTO
EFFECT AT 10 AM EDT TODAY, IT WAS OFFICIALLY ANNOUNCED.

22 JUL 0938Z BC/TM*****

