

RESTRICTED
FM ATHENS
TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELNO 155
OF 101122Z APRIL 92
INFO IMMEDIATE ANKARA
INFO ROUTINE PARIS, BONN, ROME, THE HAGUE, BRUSSELS, LISBON, MADRID
INFO ROUTINE LUXEMBOURG, UKDEL NATO

TOP COPY
Q DIST ?

YOUR TELNO 170: GREECE/WEU

SUMMARY

1. WE SHOULD BE FIRM WITH GREECE OVER ARTICLE 5 NEUTRALISATION, AND NOT TAKE TOO SERIOUSLY MITSOTAKIS'S VEILED THREAT TO LINK THIS WITH RATIFICATION OF MAASTRICHT.

DETAIL

2. I HAVE EXPLAINED TO MITSOTAKIS' OFFICE WHY THE PRIME MINISTER CANNOT SEND AN IMMEDIATE REPLY. I DELIBERATELY DID NOT (NOT) ENCOURAGE DISCUSSION OF THE SUBSTANCE, [SINCE THERE IS NO ADVANTAGE FOR US IN LETTING THE GREEKS HERE PICK FURTHER HOLES IN AN ARTICLE 5 FORMULA WHICH HAS NOT BEEN FINALISED BY WEU MINISTERS. IT WOULD ALSO BE A TACTICAL MISTAKE TO BETRAY NERVOUSNESS AT THE IMPLIED THREAT IN MITSOTAKIS'S LETTER.] INSTEAD WE SHOULD HOLD OUR FIRE UNTIL ALL THE OUTSTANDING ENLARGEMENT ISSUES (INCLUDING DEFINITION OF ASSOCIATE MEMBERSHIP, AS WELL AS ARTICLE 5 NEUTRALISATION) HAVE BEEN FINALLY SETTLED WITHIN WEU: THE PACKAGE SHOULD THEN BE PRESENTED BY WEU PARTNERS COLLECTIVELY TO THE GREEKS ON A TAKE IT OR LEAVE IT BASIS.

3. MITSOTAKIS MADE CLEAR IMMEDIATELY AFTER MAASTRICHT (PARA 4 OF MY TELELETTER OF 20 DECEMBER, NOT TO ALL) THAT RATIFICATION OF THE UNION TREATY AND THE WEU ACCESSION BILL WOULD BE PRESENTED TOGETHER TO THE GREEK PARLIAMENT. THIS LINKAGE HAS BEEN MAINTAINED SINCE, AND WOULD BE HARD FOR THE GOVERNMENT TO ABANDON GIVEN THE PUBLIC EMPHASIS THEY PLACED ON THE IMPORTANCE OF GREECE'S FULL WEU MEMBERSHIP. TSALDARIS (SPEAKER) REPORTED HERE TO HAVE SAID IN LISBON ON 4 APRIL THAT GREECE WOULD ONLY RATIFY MAASTRICHT IF ITS WEU ACCESSION WAS ASSURED.

4. BUT THIS IS VERY DIFFERENT FROM LINKING MAASTRICHT RATIFICATION SPECIFICALLY TO ARTICLE 5.

Temporarily Retained

PAGE 1

RESTRICTED

THIS IS A COPY. THE ORIGINAL IS
RETAINED UNDER SECTION 3 (4)
OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS ACT

PROVIDED THAT THE WEU TREATY TEXT ITSELF IS NOT MODIFIED, HE OUGHT TO BE ABLE TO ARGUE FOR DOMESTIC CONSUMPTION THAT GREECE HAS SECURED THE BENEFITS OF FULL WEU MEMBERSHIP, CONTRASTING THAT WITH THE DEAL OFFERED TO TURKEY AS AN ASSOCIATE MEMBER. INDEED WE CAN TO SOME EXTENT LET HIM DO SO (SEE CULSHAW'S TELELETTER OF 19 MARCH, NOT TO ALL). MY BEST GUESS THEREFORE, DELIBERATELY NOT (NOT) BASED ON RECENT QUESTIONING OF SENIOR GREEKS, IS THAT WE CAN EXPECT GREECE TO ARGUE TOUGHLY FOR SOME FURTHER IMPROVEMENT IN THE DECLARATION LANGUAGE ON ARTICLE 5, AND FOR THE clearest possible distinction between full and associate membership (particularly over access to meetings). BUT THEY WILL PROBABLY STOP SHORT OF MAKING ANY EXPLICIT THREAT OF NON-RATIFICATION OF MAASTRICHT, PROVIDED THAT THEIR FULL MEMBERSHIP OF WEU IS ASSURED THIS YEAR AND PROVIDED, TOO, THAT OUR PARTNERS SHOW SOLIDARITY SO THAT THE GREEKS CANNOT ISOLATE US ON THE ISSUE.

BUT UNLIKE THE MACEDONIA OR CYPRUS ISSUES, [THE DETAILED TERMS OF WEU ACCESSION ARE NOT WIDELY ENOUGH KNOWN OR FELT WITH SUFFICIENT EMOTION TO MAKE THAT ARGUMENT CREDIBLE. THE AVERAGE GREEK WILL CARE ONLY THAT GREECE IS JOINING ANOTHER EXCLUSIVE CLUB AND WILL DO BETTER THAN TURKEY OUT OF IT.] AND FOR MITSOTAKIS THE ATTRACTION OF TAKING CREDIT FOR THIS OUTCOME IS CONSIDERABLE, WHEREAS BLOCKING MAASTRICHT RATIFICATION WOULD BE A HIGH RISK POLICY SEEN BY MANY (PERHAPS INCLUDING PRESIDENT KARAMANLIS) AS NOT IN GREECE'S LONG TERM INTERESTS. THERE MAY NEVERTHELESS BE DELAY OVER GREECE'S RATIFICATION, IF THEY DO NOT EVEN START THE PARLIAMENTARY PROCEDURE UNTIL THE WHOLE WEU ISSUE HAS BEEN RESOLVED.

5. I RECOMMEND THAT, IN FORMING THE REPLY TO MITSOTAKIS, ACCOUNT SHOULD BE TAKEN OF THE POSSIBILITY THAT IT MAY LEAK. (MOST OF MR MAJOR'S LAST LETTER TO MITSOTAKIS, ON CYPRUS, APPEARED IN THE PRESS).

MIERS

YYYY

temporarily retained

THIS IS A COPY THE ORIGINAL IS
RETAINED UNDER SECTION 3 (4)
OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS ACT