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JAB (H)



INTERNATIONAL SECURITY POLICY

OFFICE OF THE
SECRETARY ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20301

17 MAY 1983

In reply refer to:
I-22233/83

DECLASSIFIED IN FULL
Authority: EO 13526
Chief, Records & Declass Div, WHS
Date: AUG 06 2018

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

SUBJECT: State Department's Proposed Security Assistance
Pledge for Greece - ACTION MEMORANDUM (S)

(S) In connection with the U.S.-Greek base negotiations, State wants presidential authorization for the security assistance pledge at Tab B. In effect that would commit us to an unprecedented program of at least \$500 million annually for Greece for the duration of the base agreement (i.e., five years), sums that Greece cannot properly absorb and we cannot afford.

(S) For the reasons set forth in the attached memorandum for your signature (Tab A), I think we should dissent from State's recommendation and urge deferral of the decision on aid until the other key issues in the negotiations are resolved. Even then, we may conclude that the costs of such a commitment outweigh the benefits to the USG.

(S) It bears noting that Papandreou recently made some antagonistic statements about the US to a Hungarian newspaper:

We regard participation in the struggle to consolidate peace and reduce international tension as our primary duty. . . . We have not followed Washington's line aimed at aggravating tension and we acted against the sanctions planned against Poland as well. Our proposal to develop a Balkans free of nuclear weapons also is beginning to take shape

. . .

[O]ur government is adopting a position against the deployment of intermediate-range missiles in Europe.

(S) The memorandum at Tab A states that, if the decision is made to authorize the aid pledge to the GoG, the pledge should be qualified with specified additional language. In that case, the President should also sign State's proposed letter to Turkish President Evren (Tab C), as amended, duly raising the baseline of our aid pledge to Turkey.

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(U) Recommendation: That you sign either the memorandum at Tab A addressed to the President or the one addressed to Judge Clark, whichever you deem appropriate. (The memoranda are identical except for the addresses).

Richard Perle
Richard Perle

Attachments

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THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

WASHINGTON, THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: State Department's Proposed Security Assistance
Pledge for Greece (S)

(S) It would not, in my view, be advisable now to offer the Papandrou government the proposed security assistance program profile.

(S) Such an offer would commit the USG to provide \$2.5 billion to the GoG over the next five years. It would greatly diminish both our resources and our flexibility in the security assistance field. It would moreover preclude the Administration from even attempting to make the Greece aid figure an issue in our annual give-and-take with Congress regarding security assistance.

(S) Thus, the costs of the proposed offer are high, while the benefits to the USG are unclear. The GoG has not yet made a major issue of the program profile. It cannot at this juncture be said that the \$2.5 billion pledge is the key to successful completion of the base negotiations. It may never be. In any event, enough other important issues still require resolution to justify deferring a decision on the program profile.

(S) In urging deferral of our decision, I am not ignoring the likelihood that Greece will in any case over the next five years receive from us at least as much security assistance as we are allocating for it this year (i.e., \$500 million, assuming conclusion of the base agreement). There is a difference between recognizing that we will probably do something and committing ourselves to do it.

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(47) The effects of such a pledge on our immensely important relationship with Turkey need also be considered. The multiyear profile we discussed with the GoT has a baseline of \$465 million. The proposed baseline for Greece is \$500 million. Consequently, State proposes raising Turkey's baseline. But there is a problem in attempting to balance such commitments: Given political realities on the Hill, a pledge to Greece is money in the bank while a pledge to Turkey, to say the least, is not. Turkey, by the way, did not insist on (and did not receive) a multi-year aid pledge before signing the Turkish-US defense agreement in 1980.

(48) If the decision is taken not to defer the matter but to authorize the pledge to the GoG, I believe it would be best to qualify that pledge in writing as follows:

The actual amounts of security assistance that the USG will provide to the GoG will of course depend on international strategic developments, NATO developments, the requirements of the Greek Armed Forces, and the willingness of the US Congress to fund security assistance requests.

It is especially important that we affirm the principle that security assistance levels remain tied to actual military requirements. It is also important that the GoG understand that we cannot commit ourselves to \$500 million annually in aid to Greece if Congress does violence to our other security assistance requests.

(49) If the pledge to the GoG is authorized, I would concur in transmitting to Turkish President Evren the letter drafted by the State Department, as amended.

(50) In sum, I recommend that we defer deciding on the security assistance pledge for the GoG until the other major issues in the base negotiations are resolved and we can effectively weigh the actual costs and benefits to the USG of the pledge. If the pledge, however, is to be authorized now, I recommend that it be qualified as set forth above and that you sign the proposed letter to President Evren, as amended.

Office of the Secretary of Defense
Chief, RDD, ESD, WHS
Date: 06 AUG 2018 Authority: EO 13526 + 5 USC 1952
Declassify: X Deny in Full: _____
Declassify in Part: _____
Reason: _____
MDR: 16 -M- 1093

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Authority: EO 13526
Chief, Records & Declass Div, WHS
Date: AUG 06 2018

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