

Ronald Reagan Presidential Library Digital Library Collections

This is a PDF of a folder from our textual collections.

Collection: Executive Secretariat, NSC: Country File:
Records

Folder Title: Greece (10/05/1984-12/31/1984)

Box: RAC Box 15

To see more digitized collections visit:

<https://www.reaganlibrary.gov/archives/digitized-textual-material>

To see all Ronald Reagan Presidential Library Inventories, visit:

<https://www.reaganlibrary.gov/archives/white-house-inventories>

Contact a reference archivist at: reagan.library@nara.gov

Citation Guidelines: <https://reaganlibrary.gov/archives/research-support/citation-guide>

National Archives Catalogue: <https://catalog.archives.gov/>

Last Updated: 09/22/2023

WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection Name EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT, NSC: COUNTRY FILE

Withdrawer

KML 10/21/2011

File Folder GREECE (10/05/1984-12/31/1984)

FOIA

M11-412

Box Number 15

DRAENOS

12

ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
121696	MEMO	PETER SOMMER TO ROBERT MCFARLANE RE PAPANDREOU <i>D 1/10/2013 M412/1</i>	2	10/5/1984	B1
121707	PROFILE SHEET	RE RELATIONS WITH GREECE <i>R 6/14/2012 M412/1</i>	1	10/17/1984	B1
121704	LETTER	JOHN POINDEXTER TO MIKE ARMACOST RE U.S.-GREEK RELATIONS (WITH NOTATIONS) <i>R 3/18/2013 M412/1</i>	1	ND	B1
121702	LETTER	JOHN POINDEXTER TO MIKE ARMACOST RE U.S.-GREEK RELATIONS <i>R 3/18/2013 M412/1</i>	1	10/30/1984	B1
121713	MEMO	CHARLES HILL TO ROBERT MCFARLANE RE DISPUTE <i>R 3/18/2013 M412/1</i>	2	11/23/1984	B1
121699	DRAFT MEMO	RE RELATIONS WITH GREECE	3	ND	B1
121708	MEMO	PETER SOMMER TO JOHN POINDEXTER RE RELATIONS WITH GREECE <i>R 11/5/2015 M412/1</i>	1	10/17/1984	B1

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]

B-2 Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]

B-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]

B-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]

B-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]

B-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]

B-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]

B-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection Name EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT, NSC: COUNTRY FILE

Withdrawer

KML 10/21/2011

File Folder GREECE (10/05/1984-12/31/1984)

FOIA

M11-412

Box Number 15

DRAENOS

12

ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
121709	MEMO	NICHOLAS KLISSAS THROUGH PETER SOMMER TO ROBERT MCFARLANE RE MEETING <i>D 3/18/2013 M412/1</i>	2	11/19/1984	B1
121710	MEMO	PETER SOMMER TO JOHN POINDEXTER RE REPLY <i>R 3/18/2013 M412/1</i>	1	10/4/1984	B1
121711	CABLE	031253Z OCT 84 (PAGE 3 ONLY - WITH NOTATIONS) <i>R 2/13/2017 M412/1</i>	1	10/3/1984	B1 B3
121712	MEMO	DONALD MAHLEY & PETER SOMMER TO ROBERT MCFARLANE RE DISPUTE <i>R 11/5/2015 M412/1</i>	1	11/26/1984	B1
121714	MEMO	WALTER RAYMOND TO JOHN POINDEXTER RE VOA NEGOTIATIONS <i>R 11/5/2015 M412/1</i>	2	1/4/1985	B1
121715	MEMO	TO CHARLES WICK RE VOA NEGOTIATIONS <i>R 3/18/2013 M412/1</i>	1	ND	B1
121716	MEMO	CHARLES WICK TO ROBERT MCFARLANE RE VOICE OF AMERICA NEGOTIATIONS <i>R 3/18/2013 M412/1</i>	2	12/31/1984	B1

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]

B-2 Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]

B-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]

B-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]

B-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]

B-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]

B-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]

B-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection Name EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT, NSC: COUNTRY FILE

Withdrawer

KML 10/21/2011

File Folder GREECE (10/05/1984-12/31/1984)

FOIA

M11-412

Box Number 15

DRAENOS

12

ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
121717	MEMO	GENE PELL, ET AL FOR THE DIRECTOR RE VOICE OF AMERICA NEGOTIATIONS <i>R 3/18/2013 M412/1</i>	5	12/17/1984	B1 B3
121718	MEMO	WALTER RAYMOND TO JOHN POINDEXTER RE VOA NEGOTIATIONS <i>R 11/5/2015 M412/1</i>	2	1/4/1985	B1
121719	MEMO	SAME TEXT AS DOC 121715 <i>R 3/18/2013 M412/1</i>	1	ND	B1
121735	MEMO	CHARLES WICK TO ROBERT MCFARLANE RE VOICE OF AMERICA NEGOTIATIONS <i>R 3/18/2013 M412/1</i>	2	12/31/1984	B1
121737	MEMO	SAME TEXT AS DOC 121717 <i>R 3/18/2013 M412/1</i>	5	12/17/1984	B1 B3

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]

B-2 Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]

B-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]

B-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]

B-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]

B-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]

B-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]

B-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

RECEIVED 05 OCT 84 18

TO MCFARLANE FROM SOMMER

DOCDATE 05 OCT 84

KEYWORDS: GREECE

KAL FLIGHT 007

PAPANDREOU, ANDREAS

SUBJECT: PAPANDREOUS LATEST OUTRAGE

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL OF CLASSIFIED ENCLOSURE(S)

24 10/20/11

ACTION: FOR INFORMATION

DUE: 09 OCT 84 STATUS IX FILES PA

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

MCFARLANE

COMMENTS

REF# LOG NSCIFID (DW)

ACTION OFFICER (S) ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED DUE COPIES TO

C OCT 11 1984

Mcfarlane noted

B

DISPATCH

W/ATTCH FILE *PA* *(RC)*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 6, 1984

3

RCM:

Bob Sims stopped by and asked me to pass msg to you:

John Hughes called him to say that even before you evidenced concern, State made a very strong statment two days ago on Greece-Papandreou statement about KAL. Hughes discussed with Shultz but wanted to make sure you knew this.

Wilma

*cy in folder made for
RCM desk for reminder.*

WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection Name

Executive Secretariat, NSC: Country File

Withdrawer

KM 10/21/2011
L

File Folder

GREECE (10/05/1984-12/31/1984)

FOIA

M11-412
DRAENOS

Box Number

15

12

<i>ID</i>	<i>Document Type</i> <i>Document Description</i>	<i>No of</i> <i>pages</i>	<i>Doc Date</i>	<i>Restric-</i> <i>tions</i>
121696	MEMO PETER SOMMER TO ROBERT MCFARLANE RE PAPANDREOU	2	10/5/1984	B1

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- B-2 Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- B-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- B-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- B-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- B-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- B-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- B-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

121707 . 6

NSC/S PROFILE

~~SECRET~~
UNCLASSIFIED

ID 8407818

RECEIVED 17 OCT 84 18

TO POINDEXTER

FROM SOMMER

DOCDATE 17 OCT 84

KEYWORDS: GREECE

POLAND

TERRORISM

NUCLEAR SAFEGUARDS

SUBJECT: RELATIONS W/ GREECE RE POSSIBLE US STEPS

ACTION: FOR SIGNATURE

DUE: 20 OCT 84 STATUS X

FILES ~~WH~~ PA

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

POINDEXTER

DECLASSIFIED

NLRR M11-412#121707

BY RW NARA DATE 6/14/12

COMMENTS

REF# LOG NSCIFID (DR)

ACTION OFFICER (S)	ASSIGNED	ACTION REQUIRED	DUE	COPIES TO
<u>Sommer</u>	<u>X 10/29</u>	<u>For Recd</u>		
<u>Poindexter</u>	<u>X 10/30</u>	<u>For Decision</u>	<u>11/5</u>	
	<u>C 10/30</u>	<u>Poindexter Sgd</u>	<u>15, SNA</u>	

DISPATCH

2/16.10/81

W/ATTCH FILE

(C)

National Security Council
The White House

cew

System # I 2

Package # 7025

1388

RECEIVED

84 OCT 5 P4: 13

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Paul Thompson	<u>1</u>	<u>✓</u>	
Bob Kimmitt	<u>2</u>	<u>K</u>	
John Poindexter	<u>3</u>	<u>[Signature]</u>	
Tom Shull			
Wilma Hall	<u>4</u>	<u>✓</u>	
Bud McFarlane	<u>5</u>	<u>✓</u>	<u>I</u>
Bob Kimmitt	<u>6</u>	<u>K</u>	
NSC Secretariat	<u>8</u>		<u>N pass</u>
Situation Room			
<u>Poindexter</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>✓</u>	<u>A</u>

I = Information A = Action R = Retain D = Dispatch N = No further Action

cc: VP Meese Baker Deaver Other

COMMENTS

Should be seen by: Done

(Date/Time)

Two memos same subject

Bud,

I don't think this is enough.

The F-5 gambit is not public enough. after Stearns delivers message, we should call him home and advertise it.

all A memos
to [Signature]
Security
Rep
10-10

SECRET

1

A

[Faint, illegible text and markings, possibly bleed-through from the reverse side of the page]

National Security Council
The White House

RECEIVED

1421 / 1221
7

System # I

Package # 7816

84 OCT 30 P 5: 02



	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Paul Thompson	<u>1</u>	<u>[initials]</u>	
Bob Kimmitt	<u>2</u>	<u>[initials]</u>	
John Poindexter	<u>3</u>	<u>[initials]</u>	<u>A</u>
Tom Shull			
Wilma Hall			
Bud McFarlane			
Bob Kimmitt			
NSC Secretariat			
Situation Room			

I = Information A = Action R = Retain D = Dispatch N = No further Action

cc: VP Meese Baker Deaver Other _____

COMMENTS Should be seen by: _____
(Date/Time)

Please redo Tab
I.
[signature]

National Security Council
The White House

System #

T 8

Package #

7818

RECEIVED

84 OCT 17 P 5: 53

1462

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Paul Thompson	<u>1</u>	<u>✓</u>	
Bob Kimmitt			
John Poindexter	<u>2</u>	<u>✓</u>	
Tom Shull			
Wilma Hall			
Bud McFarlane	<u>3</u>	<u>RCM HAS SEEN</u>	
Bob Kimmitt			
NSC Secretariat			
Situation Room			

Handwritten notes:
 "overhead" (written vertically)
 "at the" (written vertically)
 "memo" (written vertically)
 "idea of a" (written vertically)
 "why to" (written vertically)
 "reference" (written vertically)
 "to" (written vertically)
 "soon" (written vertically)
 "des" (written vertically)

I = Information A = Action R = Retain D = Dispatch N = No further Action

cc: VP Meese Baker Deaver Other

COMMENTS

Should be seen by

(Date/Time)

Handwritten comments:
 "How does this look" (written in red)
 "as a" (written vertically)
 "a See-Pres memo" (written vertically)
 "as I agree with" (written vertically)
 "10-29-84" (written vertically)

~~SECRET~~

121704

8-A

~~SECRET~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

W.H.

Mike Armacost:

Both Bud and I remain deeply concerned over the state and direction of U.S.-Greek relations. It is our feeling that we need to send some stronger signals to Athens.

The Secretary
We know that ~~George~~ forcefully presented the President's concern over Greece's anti-American stance in his bilateral meeting with Foreign Minister Haralambopoulos at the UNGA. Subsequent to that meeting, however, Papandreou made his outrageous KAL remarks *and now he makes irresponsible comments in Poland.*

At my request, our staff has prepared a "straw man" memo ~~from Bud to the President~~ (Bud has not yet seen ~~the memo~~) suggesting immediate steps designed to voice our displeasure with Papandreou's policies, and holding more drastic steps in abeyance. These specific steps have been discussed informally with EUR.

a memo from the Secretary to
We would welcome ~~your comments on our draft, and of course, would hope to be able to state in Bud's memo to the President that the Secretary strongly endorses the recommended phased approach.~~

the President recommending a plan of action.

John Poindexter

Attachment
Tab A Draft Memo

DECLASSIFIED

NLRR M412 # 121704

~~SECRET~~

Declassify on: OADR

BY KML NARA DATE 3/18/13

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

THE WHITE HOUSE 7818
WASHINGTON

October 30, 1984

Mike
Mike Armacost:

Both Bud and I remain deeply concerned over the state and direction of U.S.-Greek relations. It is our feeling that we need to send some stronger signals to Athens.

We know that the Secretary forcefully presented the President's concern over Greece's anti-American stance in his bilateral meeting with Foreign Minister Haralambopoulos at the UNGA. Subsequent to that meeting, however, Papandreu made his outrageous KAL remarks, and now he makes irresponsible comments in Poland.

At my request, our staff has prepared a "straw man" memo suggesting immediate steps designed to voice our displeasure with Papandreu's policies, and holding more drastic steps in abeyance. These specific steps have been discussed informally with EUR.

We would welcome a memo from the Secretary to the President recommending a plan of action.

John
John Poindexter

Attachment
Tab A Draft Memo

DECLASSIFIED

~~SECRET~~

Declassify on: OADR

NLRR M412 # 121702
BY KAL NARA DATE 3/18/13



~~SECRET~~ United States Department of State

121713
S/S 8432153

24

Washington, D.C. 20520

8584

November 23, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. ROBERT C. MCFARLANE
THE WHITE HOUSE

NOV 23 1984 A 1:40

SUBJECT: NATO, Greece and Turkey: Dispute over Limnos

STATE USE
SITUATION ROOM

Renewed Greek-Turkish wrangling over the "demilitarized" status of the Aegean island of Limnos threatens to disrupt the December 5 meeting of NATO Defense Ministers. Papandreou, who will attend as Defense Minister, may well be looking for pre-election headlines. For their part, the Turks have delivered to us a demarche from their highest levels saying that acceptance of a compromise proposed by the NATO International Staff could result in a reevaluation of the Turkish attitude toward NATO. This Turkish reaction has been fueled by a "personal" letter from SACEUR, General Rogers, to the Turkish Government which the Turks view as supporting the Greek position. We understand now that a second SACEUR letter has been sent attempting to soothe the Turks.

Secretary General Carrington has asked both the US and UK for help. We have told Carrington that we will: express in Athens and Ankara our concern at the potential seriousness of the current dispute; seek to encourage flexibility; and look for ways in which creative thinking might enable NATO to resolve this impasse. At the same time, we plan to limit direct US involvement in a contentious dispute which can only be resolved by the protagonists themselves. Carrington plans to send his deputy, Da Rin, to Ankara November 25.

This particular iteration of the long standing Greek-Turkish dispute over Limnos began when Greece included military units on that island in its annual report to NATO of forces assigned to the Alliance. Turkey claims that Greece maintains military forces on Limnos illegally, pointing out that under the 1923 Lausanne Convention Limnos is to be demilitarized. They add that, in any case, the issue of Limnos is not a legal issue but the "opening wedge" of a Greek policy designed to secure total control of the Aegean. The Greeks counter that the Montreux convention of 1936, which supercedes the Lausanne Convention, makes no provision for the demilitarization of Limnos, and that Greece has a sovereign responsibility to protect its territory from the threat from Turkey. Both countries have traditionally attempted to use NATO to buttress their positions.

DECLASSIFIED

NLRR M412# 121713

~~SECRET~~

BY KML NARA DATE 3/18/13

~~SECRET~~

25

There may, however, be no way to resolve this issue before the DPC Ministerial early next month. Therefore, we are working also on procedural devices to limit the damage to our interests at the DPC.

Tom Kinley
Charles Hill
Executive Secretary

~~SECRET~~

WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection Name

Executive Secretariat, NSC: Country File

Withdrawer

KM 10/21/2011
L

File Folder

GREECE (10/05/1984-12/31/1984)

FOIA

M11-412
DRAENOS

Box Number

15

12

<i>ID</i>	<i>Document Type</i> <i>Document Description</i>	<i>No of</i> <i>pages</i>	<i>Doc Date</i>	<i>Restric-</i> <i>tions</i>
121699	DRAFT MEMO RE RELATIONS WITH GREECE	3	ND	B1

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- B-2 Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- B-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- B-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- B-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- B-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- B-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- B-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

~~SECRET~~

121708 13

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

7818

~~SECRET
ACTION~~

October 17, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR ADMIRAL JOHN M. POINDEXTER

FROM: PETER R. SOMMER *PS*

SUBJECT: Relations With Greece: Possible U.S. Steps

Pursuant to your request at Tab A is the "straw man" subject memo from Bud to the President. Following informal talks with EUR and Jack Matlock, I believe we should use a phased approach, holding the more drastic measures you suggested (recalling Stearns and closing the bases) in abeyance until we can evaluate the results of several immediate steps, i.e., calling in the Greek Ambassador to the White House, denying excess F-5s to Greece, and instructing Secretary Shultz to stop in Athens in December (he will already be in Europe) to convey the President's concerns directly to Papandreou.

You indicated that I should provide the memo to EUR to galvanize action by State. It would probably stir greater activity if you send it to Mike Armacost informally.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you sign the Tab I memo to Armacost:

Approve *f* Disapprove _____

Alternatively, that you authorize me to provide the memo to EUR.

Use alternative approach _____

Attachments

- Tab I Memo to Armacost
- Tab A Draft Memo to the President

~~SECRET~~
Declassify on: OADR

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED

NLR 121708
BY CW NARA DATE 11/5/15

14

NSC/S PROFILE

~~SECRET~~

ID 8408496

RECEIVED 21 NOV 84 09.

TO MCFARLANE

FROM SOMMER

DOCDATE 19 NOV 84

KLISSAS

19 NOV 84

KEYWORDS: GREECE

SAMARAS, ANDONIS

SUBJECT: MTG W/ GREEK MBR OF PARLIAMENT

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL
OF CLASSIFIED ENCLOSURE(S)

74 10/20/11

ACTION: FOR INFORMATION

DUE:

STATUS IX FILES PA

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

MCFARLANE

COMMENTS

REF# LOG NSCIFID (CL)

ACTION OFFICER (S) ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED DUE COPIES TO

DEC 03 1984

McFarlane noted

RS

DISPATCH

W/ATTCH FILE

H
(C)

JIF

National Security Council
The White House

RECEIVED

System # I

Package # 8496

NOV 20 P 7: 17

1445 15

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Paul Thompson	<u>1</u>	<u>6</u>	
Bob Kimmitt	<u>2</u>	<u>6</u>	
John Poindexter	<u>3</u>	<u>6</u>	
Tom Shull			
Wilma Hall			
Bud McFarlane	<u>4</u>	<u>m</u>	<u>I</u>
Bob Kimmitt			
NSC Secretariat	<u>5</u>		<u>W</u>
Situation Room			

I = Information A = Action R = Retain D = Dispatch N = No further Action

cc: VP Meese Baker Deaver Other _____

COMMENTS Should be seen by: _____
(Date/Time)

NOV 20 P 8: 30

WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection Name

Executive Secretariat, NSC: Country File

Withdrawer

KM 10/21/2011
L

File Folder

GREECE (10/05/1984-12/31/1984)

FOIA

M11-412
DRAENOS

Box Number

15

12

<i>ID</i>	<i>Document Type</i> <i>Document Description</i>	<i>No of</i> <i>pages</i>	<i>Doc Date</i>	<i>Restric-</i> <i>tions</i>
121709	MEMO NICHOLAS KLISSAS THROUGH PETER SOMMER TO ROBERT MCFARLANE RE MEETING	2	11/19/1984	B1

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- B-2 Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- B-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- B-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- B-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- B-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- B-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- B-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

RECEIVED 05 OCT 84 09

TO POINDEXTER FROM SOMMER

DOCDATE 04 OCT 84

KEYWORDS: GREECE

GERMANY F R

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL OF CLASSIFIED ENCLOSURE(S)

7/ 10/20/11

NATO ✓

SUBJECT: REPLY GREECE & FRG

ACTION: NOTED BY POINDEXTER DUE: STATUS C FILES PA

FOR ACTION FOR CONCURRENCE FOR INFO

COMMENTS

REF# LOG NSCIFID (LF LF)

ACTION OFFICER (S) ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED DUE COPIES TO

PS JM

DISPATCH _____ W/ATTCH FILE PA (C)

National Security Council
The White House

RECEIVED

84 OCT 4 P 4: 48

System # I
Package # 7499
1385
19

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Paul Thompson	_____	_____	_____
Bob Kimmitt	<u>1</u>	<u>K</u>	_____
John Poindexter	<u>2</u>	<u>J</u>	<u>I</u>
Tom Shull	_____	_____	_____
Wilma Hall	_____	_____	_____
Bud McFarlane	_____	_____	_____
Bob Kimmitt	_____	_____	_____
NSC Secretariat	_____	_____	_____
Situation Room	_____	_____	_____

I = Information
 A = Action
 R = Retain
 D = Dispatch
 N = No further Action

cc: VP Meese Baker Deaver Other _____

COMMENTS Should be seen by: _____
(Date/Time)

84 OCT 4 P 2: 00

MEMORANDUM

~~SECRET~~

7499

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~SECRET~~INFORMATION

October 4, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR JOHN M. POINDEXTER

FROM: PETER R. SOMMER *Peter*

SUBJECT: Reply: Greece and FRG

NOTED

This memo responds to your note at Tab A.

Greece: I understand the on-again off-again NPW visit is now again on. Richard Burt and Richard Haass called in Ambassador Papoulias yesterday afternoon and told him in strong language of the serious consequences this policy would have on our relations. Papoulias has tried to be helpful in the past and we reportedly have now received a message from Athens (which I have not seen) approving the October nuclear sub visit.

Until now, we had been hesitant to make an Alliance-wide demarche for fear that it would leak, and thereby make it all the more difficult to deal with the Greek Government on this issue. If the Greeks renew restrictions on NPW visits, we will energize State to have at least selected NATO Allies join us in a demarche.

On a separate matter, you may have seen, in today's New York Times, Papandreou's charge that the KAL was on a spy mission. State issued a sharp rebuttal at today's press briefing.

FRG: My understanding is that Ambassador Burns will not be able to see Chancellor Kohl on LOS until October 15, because of scheduling conflicts. Burns apparently will be out of town for a few days, and while we have good access in Bonn, the U.S. Ambassador simply cannot see the Chancellor whenever he wishes. Because of the delay in seeing the Chancellor, the DCM brought the key points in the President's letter directly to Teltschik's attention. Teltschik was non-committal on FRG signing.

Jack Matlock concurs.

cc: Don Mahley
Richard Levine

DECLASSIFIED

NLRR M412 * 121710

BY KML NARA DATE 3/18/13~~SECRET~~

Declassify: OADR

~~SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET CODEWORD~~

121711
Jack Matlock 21

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

J

PAGE 03 OF 03

Why so long?

AROUND OCT 15 TO DELIVER A PRESIDENTIAL LETTER ON THE LOS AND PRESENT U.S. VIEWS. SECURITY ADVISOR TELTSCHIK TOLD CHARGE WOESSNER THE CHANCELLOR IS OPPOSED TO SIGNING THE CONVENTION BUT ADDED IT IS BECOMING INCREASINGLY DIFFICULT FOR HIM TO MAINTAIN HIS POSITION. (CKLS)

8. 031253Z OCT 84 ATHENS 5364 MCF JP KIMM VP SIT EOB

GREECE STILL HEDGING ON NUCLEAR-POWERED WARSHIP (NPW) ISSUE

DEPUTY FORMIN KAPSIS TOLD CHARGE BERLIND NPW VISITS TO GREECE WILL BE 'POSTPONED' UNTIL NEW SAFETY RULES AND REGULATIONS ARE ESTABLISHED, WHICH WILL BE SET UP BY THE END OF THE THE YEAR. KAPSIS SAID THE VISIT OF THE 'USS DAGE' IS OFF AND ASKED FOR INFORMATION ON USN SAFETY PRACTICES. BERLIND REQUESTS WE EXPEDITIOUSLY SATISFY THE GREEK REQUEST. CKLS

What we need is a strong demarche and support from other NATO allies. We should head this off rapidly. End of the year is too long. We should not hesitate to use security assistance as a lever in my view.

DECLASSIFIED
NLRR M412/1 # 121711
BY RW NARA DATE 2/13/17

NSC/S PROFILE

~~SECRET~~

22
ID 8408584

RECEIVED 24 NOV 84 10

TO MCFARLANE FROM HILL, C

DOCDATE 23 NOV 84

KEYWORDS: TURKEY

NATO

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL
OF CLASSIFIED ENCLOSURE(S)

24 10/20/11

GREECE

SUBJECT: DISPUTE OVER LIMNOS 5 DEC MTG NATO DEFENSE MINISTERS

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR MCFARLANE DUE: 29 NOV 84 STATUS S FILES PA

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

SOMMER

FORTIER

MATLOCK

STARK

MAHLEY

COBB

LEHMAN, R

COMMENTS

REF# 84321153

LOG

NSCIFID

(CT)

ACTION OFFICER (S)	ASSIGNED	ACTION REQUIRED	DUE	COPIES TO
Mcfarlane	IS 11/27	For Information		
	C 11/29	Mcfarlane Noted		MA PS LE DF JA

121712 23

~~SECRET~~

8584

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

NOTE

~~SECRET~~

INFORMATION

November 26, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. McFARLANE

FROM: DONALD A. MAHLEY/PETER R. SOMMER *Alan* *See for PRS*

SUBJECT: NATO, Greece, and Turkey: Dispute Over Limnos

Attached at Tab A is a memo from State summarizing the reemergence this autumn at NATO of the long-standing dispute between Greece and Turkey over the status of Limnos. NATO headquarters has managed to create conditions that virtually guarantee that this bilateral sore will disrupt the DPC Ministerial meeting on December 4-5, and will result in both Greece and Turkey being outraged.

After dodging the issue for several years, the Greek "country chapter" (an annex to the Annual Defense Review, which reports, among other items, the status of Greek forces committed to NATO) includes the Greek brigade stationed on Limnos. This has placed NATO in a no-win dilemma. Retaining mention of Greek forces on Limnos, despite other language clearly stating that mention does not imply endorsement of either the Greek or Turkish side of the status dispute, is totally unacceptable to Turkey. Deleting reference to the force is equally unacceptable to Greece. Neither country has shown, during weeks of frantic attempts at a solution, any inclination to find a workable compromise. Papandreu's personal attendance at the DPC is not coincidental.

There is no direct role for the US in this confrontation at Brussels. The USG has played its available bilateral cards, to no avail. Open and active US involvement in NATO's multilateral arena can only damage bilateral relations with one or both of the disputants. This is primarily a Defense problem (since it will be addressed at the DPC with Weinberger in the US chair). We see no direct action or involvement for you and have counseled a low US profile during the NATO debate.

Ron *Don* *Jack*
Ron Lehman, Don Fortier, and Jack Matlock concur. *agler*

Tab A State Memo

DECLASSIFIED

~~SECRET~~

Declassify on: OADR

NLR 11/12/1 121712
BY CY NARA DATE 11/5/15

RECEIVED 02 JAN 85 13

TO MCFARLANE

FROM WICK, C

DOCDATE 31 DEC 84 24

KEYWORDS: VOA

GREECE

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL OF CLASSIFIED ENCLOSURE(S)

24 10/20/11

SUBJECT: VOA NEGOTIATIONS W/ GREECE

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR MCFARLANE DUE: 04 JAN 85 STATUS S FILES PA

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

RAYMOND

LENCZOWSKI

SOMMER

STEINER

FORTIER

MATLOCK

GRIMES

COMMENTS

REF# LOG NSCIFID (CM CT)

ACTION OFFICER (S)	ASSIGNED	ACTION REQUIRED	DUE	COPIES TO
<i>Poindexter</i>	<i>x 01/08</i>	<i>For Signature</i>	<i>01/09</i>	
	<i>C 1/12</i>	<i>For record purposes</i>		

DISPATCH _____ W/ATTCH FILE *PA* (CT)

[Redacted]

10/15/11

10/15/11



10/15/11

[Redacted]

10/15/11

10/15/11

10/15/11

10/15/11

10/15/11

10/15/11

10/15/11

10/15/11

10/15/11

10/15/11

10/15/11

10/15/11

10/15/11

10/15/11

10/15/11

10/15/11

10/15/11

10/15/11

10/15/11

10/15/11

10/15/11

10/15/11

10/15/11

10/15/11

10/15/11

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~SECRET ATTACHMENT~~

ACTION

January 4, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR ADMIRAL JOHN POINDEXTER

FROM: WALTER RAYMOND, JR. *WR*

SUBJECT: VOA Negotiations with Greece

VOA negotiations with the Greeks are critical. VOA utilizes transmitters in Greece for most of its Arabic programming, some of its Polish programming and all of its programming to Soviet Central Asia and South Asia including Afghanistan. It is essential that this negotiation be pressed to completion. The Greeks have requested a swap of air time and I would recommend that we do this. There is precedent for this as the UN, the BBC and the OAS have used US-based VOA transmitters. To reject the Greek request would be a direct slap in the face of the Greeks and probably cost us vital transmitter sites.

Wick's memo notes that Bill Casey has reservations. I called Bill to discuss the reservations. His concerns are less directly focussed on the possibility that the Greeks might broadcast critical material to Central America and more on the question of the propriety of giving the Greeks a US-based radio facility. I pointed out that there was precedent and that the transmitters are focussed on foreign targets. We can not preclude that the signal could be heard in the US. He accepted the fact that we would have to weigh the pros and cons but thought that it was a sufficiently complicated subject that it required consideration at the highest level. This is what was at the basis of Wick's memo to Bud.

In my judgment the pros and cons come out in favor of proceeding with the negotiation and the offer. The Department of State concurs. We have two options which could be followed. I have noted them below:

Options

- That the International Broadcasting Committee review this issue and provide a recommendation to Bud.
- That you sign the attached memorandum to Charlie Wick.

Recommendation

That you sign the attached memorandum to Charlie Wick.

Agree _____ Disagree _____

~~SECRET ATTACHMENT~~

UNCLASSIFIED
 BY *CN*
 #121714
 DATE 11/5/15

^{wr} Peter Sommer and ^w John Lenczowski concur.

Attachment

- Tab I Memorandum to Charles Z. Wick
- Tab II -Memorandum with enclosure from Charlie Wick to Mr. McFarlane

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM FOR CHARLES Z. WICK
Director
United States Information Agency

SUBJECT: VOA Negotiations with Greece (U)

The NSC staff has reviewed your memoranda covering VOA negotiations with Greece. We concur in your proposal to provide the Greek Government with air time on VOA transmitters as part of your overall renegotiation for VOA broadcasting from transmitters in Greece. We would encourage you to include in your negotiations general language calling for a mutual commitment not to broadcast information detrimental to the interest of either country. (U)

We understand that the ability to provide access to VOA transmitters by foreign countries is an important incentive in your negotiations with a number of different friendly foreign countries with whom you are negotiating VOA transmitter sites. We have no problem with this basic negotiating strategy. (U)

DECLASSIFIED

NLRR M412 # 121715

BY KML NARA DATE 3/18/13~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

**United States
Information
Agency**

121716
Office of the Director

30

Washington, D.C. 20547

~~SECRET~~

December 31, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR: Robert C. McFarlane
Assistant to the President for
National Security Affairs

FROM: Charles Z. Wick *CZW*
Director

SUBJECT: The Voice of America Negotiations with Greece

Enclosed is a copy of a memorandum I have just received from the Acting Director of the Voice of America and from my Deputy General Counsel, one of the principal negotiators of the proposed VOA agreement with Greece.

The Voice of America furnishes air time on its transmitters to foreign broadcasters either as a condition of obtaining an agreement or as the result of a swap of air time on the transmitters of each party. Right now we have such a swap arrangement with the BBC. We also provide air time to international organizations. At present, we provide air time on U.S.-based VOA transmitters to the U.N., and to the O.A.S. In addition, we provide air time on VOA transmitters to host countries on transmitters located on their territory. We do this in Greece, Thailand, Morocco, Botswana and Sri Lanka.

Since the commencement of our Greek negotiations, the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency has told me that his Agency takes a dim view of the Greek condition that we provide air time on our U.S.-based VOA transmitters if we wish to continue operation of the Voice of America's radio relay stations in Greece. His reservations are based on the possibility that the Papandreou government may broadcast material into Central America unfavorable to our interests. In view of Director Casey's expressed concerns, I told my staff that we erred in failing to consult with the NSC in advance of our discussions with the Greek Government, even though our negotiating instructions were cleared with State.

However, the fact is that we have diligently searched for alternative sites in the region from which VOA's same reception areas could be reached clearly. None has been found. Further, these agreements are exceptionally difficult to negotiate. It

~~SECRET~~

Classified by: C Z Wick
Office Symbol: D
Declassify-Downgrade: OADR

DECLASSIFIED

NLRR M412 # 121716

BY KML NARA DATE 3/18/13

~~SECRET~~

31

-2-

has taken us six years of negotiations with the Greek Government to reach the point where we now find ourselves. Finally, my staff has concluded that we must continue to respond affirmatively to Greek requests for air time if the negotiations are to avoid collapse, or indeed, if the VOA stations are to continue to operate in that country under the informal understanding existing between the two Governments. Our written agreement with Greece expired in December 1978. Should Greece shut down the VOA stations, we would lose 64 percent of the VOA's Arabic programming to the Middle East, 21 percent of VOA's Polish programming, 100 percent of the programming to South Asia in Pashto, Dari and Hindi, and all programming to Soviet Central Asia.

Under the circumstances, my senior aides are of the view that the practice of responding affirmatively to requests for air time from foreign broadcasters must be maintained where it is a necessary condition to the establishment of new VOA stations or to the continued operation of existing stations. We recognize that, at times, it will be a difficult problem with which to deal.

We request your concurrence in our affirmative response to the Greek Government. Negotiations are scheduled to resume January 20.

Enclosure: Memo - VOA Negotiations with Greece

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

December 17, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR

FROM: VOA - Gene Pell, Acting
GC - C. Normand Poirier *emp*
Deputy General Counsel

DECLASSIFIED

NLRR M412 # 121717

BY KML NARA DATE 3/18/13

SUBJECT: The Voice of America Negotiations With Greece

SUMMARY

Pursuant to NSDD-45, this Agency has been conducting difficult negotiations with the Greek Government concerning the continued operation and modernization of the Voice of America radio relay stations in Greece. Among the benefits sought by the Greek Government to which the Agency has responded favorably is a request for air time for the "Voice of Greece" on U.S. based VOA transmitters. The Director of the Central Intelligence Agency objects to the provision of air time on grounds that statements of Greek foreign policy broadcast over VOA transmitters may conflict directly with expressions of U.S. foreign policy disseminated by the same VOA transmitters. We request approval of the offer of air time to the Greek Government and to other foreign broadcasters in like negotiating circumstances.

BACKGROUND

This Agency has been actively negotiating with the Government of Greece since August of this year for a new agreement covering the Voice of America radio relay stations located at Kavala in Northern Greece and on the Island of Rhodes. This proposed agreement would permit the United States to continue to operate its VOA stations in Greece for a protracted period of time and would grant the United States the right to undertake extensive modernization of its VOA facilities in that country.

The stations in Greece are exceptionally important in disseminating the Voice of America broadcasts to certain regions which can not be reached from any other VOA sites. The VOA Kavala station broadcasts are heard within eastern Europe and all of western Soviet Union to a thousand miles east of the Ural Mountains (the only VOA station reaching this area). The station broadcasts are also heard in parts of Africa and reach Iran, Afghanistan and other countries in the area. The VOA Rhodes station which operates a powerful medium wave transmitter covers the Middle East.

The Director of the Central Intelligence Agency has stated that his Agency takes a dim view of the U.S. offer to make air time available on VOA transmitters within the United States to Greece. As we understand it, the CIA Director is apprehensive that the content of any broadcast of Greek foreign

~~SECRET~~

policy statements reaching Central America over VOA transmitters would be totally at variance with U.S. foreign policy toward that region, and particularly toward Nicaragua.

Other U.S. allies with shortwave broadcast capabilities do not share U.S. policies fully (with respect to Central America) and broadcast into the region.

NATO allies with shortwave broadcast capability and who broadcast to Central America include West Germany, England, France and the Netherlands. The attitude of these countries towards our Central American policies, and in particular towards Nicaragua, range from significant support to disagreement on approach.

A. THE GREEK GOVERNMENT HAS MADE RECIPROCITY IN BROADCASTING AN ESSENTIAL PRINCIPLE OF THE NEW AGREEMENT.

From the outset of the negotiations, the representatives of the Greek Government have made it abundantly clear that no agreement with Greece for continued operation of the Voice of America stations in Greece was possible in the absence of cooperation on a reciprocal basis in the field of radio broadcasting.

In the application of the principle of reciprocity, the Greeks insist on VOA relay of the "Voice of Greece" radio broadcasts from Greece by VOA stations based in the continental United States. The Voice of Greece programs would be comprised mainly of cultural material (music and feature programs on Greece) but would also include newscasts. These newscasts, in their words, would touch from time to time on domestic political situations. We have construed their description of newscasts to extend to international political situations including Cyprus and other areas of the Middle East which represent major concerns to the Greek Government. We do not exclude the possibility of Greek policy statements on any other international situation of interest to that Government.

The Greek shortwave transmissions would be relayed by VOA transmitters in the U.S. to the Greek diaspora in third countries and ships at sea. (The Greek shipping fleet totals 50 million tons.) While most of the transmissions would be beamed towards the Atlantic, some of the transmissions could be broadcast to Central and Latin America from the VOA station in Delano, California. As matters now stand, we have offered up to six hours a day on U.S. based VOA transmitters, without identifying any particular station or any particular number of hours at a specific station.

B. THE VOICE OF AMERICA HISTORICALLY HAS PROVIDED AIR TIME TO FOREIGN BROADCASTERS.

1. On U.S. based VOA transmitters

The Voice of America has regularly and for an extensive period of time

provided air time on its U.S. based shortwave transmitters to the United Nations, to the Organization of American States and to the British Broadcasting Corporation. With respect to the latter the arrangement is a barter with the BBC providing air time on its Ascension Island transmitters in the South Atlantic in exchange for air time on the VOA Delano transmitters. VOA has also temporarily provided transmission services to Radio Canada when the latter's own short wave transmitters were out of commission.

The Voice of America has in the past sought to swap air time on its U.S. based transmitters in exchange for air time on the foreign based transmitters of Deutsche Welle and Radio Nederlands. From time to time, VOA renews contact with foreign broadcasters for a swap of air time in order to take advantage of their strategically located transmitters.

2. On foreign based VOA transmitters

The Voice of America has regularly and for an extended period of time provided or shared air time on its foreign based transmitters with the host Government in whose country the transmitters are based. Thus since the inception of relay broadcasting services in Sri Lanka, England, Thailand, the Philippines, Morocco and Greece, the BBC or the host governments have broadcast from the Voice of America facilities in their respective countries. Some of our agreements which cover such sharing or provision date back to the 1950's.

We also provide air time to the United Nations on VOA transmitters located in the Philippines, Morocco and Liberia, and have provided air time to the Radio in the American Sector (Berlin) over VOA Munich transmitters.

C. BENEFITS OF PROVIDING AIR TIME TO FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS

The Agency has found that the provision of air time on its transmitters to foreign governments or other foreign broadcasters such as BBC facilitates cooperation among the parties and makes more attractive the presence of VOA stations on the soil of these countries.

As a general rule, the financial benefits to the foreign countries from VOA stations located on their soil are somewhat limited. Typically these consist of radio transmitters operated by VOA for the benefit of the host country or the provision of air time at VOA expense on VOA transmitters. While most of the employees operating the VOA stations are foreign national employees under the supervision of U.S. managerial personnel, the total annual expenditures of the Voice of America in these countries is of a relatively modest order.

The attractiveness of VOA stations therefore to a host government is necessarily of a political order. The host government in seeking parliamentary ratification of VOA agreements typically stresses the extent of cooperation in broadcasting which any agreement embodies. In our recent

negotiations we have found this to be one of the most persuasive selling points.

We anticipate requests for air time on U.S. based VOA transmitters from other countries with which we are now in the process of negotiating agreements. It is obvious, therefore, that the final decision made in this case will have exceptionally important consequences.

D. CONTROL OF PROGRAM CONTENT AMOUNTS TO CENSORSHIP

The United States has resisted strenuously any attempts by foreign governments to censor or otherwise control the content of VOA programs. For the United States now to refuse to air the Voice of Greece broadcasts on grounds of their apprehended policy content would be viewed as hypocritical.

U.S. negotiations with Sri Lanka were stalemated for over a year while the two Governments attempted to reach a satisfactory resolution of Sri Lankan concerns over U.S. foreign policy broadcasts to the region from VOA transmitters located on Sri Lankan soil. Similarly, difficult negotiations on program content control have been encountered in Greece as well as in countries in the Far East.

The U.S. expressed view has been that for all practical purposes the VOA stations on host country soil are similar to telephone exchanges with no responsibility in the host government for the content of any messages carried over these networks. For the United States now to raise objection to the content of programs of foreign broadcasters relayed over VOA transmitters would be viewed as the height of hypocrisy.

E. GREECE WOULD REGARD THE REVERSAL IN NEGOTIATING POSITION AS A BREACH OF GOOD FAITH

The cable traffic between our negotiators in Athens and the interested agencies in Washington over the past few months has faithfully reported Greek insistence that there be extensive reciprocity in the field of broadcasting. The Greeks have made it bluntly clear that the political acceptability of this agreement to members of the Greek parliament and to the Greek public will rest in large measure on the extent of broadcasting opportunities made reciprocally available to Greece over VOA transmitters in exchange for the placement and operation on Greek soil of a large number of VOA transmitters.

For the United States negotiators at this juncture to be placed in a position of repudiating all earlier expressed offers of air time on U.S. based VOA transmitters would be viewed as lacking in good faith. Moreover we do not believe it possible to keep from the Greek representatives the true reason for the U.S. reversal of position. Any reversal based on Greek perception of U.S. objections to the possible character of Greek foreign policy statements would enflame an atmosphere in which U.S.-Greek relations could be even further strained and bring the on-going negotiations to a halt.

F. RISKS OF U.S. REVERSAL IN THE OFFER OF AIR TIME

In our view any expressed U.S. reversal of offer of air time on VOA transmitters in the United States would at the very least lead to a rupture and suspension of negotiations.

Moreover the VOA stations in Greece have been operating since December 1978 under a tacit agreement that the provisions of the expired agreement of 1962 will continue to apply. With some minor difficulties with respect to customs duties and certain leases of land on the Island of Rhodes, the Greek Government has acquiesced in the continued operation of both of these stations even though the 1962 agreement has expired.

During the negotiations, a senior Greek representative has on at least two occasions referred to the possibility that the VOA stations would be shut down by Greece in the absence of U.S. acceptance of Greek terms. We have acted on the principle that U.S. negotiation in good faith would effectively dispel such a risk. It is our view, however, that the likelihood of a shut-down of these VOA stations would rise exponentially to a virtual certainty should the U.S. withdraw its offer of air time over VOA transmitters.

RECOMMENDATION

That the furnishing of air time to Greece be approved as appropriate under the circumstances of the current negotiations and that the policy of furnishing of air time on U.S. based VOA transmitters to other countries in the future, if essential to the establishment or continued operation of VOA stations in those countries, also be approved.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____ DATE _____
DISCUSS _____

RECEIVED 02 JAN 85 13

TO MCFARLANE

FROM WICK, C

DOCDATE 31 DEC 84 37

RAYMOND

04 JAN 85

KEYWORDS: VOA

GREECE

USIA

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL OF CLASSIFIED ENCLOSURE(S)

KL 10/20/11

SUBJECT: VOA NEGOTIATIONS W/ GREECE

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR MCFARLANE DUE: 09 JAN 85 STATUS C FILES PA

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

RAYMOND

LENCZOWSKI

SOMMER

STEINER

FORTIER

MATLOCK

GRIMES

COMMENTS

REF# LOG NSCIFID (CM CT)

ACTION OFFICER (S)	ASSIGNED	ACTION REQUIRED	DUE	COPIES TO
C	1/15	Poindektea Approved Recm #1		
-	1/15	Poindektea disapproved Recm #2		WFO, SC, PS

DISPATCH _____ W/ATTCH FILE _____ (C)

National Security Council
The White House

PA^{cu}

RECEIVED

System # I

Package # 0019

85 JAN 8 P 1: 51

1510 38

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Paul Thompson	<u>1</u>	<u>✓</u>	<u> </u>
Bob Kimmitt	<u>2</u>	<u>K</u>	<u> </u>
John Poindexter	<u>3</u>	<u>[Signature]</u>	<u> </u>
Tom Shull	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>
Wilma Hall	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>
Bud McFarlane	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>
Bob Kimmitt	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>
NSC Secretariat	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>
Situation Room	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>

I = Information **A = Action** R = Retain D = Dispatch N = No further Action

cc: VP Meese Baker Deaver Other

COMMENTS (Date/Time)

(Yellow sticky note)
 - No Folder
 - JP Approved #1
 disApproved #2

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~SECRET ATTACHMENT~~

ACTION

January 4, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR ADMIRAL JOHN POINDEXTER

FROM: WALTER RAYMOND, JR. *WR*

SUBJECT: VOA Negotiations with Greece

RELEASSED
 BY CIA
 M42/L # 1278
 8/27/85
 1/5/85

VOA negotiations with the Greeks are critical. VOA utilizes transmitters in Greece for most of its Arabic programming, some of its Polish programming and all of its programming to Soviet Central Asia and South Asia including Afghanistan. It is essential that this negotiation be pressed to completion. The Greeks have requested a swap of air time and I would recommend that we do this. There is precedent for this as the UN, the BBC and the OAS have used US-based VOA transmitters. To reject the Greek request would be a direct slap in the face of the Greeks and probably cost us vital transmitter sites.

Wick's memo notes that Bill Casey has reservations. I called Bill to discuss the reservations. His concerns are less directly focussed on the possibility that the Greeks might broadcast critical material to Central America and more on the question of the propriety of giving the Greeks a US-based radio facility. I pointed out that there was precedent and that the transmitters are focussed on foreign targets. We can not preclude that the signal could be heard in the US. He accepted the fact that we would have to weigh the pros and cons but thought that it was a sufficiently complicated subject that it required consideration at the highest level. This is what was at the basis of Wick's memo to Bud.

In my judgment the pros and cons come out in favor of proceeding with the negotiation and the offer. The Department of State concurs. We have two options which could be followed. I have noted them below:

Options

- #1 -- That the International Broadcasting Committee review this issue and provide a recommendation to Bud.
- #2 -- That you sign the attached memorandum to Charlie Wick.

Recommendation

That you sign the attached memorandum to Charlie Wick.

Agree _____

Disagree _____

~~SECRET ATTACHMENT~~

Go with option 1.

~~SECRET ATTACHMENT~~

40

+ ^{ws} Peter Sommer and ^W John Lenczowski concur.

Attachment

Tab I Memorandum to Charles Z. Wick
Tab II Memorandum with enclosure from Charlie Wick to Mr.
 McFarlane

~~SECRET ATTACHMENT~~

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR CHARLES Z. WICK
Director
United States Information Agency

SUBJECT: VOA Negotiations with Greece (U)

The NSC staff has reviewed your memoranda covering VOA negotiations with Greece. We concur in your proposal to provide the Greek Government with air time on VOA transmitters as part of your overall renegotiation for VOA broadcasting from transmitters in Greece. We would encourage you to include in your negotiations general language calling for a mutual commitment not to broadcast information detrimental to the interest of either country. (S)

We understand that the ability to provide access to VOA transmitters by foreign countries is an important incentive in your negotiations with a number of different friendly foreign countries with whom you are negotiating VOA transmitter sites. We have no problem with this basic negotiating strategy. (S)

DECLASSIFIED

NLRR 1412 # 121719

BY KML NARA DATE 3/18/13

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Declassify on: OADR

**United States
Information
Agency**

Washington, D.C. 20547

121735
Office of the Director



~~SECRET~~

December 31, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR: Robert C. McFarlane
Assistant to the President for
National Security Affairs

FROM: Charles Z. Wick *CZW*
Director

SUBJECT: The Voice of America Negotiations with Greece

Enclosed is a copy of a memorandum I have just received from the Acting Director of the Voice of America and from my Deputy General Counsel, one of the principal negotiators of the proposed VOA agreement with Greece.

The Voice of America furnishes air time on its transmitters to foreign broadcasters either as a condition of obtaining an agreement or as the result of a swap of air time on the transmitters of each party. Right now we have such a swap arrangement with the BBC. We also provide air time to international organizations. At present, we provide air time on U.S.-based VOA transmitters to the U.N., and to the O.A.S. In addition, we provide air time on VOA transmitters to host countries on transmitters located on their territory. We do this in Greece, Thailand, Morocco, Botswana and Sri Lanka.

Since the commencement of our Greek negotiations, the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency has told me that his Agency takes a dim view of the Greek condition that we provide air time on our U.S.-based VOA transmitters if we wish to continue operation of the Voice of America's radio relay stations in Greece. His reservations are based on the possibility that the Papandreou government may broadcast material into Central America unfavorable to our interests. In view of Director Casey's expressed concerns, I told my staff that we erred in failing to consult with the NSC in advance of our discussions with the Greek Government, even though our negotiating instructions were cleared with State.

However, the fact is that we have diligently searched for alternative sites in the region from which VOA's same reception areas could be reached clearly. None has been found. Further, these agreements are exceptionally difficult to negotiate. It

~~SECRET~~

Classified by: C Z Wick
Office Symbol: D
Declassify-Downgrade: OADR

DECLASSIFIED

NLRR M412 * 121735

BY KML NARA DATE 3/18/13

~~SECRET~~

43

-2-

has taken us six years of negotiations with the Greek Government to reach the point where we now find ourselves. Finally, my staff has concluded that we must continue to respond affirmatively to Greek requests for air time if the negotiations are to avoid collapse, or indeed, if the VOA stations are to continue to operate in that country under the informal understanding existing between the two Governments. Our written agreement with Greece expired in December 1978. Should Greece shut down the VOA stations, we would lose 64 percent of the VOA's Arabic programming to the Middle East, 21 percent of VOA's Polish programming, 100 percent of the programming to South Asia in Pashto, Dari and Hindi, and all programming to Soviet Central Asia.

Under the circumstances, my senior aides are of the view that the practice of responding affirmatively to requests for air time from foreign broadcasters must be maintained where it is a necessary condition to the establishment of new VOA stations or to the continued operation of existing stations. We recognize that, at times, it will be a difficult problem with which to deal.

We request your concurrence in our affirmative response to the Greek Government. Negotiations are scheduled to resume January 20.

Enclosure: Memo - VOA Negotiations with Greece

~~SECRET~~

United States Information Agency

ACTION MEMO

~~SECRET~~

December 17, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR

FROM: VOA - Gene Pell, Acting
GC - C. Normand Poirier
Deputy General Counsel

SUBJECT: The Voice of America Negotiations With Greece

DECLASSIFIED

NLRR M412 #121737

BY KML NARA DATE 3/18/13

SUMMARY

Pursuant to NSDD-45, this Agency has been conducting difficult negotiations with the Greek Government concerning the continued operation and modernization of the Voice of America radio relay stations in Greece. Among the benefits sought by the Greek Government to which the Agency has responded favorably is a request for air time for the "Voice of Greece" on U.S. based VOA transmitters. The Director of the Central Intelligence Agency objects to the provision of air time on grounds that statements of Greek foreign policy broadcast over VOA transmitters may conflict directly with expressions of U.S. foreign policy disseminated by the same VOA transmitters. We request approval of the offer of air time to the Greek Government and to other foreign broadcasters in like negotiating circumstances.

BACKGROUND

This Agency has been actively negotiating with the Government of Greece since August of this year for a new agreement covering the Voice of America radio relay stations located at Kavala in Northern Greece and on the Island of Rhodes. This proposed agreement would permit the United States to continue to operate its VOA stations in Greece for a protracted period of time and would grant the United States the right to undertake extensive modernization of its VOA facilities in that country.

The stations in Greece are exceptionally important in disseminating the Voice of America broadcasts to certain regions which can not be reached from any other VOA sites. The VOA Kavala station broadcasts are heard within eastern Europe and all of western Soviet Union to a thousand miles east of the Ural Mountains (the only VOA station reaching this area). The station broadcasts are also heard in parts of Africa and reach Iran, Afghanistan and other countries in the area. The VOA Rhodes station which operates a powerful medium wave transmitter covers the Middle East.

The Director of the Central Intelligence Agency has stated that his Agency takes a dim view of the U.S. offer to make air time available on VOA transmitters within the United States to Greece. As we understand it, the CIA Director is apprehensive that the content of any broadcast of Greek foreign

~~SECRET~~

policy statements reaching Central America over VOA transmitters would be totally at variance with U.S. foreign policy toward that region, and particularly toward Nicaragua.

Other U.S. allies with shortwave broadcast capabilities do not share U.S. policies fully (with respect to Central America) and broadcast into the region.

NATO allies with shortwave broadcast capability and who broadcast to Central America include West Germany, England, France and the Netherlands. The attitude of these countries towards our Central American policies, and in particular towards Nicaragua, range from significant support to disagreement on approach.

A. THE GREEK GOVERNMENT HAS MADE RECIPROCITY IN BROADCASTING AN ESSENTIAL PRINCIPLE OF THE NEW AGREEMENT.

From the outset of the negotiations, the representatives of the Greek Government have made it abundantly clear that no agreement with Greece for continued operation of the Voice of America stations in Greece was possible in the absence of cooperation on a reciprocal basis in the field of radio broadcasting.

In the application of the principle of reciprocity, the Greeks insist on VOA relay of the "Voice of Greece" radio broadcasts from Greece by VOA stations based in the continental United States. The Voice of Greece programs would be comprised mainly of cultural material (music and feature programs on Greece) but would also include newscasts. These newscasts, in their words, would touch from time to time on domestic political situations. We have construed their description of newscasts to extend to international political situations including Cyprus and other areas of the Middle East which represent major concerns to the Greek Government. We do not exclude the possibility of Greek policy statements on any other international situation of interest to that Government.

The Greek shortwave transmissions would be relayed by VOA transmitters in the U.S. to the Greek diaspora in third countries and ships at sea. (The Greek shipping fleet totals 50 million tons.) While most of the transmissions would be beamed towards the Atlantic, some of the transmissions could be broadcast to Central and Latin America from the VOA station in Delano, California. As matters now stand, we have offered up to six hours a day on U.S. based VOA transmitters, without identifying any particular station or any particular number of hours at a specific station.

B. THE VOICE OF AMERICA HISTORICALLY HAS PROVIDED AIR TIME TO FOREIGN BROADCASTERS.

1. On U.S. based VOA transmitters

The Voice of America has regularly and for an extensive period of time

46

provided air time on its U.S. based shortwave transmitters to the United Nations, to the Organization of American States and to the British Broadcasting Corporation. With respect to the latter the arrangement is a barter with the BBC providing air time on its Ascension Island transmitters in the South Atlantic in exchange for air time on the VOA Delano transmitters. VOA has also temporarily provided transmission services to Radio Canada when the latter's own short wave transmitters were out of commission.

The Voice of America has in the past sought to swap air time on its U.S. based transmitters in exchange for air time on the foreign based transmitters of Deutsche Welle and Radio Nederlands. From time to time, VOA renews contact with foreign broadcasters for a swap of air time in order to take advantage of their strategically located transmitters.

2. On foreign based VOA transmitters

The Voice of America has regularly and for an extended period of time provided or shared air time on its foreign based transmitters with the host Government in whose country the transmitters are based. Thus since the inception of relay broadcasting services in Sri Lanka, England, Thailand, the Philippines, Morocco and Greece, the BBC or the host governments have broadcast from the Voice of America facilities in their respective countries. Some of our agreements which cover such sharing or provision date back to the 1950's.

We also provide air time to the United Nations on VOA transmitters located in the Philippines, Morocco and Liberia, and have provided air time to the Radio in the American Sector (Berlin) over VOA Munich transmitters.

C. BENEFITS OF PROVIDING AIR TIME TO FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS

The Agency has found that the provision of air time on its transmitters to foreign governments or other foreign broadcasters such as BBC facilitates cooperation among the parties and makes more attractive the presence of VOA stations on the soil of these countries.

As a general rule, the financial benefits to the foreign countries from VOA stations located on their soil are somewhat limited. Typically these consist of radio transmitters operated by VOA for the benefit of the host country or the provision of air time at VOA expense on VOA transmitters. While most of the employees operating the VOA stations are foreign national employees under the supervision of U.S. managerial personnel, the total annual expenditures of the Voice of America in these countries is of a relatively modest order.

The attractiveness of VOA stations therefore to a host government is necessarily of a political order. The host government in seeking parliamentary ratification of VOA agreements typically stresses the extent of cooperation in broadcasting which any agreement embodies. In our recent

negotiations we have found this to be one of the most persuasive selling points.

We anticipate requests for air time on U.S. based VOA transmitters from other countries with which we are now in the process of negotiating agreements. It is obvious, therefore, that the final decision made in this case will have exceptionally important consequences.

D. CONTROL OF PROGRAM CONTENT AMOUNTS TO CENSORSHIP

The United States has resisted strenuously any attempts by foreign governments to censor or otherwise control the content of VOA programs. For the United States now to refuse to air the Voice of Greece broadcasts on grounds of their apprehended policy content would be viewed as hypocritical.

U.S. negotiations with Sri Lanka were stalemated for over a year while the two Governments attempted to reach a satisfactory resolution of Sri Lankan concerns over U.S. foreign policy broadcasts to the region from VOA transmitters located on Sri Lankan soil. Similarly, difficult negotiations on program content control have been encountered in Greece as well as in countries in the Far East.

The U.S. expressed view has been that for all practical purposes the VOA stations on host country soil are similar to telephone exchanges with no responsibility in the host government for the content of any messages carried over these networks. For the United States now to raise objection to the content of programs of foreign broadcasters relayed over VOA transmitters would be viewed as the height of hypocrisy.

E. GREECE WOULD REGARD THE REVERSAL IN NEGOTIATING POSITION AS A BREACH OF GOOD FAITH

The cable traffic between our negotiators in Athens and the interested agencies in Washington over the past few months has faithfully reported Greek insistence that there be extensive reciprocity in the field of broadcasting. The Greeks have made it bluntly clear that the political acceptability of this agreement to members of the Greek parliament and to the Greek public will rest in large measure on the extent of broadcasting opportunities made reciprocally available to Greece over VOA transmitters in exchange for the placement and operation on Greek soil of a large number of VOA transmitters.

For the United States negotiators at this juncture to be placed in a position of repudiating all earlier expressed offers of air time on U.S. based VOA transmitters would be viewed as lacking in good faith. Moreover we do not believe it possible to keep from the Greek representatives the true reason for the U.S. reversal of position. Any reversal based on Greek perception of U.S. objections to the possible character of Greek foreign policy statements would enflame an atmosphere in which U.S.-Greek relations could be even further strained and bring the on-going negotiations to a halt.

F. RISKS OF U.S. REVERSAL IN THE OFFER OF AIR TIME

In our view any expressed U.S. reversal of offer of air time on VOA transmitters in the United States would at the very least lead to a rupture and suspension of negotiations.

Moreover the VOA stations in Greece have been operating since December 1978 under a tacit agreement that the provisions of the expired agreement of 1962 will continue to apply. With some minor difficulties with respect to customs duties and certain leases of land on the Island of Rhodes, the Greek Government has acquiesced in the continued operation of both of these stations even though the 1962 agreement has expired.

During the negotiations, a senior Greek representative has on at least two occasions referred to the possibility that the VOA stations would be shut down by Greece in the absence of U.S. acceptance of Greek terms. We have acted on the principle that U.S. negotiation in good faith would effectively dispel such a risk. It is our view, however, that the likelihood of a shut-down of these VOA stations would rise exponentially to a virtual certainty should the U.S. withdraw its offer of air time over VOA transmitters.

RECOMMENDATION

That the furnishing of air time to Greece be approved as appropriate under the circumstances of the current negotiations and that the policy of furnishing of air time on U.S. based VOA transmitters to other countries in the future, if essential to the establishment or continued operation of VOA stations in those countries, also be approved.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____ DATE _____

DISCUSS _____