

Greece

GRS 1100

UNCLASSIFIED

FM ATHENS 231400 NOV 81

TO IMMEDIATE FCO  
TEL NO 383 OF 23/11/81

RPTD PRIORITY INFO UKREP BRUSSELS WASHINGTON ANKARA NICOSIA  
UKDEL NATO PARIS.  
AND SAVING TO OTHER EC POSTS UKMIS NEW YORK MOSCOW SOFIA MADRID  
LISBON BUCHAREST BELGRADE.

MY TEL 381.

PAPANDREOU'S POLICY STATEMENT OF 22 NOVEMBER:

DEFENCE AND FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES OTHER THAN THE EUROPEAN  
COMMUNITY.

DEFENCE.

1. PAPANDREOU PROMISED ABSOLUTE PRIORITY FOR DEFENCE  
EXPENDITURE, MODERNISATION OF EQUIPEMENT, AND THE  
PROGRESSIVE DIVERSIFICATION OF SOURCES OF SUPPLY, TO  
AVOID DEPENDENCE ON ANY SINGLE FOREIGN SOURCE. SPECIAL  
ATTENTION WLEFM BE GIVEN TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF GREECE'S  
DEFENCE INDUSTRIES. THE GOVERNMENT PROPOSED TO CREATE A  
STATE AGENCY FOR DEFENCE EXPORTS.

FOREIGN POLICY.

2. GENERAL

GREEK FOREIGN POLICY WAS ONE OF PEACE,  
REALISM AND SOLIDARITY WITH PEOPLES STRUGGLING FOR NATIONAL

INDEPENDENCE OR FOR AUTONOMOUS ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.  
POLICY WOULD BE RELATED TO THE FACT THAT GREECE  
BELONGED SIMULTANEOUSLY TO EUROPE, THE BALKANS AND  
THE MEDITERRANEAN AND THE GOVERNMENT AIMED TO  
DEVELOP FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH THE PEOPLES OF ALL  
THREE AREAS. IN THE CONTEXT OF THE MEDITERRANEAN,  
PAPANDREOU MADE PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE ARAB NATION AS A  
"DYNAMIC FACTOR IN CURRENT WORLD DEVELOPMENTS".

### 3. TURKEY AND THE AEGEAN.

GREECE MUST MAKE CLEAR TO HER NEIGHBOURS AND TO THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE THAT HER LAND, AIR AND SEA FRONTIERS, AND THE LIMITS OF THE GREEK AEGEAN CONTINENTAL SHELF, WERE NOT NEGOTIABLE. "THEY ARE ASSURED BY INTERNATIONAL TREATIES AND CONVENTIONS AND BY INTERNATIONAL PRACTICE".

4. PAPANDEOU HAD ALREADY CLEARLY TOLD ANKARA OF HIS DESIRE THAT THE TWO PEOPLES SHOULD LIVE IN PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP. AT SOME POINT TURKEY AND GREECE MUST THINK SERIOUSLY ABOUT ENDING EXPENSIVE ARMAMENTS PROGRAMMES AND USING THE RESOURCES FOR HEALTH, EDUCATION AND IMPROVEMENT OF LIVING STANDARDS. BUT GREECE WOULD NOT SURRENDER ONE INCH OF TERRITORY. "THE DIALOGUE WITH TURKEY CAN BE FRUITFUL ONLY INSOFAR AS IT DOES NOT CONCERN CONCESSIONS OF NATIONAL SOVEREIGN RIGHTS OR OVER THE RESPONSIBILITIES WHICH HAVE BEEN ASSIGNED TO GREECE UNDER INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS.

### CYPRUS

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5. CYPRUS WAS PRIMARILY AN ISSUE OF FOREIGN OCCUPATION, AND A VITAL NATIONAL ISSUE FOR GREECE. "GREECE REMAINS A GUARANTOR POWER AND HAS A LEGAL RIGHT AND DUTY TO GIVE ACTIVE SUPPORT TO THE STRUGGLE OF THE CYPRIOT PEOPLE FOR THE DEPARTURE OF ALL FOREIGN TROOPS, FOR THE SAFEGUARDING OF FREE ESTABLISHMENT AND MOVEMENT ON THE ISLAND, AND FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF A CONSTITUTION WHICH, WHILE ASSURING THE UNITY AND INDEPENDENCE OF THE CYPRIOT REPUBLIC, WILL PROVIDE EQUAL RIGHTS AND EQUAL OBLIGATIONS TO ALL ITS CITIZENS, GREEK CYPRIOT AND TURKISH CYPRIOT". THE GREEK GOVERNMENT WOULD UNDERTAKE A CRUSADE TO MOBILISE WORLD OPINION ON BEHALF OF A JUST SOLUTION TO THE CYPRUS PROBLEM. IT WOULD ALSO OPEN THE "CYPRUS FILE" SO THAT THE GREEK AND CYPRIOT PEOPLES WOULD KNOW WHO WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE CYPRIOT TRAGEDY.

## NATO

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6. GREECE'S STRATEGIC POSITION WAS TO FAVOUR THE DISSOLUTION OF NATO AND THE WARSAW PACT. THE GREEKS DID NOT FORGET THAT THE NATO ALLIANCE SUPPORTED THE 7YEAR MILITARY DICTATORSHIP AND HAD DONE NOTHING TO STOP THE TURKISH INVASION OF CYPRUS. "IT MAKES NO SENSE TO BELONG TO THE MILITARY WING OF AN ALLIANCE WHICH DOES NOT GUARANTEE GREECE'S EASTERN FRONTIERS, AND WHICH SIMULTANEOUSLY, BY PROVIDING MILITARY AID TO TURKEY, TENDS TO UPSET THE BALANCE OF FORCES IN THE AEGEAN".

7. THE ROGER AGREEMENT AS HITHERTO INTERPRETED PUT IN DOUBT THE LIMITS OF GREECE'S OPERATIONAL CONTROL IN THE AEGEAN. THIS WAS UNACCEPTABLE. "IN OTHER WORDS, THE MILITARY STRUCTURE OF NATO DOES NOT SECURE OUR FRONTIERS WHILE THE ROGERS' AGREEMENT HARMS OUR NATIONAL INTERESTS". PARLIAMENTS VOTE OF CONFIDENCE WOULD CONSTITUTE A MANDATE TO THE GOVERNMENT TO DO WHAT WAS NECESSARY TO SECURE GREECE'S FRONTIERS AND TO PROTECT THE NATIONAL INTEREST, AND "WITHIN THIS FRAMEWORK IS INCLUDED THE PROCEDURE FOR WITHDRAWING FROM THE ROGERS' AGREEMENT".

## THE US BASES

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8. PAPANDEOU SAID THAT IN THE NEGOTIATIONS TO BE UNDERTAKEN IN THE FIRST MONTHS OF 1982, GREECE WOULD PUT CLEARLY A TIMETABLE FOR THEIR WITHDRAWAL". UNTIL THEN THEY WOULD FUNCTION ON THE FOLLOWING BASIS:

(I) GREEK CONTROL AND SUPERVISION OF THEIR ACTIVITIES.  
(II) POSSIBILITY OF ANNUAL REVIEW AND DENUNCIATION OF THE RELEVANT AGREEMENTS UNDER WHICH THEY FUNCTION.

(III) SUSPENSION OF THE ACTIVITIES OF THE BASES WHEN GREEK NATIONAL SECURITY INTERESTS WERE AT STAKE OR WHEN THEIR ACTIVITIES MIGHT HARM RELATIONS WITH FRIENDLY COUNTRIES IN THE REGION.

9. THE MEDITERRANEAN, ARAB COUNTRIES AND THE THIRD WORLD.

THE MEDITERRANEAN SHOULD BELONG TO THE PEOPLE OF MEDITERRANEAN COUNTRIES "WITHOUT THE PRESENCE OF THE FLEETS OF THE SUPERPOWERS AND WITHOUT THE MILITARY EXERCISES WHICH POSE A DANGER TO PEACE IN SO SENSITIVE A REGION". REFERRING TO ARAB COUNTRIES, PAPANDREOU SAID THAT HIS GOVERNMENT WOULD EXPAND RELATIONS IN ALL FIELDS AND THAT IT SUPPORTED FIRMLY "THE STRUGGLE OF THE PALISTINIANS FOR SELF-DETERMINATION AND TO OBTAIN THEIR OWN HOMELAND AND FOR ALL THE REFUGEES TO RETURN TO THEIR HOMES". HE ALSO SPOKE OF DEVELOPING STRONGER LINKS WITH THE THIRD WORLD AND THE NON-ALIGNED.

BALKANS

10. THE GOVERNMENT STOOD FOR COOPERATION BETWEEN THE BALKAN COUNTRIES, AND FAVOURED THE CREATION OF A ZONE OF PEACE SO THAT THE BALKANS MAY BECOME DENUCLEARISED AND DISENGAGED FROM POLITICO-MILITARY ALLIANCES. AS A FIRST STEP GREECE WOULD PROPOSE THE CREATION OF A BALKAN NUCLEAR-FREE ZONE. AFTER THE NECESSARY CONSULTATIONS, GREECE WOULD BE THE FIRST TO IMPLEMENT - AND SOON - THIS PRINCIPLE BY REMOVING NUCLEAR WARHEADS FROM HER TERRITORY.

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MADRID LISBON BUCHAREST AND BELGRADE

SUTHERLAND

[REPEATED AS REQUESTED]

FCO/WHITEHALL

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