

damental organization of the Alliance. Such a revision may take the form of Portugal adopting the French policy and opting out of the military arrangements, or of leaving the Alliance altogether in order to become an ally of the states of the Third World. NATO commanders in the Iberian sphere of interest may have become "cautiously optimistic" because of the departure of General Vasco Goncalves and the setting-up of the sixth government under Admiral Jose Pinheiro de Azevedo, but the attitudes of politicians and the upheaval in the social institutions are certainly disquieting, if not clearly indicative of a change in Portuguese foreign policy.

If Portugal pulls out of part of the Alliance, it will follow two other southern-flank members that opted out of the military arrangements. Both France and Greece have shown a rigid reluctance to reintegrate their troops in the military structure.

French objectives

The French decision of 1966 to withdraw from the Alliance appeared to many Canadians to be based solely on General de Gaulle's "politique de grandeur", but in reality it was a continuation of long-term French objectives. The French desire for independence is well characterized by the General himself in his *Memoirs of Hope: Renewal and Endeavour*, where he called the Atlantic Alliance a declaration of principle "under the terms of which our defence and hence our foreign policy disappeared in a system directed from abroad, while an American generalissimo with headquarters near Versailles exercised over the Old World the military authority of the New". While this attitude continued in France, the invasion of Czechoslovakia by the Warsaw Pact nations changed the tone of French hostility to NATO. Moreover, since the withdrawal, arrangements have been made to allow NATO forces to use French communication systems, airways and supply pipelines, and for France to maintain two military divisions on German soil. The impact of its departure from the Alliance has also diminished in recent years because of an agreement with NATO that France would target its weapons on certain pre-arranged geographical areas. But the likelihood of France's increasing its NATO commitment is slim. None of the minority parties — Socialist, Communist or *Réformateur* — is in favour of amending the country's policy. The Gaullists, who are required for any firm cabinet coalition, oppose any significant change in defence or foreign policy. This

means that the only party that develop a pro-NATO stance would Independent Republicans, led by ident Valérie Giscard d'Estaing.

The possibility of such a policy emanating from the President is not great. While both Pompidou and Giscard were more co-operative with NATO de Gaulle, the French attitude remains "We are not an overseas subsidiary." Moreover, Giscard needs to retain his "Gaullist" policy on matters such as defence strategy in order to push through his liberal and economic reforms in himself. Since the President is elected for seven years, and is the most pro-NATO President conceivable, little evolution towards the Alliance can be expected in the event of any diminution of French power in the Mediterranean area. France will not be inclined to take up the slack.

NATO officials have generally assumed that Greece will return to the military structure after the present American mood has subsided and the Cyprus affair is resolved. However, in discussions with party leaders in that country, it is clear that this hope is dim indeed. The atmosphere can be depicted as extremely hostile to the West. Even *Estia*, one of the most vehement anti-Communist newspapers in Athens, said during the Cyprus affair: "If the Soviet Union can guarantee (our territorial integrity) let us even go with Russia."

The Government of Karamanlis continues to advocate that Greece should withdraw out of the NATO military arrangements and that any slack in military preparations in that part of the world should be taken up by another power. Attention has been made by Greek authorities to the frontiers with Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, and Greek military personnel have been moved into the Dodecanese Islands as a protection against the Turks.

The Greek party system is divided along left-right lines, but the policies of the individual parties towards NATO have been converging. The Communist Party (Exterior) wants Greece to leave NATO and adopt a pro-East policy. The Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement, led by Andreas Papandreou and the Communist Party (Interior) would like Greece to adopt a neutral attitude towards the Alliance that would allow it to act as a buffer between the Warsaw Pact and NATO. This would indicate that the Centre Party, led by George Mavros, is crucial to any internal evolution. The Pan-Hellenic attitudes towards NATO advocates that NATO must evolve so that Greece will never again join the

Czechoslovakia
invasion
changed
French tone