

Sources

Sources for the Foreign Relations Series

The presidential papers of the Nixon and Ford administrations are the best source for high-level decision making documentation on Greece, Cyprus, and Turkey, 1973-1976. At the Nixon Presidential Materials Project, located at the National Archives and Records Administration II, in College Park, MD, the National Security Files, Country Files, Middle East and South Asia, contain NSC staff files on Greece, Cyprus, and Turkey. They are valuable in assessing NSC staff recommendations and presidential policy towards these three countries. Another key source in the Nixon Presidential Materials, NSC Files, is Backchannel, Middle East, which contain the direct communications to and from the White House and the ambassadors in the field. These backchannel messages did not go to any other agencies and were a mechanism by the President and Special Assistant for National Security Affairs to communicate directly and privately with ambassadors. The NSC Files, Saunders Chron. File, NSC Secretariat, Nixon Cables/Contingency Plans contain considerable valuable documents for Greece, Cyprus, and Turkey. A fair number of key documents are contained in the NSC Files, Unfiled Material, a chronological file of documents that was not filed when President Nixon left office in August 1974. High-level correspondence between President Nixon and the heads of state in Greece and Turkey are in the National Security Files, Presidential Correspondence Files, under those countries.

The Nixon Presidential tape recordings ended in July 1973, a year before the Cyprus Crisis erupted, and while the editor checked the log and selective tape recordings, she deemed that none were significant enough to print.

The Henry Kissinger Office Files of the NSC File of the Nixon Presidential Materials have little information on Greece, Cyprus, and Turkey, but the same cannot be said for the Kissinger Papers in the Library of Congress. The most important source in the Kissinger Papers by far is the Kissinger telephone conversations, especially since during the initial days of the Cyprus crisis when Kissinger and the President were out of Washington. Indeed, during the crisis period of July and August 1974, diplomacy was conducted hour by hour, and sometimes minute by minute, and the transcripts of Kissinger's telephone conversations provide a unique window into crisis management. Although these files are cited in this volume as from the Library of Congress, Kissinger Papers, copies are available at the National Archives II as part of the Nixon Presidential Materials. Also of great value in the Kissinger papers are

the Memoranda of Conversations, with sub-files for the Chronological Files, Presidential Files, and Staff and Others. The third collection of note in the Kissinger Papers is the Geopolitical File, most importantly for Cyprus, but to a lesser extent for Greece and Turkey.

After September 1973, Henry Kissinger became Secretary of State and the records of the Department of State take on a new prominence. In July of the same year, the Department began using the electronic State Archiving System (SAS). Records from that system have been transferred to the National Archives and are part of the on-line Access to Archival Database (AAD). Because the SAS system was in its initial stages in 1973, finding all relevant documents for the period can be a problem. The Embassy Files for Athens and Ankara, therefore, take on a special significance. In addition, some of the most tightly held telegrams are not on the electronic system, but on microfilm reels. In many cases the copies of these telegrams that are in the Nixon Presidential Materials and Ford Library, Countries Files for Greece, Cyprus, and Turkey were used. Three Department of State Lot files are of special value. The Records of Henry Kissinger (E5403), containing many of his tightly held memoranda of conversation, Transcripts of Henry Kissinger Staff Meetings (E5177), minutes of the Secretary's meetings with his principal officers at the Department of State, and Records of Joseph Sisco (E5405), containing the personal files of this long-time Middle East expert, are especially valuable.

The records at the Ford Library are the primary source for the Ford administration's foreign policy towards Greece, Cyprus, and Turkey. They are similar, but not exactly the same, as those in the Nixon Presidential Materials. A major collection at the Ford Library that spans both the Nixon and Ford administrations is the National Security Adviser, Memoranda of Conversation collection which includes accounts of Presidents Nixon's and Ford's meetings with foreign leaders and with their foreign policy advisers during the period from January 1973 to January 1977. The Ford Library's National Security Adviser File, Presidential Country Files, Middle East and South Asia, have sections on Cyprus, Greece, and Turkey that are essential collections. There is also a Convenience Country file in the National Security Adviser's files which contains the documents most used by the Ford NSC Staff, although in the Convenience Files, Cyprus, Greece and Turkey are under NSC staff Files for Europe, Canada, and Oceans Affairs. Also of special value in the National Security Adviser's file are the Kissinger-Scowcroft West Wing Office Files and the Presidential Correspondence with Foreign Leaders.

The Ford Library also has separate NSC Institutional (H-Files), which are not part of the National Security Adviser collection. The same minutes and related documents system for NSC meetings, Senior Review Group meetings, and Washington Special Action Group Meetings (WSAG) exists as it does in the Nixon Presidential Materials. WSAG

Minutes are essential to following the Cyprus crisis period after July 1974 because of the many meetings of the Washington Special Actions Group (WSAG), during which Chairman of the group Henry Kissinger and other policymakers struggled unsuccessfully to resolve the Cyprus crisis. Also in the Institutional (H-Files) are the valuable Policy Papers Files containing National Security Study Memoranda (NSSMs), National Security Decision Memoranda (NSDMs) and related documents.

The final collections of special note in telling the story of the Eastern Mediterranean from 1973 to 1976 are the files of the Central Intelligence Agency and the Department of Defense. In the former, relevant material is available in the files of the Executive Registry, the National Intelligence Council, the Deputy Director for Intelligence, and the Office of Current Intelligence. In the latter, valuable nuggets about foreign policy are scattered amongst the files of Record Group 330, Records of the Office of the Secretary of Defense and his Assistants, described in the list below.

Unpublished Sources

Department of State

Central Files. See National Archives and Records Administration below.

Lot Files. For other lot files already transferred to the National Archives and Records Administration at College Park, Maryland, Record Group 59, see National Archives and Records Administration below.

INR/IL Historical Files

Files of the Office of Intelligence Coordination, containing records maintained by the Office of Intelligence Liaison, Bureau of Intelligence and Research

National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Maryland

Record Group 59, Records of the Department of State

Central Files, 1970–1973

DEF 15 CYP–US, bases and installations, US-Cyprus
 DEF GREECE, defense, Greece
 DEF 15 GREECE–US, bases and installations, US-Greece
 DEF US–TUR, defense relations, US-Turkey
 DEF 9 TUR, military personnel, Turkey
 DEF 12–5 TUR, armaments sales to Turkey
 DEF 15–3 TUR–US, bases and installations, status of forces, US-Turkey
 DEF 15–4 TUR–US, bases and installations, agreements and leases, US-Turkey
 POL 1 CYP, political affairs, general policy, Cyprus
 POL 7 CYP, High level visits, meetings, Cyprus
 POL 14 CYP, political affairs, elections, Cyprus
 POL 15–1 CYP, political affairs, head of state, Cyprus
 POL 15–2 CYP, political affairs, legislature, Cyprus

XIV Sources

POL 17–4 CYP, diplomatic representation, ceremonial and social affairs, Cyprus
POL 23–10 CYP, internal security, travel control, Cyprus
POL 27 CYP, political affairs, military operations, Cyprus
POL 27–4 CYP/UN, political affairs, use of international forces, Cyprus-United Nations
POL CYP/UN, political affairs, Cyprus-United Nations
POL CYP/USSR, political affairs, Cyprus-Soviet Union
POL GREECE, political affairs, Greece
POL 1 GREECE, political affairs, general policy, Greece
POL 6 GREECE, political affairs, people, Greece
POL 12 GREECE, political affairs, political parties, Greece
POL 13–2 GREECE, political affairs, student groups, Greece
POL 14 GREECE, political affairs, elections, Greece
POL 15 GREECE, political affairs, government, Greece
POL 15–1 GREECE, political affairs, head of state, Greece
POL 23–9 GREECE, political affairs, coups, Greece
POL 29 GREECE, political affairs, political prisoners, Greece
POL 30 GREECE, political affairs, defectors and expellees, Greece
POL 30–1 GREECE, political affairs, asylum policy, Greece
POL 30–2 GREECE, political affairs, exile political activities, Greece
POL GREECE–TUR, political affairs, Greece-Turkey
POL GREECE–US, political affairs, Greece-US
POL 14 TUR, political affairs, elections, Turkey
POL 15 TUR, political affairs, government, Turkey
POL 23–8 TUR, political affairs, demonstrations, Turkey
POL 23–9 TUR, political affairs, coups, Turkey
POL 29 TUR, political affairs, political prisoners, Turkey

Central Foreign Policy Files, 1973–1976

Part of the on-line Access to Archival Databases (<http://aad.archives.gov>): Electronic Telegrams, P-Reel Index, P-Reel microfilm

Lot Files

EUR/SE Files: Lot 77 D 34, Lot 78 D 30, Lot 85 D 148

Files of the Office of Southeast European Affairs for Cyprus and Greece, 1974–1976

Records of Henry Kissinger, Entry E5403

Records of Secretary of State Kissinger, September 1973 to January 1977, primarily memoranda of conversation

Transcripts of Kissinger Staff Meetings, E5177

Minutes of Secretary of State Kissinger's staff meetings, September 1973 to January 1977 (formerly Lot 78 D 443)

Records of Joseph Sisco, Entry E5405

Records of Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs Joseph Sisco, 1951–1976 (formerly Lot 74 D 131 and Lot 76 D 251)

S/S–I Files: Lot 80 D 212

National Security Council files pertaining to NSSMs and NSDMs and related documents as maintained by the Department of State, 1969–1980

S/S–Files: Lot 83 D 411

NSC Contingency plans for various countries as maintained by the Department of State, 1969–1974

Athens Embassy Files:

- Lot 77 F 105, Political Files, 1973
- Lot 78 F 134, Political Files, 1974
- Lot 78 F 160, Political Files, 1975
- Lot 96 F 335, Political Files, 1974–1993

Ankara Embassy Files:

- Lot 76 F 21, Subject Files, 1974
- Lot 78 F 165, Subject Files, 1975
- Lot 80 F 215, Subject Files, 1973–1974

Nixon Presidential Materials Project**National Security Council Files**

- Agency Files: CIA, NSC, State
- Backchannel: Europe, Middle East/Africa
- Country Files: Cyprus, Greece, Turkey
- President's Daily Briefing
- Presidential Correspondence: Greece, Turkey
- Presidential/HAK Memoranda of Conversations
- Saunders Chron File, NSC Secretariat - Richard M. Nixon
- Subject Files
- Unfiled Material

NSC Institutional Files (H-Files)

- National Security Council Minutes
- National Security Council Meetings
- Senior Review Group Minutes
- Senior Review Group Meetings
- Washington Special Actions Group Minutes
- Washington Special Actions Group Meetings
- Policy Papers: National Security Decision Memoranda (NSDMs), National Security Study Memoranda (NSSMs)

Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan**National Security Adviser**

- Backchannel Messages: Europe, Mideast/Africa, Hotline-Cabinet Office London
- Brent Scowcroft Daily Work Files
- Kissinger–Scowcroft West Wing Office File
- Memoranda of Conversations: Nixon Administration, Ford Administration
- National Security Council Meetings File
- NSC Institutional Files: IF/NS File for the President, NSC/NS File
- NSC Staff for Europe, Canada, and Ocean Affairs: Cyprus, Greece, Turkey
- NSC Staff for Information Liaison with Commissions and Committees: Cyprus Crisis, Status Report of Subpoenaed Documents on Greece, Cyprus, Turkey
- NSDMs and NSSMs

XVI Sources

Outside-the-System Chronological File
Presidential Agency Files: CIA, CENTO, NSC, NATO
Presidential Briefing Material for VIP Visits
Presidential Correspondence with Foreign Leaders
Presidential Country Files for Middle East and South Asia: Cyprus, Greece, Turkey
Presidential Name File
Trip Briefing Books and Cables for Henry Kissinger: Kissinger Trip File
Trip Briefing Books and Cables for President Ford: Presidential Trips File

NSC Institutional Files (H-Files)

National Security Council Minutes
National Security Council Meetings
Senior Review Group Minutes
Senior Review Group Meetings
Washington Special Actions Group Minutes
Washington Special Actions Group Meetings

Policy Papers: National Security Decision Memoranda (NSDMs), National Security Study Memoranda (NSSMs)

Library of Congress

Papers of Henry A. Kissinger

Cables
Chronological File
Geopolitical File: Cyprus, Greece, Turkey
Memoranda of Conversations
Memoranda to the President
National Security Council: 40 Committee, Intelligence Committee, Senior Review Group, Washington Special Actions Group, NSC Meetings, NSDM, NSSM
Department of State: EUR Bureau, NEA Bureau
Policy Planning—History Project
Telephone Conversations
Subject File: Congressional Hearings—Pike Committee/Cyprus

National Security Council

Nixon Intelligence Files
Ford Intelligence Files

Central Intelligence Agency

Deputy Director of Intelligence Files

Job 99T01488R

Executive Registry: Executive Files of the Director of Central Intelligence

Job 80M01066A
Job 80M00165A
Job 80M01048A
Job 86B00269R

National Intelligence Council Files: National Intelligence Estimates and Special Intelligence Estimates

Job 79R01012A

Office of Current Intelligence, Intelligence memoranda and related documents

79T00861A

Washington National Records Center, Suitland, Maryland

Record Group 330, Records of the Office of the Secretary of Defense

OSD Files: 330-78-0010 and 330-78-0011

Decimal subject files of the Office of the Secretary of Defense, 1974

OSD Files: 330-78-0058

Decimal subject files of the Office of Secretary of Defense, 1975

Published Sources

Kissinger, Henry A. *Years of Upheaval*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1982.

Nixon, Richard M. *RN: The Memoirs of Richard Nixon*. New York: Grosset & Dunlop, 1978.

U.S. Department of State. *Bulletin*. 1973–1976.

U.S. National Archives and Records Administration. *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Richard Nixon, 1973, 1974*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1975 and 1975.

U.S. National Archives and Records Administration. *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Gerald R. Ford, 1975, 1975, 1976–1977*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1975, 1977, and 1979.