



SS  
Greece

10 DOWNING STREET

*From the Private Secretary*

3 November 1981

GREECE: VISIT BY MR. PAPANDREOU

The Prime Minister has seen Francis Richards' letter to me of 2 November suggesting that the Prime Minister should offer a bilateral meeting to Mr. Papandreou late on 25 November. As I have told you on the telephone, the Prime Minister did not think that she would have time for such a meeting. The proposal has, in any case, been overtaken by the news in Athens Telno. 215 of 2 November that Mr. Papandreou was unlikely to reach London until 26 November.

315

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Prime Minister

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I am sure a meeting with  
Mr Papandreu in advance of the  
European Council meeting would be  
helpful. Arrange if a convenient time  
can be found?

2 November 1981

Paul

Have a time  
no

Dear Michael,

Greece: Visit by Mr Papandreu

You will have noted from Athens telegrams that the new Greek Government seems bent on early implementation of PASOK's pledges on "socialisation" and "change" in domestic policies. But Mr Papandreu is moving much more cautiously over foreign and defence policies. On withdrawal from the European Community and NATO, PASOK's extreme positions were modified during the election campaign: Mr Papandreu's pronouncements since his appointment as Prime Minister show that he does not intend to be hurried and that he might indeed decide to remain in both organisations. Firm decisions are unlikely to have been taken by the time of the European Council meeting on 26/27 November. The Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary believes that there could be a useful opportunity to influence the key decisions through discussion with Mr Papandreu at that time.

In opposition Mr Papandreu was hostile both to NATO and the Community. In press interviews since his election he has, however, spoken of the desirability of abolishing both NATO and the Warsaw Pact, seeming to imply that Greece might stay in the former until both Alliances disappear. He has postponed until next year negotiations with the United States on the future of American bases in Greece. But the indications are that he will insist on the removal of nuclear weapons and ask for NATO, or US, guarantees, of Greek territory in the Aegean: ie a guarantee against Turkey. Indeed, it is his confrontational approach towards Turkey over both the Aegean disputes and Cyprus which seems most liable to cause trouble in the short term.

/Over the

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Over the European Community, the PASOK bid for a referendum, on which they would recommend withdrawal, is unlikely to succeed - indeed it is not yet certain that Mr Papandreou will choose to pursue this course. He is however threatening to disregard obligations which conflict with his domestic economic policies and seems to be toying with ideas of "renegotiation". He has specifically referred to the British example. He is at best likely to prove an uncomfortable partner, and a particularly difficult one in the field of political cooperation on matters such as the Middle East, where his policy is to support the PLO.

The Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary's hope is that Mr Papandreou will attend the European Council and be exposed to the influence of the other nine Heads of Government. If he were to come, Lord Carrington would see advantage in a short bilateral meeting with the Prime Minister at which broad policy issues could be broached. Lord Carrington realises that even a 45 minutes meeting may not be easy to fit in before the Council, which is itself going to be a difficult one with a heavy agenda. And it is quite possible that other bilaterals may be necessary to help get the Council on the rails at the outset.

It would be ideal if the Prime Minister were able to offer Mr Papandreou a meeting late on 25 November (I understand that 4.30 that day might be possible). He might in that case come to London the day before the Council. A meeting on the morning of 26 November would clearly be more difficult: the possibilities would need to be reviewed along with other possible bids should Mr Papandreou suggest 26 November.

*Yours ever,*

(F N Richards)  
Private Secretary