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



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Department of State

TELEGRAM

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PAGE 01 STATE 179778

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DRAFTED BY EUR:WSTABLER:ML  
APPROVED BY S - LSEAGLEBURGER  
S/S :SRGAMMON

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Z 160012Z AUG 74 ZFFG  
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TO AMEMBASSY ATHENS FLASH  
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA FLASH  
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA FLASH  
USMISSION NATO FLASH

~~SECRET~~ STATE 179778

EXDIS (DISTRIBUTE AS NODIS)

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: CY, GR, TU  
SUBJECT: CYPRUS

FOR THE AMBASSADOR FROM THE SECRETARY

1. PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM ME TO KARAMANLIS.

2. BEGIN TEXT

DEAR MR. PRIME MINISTER:

I REALIZE THAT YOU MAY HAVE BEEN CONCERNED THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS PERHAPS NOT DONE ENOUGH TO BRING ABOUT AN END TO THE TURKISH MILITARY ACTIONS IN CYPRUS. IN FACT, WE HAVE BEEN MOST ACTIVE IN THIS RESPECT BUT I BELIEVED THAT WE COULD BE MORE EFFECTIVE IF WE DEALT PRIVATELY AND DIRECTLY WITH THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT SO THAT WE COULD BRING TO BEAR OUR MAXIMUM INFLUENCE. I HAVE PERSONALLY BEEN IN DIRECT TOUCH WITH PRIME MINISTER ECEVIT A GREAT

~~SECRET~~ State Review

NO. 3/3/04

By: LR 5/16/11

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Department of State

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PAGE 02 STATE 179778

MANY TIMES IN THE PAST DAYS TO MAKE CLEAR OUR DISAPPROVAL OF THE TURKISH ACTION BOTH BEFORE AND AFTER THE EVENT. I AM SURE THAT YOU WILL ALSO HAVE SEEN THE STATEMENT WHICH WAS ISSUED TODAY BY THE WHITE HOUSE IN WHICH THE PRESIDENT CALLED ATTENTION TO THE STATEMENT RELEASED YESTERDAY AT MY

DIRECTION EXPRESSING DISAPPROVAL OF THE TURKISH MILITARY ACTION. THE WHITE HOUSE STATEMENT ALSO NOTED THAT THE PRESIDENT STRONGLY URGED IMMEDIATE COMPLIANCE WITH THE CEASEFIRE RESOLUTIONS.

AS A RESULT OF THE STRONG REPRESENTATIONS WHICH WE HAVE MADE TO THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT, I HAVE JUST RECEIVED FROM PRIME MINISTER ECEVIT FIRM ASSURANCES THAT TURKISH MILITARY OPERATIONS IN CYPRUS WILL CEASE AT 6:00 P.M., ATHENS TIME AUGUST 16. PRIME MINISTER ECEVIT ALSO ASSURED ME THAT THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT WOULD ITSELF MAKE THIS ANNOUNCEMENT DURING THE MORNING. WE INTEND TO HOLD TURKEY STRICTLY TO THIS ASSURANCE. WE ARE ALSO NOTIFYING THE BRITISH AND FRENCH GOVERNMENTS AS WELL AS THE SECRETARY GENERAL.

I WANT YOU TO KNOW AGAIN THAT I UNDERSTAND FULL WELL THE SERIOUS PROBLEM WHICH THE PRESENT CRISIS IN CYPRUS POSES FOR YOUR GOVERNMENT, THE MORE SO SINCE IT WAS A CRISIS WHICH YOU INHERITED AS A RESULT OF THE ACTIONS OF THE PREVIOUS REGIME. IT IS WITH THE GREATEST SINCERITY THAT I REAFFIRM TO YOU THE SUPPORT AND GOOD WILL OF THE UNITED STATES.

WARM REGARDS, HENRY A. KISSINGER END TEXT.

3. I HAVE NOW JUST TALKED WITH KARAMANLIS BY TELEPHONE AND HAVE GIVEN THE ABOVE INFORMATION. THEREFORE THE ABOVE MESSAGE SHOULD ONLY BE DELIVERED AT OPENING OF BUSINESS AUGUST 16. KISSINGER

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Department of State

TELEGRAM

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CONTROL: 4 2 9 8 Q  
RECD: 16AUG'74 8:35PM

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FM USMISSION USUN NY  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5101  
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NODIS

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: UN, PFOR, GR  
SUBJ: CYPRUS ISSUE AND US-GREEK RELATIONS

GREEK PERMREP KARAGIANNIS TELLS US A YES VOTE BY US ON FRENCH DRAFT RESOLUTION WOULD BE OF "UTMOST IMPORTANCE TO THOSE GREEKS TRYING TO RESTORE THE DAMAGE." KARAGIANNIS GIVES EVERY EVIDENCE OF BEING ONE OF THOSE DOING WHAT HE CAN TO REPAIR GREEK RELATIONS WITH US AND NATO.

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REC. CONTROL ROOM 5/16/11  
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Department of State

TELEGRAM

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CONTROL: 4 3 1 4 Q

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE 7025  
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~~SECRET~~ STATE 179782

NODIS

E.O. 11652 GDS  
TAGS: PFOR, CY, GR, TU  
SUBJECT: CYPRUS

PLEASE CONVEY FOLLOWING ORAL MESSAGE TO FOREIGN MINISTER  
FROM SECRETARY:

A. SECRETARY APPRECIATED VERY MUCH HIS TALK WITH THE  
FOREIGN MINISTER TODAY.

B. AS FOREIGN MINISTER KNOWS, SECRETARY HAS BEEN IN TOUCH  
CONSTANTLY WITH ECEVIT IN ORDER TO TRY TO PUT A STOP TO  
THE FIGHTING PROMPTLY IN ACCORDANCE WITH SECURITY COUNCIL  
RESOLUTIONS. SECRETARY WISHES FOREIGN MINISTER TO KNOW  
THAT HE HAS JUST RECEIVED WORD FROM ECEVIT ASSURING US  
THAT GOT MILITARY OPERATIONS ON CYPRUS WOULD HALT AT NOON  
FRIDAY WASHINGTON TIME. WE INTEND TO HOLD TURKS TO  
THESE ASSURANCES, ALTHOUGH THEY MAY BE NO MORE THAN A  
REFLECTION OF FACT THEY EXPECT TO HAVE FULFILLED THEIR  
OBJECTIVES BY THAT TIME.

C. NEXT STEP WILL BE TO TRY TO FIND WAYS TO GET A SERIOUS  
NEGOTIATING PROCESS STARTED SO THAT A DEFINITIVE SOLUTION  
CAN BE FOUND. WE INTEND TO WORK TO THIS END. KISSINGER

P: JJSISCO:AM  
B/15/74  
S: LSEAGLEBURGER  
S/S: SRGANNON



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BY HR DATE 5/16/11

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TELEGRAM

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DRAFTED BY S:LEAGLEBURGER:ML  
APPROVED BY S:MR. EAGLEBURGER  
R/S - MR. GAMMON

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Z 100046Z AUG 74 ZPPA  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO AMEMBASSY ANKARA FLAKH

~~SECRET~~ STATE 179787

EXDIS (DISTRIBUTE AS NODIS)

E.O. 11652:GDS  
TAGS: CY, 107, TU  
SUBJECT: CYPRUS

FOR THE AMBASSADOR FROM THE SECRETARY

1. YOU WILL HAVE SEEN MY MESSAGE TO PRIME MINISTER KARAMANLIS REPORTING THAT AS A RESULT OF STRONG REPRESENTATIONS MADE TO THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT WE HAVE RECEIVED RECEVIT'S ASSURANCE THAT TURKISH MILITARY OPERATIONS IN CYPRUS WILL CEASE AT 6:00 P.M., ATHENS TIME, AUGUST 16.

2. YOU SHOULD INFORM THE PRIME MINISTER THAT WE HAVE PASSED HIS ASSURANCES TO PRIME MINISTER KARAMANLIS, TO ACTING PRESIDENT CLERIDES, TO FOREIGN SECRETARY CALLAGHAN, AND TO SECRETARY GENERAL WALDHEIM. YOU SHOULD ALSO TELL THE PRIME MINISTER THAT I AM GRATEFUL FOR THOSE ASSURANCES AND HAVE EVERY CONFIDENCE THAT THEY WILL BE CARRIED OUT. KISSINGER



NOTE: CCO DELIVER TO OFF. INE FOR PROCESSING.

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BY: [unclear] [unclear]  
DATE: [unclear]

HR 5/16/11

OP IMMED /ROUTINE  
DTA245  
DE RUEHDT #2843 2280610  
O R 160520Z AUG 74  
FM USMISSION USUN NY

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5107

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON 9191  
AMEMBASSY PARIS 329  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW 5345  
AMEMBASSY ATHENS 927  
AMEMBASSY ANKARA 980  
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA 892  
AMCONGEN HONG KONG 2498  
USMISSION NATO 6029  
USCINCERU UNN

UNCLAS USUN 2843

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, UN CY

SUBJ: CYPRUS IN SC: DRAFT FRENCH RESOLUTION

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF DRAFT FRENCH RESOLUTION PRESENTED  
AT SC CONSULTATIONS AUGUST 15 AND WHICH FRENCH HOPE TO  
BRING TO VOTE IN SC AUTUST 16:

FRANCE: DRAFT RESOLUTION

THE SECURITY COUNCIL,

RECALLING RESOLUTIONS 353, 354, 355 AND 347

NOTING THAT ALL STATES HAVE DECLARED THEIR RESPECT FOR  
THE SOVEREIGNTY, INDEPENDENCE AND TERRITORIAL  
INTEGRITY OF CYPRUS AND FOR THE CONSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE  
OF THAT COUNTRY, AS ESTABLISHED AND GUARANTEED BY  
INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS,

GRAVELY CONCERNED AT THE FURTHER DETERIORATION OF THE SITUATION IN  
CYPRUS, RESULTING FROM THE MILITARY OPERATIONS CONDUCTED BY  
TURKEY, WHICH CONSTITUTES A MOST SERIOUS THREAT TO PEACE  
AND SECURITY IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN AREA,  
DEEPLY DEPLORING THE CASUALTIES SUFFERED BY UNFICYP  
IN THE EXECUTION OF THE MADATE ENTRUSTED TO IT,

1. RECORDS ITS FORMAL DISAPPROVAL OF THE RESUMPTION  
OF MILITARY OPERATIONS IN CYPRUS BY TURKEY;

2. DEMANDS ONCE AGAIN THAT ALL PARTIES CEASE ALL

\*\*\*\*\*WHHR COMMENT\*\*\*\*\*

HAK, SCOWCROFT, LL





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FIRING AND ALL MILITARY ACTIVITY FORTHWITH AND STRICTLY OBSERVE THE CEASE-FIRE THROUGHOUT THE ISLAND;

3. URGES THE PARTIES TO COMPLY WITH ALL THE PROVISIONS OF PREVIOUS RESOLUTIONS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL, INCLUDING THOSE CONCERNING THE WITHDRAWAL WITHOUT DELAY FROM THE REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS OF FOREIGN MILITARY PERSONNEL PRESENT OTHERWISE THAN UNDER THE AUTHORITY OF INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS, AND TO RESUME NEGOTIATIONS WITHOUT DELAY FOR THE RESTORATION OF PEACE AND CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT IN CYPRUS, IN CONFORMITY WITH RESOLUTION 353;

4. URGES THE PARTIES TO CO-OPERATE FULLY WITH UNFICYP IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE REQUEST MADE BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL IN THE FINAL PART OF HIS INTERIM REPORT DATED 10 AUGUST 1974 (S/11433);

5. REQUESTS THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TO REPORT TO IT AS NECESSARY WITH VIEW TO THE ADOPTION OF FURTHER MEASURES DESIGNED TO PROMOTE THE RESTORATION OF PEACEFUL CONDITIONS;

6. DECIDES TO REMAIN PERMANENTLY SEIZED OF THE QUESTION AND TO MEET AT ANY TIME TO CONSIDER MEASURES WHICH MAY BE REQUIRED IN THE LIGHT OF THE DEVELOPING SITUATION.

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OP IMMED /ROUTINE  
TA244  
DE RUEHOT #2842 2270600  
O R 160520Z AUG 74  
FM USMISSION USUN NY

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5106

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON 9190  
AMEMBASSY PARIS 328  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW 5344  
AMEMBASSY ATHENS 926  
AMEMBASSY ANKARA 979  
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA 891  
AMCONGEN HONG KONG 2497  
USMISSION NATO 6028  
USCINCEUR UNN

UNCLAS USUN 2842

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, UN, CY

SUBJ: CYPRUS IN SC: RESOLUTION CALLING FOR RESPECT OF UNFICYP  
FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF RESOLUTION 359 CO-SPONSORED BY  
AUSTRIA, AUSTRALIA, FRANCE, PERU, UNITED REPUBLIC OF CAMEROON,  
CALLING FOR ALL PARTIES TO FULLY RESPECT UNFICYP, AND APPROVED  
BY SC AUG 15 BY VITE 14-0-0 (CHINA NOT PARTICIPANT).  
AUSTRIA, AUSTRALIA, FRANCE AND PERU CAMEROON: REVISED DRAFT RESOLUTI

ON  
THE SECURITY COUNCIL,  
NOTING WITH CONCERN FROM THE SECRETARY-GENERAL'S REPORTS ON  
DEVELOPMENTS IN CYPRUS, IN PARTICULAR S/11353 / ADD. 24 AND 25,  
THAT CASUALTIES ARE INCREASING AMONG  
THE PERSONNEL OF THE UNITED NATIONS PEACE-KEEPING FORCE IN  
CYPRUS AS A DIRECT RESULT OF MILITARY ACTION WHICH IS  
STILL CONTINUING IN CYPRUS,  
RECALLING THAT THE UNITED NATIONS PEACE-KEEPING FORCE  
IN CYPRUS WAS STATIONED IN CYPRUS WITH THE FULL CONSENT  
OF THE GOVERNMENTS OF CYPRUS, TURKEY AND GREECE,  
BEARING IN MIND THAT THE SECRETARY-GENERAL WAS REQUESTED  
BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL IN RESOLUTION 355 (1974 ) OF A1 AUGUST  
1974 TO TAKE APPROPRIATE ACTION IN THE LIGHT OF HIS  
STATEMENT MADE AT THE 1788TH MEETING OF THE COUNCIL IN WHICH HE DEALT



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

HAK, SCOWCROFT, LL

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WITH THE ROLE, FUNCTIONS AND STRENGTH OF THE UNITED NATIONS PEACE-KEEPING FORCE IN CYPRUS AND RELATED ISSUES ARISING OUT OF THE MOST RECENT POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN RESPECT OF CYPRUS,

1. DEEPLY DEPLORES THAT FACT THAT MEMBERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS PEACE-KEEPING FORCE IN CYPRUS HAVE BEEN KILLED AND WOUNDED ;

2. ~~DEMANDS THAT ALL PARTIES CONCERNED FULLY RESPECT THE INTERNATIONAL STATUS OF THE UNITED NATIONS PEACE-KEEPING FORCE IN CYPRUS AND REFRAIN FROM ANY ACTION WHICH MIGHT ENDANGER THE LIVES AND SAFETY OF ITS MEMBERS;~~

3. URGES THE PARTIES CONCERNED TO DEMONSTRATE IN A FIRM, CLEAR AND UNEQUIVOCAL MANNER, THEIR WILLINGNESS TO FULFIL THE COMMITMENTS THEY HAVE ENTERED IN TO IN THIS REGARDS;

4. DEMANDS FURTHER THAT ALL PARTIES CO-OPERATE WITH THE UNITED NATIONS PEACE-KEEPING FORCE IN CYPRUS IN CARRYING OUT ITS TASKS, INCLUDING HUMANITARIAN FUNCTIONS, IN ALL AREAS OF CYPRUS AND IN REGARD TO ALL SECTIONS OF THE POPULATION ON CYPRUS;

5. EMPHASIZES THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE THAT THE STATUS AND SAFETY OF THE MEMBERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS PEACE-KEEPING FORCE IN CYPRUS, AND FOR THAT MATTER OF ANY UNITED NATIONS PEACE-KEEPING FORCE, MUST BE RESPECTED BY THE PARTIES UNDER ALL CIRCUMSTANCES.

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NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION  
Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

WITHDRAWAL ID 035096

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL . . . . ÇNational security restriction

TYPE OF MATERIAL . . . . . ÇReport

DESCRIPTION . . . . . re Cyprus Situation

CREATION DATE . . . . . 08/16/1974

VOLUME . . . . . 5 pages

COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 033200205

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

BOX NUMBER . . . . . 9

FOLDER TITLE . . . . . Cyprus Crisis (39)

DATE WITHDRAWN . . . . . 09/01/2011

WITHDRAWING ARCHIVIST . . . . HJR



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DE RUEHDT #2845 2280720  
O 160655Z AUG 74  
FM USMISSION USUN NY

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 5108

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE 9193

- AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE 331
- AMEMBASSY MOSCOW IMMEDIATE 5347
- AMEMBASSY ATHENS IMMEDIATE 929
- AMEMBASSY ANKARA IMMEDIATE 982
- AMEMBASSY NICOSIA IMMEDIATE 894
- AMEMBASSY CAIRO IMMEDIATE 3894
- AMEMBASSY BEIRUT IMMEDIATE 5049
- USMISSION NATO IMMEDIATE 6031
- USCINCEUR IMMEDIATE UNN

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ USUN 2845

E.O. 11652: GDS  
 TAGS: UNSC, PFOR, CY  
 SUBJECT: CYPRUS IN SECURITY COUNCIL  
 SUMMARY: TWO SC RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED EVENING AUGUST 15 WITH FRENCH DRAFT RESOLUTION REMAINING FOR CONSIDERATION LATER AUGUST 16. ON BASIS PRESENT VOTE ESTIMATE, SEVEN ABSTENTIONS SEEM-  
 INGLY ASSURED, AND FRENCH RESOLUTION THUS HEADED FOR DEFEAT NO MATTER HOW US VOTES, UNLESS FRENCH OVERNIGHT PRESSURE CAN BRING SOME ABSTENTIONS TO YES VOTE, RECOMMEND WE ABSTAIN. NEW READING WILL BE TAKEN IN MORNING PRIOR SC CONSULTATIONS. END SUMMARY.

1. IN CONSULTATIONS PRECEDING AUGUST 15 AFTERNOON MEETING, SC MEMBERS AGREED TO TAKE UP BOTH BRIEF "NON-ALIGNED" (AS DOTTED BY MALIK) RESOLUTION AND AUSTRIAN TEXT ON RESPECT FOR UNFICYP. SEPARATE FRENCH RESOLUTION WOULD BE TAKEN UP IN NIGHT MEETING OF SC.

2. MALIK RESOLUTION, GUTTED OF ITS SUBSTANCE, WAS ADOPTED 15-0-0. SESSION THEN ADJOURNED AT REQUEST AUSTRIA. REMAINDER OF AFTERNOON WAS SPENT WORKING OUT ADDITIONAL PARA DESIGNED TO MEET VIENNA'S DESIRE TO UNDER-  
 LINE IMPORTANCE OF RESPECT FOR PARTIES FOR UNFICYP.



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

HAK, SCOWCROFT, LL

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 BY HR DATE 5/16/11

3. AUSTRAINS INITIALLY SOUGHT STRONGER LANGUAGE WHICH WOULD ALMOST CERTAINLY HAVE PROBOKED TURKISH DEFIANCE. AMBASSADOR SCALI BROUGHT HOME TO SYG DAMAGE THAT CLD BE DONE TO FUTURE PEACEKEEPING EFFORTS IF AUSTRAINS PRESSED FOR TOO MUCH. HE URGED SYG TO GET HIS MESSAGE THROUGH TO AUSTRIAN DEL. SCALI AND UK PERM REP REICHARD THEN NEGOTIATED AUSTRIANS BACK TO MILDER TEXT TOLERABLE TO TURKISH DEL.

4. DISCUSSION THEN TURNED TO HANDLING OF FRENCH RES. INDONESIA, MAURITANIA, CAMEROON AND KENYA ASKED FOR MORE TIME TO SEEK INSTRUCTIONS. IN FACE POSSIBLE DEFEAT, FRENCH DROPPED IDEA OF PRESSING FOR QUICK VOTE AND AGREED TO DEFERRAL OF CONSIDERATION THEIR DRAFT TO AUG 16.

5. AFTERWARD AUSTRIAN TEXT ON RESPECT FOR UNFICYP WAS ADOPTED 14-0-0, WITH PRC NOT PARTICIPATING IN SC MTG ADJOURNING 0130, AUG 16.

6. COMMENT: FRENCH SEEM TO HAVE FAILED IN LOBBYING THAT CLD HAVE INSURED ADEQUATE VOTES FOR THEIR DRAFT. JUST PRIOR TO NIGHT SESSION INDICATIONS WERE THAT PRC WLD NOT PARTICIPATE; RUSSIA, BYELORUSSIA, INDONESIA, IRAQ, MAURITANIA AND PERU WLD ABSTAIN; US WAS NOT REGARDED AS CERTAIN YES BY FRENCH. AS WATERED DOWN BY SUCCESSIVE FRENCH CONCESSIONS, FRENCH DRAFT REMAINED UNSATISFACTORY TO TURKS BUT STILL ATTRACTIVE TO GREEKS. IN SEPARATE CONVERSATIONS, GREEK AND TURKISH AMBS EACH INFORMED US U.S. VOTE SURE TO HAVE MAJOR EFFECT IN CAPITALS ON OUTLOOK (SEPTELS). IT NOT CLEAR WHETHER FRENCH WILL PRESS ON AUG 16 WITH EFFORT COLLECT NECESSARY NINE YES VOTES.

7. CHOICE CONFRONTING USG AS MORNING SESSION (AUG 16) APPROACHES: (1) WHETHER TO SPLIT WITH BRITISH AND ABSTAIN ON FRENCH TEXT ALONG WITH RUSSIANS AND NON-ALIGNED, PROBABLY ASSURING RES DEFEAT; OR (2) VOTE YES WITH VIRTUAL CERTAINTY USG VOTE, GIVE PRESENT VOTE ESTIMATE, WILL MAKE NO DIFFERENCE FOR FRENCH EVEN WITH BRITISH SUPPORT.

8. TURKS SAY THEIR GOVT WILL NOT UNDERSTAND VOTE SUPPORT BY SOVS AND OPPOSITION BY US GOVT. GREEKS SAY US GOVT YES VOTE WILL BE OF ENORMOUS IMPORTANCE IN REPAIRING RELATIONS WITH US GOVT. FRENCH UNDOUBTEDLY WILL BE MOST UNHAPPY AT FAILURE OF US GOVT TO SUPPORT. RES WHICH THEY HAVE TWICE WEAKENED IN HOPE US GOVT WILL SUPPORT.

9. UNLESS FRENCH OVERNIGHT PRESSURE REVERSES SOME NEGATIVE NON-ALIGNED VOTES WHICH CRITICAL, RECOMMEND WE ABSTAIN DESPITE GREEK AND FRENCH AND BRITISH UNHAPPINESS. WITH SEVEN ABSTENTIONS, SEEMINGLY ASSURED, US GOVT YES VOTE WLD MAKE NO DIFFERENCE IN OUTCOME FOR FRENCH RES.





\*\*\*\*\*~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~\*\*\*\*\*S COPY

IF FRENCH OVERNIGHT PRESSURE CHANGES LINE-UP AND MAKES  
OUR VOTE DECISIVE, RECOMMEND NEW READING PRIOR SC CON=  
SULTATIONS AUG 16.  
SCALY  
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NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION  
Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

WITHDRAWAL ID 035097

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL . . . . ÇNational security restriction

TYPE OF MATERIAL . . . . . ÇReport

DESCRIPTION . . . . . re Cyprus

CREATION DATE . . . . . 08/16/1974

VOLUME . . . . . 3 pages

COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 033200205

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

BOX NUMBER . . . . . 9

FOLDER TITLE . . . . . Cyprus Crisis (39)

DATE WITHDRAWN . . . . . 09/01/2011

WITHDRAWING ARCHIVIST . . . . HJR

FLASH  
ESA939AAA973  
DE RUQMOG #2387 2280745  
Z 160735Z AUG 74  
FM AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC FLASH 9509

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA FLASH 4174  
USMISSION USUN FLASH 4463

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE NICOSIA 2387  
E.O. 11652: N/A  
TAGS: PINT MOPS CY  
SUBJECT: CEASEFIRE VIOLATIONS

1. GEN. PREM CHAND CALLED AT 0915 TO EXPRESS GRAVEST CONCERN AT DETERIORATING SITUATION IN NICOSIA. PROBLEM STARTED WITH TURKISH ATTACKS THIS MORNING SEEKING TO KNOCK OUT GREEK CYPRIOT ARTILLERY POSITIONS IN AREA. UN HEADQUARTERS NOW IN MIDDLE OF INTENSE FIRE FIGHT. ALTHOUGH BOTH SIDES HAD AGREED TO CEASEFIRE AT 0900 NEITHER HAS COMPLIED.

2. PREM ASKS THAT WE SEEK TO CALL OFF AIR STRIKES VIA ANKARA WHILE HE WORKS ON NATIONAL GUARD.

3. RADIO BAYRAK NOW THREATENING BOMB CIVILIAN TARGETS UNLESS ATROCITIES AGAINST THEIR COMPATRIOTS IN OTHER PART OF KYPRUS STOPPED. GEN PREM SAYS THERE ARE NO SUCH ATROCITIES AND HE WILL WEIGH IN WITH TURK EMBASSY HERE RECOMMEND EMBASSY ANKARA EXPRESS GRAVEST CONCERN AT OUTPUT RADIO BAYRAK TO TURKS. AT 0915 LOCAL BAYRAK WARNED THAT IF ILL TREATMENT TURK CYPRIOT WOMEN, CHILDREN AND OLD PEOPLE LOCATED GREEK HANDS CONTINUES "PEACE FORCE" WILL BE FORCED RETALIATE IN KIND. ANNOUNCER THREATENED TURKISH JETS WOULD STRIKE POPULATED AREAS THROUGHOUT ISLAND. BROADCAST REPEATED ENGLISH, GREEK AND TURKISH (LOWEST KEY ENGLISH EDITION). FURTHER, ANNOUNCER THREATENED TREAT GREEKS HELD IN TURKS HANDS IN SAME MANNER AS TURKS UNDER NATIONAL GUARD CONTROL. COMMENT: IMPLICATION WAS OMINOUS.

DAVIES  
BT



\*\*\*\*\*HHSR COMMENT\*\*\*\*\*

HAK, SCOWCROFT, LL

PSN:024644 PAGE 01 TOR:228/08:09Z DTG:160735Z AUG 74

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DECLASSIFIED

NO. 1000 (EXEMPTED) 10/10/99  
Date of Declassification

By HR Date 5/16/11



Department of State

TELEGRAM

~~SECRET~~

Z 160745Z AUG 74  
FM AMEMBASSY ANKARA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC FLASH 5669  
BT

CONTROL: 4 3 6 9 Q

~~SECRET~~ ANKARA 6574Recd : 16, Aug  
04:02 A.M.

EXDIS - HANDLE AS NODIS

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: CY, GR, TU  
SUBJECT: CYPRUS

FOR SECRETARY FROM AMBASSADOR

REF STATE 179783

1. AT 1000 A.M. LOCAL TIME (AUG 16), I SPOKE WITH PRIMIN, AND CONVEYED MESSAGE CONTAINED PARA TWO REFIEL. HE WAS IN A RELAXED AND CHEERFUL MOOD, AND WHEN I CAME TO THE PART ABOUT YOUR BEING "GRATEFUL FOR THOSE ASSURANCES," THE PRIMIN INTERRUPTED TO SAY "THANK YOU," AND WHEN I CONCLUDED BY SAYING THAT YOU HAVE EVERY CONFIDENCE THAT ASSURANCES WILL BE CARRIED OUT, PRIMIN COMMENTS, "CERTAINLY." I SAID, "THEN YOU WILL BE GIVING OUT A PUBLIC STATEMENT ABOUT THE CEASEFIRE THIS MORNING?" THE PRIMIN SAID "YES, I WILL."

2. PRIMIN ASKED ME IF I HAD ANYTHING ON THE "SOVIET NOTE" WHICH HE WAS UNDER THE IMPRESSION YOU WERE GOING TO GET SOMETHING MORE TO HIM ON. I SAID I DID NOT HAVE ANY INFORMATION ON THAT PARTICULAR MATTER, AND HE WAS VERY RELAXED AND SAID, "THAT'S ALL RIGHT, LET'S FORGET IT."

MACOMBER

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NO. 1000 (1000) 0000

By HR 5/16/11~~SECRET~~

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NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION  
Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

WITHDRAWAL ID 035098

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL . . . . ÇNational security restriction

TYPE OF MATERIAL . . . . . ÇTelegram

DESCRIPTION . . . . . re Cyprus

CREATION DATE . . . . . 08/16/1974

VOLUME . . . . . 2 pages

COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 033200205

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

BOX NUMBER . . . . . 9

FOLDER TITLE . . . . . Cyprus Crisis (39)

DATE WITHDRAWN . . . . . 09/01/2011

WITHDRAWING ARCHIVIST . . . . HJR



UP-007

(CYPRUS)

HAN SCOWCROFT, LL

ISTANBUL (UPI) -- PREMIER BULENT ECEVIT SAID IN ISTANBUL TODAY THE  
TURKISH MILITARY OPERATION ON CYPRUS WILL END AT 7 P.M. (NOON EDT).

UPI 08-16 08:17 AED



## Department of State

TELEGRAM

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CONTROL: 4392Q

RECD: AUG 16, 1974  
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E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: CY, GR, TU  
SUBJ: CYPRUS

FOR SECRETARY FROM AMBASSADOR

REF ANKARA 6574

1. UK COLLEAGUE CALLED ME TO SAY THAT AT 1100 A.M. LOCAL TIME (AUG 16) PRIMIN TELEPHONED HIM TO SAY THAT TURKS WILL CEASE FIRING AT 1900 LOCAL TIME. ECEVIT ADDED THAT "WE WILL BE READY TO GO BACK TO THE TABLE IMMEDIATELY."
2. AS OF 1245 P.M. LOCAL TIME, STILL NO PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT HERE RE 1900 DEADLINE.
3. NOTE: 1900 LOCAL ANKARA TIME IS 1800 ATHENS TIME.

MACOMBER

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED  
NO. 100-100000-10000  
DATE 5/16/11  
BY HR

(CYPRUS)

*Press reporting on Cyprus. HAK, SOURCE, CO*

NICOSIA (UPI) -- A LAND, SEA AND AIR ATTACK CARRIED THE TURKISH ARMED FORCES TO THE WEST COAST OF CYPRUS TODAY, COMPLETING THE CONQUEST OF THE NORTHERN THIRD OF THE ISLAND. TURKISH PREMIER EULENT ECEVIT ANNOUNCED TURKEY HAD ACHIEVED ITS OBJECTIVES AND THAT FIGHTING WOULD END AT NOON EDT.

HEAVY FIGHTING STILL RAGED IN NICOSIA, PARTLY IN FLAMES FROM TURKISH AIR AND ARTILLERY STRIKES, AND THE CYPRIOT GOVERNMENT OF ACTING PRESIDENT GLAFKO CLERIDES WAS REPORTED TO HAVE FLED TO THE SOUTHERN PORT OF LIMASSOL.

IN ANNOUNCING THE END OF THE TURKISH OFFENSIVE, ECEVIT OFFERED TO RESUME PEACE TALKS WITH BRITAIN, GREECE AND THE TWO CYPRIOT COMMUNITIES. BUT DIPLOMATIC REPORTS FROM LONDON SAID NONE OF THE PARTICIPANTS WERE RUSHING TO RECONVENE THE BROKEN DOWN GENEVA CONFERENCE THAT COULD AT BEST ONLY CONFIRM THE TURKISH MILITARY VICTORY.

AN ANGRY GREEK PREMIER CONSTANTINE KARAMANLIS RULED OUT THE DANGER OF A WAR WITH TURKEY AND SAID HE WOULD NOT SEND TROOPS TO CYPRUS. BUT A GOVERNMENT SPOKESMAN IN ATHENS SAID HE REJECTED AN INVITATION TODAY BY SECRETARY OF STATE HENRY KISSINGER TO FLY TO WASHINGTON FOR TALKS WITH PRESIDENT FORD.

THE END OF THE MAIN TURKISH DRIVE CAME TODAY WHEN ARMORED COLUMNS WITH AIR AND NAVAL SUPPORT SMASHED THROUGH GREEK CYPRIOT LINES ON MORPHOU BAY AT THE WESTERN END OF THE TURKISH "ATTILA LINE" DIVIDING THE ISLAND. THEY HAD CAPTURED THE EASTERN PORT OF FAMAGUSTA EARLIER TODAY AND WERE ROAMING AT WILL THROUGH OTHER PARTS OF THE ISLAND.

THE "ATTILA LINE" GOES THROUGH THE HEART OF NICOSIA ALONG THE ROW OF WHITE PAINTED BARRELS THAT UNITED NATIONS FORCES THERE CALLED THE GREEN LINE TO DIVIDE THE TWO COMMUNITIES. BUT TODAY MOST OF THE GREEK CYPRIOTS HAD FLED SOUTHWARD.

UPI CORRESPONDENT MIKE KEATS REPORTED FROM NICOSIA THAT CLERIDES LEFT HIS OFFICE AND WAS THOUGHT TO HAVE GONE SOUTH WITH THE OTHER GOVERNMENT LEADERS. ONLY A HANDFUL OF PERSONS REMAINED IN THE DESERTED GOVERNMENT BUILDINGS, MOST OF THEM MINOR FUNCTIONARIES.

TURKISH DEFENSE MINISTER HASAN ESAT ISIK PROMISED EARLIER TODAY THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT WOULD OBEY THE U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL'S FOURTH CEASE-FIRE ORDER IN A MATTER OF HOURS. THEN ECEVIT ANNOUNCED THE END OF THE FIGHTING AT 7 P.M. TURKISH TIME (6 P.M. CYPRUS TIME AND 12 NOON EDT.)

ECEVIT SPOKE OF A RETURN TO GENEVA BUT DEPUTY PREMIER NEJMEDDIN ERBAKAN SAID HE THOUGHT NEGOTIATIONS NOW SHOULD CENTER ON TALKS BETWEEN THE TURKISH AND GREEK CYPRIOTS ON COOPERATION -- "FROM NOW ON THERE IS NO NEED TO TALK WITH SOMEONE ELSE."

UPI 08-16 11:39 AED

NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION  
Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

WITHDRAWAL ID 035099

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL . . . . ÇNational security restriction

TYPE OF MATERIAL . . . . . ÇReport

DESCRIPTION . . . . . re Cyprus Situation

CREATION DATE . . . . . 08/16/1974

VOLUME . . . . . 4 pages

COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 033200205

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

BOX NUMBER . . . . . 9

FOLDER TITLE . . . . . Cyprus Crisis (39)

DATE WITHDRAWN . . . . . 09/01/2011

WITHDRAWING ARCHIVIST . . . . HJR

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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY  
August 16, 1974

INTELLIGENCE MEMORANDUM

CYPRUS

Situation Report Number 8  
(As of 1230 EDT)

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

CYPRUS GOVERNMENT MOVES TO LIMASSOL

1. President Clerides moved the seat of government to the south coast port of Limassol today. Clerides and his staff moved hurriedly, presumably on hearing sounds of heavy fighting and rumors that Turkish forces had broken into the old city area. The Greek embassy in Nicosia has subsequently denied that the Turks have entered the old city.

2. Clerides was vague about the reasons for his trip in a phone conversation with a US embassy official. He claimed he had heard of a "small penetration" by Turkish forces in the western area of the city. He said that he has now been informed that the "breach" has been repaired and that he expects to return to Nicosia tonight or tomorrow morning.



DIA review(s) completed



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Presidential Library Review of DOS Equities is Required

State Dept. Guidelines  
DECLASSIFIED w/ portions exempted  
RAC NLF-CODEWORD-4-20-5-0 9/21/2005  
AUTHORITY BY *MJD* NARA, DATE 3/16/2011



[REDACTED]

3. The British High Commission also evacuated Nicosia following Clerides departure. He told Ambassador Davies that he and his staff will set up its headquarters at the British Sovereign Base at Dhekelia but would return to Nicosia if Clerides does.

4. Ambassador Davies observes that the situation in the city could become desperate tonight if the cease-fire is not observed. Telephone communications have become increasingly erratic and food supplies in some areas are dwindling. The "free zone" that the Red Cross has tried to establish in the Hilton Hotel area has taken four mortar rounds in the lawns and parking area surrounding the hotel.

#### TURKISH INTENTIONS

5. Turkish Prime Minister Ecevit has announced that Turkish forces on Cyprus will observe a cease-fire beginning at 1900 (1300 EDT) today. The decision was announced after a cabinet meeting and consultations with military leaders.

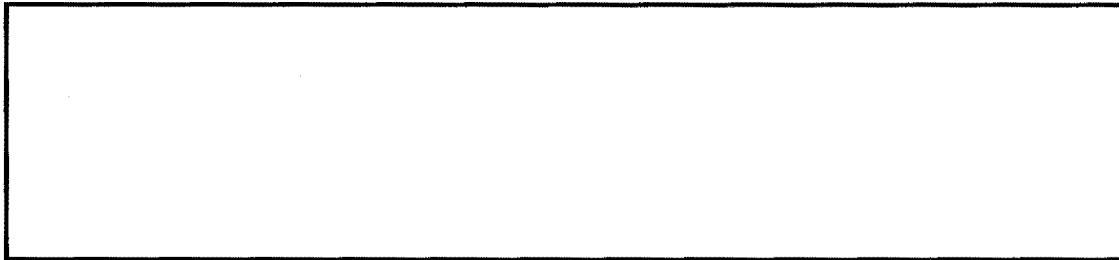


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9. Prime Minister Ecevit, as well as senior government and military officials, is reported to be highly pleased with the role the US has played in this phase of the Cyprus crisis. Ecevit also is reported to hope that Greek-Turkish relations can improve now that the chronic irritant of Cyprus is "resolved."

MOOD IN GREECE

10. The US embassy in Athens has reported that as of 0800 (EDT) Greece remains calm. Popular reaction to Prime Minister Karamanlis' radio speech yesterday apparently was one of relief that the government was not contemplating actions that could bring Greece closer to hostilities. The speech was generally well received, with some Greeks pointing out that the Prime Minister cannot be expected to work miracles.

11. The embassy also reports that Greek Defense Minister Averoff on August 13 requested that the US accelerate the delivery of twelve F-4E's that the Greeks had previously ordered. A Greek foreign ministry official has informed the US embassy that NATO Secretary General Luns is presently not in the good graces of the Greek government because he refused to postpone his vacation to participate in a special meeting that the Greeks had requested on July 28. The Greeks, then, have joined the Turks in making clear that a visit by Luns at this time would not prove useful.



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[REDACTED]

12. The US defense attache in Athens reports that the impact of Greece leaving the NATO military integrated command is not clear. Greek military officers have mixed emotions; most accept the withdrawal, but regret the necessity for it. A Greek military officer informed the attache that some changes affecting US forces will be made, but no specific decisions have yet been made by the government.

#### UNITED NATIONS

13. It is still uncertain whether the Security Council will meet today to continue consideration of a French draft resolution informally proposed yesterday. The French resolution calls for formal disapproval of Turkey's military operations, urges withdrawal of foreign military personnel "present otherwise than under the authority of international agreements," and urges the resumption of peace negotiations.

14. In lobbying efforts yesterday the French failed to gain the nine affirmative votes necessary to insure the resolution's passage by the Security Council. The French have not indicated whether a US abstention and the expected Turkish cease-fire proposal will alter their efforts to press for a condemnation of the Turkish military intervention.

#### MAKARIOS STILL IN LONDON

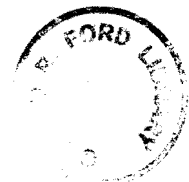
15. According to the London Guardian, Archbishop Makarios met with British Prime Minister Wilson and Foreign Secretary Callaghan yesterday, and told them he continues to oppose any partition of Cyprus. Makarios was reacting to press reports, later denied, that President Clerides was recommending handing over the northern portion of Cyprus to the Turks.

16. The US embassy in Paris reported today that allegations that the US encouraged, if not fostered, the coup against Makarios are gaining currency in France. The allegation was first made in Le Monde on August 15.

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[REDACTED]

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SOVIET POLITICAL REACTION

17. Pravda yesterday published the most comprehensive commentary on the status of the Cypriot problem yet seen in the Soviet press, but it failed to break any new ground. The article, which emphasized that the UN must take urgent steps to implement its decisions, seems to reflect Moscow's frustration with its inability to play an effective role in resolving the conflict.

18. TASS today carried extracts from Greek Prime Minister Karamanlis' speech yesterday, which reflected Greek frustration and disappointment with its NATO allies. It highlighted Karamanlis' claim that he had given the order for the military withdrawal from NATO as well as other steps that have yet to be announced. TASS reported local Greek speculation that these additional measures might include the annulment of US-Greek agreements on military bases.

FIGHTING ON CYPRUS

19. Press reports of the capture of Morphou remain unconfirmed, but seem credible. Turkish forces are known to have passed through Masari, a village southwest of the city, and advance elements have reached Ghaziveran on the Lefka-Morphou road. Radio broadcasts from Ankara claim that the Turkish army has captured Lefka. This report also is unconfirmed, but the general absence of evidence that the Turkish offensive is being resisted lends credence to the report.

20. In Nicosia, the UN has attempted once more to arrange a cease-fire. There have been no indications, however, that the fighting has abated, particularly in the area of the Nicosia airport. The Turks are making a determined effort to take control of the airport access road with artillery and air strikes. The regular

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Greek forces north of the airport are under the heaviest attack since the fighting renewed, but they are apparently still holding most of their positions. Turkish planes attacking the Greek camp inadvertently bombed the UN contingent at the airport. No UN casualties were reported. The airport itself remains in UN hands.

21. Turkish forces are consolidating their positions in the northeast and have moved into the Karpas Peninsula and reportedly have reached Galatia. South of Famagusta, the Greek Cypriot forces have moved toward Liopetri to regroup.

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Turkish forces attempted to establish a defensive line from Vavili to Sinda during the night, but reportedly felt it would be difficult to hold if the Greek Cypriots attacked.

22. Half way between Nicosia and Famagusta Turkish forces are shelling Greek Cypriots resisting the Turkish link up with its enclave in Melousha. The Greek forces also are being supported by artillery fire from the south. If the Turks take Melousha and move on toward the high ground near the Nicosia-Larnaca road--reported to be one of their "ancillary" goals--Greek Cypriot forces at Athienou have been told to retreat southward.

23. Intercommunal fighting continues in several villages within the Turkish held area in the east.

LATE ITEM

Cypriot President Clerides reportedly has announced his acceptance of a cease-fire beginning at 1800. Turkey has asked for a resumption of the Cyprus peace talks on Monday, according to press



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reports from London. A spokesman for the British foreign office is reported to have said that his government is ready to resume negotiations "as soon as there is a possibility that such negotiations will succeed." Soundings of the three guarantor powers and the Greek and Turkish Cypriots would be necessary and cannot start until the fighting stops.



- 7 -



~~TOP SECRET~~



SCOWCROFT, L L

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RNR 999

CYPRUS-MIRAGES

PARIS, AUG. 16. REUTER -- FRANCE WILL SPEED UP DELIVERY OF 50 MIRAGE JET AIRCRAFT TO GREECE, FRENCH OFFICIALS SAID HERE TODAY.

FRANCE YESTERDAY DENOUNCED TURKEYS OFFENSIVE ON CYPRUS AND PLEDGED "ACTIVE SUPPORT AND FRIENDSHIP" TO THE NEW CIVILIAN GOVERNMENT OF GREECE.

DELIVERIES OF THE SUPERSONIC MIRAGE FIGHTER-BOMBERS TO ATHENS ARE EXPECTED TO START NEXT YEAR, AHEAD OF A PREVIOUSLY PLANNED SCHEDULE, THE FRENCH OFFICIALS SAID.

THE GOVERNMENT IS ALSO ACCELERATING THE SUPPLY TO GREECE OF ABOUT 100 AMX-30 MEDIUM TANKS AND A DOZEN MISSILE-LAUNCHING SPEEDBOATS, THEY ADDED.

ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE SALE OF PLANES AND OTHERS ARMS TO GREECE WERE COMPLETED BEFORE THE PRESENT CRISIS BETWEEN GREECE AND TURKEY BROKE OUT BUT DETAILS OF THE DELIVERY DATES HAD NEVER BEEN DISCLOSED.

THE MOST RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN CYPRUS HAVE LED THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT TO HASTEN DELIVERIES, FRENCH OFFICIALS SAID.

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RNR 032

URGENT' . . . CYPRUS-SECOND NIGHTLEAD GREECE

ATHENS, AUG. 16, REUTER-- PREMIER CONSTANTINE KARAMANLIS SAID HERE TONIGHT THAT GREECE WAS NOT PREPARED TO TAKE PART IN NEGOTIATIONS ON THE FUTURE OF CYPRUS.

SHORTLY AFTER A CEASEFIRE CAME INTO EFFECT ON CYPRUS, PANAYOTIS LAMBRIAS, UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR PRESS AND INFORMATION, READ A STATEMENT TO REPORTERS BY THE PREMIER REPLYING TO TURKEY'S PROPOSAL TO RESUME TALKS IN GENEVA NEXT MONDAY.

MORE 1455  
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SCOWCROFT, LL

FBIS 82\*\*\*\*\* (SEE 64)

CYPRUS GOVERNMENT ORDERS CEASE-FIRE 16 AUGUST FOR 1600 GMT

TA161514 NICOSIA DOMESTIC SERVICE IN GREEK 1503 GMT 16 AUG 74 TA

(TEXT) WE ARE INTERRUPTING OUR NEWSCAST TO BROADCAST A STATEMENT OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC WHICH HAS JUST BEEN RECEIVED:

PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC GLAVKOS KLIRIDHIS HAS MADE THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT: (READ BY ANNOUNCER--FBIS)

THE GOVERNMENT AND ARMED FORCES OF THE REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS HAVE RESPECTED AND FULLY ADHERED TO EVERY RESOLUTION OF THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL CONCERNING THE CEASE-FIRE, THE CYPRUS GOVERNMENT, RESPONDING TO THE RECENT SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION, ORDERS A CEASE-FIRE WHICH WILL TAKE EFFECT AS OF 1800 (1600 GMT) TODAY.

16 AUG 1551Z GKE/MC\*\*\*\*\*



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Z 161330Z AUG 74 ZFF6  
FM AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC FLASH 9522

INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS FLASH 4740  
AMEMBASSY ANKARA FLASH 4177  
AMEMBASSY LONDON FLASH 3728  
USMISSION GENEVA FLASH 250  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK FLASH 4466  
USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS FLASH 207T  
USDGCSOUTH FLASH  
USEUCOM FLASH  
USCINCEUR FLASH  
DIA WASHDC DI-5 FLASH

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ NICOSIA 2403

GENEVA FOR ICRC  
E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR CY  
SUBJECT: CYPRUS

1. AS TELEPHONES BECOMING INCREASINGLY ERRATIC, I WENT TO HILTON ADJACENT EMBASSY TO SPEAK WITH UK HICOMER OLVER WHO HAS BEEN FORCED FROM HIGH COMMISSION BUILDING AND HIS RESIDENCE BY FIGHTING IN GREEN LINE AREA.
2. OLVER TOLD ME HIS IS DEPARTING AT 1500 WITH CONVOY OF BRITISH CIVILIANS FOR DHEKELIA LEAVING TWO OFFICERS MANNING TEMPORARY HEADQUARTERS AT HILTON.
3. OLVER REASONED THAT WITH DEPARTURE CLERIDES AND HIS GOVT FOR LIMASSOL THERE IS LITTLE NEED FOR UK PRESENCE NICOSIA. I NOTED TO HIM ECEVIT'S ANNOUNCEMENT THAT ISLAND-WIDE CEASE-FIRE WOULD OBTAIN AT 1800 LOCAL AND WE BOTH AGREED CLERIDES DEPARTURE WOULD FURTHER DEMORALIZE REMAINING POPULACE OF CENTRAL PLAINS AREA. I TOLD OLVER HE HAD CONTACTED CLERIDES WHO ASSURED US HE WOULD RETURN TONIGHT OR TOMORROW IF CONDICITNS PERMIT. OLVER SAID IF GOVT RETURNS TO NICOSIA HE AND STAFF WOULD ALSO RETURN.

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

SCOWCROFT, LL

PSN:024916 PAGE 01 TOR:228/14:27Z DTG:161330Z AUG 74

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



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DATE 5/16/11  
BY [signature]

4. HILTON HOTEL, WHICH IS ICRC "FREE ZONE" HAS TAKEN FOUR MORTAR ROUNDS IN LAWNS AND PARKING AREAS. SEVERAL AUTOS DAMAGED AND ROADWAYS SCARRED. THERE ARE 600 GREEK CYPRIOT REFUGEES-- MANY CHILDREN AND MANY AGED -- CROWDED INTO LOBBY, BALLROOM AND BASEMENT. MANAGER FRANK TELLS ME HE HAS INSUFFICIENT FOOD FOR GROUP AND BARELY ENOUGH FOR REGISTERED GUESTS. RELIEF SUPPLIES IN FORM U.S. -- PROVIDED COTS AND BLANKETS WERE BEGINNING TO BE DELIVERED THIS MORNING WHEN FIGHTING IN AREA AROUND FORMER AMERICAN NAVAL COMPOUND IN CITY WHERE ITEMS STORED PREVENTED FURTHER ACCESS. INASMUCH AS POLICE TOLD RSD THEY HAVE ACCESS TO SUPPLY OF BREAD, LATTER IS SEEKING TO GET POLICE TO PROVIDE SUPPLY FOR THOSE IN REFUGE.

5. IT IS OBVIOUS THAT IF TURKISH CEASEFIRE IS NOT OBSERVED TONIGHT SITUATION IN THIS CITY COULD BECOME DESPERATE.  
DAVIES  
BT





Department of State TELEGRAM

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Law + hold

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P - MR. SECDD  
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*State Review*  
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TO AMEMBASSY ANKARA FLASH

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EXDIS DISTRIBUTE AS NODIS

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR, TU, CY  
SUBJECT: CYPRUS  
REF: ANKARA 6874

FROM THE SECRETARY FOR THE AMBASSADOR

1. PLEASE TELL ECEVIT THAT WE HAVE SUCCEEDED IN DELAYING A VOTE ON THE FRENCH RESOLUTION IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL (USUN 2843) AND ARE TRYING ACTIVELY TO HAVE IT WITHDRAWN AND NOT PUT TO A VOTE. HOWEVER, ECEVIT SHOULD KNOW THAT IF IN SPITE OF OUR EFFORTS THE RESOLUTION IS PUT TO A VOTE, WE WOULD HAVE NO CHOICE BUT TO VOTE FOR IT. IN THE FACE OF INCREASING DOMESTIC PRESSURES AS A RESULT OF TURKISH MILITARY OPERATIONS, THERE IS NO OTHER COURSE OPEN TO US.

2. YOU SHOULD STRESS TO ECEVIT THAT ONCE TURKISH MILITARY OPERATIONS HAVE CEASED AT 7 P.M. ANKARA TIME, IT IS ABSOLUTELY ESSENTIAL THAT THERE BE NO FURTHER TURKISH MILITARY OPERATIONS OF ANY SORT. WE UNDERSTAND ECEVIT'S DOMESTIC PROBLEMS WITH RESPECT TO CYPRUS, BUT HE MUST UNDERSTAND THAT OUR DOMESTIC SITUATION WILL NOT BE ABLE TO TOLERATE THE STRAIN OF ANY ADDITIONAL TURKISH OPERATIONS.

NOT TO BE REPRODUCED WITHOUT THE AUTHORIZATION OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRET

~~SECRET~~





Department of State

TELEGRAM

~~SECRET~~

PAGE 02 STATE 179920

3. WE FULLY AGREE WITH ECEVIT THAT IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT NEGOTIATIONS BE RESUMED AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE. IT IS MY EARNEST HOPE THAT TURKEY WILL APPROACH THE NEXT ROUND OF

NEGOTIATIONS WITH GENEROUS PROPOSALS SINCE A SETTLEMENT MUST BE REACHED RAPIDLY. HE WILL NOTE FROM THE INFORMATION YOU HAVE GIVEN HIM ON THE SOVIETS (SEE BELOW) THAT UNLESS THE QUESTION IS SETTLED WITH THE LEAST POSSIBLE DELAY, HE WILL SEE CONSIDERABLY INCREASED SOVIET EFFORTS TO BECOME INVOLVED.

4. I APPRECIATE ECEVIT'S VIEWS AS TO HOW THE US MIGHT PLAY A MORE DIRECT ROLE AND I AM GIVING THEM MY MOST SERIOUS CONSIDERATION.

5. RE ECEVIT'S REFERENCE TO THE "SOVIET NOTE" (REFTEL), YOU SHOULD BRIEF ECEVIT ON ITS SUBSTANCE. THIS IS TO BE GIVEN TO ECEVIT ALONE AND ONLY FOR HIM, AND YOU ARE NOT TO REPEAT NOT TO LEAVE ANY PAPER WITH HIM ON IT.

6. YOU SHOULD ADD THAT THE SOVIETS ALSO ORALLY INDICATED TO ME THAT THEY WERE PREPARED AS WELL TO UNDERTAKE JOINT MILITARY ACTION WITH US, ARGUING THAT THE AGREEMENT FOR THE PREVENTION OF NUCLEAR WAR BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION AUTHORIZED SUCH ACTION. WE HAVE FLATLY REJECTED THIS SOVIET INTERPRETATION OF THE AGREEMENT.

7. TEXT OF SOVIET NOTE WHICH YOU SHOULD SUM UP FOR ECEVIT FOLLOWS:

IT IS BECOMING STILL MORE AND MORE EVIDENT THAT THE SITUATION ON CYPRUS AND IN CONNECTION WITH THE DEVELOPMENTS THERE, IS DEMANDING ACTIVE AND PURPOSEFUL ACTIONS DIRECTED AT THE LIQUIDATION OF THE CONFLICT.

IT SEEMS TO US, THAT AN IMPORTANT STEP, WHICH UNDER THE PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES COULD PRODUCE THE GREATEST EFFECT, WOULD BE A JOINT EFFORT OF OUR TWO COUNTRIES FOR THE PURPOSE OF IMPLEMENTING THE SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION

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SECRET



Department of State

TELEGRAM

~~SECRET~~



PAGE 03 STATE 170020

553 OF JULY 29. WE HAVE IN MIND A SOLUTION OF MAIN PROBLEMS OF THE SETTLEMENT AS THAT RESOLUTION DEMANDS.

"IN THIS CONNECTION WE HAVE THE FOLLOWING CONSIDERATIONS TO WHICH WE WOULD LIKE TO DRAW THE ATTENTION OF THE PRESIDENT. THE JOINT EFFORT OF THE USSR AND THE US COULD PROVIDE APPROPRIATE GUARANTEES OF BOTH OUR COUNTRIES AIMED AT SECURING THE INDEPENDENCE, SOVEREIGNTY AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF THE CYPRUS STATE, AS WELL AS CREATING NECESSARY CONDITIONS FOR THE CYPRIOTS TO SETTLE THEIR INTERNAL AFFAIRS THEMSELVES WITHOUT ANY OUTSIDE INTERVENTION. WE WOULD ALSO BE PREPARED TO CONSIDER A POSSIBILITY OF PROVIDING SUCH GUARANTEES ON THE PART OF THE SECURITY

COUNCIL.

"ALONG THE SAME LINES, IN OUR VIEW, A SPECIAL GROUP SHOULD BE ESTABLISHED, COMPOSED OF NONPERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL, REPRESENTING ALL MAIN GEOGRAPHIC AREAS. THE FUNCTIONS OF SUCH GROUP, SMALL IN ITS COMPOSITION (REPRESENTATIVES OF 5-6 STATES), COULD INCLUDE OBSERVING ON BEHALF OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL, THE SITUATION ON CYPRUS, THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECISIONS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL ON THE QUESTION OF CYPRUS, AS WELL AS THE PROMOTION OF A JUST, PEACEFUL AND DEMOCRATIC SETTLEMENT ON THE PROBLEM OF CYPRUS, INCLUDING A DIRECT PARTICIPATION IN NEGOTIATIONS.

"UNDERTAKING THIS INITIATIVE, WE EXPRESS OUR READINESS TO COOPERATE CLOSELY WITH THE US IN IMPLEMENTING MEASURES, BOTH THOSE MENTIONED ABOVE AND POSSIBLY OTHERS, AIMED AT PRESERVING CYPRUS AS A SOVEREIGN AND INDEPENDENT STATE.

"IT IS HOPED IN MOSCOW THAT THE US GOVERNMENT WILL REGARD OUR CONSIDERATIONS WITH FULL ATTENTION. ON OUR PART WE ARE READY, OF COURSE, TO CONSIDER THE VIEWS THAT THE AMERICAN SIDE MAY HAVE." KISSINGER

NOTE BY OC/TI CCO DELIVER TO OFF-LINE FOR PROCESSING.

~~SECRET~~

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Department of State

TELEGRAM

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CONTROL: 4464Q  
RECD: AUG 16, 1974  
1501Z

O 161320Z AUG 74  
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 4942  
BT

~~SECRET~~ SECTION 1 OF 2 ATHENS 5739

NODIS

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

State Revised  
3/4/84  
112 1116 111

1. FOREIGN MINISTER MAVROS REQUESTED ME TO CALL AT 1230 HOURS LOCAL TIME. AT OUTSET HE EXPLAINED HE WAS GIVING ME ANSWERS TO ORAL MESSAGE TO PM (STATE 177680) AND TO POINTS MADE IN TELEPHONE CONVERSATION BETWEEN PM CARAMANLIS AND SECRETARY KISSINGER LAST NIGHT (STATE 179778) BECAUSE PM WAS INVOLVED IN IMPORTANT MEETING WITH GREEK MILITARY.

2. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF GREEK RESPONSE TO FIRST ORAL MESSAGE:

"THANK YOU FOR THE MESSAGE WHICH YOU SO KINDLY ADDRESSED TO ME CONCERNING THE TRAGIC EVENTS IN CYPRUS FOLLOWING THE RENEWED TURKISH ATTACK.

YOU ARE WELL AWARE OF THE REASONS WHY THE NEGOTIATIONS IN THE GENEVA CONFERENCE BROKE DOWN. A 36 HOURS ADJOURNMENT IN ORDER THAT MR. CLERIDES, WHO HAD PLEDGED HIMSELF TO CONSIDER WITH AN OPEN MIND THE TURKISH CYPRIOT AND TURKISH PROPOSALS, BE ABLE TO CONSULT HIS COLLEAGUES IN NICOSIA WAS FLATLY REJECTED BY THE TURKISH FOREIGN MINISTER. THERE IS NO DOUBT IN MY MIND THAT TURKEY HAD CHOSEN TO IMPOSE THE SETTLEMENT SHE WANTED BY FORCE.

THE EXPERIENCE OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE, AND THE SUBSEQUENT DEVELOPMENTS IN CYPRUS SHOW TURKEY'S INTENTION TO FORCE US TO NEGOTIATE UNDER DURESS AND TO IMPOSE HER VIEWS AT GUN-POINT, WHILE IGNORING THE PEREMPTORY APPEALS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL OF THE UNITED NATIONS UNDER WHOSE RESOLUTION THE CONFERENCE WAS CONVENED AND THE IMPLEMENTATION OF WHICH HAD TO BE THE PREDOMINANT FACTOR IN HER ATTITUDE.



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Department of State

TELEGRAM

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-2-ATHENS 5739, SECTION 1 OF 2, AUG 16

IN VIEW OF THE GRAVE SITUATION WHICH HAS NOW DEVELOPED THE ABSENCE FROM ATHENS OF DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AND FOREIGN MINISTER MR. MAVROS IS PROBLEMATIC.

IT IS A MATTER OF REGRET TO ME THAT YOU COULD NOT SEE MR. MAVROS WHEN OUR FOREIGN MINISTER PROPOSED TO VISIT WASHINGTON BEFORE THE SECOND PHASE OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE AT A TIME WHEN THE FURTHER DETERIORATION OF THE SITUATION COULD HAVE BEEN AVERTED.

MEANWHILE, THE U.S. GOVERNMENT HAS ALREADY PUBLICLY STATED ITS VIEWS WITH REGARD TO ESSENTIAL FEATURES OF A FUTURE SETTLEMENT OF THE CYPRUS QUESTION ON WHICH MY GOVERNMENT HAS YET TO TAKE POSITION.

THANKING YOU AGAIN FOR YOUR MESSAGE, I AM CONFIDENT THAT YOU WILL UNDERSTAND OUR POSITION AS OUTLINED ABOVE. UNQTE

3. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF PM'S REPLY TO TELECON:

QTE REFERRING TO OUR TELEPHONE CONVEERSATION OF LAST NIGHT, I WANT TO TELL YOU HOW MUCH I APPRECIATE YOUR INTENTION TO ASSIST IN THE SETTLEMENT OF THE PRESENT CRISIS.

MAY I SAY AGAIN THAT IT IS UTTERLY IMPOSSIBLE FOR GREECE TO RETURN TO THE NEGOTIATING TABLE IN FACE OF FAITS ACCOMPLIS. WE COULD HOWEVER RETURN TO THE TALKS IF (A) THE CITY OF FAMAGUSTA WERE TO BE IMMEDIATELY EVACUATED BY THE TURKISH FORCES AND (B) THESE FORCES WERE TO WITHDRAW TO THE STABILIZATION LINE AGREED UPON, ON AUGUST 9, 1974, BY THE MILITARY EXPERTS OF GREECE, TURKEY AND THE UK WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF THE UN PEACE FORCE. THIS LINE WAS DRAWN AFTER THE NEW TURKISH ADVANCES, IN VIOLATION OF THE CONFRONTATION LINE OF JULY 30, 1974. IF THESE MEASURES WERE TAKEN WE WOULD ACCEPT TO RESUME NEGOTIATIONS.

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Department of State

TELEGRAM

~~SECRET~~

-3-ATHENS 5739, SECTION 1 OF 2, AUG 16

IN THE LIGHT OF OUR POSITION AS OUTLINED ABOVE, THE DECISION OF THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT TO ORDER A CEASEFIRE AT SIX PMM. ATHENS TIME, AUGUST 16, IS OF NO VALUE.

I FULLY APPRECIATE PRESIDENT FORD'S SUGGESTION THAT WE HAVE AN EARLY PERSONAL MEETING. UNFORTUNATELY IT IS IMPOSSIBLE FOR ME, IN THE PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES, TO LEAVE GREECE FOR THE TIME BEING. UNQTE.

4. I ASKED MAVROS ABOUT PROSPECT FOR RESUMING DIPLOMATIC NEGOTIATIONS. HE DREW ATTENTION TO TWO CONDITIONS DESCRIBED ABOVE. MAVROS ADDED THAT TURKISH CEASEFIRE AT 1800 HOURS TODAY QTE RIDICULOUS AND IMMATERIAL UNQTE.

TASCA

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#4942

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Department of State

TELEGRAM

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CONTROL: 4468Q  
RECD: AUG 16, 1974  
1514Z

O 161600Z AUG 74  
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 4943  
BT

~~SECRET~~ SECTION 2 OF 2 ATHENS 5739

NODIS

5. PM REFERRED TO INFORMATION HE HAD RECEIVED CONCERNING MEETING BETWEEN ASSISTANT SECRETARY HARTMAN AND SOVIET OBSERVER MININ IN GENEVA AT WHICH FM ASSERTED BOTH CONCURRED THAT GREEKS HAD "TO ACCEPT SCHEME PREPARED BY TURKS". HE ADDED GOG ALSO MUST TAKE INTO ACCOUNT PUBLIC STATEMENTS OF SECRETARY KINSSINGER WHICH IN GREEK VIEW MEANT "AMERICANS TAKING SIDES" BETWEEN GREECE AND TURKEY. ALL THIS MADE GREEK POSITION DIFFICULT. MAVROS ALSO MENTIONED THAT SOVIETS WERE TRYING FOR REASONS RELATED TO THEIR OWN INTERESTS TO UNDERMINE NATO TO EXPLOIT IDEA THAT US WAS UNABLE TO CONVINCING ITS ALLIES GREECE AND TURKEY NOT TO USE MILITARY SUPPLIES SENT TO BOTH COUNTRIES AGAINST EACH OTHER. SOVIET ARGUMENT WAS THAT THIS WOULD INEVITABLY LEAD TO DESTRUCTION OF NATO. MAVROS REITERATED THIS WAS SOVIET POSITION BUT ASSERTED, AS HE AND OTHER HIGH GREEK OFFICIALS HAVE PREVIOUSLY DONE, THAT US WAS IN POSITION BETWEEN TWO PHASES OF GENEVA NEGOTIATIONS TO TAKE "MORE DRASTIC MEASURES" THAN IT HAD DONE, ADDING THAT PATTERN OF SYRIAN-ISRAELI DISCUSSIONS COULD HAVE CONSTRUCTIVELY BEEN FOLLOWED. FOR EXAMPLE, IF SECRETARY KISSINGER HAD MADE LIGHTNING VISIT TO AREA OR IF MAVROS COULD HAVE VISITED WASHINGTON RATHER THAN HARTMAN COMING HERE IT COULD HAVE MADE DIFFERENCE.

6. MAVROS TOOK OCCASION TO RECOUNT REASONS WHY GOG NOT INTERESTED IN RECEIVING NATO SYG LUNS AS HE HAD NOW REQUESTED. MAVROS SAID HE HAD WISHED TO GO TO BRUSSELS FOR SPECIAL NAC BUT BECAUSE OF TIME FACTOR COULD NOT ARRIVE THERE UNTIL 1700 HOURS. LUNS HAD VACATION PLANS CALLING FOR HIS OWN DEPARTURE AT 0600 HOURS AND REFUSED TO DEFER THEM DESPITE OBVIOUS IMPORTANCE OF NAC MEETING ON SUBJECT INVOLVING TWO MEMBERS OF ALLIANCE. INSTEAD HE HAD SIMPLY SENT WORD THAT HIS DEPUTY WOULD PRESIDE AT SUCH MEETINGS, WHICH WAS REASON WHY MAVROS HAD CANCELLED HIS OWN



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Department of State

TELEGRAM

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-2-ATHENS 5739; SECTION 2 OF 2, AUG 16

PLANS TO GO TO BRUSSELS IN HOPE OF SALVAGING GENEVA DISCUSSIONS AT SUCH MEETING. NOW LUNS WISHED TO VISIT ATHENS AND ANKARA AND MAVROS SAID GOG HAD INFORMED HIM THERE WAS NO PURPOSE IN SUCH A VISIT NOW. HE NOTED INCIDENTALLY TURKS ALSO HAD DECLINED SUCH A LUNS VISIT.

7. I AGAIN EMPHASIZED THAT US POLICY REFLECTED OUR DEEP INTEREST IN MAINTAINING STRENGTH OF NATO ALLIANCE. BOTH GREECE AND TURKEY WERE GOOD FRIENDS. I UNDERScored FACT THAT SECRETARY KISSINGER HAD BEEN MAKING EVERY POSSIBLE EFFORT TO REACH MUTUALLY SATISFACTORY SETTLEMENT AND HE COULD BE ASSURED THAT ALL OUR EFFORTS IN THIS DIRECTION WOULD CONTINUE. I EXPRESSED OUR PROFOUND REGRET OVER GREEK MOVE TO WITHDRAW ITS MILITARY FORCES FROM NATO. I POINTED OUT THAT PRESIDENT FORD'S INVITATION TO PM CARAMANLIS AND PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT OF AUGUST 15 SHOWED WHAT VERY GREAT IMPORTANCE US ATTACHED TO ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH GREECE.

8. MAVROS EXPRESSED HIS UNDERSTANDING OF US POSITION BUT ASKED RHETORICALLY WHETHER GOG COULD RETURN TO NEGOTIATIONS AND CARAMANLIS GOVERNMENT STILL SURVIVE. IT WAS WEIGHTING ALL OF ITS INTERESTS, INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL. I COMMENTED THAT I STRONGLY HOPED GOG WOULD TAKE INTO FULL ACCOUNT AMONG THESE INTERESTS LONG FRIENDSHIP WITH US AND IMPORTANCE WE ATTACH TO SOUND BASIS FOR GREEK/US RELATIONS.

9. AS WE CONCLUDED CONVERSATION MAVROS OBSERVED THAT GREEK MOBILIZATION CONTINUED AND THAT ITS MILITARY FORCES IN THE NORTH WERE IN VERY STRONG DEFENSE POSTURE. HE REPEATED THAT THEIR DEPLOYMENT WAS FOR DEFENSE. HE ALSO ADVERTED TO FACT GOG HAD IN READINESS STAND-BY DIVISION FOR POSSIBLE USE IN CYPRUS AND REFERRED TO CONVERSATIONS HE HAD HAD WITH UK IN THIS CONTEXT, ADDING THAT UK HAD ADVISED AGAINST ANY MOVE DEPLOYING THIS DIVISION TO CYPRUS. I TOLD HIM US FULLY AGREED WITH BRITISH POSITION.

TASCA

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NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION  
Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

WITHDRAWAL ID 035100

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL . . . . ÇNational security restriction

TYPE OF MATERIAL . . . . . ÇReport

CREATOR'S NAME . . . . . Cyprus Task Force

DESCRIPTION . . . . . re situation in Cyprus

CREATION DATE . . . . . 08/16/1974

VOLUME . . . . . 2 pages

COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 033200205

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

BOX NUMBER . . . . . 9

FOLDER TITLE . . . . . Cyprus Crisis (39)

DATE WITHDRAWN . . . . . 09/01/2011

WITHDRAWING ARCHIVIST . . . . HJR



NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION  
Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

WITHDRAWAL ID 035101

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL . . . . ÇNational security restriction

TYPE OF MATERIAL . . . . . ÇTelegram

CREATOR'S NAME . . . . . Secstate WashDC

DESCRIPTION . . . . . re evacuation

CREATION DATE . . . . . 08/16/1974

VOLUME . . . . . 1 page

COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 033200205

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

BOX NUMBER . . . . . 9

FOLDER TITLE . . . . . Cyprus Crisis (39)

DATE WITHDRAWN . . . . . 09/01/2011

WITHDRAWING ARCHIVIST . . . . HJR

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OP IMMEDIATE/PRIORITY  
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O P 161605Z AUG 74  
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4958

INFO SECDEF PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY ANKARA PRIORITY 3456  
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA PRIORITY 2989  
AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY 2644  
USMISSION USNATO PRIORITY 1846  
JCS PRIORITY  
USNMR SHAPE PRIORITY  
USCINCEUR PRIORITY  
CINCUSNAVDUR PRIORITY  
CINCUSAFE PRIORITY  
CINCUSAREUR PRIORITY  
USDOCOSOUTH PRIORITY  
COMSIXTHFLT PRIORITY  
ZEN/AMCONSUL THESSALONIKI PRIORITY 1067

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ ATHENS 575

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR, NATO, GR, TU, CY  
SUBJECT: POSSIBLE FURTHER GREEK ACTION FOLLOWING  
WITHDRAWAL FROM NATO  
REF: ATHENS 5705

1. NEWS SERVICES LATE AUGUST 15 REPORTED THAT FONMIN MAVROS DENIED HAVING SUGGESTED GOG INTENTION TO REQUEST WITHDRAWAL OF US FORCES, AS WIDELY RUMORED IN ATHENS AUGUST 14. ACCORDING TO THIS REPORT, MAVROS INDICATED THAT US FORCES IN GREECE ON BASIS OF BILATERAL AGREEMENTS AND THAT THESE COULD NOT BE UNILATERALLY CHANGED. OTHER REPORTS, INCLUDING GREEK TV/RADIO, CARRY SIMILAR STORIES WITH ADDITION OF TAG LINE THAT SUCH REPORTS "AT ANY RATE PREMATURE."



2. RESIDENT NYT CORRESPONDENT (PLEASE PROTECT) HAS PROVIDED FOLLOWING DETAILS AND DIRECT QUOTES OF INTERVIEW HELD THIS MORNING WITH DEPUTY FM BITSIOS. STORY

\*\*\*\*\*NHRSR COMMENT\*\*\*\*\*

SCOWCROFT,LL

PSN:025111 PAGE 01 TOR:228/18:26Z DTG:161605Z AUG 74

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

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PLANNED FOR NYT AUGUST 17 EDITION, WITH BITSIDS TO BE IDENTIFIED ONLY AS AUTHORITATIVE SOURCE. BITSIDS SAID THE US BASES WERE BILATERAL BUT UNDER NATO. WHEN PRESSED FOR A CLARIFICATION, HE ADMITTED NOT BEING ABLE GET A STRAIGHT ANSWER FROM GOG SOURCES. HE PREDICTED GOG WOULD FOLLOW FRENCH FORMULA, WHICH HE DESCRIBED AS BEING A GRADUAL OPERATION IN WHICH LIAISON WOULD BE MAINTAINED BUT NO PARTICIPATION IN MILITARY MATTERS. THE CONSEQUENCE WOULD BE, HE SAID, THE WITHDRAWAL OF NATO BASES IN THE COURSE OF TIME, BUT THE FORM IT WOULD TAKE IN GREECE WAS NOT CERTAIN.

3. HE EXPRESSED BITTERNESS TOWARDS NATO AND ESPECIALLY TOWARDS LUNS, EXPLAINING THAT WHEN IN GENEVA FM MAVROS REQUESTED LUNS HOLD A NATO MINISTERIAL COUNCIL MEETING, LUNS DECLINED PERSONALLY CHAIR MEETING ON GROUNDS HE ABOUT TO BEGIN VACATION, BUT THAT A DEPUTY WOULD HANDLE MATTER. MAVROS WAS INCESSED WHICH WILL HELP EXPLAIN WHY LUNS' RECENT REQUEST VISIT GREECE FOUND INOPPORTUNE AND GOG ATTITUDE TOWARDS NATO SOURED. BITSIDS' FINAL COMMENT ON THIS PHASE INTERVIEW WAS -- "FOR SEVEN YEARS YOU HAVE BEEN TELLING US TO RESPECT PUBLIC OPINION. NOW WE ARE."

4. DEPARTMENT WILL HAVE NOTED THAT IN HIS SPEECH AUGUST 15 PM CARAMANLIS SAID, AMONG OTHER THINGS, "AND SHE (TURKEY) ENGAGED IN THESE INFAMOUS ACTS WITH THE TOLERATION OF THOSE WHO SHOULD AND COULD HAVE CHECKED HER." LATER IN SPEECH CARAMANLIS NOTED "I ORDERED OUR WITHDRAWAL FROM THE MILITARY ALLIANCE OF NATO. AND OTHER ACTION HAS BEEN TAKEN AND IS BEING TAKEN, WHICH AT THE PRESENT MOMENT CANNOT BE DISCUSSED."

5. FOREGOING STATEMENTS SUGGEST THAT GOG MAY BE CONTEMPLATING A REVISION OF STATUS OF US FORCES THROUGH ALTERATION OF BILATERAL AGREEMENTS AND COULD BE CONTEMPLATING MORE FAR-REACHING ACTION. ALTERNATIVELY, REFERENCE COULD BE TO MEASURES PLANNED TO REINFORCE GREEK FORCES ON CYPRUS, A STEP THAT WOULD BE CONSISTENT WITH REMARKS OF MINISTER TO PRIMIN RALLIS TO OCM REPORTED SEPTEL.

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DE RUMQGC #2406 2281615  
Z O 161600Z AUG 74  
FM AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC FLASH 9525

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA IMMEDIATE 4178  
AMEMBASSY ATHENS IMMEDIATE 4741  
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE 3729  
USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS IMMEDIATE 2078  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE 4467  
USDOCOSOUTH IMMEDIATE  
USEUCOM IMMEDIATE  
USCINCEUR IMMEDIATE  
DIA WASHDC //(7-5// IMMEDIATE  
UNCLWF NICOSIA 2406  
E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR CY  
SUBJECT: CLERIDES RETURN  
LCEASEFIRE ANNOUNCEMENT

1. CLERIDES AND ADVISORS NOW BACK IN NICOSIA REPORTEDLY, IN PRIVATE MEETING, CBC HAS ANNOUNCED MEETING TOMORROW MORNING AT 100 RPT 1000 LOCAL OF COUNCIL OF MINISTERS. ALL DIRECTORS GENERAL.

2. FOR PAST HALF HOUR CBC HAS BEEN BROADCASTING IN GREEK, TURKISH CLERIDES CALL FOR CEASEFIRE BEGINNING AT 1800 RPT 1800 LOCAL. ANNOUNCEMENT ALSO QUOTES ECEVIT'S EARLIER ANNOUNCEMENT.

3. CYPRUS ARMY CHIEF MIRIANTHOPOULOS, FONOFF OFFICIAL IPSARIDES CONFIRM EARLIER HUNCH THAT CLERIDES AND TEAM BOLTED TO LIMASSOL THIS MORNING IN FIT OF PANIC. SEVERAL RED FACES AROUND PIO SUITE JUST NOW.

DAVIES  
BT



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

SCONCROFT,LL

PSN:025020 PAGE 01 OF 01 TOR:228/16:35Z DTG:161600Z AUG 74

OP. IMMEDIATE/ROUTINE  
ESA947ATA680  
DE RUGMAT #5767 2281535  
O R 161610Z AUG 74  
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4959  
INFORUGMGG/AMEMBASSY NICOSIA 2910

~~SECRET~~ ATHENS 5767

EXDIS  
E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR GR  
SUBJ: GREEK-U.S. RELATIONS: VIEWS OF MINISTER TO PRIME MINISTER  
GEORGE RALLIS

1. MINISTER TO PRIME MINISTER GEORGE RALLIS MET INFORMALLY WITH DCM THIS AFTERNOON TO DISCUSS CURRENT SITUATION. THEY HAVE KNOWN EACH OTHER FOR FOURTEEN YEARS AND DCM HAS GREAT RESPECT FOR RALLIS' INTEGRITY AND OBJECTIVITY. RALLIS IS STRONG ANTI-COMMUNIST WHO IN RECENT YEARS HAS PROFESSED HIMSELF TO BE DISENCHANTED WITH U.S. POLICY AND HAS KEPT U.S. OFFICIALS AT ARM'S LENGTH.

2. RALLIS TOLD DCM THAT GREEK CABINET WAS BADLY SPLIT ON MEASURES GOVERNMENT SHOULD TAKE TO APPEASE ANTI-AMERICAN AND ANTI-NATO SENTIMENTS CURRENTLY SO APPEALING TO GREEK PUBLIC OPINION. CABINET WAS ALSO SPLIT ABOUT HOW FAR GREECE COULD AND SHOULD GO IN STRIKING BACK MILITARILY AT TURKEY. HE SAID THAT KARAMANLIS AND AVEROFF WERE ONLY "MODERATES" LEFT IN CABINET. RALLIS DESCRIBED HIMSELF AS TORN BETWEEN DESIRE TO PUNISH TURKS AND APPREHENSION LEST RASH MILITARY ACTIONS FAIL THEREBY WEAKENING KARAMANLIS GOVERNMENT AND PLAYING INTO HANDS OF GREEK LEFT. WHEN CABINET MET YESTERDAY WITH MILITARY LEADERSHIP TO DISCUSS WHAT COULD BE DONE KARAMANLIS, AVEROFF AND RALLIS OPPOSED ACTIONS AGAINST GREEK-U.S. OR GREEK-NATO COOPERATION WHICH, THOUGH IMMEDIATELY POPULAR, WOULD IN THEIR VIEW DAMAGE LONG RANGE GREEK INTERESTS. ON OTHER HAND, WHEN CABINET DISCUSSED FEASIBILITY OF MORE AGGRESSIVE GREEK MILITARY ACTION ON CYPRUS, SUCH AS AIR STRIKE FROM CRETE OR ATTEMPT TO PUSH TURKS OUT OF FAMAGUSTA, RALLIS HAD VOTED WITH MILITANTS AND ONLY KARAMANLIS AND AVEROFF HAD COUNSELED MODERATION.



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

SCONCROFT,LL

PSN:025141 PAGE 01 TOR:223/19:06Z DTG:161610Z AUG 74

State Review  
NO. 314104

HR 5/16/11

3. ACCORDING TO RALLIS, KARAMANLIS SOUGHT FORMULA WHICH WOULD PRESERVE NATIONAL CREDENTIALS OF HIS GOVERNMENT WITHOUT DOING IRREPARABLE DAMAGE TO GREECE'S POSITION IN WESTERN ALLIANCE. RALLIS SAID, "I THINK THE BASES ISSUE IS ALL RIGHT FOR THE TIME BEING. SOME HOtheads IN THE GOVERNMENT ARE PUSHING THE PRIME MINISTER, BUT HE HAS THE MOST INFLUENTIAL MEMBERS OF THE CABINET WITH HIM." RALLIS WENT ON TO SAY, HOWEVER, THAT HE FEARED THAT TURKISH STUBBORNNESS WOULD CAUSE THE ISSUE TO BE REVIVED IN THE ABSENCE OF EVIDENCE THAT THE U.S. WAS EXERTING EFFECTIVE PRESSURE ON TURKEY. HE THOUGHT THE SECRETARY'S TELEPHONE CALL AND LETTER TO KARAMANLIS INDICATED THAT WASHINGTON WAS OUT OF TOUCH WITH GREEK REALITIES.

4. "WE HAVE KNOWN FOR DAYS THAT THE TURKS INTENDED TO SECURE A LINE FROM FAMAGUSTA THROUGH NICOSIA TO THE WESTERN COAST," HE SAID. "YET THE SECRETARY'S LETTER IMPLIED THAT WE SHOULD BE GRATEFUL BECAUSE THE TURKS WERE NOT PUSHING BEYOND THEIR STATED OBJECTIVES." ACCORDING TO RALLIS, THE GREEK GOVERNMENT WOULD BE WATCHING CLOSELY TO SEE WHETHER THE TURKS WOULD BE WILLING TO DRAW BACK FROM THE ATTLA LINE PRIOR TO A RESUMPTION OF DIRECT GREEK-TURKISH TALKS. "NEITHER KARAMANLIS NOR ANY OTHER GREEK LEADER CAN AFFORD TO RESUME TALKS ECK GOVERNMENT WOULD BE WATCHING CLOSELY TO SEE WHETHER THE TURKS WOULD BE WILLING TO DRAW BACK FROM THE ATTLA LINE PRIOR TO A RESUMPTION OF DIRECT GREEK-TURKISH TALKS. "NEITHER KARAMANLIS NOR ANY OTHER DRAVAL FROM NATO. THE GREEK LEFT GENERALLY, AND ANDREAS PAPANDEU SPECIFICALLY, WOULD PUSH KARAMANLIS STRENUOUSLY TO MOVE FASTER ALONG THE ROAD OF DISENGAGEMENT. WHILE PAPANDEU'S POLITICAL JUDGMENT WAS POOR AND HIS CONSTITUENCY HAD YET TO BE ESTABLISHED, RALLIS WARNED THAT HE WOULD BE AGITATING AN ISSUE THAT AT LEAST TEMPORARILY HAD GREAT POPULAR APPEAL FOR THE GREEK RIGHT AS WELL AS THE LEFT. IN RALLIS' OPINION A MORE ACTIVE U.S. ROLE AND GREATER TURKISH FLEXIBILITY WERE INDISPENSABLE IF THE KARAMANLIS GOVERNMENT WAS TO STAY IN COMMAND OF THE INTERNAL SITUATION IN GREECE.

6. DCM CAREFULLY REVIEWED OUR POSITION ON THE CYPRUS CRISIS WITH RALLIS, POINTING OUT THAT PUBLIC STATEMENTS FROM WASHINGTON PLEASING TO GREEK EARS WOULD HAVE LITTLE PRACTICAL EFFECT AND WOULD SIMPLY REDUCE OUR LEVERAGE IN ANKARA. IT WAS CLEAR THAT THE U.S. GOVERNMENT AT THE HIGHEST LEVELS WAS WORKING INTENSIVELY TO BRING ABOUT AN ENDURING SETTLEMENT OF THE CYPRUS PROBLEM. THE INTERCOMMUNAL ARRANGEMENTS ON THE ISLAND HAD NOT WORKED. SOMETHING BETTER HAD TO BE FOUND. THIS COULD NOT BE DONE OVERNIGHT AND THE GREEK GOVERNMENT SHOULD NOT EXPECT THE IMPOSSIBLE. IT WAS PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT THAT THE GREEKS AVOID SHORT TERM CATHARTIC ACTIONS



*late copy*



WHICH WOULD UNDERCUT THEIR LONG TERM INTERESTS. GREECE'S CLOSE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE U.S. AND ITS PARTICIPATION IN THE WESTERN ALLIANCE HAD SERVED GREECE'S INTERESTS WELL OVER A QUARTER CENTURY. THIS WAS THE ANCHOR THAT HAD STEADIED THEM IN THE GREAT STORM OF THE BANDIT WAR AND IT WOULD BE FOLLY TO JETTISON IT DURING THE CYPRUS SQUALL.

7. RALLIS SAID THAT HE WAS WELL AWARE THAT GREECE BELONGED IN THE WESTERN CAMP. HE HOPED, HOWEVER, THAT WE REALIZED THAT WOUNDED NATIONAL PRIDE COULD BE MORE POWERFUL THAN RATIONAL CONVICTION.

8. COMMENT: RALLIS' COMMENTS LEAD US TO DRAW THE FOLLOWING CONCLUSIONS: (A) GREEK GOVT WILL NOT AGREE TO RESUMPTION OF DIRECT TALKS WITH TURKISH GOVERNMENT IN IMMEDIATE FUTURE; (B) GREEKS ARE INVESTING THEIR HOPES IN AMERICAN PRESSURE ON TURKS TO ACHIEVE TURKISH PULLBACK FROM ATTLA LINE; (C) QUESTION OF GREEK MILITARY MOVES ON CYPRUS IS STILL UNDER CONSIDERATION WITH ODDS IN FAVOR OF GOG ATTEMPT TO LAND REINFORCEMENTS ON ISLAND; (D) KARAMANLIS AND AVEROFF, WITH BACKING OF SENIOR MINISTERS, WANT TO AVOID FURTHER LOOSENING OF GREECE'S MILITARY COOPERATION WITH U.S. AND NATO TIES BUT ARE FEELING THE HEAT OF PUBLIC OPINION; (E) FINALLY, GREEK LEADERSHIP IS LESS APPREHENSIVE OF THREAT FROM THE RIGHT, THE DIMENSIONS OF WHICH THEY CAN DISCERN AND THUS COUNTER, THAN THEY ARE OF THREAT FROM THE LEFT, THE DIMENSIONS OF WHICH ARE STILL CONJECTURAL. TASCA

BT







~~SECRET~~



Department of State

TELEGRAM

-2- PARIS 19636, 16 AUG 74

3. THE FONMIN CITED SPECIFICALLY LEFTIST ARMY OFFICERS AS POSING A SERIOUS POTENTIAL THREAT TO THE PRIME MINISTER. SHOULD KARAMANLIS BE TOPPLED, HE ANTICIPATED WE WOULD PROMPTLY LOSE OUR BASE RIGHTS AND GREECE WOULD COMPLETELY WITHDRAW FROM NATO.

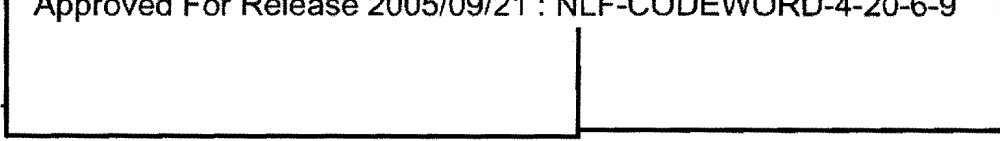
4. HE DESCRIBED OUR DEALINGS WITH TURKEY AS "PUSILLANIMOUS". HE SAID THE IMPORTANT THING AT THIS POINT WAS TO GET THE NEGOTIATIONS GOING AGAIN ON A BASIS WHICH WOULD MAKE IT EASIER FOR THE GREEKS AND THE GREEK CYPRIOTS TO PARTICIPATE, I.E., THAT THE TURKS GIVE SUFFICIENT ASSURANCES ABOUT THEIR FUTURE CONDUCT AND INTENTIONS. IN HIS VIEW IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT THE U.S. ACT FORTHRIGHTLY WITH THE TURKS TO THIS END.

5. I TOLD HIM I WOULD CONVEY HIS COMMENTS TO YOU.

STONE  
BT  
#9636



~~SECRET~~



25X

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY  
August 16, 1974

INTELLIGENCE MEMORANDUM

CYPRUS

Situation Report Number 9  
(As of 1700 EDT)

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

CEASE-FIRE

1. Fighting ended in Nicosia, at least temporarily, shortly after the island-wide cease-fire became effective at 1800. There were no reports of hostilities elsewhere on the island after the cease-fire, although sporadic fighting probably will continue on most fronts. Turk and Cypriot leaders have announced their acceptance of the truce. Greek leaders have not commented on the cease-fire, but they have announced they will not participate in new peace negotiations proposed by Turkey.

2. Reuter reports that Prime Minister Karamanlis stated today that Greece is not prepared to take part in renewed negotiations on the future of Cyprus. The Greek under-secretary of state for press and information read a statement in which Karamanlis said it is naive for

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anyone to believe that Athens will "negotiate under the pressure of a fait accompli." Karamanlis reportedly was to hold a cabinet meeting tonight to review the situation.

TURKISH INTENTIONS

3.

[redacted] claims that the second round of fighting was, in part, intended to convince the Greeks to negotiate seriously on a permanent political solution for Cyprus. He said that if the next round of talks fails to produce the desired settlement, the Turks will again resume military action. The "desired settlement" must include guarantees for an autonomous Turkish Cypriot area, and will undoubtedly involve some exchange of populations. [redacted]

[redacted] that Turkey will not accept the return of Makarios to power under any circumstances.

CLERIDES RETURNS TO NICOSIA

4. The seat of the Cyprus Government has returned to Nicosia after a brief transfer to Limassol earlier today. It is now apparent that Clerides and some of his advisors are embarrassed about their panicky flight from Nicosia. A cabinet meeting has been scheduled for 1000 tomorrow. Meanwhile, Clerides has announced his acceptance of the island-wide cease-fire in a broadcast over Nicosia radio.

GREEK-US RELATIONS

5. Athens is beginning to take specific actions to illustrate its displeasure over what the Greeks consider to be a pro-Turkish attitude by the US. The US defense attache reported today that the Greeks turned down a request for a US emergency military flight from Athens to Izmir, Turkey to evacuate a

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critically-ill US soldier. The Greeks requested that the flight be routed in a manner which will increase the distance by 800 miles each way.

6. Later, the Greeks refused clearance into the Athens Flight Information Region of a US Navy flight from Spain to Athens. Greek air force personnel informed the US defense attaché that no more US aircraft will be allowed into Greece without prior clearance approval. When it was pointed out this would violate a bilateral agreement concerning flight clearances into Greece, the Greek officer stated that "we" no longer have agreements and advised the attaché that the Greeks would accept no more clearance requests at this time. A technical agreement between the USDAO and the Hellenic air force that has been in effect since 1966 provides a blanket diplomatic approval of US military flights into Greece.

7. The US embassy in Athens speculates that the Greek government may be contemplating a revision of the status of US forces in Greece, and could be considering more far-reaching action. The embassy points out that Karamanlis said yesterday that he had ordered Greek withdrawal from the NATO military command, and added that "other action has been taken and is being taken, which at the present moment cannot be discussed."

8. The embassy also reports that Deputy Foreign Minister Bitsios told a reporter this morning that US bases in Greece are "bilateral but under NATO." When pressed for a clarification, Bitsios admitted he could not get straight answers from the government concerning the bases, but predicted that Athens would follow the "French formula." Bitsios described this as being a gradual operation in which liaison would be maintained without participation by Greece in NATO military matters. This would result, Bitsios said, in the withdrawal of NATO bases over the course of time.

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[REDACTED]

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GREECE-FRANCE

9. Rauter reported this afternoon that French officials stated that Paris will speed up the delivery of 50 Mirage jets to Greece. Deliveries are now expected to begin next year. Paris, according to the press report, is also accelerating delivery of about 100 medium tanks and a dozen missile-launching speedboats.

MILITARY SITUATION

10. Heavy fighting continued through the afternoon around the Nicosia airport and in the city itself up to the time the cease-fire went into effect. Prior to the cease-fire, Turkish forces midway between Nicosia and Famagusta continued their advance southwest toward the high ground near the Nicosia-Larnaca road. Athienou came under Turkish attack and Greek Cypriot forces, following an order issued this morning, evacuated the town.

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11. The Turkish general staff in Ankara announced the capture of Lefka by units of the Turkish army on Cyprus late this afternoon. UN Headquarters on Cyprus reported earlier in the day that Turkish forces had passed through Lefka and were moving west along the coast road toward Limnitis. Limnitis is the location of a Turkish Cypriot enclave which has been under daily attack by Greek Cypriot forces. The US defense attache in Nicosia reports that a mechanized Turkish force reached Limnitis before the cease-fire went into effect.

12. The Greek air force remains in a high state of alert on the mainland. The US defense attache in Athens, however, reports that fighter aircraft crews are now being rested on a rotational basis. Greece has 21 F-4 fighters, 19 of which are reportedly armed and

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on alert. The aircraft are dispersed at two airfields-- Tanagra, which is north of Athens, and Andravida on the west coast of the Peloponnese. Positioning of F-4s at these fields suggests Greece is in a defensive posture rather than having any intention of using these aircraft against targets on Cyprus. The F-4s reportedly are manned by approximately 18 US-trained crews whose capability is rated as good. Greece also has 5 or 6 crews of marginal capability and experience with the F-4.

SOVIET POLITICAL REACTION

13. [redacted] the Soviets have given the Turks a list of basic concerns regarding a final Cyprus settlement. [redacted] the Soviets want to prevent the establishment of American military bases and the partition of the island. In addition, they want Cyprus to remain independent, but are not set on any particular form of government. They indicated that federation would be acceptable.

14. [redacted] The press has reported, however, that Turkish Prime Minister Ecevit and Minister of Defense Isik met with Soviet Ambassador Grugyakov yesterday. In addition, the Turkish Ambassador to the USSR and Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Kozyrev have met frequently.

15. The reported statement appears cast in terms the Soviets hope Ankara would find acceptable. The Soviets heretofore have stated their concern that federation would lead ultimately to partition. The Soviets made no mention of Makarios, whose return is unacceptable to the Turks.

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LATE ITEM

Cease-fire Status: Small arms and mortar fire were reported along the green line that separates the Greek and Turkish communities in Nicosia one hour after the cease-fire became effective. There are also reports of fighting at Limnitis after the cease-fire deadline.



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DIA FOR DI-5; SUCINCEUR FOR ECJ2-O/ECJ2-A/ECJ2-R  
SUBJ: U.S. MILITARY DIPLOMATIC FLIGHT CLEARANCES (U)

1. ~~(INFO)~~ AT APPROX 161500Z GREEK AIR TRAFFIC CONTROL REFUSED CLEARANCE INTO ATHENS FIR OF US NAVY C-118 (31575). FLIGHT WAS PROCEEDING FROM ROTA SPAIN TO ATHENS AND WAS TURNED BACK AT GBA.

2. ~~(INFO)~~ WE IMMEDIATELY QUERIED HELLENIC AIR FORCE (HAF)

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

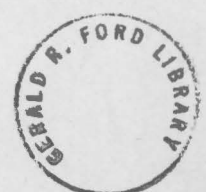
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PSN:025074 PAGE 01 TOR:228/17:51Z DTG:161809Z AUG 74

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AUTHORITY DTA PAC Review, 9/5/03  
BY lde NLF, DATE 6/17/05



AS TO REASON FOR THIS ACTION AND WERE INFORMED THAT NO MORE U.S. AIRCRAFT ARE ALLOWED INTO GREECE WITHOUT PRIOR CLEARANCE APPROVAL. WE PROTESTED THIS DECISION TO HAF HQTRS DUTY OFFICER CITING OUR BI-LATERAL AGREEMENT FOR AIRCRAFT CLEARANCES INTO GREECE. HE ANGRILY INFORMED US THAT WE HAD NO MORE AGREEMENTS AND ADVISED THAT THEY WOULD BE ACCEPTING NO MORE CLEARANCE REQUESTS AT THIS TIME.

3. (CONF) TECHNICAL AGREEMENT BETWEEN THIS OFFICE AND HELLENIC AIR FORCE HAS BEEN IN EFFECT SINCE 1966. THIS PROVIDES FOR BLANKET DIPLOMATIC CLEARANCE APPROVAL OF US MILITARY FLIGHTS INTO GREECE. AGREEMENT APPEARS TO HVE BEEN UNILATERALLY ABROGGATED WITHOUT NOTICE BY HELLENIC AIR FORCE.

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COLLECTION TITLE . . . . . NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER.  
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## TELEGRAM

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*State Review*  
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*5/16/74*  
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E.O. 11652:GDS  
TAGS: CY, GR, TU, PFOR  
SUBJECT: CYPRUS

FOR THE AMBASSADOR FROM THE SECRETARY

1. PLEASE DELIVER FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM ME TO THE PRIME MINISTER:
2. BEGIN TEXT

DEAR MR. PRIME MINISTER:

I HAVE READ YOUR REPLIES TO MY MESSAGE OF AUGUST 14 AND CALL OF LAST NIGHT. I WANT TO RESPOND TO ALL OF THE CONSIDERATIONS YOU RAISE, AND WILL DO SO AFTER I HAVE HAD SUFFICIENT TIME TO REFLECT UPON THEM. IN THE MEANTIME, HOWEVER, I WOULD LIKE HERE TO ADDRESS MYSELF TO ONE PARTICULAR POINT YOU HAVE RAISED.

YOU HAVE SAID THAT THE USG HAS "PUBLICLY STATED ITS VIEWS WITH REGARD TO . . . A FUTURE SETTLEMENT." THAT, I ASSUME, REFERS TO THE PUBLIC STATEMENT WE ISSUED HERE ON AUGUST 13. THAT STATEMENT WAS INTENDED TO FORESTALL A RESUMPTION OF TURKISH MILITARY ACTION, NOT AS A STATEMENT OF UNRESERVED SUPPORT FOR THE TURKISH POSITION ON CYPRUS. OUR OBJECTIVE WAS TO PREVENT MILITARY ACTION BY TURKEY, AND I BELIEVED

THAT A PUBLIC ACKNOWLEDGMENT BY THE UNITED STATES OF THE PRINCIPLE OF GREATER AUTONOMY FOR THE TURKISH COMMUNITY, COUPLED WITH A WARNING AGAINST FURTHER MILITARY ACTION, MIGHT IN FACT SUCCEED IN FORESTALLING ANOTHER TURKISH ATTACK. WE PHRASED THE STATEMENT AS WE DID BECAUSE IT WAS OUR UNDERSTANDING THAT CLERIDES HAD ACCEPTED THE PRINCIPLE OF GREATER AUTONOMY FOR TURKISH CYPRIOTS, BUT THAT THE DETAILS REMAINED TO BE NEGOTIATED. LIKE YOU, WE BELIEVED AND SAID THAT "THE AVENUES OF DIPLOMACY HAVE NOT BEEN

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TELEGRAM

STATE 180549, 16 AUG '74

EXHAUSTED," AND THAT NEGOTIATIONS ON THIS PRINCIPLE SHOULD CONTINUE WITHOUT A FURTHER RESORT TO FORCE. ON REFLECTION I CAN NOW SEE HOW OUR STATEMENT TAKEN OUT OF CONTEXT MAY HAVE BEEN MISUNDERSTOOD. I WANTED TO TAKE THIS OCCASION TO REASSURE YOU PERSONALLY THAT OUR INTENT WAS TO BE SUPPORTIVE AND OUR POSITION WAS, WE BELIEVED, CONSISTENT WITH THE POSITION OF ACTING PRESIDENT CLERIDES IN GENEVA, AND WE ASSUMED WITH YOUR OWN. END TEXT

3. YOU SHOULD ALSO ORALLY POINT OUT TO THE PRIME MINISTER THAT AMBASSADOR MCCLOSKEY IN HIS NEWS BRIEFING ON AUGUST 14 MADE THE FOLLOWING TWO STATEMENTS:

"AS WE SAID YESTERDAY, IN ANTICIPATION OF A POSSIBLE RENEWAL OF THE FIGHTING, WE CONSIDER A RESORT TO MILITARY ACTION UNJUSTIFIED. WE DEPLORE THE TURKISH RESORT TO THE USE OF FORCE. THE UNITED STATES STRONGLY SUPPORTS THE UN RESOLUTIONS CALLING FOR AN IMMEDIATE CEASEFIRE. THE UNITED STATES IS CONVINCED THAT ONLY THROUGH A RETURN TO NEGOTIATIONS CAN AN ARRANGEMENT BE ESTABLISHED WHICH WILL SERVE TO RESTORE CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT TO CYPRUS AND PEACE AND STABILITY THROUGHOUT THE AREA AND WE WILL CONTINUE IN MAKING EVERY EFFORT TO BRING THIS TO A REALITY."

"I HAVE ALREADY SAID THAT TURKEY HAS LEGITIMATE CONCERNS AND INTERESTS REGARDING ITS COMMUNITY IN CYPRUS. WE ARE SYMPATHETIC AND UNDERSTANDING OF THESE CONCERNS. AT THE SAME TIME, GREECE AND CYPRUS ALSO HAVE LEGITIMATE INTERESTS IN CYPRUS. IT IS OUR VIEW THAT ONE PARTY CANNOT IGNORE THE LEGITIMATE INTERESTS OF THE OTHER AND IT IS IN THAT SPIRIT THAT WE HOPED THAT THE NEGOTIATIONS WOULD CONTINUE AND SUCCEED." KISSINGER

S/AM:RJMCCLOSKEY:S:LSEAGLEBURGER:ML

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S - THE SECRETARY

S/S :JPMOFFAT

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SUBJ: CYPRUS

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FOR THE SECRETARY FROM AMBASSADOR

1. I MET WITH PRIME MINISTER EVENING OF AUGUST 16. BEFORE TURNING TO SOVIET NOTE, I MADE ALL THE BASIC POINTS YOU REQUESTED IN REFTEL.
2. ECEVIT SAID HE FULLY UNDERSTOOD WHAT YOU WERE SAYING ABOUT DOMESTIC PRESSURES IN THE UNITED STATES, AND WHEN I STRESSED YOUR VIEWS REGARDING THE ABSOLUTE NECESSITY FOR NO FURTHER MILITARY INITIATIVES, THE PRIME MINISTER SAID TWICE, "CERTAINLY, OF COURSE." HE THEN CITED, AS AN EXAMPLE OF TURKEY'S GOOD FAITH, THE FACT THAT ITS TROOPS OPERATING WEST OF LEEKE HAD AT THE 7 O'CLOCK DEADLINE STOPPED SHORT OF YESILERMAK AND ERENKOY, TWO TURKISH COMMUNITIES THEY HAD VERY MUCH WANTED TO LIBERATE.
3. WITH REGARD TO AN EARLY RESUMPTION OF THE GENEVA TALKS, HE SAID TURKEY WOULD BE READY TO RETURN TO GENEVA "ANY TIME".
4. THE PRIME MINISTER PASSED OVER, WITHOUT COMMENT, MY REPORTING OF YOUR HOPE THAT TURKEY WOULD APPROACH THE NEXT

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GENEVA ROUND WITH GENEROUS PROPOSALS. I REMINDED HIM OF HIS EARLIER STATEMENT TO ME THAT TURKEY, ONCE IT FINISHED ITS SECOND ROUND OF FIGHTING, WOULD BE IN A POSITION TO OFFER CONCESSIONS. I SAID I STILL HOPED THIS WOULD BE THE CASE. HE SAID IT WOULD BE. FOR EXAMPLE, HE CONTINUED, THE LINE RUNNING FROM NICOSIA TO FAMAGUSTA WAS ONE WHICH "PERHAPS COULD BE ADJUSTED HERE AND THERE".

5. WHILE WE WERE ON THE SUBJECT OF LINES, I MENTIONED THAT ON ALL THE MAPS HE HAD SHOWN ME THE TURKISH LINE TO FAMAGUSTA DIVIDED THE CITY BETWEEN A TURKISH AND A GREEK SECTOR. NOW I SAID I UNDERSTOOD THAT TURKS WERE IN POSSESSION OF MUCH OR POSSIBLY ALL OF THE CITY. I ASKED IF THIS MEANT ALL OF FAMAGUSTA WAS TO REMAIN IN TURKISH HANDS. HE SAID HE DIDN'T KNOW, BUT HOWEVER IT WORKED OUT, BRITISH TREATY RIGHTS IN THE PORT WOULD BE RESPECTED. HE ADDED, (AFTER SAYING, "DON'T HOLD ME TO THIS,") THAT HE RELIEVED "THE GREEKS SHOULD ALSO BE ASSURED RIGHTS OF USE OF THE PORT. IN ANY EVENT HE SAID THE BASIC POINT WAS THAT TURKS WERE DETERMINED TO HAVE CONTROL OF THIS PORT AS IT WAS THE ONLY ADEQUATE DEEP WATER PORT ON THE ISLAND. "KYRENIA", HE SAID, "IS A SUMMER RESORT FOR SMALL BOATS."

6. WHEN I REPORTED TO THE PRIME MINISTER THAT YOU WERE GIVING SERIOUS CONSIDERATION TO HIS VIEWS AS TO HOW THE U.S. MIGHT PLAY A MORE DIRECT ROLE, HE EXPRESSED CONSIDERABLE INTEREST IN LEARNING SOONEST THE DIRECTION YOUR THINKING WAS TAKING.

7. ECEVIT NEXT SAID THERE HAD BEEN A DEVELOPMENT WHICH HE WANTED TO RELAY TO YOU. THE PAKISTAN AMBASSADOR HAD COME TO HIM WITH A MESSAGE FROM BHUTTO. THE MESSAGE INDICATED THAT GREEK FRIEND OF BHUTTO'S, WHO WAS RESIDENT IN PARIS AND WHO HAD BEEN KARAMANLIS' PERSONAL FINANCIAL ADVISOR, HAD GOTTEN IN TOUCH WITH BHUTTO TO SAY THAT HE HAD BEEN OFFICIALLY COMMISSIONED BY KARAMANLIS TO SUGGEST THAT HE, BHUTTO, PLAY AN INTERMEDIARY ROLE BETWEEN GREECE AND TURKEY. THE PAKISTAN AMBASSADOR HAD INQUIRED ON BEHALF OF PRIME MINISTER BHUTTO WHETHER THIS WOULD BE USEFUL FROM

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ECEVIT'S POINT OF VIEW. ECEVIT HAD SAID THAT HE SAW CERTAIN PROBLEMS, BUT THAT IT MIGHT AT LEAST BE A USEFUL CHANNEL OF COMMUNICATION. HE HAD THEN SUGGESTED TO THE PAKISTAN AMBASSADOR THAT BHUTTO APPROACH KARAMANLIS DIRECTLY TO PROBE THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE APPROACH ALLEGEDLY MADE ON KARAMANLIS' BEHALF. HE HAD HEARD NOTHING FURTHER, BUT IN THE MEANTIME HE WANTED YOU TO KNOW OF THIS.

8. THE PRIME MINISTER ASKED ME WHAT THE SIGNIFICANCE WAS, AND WHAT WAS REALLY BEHIND, GREECE'S DECISION TO ALTER ITS NATO STATUS. I SAID I DOUBTED ANYONE REALLY KNEW THE ANSWER TO THAT YET, BUT IN ANY EVENT I DID NOT KNOW. THE PRIME MINISTER WAS NOTICEABLY TROUBLED AND PUZZLED BY THIS DEVELOPMENT. HE SAID IF GREECE WAS DOING THIS AS AN ACT OF IMPULSIVE ANGER, THAT WAS ONE THING. IF IT WAS A MORE CALCULATED ACT, HOWEVER, IT RAISED MOST SERIOUS IMPLICATIONS. HE THEN SHOWED ME A REUTER'S REPORT OF KARAMANLIS' AUGUST 16 SPEECH WHICH CONTAINED THE PHRASE, "WE HAVE TAKEN THE INITIATIVE OF STARTING CERTAIN ACTIONS WHICH SHOULD NOT BE DECLARED AT THIS TIME." THE REUTER'S STORY WENT ON TO SAY, ACCORDING TO ECEVIT, THE OBSERVERS HAD TAKEN THIS AS AN INDICATION OF GREEK INTENTION TO ENTER BILATERAL DEFENSE AGREEMENTS WITH THE SOVIETS AND OTHER COMMUNIST COUNTRIES. THE PRIME MINISTER SAID THAT IF WE DEVELOPED ANY INSIGHTS INTO THE TRUE NATURE OF THE GREEK ACTION, HE WOULD BE GRATEFUL TO HAVE OUR THINKING.

9. ECEVIT WAS MOST INTERESTED IN THE CONTENTS OF THE SOVIET NOTE AND IN YOUR ORAL ADDENDUM CONCERNING THE SOVIETS' INTEREST IN JOINT MILITARY ACTION. HE SAID HE GREATLY APPRECIATED HAVING THIS INFORMATION AND HE FULLY UNDERSTOOD ITS SENSITIVITY. HE SAID THIS "WAS OF COURSE A BLATANT EFFORT BY THE SOVIETS TO INTERNATIONALIZE THIS ISSUE." (I SAID THAT YOU OBVIOUSLY AGREED, AND STRESSED AGAIN YOUR BELIEF THAT IT WAS THEREFORE ESSENTIAL FOR THE PARTIES DIRECTLY CONCERNED TO WORK TOWARD A SATISFACTORY SOLUTION AT ONCE.) HE ALSO SAID THAT IT REINFORCED HIS CONVICTION THAT ARRANGEMENTS FOR A MORE DIRECT U.S. ROLE MUST BE CAREFULLY ORGANIZED SO AS NOT TO

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PRESENT AN OPENING TO THE SOVIETS FOR AN INCREASE IN THEIR  
ROLE AS WELL. HE THEN REITERATED HIS VIEW THAT A NATO  
UMBRELLA OFFERED THE BEST MEANS FOR THIS.  
MACOMBER

NOTE BY ANALYST: CCO PASS COPY TO OFF-LINE FOR PROCESSING.

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3 SEP

**Turkey Controls Northern Third of Cyprus, Greece Rejects Offer to Resume Negotiations; Greek Cypriots Kill U.S. Envoy**

**Fighting continues.** After achieving its major military goal of gaining control of the northern third of Cyprus—from the eastern port of Famagusta to the town of Lefka in the west—Turkey unilaterally announced a cease-fire Aug. 16 and declared its willingness to resume negotiations in Geneva with Greece and Britain on the island's political future. Despite its cease-fire announcement, Turkish troops continued fighting south of Nicosia and by Aug. 18, when the cease-fire actually began to hold, Turkey was estimated to control 40% of Cyprus. [See p. 661B1]

Embittered over Turkey's military victory, Greece Aug. 16 refused both the Turkish offer for a resumption of talks and a U.S. invitation to visit Washington to discuss the crisis with President Ford. On Cyprus, the Greek Cypriots shot to death the U.S. ambassador, Rodger P. Davies, during an anti-American demonstration at the embassy Aug. 19. [See below]

Turkish troops early Aug. 16 seized the northern town of Morphou, southwest of Myrthou, and later captured the communities of Lefka, where there were many Turkish Cypriots, Limnitis and Karavostasi on the coast of Morphou Bay. [See p. 661D2]

The Turks maintained heavy air strikes and artillery fire in Nicosia, the capital, causing Cypriot President Glafkos Clerides to flee the capital for six hours to the southern coastal city of Limassol. Cypriot officials later said Clerides went to Limassol to examine the refugee problem, but an unidentified diplomat called it a "panic" move. Intensive gunfire across the so-called "Green Line" separating the Turkish and Cypriot communities of Nicosia also forced evacuation of the British High Commission building. Thousands of Nicosia residents fled south because of the heavy Turkish attack.

Turkish Premier Bulent Ecevit called a cease-fire Aug. 16 and declared that all of Turkey's military objectives had been met. He also called for the Cyprus peace negotiations to resume in Geneva and said he was prepared to meet personally with Greek Premier Constantine Caramanlis "whenever he wishes." Ecevit told a news conference in Ankara: "We are now in a situation where the foundations have been laid for the new federal state of Cyprus in which the rights and security of the Turkish Cypriots will be guaranteed."

The Turkish cease-fire, which Clerides accepted, halted the fighting at 6 p.m. (Cyprus time) Aug. 16, except for sporadic firing in some Nicosia suburbs. The cease-fire broke down Aug. 17 as a Turkish armored column captured the village of Pyroi, a Turkish Cypriot community 10 miles southeast of Nicosia, on the road to the eastern coastal city of Larnaca, home of a large Turkish Cypriot community where several hundred residents were being held prisoners by the Greek

Cypriots in a school. Some 17 miles west of Nicosia, fighting was reported at Peristerona, a mixed Greek-Turkish village. The Turks and Greek Cypriots each blamed the other for the new fighting.

More fighting was reported Aug. 18, with Turkish forces battling the Greek Cypriot National Guard around Troulli, seven miles north of Larnaca. The commander of the United Nations Force in Cyprus (UNICYP), Maj. Gen. Prem Chand, protested that Troulli was south of the cease-fire line, but the Turks denied this.

Turkish tanks turned north from Pyroi toward Nicosia Aug. 18 and moved to within four miles of the capital's outskirts. At least six tanks, accompanied by infantry, moved three miles west of the Nicosia-Larnaca road Aug. 19, going toward the Nicosia-Limassol road. The Turks controlled every main access road from Nicosia to the south except the one leading to the port of Limassol. Greek Cypriots Aug. 18 began to return to Nicosia, where the cease-fire was holding.

The Greek Cypriot government estimated Aug. 18 that Turkish forces controlled 40% of Cyprus and Greek Cypriot refugees numbered 200,000, more than a third of the Greek Cypriot population. Cypriot President Clerides appealed for help to the United Nations High Commission for Refugees. He said Aug. 20 that a solution to the refugee problem was a condition for his participation in any new Geneva peace talks. A U.N. spokesman said Aug. 22 that the Turkish army refused to allow Swedish U.N. troops in the Famagusta area to deliver food, water or medicine to thousands of refugees.

A statement issued by the Turkish general staff Aug. 18 accused Greek Cypriots of murdering Aug. 14 six Turkish civilian hostages, including a child, in Paphos in western Cyprus. Turkish Information Minister Orhan Birgit the same day asked for international action to stop alleged atrocities against Turkish Cypriots. Since the start of the Cyprus crisis in mid-July, Greece and Turkey had each accused the other of civilian atrocities, including murder, rape and looting. [See p. 640B3]

Turkish authorities Aug. 20 showed newsmen a mass grave in the eastern Turkish Cypriot village of Aloa, where they said 57 Turkish Cypriot bodies were buried, although only seven were immediately found. The Turks said the victims had been killed by Greek Cypriots after the Turkish invasion.

(The chief of the Turkish general staff, Gen. Semih Sancar, disclosed Aug. 17 that 250 Turkish troops had been killed and 550 wounded since the Turkish invasion July 20. He said the second stage of the Turkish offensive, which began Aug. 14, came after the problem of the Turkish minorities in enclaves under Greek Cypriot control had been "left for a week to the politicians.")

**FACTS ON FILE**

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Volume 34, No. 1763

August 24, 1974

**THIS WEEK**

**World Affairs**

Turkey announced cease-fire after gaining control of northern third of Cyprus; Greece rejected offer to resume negotiations; Greek Cypriots killed U.S. ambassador.

U.S., Arab officials met.

U.N. population parley opened.

Gold prices slid, rebounded; oil news.

Pages 677-681

**U.S. Affairs**

President Ford nominated Rockefeller to be vice president, said he favored leniency for Vietnam war draft evaders and deserters, named new VA administrator; Ford continued busy round of activity, said his 1976 candidacy was 'probable.'

Congress OK'd wage-price task force; tight money conditions prevailed, with problems in capital investment; floating rate note controversy; farm price rises resumed, weather threatened prices.

House accepted impeachment report; Rebozo subpoena compliance ordered, cover-up trial delayed.

ABA voted equal treatment resolution.

Omnibus aid bill signed; other housing developments.

Transit aid reduced by half, U.S. citizens could own gold.

Consumer protection developments.

Press developments.

Pages 681-690

**Other Nations**

First Australian trade deficit since '67.

Indians agreed to end Canada park sit-in.

Ecuador took over share of oil firm.

Ethiopian army power firm.

Anti-U.S. sentiment in Greece.

New Indian president.

Pay raise accord in Ireland.

Report on Japanese inflation.

Strike ban in Kenya.

U.S. pulled jets out of Taiwan.

Oil figured in Nigerian growth.

Fundamental rights restored in Pakistan.

Philippine civilians armed.

Somalia-Soviet treaty signed.

2 emergency decrees dropped in South Korea; more dissidents arrested.

Soviet rail line linked to new oil policy.

Sudan tied Libya to thwarted plot.

West German minister quit in budget rift.

Pages 690-697

**Miscellaneous**

News of baseball.

Report analyzes health insurance effect.

156 await execution in U.S.

Pages 697-700

**U.S. envoy slain**—The U.S. ambassador to Cyprus, Rodger P. Davies, 53, was shot and killed at the U.S. embassy in Nicosia Aug. 19 during an anti-American demonstration by Greek Cypriots. An embassy secretary who rushed to his aid was also shot to death.

According to later reports, a burst of machine-gun fire had penetrated the window of the ambassador's office and hit Davies as he was taking shelter with other staff members in a hallway.

The fatal shots, along with rifle shots, were fired during a demonstration outside the embassy by 300-600 Greek Cypriots who were protesting what they charged was U.S. support for Turkey during the crisis. Stationed in front of the embassy were 30-40 unarmed policemen, sent when the U.S. requested more protection in anticipation of the demonstrations.

The demonstrators threw stones and set at least eight embassy cars afire. Eye witnesses reported that some of the persons firing at the embassy wore Cypriot National Guard uniforms.

In a radio broadcast Aug. 19, Clerides denounced the killing as "an abominable crime." He had talked earlier with U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, who assured him that the U.S. did not hold the Cypriot government responsible for the killing.

Three Greek Cypriots were arrested Aug. 20 in connection with the killing, but two of them were released for lack of evidence the next day.

Davies' body was returned to the U.S. Aug. 21. Kissinger and President Ford were present at Andrews Air Force Base outside Washington to pay tribute to the slain envoy.

(The U.S. Senate Aug. 22 confirmed the nomination by President Ford of William R. Crawford Jr., currently ambassador to North Yemen, as ambassador to Cyprus. L. Dean Brown, deputy undersecretary of state for management, had been representing the U.S. on Cyprus since Davies' death.)

**Greece balks at peace talks, U.S. visit.** Greek Premier Constantine Caramanlis Aug. 16 spurned both the Turkish proposal for a resumption of the Cyprus peace talks in Geneva and a U.S. invitation to visit Washington and confer with President Gerald Ford. [See p. 693C1]

Caramanlis said "it would be naive for anyone to believe that Greece would be prepared to take part in talks and negotiate under the pressure of a fait accompli."

The invitation to visit Washington was conveyed by Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger in a telephone call to Caramanlis early Aug. 16. A senior Greek official later said that Greece believed Washington had favored Turkey in the Cyprus crisis and could not serve as an impartial mediator. Kissinger, he said, "showed an aloofness which did not contribute to a peaceful development of the matter—on the contrary." (Turkish Premier Ecevit Aug. 16 had praised the U.S. as "less emotional" and more objective in the crisis than Britain. [See p. 662F2])

(U.S. Sen. J. W. Fulbright (D, Ark.) chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, said Kissinger had encountered "no criticism" over his handling of the Cyprus crisis when he testified before a closed meeting of the committee Aug. 22. Earlier, Aug. 20, former Undersecretary of State George Ball discussed before a House of Representatives Foreign Affairs subcommittee the deterioration of U.S.-Greek relations. He said that anti-Americanism was so strong in Athens that Kissinger's offer to mediate in the crisis showed "an insensitivity beyond belief." Kissinger had also encountered sharp criticism from the West-European press for his role in the crisis.)

(An estimated 20,000 Americans of Greek descent demonstrated peacefully in front of the White House Aug. 18 to protest U.S. policies in the Cyprus crisis. Many signs carried by the marchers called for Kissinger's resignation.)

**Kissinger urges peace talks**—Secretary of State Kissinger, at a news conference in Washington Aug. 19, said the U.S. would insist on "the strict maintenance" of the Cyprus cease-fire and would encourage Turkey "to display flexibility and a concern for Greek sensitivities, both in terms of territory and the size of military forces on the island."

Kissinger said there was "an imperative and urgent need" to begin negotiations and promised U.S. support for British efforts to resume mediation. The U.S. "will play any role" requested by the parties, he said. Kissinger also disclosed that Turkish Premier Ecevit had assured him by telephone earlier that day that Turkey would be flexible in negotiating demarcation lines between the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities, would reduce the size of its holdings on Cyprus, and would reduce its forces on the island.

Kissinger said the U.S. would use its influence to support "Greek honor and national dignity." However, he said, "We will not be pressured by threat of withdrawal from the [North Atlantic Treaty Organization], or anti-American demonstrations which in any event are totally unjustified by our record." [See pp. 692G3, 662A1]

(U.S. Defense Secretary James R. Schlesinger, appearing on the CBS program "Face the Nation" Aug. 18, had said the U.S. did "not want to see [the Athens] regime left with no honorable option" as a result of the Cyprus crisis. He said Turkey had "gone beyond what any of its friends or sympathizers would have anticipated and are prepared, I think, to accept." Asked whether the U.S. would support a settlement along the present troop lines, he replied that even if federalism were accepted by the involved parties, Turkish "control of 50 or 55% of the arable land probably is regarded as inappropriate by most objective observers." He said the U.S. would have to examine "very seriously" the question of U.S. military support for Turkey.)

Premier Ecevit said Aug. 21 that while Turkey insisted that the Turkish Cypriots retain full control of a third of the island's territory, the demarcation line for this

zone was open to negotiation "within reasonable bounds."

A foreign policy adviser to Ecevit, Hayuk Uhlman, said Aug. 21 that Turkey was prepared to offer all necessary financial and technical assistance to the Turkish Cypriot administration, but added that "Turkey wants an independent Cyprus with autonomous Turkish and Greek administrations and not a Turkish province in Cyprus."

Rauf Denktash, Cypriot vice president and leader of the Turkish Cypriot community, said Aug. 21 that he was prepared to form a provisional, independent state in Cyprus if the Greeks continued to refuse to negotiate a peace settlement.

**U.S.S.R. proposes wider talks**—The Soviet Union called Aug. 22 for an international conference under U.N. auspices to solve the Cyprus problem. In a statement issued by the official press agency Tass, the government said the conference should be attended by the 15 member states of the U.N. Security Council as well as Greece, Turkey and Cyprus. Such a U.N.-sponsored meeting could provide "appropriate effective guarantees" that a settlement would be implemented.

The Soviet Communist Party newspaper Pravda had reiterated Aug. 18 that NATO was responsible for the current Cyprus conflict. The alliance, Pravda charged, "in an attempt to consolidate its positions in the Mediterranean, launched an open aggression against the Cypriot people." Cyprus was not a member of NATO. [See p. 610F3]

**Turkey offers to fill NATO gap.** Premier Bulent Ecevit said Aug. 22 that Turkey could "compensate for any weaknesses" in NATO defenses in the eastern Mediterranean caused by Greece's military withdrawal from the alliance. [See p. 662A1] He made the statement in an interview published in the New York Times Aug. 23. Ecevit hinted that Turkey might provide port facilities for the U.S. 6th Fleet if Greece withdrew its facilities.

## Middle East

**U.S., Arab officials meet.** President Ford and Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger held meetings in Washington Aug. 12-18 with Egyptian Foreign Minister Ismail Fahmy and King Hussein of Jordan in a continuing round of diplomatic efforts to seek a Middle East peace settlement. [See p. 641E3]

Fahmy arrived in Washington Aug. 11. After a week of talks with Ford and Kissinger, Fahmy and the secretary signed a joint communique Aug. 19 that was coupled with a separate Administration announcement that the U.S. had agreed to provide Egypt with 100,000 tons of wheat before Oct. 1. The shipment was valued at

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housewives in Quito to stage a demonstration April 25. The women were dispersed by anti-riot police. Elsewhere in the city police clashed with students armed with staves and rocks.

There was a general demand in late April for 50% wage increases to offset inflation, according to the Mexican newspaper *Excelsior* April 26. The Quito daily *El Comercio* urged the government April 25 to exercise firm control over speculators who profited from "the hunger of the people."

Price increases generally were blamed on Ecuador's new and massive oil income. The country's traditional social structure prevented this money from being readily absorbed, and converted it into inflation, according to the London newsletter *Latin America* March 15. The situation was aggravated by falling agricultural production, due partly to bad weather in 1973 and partly to declining investment by large landowners who opposed the government's agrarian reform program, *Latin America* reported.

Rodriguez Lara accused the landowners of cutting production, despite government subsidies and tax rebates on imported seeds and fertilizers, in a direct challenge to the reform program, according to *Latin America*.

The program, introduced in 1973, was aimed at increasing production but not changing social structures. No limit was placed on the size of land holdings and, with certain exceptions, only unused land could be expropriated. The reform would bring uncultivated or badly used land into production; give employment and a higher living standard to many impoverished peasants; help enlarge the domestic market; and help absorb the oil money.

The reform threatened the landowners' power by introducing new counterbalancing economic interests in the countryside in the form of small landowners and cooperatives with purchasing power, *Latin America* commented.

**Elections barred for 5 years.** President Guillermo Rodriguez Lara said July 11 that elections and other political activities would remain suspended for five years, during which time his administration would carry out a national development program. [See 1973, pp. 1092G3, 692C2]

He warned politicians July 25 not to call for elections, asserting: "The time of republican misrepresentation will not return. Demagogues will not reign by virtue of their privileges again, nor will the permanently privileged recover their economic domination."

Rodriguez Lara was challenged by two political groups, the National Velasquista Federation (supporters of the exiled ex-President Jose Maria Velasco Ibarra, who was overthrown by the current regime) and the Conservative Party.

Alfonso Arroyo Robelly, newly designated leader of the Velasquistas, said Aug. 14 that his party had adopted a position of "belligerent and combative opposition" to the military regime at a secret national congress Aug. 10. He said Velasquistas would act clandestinely.

Arroyo reported the congress had agreed to ask the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, of the Organization of American States, to send a mission "to verify the violations of individual rights" committed by the regime. The congress had also appealed to the government to allow Velasco Ibarra, 81, to return to Ecuador, Arroyo said.

Conservative Party leader Francisco Salazar Alvarado charged the regime had "done nothing substantial to benefit the country," and he referred to the "governmental opulence which contrasts with the poverty of the people," it was reported Aug. 17.

Arroyo and Salazar were denounced Aug. 17 by Government Minister Alfredo Poveda, who called them "adventurers of the old politics" who lacked "a base" and were "full of demagoguery." "Happily, the people have learned to scorn the old politicians who created anarchy in the country and who are responsible for the nation's economic situation and current problems," Poveda asserted.

**French arms purchase.** The government confirmed the purchase of \$25 million worth of French army tanks, cannon and artillery shells, it was reported May 9.

## Ethiopia

**Army power firm, emperor weakened.** In a forceful show of strength Aug. 16, the armed forces which had virtually controlled Ethiopia since June continued to strip Emperor Haile Selassie of power and staged an impromptu military parade through the streets of Addis Ababa. [See p. 606G1]

The emperor's Crown Council, Court of Justice and military committee were abolished by the Armed Forces Committee (AFC). The military committee was transferred to the Ministry of Defense in order to integrate the Imperial Bodyguard with the other armed forces entities.

The Imperial Bodyguard had been considered the sole military faction loyal to the emperor. However, a number of guards participated in the unannounced parade of military troops and equipment through the capital. The show of strength, which included repeated flyovers by U.S.-provided jet fighters, was seen as a warning to the shrinking opposition to the AFC and its program of reforms.

(Thousands of members of the bodyguard had marched on the emperor's palace Aug. 13 demanding \$14 million in unpaid salaries for service in the United Nations operation in the Congo [now Zaire] more than 10 years ago. According to the *Washington Post* Aug. 16, the emperor and Premier Michael Imru rejected their demands; the AFC supported that decision.)

The AFC was carrying out its programs with caution, giving no indication that it would depose the emperor who, under the draft Constitution presently being studied, would be reduced to a figurehead. Observers believed that the committee was seeking to maintain the emperor, rather than removing him and declaring a republic, because of the reverence with

which he was regarded by Ethiopia's rural masses who constituted 95% of the nation's population.

In the cities, however, criticism of the emperor mounted with newspapers publishing unprecedented calls Aug. 16 and 19 for the abolition of the monarchy.

(The Addis Ababa newspaper *Ethiopia Herald* published a report Aug. 18 that there were some 335,000 prostitutes in Ethiopia, 10,000 of whom were in the capital. The paper also cited statistics that nine million of Ethiopia's 27 million people were afflicted with venereal disease. Such reports had generally been suppressed by the government in the past, as was the case with the drought and famine plaguing the country. [See p. 152A3])

**Arrests continue**—More of the emperor's closest associates were taken into military custody Aug. 9-17 on charges of corruption and malfeasance. [See p. 653E3] Selassie's chief bodyguard and aide de camp were arrested and his personal treasurer, who had taken refuge in the palace, surrendered to the army following an AFC announcement that the palace could not provide sanctuary. The property, bank accounts and belongings of all three men were confiscated by the military. [See p. 606G2]

The total arrested thus far exceeded 150. They were being kept in army barracks at 4th Army Division headquarters in Addis Ababa, the *Washington Post* reported Aug. 23.

**Church challenges army, Constitution.** Abuna Tewoflos, patriarch of the Ethiopian Coptic Orthodox Church, issued a strong attack on the Armed Forces Committee and the proposed new Constitution Aug. 18. The Constitution would separate church and state and remove the emperor as head of the church. [See p. 653C3]

Tewoflos' statement charged that the military was seeking to disestablish the church and "give leeway to other, non-Ethiopian and non-African religions."

**Eritrean deputies quit, ELF talks sought.** Twenty-three Eritrean members of the Chamber of Deputies resigned Aug. 16 to protest the government's alleged neglect of the province. They charged that Eritrean prisoners had not been released under the July 3 amnesty [See p. 653F3] and said the military was conducting massacres in the province.

Premier Michael Imru called for a "peaceful dialogue" with the Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF), the separatist rebel movement, Aug. 20 as a step toward improving the province's relations with the central government. [See p. 606F3]

## Greece

**Anti-U.S. sentiment mounts.** Public and official actions reflected growing anti-U.S. sentiment throughout Greece. Waves of demonstrations surged in Athens, Salonika and Crete where thousands vocally denounced the U.S. role in the Cyprus crisis for which Washington was held to blame because of its past support of the Greek military junta that had mounted the