

Papandreou moves for strategic crisis on NATO's vital southern flank

by Phocion

On Aug. 15, at the feast of the Dormition of the Virgin, Greek Socialist Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou issued an Order of the Day to the Greek Armed Forces, which, among other notable matters, emphasized the following:

"On this holiday, I am overjoyed and proud of the Armed Forces of our country, because it is on these forces that our nation rests, it is these which are its shield against any and all threats to its independence and territorial integrity. And just because this present period in world affairs is extremely turbulent and our own geographical region especially burdened, therefore the Greek people and its political leadership support the work of national defense by all possible means. I believe that today, the nation's Armed Forces are as ready as never before, with high morale and daily improving armaments, so as to offer the opportunity to consolidate peace in the region."

Papandreou chose to issue this statement on the Feast of Dormition of the Virgin Mary because by tradition going back to the early centuries of the Byzantine Empire, the Virgin Mary, "Our Lady the Protectress General" is celebrated as the patron of the Armed Forces. Papandreou's allusions and appeals to the Greek military contained certain culturally specific barbs and allusions against neighboring Turkey virtually indiscernible to a foreigner. The appellation "Our Lady the Protectress General" in Greek Orthodox ritual is applied to the Virgin Mary to denote her attribute as the military defender of Constantinople, the capital of the Byzantine Empire, now Istanbul, Turkey's principal European city, straddling the strategic Bosphorus Strait.

Prime Minister Papandreou made his allusions in the context of certain broader military developments in the region:

First, a few weeks earlier, the Greek Armed Forces, over which he presides both as Commander-in-Chief and Defense Minister, had concluded an ambitious major military exercise, codenamed *Parmenion-85* which simulated a comprehensive land, air, and sea assault against Turkey. The significance of *Parmenion-85* was that it was conducted almost simultaneously with a Soviet military exercise, *Kavkaz-85*

which simulated an ultra-sophisticated invasion of Turkey's eastern borders to the west and south of the Caucasus mountains. The Soviet exercise had a naval complement simulating the conquest of the Bosphorus and Dardanelle Straits, including the city of Istanbul.

Second, just prior to his Aug. 15 Order of the Day, Papandreou had concluded a series of secret military arrangements with Bulgarian President Todor Zhivkov, then on a state visit in Athens. These Papandreou-Zhivkov arrangements and agreements are understood to be aimed against Turkey and to further involve the cooperation of Syria, Turkey's other neighbor from the south. It is notable that Todor Zhivkov's only public speech in Athens during his visit was a vituperative tirade against Turkey.

Third, a matter of alarm for Turkish military leaders, the Soviet government appointed a new commander of the Black Sea Fleet, Rear Admiral M. Khronopoulo, a Soviet officer of Greek ethnic origins, in an area of the world where such matters carry significant political and military connotations.

In short, the Soviet military command has been judiciously exploiting the undercurrents of irredentism which the Socialist Mr. Papandreou has chosen to revive amidst Byzantine pomp and allusion. The Soviet purpose in cultivating and exploiting this irredentist revival is to neutralize Turkey, the last remaining reliable NATO outpost in the Eastern Mediterranean and to take control of the Bosphorus and Dardanelle Straits, thus securing naval supremacy in the Mediterranean.

So far, Soviet exploitation of the cultural and political peculiarities of the region toward this purpose has been masterful, occasionally reminiscent of the style by which Palmerston and Disraeli once "handled" the region. The Greek Socialist prime minister has so far acted as an ideal "asset" for this Soviet policy.

An imminent new Cyprus crisis

On the same Aug. 15, Papandreou as Defense Minister carried out the following changes in the commands of critical military districts neighboring Turkey:

Lieutenant General John Arabatzoglou, till then first Dep-

uty Chief of Staff of the Army, was made Commandant of the Fourth Army Corps, facing European Turkey across the Maritsa River. The former Commandant of the Fourth Army Corps, Lt. Gen. Eugene Sanidas was made First Deputy Chief of the General Staff of National Defense. Maj. Gen. Demetrios Matafias, military commander of the island of Mytilene, was promoted to lieutenant general in preparation for appointment as Chief of Staff in the National Guard of Cyprus. Finally, Air Force Brig. Gen. Philip Macedos, Greek air attaché in Washington till recently, a man of considerable left-socialist and pro-terrorist leanings, was appointed Deputy Chief of the Central Intelligence Service, the KYP. General Macedos is, reputedly, an intimate and a protégé of Air Force Lt. Gen. N. Kouris, the Chief of Staff of the Greek Armed Forces, the only known Greek member of the P-2 masonic lodge of Italian notoriety, in which Henry Kissinger is a participant, of some sort.

According to experienced observers, these critical personnel shifts are very close to indicating the possibility of some sort of military action against Turkey—always in conjunction with Bulgaria and Syria—sometime between September and October of this year, and definitely before the scheduled Reagan-Gorbachov summit in late November.

The island of Cyprus will play the central role in such a crisis, not necessarily as a battlefield, though this may not be precluded, but definitely as the central political and emotional rallying point. Andreas Papandreou and his governing clique, with the tacit assistance from the head of Greece's putative opposition party, the neo-conservative New Democracy's Constantine Mitsotakis, have announced that they shall finally open the "Cyprus Dossier" and "reveal all."

The significance of this is the following. The "Cyprus dossier" is an extensive set of top secret archives of Greek foreign policy from approximately the end of World War II to approximately 1980, the period of history during which Greece was ruled by conservative, pro-Western, pro-United States parties and personalities. The principal foreign policy aspiration of Greece since the end of the Second World War, was the liberation of the Greek island of Cyprus from British colonial rule and its incorporation into the Greek state.

During the years of the war, Prime Minister Winston Churchill had signed protocols with the Greek government in exile and also made numerous public pronouncements promising that in the event of Allied victory, the British Empire would agree to return the island of Cyprus to Greece, given that its population then was over 90 percent (and now is 85%) of Greek nationality. After the war, the British government reneged on its promise and opted to keep Cyprus as a British Crown colony.

From that point on, parties and politicians in Greek national life were judged by what they did and failed to do with respect to this national, anticolonial aspiration. Immediately after the successful defeat of the Moscow-inspired and controlled Communist insurgency in 1950, an anti-colonialist

revolutionary movement was launched in Cyprus against British rule, led by the legendary Gen. George Grivas, with the tacit support of both the Greek national government and significant U.S. influentials who later coalesced around the Eisenhower administration.

General Grivas and his EOKA organization launched the postwar period's first anti-colonial war by means of a series of impressive rural and urban guerilla campaigns which defeated Britain's best strategists, including the British military "genius" of the day, Field Marshal Lord Harding. British military defeat was covered up by British diplomatic guile which produced the 1959-1961 treaties and agreements preventing Cyprus' incorporation into the Greek state and instead producing the fragile and fictitious entity of the independent Republic of Cyprus, based on a British-authored constitution which did not last for more than two years.

This British-authored "solution" to the "Cyprus problem" has been the cause of crises and instabilities in the region from 1960 to this day.

Greek politicians snatched diplomatic defeat from the jaws of military victory by means of a long string of compromises and sellouts. They made mistakes which proceeded from their frequent capitulations to British initiatives, capitulations buttressed by American confusion and an overly deferential perception of what the "interests of the Western Alliance" were, on the part of the Greeks themselves.

This record of 20 years' worth of Greek diplomatic disasters never became known to the Greek people, only the final results. The "Cyprus Dossier," is supposed to contain in sordid detail the specific personal failings, incident by incident, of all the principal Greek political figures of the period who had led the country in the Western Alliance. Papandreou's intended purpose in revealing the "Cyprus Dossier," is to demonstrate to the population that being a "pro-Western" political leader in Greece is tantamount to "national betrayal," and then, draped in Greek flags, lead his nation to fight on behalf of Russian strategic interests. As the unraveling of Papandreou's "Cyprus Dossier" tactic will proceed in the weeks ahead, we shall have certain remarks to make to that Socialist gentleman. Meanwhile, one reminder to him about his own and his father's betrayals on the Cyprus matter.

During the 1963-67 period when Papandreou first joined a Greek government led by his father George, there existed a plan to unite Cyprus with Greece and fully integrate the island into NATO. British and Soviet interests at the time joined to prevent the implementation of this plan, then known as the "Acheson Plan." Archbishop Makarios, already broken and compromised by British intelligence, and Andreas Papandreou, with a group of conspirators known as the ASPIDA conspiracy, were then the principal instruments of the British/Soviet operation to kill the Acheson Plan. The opening of the "Cyprus Dossier" will be incomplete unless it sheds light to Papandreou's real role in the ASPIDA affair.