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Doc # 79

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SLO BRUSSELS FOR GENERAL KNOWLTON US DELMC NATO
FROM GENERAL HAIG SACEUR SHAPE BE

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Chief, Records & Declass Div, WFS
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SUBJECT: GREEK REINTEGRATION
REFERENCES: A. CONFIDENTIAL/SPECAT ATHENS 4900, 000817Z JUN 79 (NOTAL)
B. CONFIDENTIAL ATHENS 4970, 071445Z JUN 79 (NOTAL)
C. SECRET ATHENS 5024, 001415Z JUN 79 (NOTAL)
D. CONFIDENTIAL ATHENS 5126, 121415Z JUN 79 (NOTAL)

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~~E. CONFIDENTIAL/SPECAV ANKARA 1314, 070700Z JUN 79 (NOTAM)~~

1. QUOTED BELOW IS THE LATEST SACEUR PROPOSAL THAT WAS FORWARDED BY LETTER TO GENERAL DAVOS AND GENERAL EVREN.
QUOTE.

29 MAY 1979

SACEUR PROPOSAL FOR AN INTERIM SOLUTION TO THE QUESTIONS OF COMMAND AND CONTROL ARRANGEMENTS IN THE AEGEAN
PREAMBLE

THE INTERIM RESOLUTION OF MILITARY PROBLEMS RELATING TO THE RETURN OF GREECE INTO THE INTEGRATED MILITARY STRUCTURE OF NATO IS WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO BILATERAL POLITICAL ISSUES EXISTING BETWEEN GREECE AND TURKEY. AGREEMENTS MADE AND MEASURES TAKEN TO IMPROVE THE DEFENSIVE CAPABILITIES AND MILITARY EFFECTIVENESS OF THE ALLIANCE IN THIS CONNECTION APPLY ONLY TO NATO MILITARY ACTIVITIES AND WILL NOT CREATE ANY PRECEDENT FOR FUTURE BILATERAL POLITICAL AGREEMENTS AND DECISIONS.

UNDER THE FOREGOING PROVISIONS THE FOLLOWING AMPLIFICATIONS AND ELABORATIONS -- TO WHAT HAS ALREADY TRANSPIRED ON THE ISSUE OF COMMAND AND CONTROL ARRANGEMENTS IN THE AEGEAN -- CONSTITUTE THE BASIS FROM THE MILITARY POINT OF VIEW FOR THE IMMEDIATE RETURN OF GREECE TO THE NATO INTEGRATED MILITARY STRUCTURE. THESE AMPLIFICATIONS AND ELABORATIONS REPRESENT INTERIM MILITARY/TECHNICAL ARRANGEMENTS WHICH ARE NOT TO BE CONSIDERED PRECEDENTIAL WITH REGARD TO FINAL NATO MILITARY ARRANGEMENTS.

AMPLIFICATIONS AND ELABORATIONS

1. GREECE WILL ABIDE BY MC DOCUMENT 06/1.
2. GREECE WILL CANCEL NOTAM 1157 SIMULTANEOUSLY WITH TURKISH CANCELLATION OF NOTAM 714.
3. AIR DEFENSE AND EARLY WARNING RESPONSIBILITIES OVER THE AEGEAN WILL BE CONDUCTED IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE SHAPE DIRECTIVE ON NATO EUROPEAN INTEGRATED AIR DEFENSE (NATINAD) AS ELABORATED HEREIN. THE AMPLIFICATIONS ON AIR DEFENSE COORDINATION ARRANGEMENTS WHICH ARE OUTLINED BELOW WILL NOT IN ANY WAY IMPINGE UPON THE SOVEREIGN RESPONSIBILITIES OF GREECE AND TURKEY TO DEFEND THE AIRSPACE OVER THEIR RESPECTIVE TERRITORIES. RATHER, THESE AMPLIFICATIONS ARE IN LIGHT OF THE NEW COMMAND ARRANGEMENTS IN LARISSA AND IZMIR, TO INSURE THAT THE DEFENSE OF INTERNATIONAL AIRSPACE WILL BE PROPERLY COORDINATED AND INTEGRATED FOR NATO PURPOSES.

A. FULL AND UNRESTRICTED EXCHANGE OF CROSSTELL USING ALL AVAILABLE NADGE INTEGRATED SOURCES (PRIMARY BY MEANS OF AUTOMATIC AND SEMI-AUTOMATIC SYSTEMS); HOWEVER, WHEN AND WHERE AUTOMATIC AND

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SEMI-AUTOMATIC SYSTEMS ARE NOT AVAILABLE, MANUAL SYSTEMS WILL BE USED) WILL TAKE PLACE IN A ZONE EXTENDING GENERALLY FROM THE EASTERN AND NORTHERN SHORELINES OF THE GREEK MAINLAND AND FROM THE NORTHERN AND WESTERN SHORELINES OF THE TURKISH MAINLAND INTO THE AEGEAN AND TO THE LIMITS OF RADAR COVERAGE TO THE SOUTH,

~~REVW 12 JUN 65~~

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~~SECRET~~ SHP 1757 ~~EYES ONLY~~ SECTION TWO OF THREE
SUBJECT: GREEK REINTEGRATION

B. WITH THE CREATION OF NEW NATO LAND AND AIR HEADQUARTERS IN LARISSA, GREECE, ADAPTATION OF AIR DEFENSE COORDINATION PROCEDURES WILL BE NECESSARY. AIR DEFENSE COORDINATION BETWEEN THE HELLENIC 20TAF AND THE TURKISH 1TAF THAT WAS PREVIOUSLY ACCOMPLISHED BY COMSIXATAF IN IZMIR, TURKEY WILL NOW BE ACCOMPLISHED BETWEEN COMSIXATAF AND COMSEVENATAF BY COMAIRSOUTH.
C. IN ORDER TO ACCOMPLISH EFFECTIVE DAY-TO-DAY AIR DEFENSE COORDINATION, COMAIRSOUTH WILL ESTABLISH AN ADVANCED REGIONAL AIR OPERATIONS CENTER (ARAOC). THE ARAOC WILL BE STAFFED BY THIRD COUNTRY PERSONNEL UNTIL AGREED OTHERWISE BY THE NATIONS CONCERNED. ARAOC REPRESENTATIVES WILL BE CO-LOCATED WITH THE AIR DEFENSE OPERATIONS CENTERS (ADOCs) IN LARISSA AND IZMIR, WITH THE FINAL AIRSOUTH AUTHORITY IN THE ARAOC IN LARISSA.
4. CONSISTENT WITH THE FOREGOING, AND EXCEPT IN AREAS OVER SOVEREIGN NATIONAL TERRITORY, ALL OTHER AIR ASPECTS WILL BE DEFINED BY

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CINCSOUTH IN LIGHT OF MISSION REQUIREMENTS AND THE OPERATIONAL INTERESTS OF THE FORCES INVOLVED.

5. NATO NAVAL OPERATIONS WITHIN CINCSOUTH'S AREA OF RESPONSIBILITY WILL BE CONDUCTED UNDER THE PRINCIPLES OF MILITARY COMMITTEE DOCUMENT 57/3. NAVAL ASPECTS WILL BE DEFINED BY CINCSOUTH IN LIGHT OF MISSION REQUIREMENTS AND THE OPERATIONAL INTERESTS OF THE FORCES INVOLVED.

& COMPRISING PLANNING, EXERCISES, COMMAND AND CONTROL AND CONDUCT OF OPERATIONS.

UNQUOTE.

2. IT IS APPARENT FROM THE RECENT MESSAGES OUT OF ATHENS (REFS A THROUGH D) THAT THE GREEK SIDE IS NOT FINDING IT EASY TO FORMULATE A RESPONSE TO THE LATEST SACEUR PROPOSAL. THAT IS UNDERSTANDABLE INASMUCH AS IT DOES NOT GIVE EITHER SIDE ALL THAT IT WOULD LIKE TO ACHIEVE.

3. WE ARE APPROACHING AN HISTORIC MOMENT WHEREIN THE NEXT 24 TO 48 HOURS MAY BE CRUCIAL. THEREFORE, IT IS IMPORTANT THAT THE BASIC ISSUE IS CLEARLY UNDERSTOOD. IT REVOLVES AROUND THE QUESTION OF THE DISPOSITION FOR NATO PURPOSES OF THE INTERNATIONAL AIRSPACE THAT UNQUESTIONABLY EXISTS IN THE AEGEAN. STATED BLUNTLY THE GREEK SIDE WANTS COMPLETE RESPONSIBILITY FOR IT AND THE TURKISH SIDE WANTS RESPONSIBILITY FOR AT LEAST THE EASTERN PORTION OF IT. GREEK PROTESTATIONS NOTWITHSTANDING, THE SACEUR PROPOSAL VERY CLEARLY RESPECTS SOVEREIGNTY OVER NATIONAL TERRITORIES. HENCE, ONLY THE PORTION OF THE AEGEAN THAT IS REALLY AT ISSUE IS THAT PORTION WHICH IS INTERNATIONAL.

4. UNTIL MFA DIRECTOR GENERAL TZOUNIS EXPOSED THE SACEUR PROPOSAL TO DCM MILLS OUR EMBASSIES WERE PROTECTED FROM THE NEED TO RESPOND WITH LESS THAN FULL EXPERTISE TO ARGUMENTS WEIGHTED IN FAVOR OF ONE POSITION OR ANOTHER. UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES DCM MILLS' RESPONSES TO TZOUNIS, WITHOUT THE BENEFIT OF DETAILED STUDY, WERE WELL BALANCED AND SHOWED GREAT INSIGHT. NONETHELESS, THE MAJOR POINT THAT BEARS REPEATING AT EVERY OPPORTUNITY IS THAT SOVEREIGNTY OVER NATIONAL TERRITORIES IS NOT CHALLENGED IN THE SACEUR PROPOSAL. RATHER IT IS SPECIFICALLY GUARANTEED. CLAIMING THAT SOVEREIGN AIRSPACE WOULD BE INFRINGED UPON INFLAMES PASSIONS AND OBSCURES THE REAL ISSUE -- NAMELY THE ACCEPTANCE BY BOTH SIDES THAT INTERNATIONAL AIRSPACE EXISTS AND THAT IN THE INTERIM CINCSOUTH WILL HAVE TO BE THE ARBITER ON ITS USE FOR NATO PURPOSES.

5. ALL OTHER ASPECTS OF THE SACEUR PROPOSAL SHOULD PRESENT LITTLE DIFFICULTY TO THE GREEK SIDE ONCE THE BASIC DECISION IS MADE TO ACCEPT THE FACT THAT NATO IS NOT IN A POSITION TO BESTOW UPON GREECE COMPLETE RESPONSIBILITY OVER INTERNATIONAL AIRSPACE IN THE AEGEAN FOR NATO PURPOSES. IF ATHENS CANNOT BE MADE TO SEE THIS BASIC REALITY THEN NO ARRANGEMENT

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INTERIM OR OTHERWISE IS LIKELY TO BE SUCCESSFULLY BROUGHT TO
FRUITION.

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~~SECRET~~ SHP 1757 ~~EYES ONLY~~ FINAL SECTION OF THREE
SUBJECT: GREEK REINTEGRATION

6. THE ATHENS MESSAGES REINFORCE MY VIEW THAT THE AIR SPACE PROBLEM IS THE CRUCIAL ISSUE. THE FACT OF THE MATTER IS THE PROPOSAL MEETS MAJOR GREEK CONCERNS BY:

- A. CONFIRMING TERRITORIAL SOVEREIGNTY;
- B. PERMITTING IMMEDIATE REINTEGRATION;
- C. PRESERVING THE NAVAL AREA COMMAND (COMDEAST) WITHOUT DIRECTLY CHALLENGING ITS BOUNDARIES; AND,
- D. ALLOWING THE GREEK SIDE TO ARGUE ITS CASE FOR A FINAL SOLUTION ON AN EQUAL FOOTING.

7. FOR THE TURKISH SIDE ITS GOAL OF COMPLETELY ERASING PRE-74 AIR AND SEA BOUNDARIES IS ALSO NOT DOABLE. ANKARA MUST ACCEPT THAT WHILE RESPONSIBILITIES WITHIN THE INTERNATIONAL PORTIONS OF PRE 74 AIR AND SEA AREAS WILL CHANGE, THE PRE 74 BOUNDARIES WILL REMAIN ON THE BOOKS. AT THE SAME TIME THIS MEANS THAT THE AIRCRAFT REPORTING REQUIREMENT CONTAINED IN

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TURKISH NOTAM 714 WHICH CHALLENGES THE ATHENS FIR MUST BE REMOVED THROUGH CANCELLATION OF THAT NOTAM BY TURKEY. (TURKISH INCLINATIONS TOWARD THE PROPOSAL ARE AT REF E.)

8. IF EITHER SIDE (BUT PARTICULARLY THE GREEK SIDE BECAUSE IT IS CURRENTLY OUTSIDE THE INTEGRATED MILITARY STRUCTURE) CANNOT FIND IT POSSIBLE TO ACCEPT THIS LATEST PROPOSAL, THEN THE CONSEQUENCES MAY WELL PROVE DISASTROUS, AFTER MORE THAN FOUR YEARS OF NATO EFFORTS, ESPECIALLY THE INTENSIVE EFFORTS OF THIS PAST YEAR, THE LIST OF ALTERNATIVES HAS NARROWED DRAMATICALLY. EVENTUAL DISSOLUTION ALONG NATO'S CRITICAL SOUTHEASTERN FLANK COULD BECOME A REALITY, THEREFORE, GIVEN THE RECENT INFORMATION FROM ATHENS, IT MAY NOW BE TIME TO MAKE IMMEDIATE AND STRONG REPRESENTATIONS SUPPORTING THIS LATEST EFFORT ON THE GROUNDS THAT IT REPRESENTS A FAIR AND REASONABLE INTERIM SOLUTION TO THE CURRENT IMPASSE IN A WAY THAT FULLY RESPECTS THE NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY OF BOTH PARTIES AND DOES NOT DIRECTLY CHALLENGE THEIR ULTIMATE GOALS. THIS IS CLEARLY WASHINGTON'S CALL, HOWEVER CURRENT REPORTING IN ATHENS PRESS SUGGESTS THAT THE U.S. WILL BE CREDITED WITH THE LATEST SACEUR PROPOSAL WHETHER OR NOT IT BECOMES AN ADVOCATE.

9. WE HAVE REACHED A TURNING POINT OF ENORMOUS SIGNIFICANCE AND SHOULD MAKE EVERY ATTEMPT TO FORESTALL A NEGATIVE DECISION.

10. WARM REGARDS.

~~BEVN 12 JUN 85~~

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