

**The original documents are located in Box 8, folder “Cyprus Crisis (15)” of the Kissinger-Scowcroft West Wing Office Files at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.**

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File 1

CU R

ZCZCSCS320

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

DE WTE 4929 2041645

Z 231645Z JUL 74

FM THE SITUATION ROOM//TOSCO 274//

TO MCFARLANE FOR GEN. SCOWCROFT (SAN CLEMENTE)

ZEM

~~SECRET~~ WH42505

TOSCO 274

REF 1211

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, MARR, GR, TU, CY

SUBJECT: CYPRUS: CONTINUED CEASE FIRE VIOLATIONS  
AND CONSEQUENCES FOR USG

1. I HAVE BEEN INFORMED BY GREEK MILITARY THAT TURKISH FORCES BREAKING CEASEFIRE BY SHELLING NICOSIA AIRPORT WITH TANK CANNON. I DO NOT KNOW WHAT, IF ANY, JUSTIFICATION TURKISH FORCES WOULD PUT FORWARD, BUT WHATEVER EXCUSE GIVEN IT IMPERATIVE THAT CEASEFIRE BE MADE EFFECTIVE SOONEST.
2. WE HAVE COUNSELED RESTRAINT ON PART OF GREEKS SO MANY TIMES THAT OUR CREDIBILITY JUST ABOUT WORN OUT. IF WE CANNOT EFFECTIVELY END CONTINUING COMBAT IN SHORTEST TIME, WIDER WAR ALMOST INEVITABLE.
3. I HAVE PREVIOUSLY SUGGESTED POSSIBILITY OF UTILIZING 6TH FLEET SINCE SUGGESTION OF POSSIBLE WITHDRAWAL OF MILITARY ASSISTANCE HAS FAILED. I BELIEVE SITUATION NOW SO CRITICAL THAT VERY SERIOUS CONSIDERATION SHOULD BE GIVEN TO QUARANTINE OF ISLAND BY SEA AND AIR TO PREVENT INTRODUCTION OF ARMS AND AMMUNITION OF EITHER SIDE IN CONJUNCTION WITH STRONGEST POSSIBLE DEMARCHES TO TURKS. YOU WILL UNDOUBTEDLY RECALL PRINCIPALLY U.S. PROVIDED ARMS AND EQUIPMENT EARMARKED SPECIFICALLY FOR NATO CONTINGENCIES ARE BEING USED BY TURKS.
4. QUARANTINE WOULD PREVENT SUPPLY ACTION BY TURKS AND GREEKS AS WELL AS DENYING SUCH OPERATIONS AS REASON FOR BREAKING CEASEFIRE.

TASCA

0255

4929

~~SECRET~~ State Review

NO ~~SECRET~~ 3/3/84

By HR ~~SECRET~~ 4/4/11



NNNN

~~SECRET~~

NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION  
Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

WITHDRAWAL ID 034976

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL . . . . ÇNational security restriction

TYPE OF MATERIAL . . . . . ÇTelegram

CREATOR'S NAME . . . . . Amconsul Thessaloniki

RECEIVER'S NAME . . . . . Secstate WashDC

DESCRIPTION . . . . . re obeservations in Thessaloniki

CREATION DATE . . . . . 07/23/1974

VOLUME . . . . . 2 pages

COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 033200181

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

BOX NUMBER . . . . . 8

FOLDER TITLE . . . . . Cyprus Crisis (15)

DATE WITHDRAWN . . . . . 08/30/2011

WITHDRAWING ARCHIVIST . . . . HJR

NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION  
Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

WITHDRAWAL ID 034977

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL . . . . ÇNational security restriction

TYPE OF MATERIAL . . . . . ÇTelegram

CREATOR'S NAME . . . . . WH Situation Room

RECEIVER'S NAME . . . . . McFarlane for Gen. Scowcroft

DESCRIPTION . . . . . re Greece

CREATION DATE . . . . . 07/23/1974

VOLUME . . . . . 1 page

COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 033200181

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

BOX NUMBER . . . . . 8

FOLDER TITLE . . . . . Cyprus Crisis (15)

DATE WITHDRAWN . . . . . 08/30/2011

WITHDRAWING ARCHIVIST . . . . HJR

VZCZCSCS326  
\*\*\*\*\*ZZ WTE12  
DE WTE 4934 2041744  
E 231745Z JUL 74  
FM THE SITUATION ROOM//TOSCO 285//  
TO MCFARLANE FOR GEN. SCOWCROFT (S.C.)  
ZEM  
~~SECRET~~ WH42510

42  
File  
~~SECRET~~

TOSCO 285

~~SECRET~~ NICOSIA 1659

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT CY TU GR

SUBJECT: TURKISH MILITARY OPERATION IN CYPRUS

1. BELOW HIGHLY SPECULATIVE, BUT BEST DESCRIPTION WE CAN MAKE ON LIMITED INFO AVAILABLE.
2. WITH RENEWED OUTBREAK FIGHTING MORNING JULY 23, IT INCREASINGLY CLEAR THAT TURKS DO HAVE DEFINITE MILITARY OBJECTIVES (IF LIMITED), WHICH THEY DETERMINED ACHIEVE BEFORE ENTERING NEGOTIATIONS. PATTERN OF BATTLE SUGGESTS THESE INCLUDE GREATLY EXPANDED NICOSIA ENCLAVE (PERHAPS INCLUDING CHATOS AREA) WITH BROAD BASE ON NORTH COAST. SUSPECT MINIMUM AREA MAY BE THAT ENCOMPASSED BY "OLD GREEK ROAD TO KYRENIA" AND NEW KYRENIA ROAD PASSING THROUGH KYTHREA. THIS WOULD PERMIT EASY LINKING TO CHATOS ENCLAVE.
3. CONTROL OF AIRPORT PROBABLY NOT RPT NOT ESSENTIAL TO TURKS CONTEMPLATED GEOGRAPHIC SETTLEMENT. MORE PROBABLY, TURK MILITARY INTENT ON DENYING THIS FACILITY TO GREEKS, THEREBY GREATLY INHIBITING RESUPPLY.
4. IF TURK PLANS LARGER THAN THOSE OUTLINED ABOVE, THEY MAY INCLUDE LINKING NICOSIA/CHATOS WITH LARGE ENCLAVES ON KARPAS. THIS COULD EXPLAIN REPORTED HELICOPTER LANDINGS IN GALIPORNI AND SAVAGE AIR STRIKES AROUND FAMAGUSTA. (WE DOUBT THIS EXTENSION WAS INTENDED, AT LEAST IN ORIGINAL PLANNING.)
5. TO ACCOMPLISH THIS, TURKS PROBABLY WOULD BE FORCED LAND LARGE NUMBER ADDITIONAL TROOPS. MILITARILY, AREA NORTH OF FAMAGUSTA WOULD MAKE MOST SENSE. WOULD APPRECIATE ANY INFO ANKARA OR ADANA CAN DEVELOP ON POSSIBILITIES FOR ADDITIONAL LANDINGS.
6. TURKISH OPERATION THUS FAR APPEARS REMARKABLY ILL PREPARED, DESPITE LONG LEAD TIME FOR PLANNING. PRESUMABLY, TURKS ESTIMATED THAT NATIONAL GUARD, FOLLOWING RECENT COUP, WAS TOO FRAGMENTED AND DEMORALIZED TO OFFER MUCH RESISTANCE. IF THIS WAS THEIR PRESUMPTION, THEY WERE WRONG. TURKS LANDED TOO FEW TROOPS, WITH TOO LITTLE ARMOR TO OVERRUN PRESUMED OBJECTIVES WITH DISPATCH. DELAY, INTERCOMMUNAL CLASHES AND INCREASING CASUALTIES MAY TEMPT TURK MILITARY TO REVISE PLAN TO MORE GRANDIOSE (AND BLOODY) PROPORTIONS.

DAVIES

END OF PAGE 01

~~SECRET~~ State Review  
3/31/04

By HR 4/4/11



46

NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION  
Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

WITHDRAWAL ID 034978

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL . . . . ÇNational security restriction

TYPE OF MATERIAL . . . . . ÇTelegram

CREATOR'S NAME . . . . . WH Situation Room

RECEIVER'S NAME . . . . . McFarlane for Gen. Scowcroft

DESCRIPTION . . . . . re Greece

CREATION DATE . . . . . 07/23/1974

VOLUME . . . . . 1 page

COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 033200181

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

BOX NUMBER . . . . . 8

FOLDER TITLE . . . . . Cyprus Crisis (15)

DATE WITHDRAWN . . . . . 08/30/2011

WITHDRAWING ARCHIVIST . . . . HJR

5

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DE IMMED  
FJK111  
DE CUFRES #7941 2041748  
D 2317467 JUL 74 ZFF-6  
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 1080

INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS NIACT IMMEDIATE 2759  
AMEMBASSY ANKARA NIACT IMMEDIATE 2860  
AMEMBASSY LONDON NIACT IMMEDIATE 4526  
USMISSION GENEVA NIACT IMMEDIATE 5627  
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA NIACT IMMEDIATE 0439  
USMISSION USUN NIACT IMMEDIATE 6925  
USMISSION NATO NIACT IMMEDIATE 3937

UNCLAS PARIS 17941

F.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, GR

SUBJECT: KARAHANLIS REPORTEDLY WILL RETURN TO GREECE  
AFP TICKER HAS JUST RELEASED ITEM STATING THAT GENERAL  
GPIZIKIS HAS TELEPHONED CONSTANTIN KARAHANLIS ASKING HIM  
TO RETURN TO GREECE TO DIRECT THE NEW GOVERNMENT OF  
NATIONAL UNION. KARAHANLIS REPORTEDLY ACCEPTED AND  
INTENDS TO LEAVE PARIS TONIGHT.

JFWH

BT



\*\*\*\*\*WNSR COMMENT\*\*\*\*\*

KENNEDY,LL---SENT TO SC

PSN:001417 RECALLED PAGE 01 OF 01 TOR:204/18:02Z DTG:2317467 JUL 74

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NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION  
Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

WITHDRAWAL ID 034979

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL . . . . ÇNational security restriction

TYPE OF MATERIAL . . . . . ÇReport

DESCRIPTION . . . . . re Cyprus Situation

CREATION DATE . . . . . 07/23/1974

VOLUME . . . . . 5 pages

COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 033200181

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

BOX NUMBER . . . . . 8

FOLDER TITLE . . . . . Cyprus Crisis (15)

DATE WITHDRAWN . . . . . 08/30/2011

WITHDRAWING ARCHIVIST . . . . HJR



NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION  
Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

WITHDRAWAL ID 034980

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL . . . . ÇNational security restriction

TYPE OF MATERIAL . . . . . ÇTelegram

DESCRIPTION . . . . . re Cyprus

CREATION DATE . . . . . 07/23/1974

VOLUME . . . . . 2 pages

COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 033200181

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

BOX NUMBER . . . . . 8

FOLDER TITLE . . . . . Cyprus Crisis (15)

DATE WITHDRAWN . . . . . 08/30/2011

WITHDRAWING ARCHIVIST . . . . HJR

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FLASH  
ESA761ATA442  
DE RUQMAT #4885 2041850  
Z 231845Z JUL 74  
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC FLASH 4420

UNCLAS ATHENS 4885

E.O. 11652: N/A  
TAGS: PINT, GR  
SUBJ: RETURN OF KARAMANLIS  
FRENCH EMBASSY CONFIRMS KARAMANLIS HAS BEEN INVITED TO  
RETURN AND IS ALREADY UNDERWAY BY PRIVATE PLANE.  
TASCA  
BT



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

KENNEDY,LL---SENT TO SC

PSN:001488      RECALLED      PAGE 01      OF 01      TDR:204/19:05Z      DTG:231845Z JUL 74

\*\*\*\*\*U N C L A S S I F I E D\*\*\*\*\*S COPY

#ZZ

RNR 426

URGENT.....CYPRUS-LEAD COUNCIL

UNITED NATIONS, JULY 23, REUTER -- THE SECURITY COUNCIL WAS SUMMONED INTO URGENT SESSION AT 9 P.M. EDT TONIGHT AT THE REQUEST OF GREECE, WHICH CHARGED CONTINUOUS TURKISH CEASEFIRE VIOLATIONS INCLUDING THE SHELLING OF THE GREEK EMBASSY IN NICOSIA.

#ZZ

RNR 427

CYPRUS-LEAD COUNCIL 2 UNITED NATIONS

IN A LETTER CALLING FOR THE MEETING, THE GREEK U.N. REPRESENTATIVE ALSO WARNED THAT UNLESS TURKISH TROOPS RETURNED TO THE POSITIONS THEY HELD WHEN YESTERDAYS CEASEFIRE WENT INTO EFFECT, "THE WHOLE SITUATION WOULD INEVITABLY DETERIORATE IN SUCH AN EXPLOSIVE WAY THAT IT COULD LEAD TO A GENERAL CONFLAGRATION."

#ZZ

RNR 428

CYPRUS-LEAD COUNCIL 3 UNITED NATIONS

GREEK U.N. REPRESENTATIVE CONSTANTINE PANAYOTACOS SAID IN HIS LETTER TO THE COUNCIL PRESIDENT, AMBASSADOR JAVIER PEREZ DE CUELLAR OF PERU:

"WITH REGARD TO THE HEAVY SHELLING OF OUR EMBASSYS PREMISES, I HAVE THE HONOR, ON INSTRUCTIONS OF MY GOVERNMENT, TO REQUEST YOU TO CONVENE IMMEDIATELY THE SECURITY COUNCIL IN ORDER TO EXAMINE A MOST SERIOUS SITUATION CREATED BY THE CONTINUOUS TURKISH VIOLATIONS OF THE CEASEFIRE . . . "

THE LETTER CONTAINED NO DETAILS OF THE ALLEGED SHELLING OF THE GREEK EMBASSY.

BUT IT CHARGED THE TURKISH FORCES WITH ADVANCING IN VARIOUS AREAS OF THE COUNTRY AND SAID THAT HEAVY FIGHTING WAS CAUSING "HUNDREDS OF CIVILIAN CASUALTIES."

RNR 429

CYPRUS-LEAD COUNCIL 4 UNITED NATIONS

THE GREEK ENVOY WARNED: "I AM DIRECTED TO STATE THAT UNLESS IMMEDIATE MEASURES ARE TAKEN FOR THE RETURN OF THE TURKISH ARMED FORCES TO THE POSITIONS THEY HELD ON 22 JULY AT 4 P.M. CYPRUS LOCAL TIME AND TO STOP THEIR EFFORTS TO ENLARGE THE TERRITORY OCCUPIED BY THEM, THE WHOLE SITUATION WOULD INEVITABLY DETERIORATE IN SUCH AN EXPLOSIVE WAY, THAT IT COULD LEAD TO A GENERAL CONFLAGRATION."

(NO PICKUP)

REUTER 1914



NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION  
Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

WITHDRAWAL ID 034981

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL . . . . ÇNational security restriction

TYPE OF MATERIAL . . . . . ÇReport

DESCRIPTION . . . . . re Cyprus Situation

CREATION DATE . . . . . 07/23/1974

VOLUME . . . . . 5 pages

COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 033200181

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

BOX NUMBER . . . . . 8

FOLDER TITLE . . . . . Cyprus Crisis (15)

DATE WITHDRAWN . . . . . 08/30/2011

WITHDRAWING ARCHIVIST . . . . HJR

FOUO

*Kennedy, LL*

YGHRRRRR

FBIS 121 (OUT OF SEQUENCE)\*\*\*\*\*

GREEK ARMED FORCES URGE CALM, RESERVES MOBILIZED

0232020 PARIS AFP IN FRENCH 2009 GMT 23 JUL 74 C

(TEXT) ATHENS, 23 JUL--A COMMUNIQUE OF THE ARMED FORCES  
HIGH COMMAND BROADCAST OVER RADIO ATHENS INVITES DEMONSTRATORS  
TO DISPERSE CALMLY SO THAT SECURITY PLANS MAY BE PUT INTO EFFECT.  
CITIZENS SHOULD BEAR IN MIND THAT EXCEPTIONAL CIRCUMSTANCES CALL  
FOR THE MOBILIZATION OF THE RESERVES, WHICH IS BEING CARRIED OUT  
THE COMMUNIQUE ADDS.

23 JUL 2053Z BG/BG\*\*\*\*\*



FOUO

~~SECRET NODIS~~

12



Department of State

TELEGRAM

006592

23 JUL 74 22 07

~~SECRET~~

CA0847

PAGE 01 ANKARA 05059 232154Z

04  
ACTION CCO-00

INFO OCT-01 PASS-00 /001 W

Z 232131Z JUL 74 ZFF-6  
FM AMEMBASSY ANKARA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC FLASH 0253  
INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS FLASH

095683

~~SECRET~~ ANKARA 05059

EXDIS HANDLED AS NODIS

*State Review*  
3/3/04  
By *HZ* 4/4/11

EO 11652 GDS  
TAGS: PFOR, CY, TU, GR  
SUBJECT: CYPRUS SITUATION

1. I MET WITH PRIME MINISTER ECEVIT AT 10:45 P.M. LOCAL TIME EVENING JULY 23. NO ONE ELSE WAS PRESENT.
2. PRIME MINISTER SPOKE OF HIS MOST RECENT CONVERSATION WITH THE SECRETARY AND REITERATED THE CONVICTION HE HAD EXPRESSED IN THAT CONVERSATION THAT BEST COURSE WAS FOR FOREIGN MINISTER GUNES TO PROCEED TO GENEVA FIRST THING MORNING OF 20TH. HE SAID THIS WOULD BE DONE UNLESS HE RECEIVED CONTRARY ADVICE FROM SECRETARY OR FORNMIN CALLAGHAN BETWEEN NOW AND THEN. HE WENT ON TO SAY THAT IT FULLY UNDERSTANDABLE WHY GREEK GOVERNMENT COULD NOT PRODUCE DELEGATE TO GENEVA AT THIS TIME BUT HE INDICATED THAT TURKISH PERM REP IN GENEVA HAD HEARD THAT DELEGATION LED BY AVEROFF MIGHT POSSIBLY BE ON HAND TOMORROW. HE SAID THAT HE HAD INSTRUCTED TURK AMBASSADOR IN ATHENS TO CONTACT GREEK PRESIDENT TO SEEK CLARIFICATION GOC INTENTION (NOTING NO GREEK AMBASSADOR HERE) BUT HE DOUBTFUL THAT TURKISH AMBASSADOR WOULD BE ABLE TO GET THROUGH.
3. HE EXPRESSED GRATIFICATION OVER CURRENT POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN ATHENS WHICH HE THOUGH MIGHT WELL PRESSAGE A RETURN TO DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT THERE. HE NOTED HOWEVER THAT THIS WOULD TAKE LONG TIME TO CARRY OUT IN REALLY MEANINGFUL WAY. HE SAID THERE IS NO PARLIAMENT, NO YOUNGER

~~SECRET NODIS~~

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~~SECRET~~ NODIS



Department of State

TELEGRAM

~~SECRET~~

PAGE 02 ANKARA 05059 232104Z

EXPERIENCED DEMOCRATIC POLITICIANS, NO FREE JUDICIARY, AND NO GRASS ROOT POLITICAL PARTIES, EVEN IN EARLIER TIMES, HE NOTED, GREEK POLITICAL PARTIES SUFFERED FROM BEING "LEADERSHIP" RATHER THAN "GRASS ROOTS" PARTIES.

4. I TOLD HIM THAT I WAS CONTINUING TO GET CONFUSING REPORTS AS TO WHAT WAS HAPPENING ON ISLAND, BUT THESE REPORTS INCLUDED FRANTIC GREEK CONCERN OVER PURPORTED CONTINUING AND FLAGRANT TURK VIOLATIONS OF CEASE FIRE, ALONG WITH REPEATED STATEMENTS THAT IF THIS DID NOT STOP WAR WAS INEVITABLE.

5. ECEVIT MADE IT CLEAR THAT HE CONSIDERED THESE REPORTS ALL PART OF CONFUSION AND EXAGGERATION WHICH ALMOST ALWAYS ENVELOPS EARLY CEASE FIRE SITUATIONS. HE ALSO MADE IT CLEAR THAT HIS PREOCCUPATION AT THE TIME HE WERE TALKING WAS NOT ON THIS SUBJECT BUT RATHER ON GETTING GENEVA MEETINGS UNDER WAY.

6. THIS PORTION OF OUR CONVERSATION CONCLUDED WITH MY NOTING THAT ONE THEME RUNNING THROUGH GREEK COMMENT WAS THAT GOG NOT ABOUT TO SIT DOWN IN GENEVA AND TALK WITH TURKS AS LONG AS LATTER BREACHING CEASE FIRE. IN REPLY, ECEVIT MADE IT CLEAR THAT IN HIS JUDGMENT REAL HOLD-UP TO GETTING CONFERENCE STARTED IN GENEVA WAS NOT ACTIVITIES ON THE ISLAND, BUT RATHER TRANSITIONAL POLITICAL SITUATION IN ATHENS.

7. PRIME MINISTER THEN TURNED TO MAIN PURPOSE OF OUR MEETING, THIS BEING REPORTED SEPTTEL.  
MACOMBER

~~SECRET~~



~~SECRET~~ NODIS

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13

FLASH  
DSA923  
DE RUDTC #9347 2042151  
Z 232149Z JUL 74 ZFF 4  
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC FLASH 2413

INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS FLASH 1484  
AMEMBASSY ANKARA FLASH 1356  
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA FLASH 0636  
USCINCEUR FLASH  
CINCUSNAVEUR FLASH  
COMSIXTHFLEET FLASH

UNCLAS LONDON 09347

E.O. 11652: N/A  
TAGS: PEOR MOPS GR TUCY  
SUBJECT: REPORT OF WAR ON CYPRUS  
REF: ATHENS 4887  
BRITISH FCO HAS CHECKED REPORT IN REFTEL WITH ITS  
COMMANDER OF BRITISH FORCES ON CYPRUS AND REPORTS THERE  
IS NO INFORMATION TO BEAR OUT FIGHTING BEYOND SPORADIC  
FIRING ONLY.  
SQHM  
BT



\*\*\*\*\*WHRS COMMENT\*\*\*\*\*

KENNEDY LL (SENT TO SC)

PSN:001598 PAGE 01 OF 01 TOR:204/20:58Z DTG:232149Z JUL 74



~~SECRET~~ NODIS

~~EXCLUSIVE~~

OF 18 COPIES

WH LDX 14



EYES ONLY

Department of State

TELEGRAM

~~SECRET~~

Control: 6600Q

Received: July 23, 1974 655PM

Z 232208Z JUL 74  
FM AMEMBASSY ANKARA  
TO RUEHCR/SECSTATE WASHDC FLASH 5254  
INFO RUEHCR/AMEMBASSY ATHENS FLASH 3449  
RUEHCR/AMEMBASSY NICOSIA FLASH 2332  
BT

~~SECRET~~ ANKARA 5860

NOOIS

By HR 4/4/11

EYES ONLY FOR THE SECRETARY FROM AMBASSADOR

EO 11652 GDS  
TAGS: MOPS, PFOR, CY, TU, GR  
SUBJECT: CYPRUS-POLITICAL FUTURE

1. I MET ALONE WITH PRIMIN 2245 LOCAL TIME JULY 23.
2. IN ADDITION TO MATTERS SEPARATELY REPORTED (EMBTTEL 5859), PRIMIN GAVE ME HIS TYPEWRITTEN COMMENTS ON YOUR PERSONAL ANALYSIS OF THE SITUATION (STATE 159040) WHICH I HAD PRESENTED TO HIM EARLIER IN THE DAY. IN DOING SO, HOWEVER, HE NOTED THAT HIS DIALOGUE ON THIS SUBJECT HAD BEEN SOMEWHAT OVERTAKEN BY EVENTS.
3. HIS COMMENTS WERE AS FOLLOWS:
  - "I AGREE IN GENERAL WITH THE REASONING OF MR. KISSINGER'S MESSAGE.
  - "WE DO NOT HAVE ANY OBJECTION TO MR. CLERIDES AS A PERSON, ALTHOUGH WE KNOW THAT IN THE INTER-COMMUNAL TALKS HE HAD BEEN ARDENTLY FOLLOWING MAKARIOS' POLICY OF ATTEMPTING TO MAKE CYPRUS A STATE COMPLETELY DOMINATED BY THE GREEK CYPRIOTS.
  - "WE SHOULD ALWAYS HAVE TO KEEP IN MIND, THAT EVEN DURING THE PRESIDENCY OF MAKARIOS, THE REGIME OF CYPRUS HAD CEASED TO BE CONSTITUTIONAL A LONG TIME AGO. FOR MANY YEARS, THE COMPOSITION OF THE GOVERNMENT AND OF THE ADMINISTRATION IN GENERAL HAD SUBSTANTIALLY DEVIATED FROM THE CONSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK.



~~SECRET~~ NODIS ~~SECRET~~ ~~EXCLUSIVE~~ EYES ONLY

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~~SECRET~~ **NODIS** **EXCLUSIVE**  
Department of State

**EYES ONLY**

**TELEGRAM**

~~SECRET~~

-2- Ankara 5860 July 23, 1974

"MR. CLERIDES'S ASSUMPTION OF OFFICE AS ACTING PRESIDENT IS, NO DOUBT, A RELATIVELY SATISFACTORY DEVELOPMENT, IN VIEW OF THE FACT THAT AS PRESIDENT OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES HE IS ENTITLED TO THIS POSITION.

"HOWEVER, .EVEN THIS FALLS CONSIDERABLELY SHORT OF A RETURN TO REAL CONSTITUTIONALLY.

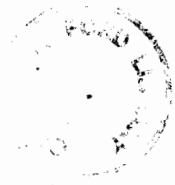
"AS LONG AS A GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION WHICH STRICTLY FITS TO THE CONSTITUTIONAL PATTERN DOES NOT EXIST, IT HAS TO BE ADMITTED THAT THERE WILL BE NO 'PRESIDENT' OR 'GOVERNMENT' OF CYPRUS WHICH CAN BE RECOGNIZED AS LEGITIMATE REPRESENTATIVES OF CYPRUS. THEREFORE, IF, AT ANY STAGE DURING THE CEASE-FIRE TALKS, CYPRUS IS TO BE INCLUDED, BOTH COMMUNITIES SHOULD BE SEPARATELY REPRESENTED BY THE LEGITIMATE LEADERSHIPS."

MACOMBER

BT

#5860

NOTE: NOT PASSED TO ABOVE ADDEES.



~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~ **NODIS**

**EXCLUSIVE**

**EYES ONLY**

OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

\*\*\*\*\*

~~SECRET~~

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

15

~~SECRET EXDIS~~

OP IMMED  
ESA0880GA509  
DE RUQMOG #1681 2042210  
O 232208Z JUL 74  
FM AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9022

~~SECRET~~ NICOSIA 1681

EXDIS  
E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PGOV, PINT, CY  
SUBJECT: CYPRUS: CLERIDES POLE AS HEAD OF GOVERNMENT  
THE FOLLOWING CONFIRMS TELECON.

1. DURING TELEPHONE CALL TO ME BY CLERIDES EVENING JULY 23  
I ASKED HIM WHETHER HE HAD BEEN SWORN IN AS PRESIDENT OF THE  
REPUBLIC OR ACTING PRESIDENT AND WHETHER  
HE CONSIDERED HIMSELF NOW AS ACTING IN BELHALF OF DUSTED  
PRESIDENT MAKARIOS.

2. CLERIDES SAID HE HAD BEEN SWORN IN AS PRESIDENT BUT THAT IN  
ACCORDANCE WITH THE CONSTITUTION HE WAS, OF COURSE, ONLY ACTING  
PRESIDENT. HIS ROLE WOULD BE DETERMINED BY FOLLOWING PROCEDURES  
PRESCRIBED BY THE CONSTITUTION. WITH RESPECT TO MAKARIOS' STATUS  
HE WOULD REPLY ONLY THAT CONSTITUTIONAL PROCEDURES WOULD BE  
FOLLOWED.

DAVIES  
BT



~~SECRET~~  
EO 11652: GDS

By LR 4/4/11

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

KENNEDY LL (SENT TO SC)

PSN:001730 PAGE 01 OF 01 TOR:204/23:09Z DTG:232208Z JUL 74

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~~SECRET~~

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

~~SECRET EXDIS~~

NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION  
Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

WITHDRAWAL ID 034982

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL . . . . ÇNational security restriction

TYPE OF MATERIAL . . . . . ÇReport

DESCRIPTION . . . . . re Cyprus Situation

CREATION DATE . . . . . 07/23/1974

VOLUME . . . . . 4 pages

COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 033200181

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

BOX NUMBER . . . . . 8

FOLDER TITLE . . . . . Cyprus Crisis (15)

DATE WITHDRAWN . . . . . 08/30/2011

WITHDRAWING ARCHIVIST . . . . HJR

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Department of State

TELEGRAM

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APPROVED BY S - MR. FAGLEBURGER  
S/S - SRGAMMON

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Z 232307Z JUL 74 ZFF4  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO AMEMBASSY ANKARA FLASH  
AMEMBASSY ATHENS FLASH  
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA FLASH  
AMEMBASSY LONDON FLASH

~~SECRET~~ STATE 159992

EXDIS (DISTRIBUTE AS NOTIS)

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: CY  
SUBJECT: CYPRUS

1. SECRETARY WAS CALLED JULY 23 5:10 P.M. BY KANELLOPOULOS AND MAVROS (PHONETIC) WHO IDENTIFIED THEMSELVES AS HEAD-ING NEW GOVERNMENT, SAYING THEY HAD WORD TURKS WOULD BEGIN OFFENSIVE AT DAWN TO TAKE NICOSIA. IF SO, THEY WOULD HAVE NO CHOICE BUT TO RESIGN OR GO TO WAR. NO NEW GOVERNMENT COULD SURVIVE SUCH AN EVENT.

2. SECRETARY IMMEDIATELY CALLED ECEVIT IN ANKARA AND PASSED THIS INFORMATION TO HIM SAYING THIS HAD NOT BEEN GIVEN AS A THREAT BUT MERELY STATEMENT OF FACT.

3. ECEVIT ASSURED SECRETARY TURKISH GOVERNMENT HAD NO INTENTION OF LAUNCHING AN ATTACK. FOR ATHENS: YOU SHOULD COMMUNICATE THIS TO GOG. KISSINGER

State Review ~~SECRET~~  
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Department of State

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S/S - MR. GAMMON

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TO ANEMBASSY ANKARA IMMEDIATE  
ANEMBASSY ATHENS IMMEDIATE  
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ANEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

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~~SECRET~~ STATE 160114

EXDIS (DISTRIBUTE AS NODIS)

E.O. 11652IGDS  
TAGSI CY  
SUBJECT: CYPRUS

THE SECRETARY HAS PASSED ON TO PRIME MINISTER KANELLOPOULOS  
PRIME MINISTER ECEVITIS ASSURANCES THAT THERE WILL BE NO  
TURKISH MILITARY OFFENSIVE IN NICOSIA TOMORROW. KISSINGER

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

By HL 4/4/11



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COPY 8 OF 18 COPIES

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Department of State

TELEGRAM

Z O 232310Z JUL 74 ZFFG  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO RUCMCG/AMEMBASSY NICOSIA FLASH 6041  
INFO RUCMGRU/AMEMBASSY ANKARA IMMEDIATE 7628  
RUOTC/AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE 7742  
RUCMAT/AMEMBASSY ATHENS IMMEDIATE 6914  
BT

CONTROL: 6 6 1 02

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E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR, CY

SUBJECT: YOUR APPROACH TO CLERIDES  
FROM SECRETARY FOR AMBASSADOR

1. I HAVE RECEIVED YOUR REPORT THAT CLERIDES WAS SWORN IN AS ACTING PRESIDENT OF CYPRUS. WE INFER FROM THIS THAT HE WILL BE PERFORMING HIS DUTIES UNDER THE AEGIS OF PARAGRAPH 2, ARTICLE 44, OF THE CYPRUS CONSTITUTION. GIVEN THIS DEVELOPMENT, I WANT YOU TO UNDERSTAND THAT YOU SHOULD BE EXTREMELY FRIENDLY TO CLERIDES AND THAT YOU SHOULD CONTINUE TO ESTABLISH EFFECTIVE COMMUNICATIONS AND CONTACT WITH HIM, STOPPING JUST A SHADE SHORT OF RECOGNITION.

2. WE HAVE ALSO NOTED YOUR REPORT THAT CLERIDES WILL HAVE CYPRIOT SUPPORT AND CAN PROBABLY MAINTAIN HIMSELF IN OFFICE. I WOULD APPRECIATE URGENTLY YOUR ASSESSMENT OF THE BALANCE OF POLITICAL FORCES ON THE ISLAND AND THE IMPLICATIONS FOR MAKARIOS AND CLERIDES RESPECTIVE POLITICAL POSITIONS.  
KISSINGER

P:EPDJEREJIAN:BDF  
7/23/74 EXT 20356  
THE SECRETARY

P:JJSISC0  
S/S - SRGAMMON

EUR - MR. HARTMAN

~~SECRET~~

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DECLASSIFIED  
E.O. 13526 (as amended) SEC 3.3  
State Dept Guidelines  
By HR NARA Date 4/4/11



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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SENSITIVE

GREECE  
Gen Gragorios BONANOS  
November 1973

(S) Description: Heavy build (about 5'6", 170 lbs); neat dresser; effective, opinionated, and capable of holding a grudge; good social mixer and talented singer.

(U) Languages: He understands English very well, but has little fluency.

(U) Religion: Not known.

(U) Decorations: Gold Medal for Bravery; War Cross; Distinguished Services Medal; Silver Cross of George I; Golden Cross of George I; Cross of Brigadiers of the Phoenix; Albanian War Medal; Korean Service Medal; Distinguished Service Medal. Korea: Syngman Rhee Award. United Nations Medal.

(U) CIVIL EDUCATION: Not known.

(U) CAREER:

- |           |   |
|-----------|---|
| 1937-1940 | - Student, Cadet College, Athens; commissioned 2d Lt, Aug 1940.   |
| 1940-1941 | - Duty with 39th Infantry Regiment.   |
| 1942-1944 | - Participant in Guerrilla War.   |
| 1945-1946 | - Commanding Officer, 1st Infantry Battalion. Promoted to 1st Lt, Jul 1945.   |
| 1946-1951 | - Chief of Staff, 43d Brigade. Student, Army-Air Force Cooperation School, 1949. Student, Infantry School (Battalion Commander Section), 1950. Promoted to Capt, Jul 1946 and to Maj, Jul 1949. |
| 1951-1952 | - Student, Army Higher War College, Thessaloniki.   |
| 1952      | - Student, Navy Higher War College, Athens.   |
| 1952-1954 | - Staff duty in Infantry Directorate, Hellenic Army General Staff, Athens.  |
| 1954-1955 | - Deputy Commander, Infantry Battalion, Greek Expeditionary Forces, Korea.  |
| 1955-1956 | - Chief of Operations, II Infantry Division.  |
| 1956-1957 | - Instructor, Infantry Training School. Promoted to Lt Col, May 1957.   |
| 1958-1960 | - Duty with Chief of Operations, Hellenic Army General Staff, Athens.   |
| 1960-1962 | - Duty with 502d Infantry Battalion.  |
| 1963-1966 | - Duty with Chief of Intelligence, Hellenic Army General Staff, Athens.   |

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SENSITIVE



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~SENSITIVE~~

GREECE  
Gen Gregorios BONANOS  
November 1973

1966-1967

1968

1969-1970

1970-1972

1972-1973

1973

1973-Present

- Chief of Staff, II Infantry Division. Promoted to Col, Jan 1967. Student, National Defense College, Athens. Participated in orientation tour of selected U.S. military installations as guest of the U.S. Army, 4-27 Aug 1967.
- Assignment not known.
- Duty with 3d Staff Office, Hellenic Army Command, Jan 1969-Jun 1970. Promoted to Brig Gen, Jan 1969.
- Commanding General, X Infantry Division, Jun 1970-Jun 1972. Promoted to Maj Gen, 29 Jun 1970.
- "A" Deputy Chief (coordinator of staff actions pertaining to intelligence, operations, training, organization, plans, and mobilization), Hellenic Army Command, Athens. Promoted to Lt Gen, 5 Jun 1972.
- Commanding General, "C" Army Corps, Thessaloniki, until 25 Nov 1973.
- Commander in Chief, Hellenic Armed Forces, from 25 Nov 1973.

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Department of State

TELEGRAM

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CONTROL: 6241Q

RECD: 22 JUL '74 9:37P

Z 230121Z JUL 74 ZFF4  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO AMEMBASSY ANKARA FLASH 7605  
BT

~~SECRET~~ STATE 159040

NODIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CY, TR, GR

SUBJECT: ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

*State Review*  
3/31/04

By *Wp* 4/4/11

EYES ONLY FOR THE AMBASSADOR FROM THE SECRETARY  
1. ALTHOUGH THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT INITIALLY CALLED FOR THE RESTORATION OF MAKARIOS, IT BECAME CLEAR SHORTLY THEREAFTER THAT ITS POSITION, COUPLED AS IT WAS WITH CONDITIONS UNACCEPTABLE TO THE GREEKS, WAS DESIGNED TO MAKE SURE THAT GREEK AGREEMENT WOULD NOT BE FORTHCOMING. IF GREECE HAD AGREED, THIS WOULD HAVE OBLIGED GOT TO RECONSIDER ITS DECISION TO INTERVENE MILITARILY.

2. YOU SHOULD CONVEY THE FOLLOWING ORALLY TO ECEVIT, EXPLAINING THAT IT IS THE SECRETARY'S PERSONAL ANALYSIS OF THE SITUATION NOW BEFORE US. YOU SHOULD ALSO SAY THAT THE SECRETARY WOULD VERY MUCH LIKE TO KNOW THE PRIME MINISTER'S OWN VIEWS ON THE ISSUES DISCUSSED BELOW, INCLUDING ON THOSE POINTS WHERE THE PRIME MINISTER MAY DIFFER FROM THE SECRETARY.

(A) WE CONCLUDE THAT IN REALITY THE GOT WOULD PREFER THAT MAKARIOS NOT BE REINSTATED. WE ALSO BELIEVE THAT IF MAKARIOS' RESTORATION WERE TO HAVE COME ABOUT AS THE RESULT OF TURKISH INTERVENTION, THE ARCHBISHOP WOULD INEVITABLY HAVE BEEN DRIVEN TO LOOK TO THE SOVIETS AND AKEL FOR SUPPORT TO COUNTERBALANCE TURKISH INFLUENCE.

(B) FROM THE GREEK VIEWPOINT, MAKARIOS REMAINS ANATHEMA; WE CAN THINK OF FEW CIRCUMSTANCES UNDER WHICH HE WOULD AGAIN BECOME ACCEPTABLE TO GREECE.

(C) GIVEN THE TWO CONCLUSIONS SET FORTH ABOVE, IT IS OUR ANALYSIS THAT THE ONLY REAL SUPPORT MAKARIOS HAS FOR HIS RESTORATION COMES FROM THE COMMUNISTS AND THE MORE RADICAL NON-ALIGNED. THUS, IT IS AT LEAST QUESTIONABLE WHETHER MAKARIOS CAN OFFER A SOLUTION ACCEPTABLE TO THE



NOT TO BE REPRODUCED WITHOUT THE AUTHORIZATION OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY



Department of State

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TELEGRAM

-2- STATE 159040 22 JUL 74

WEST, SINCE HE WOULD BE OPPOSED BY THE TWO NATIONS MOST INTIMATELY CONCERNED WITH CYPRUS, AND THUS DEPENDENT UPON THE SOVIETS, THEIR ALLIES, AND THE CYPRIOT COMMUNISTS FOR EXTERNAL SUPPORT.

(D) AS TO SAMPSON, HE IS INTOLERABLE TO TURKEY AND WE HAVE NO INDICATION THAT THE GREEKS HAVE ANY PARTICULAR INTEREST IN HIM. THERE WOULD SEEM TO BE NO REAL SUPPORT FOR HIM IN CYPRUS AND, THUS, HE ALSO IS PROBABLY NOT A VIABLE SOLUTION. THERE WOULD SEEM TO BE NO POINT, HOWEVER, IN SEEKING HIS IMMEDIATE DEPARTURE PENDING THE ACHIEVEMENT OF AN ACCEPTABLE ALTERNATIVE SOLUTION. IN FACT, TO FORCE HIS REMOVAL PRECIPITATELY COULD CREATE AN INTERNAL POLITICAL VACUUM OF INVITING PROPORTIONS TO THE SOVIETS AND AKEL.

(E) CLEARLY A SOLUTION WHICH WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO BOTH THE TURKS AND THE GREEKS AND ONE WHICH WOULD PROTECT THEIR SPECIFIC INTERESTS WHILE PRESERVING WESTERN INTERESTS WOULD BE IN THE BEST INTERESTS OF ALL OF US. QUITE CLEARLY, IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE THIS, THERE HAS TO BE AGREEMENT BETWEEN GREECE AND TURKEY WITH RESPECT TO THE PROPER BALANCE OF POLITICAL FORCES ON THE ISLAND. IF THIS BALANCE CAN BE ACHIEVED AND IF BOTH GREECE AND TURKEY WILL REFRAIN FROM EXERTING UNDUE PRESSURES ON A NEW LEADER, THEN IN OUR VIEW THERE IS A CHANCE THAT A SOLUTION CAN EMERGE ACCEPTABLE TO CYPRUS AS WELL.

(F) IT SEEMS TO US THAT CLERIDES MIGHT WELL OFFER A WAY OUT OF THE PRESENT SITUATION. HE SEEMS TO HAVE THE CONFIDENCE OF BOTH COMMUNITIES IN CYPRUS, HAS CONDUCTED THE INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS FOR SOME TIME, AND HAS NO APPARENT DESIRE TO PLAY A MAJOR ROLE ON THE WORLD POLITICAL SCENE.

(G) IN SUM, THE USG BELIEVES THAT IT IS IN OUR COMMON INTERESTS THAT A NEW LEADER BEHOLDEN TO NEITHER GREECE NOR TURKEY EMERGE FROM THE EVENTS OF THE PAST WEEK; A LEADER WHO SEEKS NO INTERNATIONAL SPOTLIGHT BECAUSE HE

JUDGES THAT SUCH A SPOTLIGHT, AND PARTICULARLY A PRO-COMMUNIST AND/OR NONALIGNED ONE, IS NOT NECESSARY TO MAINTAIN HIMSELF IN POWER.

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Department of State

TELEGRAM

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-3- STATE 159040 22 JUL '74

(H) NO WESTERN INTERESTS, NO GREEK OR TURKISH INTERESTS, CAN BE SERVED BY CONTINUING TENSION OVER CYPRUS. IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES IT IS THE OBLIGATION OF ALL OF US WHO SEEK A SECURE AND PEACEFUL WORLD TO BEGIN NOW THE SEARCH FOR AN ACCEPTABLE COMPROMISE SOLUTION WHICH -- WHILE IT WILL NOT MEET ALL THE DESIRES OF TURKEY, GREECE, OR THE CYPRIOT PEOPLE -- WILL MEET THE LEGITIMATE BASIC DEMANDS OF ALL THREE.

(I) THIS IS OUR TENTATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE SITUATION. WE WOULD WELCOME THE PRIME MINISTER'S VIEWS, EXPRESSED AS CANDIDLY AS HE DESIRES, FOR THEY WILL AFFECT OUR OWN ACTIONS.

3. YOU SHOULD DISCUSS THE FOREGOING WITH ECEVIT AND NO ONE ELSE. KISSINGER  
BT  
#9040

DRAFTED BY: S: LSEAGLEBURGER APPROVED BY: THE SECRETARY  
CLEARANCES: EUR: MR. STABLER S/AM: AMB. MCCLOSKEY S/S: MR. EALU



~~SECRET~~ NODIS

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NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION  
Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

WITHDRAWAL ID 034983

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL . . . . ÇNational security restriction

TYPE OF MATERIAL . . . . . ÇTelegram

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RECEIVER'S NAME . . . . . Secstate WashDC

DESCRIPTION . . . . . re Cyprus

CREATION DATE . . . . . 07/23/1974

VOLUME . . . . . 3 pages

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KISSINGER-SCOWCROFT WEST WING OFFICE  
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FOLDER TITLE . . . . . Cyprus Crisis (15)

DATE WITHDRAWN . . . . . 08/30/2011

WITHDRAWING ARCHIVIST . . . . HJR

NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION  
Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

WITHDRAWAL ID 034984

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL . . . . ÇNational security restriction

TYPE OF MATERIAL . . . . . ÇReport

DESCRIPTION . . . . . re Greece

CREATION DATE . . . . . 07/23/1974

VOLUME . . . . . 2 pages

COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 033200181

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

BOX NUMBER . . . . . 8

FOLDER TITLE . . . . . Cyprus Crisis (15)

DATE WITHDRAWN . . . . . 08/30/2011

WITHDRAWING ARCHIVIST . . . . HJR