U.S. Department of Justice
Washington, DC 20530

Exhibit A
To Registration Statement
Under the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938, as amended

OMB No. 1105-0003
Approval Expires Oct. 31, 1983

Furnish this exhibit for EACH foreign principal listed in an initial statement and for EACH additional foreign principal acquired subsequently.

1. Name and address of registrant	2. Registration No.
Daniel J. Edelman, Inc. 1730 Pennsylvania Ave., NW #460 Washington, DC 20006	3634

3. Name of foreign principal	4. Principal address of foreign principal
Republic of Greece	Athens, Greece

5. Indicate whether your foreign principal is one of the following type:

☒ Foreign government

☐ Foreign political party

☐ Foreign or ☐ domestic organization: If either, check one of the following:

☐ Partnership ☐ Committee

☐ Corporation ☐ Voluntary group

☐ Association ☐ Other (specify) _____

☐ Individual—State his nationality _____

6. If the foreign principal is a foreign government, state:

a) Branch or agency represented by the registrant. Ministry of Foreign Affairs

b) Name and title of official with whom registrant deals.

Ambassador George Papoulias

7. If the foreign principal is a foreign political party, state:

a) Principal address

b) Name and title of official with whom the registrant deals.

c) Principal aim

8. If the foreign principal is not a foreign government or a foreign political party,

a) State the nature of the business or activity of this foreign principal

b) Is this foreign principal

Owned by a foreign government, foreign political party, or other foreign principal ..... Yes ☐ No ☐

Directed by a foreign government, foreign political party, or other foreign principal..... Yes ☐ No ☐

Controlled by a foreign government, foreign political party, or other foreign principal ..... Yes ☐ No ☐

Financed by a foreign government, foreign political party, or other foreign principal..... Yes ☐ No ☐

Subsidized in whole by a foreign government, foreign political party, or other foreign principal..... Yes ☐ No ☐

Subsidized in part by a foreign government, foreign political party, or other foreign principal..... Yes ☐ No ☐

9. Explain fully all items answered "Yes" in Item 8(b). *(If additional space is needed, a full insert page may be used.)*

10. If the foreign principal is an organization and is not owned or controlled by a foreign government, foreign political party or other foreign principal, state who owns and controls it.

Date of Exhibit A	Name and Title	Signature
19 Nov 1984	Stephen K. Cook Senior Vice President	Stephen K. Cook

U.S. Department of Justice
Washington, DC 20530

Exhibit B
To Registration Statement
Under the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938, as amended

OMB No. 1105-0007
Approval Expires Oct. 31, 1983

INSTRUCTIONS: A registrant must furnish as an Exhibit B copies of each written agreement and the terms and conditions of each oral agreement with his foreign principal, including all modifications of such agreements; or, where no contract exists, a full statement of all the circumstances, by reason of which the registrant is acting as an agent of a foreign principal. This form shall be filed in duplicate for each foreign principal named in the registration statement and must be signed by or on behalf of the registrant.

Name of Registrant	Name of Foreign Principal
Daniel J. Edelman, Inc.	Republic of Greece

Check Appropriate Boxes:

1. ☐ The agreement between the registrant and the above-named foreign principal is a formal written contract. If this box is checked, attach two copies of the contract to this exhibit.

2. ☒ There is no formal written contract between the registrant and foreign principal. The agreement with the above-named foreign principal has resulted from an exchange of correspondence. If this box is checked, attach two copies of all pertinent correspondence, including a copy of any initial proposal which has been adopted by reference in such correspondence.

3. ☐ The agreement or understanding between the registrant and foreign principal is the result of neither a formal written contract nor an exchange of correspondence between the parties. If this box is checked, give a complete description below of the terms and conditions of the oral agreement or understanding, its duration, the fees and the expenses, if any, to be received.

4. Describe fully the nature and method of performance of the above indicated agreement or understanding.

Edelman will provide public relations services to the Greek government in the United States including media relations, consultation, arranging speaking engagements, and distribution of printed materials.

5. Describe fully the activities the registrant engages in or proposes to engage in on behalf of the above foreign principal.

Activitied include writing and distrubtion of news releases and background materials to the news media, arranging interviews for government spokespersons in the United States, arranging interviews for U.S. journalists traveling to Greece, writing and distributing materials to opinion leaders and the Greek-American community, and reporting to the client.

6. Will the activities on behalf of the above foreign principal include political activities as defined in Section 1(o) of the Act?[1]
Yes ☒ No ☐

If yes, describe all such political activities indicating, among other things, the relations, interests or policies to be influenced together with the means to be employed to achieve this purpose.

A major objective is to maintain the current ratio of U.S. military aid to Greece. This objective will be achieved by public relations techniques including news releases, interviews, and speaking engagements to illustrate the threat to Greece from Turkey.

Date of Exhibit B	Name and Title	Signature
19 Nov 1984	Stephen K. Cook Senior Vice President	Stephen K. Cook

[1]Political activity as defined in Section 1(o) of the Act means the dissemination of political propaganda and any other activity which the person engaging therein believes will, or which he intends to, prevail upon, indoctrinate, convert, induce, persuade, or in any other way influence any agency or official of the Government of the United States or any section of the public within the United States with reference to formulating, adopting, or changing the domestic or foreign policies of the United States or with reference to the political or public interests, policies, or relations of a government of a foreign country or a foreign political party.

Daniel J. Edelman, Inc. 1730 Pennsylvania avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20006 Phone 202. 393 1300

EDELMAN

public relations

TO:

Yiannis Capsis
Under-Secretary of State
for Foreign Affairs
Republic of Greece

FROM:

Stephen K. Cook
Senior Vice President
Daniel J. Edelman, Inc.

COPIES TO:

His Excellency

George Papoulias
Ambassador to the
United States
Republic of Greece

Daniel J. Edelman
President

Daniel J. Edelman, Inc.

ACTION PLAN

FOR THE

REPUBLIC OF GREECE

October 13, 1984

I. INTRODUCTION

This plan provides our recommendations for public relations activities in the United States on behalf of the Republic of Greece. It reflects information received during briefings in Athens the week of September 24 through September 28, 1984, and our discussion September 28.

Upon your review and acceptance, we will begin implementing the plan. Immediately, we will register as a foreign agency under the Foreign Agents Registration Act and conduct research on how U.S. media cover Greece for use in the development of the new international information bureau.

Research

I asked for briefings in the following areas: Greek-U.S. relations, Greek-Turkish issues, formation of the new international information bureau, the Greek economy, U.S. investment in Greece, the Council on Equality Between the Sexes and relations with Athens-based journalists.

During the week I met with:

- Mr. Yiannis Stamiris, Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Topic: new international information bureau.
- Mr. Charalambos Karakas, Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Topic: Greek-Turkish issues.
- Mr. Zepos, Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Topic: U.S.-Greek issues, especially Voice of America negotiations.
- Mr. George Vlachos, Ministry for Greeks Abroad. Topic: American Hellenic groups and repatriation policy.
- Mr. Chryssanthi Laiou-Antoniou, Greek Council for Equality. Topic: Women's issues and policies.

- Mr. Karanopoulos, Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Topic: Relations with Athens-based journalists for U.S. media.

- Ms. Laura Arsenis, Hellenic Development Bank. Topic: U.S. investment in Greece.

- Mr. Statis Papaefstratiou, ETBA, formerly Bank of Greece. Topic: Foreign debt and relations with U.S. Banks.

- Mr. Romouliotis, National Economic Ministry. Topic: General economy and problematic companies.

- Mrs. Margaret Papandreou. Topic: PASOK initiatives and priorities.

II. Recommendations by Issue

1. Greek-U.S. Relations. In the current environment, virtually any signal from the Greek government that relations are improving will help to achieve our objective of strengthening support in the U.S. for Greece's policies regarding Turkey. The recent Newsweek item noting the cancellation of Mrs. Papandreou's planned trip to Nicaragua, Mr. Harombopoulos' speech to journalists in New York and the government's commitment to proceed with AWACs basing all indicate positive developments in Greek-U.S. relations.

• VOA Negotiations. An agreement which allows the U.S. to continue its Voice of America transmissions from Greek soil on terms more equitable to the Greek government will further improve relations. We recommend the Foreign Affairs Ministry pre-brief Athens-based U.S. journalists before the second round of negotiations begin October 20, underscoring the need for a legal arrangement. From the Greek perspective, the key issue should be rental, which should be translated into dollars per acre and compared to rental costs for VOA facilities elsewhere in the world. Every indication should be given that the Greek government anticipates successful negotiations and that the government does not object to VOA's presence per se. In short, argue for equitable landlord-tenant terms that can be easily understood in America.

Should the negotiations succeed, the news should be released in Athens at a joint news conference. Advance notice to Edelman in the U.S. will help facilitate positive coverage. We will notify foreign desk editors and key producers that an agreement will be forthcoming.

Should negotiations fail, we recommend taking the initiative by politicizing the issues in the U.S. Advance notice to Edelman will make it possible for us to contact Democratic congressional supporters with specifics on Reagan administration intransigence and urge them to make a statement critical of the administration.

For these strategies to succeed, we will need to pre-brief U.S. journalists and political supporters on specifics of the negotiations. Specifically, we need information on:

- Importance of VOA facilities to U.S.;
- History of VOA presence in Greece; and
- Specifics on rental costs, including comparison to rent paid for similar land by private interests in Greece.

Congressional approval of appropriations legislation last week providing military aid to Greece in excess of 7:10 ratio provides the Greek government an opportunity to improve U.S.-Greek relations by issuing a statement thanking the Congress for its support. The statement should point out that preserving the 7:10 ratio will bolster support for the U.S. in Greece.

2. Ongoing Greek American Issues. It is difficult for us to anticipate upcoming issues of news value that can be handled in such a way to indicate improving Greek-American relations. Operationally, we suggest:

- The Foreign Ministry brief us on issues on a need-to-know basis;
- Edelman propose specific strategy to defuse negative coverage and maximize publicity from positive developments;
- Advance notice is critical on breaking news stories;

- Op-ed articles by third-party sources such as Senator McGovern and former State Department officials;
- Briefings for editorial writers for major U.S. dailies; and
- Briefings for members of Congress following the reconvening of Congress in January.

4. Greek-Turkish Issues

A. Limnos. We view the Limnos issue as potentially damaging to the Greek government's image in the U.S. because U.S. media are not reporting the reason the Greek Government is not participating in NATO exercises which exclude Limnos.

We shall attempt to increase the U.S. public's understanding of this issue by disseminating materials and placing publicity that explains the Greek position in greater depth.

Additionally, like all Greek-Turkish issues, Limnos provides the Greek-American community an issue around which to rally.

In general, we believe it is the Turkish strategy to downplay U.S. attention on all sources of tension in the Aegean, providing less pressure for restrictions on U.S. aid to Turkey. They know that publicity about these issues activate the large and powerful "Greek lobby"; the Turks fare better in Congress and the Administration when Greek-Americans are confused and divided.

To focus U.S. attention on Limnos, we propose to:

- Develop and place op-ed articles for Greek government;
- Arrange press visits to Limnos for U.S. journalists; and
- Contact foreign desk editors and broadcast producers to propose articles on this point of tension to be written by their Athens and European bureaus.

B. Turkish Fourth Army. We believe the continued supply of the Turkish Fourth Army by the U.S. constitutes a clear case of non-NATO use of U.S. taxpayers' dollars. The Fourth Army, poised on the Anatolian coast, is too large to serve only defensive purposes and is equipped with small landing craft which can serve no other purpose but aggression against Greek territory. Equally important, the Fourth Army is not under direct NATO control and can be activated without approval by NATO.

To generate concern over the expenditure of U.S. funds to equip the Fourth Army, we will require the credibility of a third party to confirm our charges and serve as a news peg for U.S. journalists. Either the House or the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee could service such a role by conducting a study of the issue, using the resources of the Library of Congress or the General Accounting Office.

We will contact key members of Congress to get such a study underway. To activate them, it may be necessary to call upon Greek-American constitutents to contact senators or congressmen on our behalf. Working closely with the embassy, we will provide as much research support as possible.

When completed, the study will be released to the press to generate maximum coverage, which may entail selective leaks, a news conference or congressional hearings next year.

Additionally, we will propose congressional fact-finding visits to Limnos, and the Anatolian coast for members of Congress to determine for themselves how U.S. military aid is being used.

C. Cyprus. The UN's initiative seems to be making little progress in resolving the Cyprus issue. The U.S. Congress continues to insist the Turks withdraw their troops, but that position has softened.

Turkey's aggressive aims are well documented by its actions -- and continued intransigence -- in Cyprus.

We believe it is vital that the U.S. public relations program reactivate the Greek-American community over the Cyprus issue and pressure Congress and the Administration into a harder line on Cyprus. To do so, we return to a central idea of our initial proposal.

Some 1600 people disappeared after the 1974 invasion, some of them American citizens. No doubt many were taken prisoner by the Turks and interned on the mainland. To date, the Turkish government has refused to account for these "prisoners of conscience."

We recommend a national campaign to focus attention on the prisoners of conscience to include:

- Feature publicity about American families of prisoners of conscience, both national and local;
- "Twinning" members of Congress with specific families; and
- Letterwriting campaign to the Turkish Embassy seeking information on specific prisoners.

5. Economic Issues

We view economic issues in two contexts. Much of the coverage of the Greek economy by U.S. media has been written in a political context, creating the impression that the Greek economy is in worse shape than when PASOK took control.

Certainly, the economic picture is not ideal, but many PASOK initiatives have been accomplished, including stabilization/reduction of the inflation rate.

Second, public relations in the United States can help develop U.S. investments in Greece. The perception in the U.S. business community that the government discourages U.S. investment makes this job more difficult. We believe a program targeted at specific industries of interest can help to generate leads for the Hellenic Development Bank.

A. Investment Opportunities. Recently the Ministry of National Economy has completed sector studies on targets of opportunity for U.S. investment in Greece. U.S. companies like Dow and Mobil recently have made significant investments; Johnson & Johnson is considering one. We recommend a public relations campaign in the U.S. for a leading government spokesperson to include:

- A New York news conference luncheon and separate meeting with investment counselors, commercial bankers and analysts;
- Trade-specific publicity on experiences of U.S. companies in Greece and opportunities for investment, using case histories of U.S. corporate investments in Greece;
- Production and distribution of trade specific materials, and a piece of the 1982 Program, to corporate executives in targeted industries.
- Flow of news releases on each significant U.S. investment in Greece; and
- A Newsletter on investment opportunities in Greece to be mailed to a list of approximately 5,000 investment counselors, commercial bankers and executives in targeted industries.

B. Economic Conditions. As we have noted, the Papandreou government has not received credit for the economic progress it has made since 1981. Nor do Americans receive a true picture of how American firms are doing in Greece.

We recommend that special background pieces be developed for use with the U.S. press, including:

- A piece on the problems which clearly establishes the government's policy against nationalizing healthy companies and addresses the specifics of each case on its merits;

  The piece should put the issue in perspective by comparing the record of the previous government to the current one;

- Case histories of U.S. corporate expansion in Greece; and
- PASOK economic accomplishments.

Additionally, we should develop a list of American executives in Greece who will be interviewed by visiting U.S. journalists and speak credibly about their business relations with the government.

6. Women's Issues

The government has made unprecedented progress in women's issues including instituting civil marriage, granting equal legal status, providing day care for 60 percent of the population, and, most recently, instituting a progressive parental leave policy that recognizes fathers' responsibilities.

The priority given women's issues far exceeds similar efforts in the U.S. and other developed nations.

We propose to publicize Greek progress in women's issues by:

- Developing a white paper on achievements during the past three years, comparing Greece to other developed nations in Europe, and the U.S.;

- Arranging press visits for leading U.S. women's publications to include interviews with Mrs. Laiou-Antoniou, visits to day care centers and visits to the newly formed womens' cooperative on Patra; and

- Arranging a U.S. speaking tour for Mrs. Laiou-Antoniou before leading U.S. feminist groups and university audiences.

7. **"Papandreou as Peacemaker".** Nuclear freeze sentiment in the U.S. is strong and growing. Public opinion polls show a majority of Americans support mutual reduction of nuclear arms.

Within the U.S. anti-nuclear movement, Prime Minister Papandreou's international initiatives to establish a nuclear free zone in the Balkans are not as well-known as they might be.

We recommend targeting U.S. liberal and intellectual journals for this message and working with American anti-nuclcear groups such as Freeze '84 and Council for a Liveable World to arrange speaking engagements in the U.S. for foreign ministry personnel and leading Greek academics.

III. ACTIVITIES

Following are proposed activities during the first six months of the program. We provide a timeline to illustrate how the program will progress.

1. Report on U.S. Media Covering Athens. We were concerned with the lack of information regarding how U.S. media cover Athens and which bureaus you should be contacting in Europe.

Today the bulk of anti-Papandreou coverage originates in Athens by European news bureaus. We discussed the importance of better handling of these journalists and our recommendations include:

- Appointment of a full-time professional to assist U.S. journalists in Athens and European bureaus;
- Development of a press kit and briefing program for newly appointed U.S. journalists; and
- Facilitating coverage by providing access to key ministers and pre-briefing journalists with U.S. angles on upcoming developments.

2. Communications. We will work through the Embassy for day-to-day communications. However, we can communicate directly with the foreign ministry by telephone or telex.

Telex: 440218 DJEN UI

Telephone: (202) 393-1300 Daniel J. Edelman, Inc., Washington, D.C. office;

(202) 543-0123 Stephen K. Cook
Senior Vice President and General Manager, home telephone number.

3. **Basic Press Kit.** A well-written kit provides journalists with issue-specific briefing material. Kit pieces should be brief and duplicated from word-processed copy, not typeset, making it easy to update and tailor for specific journalists.

Basic kit pieces should include:

- "Threat to the Aegean" brochure; and
- U.S.-Greek Issues. This piece will urge journalists to "watch what Papandreou does, not what he says" by reviewing the positive resolution of the bases agreement, the AWACS basing agreement, Greek participation in NATO and the pending VOA negotiations.

By comparing PASOK progress with the previous government, this piece will provide facts to illustrate that key U.S. interests in Greece are being served.

- U.S. Aid to Turkey. As we have noted, few Americans realize that substantial amounts of U.S. aid is spent on non-Nato and anti-Greek aggression by Turkey. A kit piece summarizing the recent history of U.S. aid to Turkey will include a verbatim copy of the amendment to the bases agreement reaffirming the 7:10 ratio.

This piece will also contain information on the Turkish First and Fourth Armies, which are oriented not toward the U.S.S.R. but toward the Aegean.

- Greek Economy At a Glance. Using information from the annual report issued by the Bank of Greece and other government sources, this piece will contain basic information about the Greek economy.

- Threat to Limnos. We will use the piece to background journalists on the Limnos issue, basing it on the memo from the foreign ministry. It will recount the history of the dispute in straightforward language and use third party sources, such as the 1982 NATO document, to support the Greek position.

- Q&A on Current Greek Issues. A question and answer format provides journalists with quick, factual information on often-asked questions. This piece will cover topics not mentioned elsewhere, as well as brief summaries on key issues. Questions should cover such issues as freedom of the press in Greece; political parties; suffrage; foreign policy regarding the Eastern Bloc; Libya and the Arab Bloc; the problematics; Cyprus; five year plan; policy on NATO exercises; repatriation policy; etc.

4. Briefings in U.S. We propose a series of one-on-one briefings in the U.S. for leading foreign editors and producers. The purpose will be twofold: to notify journalists of our representation of the Greek government and to introduce them to Ambassador Papoulias. We will

discuss ways in which we can facilitate coverage with each outlet and provide the foreign affairs ministry information on each contact.

Targets include Jim Hoagland, of the Washington Post; A.M. Rosenthal, of the New York Times; Paul Varian, UPI; Nate Polowesky and Walter Mears, AP; Bruce Nussbaum, Business Week; Karsten Prager, Time; Tom Mathews, Newsweek; Susana McBee, U.S. News; Jerry Lamprecht, NBC; Les Crystal, PBS; Peter Larkin, CBS; and Jeff Gralnick, ABC.

5. **Op-Ed Articles.** We propose drafting suggestions for opinion articles from government officials and third party spokespersons in the U.S. on such topics as the recent military appropriations bill and its positive impact on Greek-U.S. relations, investment in Greece, tension in the Aegean and PASOK accomplishments. These will be submitted in outline form to you, then fleshed-out under your direction. We then will offer finished pieces exclusively to appropriate major U.S. dailies.

6. **Press Trips.** Much of our work will involve arranging trips for U.S. journalists to Athens and Greece. U.S. journalists do not like to travel in a pack; each will want to pursue specific stories.

We will propose trips to individual media, with specific story ideas appropriate for that outlet. For example, MacNeil-Lehrer, the hour-long PBS show, currently is interested and we are proposing several ideas, including a piece on women's equality and Greek-Turkish tension.

These journalists will request interviews with Prime Minister Papandreou and probably will make a decision on whether to go based upon our ability to pre-arrange an interview. We will also seek to

pre-arrange interviews and briefings for the stories they are interested in.

We will notify you of specific requests by journalists after we have met with them and seek to arrange interviews in advance. When journalists arrive in Athens, they will be ready to proceed quickly and make good use of their time.

We recommend that an Edelman professional accompany U.S. journalists to Athens to facilitate all arrangements.

Our goal is at least one press trip a month for a leading U.S. television or print journalist.

7. U.S. Speaking Tours. There are many forums appropriate for government spokespersons in the U.S. These include:

- Economic and commerical clubs;
- Think tanks like the Georgetown Center for Strategic and International Studies, the Hudson Institute, the Brookings Institute, and the Heritage Foundation;
- Universities and colleges;
- Trade unions;
- Foreign policy groups like the Council on Foreign Affairs; and
- Women's groups like NOW, National Federation of Business Professional Women and AAUW.

We will arrange engagements for government and academic spokespersons, given advance notice.

We propose you supply us with names and resumes of qualified spokespersons in the following areas and we will begin contacting forums to arrange engagements three or four months in advance:

- Women's issues (Mrs. Laiou-Antoniou would be excellent);
- Foreign policy;
- Journalists;
- Economic and investment officals (Mrs. Arsenis, for example); and
- Trade union leaders.

IV. Opinion Research

U.S. attitudes towards Greece is a vital issue. To know how the the public relations effort is succeeding and to adjust it to reach specific audiences, opinion research is critical.

U.S. research firms offer highly sophisticated opinion leader research that provides statistical information on attitudes in Congress and of corporate executives. Such research will provide government officials with quick feedback on the impact of positive and negative developments.

One such firm, Penn-Schoen Associates, is uniquely experienced in tracking congressional attitudes. It also works closely with members of Congress to provide them opinion research for their election campaigns.

We recommend that you consider how such a capability could argument the government's current research capabilities in the U.S. Should you concur, we would initiate discussions with Penn-Schoen to obtain their advice and a cost proposal.

V. TIMELINE

	Activity	Deadline
1.	Press kit production	October 29
2.	Meida briefings	Begin by November 15
3.	Press trips to Greece	Begin in November
4.	Speaking Tours	Begin in November
5.	"Prisoners of Conscience"	Research by November 15; begin media contact in December
6.	Write and Place Op-Eds	Begin in November; first submitted November 15
7.	Investment Program News Conference (New York)	November or January
8.	Congressional Study 4th Army	Initiate now, complete by third quarter, 1985
9.	Progress reporting	Monthly

VI. BUDGET

These activities can be undertaken within the initial budget we submitted, with the exception of opinion research, which should not be undertaken without submission and review of a proposal from a leading survey reseach firm.

Professional Fee $120,000

The professional fee represents compensation for all time expended on this program by managerial, account, and support staff in Edelman's domestic offices for a one-year contract beginning November 1, 1984. It will be billed in monthly increments of $10,000.

Expenses

Expenses are billed only as incurred. Following are estimates to undertake activities in this program.

1. Investment Newsletter.....$ 24,000

2. Media Kits.....$ 6,000

Includes costs of design and mechanicals for buttons, posters and signs to be printed locally; production of kit covers and design logo. 1,000 kits.

3. Travel .....$ 6,000

Two trips to Athens for consultation, research, and orientation; travel in U.S.

4. Duplicating, postage, xeroxing, media entertainment, messenger service, long distance phone.....$ 14,000

Total Expenses $ 50,000

RECAPITULATION

Fee	$120,000
Expenses	$ 50,000
TOTAL	**$170,000**

Production expenses prepaid by Daniel J. Edelman, Inc. on behalf of the Embassy of Greece would be subject to a standard 17.65 percent service charge. This service charge is included in the expenses estimated above and would be charged on any additional expenses pre-paid by Edelman.