

Attic Chronicle by Phocion

Carrington, Papandreou, and the F-16

Papandreou's party is now split over national security issues, and the possibility of civil war continues to be real.

Lord Carrington was in Athens on July 26 and 27, with his first major deployment since he took office as general secretary of NATO: to meddle in the Alliance's southern flank. Carrington had been preceded by a series of extraordinary developments which had nearly toppled the socialist government of Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou.

Following the May 10 PASOK Party Congress, which amounted to a declaration of allegiance to the Warsaw Pact, Papandreou's party suffered a major electoral setback at the June 17 elections for the European Parliament. After those elections, one member of Andreas' cabinet resigned, along with other party officials, on grounds that he disagrees with the Prime Minister's anti-American policies. He charged that Papandreou is intervening in the U.S. elections in favor of Mondale in manner which is "dishonorable" for a government. Following this, a series of tough measures were taken by the Reagan administration against the Papandreou clique. They included threats to withhold military and economic support and direct demands that Papandreou's cabinet cancel a series of already announced diplomatic visits to Cuba, Libya, Nicaragua, and elsewhere. The pressure was applied by the White House directly, especially after Papandreou, in his capacity as chief of the Greek Central Intelligence Service, ordered the deportation of a senior CIA officer from Athens. The pressure was also applied from the Department of De-

fense, via Richard Burt and Gen. Bernard Rogers. Finally, a significant amount of pressure against Papandreou's pro-Moscow policies was applied by Greek President Constantine Caramanlis, assisted by influential Greek-American circles around Archbishop Iakovos of the Greek Orthodox Church of North and South America.

As a result, by mid-July, Papandreou's party, the PASOK, was split in the middle, its "left" faction, led by Ministers Gennimatas and Tsochatzopoulos and party leaders Moralis and Laliotis, pushing the explicit "Marxist" line of collaboration with Moscow and the Moscow-owned Greek Communist Party, and the "moderate" faction, made up of centrist members of Parliament and led by Speaker of the Parliament John Alevras, proposing preservation of existing treaty obligations with the West. Papandreou, in a series of meetings with the parliamentary fraction and with his cabinet, engaged in a balancing act, to avoid identification with either faction.

The immediate issue fueling the political fight is national security. The majority of politicians and the vast majority of the population have been expressing a distinct preference for a policy which will result in the reintegration of Greece into the military wing of NATO, a relation ruptured in 1975. The Communist Party and the "Marxist" wing in PASOK argue that Turkey, a strong military member of NATO, is Greece's major potential threat: Thus Greece should seek security outside of NATO. The practical

issue of the national security debate is the long overdue re-equipping of the now obsolescent Greek air force. Major purchases of combat aircraft should have been made two-and-a-half years ago. Papandreou kept postponing the purchase, pretending to be judiciously "window shopping." He considered purchasing the French-German-Italian-made Tornado, U.S. F-15s and F-16s, French Mirages, Soviet MiGs, and even U.S.-made fighters from Iran!

When Carrington completed his visit, the Papandreou government appeared to have sobered up. Six days later, the Prime Minister announced that the choices will be limited to F-15s, F-16s, and the Mirage 2000, relegating the final decision to Minister of National Economy "Gerry" Arsenis, which will be announced on October 1.

Papandreou then left to go to the island of Corfu for a series of political consultations with Speaker of the Parliament Alevras, freshly returned from Moscow. Their agenda: will the Parliament vote for Caramanlis to continue as President of the Republic next May, or will they vote for Papandreou to replace Caramanlis as President? If Papandreou contests for the office with Caramanlis, he is likely to win, as only the 300 members of Parliament vote in the presidential election. With Papandreou as President, the PASOK leadership will be given to the "Marxist" wing of Gennimatas, Tsochatzopoulos, Laliotis, et al. They will launch a May to October 1985 election campaign in open alliance with the Communist party. This is a civil war scenario. Arsenis, an intimate of McNamara and certain Swiss bankers, was given the F-16 assignment in order to buy time for Andreas to make up his mind, whose choice is clear: Either he bows out of power in 1985, or he makes a bid to become President and thus sparks the flames of civil war.