

**The original documents are located in Box 7, folder “Cyprus Crisis (10)” 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 Gerald Ford donated to the United States of America his copyrights in all of his unpublished writings in National Archives collections.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.

1a

TO: GENERAL SCOWCROFT  
FROM: COLONEL KENNEDY

7-21-74

Brent:

Attached is the note delivered very early this morning by Vorontsov and the reply which HAK has approved. I will have the reply delivered to Vorontsov at 6:00 p.m. EDT today.

HR 3/30/11

~~SECRET~~



~~SECRET~~

Dear Colonel Kennedy

Attached is an oral reply  
message of the General Secretary  
to the President's message of  
July 20.

Sincerely  
Julius M. Voronko  
Minister



DECLASSIFIED  
BY [illegible]  
DATE 3/30/11

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

*Delivered to Mr. W. J. Sullivan  
Room at 2:05 P.M. 7/21/54*

Dear Mr. President,

On our part within last few days we have already twice addressed you in connection with the military putsch on Cyprus organized by the Greek junta against the lawful Government of that sovereign state headed by its President Makarios.

We proceeded from the fact, that quite recently at our meeting in Moscow we both agreed and stated in the joint Soviet-American communique that the paramount objective of all states and peoples should be to ensure, individually and collectively, lasting security in all parts of the world, the early and complete removal of existing international conflicts and source of tension and the prevention of new ones from arising.

However, to our regret but quite frankly we must say that the position taken by the United States of America in connection with the events on Cyprus, though outwardly an expectant and restrained one, in no way can be considered adequate.

In the circumstances, when in the view of the whole world the Greek military is committing aggression against Cyprus, not to take effective measures to stop such actions in fact means to encourage those, who embarked upon the road of military intervention into the affairs of Cyprus aimed at taking away its independence and in reality at bringing about the annexation of Cyprus.

~~SECRET~~  
3/30/11

~~SECRET~~

Since you expressed your opinion regarding President Makarios, I believe that we both or anybody else have no right to decide the matter regarding the President of the Republic of Cyprus, it is only for the Cypriote people to decide.

We in Moscow ask ourselves a question: who and why needed all this? It is not warranted by any fundamental interests either of the US, or Britain or other countries. We are convinced that it is not dictated by the interests of Greece as well, if to keep in mind the real national interests of that state but not chauvinistic endeavors which are displayed by the military circles, determining the policy of Greece now.

I would be less than candid if I would not express to you, Mr. President, these thoughts, which occurred to my colleagues and to me personally.

Speaking straight, the US did not utter a word in support of the lawful Cypriote Government headed by Makarios. There is no evidence either that the US takes a position in the Security Council which would be directed at the discontinuance of the interference by Greece into the affairs of Cyprus and restoration of the status quo there that existed before the putsch.

Today the situation on and around Cyprus has even more deteriorated, which is evidenced by the landing of the Turkish troops on the island. And if we both do not want that these events overgrow even more dangerous limits, then, of course, speedy and decisive measures have to be taken. We believe that it is not late to correct the situation if there is a wish to do that. Such measures, in our view, could be the following.

~~SECRET~~

2.

~~SECRET~~

1. Urgent adoption by the Security Council of a resolution demanding that Greece immediately withdraw its military personnel from Cyprus and stop its interference in any form into the internal affairs of Cyprus.

It goes without saying that not only under the roof of the United Nations but also through other means our two powers should act precisely in that direction.

2. Bringing appropriate pressure to bear upon the Greek Government so that it obeys and fully complies with such a decision. There is no need to say that the US has the possibilities to exert necessary influence upon Athens.

3. Rendering assistance to a speedy return to Cyprus of President Makarios lawfully elected by its population, and to a complete restoration there of the authority of the Government headed by him and of all the institutions of that Government and generally, to the restoration of the status of Cyprus as an independent state as it existed before the military intervention of Greece into the internal affairs of Cyprus.

We would like to hope that in this concrete case there will be shown closer cooperation between our two countries in the cause of protecting the independence and sovereignty of states whether big or small, in the cause of protecting what has already been achieved in easing international tensions including those in the area in question. Not to allow a setback in the process of the relaxation of tension but on the contrary, to promote and to strengthen this process - that is how we see our task and we count on the President's common understanding in that matter.

~~SECRET~~



~~SECRET~~

July 21, 1974

Dear Mr. General Secretary:

I have received and carefully studied your message concerning Cyprus which was delivered to the White House by your Embassy early today. There should be no doubt in your mind, as a result of the views already conveyed to you and the actions of the United States throughout the crisis, that we seek no confrontation of any kind and that we wish to cooperate with you in restoring peace and the previous constitutional arrangements in Cyprus. The United States does not support and has not supported external interference in the affairs of Cyprus. It opposes such interference, whatever the source.

The essential task now is to bring about a cease-fire on Cyprus. This is the goal of our active diplomatic efforts with the parties concerned and of our actions in the United Nations. You should know that we have been in contact, literally round-the-clock, with the parties to induce them to accept a cease-fire at the earliest possible moment. Although, as I write to you, these efforts have not yet succeeded, we remain hopeful that they will, and in any case we will continue them intensively.

DECLASSIFIED  
EO 13526, CONTROLLED LIST 1  
EXEMPT FROM AUTOMATIC DOWNGRADING AND  
DECLASSIFICATION  
24 LHR 000000 3/30/11

~~SECRET~~



~~SECRET~~

-2-

I trust the Soviet Union will firmly and actively support the goal of an immediate cease-fire as well. Implementation of a ceasefire will make possible negotiations, as proposed by the UK and endorsed by the UN Security Council, for the purpose of restoring peace, the constitutional order and the independence of the country. I am convinced that this course accords with the purposes set forth in your message.

I have noted the positive comments you have just made on our relations in your speech in Warsaw. As you know from my own public statements, I share your satisfaction with what is being accomplished in our relations. In the spirit of those relations, it is my hope that you, like we, will exert maximum efforts to pacify the situation, to end fighting and to bring about negotiations so that the independence and integrity of Cyprus can be restored.

Sincerely,



~~SECRET~~

NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION  
Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

WITHDRAWAL ID 034940

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL . . . . ÇNational security restriction

TYPE OF MATERIAL . . . . . ÇTelegram

CREATOR'S NAME . . . . . Amembassy Nicosia

DESCRIPTION . . . . . re Cyprus

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

VOLUME . . . . . 1 page

COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 033200176

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

BOX NUMBER . . . . . 7

FOLDER TITLE . . . . . Cyprus Crisis (10)

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

WITHDRAWING ARCHIVIST . . . . HJR

NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION  
Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

WITHDRAWAL ID 034941

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL . . . . ÇNational security restriction

TYPE OF MATERIAL . . . . . ÇReport

DESCRIPTION . . . . . re Cyprus Situation

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

VOLUME . . . . . 3 pages

COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 033200176

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

BOX NUMBER . . . . . 7

FOLDER TITLE . . . . . Cyprus Crisis (10)

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

WITHDRAWING ARCHIVIST . . . . HJR

~~SECRET~~

\*\*\*\*\*

~~SECRET~~

\*\*\*\*\*5 COPY

FLASH  
ESA682AAA764  
DE RUQMAT #4716 2020721  
Z 210720Z JUL 74  
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC FLASH 4306

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA FLASH 3298  
AMEMBASSY LONDON FLASH 2507  
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA FLASH 2752  
USMISSION NATO FLASH 1746  
USMISSION USUN FLASH 1109

~~SECRET~~ ATHENS 4716

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR GR, CY  
SUBJ: CYPRUS - AMBASSADOR'S MEETING WITH PRESIDENT  
GHIZIKIS

*State Review*  
NO. 313104  
*HR* 3/30/11

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.



\*\*\*\*\* \*WHSR COMMENT\*\*\*\*\*

HAK, KENNEDY, LL--SENT TO SC

PSN1055614

RECALLED  
PAGE 01

TDR:202/08105Z

DTG:210720Z JUL 74

\*\*\*\*\*

~~SECRET~~

\*\*\*\*\*5 COPY

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

\*\*\*\*\*

~~SECRET~~

\*\*\*\*\*S COPY

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 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 UNEQUIVOCALLY 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.



PSN1055614

RECALLED  
PAGE 02

TOR:202/08:05Z

DTG:210720Z JUL 74

\*\*\*\*\*

~~SECRET~~

\*\*\*\*\*S COPY

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

\*\*\*\*\*

~~SECRET~~

\*\*\*\*\*S COPY

TASCA  
BT



PSN:055614

RECALLED  
PAGE 03

OF 03

TOR:202/08105Z

DTG:210720Z JUL 74

\*\*\*\*\*

~~SECRET~~ RET

\*\*\*\*\*S COPY

NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION  
Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

WITHDRAWAL ID 034942

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL . . . . ÇNational security restriction

TYPE OF MATERIAL . . . . . ÇReport

DESCRIPTION . . . . . re Cyprus Situation

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

VOLUME . . . . . 8 pages

COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 033200176

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

BOX NUMBER . . . . . 7

FOLDER TITLE . . . . . Cyprus Crisis (10)

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

WITHDRAWING ARCHIVIST . . . . HJR

NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION  
Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

WITHDRAWAL ID 034943

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL . . . . ÇNational security restriction

TYPE OF MATERIAL . . . . . ÇReport

DESCRIPTION . . . . . re Cyprus Situation

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

VOLUME . . . . . 3 pages

COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 033200176

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

BOX NUMBER . . . . . 7

FOLDER TITLE . . . . . Cyprus Crisis (10)

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

WITHDRAWING ARCHIVIST . . . . HJR

~~SECRET~~

FLASH  
ESA713GUA670  
DE RUQMGU #5755 2020850  
Z 210842Z JUL 74  
FM AMEMBASSY ANKARA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC FLASH 5194  
AMEMBASSY ATHENS FLASH 3412

~~SECRET~~ ANKARA 5755

EXDIS  
TO SECRETARY FROM AMBASSADOR MACOMBER  
E.9. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: MOPS, TU, TU  
SUBJ: CYPRUS COUP: TURKISH ACTION AGAINST GREEK SHIPS

1. AT 1050 LOCAL TIME, SHORTLY AFTER SISCO HAD LEFT FOR AIRPORT, I RECEIVED MESSAGE FROM FONMIN GUNES TO EFFECT THAT CHIEF OF TURKISH GENERAL STAFF HAD ADVISED THE ECEVIT GOVT THAT QTE SINCE IT WILL ENTAIL VERY SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES, THE TURKISH ARMED FORCES COULD NOT TAKE RESPONSIBILITY FOR DELAYING BOMBING OF APPROACHING GREEK SHIPS BEYOND 1130 LOCAL TIME. UNQTE.

2. JA SAID THAT THIS STATEMENT WAS TOTALLY UNACCEPTABLE TO THE USG. I SAID THAT USG FULLY AWARE OF GOT DELAYS IN TREATING WITH THE SISCO MISSION. I SAID WE STILL FOUND IT INCREDIBLE THAT SISCO HAD TO TAKE OFF FOR HIS RETURN VISIT TO TURKEY YESTERDAY WITHOUT FLIGHT PLAN CLEARANCE FROM TURKISH GOVT, DESPITE THE REQUEST HAVING BEEN MADE FOR THIS AMPLY AHEAD OF TIME. I NOTED OUR CONCERN OVER HOW LONG IT HAD TAKEN PRIMIN TO MEET WITH SISCO ONCE HE WAS HERE. I NOTED PARTICULARLY OUR CONCERN OVER THE FACT THAT SISCO'S SECOND MEETING, WHICH HAD BEEN TENTATIVELY SCHEDULED FOR 1100 LAST EVENING DID NOT TAKE PLACE UNTIL THIS MORNING. I SAID THAT I KNEW I WAS REFLECTING YOUR VIEWS WHEN I REPEATED THAT IN LIGHT OF THIS RECORD IT WAS COMPLETELY UNACCEPTABLE TO NOW TELL US THAT WE ONLY HAD THREE-QUARTERS OF A HOUR TO PREVENT A FURTHER ESCALATING OF THE WAR.

3. THE RESPONSE I RECEIVED WAS THAT MY POSITION WOULD BE REPORTED AT ONCE TO THE PRIMIN. I GOT WORD OF THIS CONVERSATION TO SISCO JUST BEFORE HE TOOK OFF FROM ANKARA AND I HAVE ALSO INFORMED TASCA.

\*\*\*\*\* WHSR COMMENT \*\*\*\*\*

KENNEDY, LL--NOT SENT TO SC

PSN:055663

RECALLED  
PAGE 01

TOR:202/09:09Z

DTG:210842Z JUL

\*\*\*\*\*

~~SECRET~~

\*\*\*\*\*5 COPY

*State Review*  
E.O. 13526 3/3/04

By LLR 3/30/11

~~SECRET~~



\*\*\*\*\*

~~SECRET~~

\* \*\*\*\*\* COPY

~~SECRET~~

MACOMBER  
BT



PSN:055663

RECALLED  
PAGE 02

DF 02

TOR:202/09:09Z

DTG:210842Z JUL 74

\*\*\*\*\*

~~SECRET~~

\*\*\*\*\*S COPY

~~SECRET~~

3057X

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~TOP SECRET~~/CODEWORD XGDS

July 21, 1974

MEMORANDUM FOR SECRETARY KISSINGER

FROM: Jeanne W. Davis *JW*  
SUBJECT: Minutes of the Washington Special Actions Group Meeting Held July 21, 1974

Attached are the minutes of the Washington Special Actions Group Meeting held July 21, 1974 to discuss Cyprus.

Attachment

cc: Gen. Scowcroft  
Mr. Kennedy  
Mr. Saunders



UNCLASSIFIED COPY OF CLASSIFIED ATTACHMENTS



~~SECRET~~

WH CDX  
COPY 12 OF 15 COPIES



Department of State

TELEGRAM

~~SECRET~~

Z 211018Z JUL 74 ZFF6  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO RUQMAT/AMEMBASSY ATHENS FLASH 6848  
INFO RUQMGU/AMEMBASSY ANKARA FLASH 7574  
BT

~~SECRET~~ STATE 158053

CONTROL: 5866Q  
RECD: JULY 21, 1974

TOPOL 96 EXDIS DISTRIBUTE AS NODIS

0655AM

E.O. 11652: N/A  
TAOS0 PFOR  
SUBJECT: CYPRUS

1. YOU SHOULD IMMEDIATELY DELIVER FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT TO PRESIDENT GHIZIKIS:

QUOTE: DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I HAVE RECEIVED WITH DISMAY AMBASSADOR TASCA'S REPORT OF HIS CONVERSATION WITH YOU THIS MORNING. I MUST URGE YOU IN THE MOST PRESSING MANNER NOT TO TAKE THIS STEP WHICH WOULD HAVE SUCH IRREVOCABLE AND DISASTROUS EFFECTS, ABOVE ALL FOR GREECE BUT ALSO FOR THE REST OF THE WESTERN WORLD. THIS IS A DECISION WHICH CAN ALWAYS BE TAKEN, BUT A DECISION OF SUCH GRAVITY SHOULD NOT BE TAKEN IN A MOMENT OF IMMEDIATE PRESSURE. AFTER A CEASE FIRE IS ACHIEVED, I SHALL WRITE YOU ON THIS MATTER AT GREATER LENGTH. SINCERELY, RICHARD NIXON. UNQUOTE.  
KISSINGER

EUR WSTABLER:DK  
X29380 7/21/74  
THE SECRETARY (BY PHONE)

S/S-O - RELTZ

~~SECRET~~

COPY 12 OF 15 COPIES

State Review 3/31/04  
3/30/11



~~SECRET~~  
NOT TO BE REPRODUCED WITHOUT THE AUTHORIZATION OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRET



~~SECRET~~

COPY 13 OF 15 COPIES

Department of State

TELEGRAM

~~SECRET~~

Z 211000Z JUL 74 ZFFA  
 FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS  
 TO RUEK/SECSTATE WASHDC FLASH 4311  
 INFO RUQMGU/AMEMBASSY ANKARA FLASH 3302  
 RUONQG/AMEMBASSY NICOSIA FLASH 2756  
 RUDTC/AMEMBASSY LONDON FLASH 2511  
 RUEHDT/USMISSION UN FLASH 1113  
 RUFHNA/USMISSION NATO FLASH 1750  
 BT  
~~SECRET~~ ATHENS 4722  
 SENDIS DISTRIBUTE AS NODIS  
 E.O. 11652: GDS  
 TAGSO PFOR, GR, TU, CY  
 SUBJECT: CYPRUS

CONTROL: 5869Q  
 RECD: JULY 21, 1974  
 0715AM

*State Review*  
 3/3/04  
 3/30/11

1. I MET AGAIN WITH PRIME MINISTER AT 1025, JULY 21. GREEKS WILL AGREE TO CEASEFIRE PROVIDED THAT SUCH CEASEFIRE TAKES PLACE ABOUT 11:00 A.M. IN ANY EVENT, NO DECISION ANNOUNCED BEFORE 12:15 P.M. AT THIS POINT I QUICKLY INTERJECTED THAT TIME ELEMENT WAS QUITE UNREALISTIC IN VIEW OF FACT THAT UNDER SECRETARY SISCO ALREADY IN AIR ENROUTE TO ATHENS TO DISCUSS DETAILS RELATING TO HIS CONVERSATIONS IN ANKARA, AS WELL AS NEXT STEPS. PRIME MINISTER SAID TURKS IN POSITION OF ASKING MORE FROM GREEKS THAN THEY GIVING. GREEKS, UNDER THEIR PROPOSAL ACCEPT CEASEFIRE AND TURKS IN EVENT OF GREEK ACCEPTANCE SAY THEY WILL HOLD MEETING OF COUNCIL OF MINISTERS TO MAKE DECISION. HE SAID MATTER IS MOST URGENT FOR GREEK PUBLIC OPINION AND GREEKS BECAUSE OF TURKISH INDISCRIMINATE BOMBING OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN.

2. THE MOVEMENT OF SHIPS TOWARD CYPRUS WILL STOP WITH CEASEFIRE. GOG WILL NOT REPEAT NOT ISSUE ANY ORDERS TO ARMED FORCES TO STOP OR CHANGE ITS PLANS. HOWEVER, PRIME MINISTER ASSURED ME PRIVATELY THAT PRESENT TMS SUCH SHIPS ARE NOT REPEAT NOT CLOSE TO ISLAND.

3. I THEN TOLD PRIME MINISTER I DID NOT LIKE DEADLINES AND HIT HARD ON THE POINTS THAT DEADLINES OUT OF ROGER WHEN THE PRESIDENT AND SECY KISSINGER'S PERSONAL EMISSARY DEEPLY ENGAGED IN THE PROCESS OF REESTABLISHING PEACE AND ABOUT TO ARRIVE FROM ANKARA TO PURSUE THESE EFFORTS. I ALSO ADDED THAT ANY DECISIONS AT THIS POINT BASED ON SUCH DEADLINES WOULD CLEARLY DEEPLY VIOLATE THE GREEK SENSE OF HOSPITALITY AND COURTESY. AS I EXPECTED THIS POINT CLEARLY GRASPED AND I AM NOW HOPEFUL GOG WILL NOT TAKE ANY ACTION UNTIL AFTER MEETING WITH SISCO.



~~SECRET~~

NOT TO BE REPRODUCED WITHOUT THE AUTHORIZATION OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

Department of State

TELEGRAM



ATHENS 4722

4. I AGAIN TOOK OPPORTUNITY THROUGHOUT CONVERSATION WITH PRIME MINISTER TO UNDERLINE TO HIM HOW IMPRESSIVE HAS BEEN THEIR RESTRAINT TO DATE AND MY FIRM BELIEF IT WAS HAVING A REAL EFFECT ON THE GOG'S IMAGE THROUGHOUT WORLD. I SAID WE WERE EXTREMELY CLOSE TO REACHING AN AGREEMENT AND I HOPED THAT THEY WOULD NOT TAKE ANY PRECIPITATE ACTION, MUCH AS I UNDERSTOOD AND FELT THEIR DEEP CONCERN WITH THE CONTINUED LOSS OF LIFE AND INJURY OF GREEK CYPRIOTS ON ISLAND.

5. ON DEPARTING I AGAIN MADE POINT ABOUT PRECIPATE ACTION AND REQUESTED THAT GREEKS CONSULT WITH US BEFORE TAKING ANY FURTHER DECISIONS WHICH WOULD CREATE OBSSTACLES TO OUR MAKING THE PROGRESS WHICH NOW APPEARS IN SIGHT. PRIME MINISTER SAID HE UNDERSTOOD MY POINT AND INDICATED HE WOULD CONSULT. TASCA

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~



NOT TO BE REPRODUCED WITHOUT THE AUTHORIZATION OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION  
Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

WITHDRAWAL ID 034946

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL . . . . ÇNational security restriction

TYPE OF MATERIAL . . . . . ÇReport

DESCRIPTION . . . . . re Cyprus Situation

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

VOLUME . . . . . 3 pages

COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 033200176

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

BOX NUMBER . . . . . 7

FOLDER TITLE . . . . . Cyprus Crisis (10)

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

WITHDRAWING ARCHIVIST . . . . HJR

~~SECRET~~

*J.H. LDX 12*



Department of State

TELEGRAM

~~SECRET~~ CA0260

E 01 ATHENS 04728 211217Z

ION CCO-00

O OCT-01 PASS-00 /001 W

069937

21140Z JUL 74  
AMEMBASSY ATHENS  
SECSTATE WASHDC FLASH 4314

~~C R E T~~ ATHENS 4728

IS DISTRIBUTE AS NODIS  
TO 42

THE SECRETARY FROM SISCO

~~SECRET~~ *State Review*  
3/3/04

115321 GDS  
SI OVIP (SISCO, JOSEPH J.)  
JI CYPRUS

~~SECRET~~ *3/30/11*

I, ALONG WITH TASCIA, AND ELLSWORTH, HAVE JUST  
PLETED MY TALK WITH THE PRIMIN AND ACTING FORMIN  
GREECE.

THE PRIMIN INFORMED ME THAT THE "GREEK GOVERNMENT  
REQUESTS THE CEASEFIRE AS PROVIDED FOR IN THE  
SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION ADOPTED YESTERDAY"  
EFFECTIVE 3 P.M. CYPRUS TIME.

FROM MY TELEPHONE CALL TO YOU, YOU ARE NOW  
KNOWING ECEVIT AND I HAVE INFORMED NOBODY ELSE  
OF THE ABOVE.

THE PRIMIN WISHES TO SEE US AT 6 P. M. LOCAL AGAIN.

HE INFORMED ME CONFIDENTIALLY THAT THERE IS GOING TO BE A  
CHANGE OF GOVERNMENT WITHIN THE NEXT 24  
HOURS. HE PUT IT THIS WAY: "THE 'CAPTAINS' ARE  
GOING TO TAKE OVER," AND IT WAS OBVIOUS BY THE WAY



~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

NOT TO BE REPRODUCED WITHOUT THE AUTHORIZATION OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

~~SECRET~~



Department of State

TELEGRAM

~~SECRET~~

PAGE 02 ATHENS 04720 211217Z

HE AND THE ACTING FORMIN PUT IT, THAT "HE DID NOT KNOW WHETHER THIS WAS GOOD OR BAD." THE CLEAR IMPLICATION WAS THAT IT WAS VERY BAD INDEED AND THAT HE NOR THE FOREIGN MINISTER WOULD SERVE IN WHATEVER NEW GOVERNMENT IS ANNOUNCED.

5. FOR THIS REASON, HE SAID, NO GREEK GOVERNMENT TODAY CAN TAKE A DECISION TO GO TO LONDON FOR LONDON-ZURICH TALKS ON TUESDAY. THE SITUATION HERE IS GOING TO HAVE TO SETTLE DOWN, THE PRIMIN SAID. FOR THIS REASON, I SAID TO YOU OVER THE PHONE THAT I WOULD INFORM YOU ABOUT CERTAIN "COMPLICATIONS". FOR THIS REASON, TOO, LET US GET THIS CEASEFIRE NOW AND TRY TO WORK ON NEGOTIATIONS SUBSEQUENTLY.  
TASCA

CCO DELIVER TO OFFLINE FOR PROCESSING



~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

NOT TO BE REPRODUCED WITHOUT THE AUTHORIZATION OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

~~SECRET~~

*Let - WH*

13



Department of State

TELEGRAM

~~SECRET~~

CA0266

PAGE 01 ANKARA 05763 211230Z

53  
ACTION ECO-00

INFO OCT-01 PASS-00 /001 W

Z 211145Z JUL 74  
FM AMEMBASSY ANKARA  
O RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC FLASH 5100  
AMEMBASSY ATHENS FLASH  
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA FLASH

069900

~~SECRET~~ ANKARA 5763

*State Review*  
3/13/09

EXDIS-HANDLE AS NODIS

*HR* 3/30/11

ATHENS FOR UNDER SECRETARY SISCO AND AMB

E.O. 11652; GDS  
YAGS; MOPS, GR, TU  
SUBJ: CYPRUS COUP



REF: ANKARA 5755

1. FOLLOWING ARE DEVELOPMENTS WHICH HAVE TAKEN PLACE SINCE  
DISPATCH REFTEL.

2. I HAVE CONVEYED TO PRIME MINISTER ECEVIT INFORMATION  
RECEIVED FROM AMB TASCA THAT GOG HAS AGREED TO THE THREE  
POINTS PROPOSAL WHICH SISCO CARRIED AWAY WITH HIM THIS MORNING.  
AS DEPT KNOWS, THREE POINTS ARE STAND-DOWN CEASEFIRE,  
EARLY TALKS IN LONDON AND DIVERSTION OF GREEK FLOTILLA WHICH  
TURKS CONVINCED ENROUTE TO CYPRUS.

3. PRININ TOLD ME THAT JUST MOMENTS EARLIER HE HEARD THIS NEWS  
BY TELEPHONE FROM SECRETARY KISSINGER. HOWEVER, HE HAD SUBSEQUENTLY  
BECOME CONVINCED THAT WE HAD BEEN OTE DUPED UNOTE AND THAT GREEK  
FLOTILLA WAS ABOUT TO LAND IN CYPRUS. PRINEMIN SAID THAT TURKISH MILITARY  
HAD BEEN AUTHORIZED TO FIRE ON THE SHIPS WHENEVER THEY REACHED  
POINT OF NO RETURN WHICH, HE SUGGESTED, WOULD BE AT ANY MINUTE.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

Department of State

TELEGRAM

SECRET

~~PAGE 12 ANKARA 05763 211238Z~~

HE ALSO ASSERTED SHIPS HAD TAKEN EVASIVE ACTION FROM TURKISH MILITARY AND WERE SPREADING OUT IN ORDER TO LAND AT NUMBER OF DIFFERENT POINTS ALONG CYPRUS COAST.

4. AT THIS POINT WITH PRIMIN AT MY ELBOW, I TELEPHONED BACK TO THE SECRETARY TO ADVISE HIM OF DETERIORATION WE FACING HERE AS RESULT OF WHAT PRIMIN JUST TOLD ME. I TOLD SECRETARY THAT I WAS CONTACTING SISCO AND TASCA TO EMPHASIZE NECESSITY OF GETTING CREDIBLE TOP-LEVEL GREEK ASSURANCE THAT FLOTILLA WAS BEING DIVERTED. I THEN PUT THE PRIMIN ON THE LINE AND SECRETARY TALKED DIRECTLY WITH HIM.

5. WHEN I GOT BACK ON THE LINE, SECRETARY INSTRUCTED ME TO DO EVERYTHING I COULD, AS STRONGLY AS I COULD, TO PREVENT PRECIPITOUS TURKISH ACTION. HE ALSO SAID HE WOULD BE IN TOUCH WITH THE GOG.

6. FOR THE NEXT FEW MINUTES I CONTINUED DISCUSSION WITH PRIMIN, BUT IT WAS CLEAR TO ME THAT HE REMAINED CONVINCED THAT THE AMERICANS AND THE TURKS WERE BOTH BEING DUPED BY THE GREEKS AND THAT THE GREEK FLOTILLA WAS ABOUT TO LAND ON CYPRUS.

7. I THEREUPON RETURNED TO THE CHANCERY AND SPOKE ON PHONE TO SISCO AND TASCA. ON BASIS OF THEIR COMMENTS TO ME, I AGAIN CONTACTED PRIMIN TO CONVEY RENewed GREEK ASSURANCES THAT THERE WAS NO GREEK FLOTILLA IN AREA. PRIMIN VIEW REMAINED THAT WE WERE BEING DUPED.

8. IN PAST TWO HOURS WE HAVE CONTINUED IN CONSTANT TOUCH WITH PRIMIN AND HIS AIDES AND WE HAVE FINALLY BEGUN TO SOW SOME DOUBTS IN THEIR MINDS ABOUT WHETHER THERE IS IN FACT A GREEK FLOTILLA ABOUT TO LAND. THEY ARE AT LEAST NOW COUNTENANCING POSSIBILITY THAT THE SHIPS ARE OF OTHER NATIONALITY AND THEY ARE AWARE THAT WE ARE ATTEMPTING BY ALL MEANS TO GET DEFINITIVE IDENTIFICATION. GOT CONTINUES TO ALLEGE, HOWEVER, THAT SHIPS ARE NOW DEPLOYED OFF PAPHOS AND THE "FLOTILLA" CONSISTS OF THREE DESTROYERS AND SEVEN TRANSPORT VESSELS.

9. MOMENTS AGO WE RECEIVED AND PASSED ON TO PRIME MINISTER ECEVIT ICANNIDES' MESSAGE TO SISCO WHICH SAID "IF THE TURKS SEE GREEK SHIPS IN CYPRUS DANGER ZONE, TELL THEM (THE TURKS) TO SINK THEM."  
HACOMBER

~~SECRET~~ SECRET

NOT TO BE REPRODUCED WITHOUT THE AUTHORIZATION OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

~~SECRET~~ *Kennedy, CC*

BREZHNEV IN WARSAW REVIEWS SOVIET-U.S. RELATIONS

211206 MOSCOW TASS IN ENGLISH 1155 GMT 21 JUL 74 L

"LEONID BREZHNEV ON SOVIET-AMERICAN SUMMIT MEETING"--TASS HEADLINE)

(TEXT) WARSAW JULY 21 TASS--LEONID BREZHNEV NOTED THE SUCCESS OF SOVIET-AMERICAN TALKS AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL. SPEAKING TODAY AT THE CELEBRATION SESSION AT THE SEJM OF THE POLISH PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC, GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CPSU CC SAID:

"THE RESULTS OF THE RECENT SOVIET-AMERICAN SUMMIT MEETING HAVE BEEN FRESH EVIDENCE THAT THE PROCESS OF INTERNATIONAL DETENTE CONTINUES AND DEEPENS. THE MAIN THING, IN OUR OPINION, IS THAT BOTH SIDES WITH ALL CLARITY CONFIRMED THEIR DETERMINATION TO CONTINUE THE IMPORTANT UNDERTAKING STARTED BY THEM IN 1972-1973 -- TO DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO FURTHER LESSEN AND THEN TO FULLY RULE OUT THE RISK OF A MILITARY CLASH BETWEEN THE USSR AND THE USA WHICH WOULD BE TANTAMOUNT TO THE BEGINNING OF A WORLD NUCLEAR MISSILE WAR. THE MUTUAL DESIRE TO DEVELOP AND DEEPEN PEACEFUL AND MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL SOVIET-AMERICAN COOPERATION IN VARIOUS FIELDS WAS ALSO DEMONSTRATED IN FULL CLARITY.

"THE CONCRETE RESULTS OF THE MOSCOW TALKS ARE WELL KNOWN. HERE I WOULD LIKE ONLY TO ONCE AGAIN UNDERLINE THE IMPORTANCE OF THAT PART WHICH STANDS IN DIRECT RELATION TO THE RESTRAINT OF THE ARMS RACE AND CONSOLIDATION OF UNIVERSAL PEACE.

"THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA SIGNED A PROTOCOL PROVIDING FOR A NEW SUBSTANTIAL LIMITATION OF THE ANTI-BALLISTIC MISSILE DEFENCE SYSTEMS OF BOTH COUNTRIES.

THIS IS UNDOUBTEDLY A USEFUL STEP. IT IS USEFUL NOT ONLY FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF PEACEFUL ECONOMY OF BOTH COUNTRIES, BUT ALSO FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE FURTHER GROWTH OF TRUST BETWEEN THEM AND IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS THE OVERALL IMPROVEMENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL CLIMATE.

"AS A RESULT OF OUR TALKS WITH PRESIDENT NIXON, THE CONTOURS OF FURTHER STEPS TO LIMIT STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE WEAPONS HAVE ALSO BEEN SHAPED. I WOULD LIKE TO UNDERLINE THE LARGE SCALE NATURE OF THE MEASURES OUTLINED:

"IT SHOULD BE MENTIONED THAT THE TEMPORARY AGREEMENT ON THIS QUESTION, VALID, AS IS KNOWN, TILL 1977, A NEW LONG-TERM AGREEMENT FOLLOWED WHICH WILL BE VALID TILL 1985 AND PROVIDE FOR BOTH QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITATIVE LIMITATIONS IN MISSILE NUCLEAR WEAPONS. (SENTENCE AS RECEIVED) IT IS UNDERSTANDABLE THAT THE CONCLUSION OF SUCH AN AGREEMENT IS NOT AN EASY TASK, HOWEVER. WE BELIEVE THAT THE WORK WHICH HAS ALREADY BEEN DONE, INCLUDING THE WORK DURING THE LAST SUMMIT MEETING, WILL HELP TO SOLVE THE TASKS THAT HAVE BEEN SET.



DECLASSIFIED  
3/30/11  
LR

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

"THE USSR AND THE USA HAVE ALSO AGREED TO CONSIDERABLY LIMIT IN COORDINATED TIME THE UNDERGROUND NUCLEAR WEAPONS TESTS BY BOTH THE COUNTRIES AS WELL AS TO STOP TESTING COMPLETELY THE MOST POWERFUL DEVICES. WE REGARD THIS AGREEMENT AS A NEW STEP IN ORDER THAT THE BAN ON TESTING NUCLEAR WEAPONS SHOULD BE ALL-AROUND AND UNIVERSAL IN THE LONG RUN.

"THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT THE AGREEMENTS REACHED BETWEEN THE USSR AND THE USA DIRECTED AGAINST USING THE MOST DANGEROUS LETHAL MEANS FOR WAGING CHEMICAL WARFARE AS WELL AS MEANS OF INFLUENCING ENVIRONMENT FOR MILITARY PURPOSES ARE ALSO USEFUL FOR THE CAUSE OF PEACE.

"WE THINK, COMRADES, THAT ALL THIS COMPLEX OF PRACTICAL ACTIONS REPRESENTING A GOOD EXAMPLE OF LIMITING MILITARY PREPARATIONS ON THE PART OF THE POWERS, ANSWERS THE INTERESTS OF THOSE WHO WANT STRENGTHENING PEACE ON THE EARTH. THAT IS WHY CONSTRUCTIVE RESULTS OF SOVIET-AMERICAN NEGOTIATIONS HAVE BEEN MET WITH BROAD POSITIVE RESPONSES THE WORLD OVER.

"I CAN SAY, COMRADES, THAT WE WOULD LIKE TO ACHIEVE MORE AND WE WERE READY TO GO FARTHER. THE SOVIET UNION IS READY, IN PARTICULAR, TO SIGN AN AGREEMENT ON THE COMPLETE CESSATION OF ALL UNDERGROUND NUCLEAR WEAPONS TESTS. WE BELIEVE THAT IT WILL BE USEFUL TO REACH AGREEMENT ON THE WITHDRAWAL FROM THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA OF ALL NUCLEAR EQUIPPED SOVIET AND AMERICAN SHIPS AND SUBMARINES. UNFORTUNATELY, IT HAS NOT BEEN POSSIBLE SO FAR TO REACH AGREEMENT ON THAT ACCOUNT. HOWEVER, WE ARE CONVINCED THAT THE IMPLEMENTATION INTO LIFE OF OUR PROPOSALS WOULD BE A NEW REAL CONTRIBUTION TO THE CONSOLIDATION OF PEACE AND WOULD BE MET WITH GREAT SATISFACTION BY THE PEOPLES OF MANY COUNTRIES. LET US HOPE THAT TIME WILL COME WHEN THE AGREEMENTS ON THESE QUESTIONS WILL BECOME POSSIBLE."

21 JUL 1430Z MSM/MC



~~SECRET~~