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FLASH
ESA160ATA582
DF RUQMAT #4892 2050025
Z 240010Z JUL 74
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC FLASH 4426

~~SECRET~~ ATHENS 4892

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, MOPS, CV, GR, TU
SUBJECT: CYPRUS: CONTINUED CONFLICT OVERSHADOWS
NEW DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT.
FOR THE SECRETARY FROM THE AMBASSADOR

1. I WAS CALLED TO OFFICE OF PRESIDENT GHIZIKIS AT 10:30 P.M. TO MEET WITH ASSEMBLED POLITICAL FIGURES AND GREEK MILITARY LEADERS IN ORDER TO RECEIVE THEIR PLEAS FOR AMERICAN INTERCESSION TO BRING ABOUT DEFINITIVE TURKISH OBSERVANCE OF CEASEFIRE. WHEN I ARRIVED MAVROS WAS SPEAKING ON TELEPHONE WITH NEWLY APPOINTED CYPRIOT PRESIDENT CLERIDES. CLERIDES WAS DESCRIBING GRAVITY OF SITUATION IN CYPRUS, NOTING THAT HE HAD UNDERSTAKEN TO GUARANTEE OBSERVANCE OF CEASEFIRE AND DENKTASH INDICATED HE WOULD TRY TO SECURE TURKISH ADHERENCE TO CEASEFIRE. CLERIDES REPORTED THAT ALL MILITARY ACTIVITY HAD CEASED BUT GREEK STAFF CONVINCED THAT TURKS WOULD RESUME ATTACK AT DAYBREAK TO SEIZE REMAINDER OF NICOSIA.

2. KANELLOPOULOS AND MAVROS DID MOST OF TALKING WITH LATTER CLEARLY TAKING LEAD. MAVROS EXPLAINED THAT NEW DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT OF GREECE, WHICH WOULD BE FORMED AFTER ARRIVAL KARAMANLIS, ANTICIPATED 0030 HOURS JULY 24, CLEARLY COULD NOT EXIST UNLESS CYPRUS CEASEFIRE AND RETURN TO CEASEFIRE LINE BROUGHT ABOUT SOONEST. WHEN ASKED WHAT WAS ALTERNATIVE TO DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT, MAVROS POINTED TO PRESIDENT GHIZIKIS, WHO AS ALWAYS DRESSED IN FOUR-STAR GENERAL'S UNIFORM, AND SAID THE ARMY. HE ALSO SAID THAT IF TURKISH FORCES ATTACK FOLLOWING MORNING TO SEIZE NICOSIA, HELLENIC AIR FORCE WOULD HAVE TO BOMB SOME TURKISH TARGETS, WHERE HE COULD NOT SAY. HE REPEATED THIS REMARK LATER IN MORE GENERAL TERMS--THE NEED FOR



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

KENNEDY, LL... SENT SC AS TOSCOV 310

PSN:001872

PAGE 01

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State Review
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HELLENIC ARMED FORCES TO STRIKE.

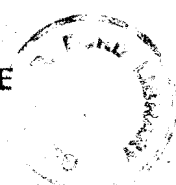
3. MAVROS AND OTHERS SPOKE WITH GREAT INTENSITY ABOUT DISASTER WHICH WOULD ENSUE IF TURKS ATTACKED IN NICOSIA AS GREEK LOCAL FORCES WOULD RESIST AND THEN PROBABLY BE MASSACRED BY TURKISH AIR ATTACKS. I DESCRIBED MY URGENT CALLS TO WHITE HOUSE AND OUR ATTEMPTS TO ALERT USG AT EVERY LEVEL TO GRAVE DANGER OF SITUATION. I NOTED THAT I HAD ALSO BEEN IN TOUCH WITH MY AMBASSADORIAL COLLEAGUES FROM GERMANY, FRANCE AND UK IN ORDER TO INFORM THEIR GOVERNMENTS OF THE CRITICAL SITUATION PRESENTLY PREVAILING.

4. FOLLOWING THIS DISCUSSION I SAID THAT IT IMPERATIVE KANELLOPOULDS AND MAVROS SPEAK PERSONALLY WITH THE SECRETARY AND WE PLACED CALL IN WHICH THEY REPEATED THEIR GRAVE CONCERN TO SECRETARY. THE SECRETARY UNDERTOOK TO CALL TURKISH PM ECFVIT AND INDICATED HE WOULD INFORM GREEK LEADERS OF RESULT.

5. MAVROS AT THIS POINT CONCLUDED ALOUD THAT IT WOULD BE WELL TO INFORM BRITISH AMBASSADOR OF THEIR CONCERNS. THE LATTER ARRIVED SHORTLY THEREAFTER AND RECEIVED SAME EMOTIONAL PRESENTATION OF GREEK CONCERNS. WE DISCUSSED TIMING OF GENEVA TALKS, WITH CONCLUSION THAT GREEKS COULD NOT OFFICIALLY ACCEPT JULY 25 DATE UNTIL NEW GOVERNMENT SWORN IN, BUT THEY READY TO MEET AT THAT TIME IF CEASEFIRE AND RETURN TO CEASEFIRE LINE FIRMLY IN EFFECT. AVEROFF COMMENTED AT THIS POINT THAT NEW GOVERNMENT WOULD NEED AT LEAST ONE MORE DAY TO FORYULATE POSITIONS.

6. POLITICAL LEADERS EXPRESSED GREAT SATISFACTION WITH OPPORTUNITY TO TALK WITH YOU AND BELIEVE YOU CAN SAVE THE PEACE AND GIVE THE DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT OF GREECE NOW ASSUMING POWER THE KIND OF SUCCESS THEY NEED TO GET GOING IN THE LENGTHY AND DIFFICULT PROCESS OF RESTORING DEMOCRATIC AND REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT IN GREECE.

7. I AM HAPPY TO REPORT AMBASSADOR VLACHOS, WHO APPEARS TO BE BACK ON DUTY IN THE FOREIGN OFFICE, TELLS ME HE HAS JUST CONVEYED READINESS OF GREECE TO TAKE PART IN TALKS TO TURKISH AMBASSADOR GURUN HERE, WHO VIEWED THEM WITH ENTHUSIASM. I BELIEVE THIS LATTER STEP REFLECTS COOPERATIVE SPIRIT OF NEW POLITICAL FORCES ABOUT TO TAKE OVER THE REINS OF POWER IN THE COUNTRY.



8. I TOOK THE OCCASION DURING MY CONVERSATIONS WITH

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THE POLITICAL LEADERS PRESENT TO STRESS THE VITAL IMPORTANCE OF WORKING FOR PEACE AND AVOIDING A DISASTROUS, IRREVOCABLE STEP OF WAR, WHICH WOULD CERTAINLY NOT BRING ANY ADVANTAGES TO GREECE. HOWEVER, I WISH TO STRESS THE MILITARY CONTINUE IN FULL CONTROL OF THE COUNTRY. THEY ARE PREPARED TO DELEGATE TO A DEMOCRATIC CIVILIAN GOVERNMENT THE TASK OF RUNNING THE COUNTRY, BUT THEY WILL CONTINUE TO RETAIN THEIR ULTIMATE POWER OF POLITICAL INTERVENTION TO SAFEGUARD THE NATIONAL INTEREST. PLEASE RECALL THE NOVEMBER 25TH MILITARY COUP CAN BE COUNTED AS THE 23RD IN THIS CENTURY.

9. DURING ONE AND ONE-HALF HOUR STAY IN THE PRESIDENT'S OFFICE THERE WERE A NUMBER OF INDIVIDUAL AND SMALL GROUP CONVERSATIONS CONCERNING MILITARY AND POLITICAL SITUATION WHICH WILL BE REPORTED IN SEPTELS.

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FLASH
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DE RUQMAT #4895 2050217
Z 240215Z JUL 74
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC FLASH 4428

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ ATHENS 4895

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PGDV, GR
SUBJECT: PROPOSED STATEMENTS OF CONGRATULATIONS TO
NEW PRIME MINISTER
PERSONAL FOR KISSINGER FROM THE AMBASSADOR
IN VIEW OF THE IMMINENT SWEARING IN OF KARAMANLIS
AS PRIME MINISTER I THINK IT OF GREAT IMPORTANCE THAT
YOU AND THE PRESIDENT ISSUE A STRONG CLEAR STATEMENT
HEARTILY WELCOMING HIS RETURN TO POWER, EXPRESSING
GOOD WISHES FOR HIS SUCCESS IN HIS EFFORTS TO LEAD
GREECE BACK TO DEMOCRACY AND UNDERLINING OUR WILLINGNESS
TO BE HELPFUL TO HIM IN HIS EFFORTS TO REACH A PEACEFUL
SOLUTION IN THE CYPRUS CRISIS.
TASCA
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By LJR 4/4/11

***** W H S R C O M M E N T *****

KENNEDY, LL--SENT TO SC

PSN:001911 PAGE 01 OF 01 TOR:205/02:51Z DTG:240215Z JUL 74

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OP IMMEQ
DE RUEHC #0123 2050302
O 240244Z JUL 74
FM SECSTATE WASHDC

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TO AMEMBASSY NICOSIA IMMEDIATE 6054
AMEMBASSY ANKARA IMMEDIATE 7640
AMEMBASSY ATHENS IMMEDIATE 6929
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE 7770
AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE 6278
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE 7797
USMISSION NATO IMMEDIATE 4536

~~SECRET~~ STATE 160123

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFDR CY (CLERIDES)
SUBJECT: RELATIONS WITH CLERIDES

1. YOU SHOULD IMMEDIATELY INFORM CLERIDES THAT WE SHALL
ISSUE THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT BY NOON WASHINGTON TIME
JULY 24: "THE UNITED STATES IS CONDUCTING ITS R-LATIONS
WITH MR. CLERIDES WHO, ACCORDING TO THE CYPRUS CONSTITU-
TION, HAS THE RIGHT TO ACT AS PRESIDENT UNDER CERTAIN CIR-
CUMSTANCES."

2. FOR ANKARA AND ATHENS: PLEASE INFORM GREEK AND TURKISH
GOVERNMENTS.

3. FOR LONDON: PLEASE PASS TO FOREIGN OFFICE. KISSINGER
BT



HR 4/4/11

* * * * * W H S R C O M M E N T * * * * *

KENNEDY, LL--SENT TO SC

PSN:001931 PAGE 01 OF 01 TOR:205/03:05Z DTG:240244Z JUL 74

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OP INMEN
DE RUEHF #0213 2050330
D 240312Z JUL 74
FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE 7798

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA IMMEDIATE 7641
AMEMBASSY ATHENS IMMEDIATE 6930
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE 7772
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW IMMEDIATE 4225
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA IMMEDIATE 6056
USMISSION NATO IMMEDIATE 4537
AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE 6282
SECDEF IMMEDIATE
USCINCEUR IMMEDIATE
USDOCOSOUTH IMMEDIATE
USDOCBLANDSOUTHEAST IZMIR IMMEDIATE
COMSIXTHFLT IMMEDIATE
CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON IMMEDIATE
USNMR SHAPE IMMEDIATE

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LIMITED OFFICIAL USE STATE 160213
E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PFOR, UN, CYPRUS
SUBJECT: CYPRUS IN SC: UNFICYP AUGMENTATION: REQUEST FOR
AIRLIFT OF FINNISH CONTINGENT

REF: USUN 2531

1. DEPARTMENT AND DEFENSE HAVE DETERMINED THAT EMERGENCY AIRLIFT OF 200-MAN FINNISH MILITARY CONTINGENT IS IN US NATIONAL INTEREST IN ORDER TO HELP SOLIDIFY CEASEFIRE IN CYPRUS. YOU MAY INFORM UN THAT US PREPARED TO PROVIDE AIRCRAFT FOR THIS PURPOSE WITH CLEAR UNDERSTANDING WE ARE DOING SO WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO QUESTION OF REIMBURSEMENT. WE CURRENTLY HAVE REIMBURSEMENT ISSUE UNDER URGENT CONSIDERATION BUT DOUBT THAT FINAL DETERMINATION AS TO WHETHER US PREPARED TO ASSUME COST OF ALL OR PART OF AIRLIFT WILL BE POSSIBLE PRIOR TO AIRLIFT OF FINNISH TROOPS JULY 24.

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2. REQUEST USUN IMMEDIATELY PROVIDE DOD NECESSARY DETAILS
TO PERMIT EXECUTION. KIS
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TELEGRAM

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R 240410Z JUL 74
FM AMEMBASSY SEOUL
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5010
BT
~~SECRET~~ SEOUL 4785

CONTROL: 6698Q
RECD: July 24, 1974
2:43 AM

NODIS

EO 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, KS, MARR.
SUBJECT: KOREA AND THE UN COMMAND

SUMMARY: FOREIGN MINISTER HAS RAISED THE QUESTION OF INFORMING ALLIES OF OUR PROPOSALS WITH REGARD TO TERMINATION OF UN COMMAND. HE SUGGESTS EARLY DISCUSSION WITH KEY ALLIES AND REQUESTS OUR VIEWS. I SUGGEST SOME DELAY WHILE WE CONTINUE TO WAIT PRC RESPONSE AND SOLICIT DEPARTMENT'S VIEWS.

1. FOREIGN MINISTER KIM DONG JO DISCUSSED WITH ME KOREAN VIEWS OF FOLLOW ON TO OUR PROPOSALS REGARDING THE DISSOLUTION OF THE UNITED NATIONS COMMAND, AND THE TIMING OF DISCUSSION OF THE MATTER WITH FRIENDLY COUNTRIES. HE HANDED ME THE FOLLOWING MEMORANDUM.

AQUOTE 1. IN ORDER TO ENSURE MAXIMUM SUPPORT AND COOPERATION OFSRUR FRIENDLY COUNTRIES, WE CONSIDER IT APPROPRIATE TO BRIEDZMAJOR FRIENDLY POWERS ON OUR PACKAGE PROPOSALS REGARDING THE UN COMMAND ISSUE IN DUE COURSE.

2. KNOWING THAT THE MATTERS RELATING TO THE NEGOTIATION ON THE UN COMMAND ISSUE SHOULD BE HANDLED WITH UTMOST CARE AND DISCRETION, WE WISH TO MAKE THE FOLLOWING SUGGESTIONS:

A) THE COUNTRIES TO WHOM THE INFORMATION ON THE NEGOTIATION WITH PRC WILL BE PASSED SHALL BE DIVIDED INTO TWO GROUPS:

1) FRANCE, JAPAN AND UK (TOWARD THE END OF JULY)

11) THE COUNTRIES WHO CONTRIBUTED MILITARY FORCES TO THE UN COMMAND (WITH THE EXCEPTION OF ETHIOPIA AND SOUTH AFRICA) AND FRG (IN THE MIDDLE OF AUGUST, EXCEPT OTHERWISE REQUIRED BY EVENTS)



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-2 - Seoul 4785

B) THE INFORMATION TO BE PASSED TO THESE COUNTRIES MAY INCLUDE:

1) AN OUTLINE OF THE PACKAGE PROPOSAL ON THE UN COMMAND ISSUE AND REACTION THEREON, IF ANY, FROM PRC AND OTHERS;

1) PRELIMINARY PREFERENCES IN OUR CONTINGENCY TACTICS.

C) THE CONTACTS FOR THIS PURPOSE WITH THESE COUNTRIES SHALL BE MADE IN WASHINGTON D. C. AND SEOUL.

3. WE WOULD APPRECIATE THE U.S. COMMENTS ON THE ABOVE-MENTIONED POINTS AND HOPE THAT THE ABOVE CONTACTS IN BOTH CAPITALS WILL BE MADE ACCORDING TO THE TIME-TABLE AND FORMULAE TO BE AGREED UPON BETWEEN THE TWO GOVERNMENTS. UNQUOTE

3. THE KOREAN VIEWS ARE OBVIOUSLY A PART OF THEIR CONTINGENCY THINKING, BASED UPON THE EXPECTATION THAT EITHER; (A) WE WILL NOT RECEIVE A FAVORABLE RESPONSE FROM THE OTHER SIDE OR, (B) THAT THE RESPONSE WILL BE SO LONG DELAYED THAT IT WILL JEOPARDIZE OUR DEFENSE OF THE KOREAN POSITION IF DEBATE AT THE UN BECOMES NECESSARY IN THE END.;

4. I WOULD APPRECIATE THE DEPARTMENT'S VIEWS AS PROMPTLY AS POSSIBLE CONCERNING THE RESPONSE TO BE MADE TO THE FOREIGN MINISTER. I SUGGEST THE FOLLOWING CONSIDERATIONS BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT.

A. I SEE NO NEED FOR SUCH EARLY CONSULTATION WITH THE ALLIES ON THE SUBSTANCE OF OUR PROPOSALS TO PRC, GIVEN THE FACT THAT WE HAVE NOT YET RECEIVED ANY SUBSTANTIVE RESPONSE FROM THE CHINESE, WHILE I CAN SEE SOME VALUE IN DISCUSSING THE SUBJECT WITH FRANCE, JAPAN AND THE UK SOON, I AM MORE CONCERNED WITH THE POSSIBILITY OF LEAKS JEOPARDIZING THE ENTIRE OPERATION AND WOULD RATHER WAIT A LITTLE LONGER TO SEE IF WE CAN GET SOME KIND OF FORTHCOMING REPLY FROM THE CHINESE.

B. AS WE HAVE MADE CLEAR TO THE KOREANS PREVIOUSLY AND THEY HAVE ACCEPTED, I DO NOT SEE THAT IT IS

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-3- Seoul. 4785

NECESSARY TO MOVE QUICKLY WITH THE IDEA IN MIND OF PREEMPTING THE OTHER SIDE IN ANY RESOLUTION AT THE UNGA. I BELIEVE THIS IS STILL ACCEPTABLE TO THE KOREANS BUT WOULD WISH TO VERIFY IT.

C. I REALIZE IT IS DIFFICULT TO DISCUSS OUR PRELIMINARY PREFERENCES FOR CONTINGENCY TACTICS WITH THIRD COUNTRIES WITHOUT DIVULGING OUR PROPOSALS ON THE UN COMMAND. HOWEVER, AGAIN I AM CONCERNED THAT THE TIME SCHEDULE ENVISAGED IN THE MEMORANDUM DOES NOT GIVE THE CHINESE SUFFICIENT ROOM TO MANEUVER, AND ANY LEAKS COULD POSSIBLY COOL ANY CHINESE INTEREST IN INFLUENCING ACCEPTANCE IN PYONGYANG.

5. IN SUM I THINK IT IS TOO SOON TO MAKE THE MOVES PROPOSED BY THE ROKG. I WOULD PREFER TO WAIT A FEW WEEKS LONGER AND GIVE THE CHINESE CONNECTION A CHANCE TO WORK. THE DEPARTMENT IS IN A BETTER POSITION TO JUDGE, BUT I AM INSTINCTIVELY CONCERNED AT APPEARING TO JUMP THE GUN ON THE CHINESE AND LESSEN THE CHANCE OF THEIR SUPPORT FOR OUR PROPOSALS. ON THE OTHER HAND, I CAN UNDERSTAND ROKG DESIRE TO BEGIN TO LINE UP OUR ALLIES. IT IS PROBABLE THAT ROKG IS ALREADY BEGINNING TO SHOW ITS HAND AS THE ALLIES PRESS FOR SOME DISCUSSIONS AS TO WHERE TO GO ON THE UN THIS YEAR.

6. TAKING THE ABOVE CONSIDERATIONS INTO ACCOUNT, I WOULD HOPE THE DEPARTMENT CAN GIVE ME SOME EARLY GUIDANCE AS TO JUST WHAT TIMING AND PROCEDURES FOR HANDLING THE QUESTION OF DIVULGING OUR PACKAGE PROPOSALS WOULD BEST SUIT OUR PURPOSES. IN THE COURSE OF SUCH A MOVE WE WOULD WANT TO CONSIDER HOW AND WHEN TO MAKE THESE PROPOSALS PUBLIC WITHOUT CREATING PROBLEMS AFFECTING OUR OWN RELATIONS WITH THE PRC. IN THIS REGARD WE MIGHT THINK OF VARIOUS OPTIONS INCLUDING ROKG FIRST INFORMING NORTH KOREA DIRECTLY OF PROPOSALS (WHICH THEY ARE SO FAR RELUCTANT TO DO IN ABSENCE OF SOME SIGNAL VIA CHINESE); ANNOUNCEMENT THROUGH SOME UN MECHANISM; OR A STRAIGHTFORWARD PUBLIC DECLARATION.

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NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION
Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

WITHDRAWAL ID 034988

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL ÇNational security restriction

TYPE OF MATERIAL ÇReport

DESCRIPTION re Cyprus Situation

CREATION DATE 07/24/1974

VOLUME 3 pages

COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 033200182

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

BOX NUMBER 8

FOLDER TITLE Cyprus Crisis (16)

DATE WITHDRAWN 08/30/2011

WITHDRAWING ARCHIVIST HJR

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DECLASSIFIED w/ portions exempted State Dept. Guidelines
AUTHORITY RAC NLF-CODEWORD-4-4-2-1 9/7/2004
BY MFO NARA, DATE 3/15/2011



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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
July 24, 1974

State Dept.

DECLASSIFIED w/portions exempted Guidelines

INTELLIGENCE MEMORANDUM

AUTHORITY RAC NLF-CODEWORD-4-4-2-1

BY W/O NARA, DATE 3/15/2011 9/7/2004

CYPRUS

Situation Report Number 26
(As of 0700 EDT)

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

MILITARY SITUATION

1. The cease-fire agreement obtained by the UN last evening was generally obeyed, but firing resumed again at dawn. The Turks in the Nicosia-Kyrenia area, and the Greeks elsewhere in the country apparently are attempting to consolidate their positions. Neither side feels secure, however, because one cannot prevent the other from achieving limited improvements.

2. The major Turkish effort today centers in the northern environs of Nicosia. Observers speculate that the Turks are attempting to link several Turkish Cypriot enclaves. The Greeks also expect renewed Turkish attacks in the Kyrenia area today.

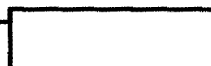
3. There have been no further reports of fighting at Nicosia airport, where the situation remains tense. UN forces continue to occupy the airport, but substantial Turkish forces remain nearby.

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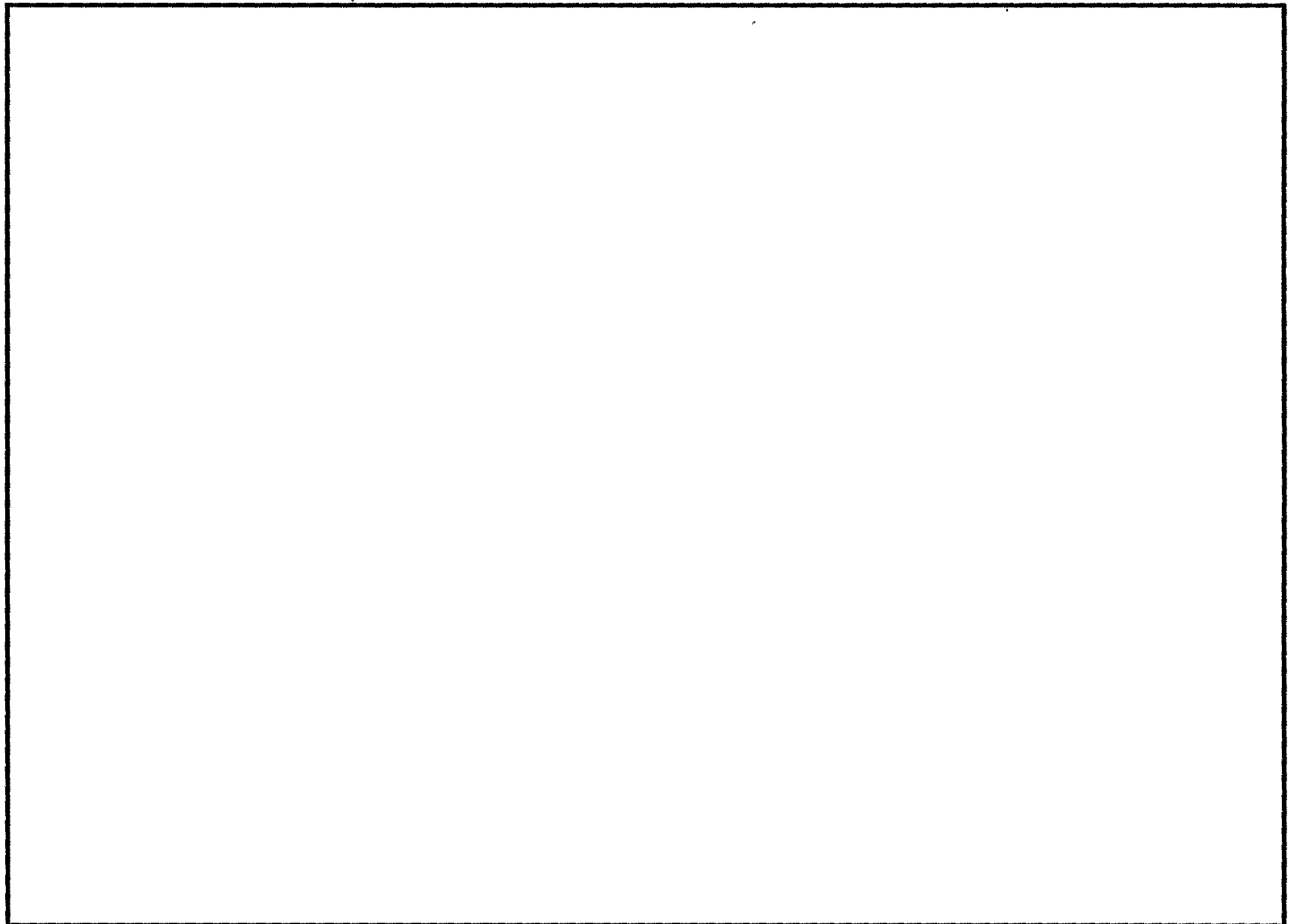
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4. Greek authorities in Cyprus and Greece take a serious view of continued Turkish encroachments. Recent [redacted] indicate that they do not have the resources effectively to resist Turkish advances.

5. The Cypriot National Guard continues to pressure isolated Turkish Cypriot enclaves outside the Nicosia-Kyrenia area. Greek forces were heard firing into Turkish villages outside Larnaca this morning.

THE MILITARY SITUATION ON THE MAINLAND

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POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

10. Greek Orthodox Archbishop Seraphim administered the Prime Minister's oath of office to Constantine Karamanlis early this morning in a nationwide radio and television broadcast. Expected to name a government today, Karamanlis pledged to work for the restoration of normalcy and democracy.

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12. The decision to remove the Androutsopoulos government reportedly occurred after it had rejected almost unanimously the military leadership's proposal that Greece withdraw from NATO. Military leaders reportedly then decided to invite former prime minister, Constantine Karamanlis, to return to Greece to assume the prime ministership. General Ioannidis opposed the recall of Karamanlis but was overruled.

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14. According to another report, Ankara's ultimate goal in the upcoming Geneva talks with Greece and Britain will be the creation of federal government on Cyprus, possibly involving some exchange of populations.

SOVIET POLITICAL REACTION

15. TASS last night quoted Makarios at a press conference as saying that he welcomed the swearing in of Clerides, who "will act in this post until my return to Cyprus." TASS also reported that he viewed this development as a new step towards the restoration of order in compliance with the UN Security

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Council resolution. Soviet diplomats continue to maintain contact and to consult with Makarios in New York.

16. TASS also reported the swearing in of Constantine Karamanlis as head of the new Greek government. It quoted Makarios "as having received with satisfaction the news of the change in Athens as an important step towards democracy, which will have a positive impact on developments in Cyprus."

17. Moscow sought yesterday to take some of the credit for arranging the cease-fire on Cyprus. TASS commentator Kornilov stressed that "it took resolute diplomatic demarches by the Soviet Union to the governments of a number of states and three Security Council meetings before the Security Council was able to pass a resolution on Cyprus."

WARSAW PACT MILITARY

18. Soviet and East European military activity remains at normal levels and no unusual activity has been detected.



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TELEGRAM

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FM AMEMBASSY ANKARA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC FLASH 5258
INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS FLASH
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA FLASH

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RECD: 24 JULY 74 -

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EXDIS - HANDLE AS NODIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: HOPS, CY, TH, GR
SUBJ: CYPBUS CEASE-FIRE

1. THIS IS TO CONFIRM INFORMATION I EARLIER PASSED BY TELEPHONE TO STATE OPERATIONS CYPBUS TASK FORCE.
2. GENERAL GALLOWAY, PURSUANT TO INSTRUCTIONS FROM SECRETARY SCHLESINGER (IN WHICH STATE CONCURRED), CONTACTED GENERAL ERSOY, DEPUTY CHIEF TGS, AT 0652 LOCAL TIME JULY 24, AND MADE FOL POINTS:
 - A. SECRETARY SCHLESINGER DEEPLY CONCERNED OVER POSSIBLE TURKISH MILITARY ACTION ON CYPBUS MORNING 24TH.
 - B. THIS ACTION, IF IT OCCURRED, WOULD BE VERY EMBARRASSING TO THE US AND OTHER NATIONS WORKING FOR AN EFFECTIVE CEASE-FIRE.
 - C. ACTION OF THIS KIND COULD MAKE IT VERY DIFFICULT FOR A NEW GREEK GOVT AND COULD FORCE IT TO TAKE ACTIONS WHICH IT MIGHT NOT OTHERWISE HAVE CONSIDERED.
 - D. A CONTINUATION OF MILITARY OPERATIONS BY TURKISH FORCES IN VIOLATION OF CEASE-FIRE WOULD FORCE US TO CONSIDER VERY CAREFULLY ITS FUTURE RELATIONS WITH THE TURKS.

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NO. 313104

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TELEGRAM

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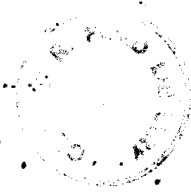
PAGE 02 ANKARA 05005 240800Z

3. IN RESPONSE, GENERAL ERSOZ SAID:

A. THAT HE DID NOT PERSONALLY KNOW OF ANY MAJOR OPERATIONS WITH TURKS WOULD BE INVOLVED TODAY.

B. THAT BOTH SIDES WERE BREAKING THE CEASE-FIRE.

4. GENERAL GALLOWAY THEN ASKED GENERAL ERSOZ IF UNDER CIRCUMSTANCES HE HAD ANY COMMENT THAT GENERAL GALLOWAY COULD PASS BACK TO SECRETARY SCHLESINGER. GENERAL ERSOZ REPLIED, "I HAVE NO AUTHORITY TO SPEAK WITH THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE."
MACOMBER



Department of State

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NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION
Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

WITHDRAWAL ID 034989

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL ÇNational security restriction

TYPE OF MATERIAL ÇReport

DESCRIPTION re Cyprus Situation

CREATION DATE 07/24/1974

VOLUME 6 pages

COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 033200182

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

BOX NUMBER 8

FOLDER TITLE Cyprus Crisis (16)

DATE WITHDRAWN 08/30/2011

WITHDRAWING ARCHIVIST HJR

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DE RUQMGU #5871 2050905
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FM AMEMBASSY ANKARA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC FLASH 5260

INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS FLASH 3455

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE ANKARA 5871
E.O. N/A

TAGS: MOPS, CY, TU, GR
SUBJ: CYPRUS SITUATION
REF: ANKARA 5866

UK AMB HAS JUST TELEPHONED ME TO SAY THAT AS OF 0800 GMT, THE EARLIER UK HICOM SITREP (REFTEL) REMAINS BASICALLY ACCURATE. UK HICOM'S MORE RECENT REPORT ADDS, HOWEVER, THAT QTE THERE SEEM TO BE SIGNS OF A TURKISH PUSH-OUT IN THE OMORPHITA REGION. THIS COULD WELL INCLUDE KAIMAKIL TO THE EAST AND A SIMILAR ARC TO THE WEST. PRECISE INTENTIONS UNCLEAR, MOST LIKELY AIM WOULD BE TO EXTEND NARROW TURK CORRIDOR. FIGHTING NOT EXTENSIVE BUT COULD BE POLITICALLY SERIOUS. UNQTE.

MACOMBER
BT



State Review
NO. 3/3/04

BY *HR* 4/4/11

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

KENNEDY, LL/...SENTSC AS TOSCOV 319

PSN:002150 PAGE 01 OF 01 TOR:205/09:15Z DTG:240900Z JUL

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NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION
Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

WITHDRAWAL ID 034990

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL ÇNational security restriction

TYPE OF MATERIAL ÇReport

DESCRIPTION re Cyprus Situation

CREATION DATE 07/24/1974

VOLUME 5 pages

COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 033200182

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

BOX NUMBER 8

FOLDER TITLE Cyprus Crisis (16)

DATE WITHDRAWN 08/30/2011

WITHDRAWING ARCHIVIST HJR

NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION
Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

WITHDRAWAL ID 034991

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL ÇNational security restriction

TYPE OF MATERIAL ÇReport

DESCRIPTION re Cyprus

CREATION DATE 07/24/1974

VOLUME 10 pages

COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 033200182

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

BOX NUMBER 8

FOLDER TITLE Cyprus Crisis (16)

DATE WITHDRAWN 08/30/2011

WITHDRAWING ARCHIVIST HJR

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FM AMEMBASSY LONDON

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2426

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AMEMBASSY ATHENS IMMEDIATE 1488
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA IMMEDIATE 0639
USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE 3088
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE 3367
USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS IMMEDIATE 3577

State Review
3/3/04

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ LONDON 09364

4/4/11

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PFOR, CY, GR, UK, US

1. NEW GREEK FOREIGN MINISTER MAVROS ASKED BRITISH AMBASSADOR HOOPER THIS MORNING (WEDNESDAY) IF FRIDAY WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE FOR BEGINNING OF CONFERENCE. HOOPER REPLIED HE THOUGHT IT WOULD PROBABLY BE, BUT DOUBTED TURKS COULD WAIT BEYOND THAT.

2. OUR FCO SOURCES INDICATE THAT BRITISH CONTINUE TO FEEL THAT PRIORITY SHOULD BE GIVEN TO GETTING THE PARTIES TO GENEVA, WHERE MODALITIES OF THE CEASE FIRE WOULD BE FIRST STEP. THEY THINK IT HOPELESS TO TRY TO WORK OUT MODALITIES (AND SECURE CEASE FIRE) BEFORE THAT. WHILE WORKING GROUP IS OCCUPIED WITH CEASE FIRE APPLICATION, PARTIES WOULD COGITATE ON LARGER ISSUES OF A SETTLEMENT. THESE WOULD BE ATTACKED AT SECOND STAGE, PROBABLY BY SOME COMBINATION OF WORKING GROUPS AND BILATERAL DIPLOMACY.

3. LATEST WORD, HOWEVER, IS THAT GREEK DELEGATION LED BY MAVROS WILL ARRIVE IN GENEVA AROUND NOON TOMORROW, THURSDAY. TURKS WILL COME, PROBABLY LED BY FOREIGN MINISTER GUNES. PRIVATE OFFICE TELLS US CALLAGHAN LIKELY TO LEAVE ABOUT 10:00 AM TOMORROW. HIS INVITATION TO BUFFUM AND PARTY HOLDS.



***** W H S R C O M M E N T *****

KENNEDY, LL--NOT SENT TO SC

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PAGE 01

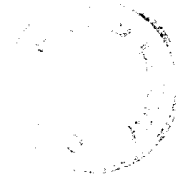
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FM AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

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INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA 4036
AMEMBASSY ATHENS 4577
AMEMBASSY LONDON 3757
USMISSION USUN 4347
USMISSION NATO 1965
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~~SECRET~~ NICOSIA 1717

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PEOR PINT CY TU GR
SUBJECT: TURKISH INTENTIONS, GREEK REACTIONS AND U.S. POLICY
REF: NICOSIA 1663, 1659
SUMMARY: WE BELIEVE ANKARA'S PRINCIPAL GOAL IS TO HOLD ITS SEAPORT AND MUCH OF ITS ACQUIRED TERRITORY. WE BELIEVE GREEKS CAN LEARN TO LIVE WITH THIS IF NO EFFORT IS MADE TO FORMALIZE THEIR LOSS, AND THAT PROSPECT IS FOR A CONTINUATION OF INCONCLUSIVE NEGOTIATIONS ABOUT TERRITORIAL ISSUES AND A CONSTITUTIONAL SETTLEMENT. THIS IS NOT A VERY NEAT SOLUTION, BUT MAY BE LEAST UNDESIRABLE OF UNDESIRABLE OPTIONS. WE THINK USG CAN LIVE WITH IT. END SUMMARY

1. WE BELIEVE IT USEFUL TO PULL TOGETHER OUR BEST GUESSES AS TO IMMEDIATE POLITICAL VISTA IN CYPRUS.

2. TURKISH INTENTIONS. FROM BEGINNING, TURKS HAVE INSISTED THAT THEIR INTENTIONS ARE LIMITED AND THEY SOUGHT RESTORATION PRE-1963 "CONSTITUTIONALITY." PRAGMATICALLY WE THINK THEIR KUP OBJECTIVE IS ACCESS TO THE SEA FOR TURKISH CYPRIOTS. LACK OF ACCESS HAS BEEN A LONGSTANDING AND RISING SOURCE OF FRUSTRATION TO THEM. IT HAS CAUSED ECONOMIC PROBLEMS AND HAS HAMPERED THEIR EFFORTS TO MOVE MILITARY PERSONNEL AND WEAPONS TO AND FROM ISLAND. WE THINK THIS REQUIREMENT IS THEIR MINIMUM AND THAT THEY WILL GO TO ALMOST ANY LENGTHS TO SATISFY IT. (REFTEL B DESCRIBES AREA THEY WANT.) THEY

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

KENNEDY,LL--NOT SENT TO SC

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 PAGE 01

State Review
3/3/04

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BY LR 4/4/11

WILL PROBABLY FORCE GREEKS OUT OF THEIR AREAS AND REPLACE THEM WITH TURK CYPRIOTS FROM ELSEWHERE ON ISLAND.

3. WE ASSUME TURKISH INTENTIONS ARE IN FACT LIMITED. RELATIVELY SMALL SCALE OF ATTACK CONFIRMS THIS ASSUMPTION. WE ASSUME ALSO THAT CONCERN AS TO USG AND SOVIET REACTIONS PERSUADE TURKS TO SETTLE FOR LIMITED OBJECTIVE RATHER THAN LAUNCHING MAJOR ATTACK TO SECURE ISLAND. SIMILARLY, WE THINK UNCHARACTERISTIC TURKISH SOLICITUDE FOR MAKARIOS PARTICULARLY IN FIRST DAYS WAS EFFORT TO CONVINCEN SOVIETS THAT TURKISH OBJECTIVES WERE COMPATIBLE WITH SOVIET INTERESTS.

4. WE THINK THAT TURKISH INSISTENCE UPON RESTORATION OF "CONSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE" IS TACTICAL. FIRST, IT PROVIDES EXCUSE FOR THEM TO EXERCISE UNILATERAL INTERVENTION RIGHTS UNDER 1960 CONSTITUTION. SECOND, IN COMING MONTHS IT WILL JUSTIFY THEIR REFUSAL TO MOVE OUT OF AREAS OCCUPIED, AS THEY NEGOTIATE OSTENSIBLY TOWARD RESTORATION OF "PARTNER-SHIP STATUS" AS TURKS CONTINUE TO DEFINE 1960 CONSTITUTIONAL SET UP. WE DOUBT TURKS WOULD SETTLE FOR 1960 CONSTITUTION IF IT WAS OFFERED TO THEM TODAY, ARGUING THAT ONLY GEOGRAPHICAL SEPARATION AND ACCESS TO SEA PROVIDE ADEQUATE PROTECTION FOR TURKISH COMMUNITY'S "PARTNER-SHIP" RIGHTS.

5. WE DO NOT BELIEVE TURKS WILL GO FOR FORMAL PARTITION, SINCE IT UNDERMINES THEIR RATIONALE AND COULD CAUSE SERIOUS TROUBLES WITH GREEK CYPRIOTS AND ANGER SOVIETS. THEY MAY WELL RESURFACE "FEDERALISM" FORMULA, AND ALMOST CERTAINLY THEY WILL NOT SETTLE FOR ANY PERMANENT ARRANGEMENT WHICH DOES NOT PROVIDE LARGE MEASURE OF TURKISH AUTONOMY UNDER UMBRELLA OF SOME WEAK CENTRAL GOVT. (I.E., CONFEDERATION). IF IT IS CHARGED THAT WHAT THEY DEMAND IS DE FACTO PARTITION, THEY CAN RETORY (INFORMALLY): "THE GREEKS IMPOSED DE FACTO ENOSIS ON THEIR PORTION. WHAT DO YOU EXPECT OF US?"

6. GREEK REACTIONS. IT WOULD BE EXTREMELY DIFFICULT FOR ANY GREEK CYPRIOT ADMINISTRATION TO GIVE FORMAL ASSENT TO TURKISH LAND GRAB. WE THINK BEST WE CAN EXPECT IS THERE NOW WILL BE TWO SUBJECTS TO TALK ABOUT, EITHER SEPARATELY OR IN TANDEM: RESTORATION OF TERRITORIAL STATUS QUO ANTE; AND FUTURE CONSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS. IF WE SEEM TO BE PROMISING CONTINUATION OF LONGSTANDING INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS, WITH NEW COMPLICATIONS ADDED, I WOULD SUGGEST THIS IS ABOUT THE BEST WE ARE LIKELY TO GET FOR INDEFINITE FUTURE. AT LEAST THEY WILL HAVE ENOUGH TO TALK ABOUT TO KEEP THE TALKS GOING.

7. WE CAN HARDLY MAKE MUCH OF A GUESS AS TO ATHENS' INTENTIONS FROM HERE AND IN LIGHT OF RECENT CHANGE IN ATHENS. WE WOULD IMAGINE, HOWEVER, THAT WITH IOANNIDES' ADVENTURE



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AND ITS CATASTROPHIC RESULTS IN MIND AND WITH PROSPECT OF BETTER RELATIONS WITH NICOSIA, ATHENS WILL BE CONTENT TO GO ALONG WITH SCENARIO IN PARA 6.

8. U.S. POLICY INTERESTS. I HAVE DESCRIBED OUR VIEWS AS TO USG POLICY TOWARD CLERIDES (REF A). BEYOND THAT, I BELIEVE WE CAN LIVE WITH INCONCLUSIVE SITUATION DESCRIBED ABOVE. THERE MAY BE CERTAIN ADVANTAGES IF TURKS RETAIN THEIR ACCESS TO THE SEA. THEIR EARLIER FRUSTRATION HAD BEEN MOUNTING TOWARD AN EXPLOSION. THE ANTICIPATED SEPARATION OF POPULATIONS WILL LEAD TO SERIOUS IMMEDIATE DISLOCATIONS AND WILL FURTHER EXACERBATE INTERCOMMUNAL RELATIONS. THIS IS REGRETTABLE. HOWEVER, PHYSICAL SEPARATION OF COMMUNITIES COULD EVENTUALLY LEAD TO REDUCTION OF INTERCOMMUNAL FRICTION EVEN IF IT DIMS ANY HOPES FOR A UNITED CYPRUS. GREEK CYPRIOTS HAVE ATHENS TO BLAME FOR THEIR LOSSES. WE DOUBT THEIR ANGER IS LIKELY TO RISE TO POINT WHERE NICOSIA WOULD RISK WAR TO REGAIN THEM, PARTICULARLY SO LONG AS LOSSES ARE NOT FORMALIZED.

9. THE CYPRUS PROBLEM HAS BEEN SINI GENERIS FOR A LONG TIME AND SEEMS LIKELY TO REMAIN SO. IF WE CAN GET AN EARLY END TO FIGHTING AND STABILIZE TURK LINES, RECENT CHANGES WILL NOT NECESSARILY MAKE CYPRUS SITUATION MORE EXPLOSIVE. TWO COMMUNITIES' FIRSTHAND VIEW OF REAL WAR (AS DISTINCT FROM INTERCOMMUNAL SNIPING) MAY MAKE POST-CRISIS CYPRUS LESS EXPLOSIVE THAN IT WAS.
DAVIES
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NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION
Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

WITHDRAWAL ID 034992

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL ÇNational security restriction

TYPE OF MATERIAL ÇReport

DESCRIPTION re Cyprus Situation

CREATION DATE 07/24/1974

VOLUME 3 pages

COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 033200182

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

BOX NUMBER 8

FOLDER TITLE Cyprus Crisis (16)

DATE WITHDRAWN 08/30/2011

WITHDRAWING ARCHIVIST HJR

BL
FBIS 71

KENNEDY, LL

TURKISH SPOKESMAN SAYS NICOSIA AIRPORT BEING REPAIRED, DENIES
MASSACRES

L241228 ANKARA GENERAL SERVICE IN TURKISH 1200 GMT 24 JUL 74 L

(TEXT) MINISTER OF TOURISM AND PUBLICITY AND GOVERNMENT
SPOKESMAN ORHAN BIRGIT SAID THAT NICOSIA AIRPORT, WHICH IS
UNDER THE CONTROL OF TURKISH ARMED FORCES, WILL SOON BE OPENED
TO CIVIL AIR TRAFFIC.

IN A PRESS CONFERENCE HE HELD FOR TURKISH AND FOREIGN
JOURNALISTS, ORHAN BIRGIT SAID THAT REPAIR UNITS OF THE TURKISH
ARMED FORCES ARE WORKING TO MAKE THE NICOSIA AIRPORT RUNWAYS,
PUT OUT OF COMMISSION BY TURKISH BOMBING, FIT FOR FLYING ONCE
AGAIN. ORHAN BIRGIT SAID: I HOPE THAT NICOSIA AIRPORT WILL
VERY SHORTLY BE OPENED TO CIVIL AIR TRAFFIC. TURKISH AIRLINE
FLIGHTS AND OTHER CIVIL FLIGHTS, INCLUDING GREEK CIVIL FLIGHTS,
WILL BE ABLE TO LAND AND TAKE OFF AT THE AIRPORT.

ORHAN BIRGIT SAID THAT A MOVE IS AFOOT TO IMPLEMENT A CAMPAIGN
TO CREATE THE IMPRESSION IN WORLD PUBLIC OPINION THAT THOUSANDS
OF GREEK CYPRIOTS HAVE BEEN ATTACKED AND KILLED BY TURKS. HE
ADDED: SUCH ALLEGATIONS ARE ENTIRELY WITHOUT FOUNDATION.
TURKISH ARMED FORCES HAVE GONE TO THE ISLAND, AS STATED AT THE
BEGINNING OF THE OPERATION, TO BRING PEACE AND GREEK-TURKISH
CYPRIOT FRATERNITY TO THE ISLAND. THE INITIATION OF THIS ACTION
WAS TOUCHED OFF BY THE GREEK MAINLAND COUP ON THE ISLAND.
AS JOURNALISTS AND RADIO AND TELEVISION CORRESPONDENTS, YOU
ARE MUCH BETTER AWARE OF THIS THAN MYSELF. SAMPSON'S TROOPS
CARRIED OUT A GREAT MASSACRE AGAINST MAKARIOS' SUPPORTERS
DURING THIS COUP. EFFORTS HAVE NOW BEGUN TO ASCRIBE SAMPSON'S
CRIMES TO TURKS ON THE ISLAND.

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC FLASH 5874

INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS FLASH 3461

UNCLAS ANKARA 5892

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PPR, TU, GR, CY

SUBJECT: TURKISH REACTION TO GOVERNMENT CHANGE IN GREECE
FOLLOWING IS TEXT MESSAGE OF PRIMIN ECEVIT TO KARAMANLIS:

QTE: DEAR MR. PRIME MINISTER:

I CONGRATULATE YOU WITH THE WARMEST FEELINGS FOR YOUR ASSUMPTION
OF OFFICE AS PRIME MINISTER OF GREECE:

I AM CONVINCED THAT THIS HERALDS THE BEGINNING OF A NEW ERA
FOR DEMOCRACY AND FREEDOM IN OUR REGION.

FROM THE DAY IT TOOK OFFICE IT HAS BEEN THE SINCERE DESIRE OF MY
GOVERNMENT TO START A FRIENDLY DIALOGUE AND CO-COOPERATION IN ALL
FIELDS WITH OUR NEIGHBOUR AND ALLY GREECE.

I HAVE STRONG HOPES THAT, AS AN EXPERIENCED STATESMAN WHO CAN
APPRECIATE THE VALUE OF CLOSE AND HEALTHY RELATIONS BETWEEN TURKEY
AND GREECE FOR BOTH COUNTRIES AND FOR WORLD PEACE, YOU MIGHT
RESPOND TO THIS DESIRE. YOUR UNFORGETTABLE CONTRIBUTIONS TO
THE ESTABLISHMENT OF GOOD RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES
DURING YOUR PREVIOUS TERMS OF OFFICE CONFIRM MY HOPES.

I AM SURE THAT, BY PAVING THE WAY FOR A BRIGHT FUTURE FOR
BOTH NATIONS WE CAN EASILY BURY THE BITTER MEMORIES OF THE PAST.
I WISH YOU EVERY SUCCESS IN YOUR EFFORTS FOR THE WELL-BEING OF
YOUR COUNTRY.

WITH HIGHEST REGARDS,

BULENT ECEVIT

PRIME MINISTER UNQTE

MACOMBER

BT



***** * * * * * HSR COMMENT * * * * *

KENNEDY, LL--NOT SENT TO SC

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