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

NLF-NSC_ILCC-5-2-4-3

ROUTINE
DTA294
DE RUEHOT #2859 2298411
R 170349Z AUG 74
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0121

INFO ANEMBASSY ATHENS 932
ANEMBASSY ANKARA 985
ANEMBASSY NICOSIA 897
ANEMBASSY LONDON 9199
ANEMBASSY MOSCOW 5351
ANEMBASSY PARIS 335
USMISSION NATO 5036
USCINCEUR UNN

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ USUN 2859

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UN, CY

SUBJ: CYPRUS IN SC

SUMMARY: FRENCH DEL TOLD US THAT ON INSTRUCTIONS FROM PARIS THEY WOULD PRESS FORWARD WITH DRAFT RES NOT MENTIONING TURKEY BY NAME, BUT CLEARLY CRITICAL OF RECENT TURKISH CONDUCT. FRENCH INSTRUCTIONS WERE TO GET RES THAT WOULD INCLUDE GISCARD'S "FORMALLY DISAPPROVES" LANGUAGE AND BE SATISFACTORY TO GREEK GOVT. US ARGUED FURTHER RES AT THIS TIME UNNECESSARY AND IN FACT DANGEROUS. FRENCH PRESSED ON, BUT MODIFIED LANGUAGE TO ACCOMMODATE SUBSTANTIALLY TO US WISHES. RES ADOPTED AS SC RES 360 11(US)-0-3(USSR, BYELORUSSIA (IRAQ)); CHINA NOT PARTICIPATING. FRENCH AND TURKS EXCHANGED SHARP RHETORIC. TURKEY SAID IT WOULD NOT RETURN TO GENEVA ON BASIS RES 360, BUT WOULD DO SO GLADLY WHEN SC TOOK LESS-BIASED-VIEW OF SITUATION. END SUMMARY



1. FRENCH CH
BYELORUSSIA (IRAQ)); CHINA NOT PARTICIPATING. FRENCH AND TURKS EXCHANGED SHARP RHETORIC. TURKEY SAID IT WOULD NOT RETURN TO GENEVA ON BASIS RES 360, BUT WOULD DO SO GLADLY WHEN SC TOOK LESS-BIASED-VIEW OF SKS BY NAME, TO ASK FOR WITHDRAWAL OF FOREIGN TROOPS NOT PERMANENTLY STATIONED IN CYPRUS, AND TO ASK THAT GENEVA NEGOTIATIONS RESUME WITHOUT BEING AFFECTED IN ANY WAY BY RESULTS OF MILITARY ACTION.

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

HAK, SCDWCROFT, LL

PSN:025612

PAGE 01

TDR:229/85:48Z

DTG:170349Z AUG 74

JUL 25 1974

NO. 1000 (1974) 1000

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HR 5/18/11

2. WE ARGUED AGAINST SECOND AND THIRD OF THESE THREE POINTS. IN PARTICULAR, WE POINTED OUT THAT ANY DEPARTURE FROM SC 353 LANGUAGE ON WITHDRAWAL OF MILITARY FORCES MIGHT SEEM TO PLACE SC IN ROLE OF INTERPRETER OF TREATIES OF GUARANTEE. WE ARGUED THAT EVEN IF TURKEY NOT IDENTIFIED, RES STRONGLY HOSTILE TO TURKS MIGHT DIMINISH PROSPECTS FOR BRINGING PARTIES BACK TO NEGOTIATING TABLE IN GENERAL. WE URGED LECOMPT TO CONSIDER CAREFULLY WHETHER RES. OF ANY KIND NECESSARY OR DESIRABLE AT PRESENT.

3. LECOMPT SAID HE WAS UNDER FIRM INSTRUCTIONS TO GO AHEAD. HIS INSTRUCTIONS WERE SIMPLE: TO GET A RES INCLUDING GISCARD'S "FORMALLY DISAPPROVES" LANGUAGE AND TO PRODUCE SOMETHING SATISFACTORY TO GREEKS.

4. LECOMPT LATER PROVIDES US WITH COPY OF DRAFT RES WHICH MINIMIZED FEATURES WE HAD ARGUED AGAINST. HE PERSUADED SC PRES MALIK (USSR) TO SCHEDULE MEETING FOR 3:30PM ON UNDERSTANDING THAT FRENCH AS SOLE SPONSOR OF DRAFT RES WOULD ACCEPT NO AMENDMENTS FROM THE FLOOR AND WOULD RESERVE SOLE RIGHT TO INTRODUCE AMENDMENTS THEMSELVES. WHEN SC MEMBERS ARRIVED AT SC CHAMBER, MALIK INSISTED ON GROUP CONSULTATIONS PRIOR TO MEETING AND BEGAN LONG FILIBUSTER. US DEL WAS NOT OBLIGED TO REVEAL OPENLY ITS OWN PREFERENCE FOR DELAY. SEVERAL DELS INSISTED ON DELAY, PLEADING LACK OF INSTRUCTIONS. FRENCH OBSTINATELY HELD OUT FOR IMMEDIATE MEETING AND AT 6:30PM AGREED TO HOUR'S RECESS ON UNDERSTANDING THAT AT 7:30PM COUNCIL WOULD CONVENE AND PUT SECOND REVISION OF FRENCH RES TO VOTE BEFORE DEBATE.

5. WHEN TURKS LEARNED OF RESUMED FRENCH INITIATIVE, THEY INTENSIFIED CAMPAIGN TO MOBILIZE SUPPORT AMONG NON-PERMS AND TO PERSUADE US TO ABSTAIN IF WE COULD NOT PREVENT FRENCH DRAFT BEING BROUGHT TO VOTE. OLCAY TOLD US FLATLY THAT IF ANY RES EVEN IMPLICITLY HOSTILE TO TURKEY PASSED, TURKEY WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO RETURN TO GENEVA. HE ALSO ARGUED THAT IT WOULD BE EXTREMELY UNFORTUNATE IF SOV UNION ABSTAINED ON AND US VOTED FOR FRENCH RES. AMB SCALY RESPONDED THAT US DEL WOULD DO ITS BEST TO PREVENT RES COMING TO VOTE. HOWEVER, HE CONTINUED, IT WAS UNREALISTIC TO BELIEVE THERE NOT STRONG SENTIMENT IN COUNCIL SUPPORTING GENERAL THRUST OF FRENCH DRAFT. HE STRONGLY URGED OLCAY TO CONSIDER POSSIBILITY OF TREATING MILD HOSTILE RES AS OF LITTLE CONSEQUENCE AND TO MAINTAIN FLEXIBILITY ON QUESTION OF RETURNING TO GENEVA.

6. AT 8:00 PM MALIK ABANDONED FILIBUSTER AND CONVENEED COUNCIL IN OPEN SESSION. REVISED FRENCH DRAFT WAS ADOPTED AS SC RES 360: 11(US)-8-3(USSR, BYELORUSSIA, IRAQ), WITH PRC



NOT PARTICIPATING. IN SUBSEQUENT EXPLANATIONS OF VOTE, BOTH SOVS AND IRAGIS CLAIMED THEIR ABSTENTIONS OWED TO LACK OF INSTRUCTIONS. FRENCH REP LED OFF WITH LENGTHY EXPOSITION CONTAINING BITTER AND EMOTIONAL ANTI-TURKISH RHETORIC. KARAGIANNIS (GREECE) SPOKE IN MEASURED TERMS ABOUT HOPE FOR RETURN TO NEGOTIATING TABLE AS DID ROSSIDES (CYPRUS) THOUGH LATTER MADE PREDICTABLE REMARKS ABOUT INVALIDITY ZURICH ACCORDS. COSTA RICA, AUSTRALIA, AND AUSTRIA INCLUDED STRONG LANGUAGE DISAPPROVING TURKISH RESORT TO VIOLENCE. MOST OTHER EXPLANATIONS OF VOTE WERE INNOCUOUS ALTHOUGH MALIK OF USSR AND RICHARD OF UK ENGAGED IN SHARP BI-PLAY. AMB SCALI'S STATEMENT (SEPTEL) WAS NON-CONTENTIOUS AND EMPHASIZED IMPORTANCE OF RETURN TO NEGOTIATING TABLE IN SPIRIT OF CONCILIATION.

7. OLCAY (TURKEY) DEPLORED PASSAGE OF RES BY SC AND LAUNCHED INTO SHARP ANTI-FRENCH RESPONSE TO EXCESSES IN LECOMPT'S STATEMENT. HE MAINTAINED DIGNIFIED TONE, DESPITE SLASHING RHETORIC. (WE UNDERSTAND ANTI-FRENCH STATEMENT EXPLICITLY AUTHORIZED BY ANKARA.)

8. IN ADDRESSING ISSUE OF RESUMPTION OF NEGOTIATIONS, OLCAY SHIFTED TOWARD MORE FLEXIBLE POSITION AMB SCALI HAD URGED. HE SAID "MY GOVERNMENT WHICH HAS DECLARED ITS READINESS TO TAKE PART IN THE NEGOTIATIONS AIMED AT ESTABLISHING THE FUTURE CONSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK OF THE INDEPENDENT FOREIGN STATE OF CYPRUS, HAS INSTRUCTED ME TO STATE THAT IT IS NOT ON THE BASIS OF THIS UNBALANCED, BIASED, UNEVEN, UNFAIR AND UNREALISTIC RESOLUTION THAT IT WILL DO SO. "THE MOMENT THE COUNCIL WILL ADOPT, AND I HOPE VERY SOON, ANY OTHER RESOLUTION WHICH WILL NOT BEAR ALL THESE STIGMAS, MY GOVERNMENT WILL BE READY TO RECONSIDER HER ATTITUDE IN THIS RESPECT, AND WILL DO SO GLADLY."

9. WE TOOK TWO STEPS DESIGNED TO MITIGATE TURKISH DISAPPOINTMENT. WHILE LECOMPT STILL SPEAKING, WE INFORMED TURKISH DEL WE NOT BEEN CONSULTED AND WERE SURPRISED BY TONE OF FRENCH STATEMENT. AT CONCLUSION OF MEETING, AMB SCALI TOLD OLCAY WE ADMIRER DIGNITY WITH WHICH TURKISH DEL HAD CONDUCTED ITSELF THROUGH DIFFICULT DAY.

10. OUR ESTIMATE IS THAT TURKS, WHILE DISAPPOINTED, FEEL THAT US HAS CONDUCTED ITSELF HONORABLY AND NOT BETRAYED ITS TURKISH ALLY. MID-LEVEL TURKISH DIPLOMAT, WHO HAD WORKED VERY HARD LOBBYING WITH USDEL AND OTHERS AGAINST RES, EXPRESSED SCORN FOR FRANCE AND "UNPRINCIPLED" MOTIVES WHICH PROMPTED RES. HE APPRECIATIVE OF FACT AMB SCALI HAD



LEVELED WITH HIS AMBASSADOR PRIOR TO VOTE AND SAID IT PROBABLY "ALL TO THE GOOD" THAT US HAD NOT FOUND ITSELF IN ABSTENTION CAMP IN SOLE COMPANY OF SOVS AND IRAQ. ALTHOUGH AS RESULT OF RES HE SAID NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD BE POSTPONED FOR PERIOD OF TIME (HE SUGGESTED SEVERAL WEEKS), HE HOPEFUL US WILL TAKE NEW INITIATIVE BENEFICIAL TO ALL PARTIES IN VERY NEAR FUTURE, AND RECOGNIZES THAT US ABILITY TO BE HELPFUL WOULD HAVE BEEN WEAKENED IF US HAD ABSTAINED ON RES. WE CAN EXPECT TURKS TO PRESS US TO TAKE "PRO-TURKISH" INITIATIVE IN SC, BALANCING FRENCH RES, AS PREPREREQUISITE TO RESUMPTION OF NEGOTIATIONS IN GENEVA.

SCALY

BT



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Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

WITHDRAWAL ID 035103

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL ÇNational security restriction

TYPE OF MATERIAL ÇReport

CREATOR'S NAME Cyprus Task Force

DESCRIPTION re Situation in Cyprus

CREATION DATE 08/17/1974

VOLUME 2 pages

COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 033200206

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

BOX NUMBER 9

FOLDER TITLE Cyprus Crisis (40)

DATE WITHDRAWN 09/06/2011

WITHDRAWING ARCHIVIST HJR

NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION
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WITHDRAWAL ID 035104

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL ÇNational security restriction

TYPE OF MATERIAL ÇReport

DESCRIPTION re Cyprus Situation

CREATION DATE 08/17/1974

VOLUME 4 pages

COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 033200206

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

BOX NUMBER 9

FOLDER TITLE Cyprus Crisis (40)

DATE WITHDRAWN 09/06/2011

WITHDRAWING ARCHIVIST HJR

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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
August 17, 1974

INTELLIGENCE MEMORANDUM

CYPRUS

Situation Report Number 10
(As of 0700 EDT)

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

MILITARY SITUATION

1. Despite the cease-fire agreement, sporadic fighting continued in the western environs of Nicosia this morning in what UN sources described as a renewed Turkish attempt to seize control of the airport. According to the sources, UN peace-keeping forces at the airport are under orders to fight if attacked, but they have not yet come under fire.

2. The defense attache reports that in the west Turkish forces continue to advance on Kokkina. Once that city is reached, the Turks can be expected to stop and consolidate their conquests.

[Redacted]

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GREECE

3. Minister to the Prime Minister George Rallis told a US embassy official yesterday that the Greek cabinet is badly split over what measures to take to appease anti-US and anti-NATO sentiments arising from the Turkish invasion of Cyprus. The cabinet is also

DECLASSIFIED w/portions exempted. State Dept. Guidelines
AUTHORITY RAC NLF-CODEWORD-4-21-2-2 9/21/2005

BY MBC NARA, DATE 3/16/2011

DIA review(s) completed

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divided over how far Greece could or should go in striking back militarily at Turkey. He said that Prime Minister Karamanlis and Defense Minister Averoff are the only moderates left in the cabinet.

4. According to Rallis, Karamanlis is seeking a formula which would preserve the credibility of his government without doing irreparable damage to Greece's position in the Western Alliance. Rallis said the question of removal of US and NATO bases is not an issue for the time being, but some hotheads in the government are pushing the Prime Minister to take action against them. Rallis fears that Turkish obstinacy could lead to a revival of the issue in the absence of evidence that the US is exerting effective pressure against Turkey in behalf of an equitable settlement of the Cyprus issue. Rallis believes that Karamanlis has bought two or three weeks of respite by his rhetorical withdrawal from NATO and that the left, particularly Andreas Papandreu, will pressure Karamanlis to disengage further from NATO and the US.

5. Based on Rallis' remarks, the US embassy concludes that:

- the Greek government will not agree to a resumption of direct talks with the Turkish government in the near future;
- the question of Greek military moves on Cyprus is still under consideration with the odds favoring a Greek attempt to land reinforcements on the island;
- Karamanlis and Averoff, with the backing of senior ministers, want to avoid a further loosening of ties with NATO and the US but are under popular pressure to do so;
- the Karamanlis government is less apprehensive of a threat from the right than it is of a threat from the left.

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SITUATION IN TURKEY

6. Life is returning to normal in Ankara following the cease-fire announcement yesterday. Civil air operations have been resumed and the Turkish radio returned to its regular program schedule. Military officials lifted restrictions on air operations and shipping in the Cyprus area but have kept them in force on the Mediterranean and Aegean coasts.

UNITED NATIONS

7. The Security Council late yesterday passed a resolution calling for the resumption of peace talks in Geneva and withdrawal of all foreign troops from Cyprus not there under international agreements. The Council also formally expressed its disapproval of "unilateral military actions" in Cyprus but it did not refer to Turkey by name because several members, including the US and Britain, threatened to vote against such a measure. The French draft on which the final resolution was based had called for formal disapproval of Turkey's military operations.

LATE ITEMS

Athens radio announced that Greek-Yugoslav talks were taking place this morning at the foreign affairs ministry between Greek Foreign Minister Mavros and Yugoslav Vice President Minic. Minic is scheduled to call on President Gizikis and Prime Minister Karamanlis later today. Minic, who arrived on a special Yugoslav airlines flight this morning, will leave for Belgrade late tonight.

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Department of State

TELEGRAM

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

State Review
3/4/04
5/18/11

REF: STATE 180549

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM THE AMBASSADOR



1. I DELIVERED YOUR MESSAGE TO THE PRIME MINISTER THIS MORNING UNDERLINING THE FACT YOU WERE GIVING THE MOST CAREFUL CONSIDERATION TO HIS REPLIES TO YOUR MESSAGE OF AUGUST 14 AND CALL AUGUST 15.
2. PM TOLD ME THAT HE WISHED YOU AND THE PRESIDENT TO KNOW THAT NOTWITHSTANDING THE GREAT DIFFICULTIES HE IS FACING, HE IS PREPARED TO BE FLEXIBLE AND FORTHCOMING ON THE CYPRUS ISSUE. SUBSTANCE IS FAR LESS A CONSIDERATION AT THIS STAGE THAN HONOR AND GREEK PHILOTEMO. BUT HE COULD NOT POSSIBLY MOVE FORWARD UNLESS THE PRESENT ATMOSPHERE SO DEEPLY OFFENSIVE TO GREEK PHILOTEMO WAS CHANGED. THIS INVOLVED, HE CONTINUED, TURKISH MILITARY WITHDRAWAL TO CEASE-FIRE DEMARKATION LINE ON WHICH THEY AGREED WITH UN, UK, AND GREEK-CYPRIT REPRESENTATIVES. IT IS ON THIS QUESTION THAT THE U.S. COULD BE MOST HELPFUL. TURKEY NEEDED TO BE PERSUADED AND THE U.S. COULD DO IT IF IT WISHED.
3. CARAMALIS THEN EXPATIATED UPON THE THEME THAT HE WOULD NEVER LET GREECE BE HUMILIATED AND THAT HE WOULD CONTINUE TO SEEK TO FIND WAYS AND MEANS OF RETAINING AND PRESERVING GREEK HONOR. GREECE COUNTED UPON HIM. HE FELT HIS SPEECH, REPORTED SEPARATELY, HAD BEEN VERY WELL RECEIVED AND THAT HE WOULD RECEIVE 90 PERCENT OF THE VOTES OF THE GREEK PEOPLE IF ELECTIONS WERE HELD NOW. HE ADDED IF HE WERE TO LEAVE, GREECE WOULD INEVITABLY FALL INTO

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Department of State

TELEGRAM

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-2- ~~SECRET~~ ATHENS 5783, NODIS, AUG 17

COMMUNIST HANDS. EITHER HE SAVED THE SITUATION OR A COMMUNIST-DOMINATED GREECE WAS THE ALTERNATIVE.

4. CARAMANLIS SAID THAT THE GREEK PEOPLE FELT BETRAYED BY THE U.S. IT WAS A SAD DAY FOR HIM TO SEE THESE PEOPLE -- ONCE THE MOST PRO-AMERICAN IN THE WORLD -- NOW SO HOSTILE TO US BECAUSE OF US FAILURE TO STOP THE TURKISH MILITARY ACTION WHICH EVERYBODY BELIEVED US COULD HAVE DONE IF IT SO DESIRED.

5. IN MY COMMENT, I SAID THESE WERE ALSO VERY SAD DAYS FOR US BECAUSE WE REALLY DID ATTACH THE HIGHEST IMPORTANCE TO FRIENDSHIP WITH THE GREEK GOVERNMENT AND THE GREEK PEOPLE. PRESIDENT FORD AND SECRETARY KISSINGER, I CONTINUED, WERE GREAT ADMIRERS OF HIS, AS WITNESSED BY OUR READINESS TO DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO BE HELPFUL. WE FULLY REALIZED HOW IMPORTANT HIS ROLE WAS NOT ONLY TO GREECE, BUT IN THE MEDITERRANEAN AND THE WEST GENERALLY. IT WAS VITAL TO ALL OF US THAT WE SUCCEED IN REACHING SOLUTIONS HERE WHICH WOULD STRENGTHEN OUR FRIENDSHIP AND SECURITY. I ADDED THAT HE WAS FACING AN HISTORIC TASK IN AN HISTORIC MOMENT WHEN THE VITAL INTERESTS OF WESTERN CIVILIZATION WERE AT STAKE. TOGETHER IF WE WORKED CLOSELY AND WITH DEDICATION OF PURPOSE I KNEW WE COULD SUCCEED. WE WANTED HIM TO SUCCEED BECAUSE WE KNEW HE SHARED OUR APPRAISAL OF THE HIGH STAKES INVOLVED. I CONCLUDED BY SAYING THAT HE AND THE GREEK PEOPLE SHOULD REALIZE THEY HAD NO BETTER FRIEND IN THE WORLD THAN THE U.S. AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND NO OTHER COUNTRY, OR COUNTRIES, IN MY VIEW, COULD TAKE OUR PLACE.

6. I BELIEVE I MADE SOME IMPRESSION UPON HIM. THERE IS NO DOUBT WHATEVER IN MY MIND THAT HE SHARES THE SENTIMENTS I EXPRESSED. CARAMANLIS WAS COLLECTED AND APPEARED CONFIDENT REGARDING HIS POSITION IN THE COUNTRY. CARAMANLIS CLEARLY WISHES TO REACH SOME SETTLEMENT WITH TURKEY, BUT A FORMULA WILL HAVE TO BE FOUND INVOLVING THE TURKISH MILITARY POSITION ON THE ISLAND WHICH GIVES VISIBLE AND TANGIBLE EVIDENCE THAT GREEK PHILOTEMO AND HONOR ARE IN FACT BEING RESPECTED. UNLESS THIS IS DONE, I DO NOT BELIEVE THERE IS ANY CHANCE OF BRINGING THE GREEKS BACK TO THE CONFERENCE TABLE MUCH AS CARAMANLIS AND AVEROFF MAY DESIRE A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT

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Department of State

TELEGRAM

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-3- ~~SECRET~~ ATHENS 5783, NODIS, AUG 17

OF THIS AND OTHER OUTSTANDING ISSUES WITH TURKEY IN ORDER TO GET ON WITH THE TASK OF BUILDING A STRONG DEMOCRACY IN GREECE WHICH CARAMANLIS TOLD ME THIS MORNING IS HIS GREATEST DESIRE AND PRINCIPAL OBJECTIVE.

TASCA

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#5783

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INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA NIACT IMMEDIATE 4180
SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 9535

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ NICOSIA 2424

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR MOPS GR CY TR
SUBJECT: CYPRUS CEASEFIRE VIOLATIONS
REF: ATHENS 5778

1. CEASEFIRE GENERALLY HELD THROUGHOUT ISLAND NIGHT AUG 16. THERE WAS SOME INTERMITTENT FIRE ON PERIPHERIES OLD GREEN LINE BUT THESE LESS MAJOR THAN VIOLATIONS OF EARLIER CEASEFIRE.
2. BETWEEN 5:00 AND 6:00 A.M. LOCAL 17 AUG THERE WAS BRIEF, BUT FURIOUS EXCHANGE OF MORTAR FIRE NEAR AIRPORT ROAD TO WEST OF CITY. UNCERTAIN WHICH SIDE INSTIGATED --BOTH BLAMING THE OTHER.
3. ACCORDING UK HICOM OFFICER (LOCATED KHEKELIA) FIRING AT ATHIENOU STARTED BY "FREELANCE GREEK CYPRIOT ARTILLERY BATTALION" WHICH SHELLED TOWN CONTROLLED BY TURKISH MILITARY BUT CONTAINING LARGE GREEK CYPRIOT CIVILIAN POPULATION.
DAVIES
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NO. 118/11
By LJR 5/18/11

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

HAK, SCOWCROFT, LL

RECALLED
PSN:025839 PAGE 01 OF 01 TOR:229/11:22Z DTG:171055Z AUG 74

OP. IMMED
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DE RUFHOL #3039 2291138
O 171136Z AUG 74
FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4479

~~SECRET~~ BONN 13039

EXDIS
E.O. 11652: XGDS
TAGS: CY
SUBJECT: CYPRUS: GENSCHER BRIEFING
REF: STATE 179815

1. I MET FRIDAY EVENING WITH FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER, WHO HAD EARLIER INTERRUPTED HIS VACATION IN BAVARIA TO RETURN TEMPORARILY TO BONN, AND BRIEFED HIM ON CYPRUS DEVELOPMENTS PER REFTEL. STATE SECRETARY GEHLHOFF WAS ALSO PRESENT.

2. GENSCHER EXPRESSED HIS APPRECIATION FOR THE BRIEFING. HE SAID HE WAS AWARE THAT CURRENT PRESS REPORTS ALLEGING LACK OF US INITIATIVE TO DEAL WITH THE CYPRUS CRISIS WERE INACCURATE. GERMAN CONCERNS ABOUT GREECE WERE TWOFOLD: FIRST, THE NEED TO KEEP GREECE FIRMLY IN NATO; SECOND, THE INTERNAL SITUATION. ON THE LATTER POINT, IT WOULD BE MOST UNFORTUNATE IF THE PROGRESS TOWARD DEMOCRATIZATION BROUGHT ABOUT BY KARAMANLIS' RETURN WERE TO SUFFER A REVERSE. A RETURN TO POWER OF THE MILITARY, FOR EXAMPLE, MIGHT BE FOLLOWED BY A SHARP DRIFT TO THE LEFT. KARAMANLIS HAD ACTED WITH COURAGE AND SHOWN A HIGH DEGREE OF STATESMANSHIP, BUT HE WAS WALKING ON THIN ICE. ONE COULD IMAGINE THE PROBLEM WE WOULD HAVE IF THERE WERE A HOTHEAD IN CONTROL IN ATHENS.

3. GENSCHER SAID HE HAD TALKED EARLIER IN THE DAY WITH FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTER SAUVAGNARGUES BY PHONE. HE HAD TOLD SAUVAGNARGUES THAT THE FRG AND FRANCE TOGETHER, WHICH HAD TRADITIONALLY GOOD TIES WITH BOTH GREECE AND TURKEY, AND HAD NOT EXPENDED ANY POLITICAL CAPITAL IN THE PRESENT CRISIS, SHOULD BE READY TO EXERCISE THEIR



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

HAK, SCOWCROFT, LL

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PSN:025858 PAGE 01 TOR:229/11:59Z DTG:171136Z AUG 74

~~SECRETED~~ State Review
3/4/04

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INFLUENCE WITH BOTH PARTIES IN ORDER TO KEEP GREECE IN THE ALLIANCE AND SUPPORT KARAMANLIS AND OTHERS LIKE HIM WHO FAVORED A SANE POLICY. GENSCHER SAID HE WANTED TO STRESS TO US TOO THAT GERMANY WAS WILLING TO HELP IN ANY WAY IT COULD.

4. GEHLHOFF SAID HE HAD URGED MODERATION ON THE TURKISH AMBASSADOR IN A MEETING EARLIER ON FRIDAY, STRESSING GERMAN CONCERNS FOR THE SOUTH EAST FLANK OF NATO.

5. THERE WAS SOME DISCUSSION OF THE GREEK WITHDRAWAL FROM NATO MILITARY COMMAND. GEHLHOFF NOTED A GREEK DEFENSE MINISTRY STATEMENT TO THE EFFECT THAT THE GREEK DECISION TO WITHDRAW WAS IRREVOCABLE INsofar AS TURKEY FAILED TO ACT RESPONSIBLY. GENSCHER THOUGHT THIS WAS A SIGNAL TO NATO WHICH SUGGESTED THE GREEK DECISION WAS SUBJECT TO REVIEW. IN THIS CONNECTION, THE GERMANS ALSO THOUGHT IT INTERESTING THAT THE WITHDRAWAL OF GREEK OFFICERS FROM NATO HEADQUARTERS, ORIGINALLY SUPPOSED TO BE CARRIED OUT WITHIN 24 HOURS, HAD BEEN EXTENDED OVER A TWO WEEK PERIOD--PERHAPS ANOTHER SIGNAL OF GREEK WILLINGNESS TO RECONSIDER. IT WOULD BE IMPORTANT TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF SUCH INDICATIONS IN THE INTEREST OF THE ALLIANCE AS A WHOLE.

HILLENBRAND

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PSN:025858

PAGE 02

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DEFENSE INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20301



UNCLASSIFIED
SIGN DISSEM

DIA SITUATION REPORT #114

DATE: 17 August 1974
TIME: 1350 EDT

SUBJECT: Cyprus Situation as of 1200 EDT
REFERENCE: See end of Situation Report

SUMMARY



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the area under their control to normal. TURKEY: Restrictions to air and sea travel have been eliminated. GREECE: US Air Force facility on Iraklion remains serious after an anti-US demonstration yesterday caused property damage but no injuries. Further demonstrations are expected.

Presidential Library Review of DOS Equities is Required. DIA reviews completed

PREPARED BY:
MAJ Miller
Cyprus, Task Force
x76801/Gray 42

RELEASED BY:

[Signature]
RICHARD A. SZYMZYK
Colonel, USA

Chief, Western Area Division
Directorate for Intelligence

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- JRC (NMCC Rep)
- CSA
- CNO
- CSAF; CV; CVA (3 Cys)
- CNC
- ACSI (ISD)
- CNO (NOP-009, IP)
- AFIN (Alert Officer, via Tube)
- White House Sit Room (via LDX)
- State (via LDX)
- CIA (NMCC Rep)
- NSA (NMCC Rep)
- DDO NMCC (NMCC Rep)
- DNA (via SSO)

BY MLO
NAPA DATE 3/16/2011

AUTHORITY RAC NLF-CODEWORD-4-21-3-1 9/21/2005

DECLASSIFIED w/portions exempted State Dept. Guidelines

DIA SPOT REPORT SEQUENCE NO. 74 1112

Control Number
5 Jun 74

25X1

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EXEMPT FROM GDS OF EO 11652 CAT. 1
DECLASSIFY DATE CANNOT BE DETERMINED

NO FOREIGN DISSEM

~~SECRET~~

25X1

(e/NFD) In Turkish controlled areas, life is reported to be returning to normal at least for Turkish Cypriots. Essential supplies are arriving through Kyrenia, and postal and telephone service is being reestablished. The Turks continue work on extending the runway at the Aghirda airfield north of Nicosia. Additional Turkish Cypriot police are being recruited to aid in control of newly occupied areas. Turkish Cypriot leader Rauf Denktash reportedly said that the only subjects that could be discussed at a news conference would be relations between the two Cypriot administrations and the powers of the federal government.

2. (S/NFD) Greek Internal Situation: The situation at the US Air Force facility at Iraklion, Crete remains serious with renewal of the demonstrations expected during the afternoon of 17 August. An unconfirmed report indicates that the march on the base yesterday, which resulted in over \$10,000 damage to US government property, was instigated by two visiting university students from Athens. Further unconfirmed reports indicate that during the demonstration, Greek police opened roadblocks when threatened by the marchers. US officials have requested assistance of both local authorities and of the government in Athens. Both the Greek foreign office and the Ministry of Defense have assured US Embassy officials that all necessary precautions will be taken to protect US property throughout Greece. The local police in Iraklion have been strengthened but the local US base commander feels that Greek security forces will not be adequate to contain any concerted effort of demonstrators to attack the base. A 6th Fleet Task Group has been ordered from west of Crete to 30 miles north of the island for evacuation if required. Anti-US and anti-NATO demonstrations can be expected to continue and success of demonstrations at Iraklion could stimulate further violent protests at other US facilities in Greece.

3. (U) Turkish Internal Situation: The Turkish General Staff, stating that the situation has returned to normalcy, has announced that all flying and sea movement restrictions imposed on 4 August 1974 were lifted effective 0500 EDT today.

2

NO FOREIGN DISSEM

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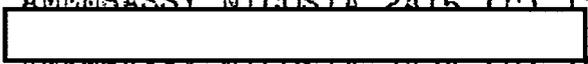


25X1

FOREIGN DISSEM

4. (C) Soviet Activity: There has been no additional Soviet ground force, naval, or air activity related to the Cyprus situation.

SOURCES

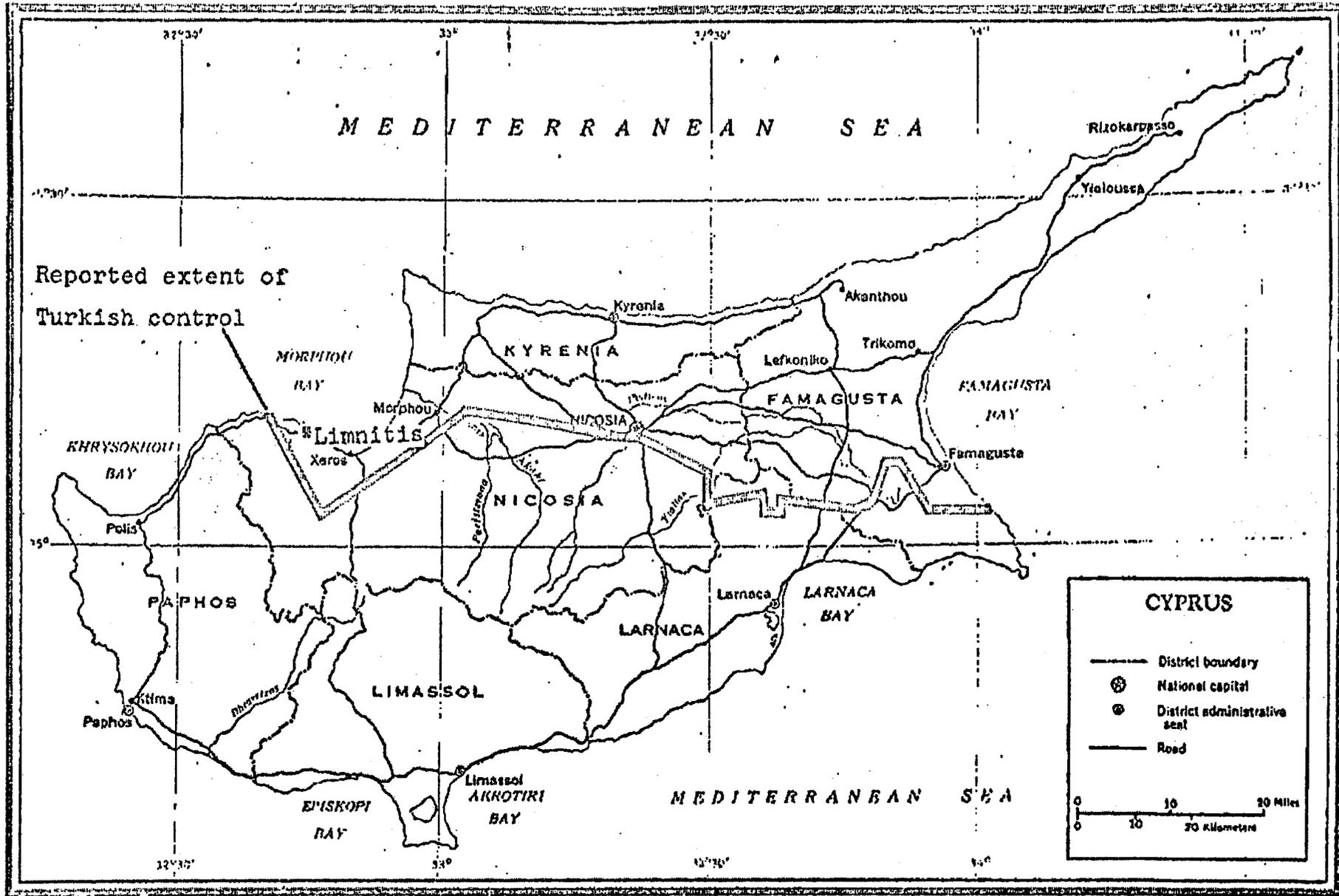
- a. USDAO NICOSIA CYPRUS IR 6 823 0137 74 (UNCLAS E F T O) 17 Aug 74
- b. PRESS (U), 17 Aug 74
- c. AMEMBASSY NICOSIA 2415 (C) 17 Aug 74
- d. 
- e. AMEMBASSY NICOSIA 2424 (C) 17 Aug 74
- f. USDAO ANKARA TURKEY 2088 (UNCLAS E F T O) 17 Aug 74

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NO FOREIGN DISSEM

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ESA682ATA874
DE RUGHAT #5794 2291427
O 171425Z AUG 74
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 4973

UNCLAS ATHENS 5794

EO 11652 NA
TAGS PFOR GR CY TU
SUBJ: FBIS REPORT
REF FBIS ATHENS 162229Z AUG 74

1. REFERENCED REPORT DRAWN FROM ATHENS DOMESTIC SERVICE AND ATHENS ATHENS NEWS AGENCY INDICATES SECRETARY KISSINGER SAID THAT HE CAN EXERT PRESSURE ON TURKEY ONLY UP TO A CERTAIN DEGREE BECAUSE THE US MILITARY INTERESTS IN TURKEY ARE VERY SIGNIFICANT AND SHOULD NOT BE TREATED.

2. EMBASSY ANTICIPATES CONSIDERABLE PRESS QUESTIONING THIS SUBJECT, REQUEST GUIDANCE ON URGENT BASIS.

TASCA
BT



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

SCOWCROFT,LL

PSN:025970 PAGE 01 OF 01 TOR:229/14:46Z DTG:171425Z AUG 74

96

FBIS 04

ATHENS RADIO REPORTS KISSINGER REMARK ON U.S. INTERESTS IN
TURKEY

AT162229 ATHENS DOMESTIC SERVICE IN GREEK 2200 GMT 16 AUG 74 AT

(TEXT) ATHENS NEWS AGENCY REPORTS FROM NEW YORK THAT U.S.
SECRETARY OF STATE MR KISSINGER SAID THAT HE CAN EXERT PRESSURE
ON TURKEY ONLY UP TO A CERTAIN DEGREE BECAUSE THE U.S. MILITARY
INTERESTS IN TURKEY ARE VERY SIGNIFICANT AND SHOULD NOT BE
THREATENED.

17 AUG 0137Z BG/MA



[Redacted]

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Presidential Library Review of DOS Equities is Required

[Redacted]

25X

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
August 17, 1974

INTELLIGENCE MEMORANDUM

CYPRUS

Situation Report Number 11
(As of 1530 EDT)

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

GENERAL SITUATION

USAF review(s) completed

1. No major fighting occurred on Cyprus today, although cease-fire violations were widespread as Turkish units attempted to secure areas beyond what they held yesterday. In Greece, there were continuing signs of growing anti-US sentiment but no serious incidents. Meanwhile, the Turks seem quite satisfied with their present position although there are no prospects for an early resumption of the peace talks.

THE MILITARY SITUATION

2. Localized fighting continued on Cyprus today despite the cease-fire. Fighting around the international airport appears to have ended by mid-afternoon, but 12 miles southeast of Nicosia Turkish forces captured the village of Pyroi after a fierce battle. A UN observer believes that the Turks will now move toward Louroujina, some seven miles south of Pyroi, to link up with Turkish Cypriots who have been holding out against Greek National Guard attacks.

Cont'd

[Redacted]

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E-2, IMPD
By: 0105

~~TOP SECRET~~

[Redacted]

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Presidential Library Review of DOS Equities is Required



State Dept. Guidelines
9/21/2005

DECLASSIFIED w/portions exempted
RAC NLF-CODEWORD-4-21-4-0

BY AKO NARA, DATE 3/16/2011

3. The Turkish advance constitutes the most serious violation of the cease-fire so far, and places Turkish forces far south of the "Attila Line" which supposedly delimits the southern boundary of Turkish territorial claims on the island.

4. Elsewhere, sporadic fighting was reported at Limnitis and Kokkina in the west of the island, and the Turkish commander in Famagusta reported that his forces had moved south of the city to cut Greek lines of communication.

GREECE-US

5. Ambassador Tasca has been given assurances by the ministry of foreign affairs as well as by Minister of Defense Averoff that the appropriate security officials have been instructed to provide protection to US personnel and installations and to take extra precautions in the present tense circumstances. The ambassador received similar assurances from the Athens police chief and the commanding general of the gendarmerie.

6. The American air station at Iraklion, Crete, reports that a large anti-American demonstration was held in the city this afternoon but that the demonstrators did not march on the base as had been feared. Greek police and army leaders on the island have promised full support in protecting the base. In addition, a US carrier group is now about 30 miles from Iraklion and is standing by to evacuate personnel should that become necessary.

7. Elsewhere in Greece, relations between Greek and US military personnel have moved from friendly to formal. Moreover, there are some cases in which US airmen and ships were prevented from reaching supplies and equipment, or were required to make long detours to do so. There have been some reports that US vehicles and servicemen in uniform have been stoned and verbally abused outside US bases.

-2-

~~TOP SECRET~~



DIPLOMATIC ACTIVITY

8. Yugoslav Vice-President and Foreign Minister Milos Minic met today with Greek Prime Minister Karamanlis and Foreign Minister Mavros. Quoting diplomatic sources in Athens, UPI reports that Minic brought a message from Tito urging the Greeks and Turks to begin talking again. UPI also reports that Minic is scheduled to travel on to Ankara tomorrow to deliver Tito's message to Turkish leaders, indicating that the Yugoslavs may be seeking a mediating role.

9. An early resumption of the peace talks seems unlikely, however, as the Greeks continue to refuse to negotiate in the face of a "fait accompli." Greek political sources report that the current Greek position is that the Turkish troops must pull back to positions held on August 9--prior to the second round of fighting--before talks can resume.

CYPRriot VIEWS

10. Political consultations in Nicosia intensified today. Luis Weckmann, special representative of the UN Secretary General, and Vrem Chand, commander of the UN forces on the island, met with Cypriot President Clerides in what was described as a lengthy discussion of the overall situation. No official statement was issued after the meeting but press reports state that Weckmann raised the possibility of resuming the Geneva peace talks. Weckmann and Chand will meet this evening with Turkish Cypriot leader Edevit Unell, who is acting vice-president in the absence of Rauf Denkash.

11. Press accounts state that Clerides hopes to postpone the opening of formal peace talks to give himself more time to mobilize international public opinion in support of the Greek Cypriot cause--hopefully to bring pressure on the Turks to withdraw their

-3-

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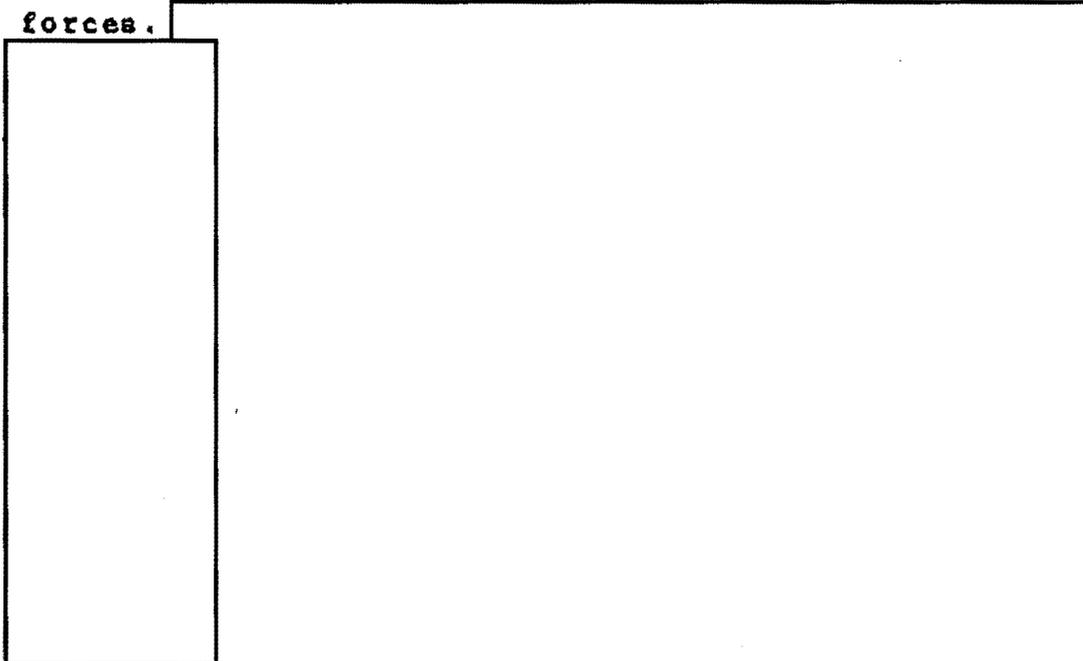
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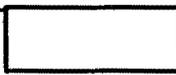
TURKS RELAXING

13. In Ankara today Turkish leaders congratulated the armed forces on their victories in Cyprus. Prime Minister Ecevit, playing the Cyprus operation for all the political mileage he can get, led an official delegation to general staff headquarters to congratulate personally General Sancar, armed forces chief of staff, on the performance of his forces. As tensions eased, the restrictions on public movement through military areas along the coast were lifted.



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~~TOP SECRET~~



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NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION
Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

WITHDRAWAL ID 035105

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL ÇNational security restriction

TYPE OF MATERIAL ÇTelegram

DESCRIPTION re Cyprus

CREATION DATE 08/17/1974

VOLUME 1 page

COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 033200206

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

BOX NUMBER 9

FOLDER TITLE Cyprus Crisis (40)

DATE WITHDRAWN 09/06/2011

WITHDRAWING ARCHIVIST HJR

~~SECRET/EXDIS~~

Department of State

Cyprus Task Force

Situation Report No. 8

Situation in Cyprus as of 1600 EDT, August 17, 1974

Military Situation on Cyprus. The ceasefire may be deteriorating somewhat. Both the Embassy in Nicosia and the UNFICYP Commander have reported that the Turks apparently are moving south of the so-called "Attila Line." Reuters reports that Turkish armored units have cut the main road between Nicosia and the southeastern Port of Larnaca. The Turks also captured the village of Pyroi, a main Greek National Guard strongpoint, which straddles the road. Clerides called Ambassador Davies to register his concern at this major violation and to express his hope that the US can make the Turkish military comply with the assurances given both publicly and privately by the GOT.

US Embassy officers reconnoitered the Nicosia area during the afternoon and noted that UNFICYP flags and armor were "most clearly in evidence" at the Nicosia airport. Their major first impression was that relatively little damage had been done to buildings and roads. Although some reports have said that Greek Cypriots are moving back into Nicosia, the Embassy officers were unable to verify this.

Greece. The wave of anti-Americanism which has swept Greece continues to threaten US and NATO installations in the country. A number of individual reports have been filed detailing specific incidents of threats and acts against Americans and their property. The US base at Iraklion, Crete, faced with the possibility of a major anti-US demonstration, called on the Greek military for protection. The Greek Foreign and Defense Ministers have assured the US Ambassador that GOG will protect US citizens and property and take necessary precautions to avoid incidents. In any event, a US ship is standing off Crete to evacuate 1800 US citizens from the base if necessary.

The former King of Greece, Constantine, sent a message to Prime Minister Karamanlis in which he denounced the

State Review

3/4/04

~~SECRET/EXDIS~~

5/18/11

~~SECRET/EXDIS~~ 17

Department of State

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State Review

NO. 1000000000 3/4/04

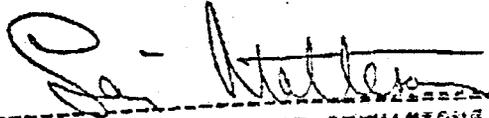
~~SECRET/EXDIS~~

By 42 5/18/11

"barbarian and shameful attack by Turkey against Cyprus," and in which he expressed deep sadness and bitterness because "neither the feelings of justice nor the alliance was able to prevent the unjust attack." In a statement made upon his return to Greece yesterday, independent leftist politician Andreas Papandreou blamed the "cynicism of Washington" and "Greece's attachment to the NATO alliance" for the division of Cyprus and Greece's troubles. He called for an end to Greece's dependence on "the US Pentagon and NATO," saying that Greece must "break the chains forged ... by American imperialism within the framework of the Atlantic alliance."

Turkey. The Turks continue to bask in the euphoria of their military victories on Cyprus. Turkish leaders headed by Prime Minister Ecevit paid a visit on the Armed Forces General Staff Headquarters to offer formal congratulations to the Turkish Chief of Staff, General Sancar, on the performance of his forces. In another development, Ecevit stated in a newspaper interview that he was opposed to partitioning Cyprus because this would "threaten detente in the Eastern Mediterranean." Ecevit also said Turkey remained ready to resume the Geneva talks with the UK and Greece "at any time" although neither of those countries had indicated any willingness to do so.

Cyprus. According to UPI reports, Cyprus Vice President Denktash warned that unless the Geneva peace conference resumes quickly, he and his fellow Turkish Cypriots will go ahead and set up their own administration on the northeastern third of Cyprus just captured by Turkey.

APPROVED BY: 
DEPUTY DIRECTOR FOR OPERATIONS

NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION
Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

WITHDRAWAL ID 035106

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL ÇNational security restriction

TYPE OF MATERIAL ÇTelegram

DESCRIPTION re Cyprus

CREATION DATE 08/17/1974

VOLUME 1 page

COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 033200206

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

BOX NUMBER 9

FOLDER TITLE Cyprus Crisis (40)

DATE WITHDRAWN 09/06/2011

WITHDRAWING ARCHIVIST HJR

NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION
Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

WITHDRAWAL ID 035107

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL ÇNational security restriction

TYPE OF MATERIAL ÇTelegram

DESCRIPTION re Cyprus

CREATION DATE 08/17/1974

VOLUME 1 page

COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 033200206

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

BOX NUMBER 9

FOLDER TITLE Cyprus Crisis (40)

DATE WITHDRAWN 09/06/2011

WITHDRAWING ARCHIVIST HJR

NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION
Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

WITHDRAWAL ID 035108

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL ÇNational security restriction

TYPE OF MATERIAL ÇReport

DESCRIPTION re Cyprus Situation

CREATION DATE 08/17/1974

VOLUME 4 pages

COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 033200206

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

BOX NUMBER 9

FOLDER TITLE Cyprus Crisis (40)

DATE WITHDRAWN 09/06/2011

WITHDRAWING ARCHIVIST HJR

FLASH
ESA74306A044
DE RUQMQG #2433 2291930
Z 171925Z AUG 74
FM AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC FLASH 9541

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA FLASH 4184
AMEMBASSY ATHENS FLASH 4749
AMEMBASSY LONDON FLASH 3735
USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS FLASH 2079
USMISSION USUN NY FLASH 4472
USDOCOSOUTH FLASH
USEUCOF FLASH
USCINCEUR FLASH
DIA WASHDC DI-5 FLASH

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ NICOSIA 02433

E.O. 11652: GOS
TAGS:UPINT PFOR CY
SUBJ: CONTINUED TURKISH CEASEFIRE VIOLATIONS
REF: NICOSIA 2432 (NOTAL)

1. GENERAL PREM CHAND TELEPHONED AT 2045 LOCAL TO REITERATE HIS GRAVE CONCERN AT CONTINUED TURKISH DISREGARD OF CEASEFIRE.
2. ACCORDING TO PREM, TURKS ARE ATTACKING AT TROULLI (JUST NORTH-WEST OF DHEKELIA BASE), AND AS PREVIOUSLY REPORTED, AT PYROI AND ATHIENOU.
3. PREM SAYS HE HAS REPORTS OF MASSIVE LOOTING BY TURKISH CYPRIOTS AT MORPHOU, LIMNITIS, AND PENDAYA (CYPRUS MINES TOWN IN WEST).
4. PREM SAYS HIS FEW TROOPS HAVE RESPONSIBILITY FOR PROTECTING TURK CYPRIOTS IN SOUTH BUT ARE DENIED ACCESS TO TURK-CONTROLLED TERRITORY TO PROTECT GREEK CYPRIOTS. HE FEARS THAT AS REPORTS OF TURK EXCESSES SPREAD EDKA-B GROUPS IN SOUTH MAY BEGIN TO RETALIATE.
5. COMMENT: IN EASTERN SECTOR, CONTINUED MILITARY ACTIVITY GIVES GREAT DOUBTS TO ANY TURKISH CLAIM OF NG PROVOCATION. THEY ARE



***** W H S R COMMENT *****

SCONCROFT,LL

PSN:026185 RECALLED PAGE 01 TOR:229/20:12Z DTG:171925Z AUG 74

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BY: [redacted] DATE: [redacted]
142 5/18/11

WHERE THEY TOLD US THEY WOULD NOT BE: CONSIDERABLY SOUTH OF
"ATTILA" LINE. OBVIOUSLY SITUATION HERE IS DETERIORATING.
DAVIES
BT



PSN:026185 RECALLED PAGE 02 OF 02 TOR:229/20:12Z DTG:171925Z AUG 74

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Department of State

TELEGRAM

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TO AMEMBASSY ANKARA FLASH 8053
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~~SECRET~~ State Review
3/4/04
5/18/11

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

FOR THE AMBASSADOR FROM THE SECRETARY

1. YOU SHOULD SEE ECEVIT AT EARLIEST POSSIBLE TIME AND GIVE HIM THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM ME (BUT DO NOT LEAVE ANY PAPER WITH HIM):
2. WE HAVE RECEIVED DISTURBING REPORTS THAT DESPITE YOUR ASSURANCES TURKISH FORCES ARE CONTINUING TO OCCUPY MORE TERRITORY AND THAT FIGHTING IS STILL IN PROGRESS. I CANNOT EMPHASIZE STRONGLY ENOUGH MY EARLIER WARNING THAT THE DOMESTIC SITUATION IN THE UNITED STATES HAS NOW REACHED A POINT WHERE FURTHER TURKISH MILITARY OPERATIONS WILL PUT THE USG IN AN IMPOSSIBLE POSITION. IF THEY CONTINUE, WE WILL BE OBLIGED TO TAKE PUBLIC STEPS WHICH WOULD THREATEN OUR ABILITY TO WORK TOGETHER TOWARD A JUST SOLUTION ON CYPRUS AND RESULT IN A FURTHER DETERIORATION OF THE WESTERN SECURITY POSITION IN THE AREA. I THEREFORE ASK THAT THE GOT TAKE ALL STEPS NECESSARY TO SEE THAT THE CEASEFIRE IS STRICTLY OBSERVED.
3. AS TO THE LONGER RANGE PROBLEM OF BRINGING ABOUT A SITUATION IN WHICH THE CYPRUS CRISIS CAN BE BROUGHT TO A CONCLUSION ACCEPTABLE TO ALL SIDES, I SEE LITTLE CHANCE OF BRINGING THE GREEK GOVERNMENT TO THE NEGOTIATING TABLE WITHOUT SOME GENEROUS PRIOR GESTURE FROM THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT. I WOULD NOT PRESUME AT THIS POINT TO SUGGEST WHAT THAT GESTURE MIGHT BE; BUT THAT ONE IS NECESSARY I AM CONVINCED. FURTHER, I BELIEVE THAT, GIVEN THE STRONG POSITION THE GOT NOW FINDS ITSELF IN ON CYPRUS, SUCH A GESTURE IS FEASIBLE.
4. I AM EQUALLY CONVINCED THAT, ONCE THE NEGOTIATIONS HAVE RESUMED, IT WILL BE NECESSARY FOR THE GOT TO SHOW



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

NON-CONFIDENTIAL



Department of State

TELEGRAM

~~SECRET~~

-2- STATE 181115 17 AUG '74

FURTHER FLEXIBILITY -- PROBABLY IN TERMS OF TERRITORIAL CONCESSIONS -- IF THERE IS TO BE A REASONABLE FINAL OUTCOME.

5. I HASTEN TO ADD THAT I DO NOT BELIEVE THAT IT IS ONLY THE GOG WHICH MUST DEMONSTRATE FLEXIBILITY AND A SPIRIT OF COMPROMISE; SO MUST THE GOG. INDEED, I RECOGNIZE THAT IT WAS IN PART GREEK UNWILLINGNESS TO COME FORWARD WITH CONCRETE PROPOSALS THAT LED TO THE BREAKDOWN IN THE GENEVA TALKS.

6. THE PRIME MINISTER SHOULD KNOW THAT THE SOVIETS CONTINUE TO PRESS US FOR SOME FORM OF JOINT ACTION. THEY HAVE NOW TOLD US THAT THEY HAVE NO VIEWS ON WHAT THE FINAL OUTCOME OF THE CYPRUS DISPUTE SHOULD BE, SO LONG AS THAT OUTCOME -- WHATEVER IT IS -- IS GUARANTEED BY THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES. I ASSURE THE PRIME MINISTER THAT THIS PROPOSAL, TOO, WE SHALL REJECT. BUT THE PRIME MINISTER MUST UNDERSTAND THAT SO LONG AS THE CYPRUS DISPUTE CONTINUES UNRESOLVED, AND WITH NO APPARENT PROGRESS TOWARD RESOLUTION IN SIGHT, THE USSR WILL CONTINUE TO AGITATE -- AND I EXPECT WITH GROWING INSISTENCE -- FOR A ROLE IN THE SETTLEMENT. THAT IS SOMETHING THAT CANNOT BE IN THE INTERESTS OF EITHER OF OUR GOVERNMENTS.

7. I WANT THE PRIME MINISTER TO KNOW THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS NOT CHANGED ITS POSITION WITH REGARD TO CYPRUS NOR ITS SYMPATHY FOR AN ACCEPTABLE AND LASTING RESOLUTION OF THE PROBLEMS THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS HAVE SO LONG FACED. WHAT I HAVE SAID TODAY HAS BEEN SAID IN THE SPIRIT OF FRANKNESS AND FRIENDSHIP THAT HAS MARKED OUR RELATIONSHIP THROUGHOUT THESE DIFFICULT DAYS. IT IS BECAUSE I WANT THAT RELATIONSHIP TO CONTINUE THAT I HAVE SPOKEN TO HIM OF OUR DOMESTIC LIMITATIONS AND THE NEED FOR A GENEROUS GESTURE FROM THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT TO BRING THE DISPUTING PARTIES BACK TO THE NEGOTIATING TABLE. I WOULD WELCOME THE PRIME MINISTER'S VIEWS. KISSINGER

S/LSAAGLEBURGER:ML
8/17/74 EXT. 20968
S - THE SECRETARY

S/S:SRGAMMON

~~SECRET~~

NOT TO BE REPRODUCED WITHOUT THE AUTHORIZATION OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETAR

FLASH /OP IMMED
DE RUEHC #1118 2292055
Z O 172053Z AUG 74 ZFF4
FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY NICOSIA FLASH 6362

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA IMMEDIATE 8055
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 8251
AMEMBASSY ATHENS 7363

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ STATE 181118

FOR AMBASSADOR DAVIES

E.O. 11652:NA

TAGS:CY

SUBJ: ~~TURKISH CEASEFIRE VIOLATIONS~~

YOU MAY TELL CLERIDES THAT THE SECRETARY HAS SENT
A MESSAGE TO ECEVIT EXPRESSING OUR VERY STRONG VIEW
THAT VIOLATIONS OF CEASE-FIRE SHOULD CEASE IMMEDIATELY.

KSBW/ER
25



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
NO. 1118 (2292055) 8/24/74
State Dept. 5/18/11
BY HR

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

SCOWCROFT, LL

PSN:026209 PAGE 01 OF 01 TOR:229/20:57Z DTG:172053Z AUG 74

18 AUG 74Z

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Department of State

~~SECRET~~

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TELEGRAM

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APPROVED BY S - THE SECRETARY
S/S-O: LMATTESON

106836

Z 172326Z AUG 74 ZFF4
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY ATHENS FLASH

~~SECRET~~ STATE 181127

EXDIS (DISTRIBUTE AS NODIS)

F.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: CY, GR, TU, PFOR
SUBJECT: CYPRUS
REFERENCES: ATHENS 5767 AND 5763

FROM THE SECRETARY FOR THE AMBASSADOR

1. IT IS CLEAR FROM YOUR TALK WITH KARAMANLIS AND THE
OCN'S TALK WITH RALLIS THAT THE TIME HAS COME FOR SOME
LESS FORMAL AND MORE FRANK AND DIRECT EXCHANGES WITH
KARAMANLIS. YOU SHOULD THEREFORE SEEK A MEETING WITH
HIM TOMORROW AND READ THE FOLLOWING POINTS (BUT LEAVE NO
PIECE OF PAPER). YOU SHOULD INFORM KARAMANLIS THAT THE
MAIN LINES OF THIS MESSAGE HAVE BEEN GONE OVER BY THE
PRESIDENT.

2. I HAVE BEEN ASKED TO DISCUSS THE CURRENT STATE OF OUR
RELATIONS AND TO SHARE WITH YOU THE SECRETARY'S ASSESSMENT
OF THE PRESENT SITUATION. OUR PURPOSE IS TO DETERMINE HOW
OUR MUTUAL INTERESTS CAN BE STRENGTHENED, TAKING ACCOUNT
OF OUR COMMON DESIRE TO SEE A SETTLEMENT OF THE CYPRUS
PROBLEM ACHIEVED WHICH IS JUST AND FAIR TO ALL PARTIES
AND WHICH, AS THE PRIME MINISTER HAS SO ELOQUENTLY STATED,
IS BASED UPON WAYS AND MEANS THAT RETAIN AND PRESERVE



NO. 5/18/11

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Department of State

TELEGRAM

~~SECRET~~

PAGE 02 STATE 181127

GREEK HONOR. WE CAN WELL UNDERSTAND THAT AN IMMEDIATE RETURN TO THE CONFERENCE TABLE UNDER PRESENT CONDITIONS IN CYPRUS WOULD BE UNACCEPTABLE TO THE GREEK GOVERNMENT.

WE ALSO ASSUME THAT THE PRIME MINISTER SHARES OUR CONCERN THAT THE GREATEST DANGER IN THE PRESENT SITUATION WOULD BE THE SUCCESS OF LEFT WING AND COMMUNIST PRESSURES ON THE PRESENT GREEK GOVERNMENT TO TURN AWAY FROM A PRO-WEST AND ALLIANCE-ORIENTED POLICY. THE PRIME MINISTER CAN BE ASSURED THAT WE ARE AWARE OF THESE DANGERS AND THAT WE ARE GOING OUR UTMOST TO CONVINCE THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT THAT THE LIMITS OF THE PRESENT GREEK GOVERNMENT'S ABILITY TO MOVE TOWARD A NEGOTIATED SOLUTION HAVE BEEN REACHED.

3. WE CAN UNDERSTAND THE DISAPPOINTMENT AND FRUSTRATION THAT THE GREEK GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE FEEL AT THE PRESUMED INABILITY OF THE U.S., DESPITE ITS INTENSIVE EFFORTS OVER THE COURSE OF THIS CRISIS, TO PREVENT TURKISH MILITARY ACTION. ON THE OTHER HAND, IT IS TOTALLY UNJUSTIFIED FOR THE BLAME TO BE LAID ON THE U.S. NOR DO WE BELIEVE IT IS IN THE INTEREST OF GREECE TO DO SO. AS CLOSE AND FRIENDLY ALLIES, WE BELIEVE IT IS IMPORTANT FOR BOTH OF US TO REMEMBER THAT THIS CRISIS WAS NOT OF OUR MAKING OR OF THE KARAMANLIS GOVERNMENT. BOTH GREECE AND THE U.S. WERE PUT IN THE SITUATION IN WHICH WE NOW FIND OURSELVES BY THE IRRESPONSIBLE AND UNWISE ACTIONS OF THE GREEK JUNTA IN UPSETTING THE BALANCE OF FORCES ON CYPRUS.

4. THE PRIME MINISTER MUST BE AWARE OF OUR CONSTANT AND INTENSIVE EFFORTS TO MODERATE THE TURKISH POSITION FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE CRISIS TO THE PRESENT TIME WITH SEVERAL DAILY DEMARCHES IN ANKARA. (JUST TODAY I HAVE MADE A MOST VIGOROUS PROTEST TO THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT AS A RESULT OF REPORTS THAT THEY ARE CONTINUING TO OCCUPY MORE TERRITORY.) WE DID SUCCEED IN DELAYING TURKISH ACTION FOR SEVERAL DAYS LAST WEEK AND MIGHT HAVE ACHIEVED EVEN MORE IF SOME DEGREE OF FLEXIBILITY HAD DEVELOPED AMONG THE PARTIES IN GENEVA WHICH WOULD HAVE ENABLED US TO POINT TO SOME MOVEMENT IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. WE ARE CONVINCED THAT ONLY THE USE OF FORCE BY THE UNITED STATES WOULD HAVE PREVENTED TURKISH ACTION LAST WEEK. THIS WAS

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Department of State

TELEGRAM

~~SECRET~~

PAGE 03 STATE 181127

A COURSE OF ACTION WHICH WOULD HAVE BEEN TOTALLY UNACCEPTABLE TO OUR CONGRESS AND PUBLIC. FURTHERMORE, IT WOULD HAVE BEEN DIRECTED AGAINST A NATO ALLY.

5. WHILE WE CAN UNDERSTAND THE DIFFICULTIES OF THE CURRENT GREEK DOMESTIC SITUATION, WE ASSUME THAT GREECE IS IN THE NATO ALLIANCE IN FURTHERANCE OF ITS OWN SECURITY INTERESTS. THE U.S. HAS AN INTEREST IN A STRONG NATO WITH GREECE AS AN ACTIVE AND EFFECTIVE PARTNER, AND I AM SURE THE PRIME MINISTER WOULD AGREE THAT GREECE'S NEED IN THIS REGARD IS AT LEAST AS GREAT AS THAT OF THE U.S. WE BELIEVE THEREFORE THAT IT IS IN OUR MUTUAL INTEREST NOT TO

DWELL ON THE DISAPPOINTMENTS OF THE PRESENT, BUT TO FOCUS PROMPTLY ON HOW BEST IN THE FUTURE TO FORGE TOGETHER A CLOSE AND COOPERATIVE RELATIONSHIP THAT SERVES OUR MUTUAL INTERESTS.

6. WE RECOGNIZE THAT THE PRIME MINISTER IS A BETTER JUDGE OF THE DOMESTIC SITUATION IN GREECE THAN WE ARE HUT FROM A FOREIGN POLICY POINT OF VIEW THE CONTINUED GROWTH OF ANTI-AMERICANISM CAN ONLY MAKE IMPOSSIBLE THE MUTUALLY PRODUCTIVE RELATIONSHIP WE WISH TO ESTABLISH. FURTHERMORE THIS ANTI-AMERICANISM WILL IN THE LONG TERM HELP ONLY THE EXTREME LEFT AND UNDERMINE EVEN KARAMANLIS' POSITION. WE WANT TO SUPPORT AND STRENGTHEN YOUR GOVERNMENT WHICH IS THE BEST GOVERNMENT GREECE HAS HAD IN PAST 12 YEARS. WE ALSO RECOGNIZE THAT YOU YOURSELF HAVE BEEN RESTRAINED BUT WE ARE DISTURBED BY THE TRENDS OF ANTI-AMERICANISM, THE TOTAL IMPACT OF WHICH IS TO BLAME THE UNITED STATES FOR ALL THE ILLS OF THE PRESENT SITUATION. WE MUST TELL YOU IN ALL FRIENDSHIP THAT CONTINUATION OF THIS TREND PLUS CONTINUING PUBLIC INCIDENTS AND ATTACKS WILL UNDERMINE OUR ABILITY TO PLAY A POSITIVE ROLE.

7. WE ARE PREPARED TO SEARCH TOGETHER FOR ELEMENTS OF AN EVENTUAL SETTLEMENT WHICH ENABLE THE GREEK AND TURKISH COMMUNITIES TO DETERMINE THEIR OWN FUTURE, PRESERVE GREEK HONOR AND CONVINCE THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT THAT IT CAN FIND A SOLUTION TO THE CYPRUS PROBLEM WITHIN A FRAMEWORK OF COMPROMISE AND BETTER RELATIONS WITH GREECE. YOU CAN BE

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Department of State

TELEGRAM

~~SECRET~~

PAGE 04 STATE 181127

ASSURED THAT WE SHALL STRONGLY PRESS THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT TO MAKE PROPOSALS THAT TAKE ACCOUNT OF THE LEGITIMATE CONCERNS OF GREECE AND OF THE GREEK CYPRIOTS, NONE OF US WILL GAIN, HOWEVER, IF ANY SIDE INSISTS PUBLICLY ON UNACHIEVABLE GOALS OR MAKES ITS TRADITIONAL FRIENDS THE TARGET FOR UNJUSTIFIED ATTACKS.

8. A SEARCH FOR THESE POSITIVE ELEMENTS MAY TAKE TIME. WE WILL NOT PRESS YOU ON THE QUESTION OF TIMING BUT IT IS A FACT THAT THE LONGER TALKS ARE DELAYED, THE MORE THE STATUS QUO WILL TEND TO BE CONFIRMED. OUR MOST IMMEDIATE PROBLEM WILL BE TO FIND A MEANS TO PREVENT THE SITUATION FROM DETERIORATING FURTHER. WHAT WOULD BE MOST USEFUL TO ME WOULD BE A FRANK APPRAISAL FROM THE PRIME MINISTER OF HOW THE UNITED STATES CAN BEST USE ITS INFLUENCE TO MAKE PROGRESS ON THIS SEARCH FOR A SOLUTION. IF WE BOTH UNDERSTAND BETTER THE REALISTIC LIMITS OF OUR OWN ACTIONS, I BELIEVE WE WILL BE BETTER ABLE TO WORK IN COMMON TOWARD THE SOLUTION WE BOTH DESIRE.

9. WE WOULD BE PREPARED TO SEND A PERSONAL REPRESENTATIVE TO ATHENS TO PURSUE THESE THOUGHTS IN MORE DETAIL WITH THE PRIME MINISTER. KISSINGER

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