

The making of a new Viet Nam in Greece in the years ahead are all there.

JANEWAY. Can Europe and the Mediterranean countries muddle along on reduced flows of American dollars, especially for military assistance?

DEMETRACOPOULOS. The expensive military establishments of the NATO countries have competed with domestic economic development programs—hence the need for outside support. This support in my opinion should continue until growth is sufficient to enable each country to maintain its own defense forces. In Greece, United States aid should be used forcefully and expertly as a lever to force the colonels out of power since it will no longer buy security.

JANEWAY. What are Greece's basic economic problems?

DEMETRACOPOULOS. They are many. As Richard Westebbe of the World Bank, formerly senior foreign economic adviser to the Greek government, says in his penetrating report, "Greece's long-run structural problems concern deficiencies in the structure of production, in public administration, in education, in financial institutions, and in the distribution of income." Frankly, I do not see how an unpopular government of army officers, suffering as it does from universal foreign hostility and inability to attract competent economic experts, can solve all these problems. Last year's refusal of the Common Market's European Investment bank to grant Greece a promised loan of around 50 million dollars is an important case in point.

#### EFFECTS OF EXEMPTION

JANEWAY. What do you think of Greece's exemption from President Johnson's recent economic measures to strengthen the dollar?

DEMETRACOPOULOS. It is most regrettable that the Greek junta has been able to capitalize on this position of the American government. Many people do and will interpret this action as just another sign of American's support of the Athens dictatorship.

JANEWAY. What is the best that can be hoped for in Greece? What is the worst?

DEMETRACOPOULOS. The best is that, thru sustained western pressure and support of the anti-junta elements who represent the vast bulk of the Greek people, the colonels will be forced out. The worst is that armed resistance will begin again in Greece, led by the hard-core Communists, with the west and America discredited among the masses. Then, no matter who wins, Greece will indeed be lost.

#### THE AUSTERITY THREAT WHICH HANGS OVER OUR PARKS AND OVER EVERY OTHER WORTH-WHILE DOMESTIC PROGRAM—AND WHY

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, a thoughtful, important column by that able newspaperman, Marquis Childs, entitled "Austerity Threat Hangs Over Parks" appeared in this morning's Washington Post. He points out:

The whole natural resource and conservation program already slashed in the Administration's budget will suffer.

He points to the paradox that this is happening just at a time when, to help our Nation's balance-of-payments problem, the administration is urging that people travel in the United States.

Of course, it is not only the natural resources and conservation program which are suffering, but every other domestic program, including the most vital antipoverty program, slum clearance,

and all of the other issues so graphically and realistically described by the report of the President's National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders.

What Marquis Childs does not say and which cannot be too often emphasized, is that all this tragic retreat from efforts to solve our domestic problems is due to the inexcusable folly of our military involvement in Southeast Asia. Mr. Childs suggests, after alluding to the views of Chairman GEORGE MAHON, of the House Appropriations Committee, and WILBUR MILLS, chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, that the American people are loathe to tax themselves to carry out the great promise of our domestic programs. The fact is that there would be no need for them to tax themselves if it were not for the mounting drain of \$3 billion per month to carry on an indefensible and unwinnable war on the continent of Asia.

The American people will be given no opportunity to test their willingness to appropriate for domestic programs because the additional taxes which the administration seeks to impose will go down the drain in this senseless war.

The only way in which this dilemma can be voided is for President Johnson to reverse his policy of escalation—which, to date, has now cost the lives of 20,000 young Americans in combat—and adopt a different formula than his proposed and unchanged effort at a military solution.

I have proposed such a way out and I again present it, and I shall continue to urge such a program or some variation thereof until the realization comes home that it is only by deescalation and a resort to political approaches that there is any hope of averting an ever-deepening plunge into ever-greater disaster. My proposal suggests that the President go on nationwide TV and speak in approximately the following terms:

"My fellow citizens, I have tried for 4 years and my predecessors have tried for a decade previously to bring a semblance of self-government and democracy to the people of South Vietnam. It has become clear beyond peradventure that it is not their desire, and that the United States, despite its prodigious efforts in manpower and money, and the sacrifice of thousands of American lives, cannot achieve these desired results for them.

"I have today ordered the unconditional cessation of all bombing of North Vietnam and of all offensive operations in South Vietnam. In addition, I have directed there be an immediate in-place cease-fire in South Vietnam on the part of the United States and have requested the South Vietnamese Armed Forces to do likewise, with only defensive action authorized. I have called upon the forces of the National Liberation Front and of North Vietnam in South Vietnam to do the same. It is my purpose, which I now declare, to initiate a phased military withdrawal which should be completed within a year. In the meantime, behind the shield of American military forces with the leverage afforded by U.S. military and economic aid, U.S. representatives in South Vietnam will insist that the Thieu-Ky government broaden the base of its government to include their

non-Communist opponents, represented in large measure by those whom they have now jailed and put in protective custody, and that this broadened South Vietnamese Government begin immediate negotiations with the National Liberation Front so that all these Vietnamese components can work out their own destinies.

"In addition, I have directed our Ambassador to the United Nations to work with other nations there to find places of refuge in other lands for those who would not want to live in South Vietnam under the new regime which will be formed, and I will ask the Congress for such additional authority as may be needed to admit such refugees to the United States and to assist in their resettlement elsewhere.

"Further, I have instructed our Ambassadors to Great Britain, the Soviet Union, Canada, India, and Poland to propose a greatly strengthened International Control Commission to supervise any elections to be held in South Vietnam to obtain an expression of the peoples' will.

"The United States will assist in the reconstruction and rehabilitation of the burned villages, destroyed buildings, and defoliated fields, and give suitable fiscal assistance to economic development. But our military efforts will cease. We will make every effort to assist the people of both North and South Vietnam to establish whatever form of government they can develop."

I ask unanimous consent that the article by Marquis Childs, entitled "Austerity Threat Hangs Over Parks," in this morning's Washington Post be printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Post, Mar. 22, 1968]

#### AUSTERITY THREAT HANGS OVER PARKS

(By Marquis Childs)

If the austerity program promised by the President really does take hold it is not alone the decaying core cities that will feel the pinch. The whole natural resource and conservation program already slashed in the Administration's budget will suffer.

Here is an example paralleling the cities of a fundamental asset that is being eroded away. At the very same time we are being told to stay home and see America first, the national parks are overcrowded, their facilities run down, the traffic bumper to bumper in the most popular parks. Federal incentives to clean up polluted lakes and rivers have been slowed and the air pollution program is cut back.

Combing through the Federal budget, the Conservation Foundation finds that net spending for natural resources will be reduced in the 1969 fiscal year from 1.38 per cent of total Federal spending, which is the figure for the current year, to 1.34 per cent. This sounds like a small reduction but it comes at a time when in almost every field the need is for increases to save the dwindling natural heritage from obliteration. And Congress is likely to whack even further at budgetary requests that seem vulnerable in the economy drive. While the Administration repeats the call for parks already requested, no new proposals for seashores or recreation areas are included while speculative developers constantly bid up the price of land and builders crowd already congested private beaches.

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and increasingly sophisticated network of broadcast media, thereby giving the address the dramatic appeal which attaches to such person-to-person communications.

It would be far different from the Secretary General's present annual statement because that document, by necessity, puts a good deal of emphasis on housekeeping functions and is a far more technical document than the state of mankind address I envision. And further, the present statement does not fulfill the aims of Senate Concurrent Resolution 53 because it is addressed to an elite audience—the U.N. delegates—rather than to the people of the world as the state of mankind address would be.

The United Nations, like any other human institution, will not be able, in my view, to maintain its present influence, let alone achieve the strength all of us hoped it would achieve back in the days when the U.N. Charter was being written, unless it rides the crest of the ongoing technological revolution and particularly the revolution in communications—and rides it imaginatively. Senate Concurrent Resolution 53 encourages a step in that direction. It seeks to establish a voice for the world's principal international organization that everyone the world over can hear clearly.

#### GREECE: THE SEEDS FOR A NEW VIETNAM?

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, I have had a strong and active interest in Greece, the ancient homeland of the democratic spirit in a time of kings. Ever since the Truman doctrine of 1947 concern with present-day Greece has been a part of American efforts; to assist that nation toward a modern fulfillment of true democracy.

That is why in an interview given to the political editor of the Athens Daily Post, Elias P. Demetracopoulos, in an interview published on August 10, 1966, I asked for a full investigation of the U.S. role in the Greek political crisis. At that time I also warned that there was an imminent grave threat of a military dictatorship in Greece. The event took place 7 months later on April 21, 1967.

Last July I became the first U.S. Senator to visit Greece after the military junta took over. At that time I met key figures in the Greek Government, including the Prime Minister. It is out of this background of concern that I wish today to call attention to two excellent, revealing and interconnecting articles. One, written by the well-known columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, appeared in the Washington Post on November 2, 1967. It describes accurately and in detail the ordeal of my good friend Mr. Demetracopoulos, Greece's foremost political editor until the junta seized power there, whom I helped to come over to the United States.

The other article is an interview given by him to the distinguished columnist Eliot Janeway of the Chicago Tribune, whose columns also appear in the Washington Star. In that interview may be seen the red signal that Greece very well may be on the way to becoming a new

Vietnam in the years ahead, and a warning about the U.S. role there. These articles might well bear the caption, "How the U.S. Can Lose Friends and Create New Vietnams."

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the two articles referred to may appear in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Nov. 2, 1967]

#### STATE OFFICIAL AIDED GREEK JUNTA IN TRYING TO BAR POLITICAL REFUGEE

(By Rowland Evans and Robert Novak)

Shocking collaboration between the State Department and the six-month-old military dictatorship in Greece is exposed by the story, concealed until now, of how, together, they very nearly barred a prominent Greek political refugee from the United States.

Ostensibly, U.S. policy is to keep arm's length from the military junta which seized power in Athens last April. Behind the scenes, however, working-level State Department officials cooperate with the junta in ways that can only encourage the Greek Colonels to think Washington has little interest in restoring a democratic regime.

Nowhere is this more obvious than in the outrageous handling of the case of Elias P. Demetracopoulos, an influential Greek journalist as political editor of three newspapers and a militant foe of tyranny, both right and left. A prisoner of the Nazis during World War II after courageously helping downed U.S. airmen (for which he was decorated), Demetracopoulos was captured and then wounded by the Communists during the Red revolt of December, 1944.

When the Colonels staged their coup last April on the pretext of fighting Communism, Demetracopoulos went into hiding briefly, then emerged as an outspoken critic of the junta—but only by word-of-mouth. Rather than submit to military censorship, he refused to write for his newspapers.

His problems with the junta deepened in August when the United Nations invited Demetracopoulos to be Greek representative at the U.N.'s annual Editors' Roundtable in Warsaw, Sept. 12-15.

The junta made private overtures to Demetracopoulos to be favorable or at least neutral toward the Colonels in the Warsaw discussions, even dangling before him the Ambassadorship to a key Western country.

Demetracopoulos refused. The junta, accordingly, barred his trip to Poland by denying him a "special security exit permit." U.N. officials quietly pressured the Colonels by reminding them that the important industrial symposium scheduled in Athens under U.N. auspices in November might be endangered.

The junta responded with a dictator's compromise. On Sept. 12, it confiscated Demetracopoulos' passport (containing a valid U.S. visa) and replaced it with a new passport permitting him to travel to Poland only and only for the Sept. 12-15 conference. Demetracopoulos saw no future in Greece, and once the Warsaw conference finished, gained entrance to Denmark.

His plans were to attend a World Bank meeting in Rio de Janeiro as an invited guest and go from there to the United States. That meant getting Brazilian and U.S. visas stamped in his new passport.

Although Brazil has been ruled by its military since 1964, it quickly granted a visa to Demetracopoulos. But not the Americans. Fearful of what Demetracopoulos would do and say in America, the junta pleaded with U.S. officials to keep him out. The U.S. Embassy in Athens recommended the visa be granted anyway, but a foreign service officer named Daniel H. Brewster had other ideas.

Brewster, desk officer for Greece in Washington and the major formulator of U.S. policy on Greece, is an unabashed friend of the colonels. He decided that Demetracopoulos, staunchly pro-American and a visitor here repeatedly since 1951, be denied a visa. The incredible decision was revealed to Demetracopoulos in Copenhagen Sept. 23.

That would have ended the story had Demetracopoulos in Copenhagen Sept. 23, been without friends here. He immediately cabled for help to an impressive list including Sens. Vance Hartke of Indiana and Jacob Javits of New York, Speaker John McCormack of Massachusetts, Rep. Emanuel Celler of New York, and former Gov. Pat Brown of California.

Their queries were met by weak excuses from the State Department, but collective pressure from Demetracopoulos's friends forced the issue over Brewster's head, all the way up to the Secretary of State Dean Rusk and the White House. Brewster's decision was overruled and a visitor's visa was given Demetracopoulos Sept. 28.

Demetracopoulos is now in Washington, but the incident is not closed. There is interest on Capitol Hill in a possible investigation of the affair to probe State Department-junta links that could perpetuate dictatorship in Athens and, in the process unwittingly bolster the reborn Communist resistance.

#### POINT OF VIEW—JANEWAY: POTENTIALLY BOILING GREECE SIMMERS

(By Eliot Janeway)

NEW YORK, February 28.—The hotter Viet Nam gets, the touchier the Mediterranean gets—and the more explosive Greece gets. This column has been identifying Greece as an active nerve center and potential trouble spot for America since before the crisis there surfaced. Herewith is an updated audit of present instabilities and exposures by Elias P. Demetracopoulos, Athens' premier political analyst-and-editor-in-exile and anti-communist coordinator of libertarian resistance to the military dictatorship there.

JANEWAY. The junta now controlling Greece has been cracking down on people critical of it. Has it also been tying up their property?

DEMETRACOPOULOS. The junta has been ruthless with respect to its opponents regardless of whether they belong to the right, center, or left of the political spectrum. It has not hesitated to take any measures, including deprivation of rights guaranteed under law.

JANEWAY. Can Greece subsist without foreign capital investment?

DEMETRACOPOULOS. Only at a much lower standard of living and growth than would otherwise be possible. Foreign investment is essential if modern management and technology are to be introduced. Without these, much of Greek industry will remain hopelessly backward and the great hope of joining the European Common Market will not be realized.

JANEWAY. Do you regard Russia as likely to intervene in Greece?

#### RUSSIAN ENTRANCE POSSIBLE

DEMETRACOPOULOS. Russia would like nothing better than to intervene in Greece as part of her campaign to penetrate the middle east while reducing United States influence there and in the Mediterranean. Since 1947, America has played a decisive role in Greece, and, beginning in 1959 with Ambassador Ellis Briggs, now a strong advocate of the Athens colonels, America has pursued disastrous, contradictory and vacillating policies—too many and too complicated to go into here. But because of these policies, largely influenced by interservice and personality rivalries, Russia can now for the first time since World War II pretend to lead liberation movements in Greece—ironically, in the name of democracy and with the support of noncommunist elements in western Europe.