

Greece



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

for Tuesday's box.

RMJ

24 November 1980

Dear Michael,

Greece: Call on the Prime Minister by the Leader of the
Opposition: 26 November

/ I enclose a brief for the Prime Minister's use
/ during Mr Papandreou's call, together with a personality
/ note of him and his colleague, and a copy of their
// programme, and a statistical note.

/ The Prime Minister will doubtless recall her
meeting with Mr Papandreou and Mr Haralambopoulos in
Athens in September (I enclose the record for ease of
reference). During their talk Mr Papandreou made a good
deal of NATO not giving Greece any guarantee of support
in the event of aggression. He has since made the same point
in public. It is dealt with in paragraph 5 of the background
of the brief. ~

Yours via

Roderic Lyne

(R M J Lyne)
Private Secretary

M O'D B Alexander Esq
10 Downing Street
LONDON

GREECE: LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION, MR ANDREAS PAPANDREOU'S VISIT TO LONDON - 24-28 NOVEMBER 1980

Points to Make

1. Welcome. Our countries become EC partners soon. Several policy differences between us. All the more important to understand each other.

2. Many mutual concerns:

(a) Security: Post-Afghanistan, do you really want to give up security of defensive Alliance? Know you blame NATO for not helping Greece over junta and Turkey. But NATO countries, notably Britain, not responsible for Colonels, and kept them at arm's length. And would you really be safer vis-à-vis Turkey outside NATO? Most European socialist parties see need for NATO membership.

(b) Economic Crisis: More chance to influence world economy for the better from inside Western group, even if domestic policies differ.

(c) Future of Europe: EC a world force which cannot be ignored. We have problems. But determined to work from the inside. Hope Greece would take stock carefully after accession, without pressing prematurely for radical change. Again, socialist oppositions in the Nine favour continued membership.

(d) Relations with Third World: North/South dialogue clearly of growing importance. We find developing countries look increasingly to EC as an interlocutor, rather than to developed 'neutrals'.

NATO Reintegration

3. We welcomed it. Clear that ad hoc military arrangements do not compromise Greek sovereignty in Aegean. Turks made the major concession in lifting their veto before final agreement reached.

Greece Internal

4. Election prospects? What would be your first priorities if you won?

Essential Facts

1. Since 1974 popularity of Pan Hellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) has steadily increased: now has 93 seats out of 300. But the party is a very personal one, its success largely due to charismatic personality of its founder and leader, Papandreou. Too early to predict outcome of next election, to be held before November 1981; but chances only a little lower than even that Papandreou might be the next Greek Prime Minister.

2. Papandreou's main policies in foreign affairs are:

(a) non-alignment and Greek withdrawal from NATO, which he regards as instrument of the US, and as responsible for installation of the Colonels in 1967, for building up Turkey as American 'policeman' in the Middle East, and for siding with Turkey in Greek-Turkish issues;

(b) opposition to Greek membership of the EC as an instrument of monopoly capitalism and of the multinationals. But he may now be recognising that Greece will have to work within the European Community framework, and talks of negotiating a 'special relationship';

(c) an extreme nationalist position on issues in dispute between Greece and Turkey;

(d) strengthening ties with other European socialist movements, particularly with those in Mediterranean countries. PASOK intends to join the Socialist Group in the European Parliament.

3. In domestic affairs, he

(a) seeks to appeal to under-privileged without offending lower-middle classes, small businessmen, and intelligentsia. His main attack is reserved for large-scale capital and multi-nationals. He has stated that PASOK would, on a selective basis, nationalise or 'socialise' a proportion of the 100 largest Greek companies, (excluding ship owners);

(b) PASOK's economic policies are - partly for reasons of prudence - not fully developed. However, they would include a combination of wide controls on credit expansion and monetary supply, and selective import controls;

(c) PASOK

(c) PASOK also emphasises environmental protection, decentralisation of government and the setting up of regional and local elected councils.

4. Since the Prime Minister saw Mr Papandreou in Athens in September, the most significant development has been General Roger's success in reaching agreement with Greece and Turkey on Greek reintegration into NATO. Though shown the (still confidential) interim arrangements by Mr Rallis, Mr Papandreou opposed the move heatedly in Parliament. More recently he has taken a responsible line on extreme left-wing anti-American riots in Athens.

5. Mr Papandreou says that NATO gives Greece no guarantee of support in the event of aggression. Article 5 of the North Atlantic Treaty (Annex A) could hardly be more specific: 'The Parties agree that armed attack against one or more of them... shall be considered an attack against them all and consequently agree that...each of them...will assist the Party or Parties so attacked by taking forthwith...such action as it deems necessary, including the use of armed force, to restore and maintain the security of the North Atlantic area'. It is the unambiguous nature of this commitment which has preserved the peace of Europe for 35 years.

6. [Not for disclosure] Mr Papandreou's record in government before the 1967 coup was bad; he was opportunistic, unscrupulous and unpredictable. His private moderation contrasts with his public demagoguery. A PASOK government would make Greece an unreliable and less sympathetic partner in both EC and NATO. Internal instability would increase; indeed, there is already speculation about a further military coup. PASOK's economic policies, if fulfilled, would also harm British commercial interests. And many of the more radical ideas found in Mr Papandreou's philosophy - expounded in detail over the years - are potentially damaging to Western interests in the area. But recent moderation of some of PASOK's more radical policies (eg, towards the EC) are a step in the right direction.

7. [Not for disclosure] Mr Papandreou is visiting the UK as guest of HMG (COI Category I). One aim in inviting him was, principally through contact with a cross-section of Labour Party opinion, to expose PASOK to the social democratic mainstream of European socialist parties. (So far, his contacts had

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been largely with Mr Benn.) It is also hoped to improve personal relations between Mr Papandreou and British leaders from all sides.

Foreign and Commonwealth Office
20 November 1980

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economic policies and will encourage economic collaboration between any or all of them.

Article 3

In order more effectively to achieve the objectives of this Treaty, the Parties, separately and jointly, by means of continuous and effective self-help and mutual aid, will maintain and develop their individual and collective capacity to resist armed attack.

Article 4

The Parties will consult together whenever, in the opinion of any of them, the territorial integrity, political independence or security of any of the Parties is threatened.

Article 5

The Parties agree that an armed attack against one or more of them in Europe or North America shall be considered an attack against them all and consequently they agree that, if such an armed attack occurs, each of them, in exercise of the right of individual or collective self-defence recognized by Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations, will assist the Party or Parties so attacked by taking forthwith, individually and in concert with the other Parties, such action as it deems necessary, including the use of armed force, to restore and maintain the security of the North Atlantic area.

Any such armed attack and all measures taken as a result thereof shall immediately be reported to the Security Council. Such measures shall be terminated when the Security Council has taken the measures necessary to restore and maintain international peace and security.

Article 6¹

For the purpose of Article V an armed attack on one or more of the Parties is deemed to include an armed attack on the territory of any of the Parties in Europe or North America, on the Algerian Departments of France,² on the occupation forces of any Party in Europe, on the islands under the

1. The definition of the territories to which Article V applies has been revised by Article II of the Protocol to the North Atlantic Treaty on the accession of Greece and Turkey (see Appendix 3).

2. On January 16, 1963, the North Atlantic Council has heard a declaration by the French Representative who recalled that by the vote on self-determination on July 1, 1962, the Algerian people had pronounced itself in favour of the independence of Algeria in co-operation with France. In consequence, the President of the French Republic had on July 3, 1962, formally recognized the independence of Algeria. The result was that the 'Algerian departments of France' no longer existed as such, and that at the same time the fact that they were mentioned in the North Atlantic Treaty had no longer any bearing.

Following this statement the Council noted that insofar as the former Algerian Departments of France were concerned, the relevant clauses of this Treaty had become inapplicable as from July 3, 1962.

Andreas PAPANDEOU

Leader of the Opposition and leader of PASOK. Deputy for Achaia.

Born Chios 1919. Son of the former Prime Minister George Papandreu. Academic economist at Berkeley (California) and other American universities 1942-60. In 1961 during a visit to Greece on a Fulbright scholarship he formed, at Karamanlis' invitation, an economic research centre in Athens. In 1964 renounced his American citizenship and entered Parliament. Immediately appointed Minister to the Prime Minister by his father, and then Deputy Minister of Coordination. In November 1964 was obliged to resign over award of contract to husband of a woman friend. Reappointed April 1965.

Arrested during 1967 coup. Released 1968 and thereafter campaigned against junta in Paris, London and Stockholm.

PASOK, the radical socialist party he formed in 1974, lost badly in that year's elections but doubled its share of the vote in 1977 to become the main opposition party. He considers himself Marxist (not Leninist), and advocates domestic policy of decentralisation and cooperatives similar to Yugoslavs', and a non-aligned foreign policy based on hostility to America and a rejection of Greece's alignment with the West, on support for a Mediterranean socialist grouping and on closer links with the Balkans, the Arabs and the Third World generally. Committed to withdrawal from NATO, expulsion of the US bases and to recommend a 'no' vote in the referendum he proposes on EC membership. A hard liner on relations with Turkey.

American wife, and has sent two children to study in Britain. Health in some doubt recently.

Ioannis HARALAMBOPOULOS

PASOK MP since 1974 and second parliamentary spokesman. Born 1919. Professional soldier 1939-1961 (Lieutenant-Colonel); Woolwich Polytechnic 1950. Centre Union MP 1963-67.

Helped form resistance movement to Junta; arrested twice, imprisoned, tortured and exiled.

Founder member of PASOK, member of Central Committee and Executive Office. Will lead PASOK delegation to European Parliament but intends to remain Greek MP too.

Married (one son and one daughter). Speaks English and French.

VISIT OF MR ANDREAS PAPANDREOU: 24-28 NOVEMBER

24 November

1105 (ETA) Arrives Heathrow (Flt BA 561). Met and escorted to Hyde Park Hotel.

pm Call on Mr Tom King MP, Minister of State for Housing, Department of Environment.

25 November

Visit to Bracknell New Town
Visit to Racal Communication
Lunch
Visit to St Antony's College
Oxford for dinner.

26 November

1100 Meeting with Prime Minister.

1200 Meeting with Lord Privy Seal

1245 for 1300 Lunch at Admiralty House given by Lord Privy Seal

1515 Meeting with Mr M D M Franklin, Cabinet Office

Evening Visiti to Labour Party HQ for dinner.

27 November

1045 Meeting with Mr Michael Foot MP, Leader of the Labour Party

1115 Meeting with Dr David Owen MP

1145 Meeting with Mr Peter Shore MP

Lunch hosted by Sir Bernard Braine MP, Chairman of Anglo-Greek Parliamentary Group.

pm Visit to Houses of Parliament for Prime Minister's question time.

Meeting with Mr Wedgwood Benn MP

1830 Reception at the Greek Embassy.

28 November

1000 Meeting with Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs

1300 Lunch at Chatham House followed by talk on 'The Foreign Policy of the Greek Opposition at 1330.

1500 BBC Bush House for interview by the BBC Greek Service.

29 November

1315 Departs for Athens (Flt BA 562).

GREECE: VITAL STATISTICS

1.	Population		9.5 million	
2.	GNP per head		£1810 (UK 2904)	
3.	GDP real growth rate		3.6% (1979 estimate)	
	Average (1975-1978)		5.5%	
4.	Employment	Total	3.5 million	
		of which: Agriculture	28%	
		Industry	30%	
		Others (mainly Services)	42%	
	Unemployment	(estimate)	2.2%	
		(ignores considerable underemployment)		
5.	Public Sector current expenditure	28.75% of GNP		
	current revenue	29.5% of GNP		
	budget deficit	100,000 million drachmas (= £1,000 million)		
6.	Trade (1979)	Exports	21.3% of GNP	
		Imports	29% of GNP	
	1979 Current Account deficit		£950 millions	
	Main Export Markets %	Main sources of Imports %		
	FRG	19.26	FRG	16.1
	Italy	9.8	Italy	10.9
	France	6.1	France	7.3
	USA	6.0	Saudi Arabia	6.1
	Saudi Arabia	5.5	USA	5.7
	UK	5.1	UK	4.9
		(£151.9m)		(£273m)
7.	Inflation rate (estimate)		23%	
8.	Composition of Parliament (seats)			
	New Democracy	176		
	PASOK (socialists)	93		
	Communists	12		
	Others	19		
	Total	300		



TRL/1097

Programme of arrangements made by the
Central Office of Information for the
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

Mr Andreas PAPANDEOU
Leader of the Opposition, Leader of PASOK, and Member of Parliament for Achaia

Accompanied by:

Mr Yiannis HARALAMBOPOULOS
Member of Parliament for Athens 'B'

Mr Michalis ZIAGAS
Private Secretary

GREECE

24 - 29 November 1980

Accompanied by a Representative of the Central Office of Information.

Monday 24 November

ARRIVAL IN BRITAIN
PROGRAMME DISCUSSION
DEPARTMENT OF THE ENVIRONMENT

11.05

Arrive London, Heathrow Airport, on flight BA 561 from Athens (de Havilland Suite).

Met by Lt Col P Massey MC, representing the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, and Mr William Sanford, Central Office of Information.

Accompanied in car to the Hyde Park Hotel, Knightsbridge, London SW1 (Tel 01-235 2000) where accommodation has been reserved.

13.00

Lunch at the Hyde Park Hotel with Mr Peter Scanlon, Head of Visits Section, Foreign and Commonwealth Office, and Mr John Crompton, Deputy Director of Overseas Visitors and Information Studies Division, Central Office of Information.

Mr Sanford will discuss the programme.

15.40

Leave hotel by car with Mr Walter Ottewill, Central Office of Information, who will accompany the visitors to appointments in London.

15.55

Arrive at the Department of the Environment, North Tower, Marsham Street, SW1.

Met by Mr J P Bradley, Overseas Visitors Unit.

16.00

Received by the Rt Hon Tom King MP, Minister for Local Government and Environmental Services, for discussion on Regional Development.

Later

Leave Marsham Street by car and return to hotel.

Tuesday 25 November

BRACKNELL NEW TOWN
INDUSTRIAL VISIT
DINNER - OXFORD UNIVERSITY

09.00

Leave hotel by car with Mr Sanford.

10.30

Arrive at Bracknell Social Development Offices, Broadway, Bracknell.

Met by Mrs M Johnson, Senior Social Development Officer. Briefing on the development stages of the new town, and accompanied in car for a tour of the residential and industrial areas.

11.45

Arrive at Bracknell Development Corporation, Farley Hall, Bracknell.

Met by the General Manager, Mr G J Bryan, CMG, CVO, OBE.

Tuesday 25 November Contd

- 12.20 Leave Farley Hall by car.
- 12.30 Arrive at Racal Communications and Electronics Limited,
Western Road, Bracknell.
- Met by Mr E Carey, Public Relations Officer,
Racal Group Services.
- Lunch as guests of the Company with senior directors.
- Later Accompanied on a tour of the factory to see range of
the Company's products in communication systems.
- 16.00 Leave Bracknell by car.
- 18.00 Arrive St Antony's College, Woodstock Road, Oxford.
- Met by Dr J K Campbell, MA, Official Fellow and
Senior Tutor.
- 19.00 Dine in college. Guests will include:-
- | | |
|---|--|
| Mr R M A Carr, MA | Warden of St Antony's |
| Professor E F Jackson, MA | Fellow of St Antony's, and
Director of the Institute
of Economics and Statistics |
| Mr M C Kaser, MA | Member of St Antony's |
| Professor Prince Demitri
Obolensky, MA Dlit FBA,
FSA FR Hist S. | Professor of Russian and
Balkan History, Christ
Church. |
| Dr L Tsoukalis D Phil | Research Fellow, European
Studies, St Catherine's. |
| Dr R A Fletcher DSC MA
D Phil | Warden of Rhodes College |
| Mr G Richardson | Director, Oxford University
Press. |
- Later Leave Oxford by car and return to London.

Wednesday 26 November

- THE PRIME MINISTER
THE LORD PRIVY SEAL
LUNCHEON ENGAGEMENT
CABINET OFFICE
LABOUR PARTY DINNER
- 10.40 Leave hotel by car.
- 11.00 Arrive at 10 Downing Street, SW1.
- Received by the Rt Hon Margaret Thatcher, MP,
The Prime Minister.

Wednesday 26 November Contd

- 11.30 Leave Downing Street by car.
- 12.00 Arrive at Foreign and Commonwealth Office, King Charles Street, SW1.

Received by the Rt Hon Sir Ian Gilmour Bt. MP, Lord Privy Seal.
- 12.45 Arrive at Admiralty House, Whitehall, SW1.
for Lunch as guests of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office
13.00 Host: Sir Ian Gilmour.
- Later Leave Admiralty House by car.
- 15.15 Arrive at Cabinet Office, 70 Whitehall, SW1.

Discussions on the European Community with Mr M D M Franklin CB, CMG (Room 304).
- Later Leave Whitehall in car and return to hotel.
- 19.15 Leave hotel by car.
- 19.30 Arrive L'Amico Restaurant, 44 Horseferry Road, SW1.
for
20.00 Met by Miss Jenny Little, International Secretary, Labour Party. Dinner with Members of the National Executive Committee of the Labour Party.
- Later Leave Horseferry Road by car and return to hotel.

Thursday 27 November

- LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION
MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT
LUNCH WITH ANGLO-GREEK PARLIAMENTARY GROUP
HOUSE OF COMMONS GALLERY
RECEPTION
- 09.40 Leave hotel by car.
- 10.00 Arrive at the House of Commons, Westminster, SW1.

Received by the Rt Hon Michael Foot, MP, Leader of the Opposition.
- 11.15 Arrive at Norman Shaw North Building, Victoria Embankment, SW1.

Discussions with the Rt Hon David Owen, Labour Member of Parliament for Plymouth, Devonport.
- 11.45 Arrive at House of Commons, Westminster, SW1.

Discussion with the Rt Hon Peter Shore, Labour Member of Parliament for Tower Hamlets, Stepney and Poplar.

Thursday 27 November Contd

- Later Leave Houses of Parliament by car.
- 12.45 Arrive at Locket's Restaurant, Marsham Street, SW1.
for
13.00 Lunch in the private dining room with members of the
Anglo-Greek Parliamentary Group
- Host: Sir Bernard Braine DL, Conservative Member
of Parliament for Essex SE.
- Others present will include Mr N D Sandelson, Labour
Member of Parliament for Hillingdon, Hayes and
Harlington, Mr A M F Palmer, Labour Member of Parliament
for Bristol NE and Mr J Pawsey, Conservative Member of
Parliament for Rugby.
- 14.15 Leave Marsham Street by car.
- 14.25 Arrive Houses of Parliament, Westminster, SW1 to see
the Speaker's Procession.
- 14.35 Watch proceedings in the House of Commons including
Prime Minister's Question Time from the Distinguished
Strangers' Gallery.
- 16.00 Met in the Central Lobby by the Rt Hon Tony Benn,
Labour Member of Parliament for Bristol SE.
- Later Leave Westminster by car and return to hotel.
- 18.15 Leave hotel by car.
- 18.30 Arrive at 51 Upper Brook Street, W1.
- Attend a Reception as guests of honour of His
Excellency the Greek Ambassador and Madame Eustace
Lagacos.
- Later Leave Upper Brook Street by car and return to hotel.

Friday 28 November

- SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH AFFAIRS
ROYAL INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS
BRITISH BROADCASTING CORPORATION
- 09.40 Leave hotel by car.
- 10.00 Arrive at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office,
Ambassador's Entrance, Downing Street, SW1.
- Received by the Rt Hon the Lord Carrington PC, KCMG, MC,
Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs.
- 10.30 Leave Downing Street by car and return to hotel.
- 12.45 Leave hotel by car.

Friday 28 November Contd

- 13.00 Arrive at the Royal Institute of International Affairs,
Chatham House, St James's Square, SW1.

Met by Mr Keith Kyle, Meetings Secretary.

Buffet lunch with invited guests.
- 13.30 Address a meeting on "Foreign Policy of the Greek
Opposition".
- 14.30 Leave St James's Square by car.
- 15.00 Arrive at British Broadcasting Corporation, Bush House,
Aldwych, WC2.

Met by Mr Paul Nathanail, Assistant Head of
Southern European Service, and introduced to staff
of the Service.
- Later Leave Aldwych by car and return to hotel.

Saturday 29 November

- DEPARTURE FROM BRITAIN
- 11.45 Leave hotel by car, with luggage.

Arrive at the de Havilland suite, London, Heathrow
Airport.
- 13.15 Leave London, Heathrow Airport, on flight BA 562
for Athens.

Programme Organiser: Mr William Sanford
Overseas Visitors and Information Studies Division
Central Office of Information
Hercules Road, London SE1.

Tel: 01-928 2345, Ext 278

20 November 1980

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CENTRAL OFFICE OF INFORMATION

Note on a visit to Britain by

Mr Andreas PAPANDEOU

Leader of the Opposition, Leader of PASOK, and Deputy for Achaia.

GREECE

24-29 November 1980

He was born in Chios in 1919 and is the son of the former Prime Minister George Papandreou. Shortly after leaving Athens College, he left Greece for the US where he served in the US forces and was an academic economist at Berkeley, California and other American universities from 1942-60. In 1961, during a visit to Greece on a Fulbright scholarship he formed, on the invitation of Karamanlis, a new economic research centre in Athens, of which he became head. In 1964 he renounced his American citizenship and stood successfully for Parliament. He was immediately appointed Minister to the Prime Minister by his father and subsequently Deputy Minister of Coordination.

Arrested on the night of the 1967 coup, he was detained until Christmas 1967 when he was granted an amnesty. In January 1968, he was allowed to leave Greece with his wife and family. He went to Paris and London, where he immediately began a campaign against the regime. In 1968 he accepted the offer by the Swedish Government of a Visiting Professorship at the University of Stockholm.

PASOK, the radical socialist party he formed in 1974, lost badly in that year's elections but doubled its share of the vote in 1977 to become the main opposition party. He considers himself a Marxist, but not a Leninist, and advocates a domestic policy of decentralisation and cooperatives similar to the Yugoslav model: and a non-aligned foreign policy based on support for a Mediterranean socialist grouping and on closer links with the Balkans, the Arabs and the Third World generally. Committed to withdrawal from NATO, expulsion of the US bases and to recommend a "no" vote in the referendum he proposes on EEC membership he also takes a hard line on relations with Turkey.

He has an American wife, Margaret, and has sent two of his children to study in Britain. He will be a guest of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office while in Britain and his programme is being arranged by the Central Office of Information. He will be accompanied by Mr Yiannis Haralambopoulos the spokesman for PASOK in Parliament and a member of the Executive Committee, and by a secretary, Mr Michalis Ziagas.

Programme Organiser:

Mr William Sanford

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7 November 1980

FILE

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Greece

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28 October 1980

Greece: Visit of Leader of the Opposition

Thank you for your letter of 24 October and the Prime Minister would be very happy to receive Mr. Andreas Papandreou, the Leader of the PASOK, during his visit to London in November.

May I please offer you 11.00 a.m. on Wednesday, 26 November at 10 Downing Street, and we will require a brief to reach this office by close of play on Friday, 22 November.

MICHAEL ALEXANDER

Paul Lever, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

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① Foreign and Commonwealth Office

Prime Minister

London SW1A 2AH

Agree that we should
try to fit Mr Papandreu in
for 30 minutes?

24 October 1980

Ans 27/X Yes not

Dear Michael,

Greece: visit of Leader of the Opposition

As you may recall, Mr Andreas Papandreu, the leader of PASOK, is paying a Category 1 COI visit to the United Kingdom from 24 to 28 November. He clearly enjoyed his discussion with the Prime Minister in Athens in September, and has asked if a call on her can be included in his programme.

The Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary hopes that the Prime Minister will be prepared to receive Mr Papandreu. He is the Leader of the official Opposition in a NATO country soon to accede to the European Communities although, as the Prime Minister will clearly recall, he is unsympathetic to both organisations; with elections to be held next year he might be Prime Minister before the end of 1981.

I should be grateful to know the Prime Minister's views reasonably soon, including possible timing, if she agrees to see Mr Papandreu, as it would assist in planning the programme.

Yours GSE

(P Lever)
Private Secretary

M O'D B Alexander Esq
10 Downing Street
London

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