

**The original documents are located in Box 7, folder “Cyprus Crisis (12)” of the Kissinger-Scowcroft West Wing Office Files at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.**

### **Copyright Notice**

The copyright law of the United States (Title 17, United States Code) governs the making of photocopies or other reproductions of copyrighted material. Gerald Ford donated to the United States of America his copyrights in all of his unpublished writings in National Archives collections. Works prepared by U.S. Government employees as part of their official duties are in the public domain. The copyrights to materials written by other individuals or organizations are presumed to remain with them. If you think any of the information displayed in the PDF is subject to a valid copyright claim, please contact the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.



## *Gerald R. Ford Library*

---

1000 Beal Avenue, Ann Arbor, MI 48109-2114  
[www.fordlibrarymuseum.gov](http://www.fordlibrarymuseum.gov)

### Withdrawal Sheet for Documents Declassified in Part

This folder contains a document or documents declassified in part under the Remote Archive Capture (RAC) program.

### Procedures for Initiating a Mandatory Declassification Review (MDR) Request

The still classified portions of these RAC documents are eligible for MDR. To file a request follow these steps:

1. Obtain the Presidential Libraries Mandatory Review Request Form (NA Form 14020).
2. Complete Sections I, II, and III of NA Form 14020.
3. In Section III, for each document requested, simply provide the Executive Standard Document Number (ESDN) in the Document Subject/Title or Correspondents column. The ESDN will be printed on the top and bottom of the document, and written on the declassification authority stamp, and will follow this format:

NLF-NSC\_ILCC-5-2-4-3

~~SECRET~~

VLHXZCZCSCS237

\*\*\*\*\*ZZ WTE12

DE WTE 4889 2021754

Z 211754Z JUL 74

FM THE SITUATION ROOM //TOSCO 196//

TO MCFARLANE FOR GEN. SCOWCROFT

ZEM

~~SECRET~~ WH42438

TOSCO 196

ATHENS 4716

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR GR, CY

SUBJ:CYPRUS - AMBASSADOR'S MEETING WITH PRESIDENT  
GHIZIKIS

1. I OPENED MEETING WITH PRESIDENT GHIZIKIS OF GREECE THIS MORNING BY EXPRESSING TO HIM THE DEEP APPRECIATION OF THE HIGHEST LEVELS OF THE USG FOR THE STATESMANLIKE RESTRAINT THEY WERE SHOWING IN CYPRIOT CRISIS. IN ADDITION, I SAID THEIR REACTION TO DATE WAS HELPING MATERIALLY IN IMPROVING NOTABLY ISOLATION INTO WHICH THEY HAD FALLEN AFTER COUP JULY 15. THE US AND GOG NOW ON SAME WAVE LENGTH WORKING SHOULDER TO SHOULDER TO BRING ABOUT IMMEDIATE CEASEFIRE AND PEACE ON ISLAND.
2. PRESIDENT GHIZIKIS THEN TOLD ME THAT THE TURKS WERE LANDING ADDITIONAL TROOPS IN THE KYRENIA AREA. HE SAID HE DID NOT WISH TO WASTE TIME REVIEWING THE PAST AND HE APPRECIATED ALL EFFORTS I HAVE MADE AS WELL AS USG TO HELP TO BRING ABOUT POSITIVE RESULTS. HOWEVER, THERE HAVE BEEN NO CONCRETE RESULTS TO DATE AND ALTHOUGH THE GOG HAS CONSISTENTLY MAINTAINED A POSTURE OF SEEKING TO AVOID INCREASING TENSIONS THEY HAVE IN FACT REVIEWED THEIR POSITION AND ARE NOT TAKING DECISIONS. HE REPEATED THAT SINCE 0445 HOURS THE INDISCRIMINATE BOMBING OF ALL CITIES ON THE ISLAND HAS BEEN TAKING PLACE AND FRESH TURKISH TROOPS ARE LANDING IN THE KYRENIA AREA. THE BOMBING TARGETS ARE NOT MILITARY BUT CIVILIAN AS WELL. HE THEN SAID "WHAT IS THE VALUE OF NATO "IF NONE OF OUR NATO PARTNERS ARE HELPING US AT THIS TIME"? GREECE HAS MADE A DECISION TO LEAVE NATO WHICH WILL BE ANNOUNCED AT 1000 HOURS THIS MORNING. THE PRIME MINISTER WILL GO ON RADIO AND TELEVISION AT 12 NOON TO EXPLAIN TO THE GREEK PEOPLE WHY GREECE HAS TAKEN THIS STEP. HE CONTINUED THEY WERE TAKING THIS STEP IN ORDER TO "FREE THEMSELVES" FROM THEIR CONTRACTUAL OBLIGATIONS TO NATO. ONCE THIS FREEDOM IS OBTAINED, HE CONTINUED, GREECE WILL BE FREE TO TAKE ANY DECISIONS IT DEEMS NECESSARY IN ITS NATIONAL INTEREST. THEIR HANDS WILL NO LONGER BE TIED BECAUSE THEY ARE ALLIED WITH TURKEY.
3. I SAID I THOUGHT THIS WOULD BE A GREAT MISTAKE. I REPEATED

State Review  
RC 3/31/04

By NR 3/31/11



~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

THAT THEIR POSTURE TO DATE HAD HELPED VERY MUCH IN IMPROVING THEIR IMAGE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. IT WAS NOT TRUE THAT THEY WERE ISOLATED AS SHOWN BY EFFORTS OF US AND OTHER NATO ALLIES IN THE UN AS WELL AS NATO FORUM. IN ADDITION, THE NINE EEC COUNTRIES HAD ALSO TAKEN STRONG STAND TO HELP RESTORE PEACE TO THE ISLAND. ABOVE ALL THEY SHOULD REALIZE THAT THEY REALLY DO HAVE A GREAT FRIEND IN THE UNITED STATES, AND ESPECIALLY IN PRESIDENT OF THE U.S. WE WERE NOW MARCHING SHOULDER TO SHOULDER TO TRY TO BRING ABOUT AN IMMEDIATE CEASE FIRE. HE WAS AWARE OF GREAT EFFORTS BEING MADE BY UNDERSECRETARY SISCO IN ANKARA WHO WAS NOW MEETING WITH PRIME MINISTER. I ADDED I COULD TELL HIM UNEQUIVOCABLY THAT US TAKING FIRMEST POSITION WITH THE GOT ON THE QUESTION OF A CEASE FIRE AND IT IS NOW CLEAR TO GOT THAT IT WOULD BE JEOPARDIZING MOST SERIOUSLY THEIR RELATIONS WITH THE U.S. IF THEY DID NOT REPEAT NOT COOPERATE IN THE ATTAINMENT OF AN IMMEDIATE CEASE FIRE.

4. NOTWITHSTANDING THIS, PRESIDENT SAID ALL THIS UNDERSTOOD BY GOG AT HIGHEST LEVELS, BUT ACTION HAD TO BE TAKEN IN HIGHER GREEK INTEREST. MOREOVER, AS A NATO ALLY, AND THE CLOSEST FRIEND OF GREECE, I THOUGHT HE SHOULD AT LEAST GIVE THE PRESIDENT OF THE US AND OUR SECRETARY OF STATE THE OPPORTUNITY OF BEING INFORMED IN ADVANCE AND EXPRESSING THEIR VIEWS ON THIS GRAVE STEP WHICH GOG ABOUT TO TAKE.

5. PRESIDENT GHIZIKIS SEEMED SOMEWHAT MOVED BY THIS STATEMENT. HE THEN SAID MOST HE COULD DO AT THIS TIME WAS TO POSTPONE THE HOUR OF ANNOUNCEMENT UNTIL 1100 HOURS, BUT THAT HE HOPED THAT USG COULD GIVE HIM THEIR COMMENTS EARLIER. I ASSUME HE MEANS BY THIS SOMETHING CONCRETE IN THE FORM OF A TURKISH DECISION TO COMPLY WITH THE DECISIONS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND THE MOST EARNEST PLEAS OF USG AT HIGHEST LEVELS.

TASCA  
0635  
4889

NNNN

~~SECRET~~



GU9&ZCZCSCS288  
 \*\*\*\*\*ZZ WTE12  
 DE WTE 4890 2021332  
 Z 211832Z JUL 74  
 FM THE WHITE HOUSE  
 TO MCFARLANE FOR GENERAL SCOWCROFT//TOSCO 197//  
 ZEM  
 UNCLAS WH42489  
 TOSCO 197  
 EO 11652 N/A  
 TAGS: MOPS, CY, TU, GR  
 SUBJECT: CYPRUS COUP  
 1. AT CONCLUSION OF NATIONAL DEFENSE COUNCIL MEETING A FEW  
 MINUTES AGO, PRESIDENT KORUTURK MADE FOLLOWING STATEMENT:  
 BEGIN QUOTE. I WISH THAT THE UNITED NATIONS AND ALL THE  
 INFLUENTIAL FORCES IN THE MIDDLE EAST, WHATEVER THE SITUATION  
 NOW IS IN CYPRUS, WILL SUCCEED IN TURNING THE MILITARY CLASH  
 IN CYPRUS ONTO THE NEGOTIATING TABLE. THE TURKISH REPUBLIC  
 HAS ALWAYS BEEN ON THE SIDE OF PEACE AND FOR NEGOTIATION OF  
 LOGICAL PROPOSALS NOBODY MUST DOUBT THAT. END QUOTE.  
 2. CABINET MEETING IS NOW UNDERWAY.  
 MACOMBER  
 0125  
 4890

NNNN



GK

RJCSCS289

OO WTE12

DE WTE 4891 2021836

O 211836Z JUL 74

FM THE SITUATION ROOM

TO MCFARLANE FOR GENERAL SCOWCROFT//TOSCO 198//

ZEM

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ EXCLUSIVELY EYES ONLY WH42490

TOSCO 198

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: AEMR CY

NICOSIA 1600

SUBJECT: EVACUATION PLAN FOGAMERICANS IN CYPRUS

- 1. UK HIGH COMMISSION HAS INFORMED US OF SAFE ARRIVAL AMERICAN PORTION EVACUATION CONVOY AT DHEKELIA SBA. NO INCIDNENTS EN ROUTE.
- 2. HIGH COMMISSIONER SAID BRITS NOW READY TO TURN ATTENTION TO EVACUATION I KXVJTH AND BRITISH COMMAND READY TO SEND A FRIGATE TO ESTABLISH CONTACT WITH TURKISH NAVY PREPARATORY FOR SEA LIFT WHICH WOULD INCLUDE ALL FOREIGN NATIONALS IN ARC FROM LAPITHOS THROUGH BELLAPAIS TO AYIOS AMVROSIOS. I NOTED I HAD REQUESTED R-62 TO BEGIN PLANNING FOR AIR AND SEA LIFT OFF NORTH COAST AND SUGGESTED THAT WE MIGHT POOL RESOURCES ) ACCORDINGLY, REQUEST CO TF ESTABLISH CONTACT WITH UK AUTHORITIES EPISKOPI TO ENSURE COORDINATED PLANNING.

DAVIES

0155

4891

NNNN

RC. MAR. 1974

By HR

3/31/74



~~TOP SECRET~~



4a

25X

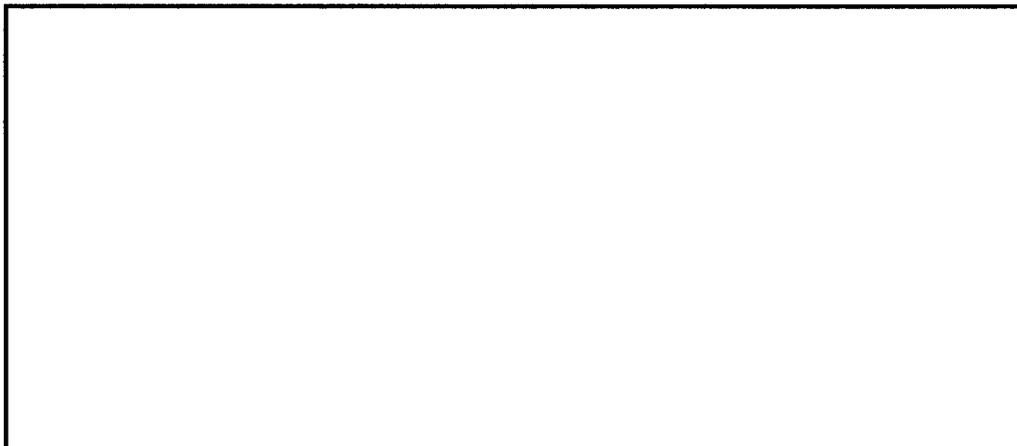
69



25X

### WARNING

This document contains classified information affecting the national security of the United States within the meaning of the espionage laws, US Code, Title 18, Sections 793, 794, and 798. The law prohibits its transmission or the revelation of its contents in any manner to an unauthorized person, as well as its use in any manner prejudicial to the safety or interest of the United States or for the benefit of any foreign government to the detriment of the United States.



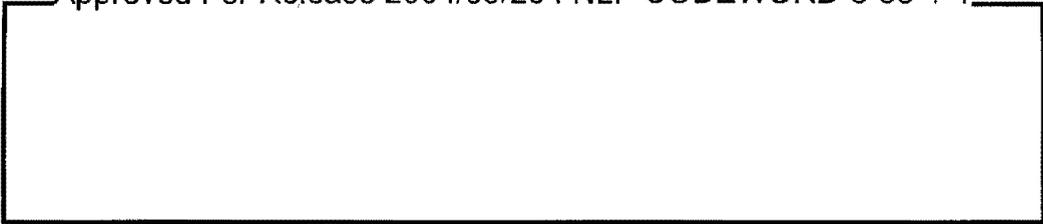
25X

DECLASSIFIED w/ portions exempted

AUTHORITY RAC NLF-CODEWORD-3-33-1-1 9/29/04  
State Guidelines  
BY slh NARA DATE 3/14/11

~~TOP SECRET~~





SC No.

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

Presidential Library Review of state Equities is Required 21, 1974

State Dept.

DECLASSIFIED w/portions exempted Guidelines

INTELLIGENCE MEMORANDUM

AUTHORITY RAC NLF-CODEWORD-3-33-1-1

BY *Wh* NARA DATE 3/14/2011 9/29/2004

CYPRUS

Situation Report Number 19  
(As of 1900 EDT)

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

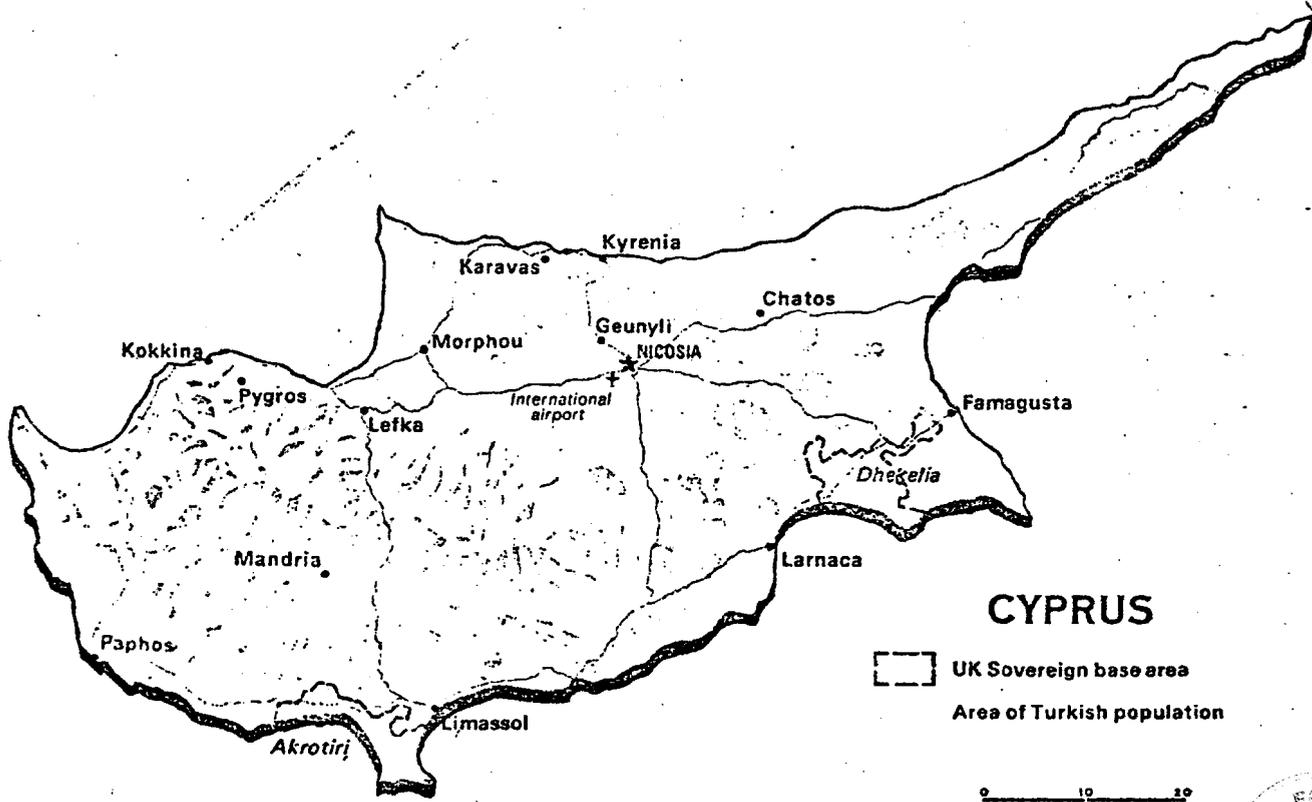
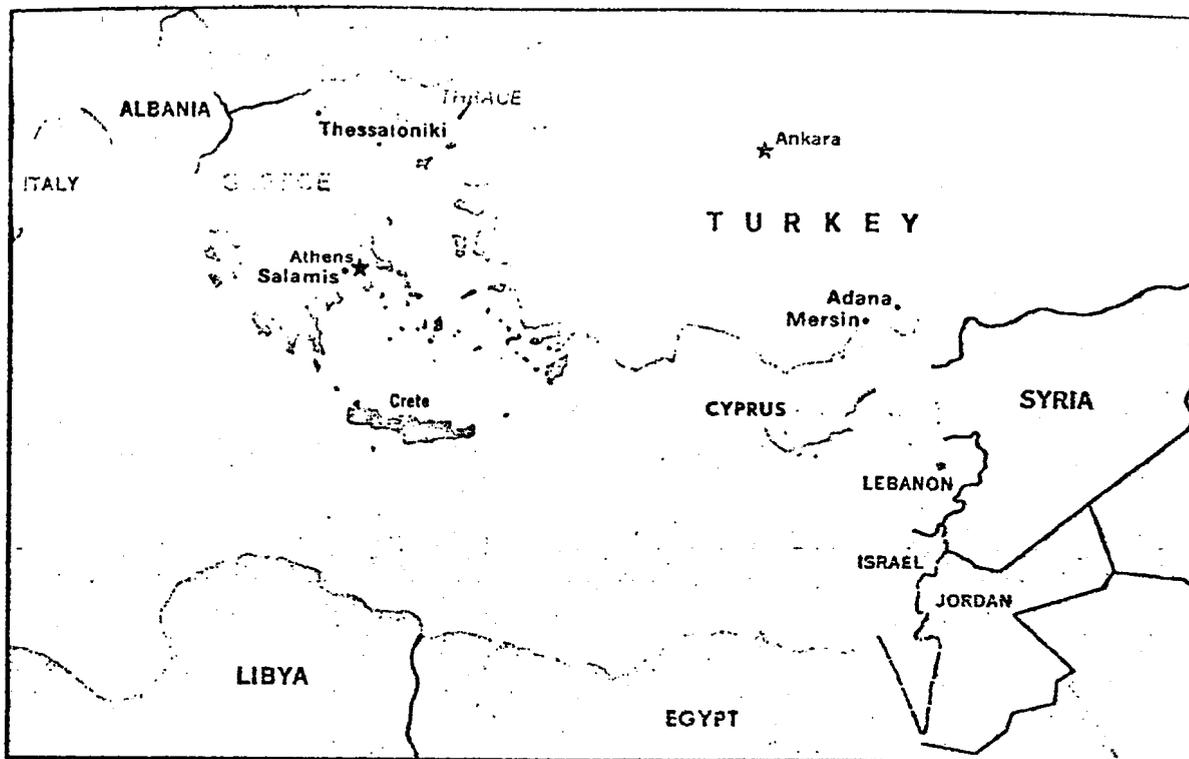
GENERAL MILITARY SITUATION

1. Turkish regular forces on Cyprus appear to have made little headway today, and have not achieved any of their major objectives on the island. Fighting around Nicosia has been relatively light this afternoon.



2. The buildup of Turkish forces on the Kyrenia beachhead seems to be going slowly. Only a limited number of Turkish tanks are known to have been landed. The Turks may have misjudged both the military capabilities of the Greek Cypriot National Guard and the ability of Turkish Cypriot enclaves to maintain their positions. Considerable fighting continues on the western edge of the beachhead near Karavas.





[REDACTED]

FIGHTING ON CYPRUS

3. Fighting continued throughout the island with Greek Cypriot forces holding the upper hand in the intercommunal fighting. They have also launched attacks against the Turkish invasion forces. There are no additional reports on the landing of Turkish paratroopers at Pyrgos on the western end of the island.

25X

4. Extensive fighting continues at Karavas at the western edge of the Turkish beachhead. [REDACTED]

25X

[REDACTED] The Turks may have left security of that part of the Kyrenian range in the hands of Turkish Cypriot units that have now come under attack.

5. In Nicosia, fighting resumed this afternoon after the convoy bearing American civilians left the city. Tank firing was reported in the vicinity of the Ledra Palace Hotel. Press reports indicate that 380 civilians from the hotel were rescued by UN forces late today. Greek Cypriot National Guard troops still appear to control the international airport at Nicosia.

6. In the intercommunal fighting, Turkish forces in Larnaca have surrendered and are under guard by UN troops. The National Guard has demanded, however, that the Turks be handed over to them. Paphos on the west coast apparently has fallen to the Greeks, despite Turkish air strikes during the day.

25X

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Turkish positions on the road have been under artillery fire by the Greek Cypriot National Guard since late yesterday.



25X

MILITARY ACTIVITIES ON THE MAINLAND

8. There is little additional information on the buildup of Greek-Turkish forces in Thrace. Press reports indicate that major Greek troop reinforcements continued toward the frontier throughout the day, but that the border itself was calm. Civilian traffic reportedly crossed normally between the two countries with formalities at a minimum.

9. Turkish authorities have ordered stricter enforcement of the blackout tonight. All public gathering places, including restaurants that were allowed to stay open last night, were ordered closed.

CEASE-FIRE

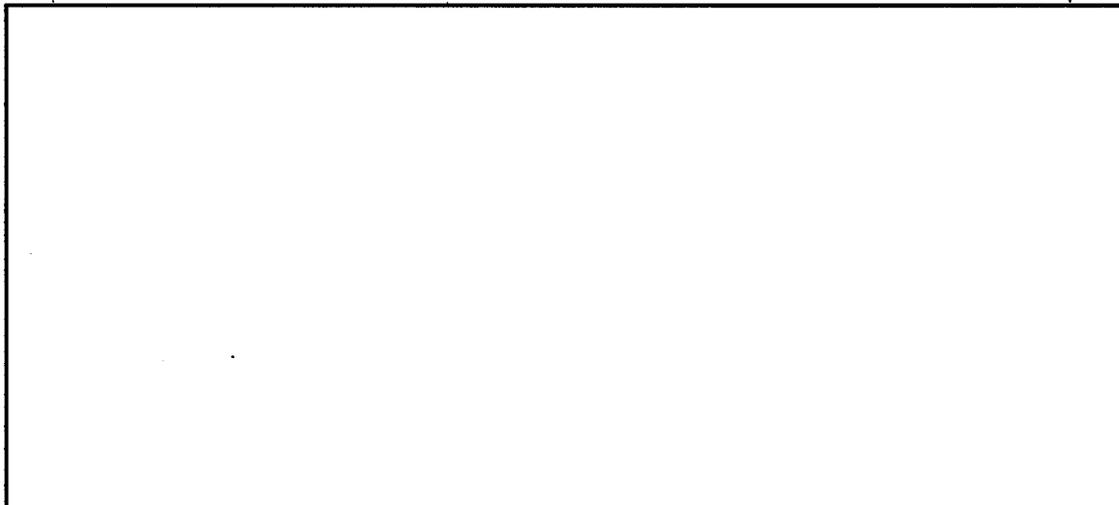
10. According to the chief of the Greek raiding forces, the full war council, with General Bonanos and Ioannidis present, met early this evening. They were presumably discussing the latest Turkish cease-fire proposals conveyed to Prime Minister Androutsopoulos by Secretary Sisco.

11. The new Cypriot Foreign Minister has told the US Government that Nicosia would be willing to discuss a cease-fire, but only "with honor." He insisted that the Sampson government had to be represented at any cease-fire talks or the talks would be pointless, and that the exclusion of the Greek Cypriot government would be an insult. These views apparently were the foreign minister's own. He said he had not seen Sampson or other government leaders recently and had only spoken with Sampson a few times by telephone.

12. Athens has accepted the UN Security Council resolution calling for a cease-fire in Cyprus, and has requested an urgent Council session to deal with alleged Turkish atrocities on the island. The decision was delivered in a letter to the President of the Security Council from the Greek UN representative.

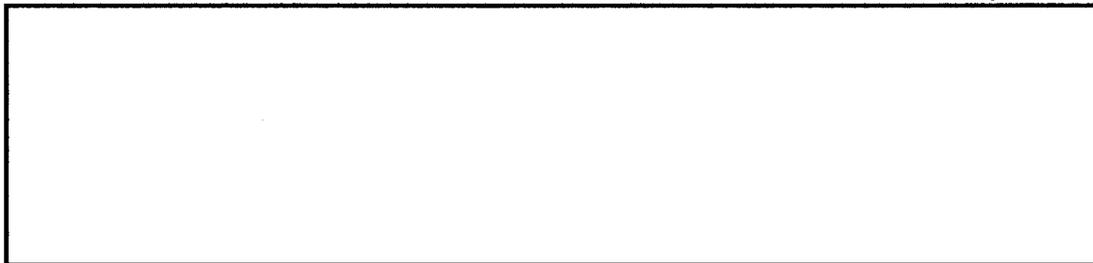


GREEK POLITICAL



25X

closer and easier to manage in a bilateral framework. Other proponents of this plan are arguing that Egypt is not doing badly in its relations with the US despite its non-aligned status.



25X

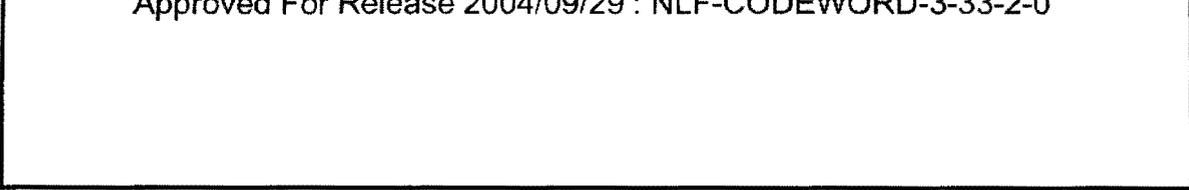
SOVIET POLITICAL ACTIVITIES

15. In his meeting with the Turkish Ambassador today, Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko was sympathetic to the invasion, but he also registered Soviet concerns about Ankara's future intentions. The Turk told Ambassador Stoessel that Gromyko had sought clarification of Ankara's attitude toward partition. Gromyko also questioned the Turkish envoy about Ankara's attitudes toward eventual withdrawal of Turkish troops.



25X

4/6



25X1

Presidential Library Review of state Equities is Required

**CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY**  
July 21, 1974

**INTELLIGENCE MEMORANDUM**

**CYPRUS**

Situation Report Number 19  
(As of 1900 EDT)

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

**GENERAL MILITARY SITUATION**

1. Turkish regular forces on Cyprus appear to have made little headway today, and have not achieved any of their major objectives on the island. Fighting around Nicosia has

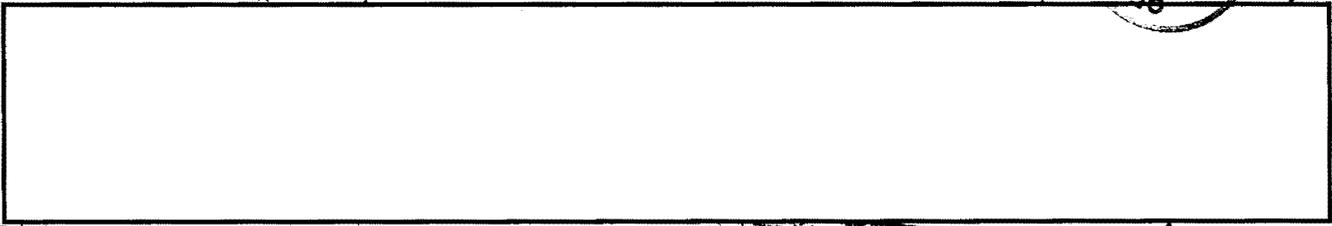


25X1

2. The buildup of Turkish forces on the Kyrenia beachhead seems to be going slowly. Only a limited number of Turkish tanks are known to have been landed. The Turks may have misjudged both the military capabilities of the Greek Cypriot National Guard and the ability of Turkish Cypriot enclaves to maintain their positions. Considerable fighting continues on the western edge of the beachhead near Karavas.



25X1



DECLASSIFIED w/portions exempted State Dept. Guidelines  
AUTHORITY RAC NLF-CODEWORD-3-33-2-0 9/29/2004  
BY MLD NARA DATE 3/14/2011

FIGHTING ON CYPRUS

3. Fighting continued throughout the island with Greek Cypriot forces holding the upper hand in the intercommunal fighting. They have also launched attacks against the Turkish invasion forces. There are no additional reports on the landing of Turkish paratroopers at Pyrgos on the western end of the island.

25X1

4. Extensive fighting continues at Karavas at the western edge of the [redacted]

25X1

[redacted] may have left security of that part of the Kyrenian range in the hands of Turkish Cypriot units that have now come under attack.

5. In Nicosia, fighting resumed this afternoon after the convoy bearing American civilians left the city. Tank firing was reported in the vicinity of the Ledra Palace Hotel. Press reports indicate that 380 civilians from the hotel were rescued by UN forces late today. Greek Cypriot National Guard troops still appear to control the international airport at Nicosia.

6. In the intercommunal fighting, Turkish forces in Larnaca have surrendered and are under guard by UN troops. The National Guard has demanded, however, that the Turks be handed over to them. Paphos on the west coast apparently has fallen to the Greeks, despite Turkish air strikes during the day.

25X1

[redacted] Turkish positions on the road have been under artillery fire by the Greek Cypriot National Guard since late yesterday.



25X1

MILITARY ACTIVITIES ON THE MAINLAND

8. There is little additional information on the buildup of Greek-Turkish forces in Thrace. Press reports indicate that major Greek troop reinforcements continued toward the frontier throughout the day, but that the border itself was calm. Civilian traffic reportedly crossed normally between the two countries with formalities at a minimum.

9. Turkish authorities have ordered stricter enforcement of the blackout tonight. All public gathering places, including restaurants that were allowed to stay open last night, were ordered closed.

CEASE-FIRE

10. According to the chief of the Greek raiding forces, the full war council, with General Bonanos and Ioannidia present, met early this evening. They were presumably discussing the latest Turkish cease-fire proposals conveyed to Prime Minister Androutsopoulos by Secretary Sisco.

11. The new Cypriot Foreign Minister has told the US Government that Nicosia would be willing to discuss a cease-fire, but only "with honor." He insisted that the Sampson government had to be represented at any cease-fire talks or the talks would be pointless, and that the exclusion of the Greek Cypriot government would be an insult. These views apparently were the foreign minister's own. He said he had not seen Sampson or other government leaders recently and had only spoken with Sampson a few times by telephone.

12. Athens has accepted the UN Security Council resolution calling for a cease-fire in Cyprus, and has requested an urgent Council session to deal with alleged Turkish atrocities on the island. The decision was delivered in a letter to the President of the Security Council from the Greek UN representative.



GREEK POLITICAL

closer and easier to manage in a bilateral framework. Other proponents of this plan are arguing that Egypt is not doing badly in its relations with the US despite its non-aligned status.

SOVIET POLITICAL ACTIVITIES

15. In his meeting with the Turkish Ambassador today, Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko was sympathetic to the invasion, but he also registered Soviet concerns about Ankara's future intentions. The Turk told Ambassador Stoessel that Gromyko had sought clarification of Ankara's attitude toward partition. Gromyko also questioned the Turkish envoy about Ankara's attitudes toward eventual withdrawal of Turkish troops.

In addition, he asked about Ankara's attitude toward returning Makarios to power and was less than fully satisfied by the Ambassador's evasive answer. Gromyko was particularly hard on the Greeks and argued that the coup was tantamount to anosis.

16. The Soviets are keeping in close touch with Makarios in New York. Reliable sources indicate that the Soviet acting UN representative, Safronchuk, sought to meet with the Archbishop when he arrived in New York Thursday, and a Soviet official planned to meet with him today. The Soviets kept in close touch with the Cypriot delegation during yesterday's deliberations on the UN Security Council resolution calling for a cease-fire.

SOVIET NAVAL ACTIVITY IN THE MEDITERRANEAN



25X1

[REDACTED]

In addition, he asked about Ankara's attitude toward returning Makarios to power and was less than fully satisfied by the Ambassador's evasive answer. Gromyko was particularly hard on the Greeks and argued that the coup was tantamount to enosis.

16. The Soviets are keeping in close touch with Makarios in New York. Reliable sources indicate that the Soviet acting UN representative, Safronchuk, sought to meet with the Archbishop when he arrived in New York Thursday, and a Soviet official planned to meet with him today. The Soviets kept in close touch with the Cypriot delegation during yesterday's deliberations on the UN Security Council resolution calling for a cease-fire.

SOVIET NAVAL ACTIVITY IN THE MEDITERRANEAN

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]



[REDACTED]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

EXCLUS<sup>IVE</sup> EYES ONLY

5

YGGFCVCSHZPNTJRCPHBU.ZCZCSCS290  
00 WTE12  
DE WTE 4892 2021924  
O 211924Z JUL 74  
FM THE SITUATION ROOM  
TO MCFARLANE FOR GENERAL SCOWCROFT//TOSCO 199//  
ZEM

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ EXCLUSIVELY EYES ONLY WH42491  
TOSCO 199

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PINT, PFOR, CY, TU, GR, NATO  
USNATO 4020

SUBJ: CYPRUS: LUNS CONVENES CYPRUS GROUP MEETING

1. SYG LUNS CONVENED A MEETING OF THE CYPRUS GROUP AT 12:00, JULY 21, USUAL PARTICIPANTS PRESENT: LUNS, RUMSFELD, DE STAERCKE, LOGAN, KASTL, AND VAN CAMPEN. U.S. GAVE GENERAL BRIEFING ON INFORMATION AVAILABLE TO HIM AT THAT TIME, STRESSING IMPORTANCE OF ACHIEVING AN IMMEDIATE CEASE FIRE AND COMMENTING ON RESTRAINT CURRENTLY BEING SHOWN BY GREEK AUTHORITIES. RUMSFELD CONCLUDED BY SAYING THAT HE FELT AN OBLIGATION TO KEEP SYG LUNS INFORMED AND THUS ASSIST LUNS IN KEEPING OTHER ALLIES, NOT INCLUDING GREEKS AND TURKS, GENERALLY IN THE PICTURE WITHOUT, OF COURSE, PROVIDING THEM WITH SENSITIVE INFORMATION. FURTHER, RUMSFELD INQUIRED WHETHER IT WOULD NOT BE DESIRABLE FOR LUNS TO TALK WITH THE GREEKS AND TURKS ABOUT A CEASE FIRE. RUMSFELD THOUGHT A COUNCIL MEETING AT THIS TIME WOULD NOT BE DESIRABLE. RUMSFELD THOUGHT IT WAS POSSIBLE THAT THE CHAIRMAN OF THE MILITARY COMMITTEE MIGHT BE HELPFUL IN DISSUADING GREEK MILITARY FROM WITHDRAWING PERSONNEL FROM SHAPE (SEE SEPTEL).

2. RUMSFELD URGED THAT THE MEMBERS OF THE CYPRUS GROUP STAY IN CLOSE TOUCH AND CONSIDER IT PART OF THEIR RESPONSIBILITIES TO KEEP THE OTHER ALLIES EXCEPT GREECE AND TURKEY GENERALLY INFORMED, AMONG OTHER THINGS TO HELP HOLD THE ALLIANCE TOGETHER DURING THIS CRITICAL PERIOD. HE MENTIONED THAT USNATO IS OPERATING A 24-HOUR A DAY SITUATION CENTER AND THAT MEMBERS OF THE CYPRUS GROUP COULD CALL THERE AT ANY TIME. HE SUGGESTED AND LUNS AGREED, THAT ASSISTANT SYG KASTL MIGHT CONVENE A MEETING OF DELEGATIONS, EXCEPT FOR GREEKS AND TURKS, TO GENERALLY UP-DATE THEM ON RECENT DEVELOPMENTS.

3. SYG LUNS AGREED TO TALK TO GREEKS AND TURKS, URGING CEASE FIRE, AND ALSO TO SEND A MESSAGE TO ATHENS AND ANKARA. TEXT OF THE LUNS MESSAGE GIVEN TO GREEK AND TURKISH DELEGATIONS AT 1:00 P.. IS AS FOLLOWS:  
BEGIN TEXT. FURTHER TO MY MESSAGE OF 20 JULY I AGAIN APPEAL TO YOU IN ORDER THAT YOUR GOVERNMENT GIVE A POSITIVE REACTION TO THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION OF THE SAME DATE FOR A CEASE-FIRE AND OTHER RELATED MEASURES. IN THIS RESPECT IT WOULD SEEM NECESSARY, IN ORDER TO ARRIVE AT SUCH A CEASE-FIRE, TO COORDINATE THE TIME FACTOR SO AS TO ALLOW

END OF PAGE 01

EO 1.3  
By LR 3/31/11

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

EXCLUSIVE EYES ONLY



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

EXCLUSIVE EYES ONLY

BOTH SIDES TO BE ABLE TO CONCLUDE THE NECESSARY ARRANGEMENTS. I AGAIN MAY IMPRESS UPON YOU THE GRAVE DANGERS OF CONTINUING HOSTILITIES WHICH MIGHT HAVE DISASTROUS CONSEQUENCES FOR THE WHOLE AREA. I HAVE SENT THE SAME MESSAGE TO THE TURKISH/HELLENIC GOVERNMENT.

4. LUNS ASKED THAT COPIES OF HIS MESSAGES BE TRANSMITTED TO UK AND US EMBASSIES IN ANKARA AND ATHENS, IN EVENT THERE WAS ANY DELAY IN HIS MESSAGES BEING TRANSMITTED. RUMSFELD

0500

4392

NNNN



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

EXCLUSIVE EYES ONLY

~~SECRET SENSITIVE~~

EXCLUSIVE EYES ONLY

68  
15

21 JUL 74Z 21 005905



Department of State

TELEGRAM

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CA0338

PAGE 01 ATHENS 04747 212100Z

BT

ACTION CCO-00

INFO OCT-01 PASS-00 7001 W

071378

Z 212035Z JUL 74 ZFFA  
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC FLASH 432R  
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA FLASH  
AMEMBASSY LONDON FLASH  
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA FLASH  
USMISSION NATO FLASH

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ ATHENS 4747

EXDIS DISTRIBUTE AS NOTIS

POLTO 46

FOR SECRETARY FROM SISCO  
E.O. 11652: COS  
TAGS: OVIP (JOSEPH J. SISCO)  
SUBJ: MEETING WITH GENERAL BONANOS

I HAVE JUST BEEN CALLED TO GREEK PENTAGON TO SEE  
GENERAL BONANOS TO DISCUSS LAST PROPOSAL. SISCO

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
By HR 3/31/11 ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~SECRET SENSITIVE~~

EXCLUSIVE EYES ONLY

NOT TO BE REPRODUCED WITHOUT THE AUTHORIZATION OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRET

~~SECRET SENSITIVE~~

EXCLUSIVE EYES ONLY

15

60



Department of State

TELEGRAM

21 JUL 74 20 14

005898

~~SECRET~~

CA0322

PAGE 01 ATHENS 04746 212006Z

07

ACTION CCO-00

INFO OCT-01 PASS-00 /001 W

071220

R 211930Z JUL 74  
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC FLASH 4327  
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA FLASH  
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA FLASH  
AMEMBASSY LONDON FLASH  
USMISSION USIIN FLASH  
USMISSION NATO FLASH

~~SECRET~~ ATHENS 4746

*State Review*  
EO 313104

By *HR*

3/31/11

EXDIS (DISTRIBUTE AS NODIS)

FOR SECRETARY FROM SISCO

POLTO 45

1. SUMMARY. I SAW PM ANDROUTSOPOULOS AND ACTING FM KYPREOS AS YOU ASKED IN YOUR TELEPHONE CALL. IT WAS A VERY EMOTIONAL MEETING AND AFTER MY STRONG APPEAL PM AGREED TO PRESENT THE NEW IDEA ON CEASEFIRE TO A MEETING OF TOP LEVEL GREEK LEADERS WHICH ABOUT TO BEGIN. HE WAS CLEARLY UNIMPRESSED BY NEW CEASEFIRE IDEA, BUT APPEARED MOVED BY MY ARGUMENT THAT DESPITE TURKISH ADVANCES IN CYPRUS IT IS GREECE THAT IS REALLY WINNING, SINCE IT CONTINUES TO HAVE U.S. ON ITS SIDE, THE BC APPEAL IS DIRECTED AT TURKEY, AS IS THE EUROPEAN APPEAL. END SUMMARY.

2. I OPENED MEETING BY ASKING PM TO CONFIRM WHAT HE HAD HEARD FROM YOU ABOUT NEW CEASEFIRE PROPOSAL. HE REPLIED THAT WHAT HE HAD HEARD COULD NOT BE TERMED A PROPOSAL. HE THEN DESCRIBED SERIES OF WHAT HAD APPEARED TO BE EARLIER US AGREEMENTS WITH TURKEY IN WHICH LATTER WOULD ACCEPT CEASEFIRE. FIRST SECRETARY KISSINGER HAD CALLED TO SAY THAT IF GREEK SHIPS STOP MOVING TOWARD CYPRUS TURKEY WILL ACCEPT CEASEFIRE. GREEK SHIPS HAD TURNED AROUND. THEN I



~~SECRET SENSITIVE~~

EXCLUSIVE EYES ONLY

~~SECRET~~

NOT TO BE REPRODUCED WITHOUT THE AUTHORIZATION OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY



Department of State

TELEGRAM

~~SECRET~~

PAGE 02 ATHENS 04746 212008Z

SUGGESTED CEASEFIRE BE SET FOR 3:00. GREECE AGREED. THEN I HAD SAID ECEVIT ENCOUNTERING SOME PROBLEMS AND WOULD NEED TO MEET AT 4:00 WITH HIS COUNCIL OF MINISTERS. THEN PM WAS TOLD THAT "ROUTINE" NSC AND CABINET APPROVAL WERE REQUIRED. NOW AN ENTIRELY NEW IDEA WAS PUT BEFORE US. PM WAS VERY EMOTIONAL.

3. I TOLD HIM HE MUST BELIEVE IN THE U.S. AT NO TIME HAVE WE TRIED TO DECEIVE GREECE OR PLAY GAMES. WHETHER TURKS PLAYING GAMES WITH US, I HAVE MY OWN IDEAS. I INDICATED THAT I SUGGESTED CEASEFIRE AT 3:00 P.M. BECAUSE THEY TOLD ME THIS MORNING THAT THEY WANTED IT RIGHT AWAY AS SOON AS SHIPS STOPPED. I THEN SHOWED HIM HANDWRITTEN COPY FROM PM ECEVIT OF THE PROPOSAL WHICH WAS GIVEN TO ME THIS MORNING IN ANKARA (POLTO 40). I READ IT ALOUD STRESSING ECEVIT STATEMENT THAT "AS SOON AS USG GIVES US COMMITMENT THAT GREECE SHALL HONOR AND APPLY THE CEASEFIRE I WILL CONVENE THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS TO REACH A DECISION ON THIS MEETING. I HAVE NO REASON TO BELIEVE THAT THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS SHOULD NOT ACCEPT MY PROPOSAL." I TOLD HIM THAT GREECE HAS BEEN HONEST THROUGHOUT THIS CRISIS, THAT THEY HAVE GIVEN THEIR WORD AND KEPT IT WHEREAS TURKEY CLEARLY HAS NOT KEPT ITS WORD. WHAT HAS GREECE LOST? PEOPLE ARE BEING KILLED AND WOUNDED ON CYPRUS. WHAT HAS GREECE WON? THE SECURITY COUNCIL IS CRITICIZING TURKEY NOT GREECE. THE SAME IS TRUE OF NATO AND THE COMMON MARKET. THE U.S. IS STILL WITH YOU. WE ARE MORE WITH YOU THAN EVER. ONLY THE RUSSIANS ARE WITH TURKEY. THEY WANT WAR BETWEEN GREECE AND TURKEY. WE HAVE BEEN HONEST AND YOU HAVE BEEN HONEST. I DO NOT WANT YOU TO THINK WE HAVE BEEN IN COLLUSION WITH THE TURKS. I URGE YOU TO CONTINUE TO SHOW RESTRAINT AND ACCEPT THE NEW IDEA WHICH WAS PRESENTED TO YOU BY SECRETARY KISSINGER.

4. THE PM REPLIED BY QUOTING ABRAHAM LINCOLN THAT THE IMPORTANT THING IS NOT WHETHER GOD IS ON MY SIDE BUT WHETHER I AM ON GOD'S SIDE. HE SAID IN EMOTION SHAKEN VOICE: "WE MUST DECIDE WHAT WE MUST DO, WE ARE ON GOD'S SIDE."

5. I URGED HIM AGAIN NOT TO DISMISS THE IOFA WHICH HAD BEEN

~~SECRET SENSITIVE~~

~~SECRET~~

EXCLUSIVE EYES ONLY



NOT TO BE REPRODUCED WITHOUT THE AUTHORIZATION OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY



~~SECRET SENSITIVE~~

~~EXCLUSIVE EYES ONLY~~

Department of State

TELEGRAM

~~SECRET~~

PAGE 03 ATHENS 04746 212000Z

BUT TO HIM, I SAID IF GREECE WANTED THE U.S. TO BE PRESENT WE WOULD BE AT THE MEETING BETWEEN GREECE AND TURKISH REPRESENTATIVES PROPOSED FOR 0800 TOMORROW MORNING. I OFFERED TO TAKE GREEK DELEGATION TO WHATEVER MEETING SPOT THEY PREFERRED IN MY PLANE. I OFFERED A US APPEAL. "YOU CAN SAY YOU ARE RESPONDING AFFIRMATIVELY BECAUSE IT IS YOUR FRIEND, THE U.S. THAT IS APPEALING TO YOU, AND FOR THAT REASON ALONE."

6. I POINTED OUT THAT NIGHT IS NOW AT HAND AND THE KILLING IS ALMOST STOPPED. FOR THAT REASON, THEREFORE THERE IS LITTLE TO LOSE BY WAITING ANOTHER TWELVE HOURS FOR A CEASEFIRE. I SAID AGAIN GREECE HAS NOT LOST. AMBASSADOR TASCA ADDED OBSERVATION THAT U.S. LOST MANY MEN IN WORLD WAR II BUT CAME OUT AHEAD AT THE END. PM REPLIED THAT HE HAD LEARNED ONE SHOULD NOT PROMISE WHAT ONE CANNOT DO. I URGED HIM TO DO HIS BEST TO PERSUADE GREEK LEADERS TO ACCEPT THIS IDEA AND SAID AGAIN THAT USG WOULD BE PREPARED TO MAKE PUBLIC APPEAL FOR ACCEPTANCE OF THIS IDEA IF THAT WOULD MAKE IT EASIER FOR GREECE TO ACCEPT. HE PROMISED TO INFORM ME OF GREEK DECISION.

7. COMMENT: THE PM AND FM, WHO ARE DECENT MEN, SEEM TEMPTED, BUT HOW THE MILITARY WILL REACT IS ANOTHER MATTER. SISCO

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET SENSITIVE~~

~~EXCLUSIVE EYES ONLY~~

NOT TO BE REPRODUCED WITHOUT THE AUTHORIZATION OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

EXCLUSIVE EYES ON

8

OC HZCZCSCS292  
OO WTE12  
DE WTE 4393 2022146  
O 212146Z JUL 74  
FM THE SITUATION ROOM//TOSCO 207//  
TO MCFARLANE FOR GENERAL SCOWCROFT  
ZEM

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ EXCLUSIVELY EYES ONLY WH42492

TOSCO 207

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: AEMR CY

SUBJECT: EVACUATION PLAN FOR AMERICANS IN CYPRUS

1. UK HIGH COMMISSION HAS INFORMED US OF SAFE ARRIVAL AMERICAN PORTION EVACUATION CONVOY AT DHEKELIA SBA. NO INCIDENTS EN ROUTE.

2. HIGH COMMISSIONER SAID BRITISH

NOW READY TO TURN ATTENTION TO

EVACUATION IN NORTH AND BRITISH COMMAND READY TO SEND A FRIGATE TO ESTABLISH CONTACT WITH TURKISH NAVY PREPARATORY FOR SEA LIFT WHICH WOULD INCLUDE ALL FOREIGN NATIONALS IN ARC FROM LAPITHOS THROUGH BELLAPAI TO AYIOS AMVROSIOS. I NOTED I HAD REQUESTED TF-62 TO BEGIN PLANNING FOR AIR AND SEA LIFT OFF NORTH COAST AND SUGGESTED THAT WE MIGHT POOL RESOURCES. ACCORDINGLY, REQUEST CO TF ESTABLISH CONTACT WITH UK AUTHORITIES EPISKOPI TO ENSURE COORDINATED PLANNING

DAVIES

0163

4393

NNNN

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

EXCLUSIVE EYES ONLY

NO. 1000  
HR 3/31/11



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

\*\*\*\*\*CONFIDENTIAL\*\*\*\*\* COPY

9

PRIORITY /ROUTINE  
ESA022AAA963  
DE RUQMAT #4751 2022300  
P R 212250Z JUL 74  
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4331

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA 3317  
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA 2763  
AMCONSUL ISTANBUL 776  
ZEN/AMCONSUL THESSALONIKI 973

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ ATHENS 4751

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PINS, GR  
SUBJECT: STATUS REPORT ON ACTIVITIES IN ATHENS AS OF  
2300 JUL 21

1. MOBILIZATION AND SECURITY - MOBILIZATION OF GREEK RESERVISTS AND OTHER ELIGIBLE MEN (WHICH INCLUDES NEARLY THE ENTIRE MALE POPULATION BETWEEN THE AGES OF 20-50) IS PROCEEDING AND WILL REACH ITS PEAK OF READINESS BY 1000 JULY 22. (MOBILIZATION COMMENCED ABOUT NOON JULY 20 AND REQUIRES ABOUT 48 HOURS.) THERE ARE REPORTS THAT SOME MOBILIZED MEN, PRESUMABLY SUPERNUMERARY, HAVE ALREADY RETURNED TO THEIR HOMES. GREEK MEN IN FIRST AND SECOND CATEGORIES HAVE BEEN INDUCTED; THIRD CATEGORY HAS HAD ONLY TO REPORT. (CATEGORIES RESPECTIVELY ARE 1) DISCHARGED PAST 24 MONTHS; 2) 24-48 MONTHS AND 3) BEYOND 48 MONTHS.) TRUCKS AND BUSES CARRYING MEN TO INDUCTION CENTERS ARE NUMEROUS THROUGHOUT THE CITY; OFTEN THE MEN ARE SINGING OR WAVING. ACCORDING TO THE LOCAL REUTERS REPORTER FLOWERS AND LAUREL HAVE BEEN DECKED ON ARMY TRUCKS AND ON TANKS IN ONE NORTHERN CITY. SECURITY MEASURES HAVE INCREASED IN THE CITY; POLICE GUARDS HAVE DOUBLED AT THE PRESIDENTIAL PALACE (OLD PARLIAMENT BUILDING), NUMEROUS POLICE ARE PRESENT AT CONSTITUTION SQUARE AND OTHER PUBLIC GATHERING CENTERS, AND REGULAR POLICE AT ALL EMBASSIES HAVE INCREASED. AIRPORTS AND SEAPORTS ARE SHUTDOWN. TRAINS ARE OPERATING, INCLUDING THOSE DESTINED FOR YUGOSLAVIA AND POINTS NORTH, INTER-ISLAND FERRIES ARE NO LONGER OPERATING REGULARLY, AND URBAN BUSES ARE EXPECTED TO BE



DECLASSIFIED

EO 12958, 12958-2, 12958-3

HR 3/31/11

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PSN:056354

RECALLED  
PAGE 01

TOR:203700:23Z DTG:212250Z JUL 74

\*\*\*\*\*CONFIDENTIAL\*\*\*\*\* COPY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ON REDUCED OPERATION JULY 22.

2. CITY ACTIVITIES - ALL BANKS WERE CLOSED EARLY IN AFTERNOON JULY 20 TO PREVENT A RUN ON ACCOUNTS BAKERIES AND FOODSTORES WERE BUSY, AND STOCKS OF STAPLES DEPLETED. GASOLINE STATIONS HAVE BEEN ORDERED TO CLOSE JULY 22; ONLY A FEW WERE OPEN TODAY. THEATERS HAVE BEEN ORDERED TO SHUT DOWN. RESTAURANTS ARE EITHER CLOSED BECAUSE OF LACK OF PERSONNEL OR EMPTY OF USUAL GREEK PATRONS. THOSE CATERING TO TOURISTS ARE BUSY. TOURISTS ARE VERY EVIDENT IN CITY AND BECOMING MORE AND MORE ANXIOUS AS THEIR FUNDS ARE DEPLETED AND THEIR DEPARTURE PLANS DEFERRED. OUR CONSULAR SECTION HAS REGISTERED ABOUT 5,000 AMERICAN TOURISTS. THE USUALLY BOISTEROUS PLAKA IS SILENT AT NIGHT. ATHENS AND THESSALONIKI STREETS SEEM CALM, UNUSUALLY SO IN SOME NEIGHBORHOODS, AND DOWNTOWN SUNDAY STROLLING AND TRAFFIC ARE NOT QUITE UP TO NORMAL LEVELS. THE ONLY TOPIC OF CONVERSATION IS THE GENERAL MOBILIZATION TO MEET THE CRISIS IN CYPRUS. THE EMOTIONAL REACTION AGAINST THE TURKS HAS INCREASED. NO OBVIOUS SIGN OF ANTI-AMERICANISM HAVE APPEARED. SOME GREEKS HAVE CONVEYED TO EMBASSY OFFICERS THEIR CONVICTION THAT THE U.S. EFFORTS WILL BRING ABOUT A SOLUTION. GREEK EX-POLITICAL FIGURES, INCLUDING FOUR FORMER PREMIERS HAVE MADE PATRIOTIC STATEMENTS APPEALING FOR NATIONAL UNITY. WHILE FORMER MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT ALONG WITH NUMEROUS EXILED GREEKS AND OVERSEAS WORKERS HAVE VOLUNTEERED FOR MILITARY SERVICE AGAINST THE TURKS. ON THE OTHER HAND, SOME GREEKS HAVE PRIVATELY EXPRESSED ON THE CYPRIOT ISSUE AND UNDER THE PRESENT REGIME.

3. PRESS AND MEDIA TREATMENT. PRESS IS PUBLISHING ONLY GOVERNMENT-APPROVED STATEMENTS AND PROCLAMATIONS. GOVERNMENT-CONTROLLED RADIO AND TELEVISION HAVE SHIFTED FROM EXHORTATIVE, MARTIAL PRESENTATION TO CALMER TONE IN NEWS AND COMMENTARY PROGRAMS. FREQUENT REFERENCE TO AND STREE ON INTERNATIONAL CALLS FOR CEASEFIRE (BRANT, UN, EEC, POPE, ETC.) SEEM TO INDICATE THAT PUBLIC IS BEING PREPARED FOR EVENTUAL ANNOUNCEMENT OF GREECE'S ACCEPTANCE OF CEASEFIRE PROPOSAL. LOCAL CORRESPONDENTS CONTINUE TO EXCHANGE RUMORS OF POSSIBLE CHANGES IN GOVERNMENT.

4. ALL IN ALL, AS OF THIS MOMENT THE SITUATION SEEMS ABOUT WHAT ONE WOULD EXPECT IN A GROWINGLY TENSE ATMOSPHERE. DOWNTOWN ATHENS IS EXTEEMELY QUIET, BUT A VERY LARGE NUMBER OF ARMED POLICE ARE IN EVIDENCE IN OMONIA AND SYNTAGMA SQUARES WITH SMALLER GROUPS OF POLICE STATIONED IN STRATEGIC SPOTS ON SIDESTREETS. APPARENTLY THE GOVERNMENT WANTS TO GIVE THE APPEARANCE OF READINESS FOR ANY EVENTUALITY.

TASCA

RECALLED  
PAGE 02

PSN:056354

TOR:203/00:23Z

DTG:212250Z JUL 74

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION  
Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

WITHDRAWAL ID 034953

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL . . . . ÇNational security restriction

TYPE OF MATERIAL . . . . . ÇReport

DESCRIPTION . . . . . re Cyprus Situation

CREATION DATE . . . . . 07/21/1974

VOLUME . . . . . 4 pages

COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 033200178

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

BOX NUMBER . . . . . 7

FOLDER TITLE . . . . . Cyprus Crisis (12)

DATE WITHDRAWN . . . . . 08/29/2011

WITHDRAWING ARCHIVIST . . . . HJR

NOON  
S  
NOON  
S  
NOON  
S  
NOON  
S



21 JUL 74  
Department of State

005912  
TELEGRAM

~~SECRET~~ CA0351

PAGE 01 STATE 158084

01  
ORIGIN CCO-00

INFO OCT-01 PASS-00 /001 R

DRAFTED BY EUR:AHARTMAN  
APPROVED BY EUR:AHARTMAN  
S/S: P. P. SARROS

071886

Z 212309Z JUL 74 ZFFS  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO AMEMBASSY ANKARA FLASH  
INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS FLASH

~~SECRET~~ STATE 158084

EXDIS DISTRIBUTE AS NOOIS TOPOL 65

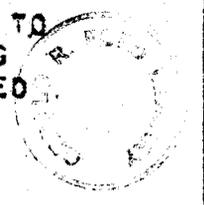
R.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR, CY, TU, GRK  
SUBJECT: CYPRUS: PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE TO KORUTURK

PLEASE DELIVER IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM THE  
PRESIDENT TO THE PRESIDENT OF TURKEY KORUTURK:

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

I HAVE REVIEWED THE DISCUSSIONS OF THE LAST SEVERAL DAYS  
AND I HAVE REACHED THE CONCLUSION THAT THE SITUATION IN  
CYPRUS IN THE ABSENCE OF A CEASE-FIRE IS JEOPARDIZING  
THE SECURITY OF THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN AND OF OUR  
ALLIANCE.

PARAGRAPH 2 OF THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL  
RESOLUTION CALLS UPON ALL PARTIES TO CEASE FIRE AND TO  
EXERCISE THE UTMOST RESTRAINT. THE SITUATION HAS  
BECOME SO SERIOUS THAT I BELIEVE WE CAN NO LONGER DELAY  
ACTION TO END THIS CONFLICT. I THEREFORE REQUEST YOU TO  
AGREE TO A CEASE-FIRE AT 1400 GMT ON JULY 22. FAILING  
YOUR AGREEMENT TO A CEASE-FIRE AT THAT TIME, THE UNITED  
STATES WILL, HOWEVER RELUCTANTLY, BE DRIVEN TO



EO 12812-2

By LR 3/31/11 ~~SECRET~~  
NOT TO BE REPRODUCED WITHOUT THE AUTHORITY OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE



Department of State

TELEGRAM

~~SECRET~~

SECRET

1955 32 STATE 13804

RECONSIDER ITS ENTIRE RELATIONSHIPS IN THE AREA.

SINCERELY, RICHARD M. NIXON, KISSINGER

~~SECRET~~



~~SECRET NODIS~~

12A

55



21 JUL 74  
Department of State

TELEGRAM

~~SECRET~~

CA0351

PAGE 01 STATE 158004

01  
ORIGIN CCO-00

INFO OCT-01 PASS-00 /001 R

DRAFTED BY EURIHARTMAN  
APPROVED BY EURIHARTMAN  
5/51 P. P. SARROS

Z 212300Z JUL 74 ZFF6  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO AMEMBASSY ANKARA FLASH  
INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS FLASH

071800

~~SECRET~~ STATE 158004

EXDIS: DISTRIBUTE AS NODIS TOPOL 65

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR, CY, TU, GRK  
SUBJECT: CYPRUS: PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE TO KORUTURK

PLEASE DELIVER IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM THE  
PRESIDENT TO THE PRESIDENT OF TURKEY KORUTURK:

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

I HAVE REVIEWED THE DISCUSSIONS OF THE LAST SEVERAL DAYS  
AND I HAVE REACHED THE CONCLUSION THAT THE SITUATION IN  
CYPRUS IN THE ABSENCE OF A CEASE-FIRE IS JEOPARDIZING  
THE SECURITY OF THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN AND OF OUR  
ALLIANCE.

PARAGRAPH 2 OF THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL  
RESOLUTION CALLS UPON ALL PARTIES TO CEASE FIRE AND TO  
EXERCISE THE UTMOST RESTRAINT. THE SITUATION HAS  
BECOME SO SERIOUS THAT I BELIEVE WE CAN NO LONGER DELAY  
ACTION TO END THIS CONFLICT. I THEREFORE REQUEST YOU TO  
AGREE TO A CEASE-FIRE AT 1400 GMT ON JULY 22. FAILING  
YOUR AGREEMENT TO A CEASE-FIRE AT THAT TIME, THE UNITED  
STATES WILL, HOWEVER RELUCTANTLY, BE DRIVEN TO



~~SECRET NODIS~~

By LR 3/31/11

~~SECRET~~

NOT TO BE REPRODUCED WITHOUT THE AUTHORIZATION OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRET

1

~~SECRET NODIS~~



Department of State

TELEGRAM

~~SECRET~~

RECONSIDER ITS ENTIRE RELATIONSHIPS IN THE AREA.

SINCERELY, RICHARD M. NIXON, KISSINGER

~~SECRET NODIS~~

~~SECRET~~



62

SECRET NODIS

25

1213

21 JUL 74 23 35

005914

Department of State

SECRET

CA0382

TELEGRAM



PAGE 01 STATE 158085

ORIGIN CCO-00

INFO OCT-01 PASS-00 1001 R

DRAFTED BY EURIHARTMAN:DAB  
APPROVED BY FURHARTMAN  
5/3-0 P. P. SARRIS

Z 212300Z JUL 74 ZFFB  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TU AMEMBASSY ATHENS FLASH  
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA FLASH

071984

~~SECRET~~ STATE 158085

EX013 DISTRIBUTE AS NODIS TOPOL 66

R.O. 11032 GDS

TABS: BY 1 PROR, TU, GRK

SUBJECT: CYPRUS, PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE TO GIZIKIS

PRESIDENT TO THE PRESIDENT OF GREECE GENERAL GIZIKIS

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

I HAVE REVIEWED THE DISCUSSIONS OF THE LAST SEVERAL DAYS AND I HAVE REACHED THE CONCLUSION THAT THE SITUATION IN CYPRUS IN THE ABSENCE OF A CEASE-FIRE IS JEOPARDIZING THE SECURITY OF THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN AND OF OUR ALLIANCE.

PARAGRAPH 2 OF THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION CALLS ON ALL PARTIES TO CEASE FIRE AND TO EXERCISE THE UTMOST RESTRAINT. THE SITUATION HAS BECOME SO SERIOUS THAT I BELIEVE WE CAN NO LONGER DELAY ACTION TO END THIS CONFLICT. I RECOGNIZE THAT YOU HAVE GIVEN CONDITIONAL ACCEPTANCE TO A CEASE-FIRE BUT THE ONLY WAY TO BRING ABOUT SUCH A CEASE-FIRE IS TO OBTAIN SIMULTANEOUSLY THE APPROVAL OF BOTH SIDES. I THEREFORE REQUEST YOU TO AGREE TO A CEASE-FIRE AT 1400 GMT ON JULY 22, FAILING YOUR AGREEMENT TO A CEASE-FIRE AT THAT

SECRET

SECRET

SECRET NODIS



BY 142 3/31/11

NOT TO BE REPRODUCED WITHOUT THE AUTHORIZATION OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

3

~~SECRET NODIS~~



Department of State

TELEGRAM

~~SECRET~~

PAGE 02 STATE 156885

TIME THE UNITED STATES WILL, HOWEVER RELUCTANTLY, BE  
DRIVEN TO RECONSIDER ITS ENTIRE RELATIONSHIPS IN THE AREA.

SINCERELY, RICHARD M. NIXON, KISSINGER

H.

SECRET

~~SECRET NODIS~~

~~SECRET~~



4

AUTHORIZATION OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRET

**SECRET NODIS**

COPIES OF 15 COPIES

LDX

104

Department of State

**TELEGRAM**



~~SECRET~~

Z 020717Z JUL 74 ZFFA  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO AMEMBASSY ANKARA FLASH 7589  
BT  
~~SECRET~~ STATE 158100

CONTROL 5938Q  
RECD: JULY 22, 1974

0350AM

EXCISE DISTRIBUTE AS NODIS

NO. 1111111111

E.O. 11652:G R TY  
TAGS: PFOR, TY  
SUBJECT: MESSAGE FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

By LL

3/31/11

FOR THE AMBASSADOR

1. AS SOON AS YOU HAVE SEEN WORD THAT TURKS HAVE CONFIRMED  
OUR CEASE FIRE ANNOUNCEMENT AND AFTER CHECKING WITH YOUR  
UK COLLEAGUE TO MAKE SURE THAT HE HAS CARRIED OUT HIS  
INSTRUCTIONS TO INVITE TURKS TO A VIENNA MEETING OF  
GUARANTORS, YOU SHOULD DELIVER FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO PRIME  
MINISTER ECSEVIT FROM THE SECRETARY:

2. QUOTE: DEAR MR. PRIME MINISTER: HAVING JUST RECEIVED  
THE WELCOME NEWS OF THE CONFIRMATION OF THE CEASE FIRE BY  
THE GOVERNMENT OF TURKEY, I WANTED TO SEND YOU THIS PERSONAL  
WORD TO TELL YOU HOW VERY PLEASED I AM. YOUR ACCEPTANCE OF  
THIS CEASE FIRE WAS AN IMPORTANT ACT OF STATESMANSHIP AND  
ONE TAKEN IN THE COMMON INTERESTS OF THE FREE WORLD. WE  
MUST ALL WORK TOWARD THE END THAT STABILITY CAN BE  
RESTORED IN THE AREA. YOUR OWN CONTRIBUTION WILL BE A  
SIGNIFICANT FACTOR IF WE ARE TO SUCCEED IN THIS COMMON  
EFFORT.

I BELIEVE THAT THE NEXT, AND INDEED INDISPENSABLE,  
STEP, MUST BE THE MEETING OF THE THREE GUARANTOR POWERS  
IN VIENNA WHICH I UNDERSTAND FOREIGN SECRETARY CALLAGHAN  
HAS PROPOSED FOR JULY 23. YOU HAVE MY ASSURANCES THAT THE  
UNITED STATES WILL BE PREPARED TO CONTRIBUTE ITS IDEAS AND  
SUPPORT TO THAT MEETING. I VERY MUCH HOPE YOU WILL AGREE  
WITH ME ON THE IMPORTANCE OF SUCH A MEETING. WARM REGARDS,  
HENRY A. KISSINGER. UNQUOTE. KISSINGER

EUR USTABLER:DK  
X74880 7/22/74  
THE SECRETARY (IN SUBSTANCE)

**SECRET NODIS**



S/S-O - RELTZ

~~SECRET~~

| EUR - AAHARTMAN

5

NOT TO BE REPRODUCED WITHOUT THE AUTHORIZATION OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRET

LDX  
12D

~~SECRET NODIS~~



Department of State

TELEGRAM

~~SECRET~~

Z 220718Z JUL 74 ZFFA  
FM SECRETARY WASHDC  
TO AMEMBASSY ATHENS FLASH 6866  
BT  
~~SECRET~~ STATE 158101

CONTROL: 5937Q  
RECD: JULY 22, 1974  
0340AM

ENDIS DISTRIBUTE AS NODIS

INFO: 110521 008  
TAGS: PFOR, CR  
SUBJECT: MESSAGE FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

152 3/31/11

FOR THE AMBASSADOR

1. AS SOON AS YOU RECEIVE WORD THAT GREEK GOVERNMENT HAS ANNOUNCED ITS CONFIRMATION OF THE CEASE FIRE AND AFTER CHECKING WITH YOUR UK COLLEAGUE TO MAKE SURE HE HAS EXTENDED UK INVITATION FOR VIENNA MEETING OF GUARANTOR POWERS, YOU SHOULD DELIVER FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO PRIME MINISTER KONDROUSOPOULOS FROM THE SECRETARY:

2. QUOTE: DEAR MR. PRIME MINISTER: I HAVE JUST RECEIVED WORD OF THE CONFIRMATION BY THE GREEK GOVERNMENT OF OUR ANNOUNCEMENT OF A CEASE FIRE AND I WANTED TO SEND YOU THIS WORD TO TELL HOW PLEASED I AM. THIS IS INDEED AN IMPORTANT STEP TOWARD THE RESTORATION OF PEACE AND STABILITY IN THE AREA AND I KNOW YOUR OWN CONTRIBUTION TO THIS STEP HAS BEEN SIGNIFICANT. WE MUST PRESS FORWARD IN OUR COMMON EFFORTS TO FIND THE NECESSARY SOLUTIONS AND THIS NOT ONLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE COUNTRIES MOST DIRECTLY CONCERNED BUT THE ENTIRE FREE WORLD.

I BELIEVE THAT THE NEXT, AND INDEED INDISPENSABLE, STEP IS THE MEETING OF THE GUARANTOR POWERS WHICH FOREIGN SECRETARY CALLAGHAN HAS PROPOSED SHOULD CONVENE IN VIENNA

ON JULY 23. I VERY MUCH HOPE THAT YOU WILL AGREE WITH ME ON THE IMPORTANCE OF SUCH A MEETING. YOU HAVE BY ASSURANCES THAT THE UNITED STATES WILL BE PREPARED TO CONTRIBUTE ITS IDEAS AND SUPPORT TO THE MEETING. WARM REGARDS, HENRY A. KISSINGER. UNQUOTE.  
KISSINGER



SUR WSTABLER:DK  
X271865 7/22/74  
THE SECRETARY (IN SUBSTANCE)

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET NODIS~~

6

EVERY INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED WITHOUT THE AUTHORIZATION OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

~~SECRET~~ NODIS

COPY 13 OF 15 COPIES

60X 12E

Department of State

TELEGRAM

~~SECRET~~

CONTROL: 5951Q

RECD: JULY 22, 1974

0515AM

0 0 00730Z JUL 74  
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS  
TO RUEHQBH/STATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE #33  
INFO RUCSIC/AMEMBASSY LONDON 2524  
RUCNCS/AMEMBASSY NICOSIA 2767  
RUCSIC/UNNY NEW YORK 1125  
RUCSIC/MISSION NATO 1758  
RUCSIC/AMEMBASSY ANKARA 3320  
BT  
~~SECRET~~ ATHENS 4759

EXDIS - DISTRIBUTE AS NODIS

POLTO 58

E.O. 11652: CDS  
TAGS: PFCR, CV, TH, OR  
SUBJECT: EVENTS LEADING TO CEASE-FIRE AGREEMENT

1. (THIS CABLE SHOULD BE READ IN CONJUNCTION WITH POLTO 49 WHICH DESCRIBES PROGRESS OF U.S. CEASE-FIRE INITIATIVE PRIOR TO TURKISH ACCEPTANCE OF USG PROPOSAL.)
2. AT 1:30 A.M. SISCO RECEIVED SECRETARY'S REPORT THAT THE GOV HAD AGREED TO ANNOUNCE AT 3:00 A.M. ATHENS TIME (2100 GMT) THAT A CEASE-FIRE WOULD GO INTO EFFECT AT 4:00 P.M. ATHENS TIME (1400 GMT) JULY 22.
3. AT 1:40 A.M., AMBASSADOR TASCA CONTACTED THE FOREIGN MINISTER WHO SEEMED PLEASED WITH THE NEWS OF THE CEASE-FIRE AND SID THAT HE WOULD REPORT THIS INFORMATION TO THE NECESSARY GOV OFFICIALS AND BE BACK IN TOUCH.
4. SISCO CALLED ADMIRAL ARAPAKIS AT 1:50 A.M. TO SAY THAT THE USG HAD OBTAINED THE AGREEMENT OF THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT TO A CEASE-FIRE IN CYPRUS, EFFECTIVE AT 4:00 P.M. ATHENS TIME JULY 22. WE WISHED THIS TO BE ANNOUNCED BY THE GOVERNMENTS OF GREECE AND TURKEY AT 3:30 A.M. ATHENS TIME IN ORDER TO PIN DOWN THE CEASE-FIRE, HAVING BEEN UNABLE TO REACH THE PM OR GENERAL BONANOS, SISCO ASKED THE ADMIRAL TO HELP OBTAIN THE FIRM AGREEMENT OF THE GREEK GOVERNMENT TO THE CEASE-FIRE AND THE ANNOUNCEMENT. THE ADMIRAL SAID HE APPROVED, HE "WANTED TO HELP", AND HE WOULD CALL BACK.

3/31/11

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~ NODIS



7

NOT TO BE REPRODUCED WITHOUT THE AUTHORIZATION OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

**SECRET NODIS**



Department of State

**TELEGRAM**

-2- ATHENS 4759

~~SECRET~~

5. AT 2:15 A.M. ADMIRAL ARAPAKIS CALLED SISCO BACK TO SAY THAT THE GREEK GOVERNMENT AGREED TO THE CEASE-FIRE FOR 3:00 PM ATHENS TIME AND THE ANNOUNCEMENT FOR 3:00 A.M. ATHENS TIME. HE SAID HE HAD OBTAINED THE APPROVAL OF GENERALS IOANNIDES AND DONANOS FOR THE CEASE-FIRE BUT THAT THEY WANTED SECRETARY KISSINGER TO MAKE THE ANNOUNCEMENT. THEY HAD NO TRUST WHATSOEVER IN THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT AND THEREFORE WISHED THE USG TO MAKE THE ANNOUNCEMENT.

6. AT 2:20 A.M. HARTMAN CALLED SISCO. SISCO TOLD HARTMAN THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF GREECE HAD AGREED TO THE 3:00 A.M. ATHENS TIME ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE 4:00 P.M. ATHENS TIME CEASE-FIRE. THE GREEKS, HOWEVER, WANTED THE USG RATHER THAN THE TWO PARTIES INVOLVED TO MAKE THE ANNOUNCEMENT.

7. AT 2:25 A.M. SISCO CALLED THE FOMMIN TO INFORM HIM OF THE CALL FROM ADMIRAL ARAPAKIS. THE ADMIRAL SAID HE AGREED. SISCO ASKED HIM WHETHER, IN ALL HONESTY, THE ADMIRAL HAD THE AUTHORITY TO SPEAK FOR THE GREEK GOVERNMENT IN THIS MATTER, PARTICULARLY IN LIGHT OF THE REFUSAL OF THE PM TO TALK TO ANY OFFICIALS ABOUT THE PROPOSAL. THE FOMMIN SAID "GO AHEAD."

8. AT 2:30 A.M. LOCAL, SECRETARY KISSINGER CALLED SISCO. SISCO TOLD THE SECRETARY WHAT ADMIRAL ARAPAKIS HAD SAID, INCLUDING A CONCURRENT CALL IN WHICH THE ADMIRAL, ON ANOTHER LINE, CONVEYED THE AGREEMENT OF THE PRIME MINISTER. THE SECRETARY ASKED WHETHER THE GREEK GOVERNMENT WOULD PUBLICLY CONFIRM HIS CEASE-FIRE ANNOUNCEMENT ONCE IT HAD BEEN MADE. ADMIRAL ARAPAKIS SAID THE GREEK GOVERNMENT WOULD SO CONFIRM BUT NOT UNTIL AFTER THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS MEETING AT 8:00 A.M. ATHENS TIME. THE SECRETARY TOLD SISCO THAT IN THAT CASE, IT WOULD BE PREFERABLE TO MAKE THE ANNOUNCEMENT AT 6:00 A.M. ATHENS TIME WITH THE GREEK GOVERNMENT CONFIRMING IT AT 9:00 A.M. ATHENS TIME. ADMIRAL ARAPAKIS AGREED WITH THIS PROPOSAL.

9. SISCO CONTACTED ADMIRAL ARAPAKIS ONCE AGAIN AT 2:40 A.M. HE SAID THAT THE CEASE-FIRE HAS NOW BEEN ACCEPTED BY BOTH SIDES. THE SECRETARY WAS CONTACTING

~~SECRET~~

**SECRET NODIS**



8

~~SECRET~~ NODIS

Department of State

TELEGRAM

~~SECRET~~

-3- ATHENS 4759

ANKARA REGARDING THE TIMING OF THE ANNOUNCEMENTS. HE WILL GET GOT AGREEMENT THAT THE CEASE-FIRE WILL BE ANNOUNCED AT 6:00 A.M. ATHENS TIME, TO BE PUBLICLY CONFIRMED BY THE GOT AND GOG AT 9:00 A.M. ATHENS TIME, FOR A CEASE-FIRE EFFECTIVE 4:00 P.M. JULY 22. SETTING THE TIME FOR CONFIRMATION OF GREEK AND TURKISH ACCEPTANCE OF THE CEASE-FIRE AT 9:00 A.M. WILL GIVE THE GOG TIME TO HAVE ITS COUNCIL MEETING AT 8:00 A.M. WHICH WILL APPROVE ACCEPTING THE CEASE-FIRE. ACCORDING TO OUR SCENARIO, THE SECRETARY WILL MAKE THE CEASE-FIRE ANNOUNCEMENT AT 6:00 A.M. ATHENS TIME AND IT WILL BE PUBLICLY CONFIRMED BY THE GOT AND GOG AT 9:00 A.M.

10. SISCO TOLD THE ADMIRAL THAT SINCE THE CEASE-FIRE HAS BEEN ACCEPTED BY BOTH SIDES, ALL THAT REMAINS IS FOR HIM TO TELL THE ADMIRAL THAT THE GOT AGREES TO THE 6:00 A.M. ANNOUNCEMENT. SISCO CLOSED BY SAYING THAT AS SOON AS HE HEARS FROM THE SECRETARY THAT THE TURKS AGREE, HE WILL IMMEDIATELY GET BACK IN TOUCH WITH THE ADMIRAL.

11. AT 2:45 A.M SISCO TALKED TO HARTMAN/LOWENSTEIN AND WORKED OUT WITH THEM THE FOLLOWING TEXT:

QTE THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN INFORMED THAT THE GOVERNMENTS OF GREECE AND TURKEY AGREE TO THE CEASE-FIRE AS PROVIDED IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION OF JULY 20, 1974, AT 1400Z GMT, JULY 22.

QTE THIS ANNOUNCEMENT WILL BE CONFIRMED BY THE GREEK AND TURKISH GOVERNMENTS AT 3:00 A.M. EASTER DAYLIGHT TIME, 9:00 A.M. ATHENS TIME, AND 10:00 A.M. ANKARA TIME. END QTE.

SISCO EXPLAINED THAT HE WANTED TO USE REFERENCE TO SC PHRASEOLOGY BECAUSE IT HAD BEEN DISCUSSED WITH GREEKS AND TURKS AND, THEREFORE, WAS ACCEPTABLE TO BOTH GOVERNMENTS.

12. AT 3:05 A.M., SISCO TALKED TO LOWENSTEIN. SISCO TOLD LOWENSTEIN TO STOP ORIGINAL TEXT TO TURKEY. HARTMAN JOINED CONVERSATION. SISCO EXPLAINED GREEKS WANTED FIRST PARAGRAPH TO READ AS FOLLOWS:

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~ NODIS

Q

~~SECRET~~ NODIS

Department of State

~~SECRET~~

TELEGRAM

4-A THENS 4759

QTE. THE GOVERNMENTS OF GREECE AND TURKEY AGREE TO THE CEASE-FIRE AS PROVIDED IN THE SC RESOLUTION OF JULY 29, 1974, AT 1400 GMT, JULY 22, 1974, END QTE.

SISCO SAID WE SHOULD NOT ARGUE OVER CHANGES. THERE WAS NO PROBLEM WITH SECOND PARAGRAPH OF TEXT.

13. AT 3:12 A.M. SISCO CALLED ADMIRAL AND REVIEWED TEXT THAT HAD JUST BEEN DISCUSSED WITH HARTMAN. ADMIRAL CONCURRED.

14. AT 3:12 A.M., SISCO INFORMED HARTMAN THAT GOG WAS ON BOARD. IN RESPONSE TO HARTMAN, SISCO SAID THE DEPARTMENT COULD BE FLEXIBLE ON HOW THE ANNOUNCEMENT WAS PREFACED.

15. SISCO CALLED HARTMAN AT 4:00 A.M. AND DISCUSSED POSSIBLE DEVELOPMENTS IN GREECE RELATING TO CYPRUS AND HOW THEY MAY AFFECT THE CEASE-FIRE ANNOUNCEMENT. HARTMAN ASKED IF THE DEPARTMENT SHOULD GO AHEAD WITH THE ANNOUNCEMENT AND SISCO REPLIED YES.

16. AT 6:10 A.M., SISCO CALLED HARTMAN TO CONFIRM THAT THE CEASE-FIRE ANNOUNCEMENT HAD BEEN MADE AND IMMEDIATELY THEREAFTER, AT 6:15 A.M., INFORMED ADMIRAL ARAPAKIS OF THIS CONFIRMATION. THE ADMIRAL ASSURED SISCO THAT THE GOG WOULD GO AHEAD AT 9:00 A.M.

SISCO

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~ NODIS



NOT TO BE REPRODUCED WITHOUT THE AUTHORIZATION OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

10

~~TOP SECRET~~

69

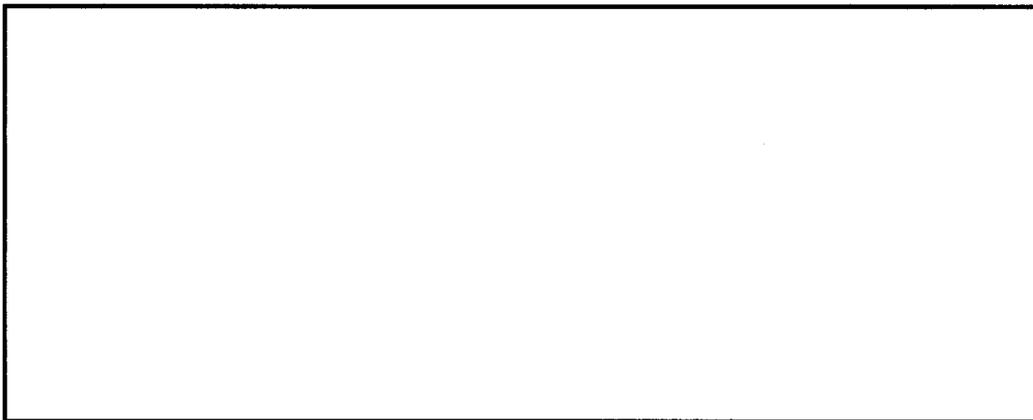
13



25X1

**WARNING**

This document contains classified information affecting the national security of the United States within the meaning of the espionage laws, US Code, Title 18, Sections 793, 794, and 798. The law prohibits its transmission or the revelation of its contents in any manner to an unauthorized person, as well as its use in any manner prejudicial to the safety or interest of the United States or for the benefit of any foreign government to the detriment of the United States.



25X1

DECLASSIFIED w/ portions exempted

AUTHORITY ~~RAC NLF-CODEWORD-3-33-4-8~~

*State Swillins* 9/29/04

BY *142* NARA, DATE 3/14/11

~~TOP SECRET~~





25X1

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY  
July 21, 1974

INTELLIGENCE MEMORANDUM

State Dept. Guidelines

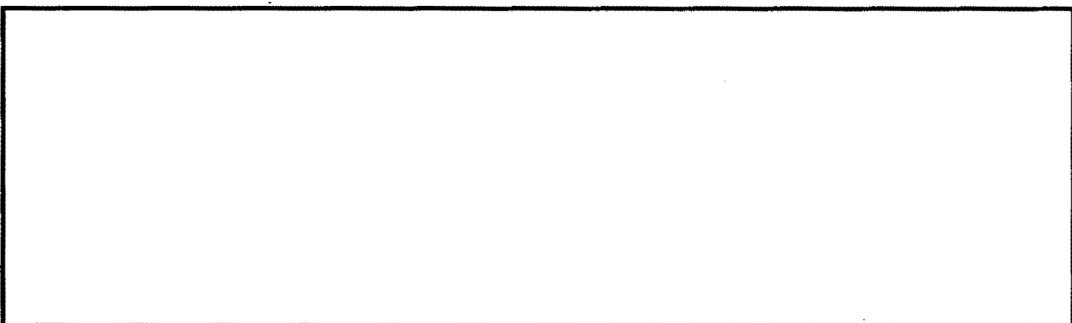
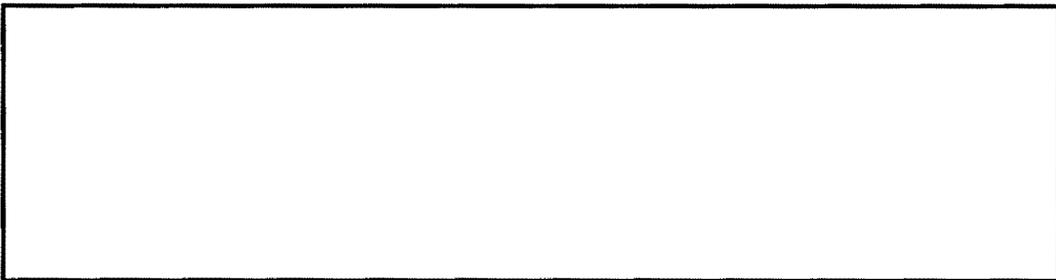
DECLASSIFIED w/ portions exempted  
AUTHORITY RAC NLF-CODEWORD-3-33-4-8

CYPRUS

BY MLC NARA, DATE 3/14/2011 9/29/2004

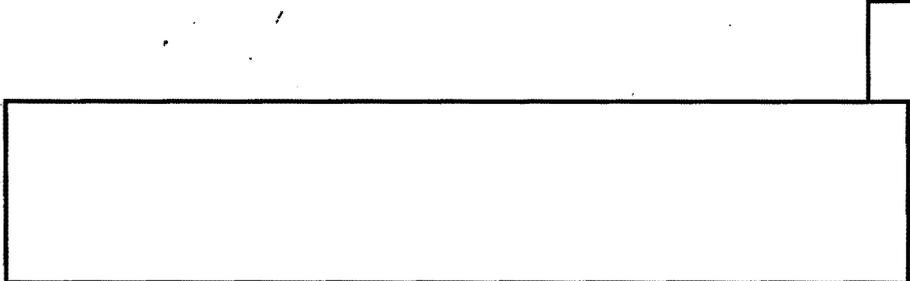
Spot Situation Report  
(As of 2400 EDT)

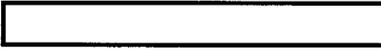
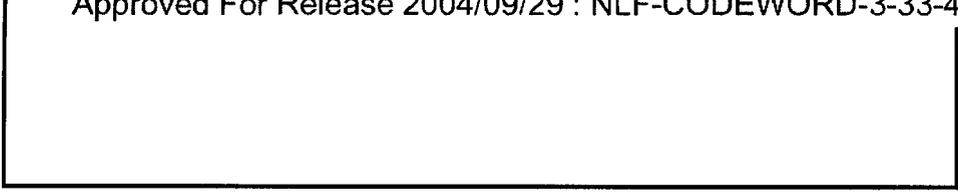
1. Greece may be reinforcing Greek Cypriot forces in the final hours before the cease-fire goes into effect.



4. The Greek reinforcement could easily be opposed by Turkish fighter aircraft, and heavy fighting is likely in the hours before the cease-fire

25X





25X

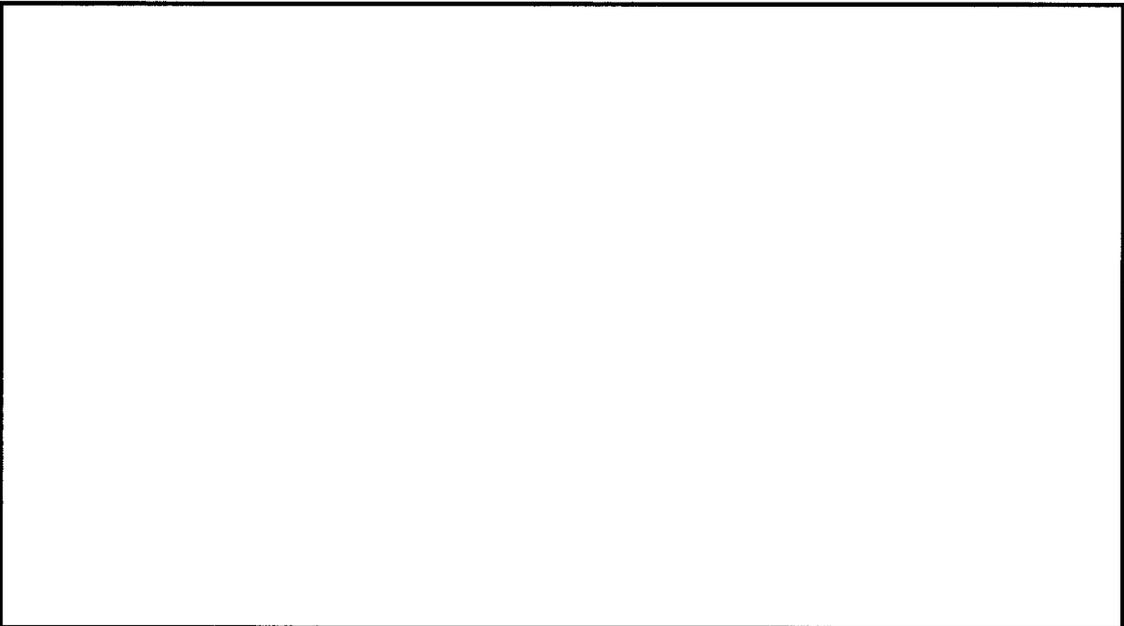
CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY  
July 21, 1974

INTELLIGENCE MEMORANDUM

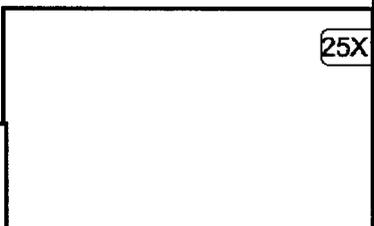
CYPRUS

Spot Situation Report  
(As of 2400 EDT)

1. Greece may be reinforcing Greek Cypriot forces in the final hours before the cease-fire goes into effect.



4. The Greek reinforcement could easily be opposed by Turkish fighter aircraft, and heavy fighting is likely in the hours before the cease-fire



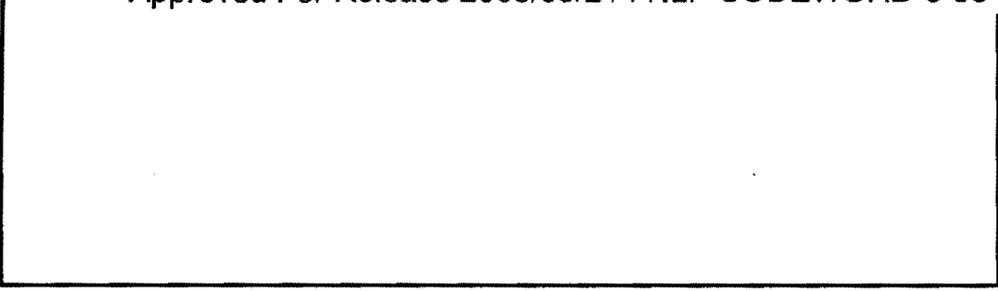
25X



takes effect. Cyprus is well within the range of Turkish airbases, and Turkish fighters have been active over Cyprus throughout the war. The Greeks cannot provide effective fighter cover.

5. Athens' decision to go ahead with reinforcement will put Greece in a more advantageous position in any future negotiations over the size of Greek and Turkish forces in the island. It will also have a reassuring impact on the Greek Cypriot population, which until now has borne the brunt of the Turkish invasion, and will probably strengthen Ioannidis' position at home.





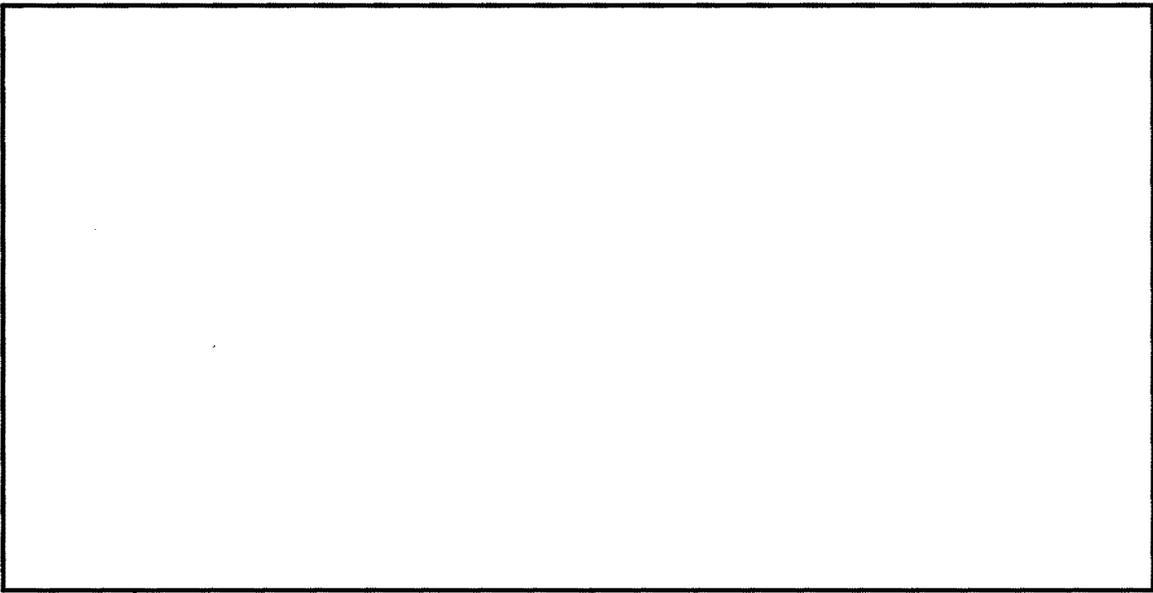
CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY  
July 21, 1974

INTELLIGENCE MEMORANDUM

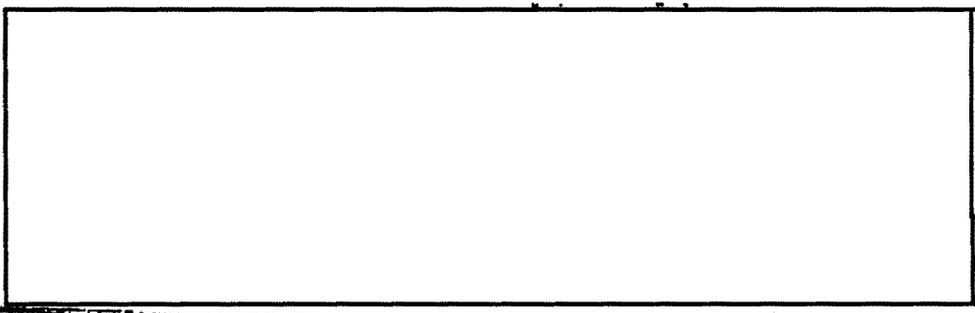
CYPRUS

Spot Situation Report  
(As of 2400 EDT)

1. Greece may be reinforcing Greek Cypriot forces in the final hours before the cease-fire goes into effect.



4. The Greek reinforcement could easily be opposed by Turkish fighter aircraft, and heavy fighting is likely in the hours before the cease-fire



DECLASSIFIED w/portions exempted  
State Dept. Guidelines  
AUTHORITY: RAC NLF-CODEWORD-3-33-5-7  
BY: MLO  
NARA, DATE: 3/14/2011  
9/21/2005

25X



takes effect. Cyprus is well within the range of Turkish airbases, and Turkish fighters have been active over Cyprus throughout the war. The Greeks cannot provide effective fighter cover.

5. Athens' decision to go ahead with reinforcement will put Greece in a more advantageous position in any future negotiations over the size of Greek and Turkish forces in the island. It will also have a reassuring impact on the Greek Cypriot population, which until now has borne the brunt of the Turkish invasion, and will probably strengthen Ioannidis' position at home.



15  
WASH. POST  
SUNDAY JULY 21, 1974

# Washington Post

Amusements G 17 Movie Times 119  
Books G Sec 7 Obituaries B 8  
Classified D15 Outdoors D12  
Editorials C 8 Sports D 1  
Financial F 1 Stamps, Coins L 4  
Living L 1 Style M 1  
Metro (B-13) Travel Z L 7

WED. JULY 21, 1974

Phone (202) 223-6000

Classified 223-8200 600 Broad Washington  
Circulation 223-8100 Maryland and Virginia

50c

## Best Copy Available

# J.S. Cuts Greece Arms

### Aid Decision May Reflect 'Tilt' Toward Turkey

By Michael Getler

Washington Post Staff Writer

The Nixon administration, following the coup and fighting on Cyprus, has ordered temporary suspension of all U.S. military aid to Greece. It has been learned.

Details on the decision are being closely held. But sources suggested that the move was part of a U.S. effort to discourage warfare between Greece and Turkey, both American allies in NATO.

The decision also appears to reflect

U.S. displeasure over the Greek military government's role in setting off the fighting in Cyprus. U.S. officials fear unpredictable and potentially grave implications for the southern flank of NATO.

There were some other signs during the past week that might reflect a U.S. "tilt" toward Turkey growing out of annoyance with the Greek actions, including the repeated reluctance of Pentagon spokesmen to provide any confirmation of what the Turks were doing, even after ships had been seen

loading men and equipment at Turkish ports.

It could not be determined if restrictions had also been placed on U.S. arms aid to Turkey. In general, U.S. officials have been expressing less private exasperation over the actions of Turkey than over the general "unpredictability" of the Greek government and what is viewed here as its apparent willingness to take risks affecting NATO's stability.

The pressure on the Greeks exerted

See POLICY, A7, Col 1



## POLICY, From A1

The pressure on the Greeks exerted by stopping the normal flow of equipment from the United States may also serve as a warning to the Turks that if they press their military campaign on Cyprus too far, they could face similar U.S. action, too, if that has not already occurred.

Yesterday, officials in several government agencies left little doubt that if both Greece and Turkey make war on each other, U.S. military aid to both would be cut off. These officials said the United States accepts for now the Turkish declaration that their landing on Cyprus did not constitute war, but rather a limited action in response to the overthrow of the Cyprus government on Monday.

Both Greece and Turkey, from a military standpoint, are important to the United States and to NATO. Yesterday afternoon, senior U.S. military officials indicated that they thought war was indeed possible between the two.

If war can be averted, some experienced U.S. officials believe that the NATO alliance can be strengthened in the long run if a new, more stable and democratic government takes power in Athens or adopts policies that the present military junta there view as more responsible.

In the view of some U.S. analysts, the general weakness of the Greek government was a factor in the Turkish decision to send its forces to Cyprus. The lack of an effective or coordinate Greek response thus far is seen here as confirming the Turkish assessment. These specialists said the Greek Cypriots are basically on their own.

If the Greeks chose to respond more seriously to the Turkish forces on Cyprus, their lack of long-range aircraft could hinder them. The Greeks have a few new U.S.-built F-4 Phantom fighter-bombers, but they have not had much time to train with them, and the suspension of arms deliveries would also affect jet-air-

craft deliveries, sources here suggested.

The general view here is that the Turks have practically completed the action they planned and that the next move is up to the Greeks. It is hoped in Washington that the Greek response will involve negotiations.

Ships from Turkey continued to bring supplies to forces on Cyprus, but, as of midday, there did not appear to be any major additional sealfit of troops, sources here said.

If war does come the most likely battlefield would be the border region adjoining the Aegean Sea where Greece and Turkey usually station most of their best NATO forces. Greece is said to have some 50,000 men in this area, facing a somewhat larger Turkish force. Overall, Turkey has a much larger army of more than 400,000, which is NATO's main ground fighting force on its southern flank.

Aside from their military forces, Greece and Turkey are important to NATO because of their ports, airbases and strategically located radar stations for keeping tabs on Soviet movements.

Turkey sits astride the narrow waterways that the Soviet Black Sea fleet must transit to get into the Mediterranean and Atlantic.

During the Middle East crisis last fall, the United States was eventually able to use some Greek ports in its effort to resupply Israeli forces, but was denied the use of Turkish facilities.

Some U.S. officials convey the impression that U.S. confidence in the Greek government has been shaken in recent months by what officials refer to as its "unpredictability" and lack of experience in international relations.

Also causing some concern, sources say, is uncertainty about what the Greeks will decide about the continued homeporting of U.S. fleet units in that country.

Several U.S. destroyers are based there now, but moving in an aircraft carrier, as originally planned has been suspended indefinitely.



~~SECRET~~

[Redacted]

169  
July 21, 74  
25X1

~~SECRET~~

[Redacted]

LEGEND

TURKEY

1 First Army

(Approx 80,000 Personnel assigned to combat units)  
1 Armored Division  
2 Mechanized Divisions  
8 Infantry Divisions  
1 Armored Brigade  
1 Infantry Brigade

2 Second Army

(Approx 50,000 Personnel assigned to combat units)  
2 Infantry Divisions  
1 Armored Brigade  
2 Mechanized Brigades  
1 Airborne Brigade  
1 Commando Brigade  
2 Gendarmerie Brigade  
1 Infantry Brigade

3 Third Army

(Approx 55,000 Personnel assigned to combat units)  
3 Infantry Divisions  
2 Armored Brigades  
2 Mechanized Brigades  
3 Infantry Brigades  
1 Gendarmerie Brigade

GREECE

A "A", "B", "C" Corps

(Approx 56,000 Personnel assigned to combat units)  
7 Infantry Divisions  
1 Armored Division

B

Hellenic First Army  
(Approx 17,500 Personnel assigned to combat units)  
1 Infantry Division  
2 Infantry Division Hq.  
1 Armored Division  
1 Armored Brigade

CYPRUS

C Greek Army Forces: 950  
2 Battalions  
Turkish Army Forces: 650  
1 Battalion  
United Nations Forces: 2,339  
British Sovereign Forces:  
Army: 2,700  
Air Force: 5,300  
Greek Cypriot National Guard: 9,530  
(30,000 Trained Reserves)  
Turkish Resistance Forces: 7,000  
4,800 Full Time  
2,200 Part Time  
(Plus 10,000 Reserves)  
Turkish Invasion Force:  
8-9,000 Elements of:  
Second Army

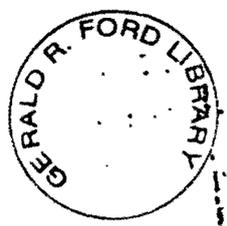
DECLASSIFIED, with exceptions

AUTHORITY NLF-K-S-WWOF-7-8-2-3 4/1/16

BY [Signature] NLF DATE 7/9/09



25X1



~~SECRET~~

[Redacted]

25X1

