

In conclusion, a fairer interpretation of present laws is urgently needed. The limited resources of the American people placed in the hands of F.D.A. should be applied in the real problem areas—where problems manifest themselves. Many question never effectiveness requirements for newer drugs since 1952, but products on the market prior to 1952 which have shown no toxicity, or health problems should remain free of the new laws. If this takes a new law to protect the pre-1952 drugs, I urgently request it. The free enterprise system is being unnecessarily challenged, and burdened with excess state control.

I have briefly brought to light many problems and would be happy to provide documentation and greater depth of discussion on any one or all of these problems.

Respectfully submitted,

ROSS A. DEARDORFF,
President.

GREECE OF THE JOURNALISTS: A REVIEW OF TWO BOOKS

HON. PATSY T. MINK

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 18, 1972

Mrs. MINK, Mr. Speaker, Dr. George Anastaplo, a distinguished scholar who is both a lecturer in liberal arts at the University of Chicago and a professor of political science at Rosary College, has written an article which I would like to share with my colleagues.

Dr. Anastaplo's article first appeared in the Saturday Review in February, 1972, as a book review and as an analysis of the political turmoil of Greece in 1967.

The article follows:

(NOTE.—The review was published, in a somewhat edited form, in the *Saturday Review*, February 12, 1972, pp. 79-89.

(The reviewer, George Anastaplo, who was born in St. Louis and now lives in Chicago, is Lecturer in the Liberal Arts, The University of Chicago, and Professor of Political Science, Rosary College. He is the author of *The Constitutionals: Notes on the First Amendment*, published in 1971 by the Southern Methodist University Press.

(Dr. Anastaplo has been declared *persona non grata* by the Greek government because of his articles about American policy in Greece. Citations to those articles may be found in the *Congressional Record*, vol. 117, p. E6129 (June 17, 1971). See, also, *Congressional Record*, vol. 118, p. S333 (Jan. 24, 1972), p. S11560 (July 24, 1972).)

GREECE OF THE JOURNALISTS: A REVIEW OF
TWO BOOKS

(By George Anastaplo)

The two books reviewed on this occasion are John A. Katris's *Eyewitness in Greece: The Colonels Come to Power* (St. Louis: E. P. Dutton Co., 1971; 317 pages, \$9.95), and Bayard Stockton's *Phoenix With a Bayonet: A Journalist's Interim Report on the Greek Revolution* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Georgetown Publications, 1971; 306 pages, \$7.95).

Both of these excessively partisan books can be useful for the discerning American reader. Bayard Stockton, an American freelance journalist living in Greece, attempts to make a case for the Greek colonels who seized power in Athens in April 1967. John A. Katris, a Greek journalist with a very good reputation (who now lives in Minneapolis), states the case against the United States which will probably be accepted some day by most Greeks, a case which sees the colonels

as little more than American agents. Perhaps, indeed, that day has already come.

The Stockton book, despite its effort to say all that can be said for the colonels—and, even more significant, despite its willingness to ignore much of what can be said against them—has not been received altogether enthusiastically in Athens. Mr. Stockton remains enough of a journalist to reveal here and there (often almost inadvertently) marked deficiencies in the regime he defends. In addition, one can deduce the colonels' shortcomings by noticing the subject skirted by their apologist.

Most revealing may be the manner in which the longstanding torture charges are handled by Mr. Stockton. He will not say outright that there has not been widespread deliberate recourse to torture as official government policy. Rather, he argues that such charges cannot be "totally proved or disproved" and then proceeds to treat them as frivolous, if not even fraudulent, p. 144. The colonels themselves have been obliged to admit, both by the vituperative denials they issue and by the reprehensible deeds they conceal, that neither their program nor their country's plight has justified reliance on the torture which is alleged by their critics.

Had Mr. Stockton been willing, in assessing the torture charges, to apply the standards and accept the kind of evidence he relies upon to condemn the misdeeds of the colonels' predecessors, he would have been obliged to recognize the existence since 1967 of systematic torture unknown in any West European country today and unprecedented in peacetime Greece.

Had he been willing to conduct the inquiries which foreign journalists can still make in Greece, he could easily have confirmed dozens (if not hundreds) of cases of savage torture, cases which have been documented in even greater number in James Becket's *Barbarism in Greece* (New York: Walker and Co., 1970) and in the thousand-page report (issued in 1970) of the Commission on Human Rights of the Council of Europe. For anyone to attempt by equivocation and sophistry to dismiss so much available evidence is to raise serious doubts about his reliability. The reader should be reminded of the kind of perverse self-deception, if not even dishonesty, which permitted intelligent men to ignore for so many years Stalin's barbarities.

Recourse has been had to torture and to continued repression because the colonels have not been able, in their five years in power, to secure more than the sullen acquiescence of the Greek people. The United States has been gulled into its unseemly support of the regime by repeated assurances of a speedy return to constitutional government and free elections.

It should be evident that the colonels have neither the intention of ever giving up power voluntarily nor the ability to retain it constitutionally. Certainly, one does not need much personal exposure to these unfaithful army officers to realize they are crude opportunists who are ruthless, self-righteous and dangerous. "We have all learnt, we all know," George Seferis (the Nobel Laureate poet) observed in Athens in March 1969, "that in dictatorial regimes the beginning may seem easy, yet tragedy waits at the end, inescapably. . . . The longer this abnormal situation lasts, the greater the evil."

The colonels were able to seize power in 1967 because of the imprudent and irresponsible feuding among the recognized politicians in Greece during the preceding decade. This feuding, which was magnified with the aid of an excitable press into a prolonged constitutional crisis in 1965, is exhibited in the Katris book. Mr. Katris's disregard of the practical consequences of what he writes is an instructive sample of the public folly in which Greek politicians

and journalists indulged before the colonels struck. His intemperate denunciations of the Greek monarchy can only impede the forging of an effective alliance among the many honorable men, royalists and republicans alike, who now find themselves in opposition to the colonels.

How unrealistic his program is may be seen in the conditions he lays down for the replacement of the colonels by an acceptable regime: there is about such pronouncements considerable fantasy, as if the colonels' opponents are now able to decide who will govern Greece. It does not seem to be realized, that is, that the colonels are likely to remain in power for a generation, barring chance developments or a serious international crisis.

Mr. Katris's insistence that the American C.I.A. is really behind the colonels does not recognize that such control need not be positioned in order for one to understand what happened in Greece in April 1967. To insist upon the C.I.A. as decisive is to underestimate the shortcomings of Greeks of all parties. It is to be a prisoner of that taste for the conspiratorial and the dramatic (with its depreciation of the role of chance in human affairs) which can make Greeks both so engaging and so exasperating. It ignores, furthermore, the growing realization among Greeks of all persuasions (at least among those who have remained in Greece) that something was seriously wrong with the old way of doing things, that leaders of all parties contributed to the suicidal irresponsibility and posturing which permitted barbarians in khaki to install themselves as the saviours of their troubled country.

The most obvious feature of the Stockton book for Americans should be its display of how barbarians can be prettied up as patient, well-meaning and determined protectors of law and order. It is to the credit of Greek politicians and journalists that no one of stature among them can be recruited by the dictatorship to serve as its apologist. Thus, however irresponsibly passionate they have been, they do retain the sense of honor which often accompanied such passion. Would a similar regime among us remain unable for five years to attract any serious support from established leaders and writers?

The colonels and their associates, usually the most disreputable elements in the army and out, realize they face imprisonment or execution if they should surrender power. That is, they realize that propaganda bargains have not secured for them genuine popular support.

It is significant, for instance, that the newspapers which are described by Mr. Stockton as most closely identified with the colonels are found (elsewhere in his book) at the bottom of the list of circulation figures for Athens the concern of the colonels themselves that their regime not be identified publicly with executions. There would be much more violent resistance to the colonels among disaffected Greeks today but for the tacit agreement on all sides that the ferocious vendettas of the 1940s should not be revived.

The only prospect for dislodging the colonels, once entrenched, depended upon judicious support by the United States of the Greek people in their desire to rid themselves of their tyrants. But the influence of the United States has been fading, and with this the colonels have dared become more open in their contempt for the free world, its institutions and its concerns. I have, since 1957, seen at close range all the principal Greek political figures who are alive today as well as all the principal members of the colonels' conspiracy.

I myself would much prefer to have any one of the former (e.g., King Constantine, P. Kanellopoulos, C. Karamanlis, G. Mavros, C. Mitsotakis, A. Papandreu, G. Rallis, O. Vidalis, H. Vlachou) as my governor than

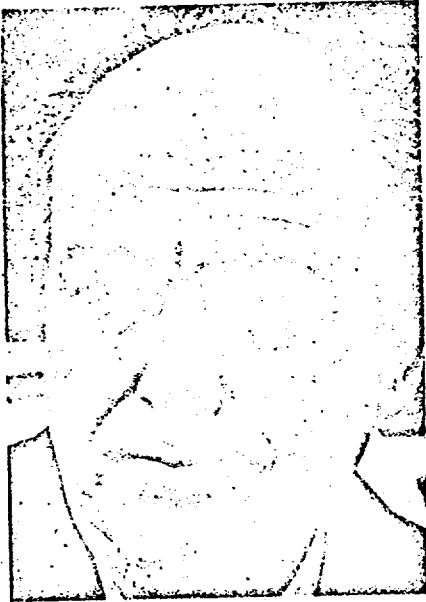
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Review



PATERNALISTIC CAPITALISM, by Andreas G. Papandreou. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1972. \$7.50.

SOME BOOKS ARE noteworthy for their contents, others because of who wrote them. This one is more the latter than the former; there is little strikingly new in it. However, some people (perhaps some economists especially) may pay attention to Papandreou, who have ignored the same points made earlier by all those who have made them—Marx, Veblen, Baran and Sweezy, Magdoff, O'Connor, Oglesby, Horowitz, to name a few.

Everyone must have heard of Papandreou by now. He was the cabinet minister who, in the elections of 1967, expected to lead a new government—a liberal one. Instead, he was thrown in jail by the military junta that seized power, and that still holds it in Greece. One can only guess about others' thought processes, but in this case it seems reasonable to believe that Papandreou worked back from that coup, to the CIA, to American imperialism, to what he calls "paternalistic capitalism." What he means by that term, incidentally, is not much different from what is meant by monopoly capitalism, state capitalism, or simply imperialism, by others. That he uses the term paternalism to identify a system that, as he himself says, "is entirely stripped of

any implication that it may be benevolent" (p. 6), tells more of the hesitancy of his new stance, than of the stance itself.

Papandreou has nothing pleasant to say either about American capitalism or about mainstream economics, both of which he once proudly hailed. He was chairman of the Economics Department at Berkeley in the late '50s, and wittingly or not helped grease the skids toward more and more of what he now rejects. The book starts off with a hard, dry, but polite attack on the main elements of economic theory, as she is written and taught. Except for those steeped in the stuff, what he has to say will be barely intelligible; he is speaking essentially to those who have a lot to unlearn.

Papandreou's heart, and his most direct language, are found in the chapter entitled "Peaceful Coexistence and Counter-Revolution," where Greece moves on and off the stage regularly. He rejects the notion that the "cold war" was "cold"—"it actually almost never was" (p. 121). More to the point, he argues, "it seems rather clear on the basis of available evidence that in the era of confrontation [1946 to 1963, by his dating] the action was American and the response Russian" (p. 123; his emphasis). And for him, the central point: "... in the case of Greece there was no danger of Russian intervention or involvement. . . . Notwithstanding the rhetoric about democracy, the U.S. intervention in Greece represented above all a counter-revolutionary action in the service of the strategic and economic interests of the United States in the eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East" (p. 128).

The American intervention referred to began in 1947, with the Truman Doctrine. From that point on, a line goes directly (if also crookedly, in both senses of the term) through the Marshall Plan, NATO, SEATO, CENTO, and, to among other places, the savage war against Indochina. His comment on NATO is characteristic:

The NATO directorate, a vast military and economic complex under the direct control of the Pentagon, exercises decisive influence over the establishments of the participating Western European coun-

tries—and is indeed itself a not insignificant component of these establishments. Its network of power extends from the military elites and the top echelons of the national security bureaucracies in general, to the economic and political elites of the member nations. And the Warsaw Pact directorate, controlled by Moscow, has become by now a far more reliable instrument of control over the Soviet Union's European satellites than the local communist parties (p. 135).

Papandreou has quarrels with Baran and Sweezy's *Monopoly Capital*, and with Galbraith's *New Industrial State*; but it is gratifying to note that, whereas he rejects Galbraith's optimism about the present structure and uses of power as being foolish (pp. 72-89), his major cavil with Baran and Sweezy boils down to the kind of argument that Marxists have with each other (i.e., the controversy between Fitch/Oppenheimer and Sweezy/O'Connor over "Who Rules the Corporations," in *Socialist Revolution*, in 1970-71). It is an argument not about whether the economy is run by a small number of corporate giants, but the sectoral identification of those giants. Papandreou is an eclectic himself, and he leans toward some combination of Sweezy, and C. Wright Mills as modified by Domhoff:

Thus, the focus of power in the contemporary American Establishment rests with the corporate managerial-capitalist elite, the civilian nonbureaucratic component of the national security managerial group; the top echelons of the bureaucracy charged with the management of national security, and especially, of course, the military bureaucracy. Of these components of the Establishment, the most senior, in a truly pervasive sense, is the corporate elite. The corporate elite underlies, and is, in the last analysis, identified with all of them. The American dominant class now rules by having occupied the "core" of the Establishment in an effectively comprehensive, all-enveloping way (p. 119).

Something of a far cry, that, from the Marshallian representative firm and the minimal state that still sit at the center of economic theory.

JAMES J. KILPATRICK

10 AUG 1972

On Greece: Some Amends and Amplifications

Let me come back, if I may, to the matter of George McGovern and Greece. I dealt with the story in a column 10 days ago. Certain amends and amplifications need to be made.

Standing squarely in the center of this affair is the handsome, enigmatic figure of one of Washington's most polished and effective lobbyists, Elias P. Demetracopoulos. Among the Greeks in exile who hunger for the ouster of the present military regime, actress Melina Mercouri makes the biggest splash, and Prof. Andreas Papandreou, up in Canada, rings the most violent alarms. But the exile who gets the most accomplished is, as McGovern addressed him on July 17, "Dear Elias."

He is a very remarkable fellow. In my recent column, I described him as (1) a minor journalist in Athens, who (2) turned up at a journalists' meeting in Communist Poland

when he fled Greece in 1967; and I said he was (3) remembered in Athens as the author of a newspaper story in 1965, based upon a forged letter that gave currency to vicious anti-American propaganda.

As to (1): The "minor" was unfair, and I apologize for it. The conservative weekly, Human Events, has described Demetracopoulos as "the foremost political editor in Greece," and Herman Kahn, of the Hudson Institute, has identified him as "the distinguished political editor in exile."

As to (2): He did indeed turn up at a journalists' meeting in Warsaw when he escaped from Greece, but the meeting was the sixth in a series sponsored by the United Nations. He had been officially invited to attend.

As to (3): In August of 1965, when Demetracopoulos was working in Athens for the newspaper Ethnos, its pub-

lisher received a photocopy of a letter purporting to have been written by Col. Oliver K. Marshall, then Army attache at the American Embassy. The letter appeared to acknowledge CIA responsibility for an explosion at Gorgopotamos the preceding November that killed 13 persons.

Demetracopoulos says that when he was called in on the story, he suspected a forgery. His suspicions were confirmed by the embassy, which denounced the document as "clearly a fabrication." Other newspapers in Athens were understood to have received the purported letter also.

In an effort to beat the competition, Ethnos on Aug. 1 backed into the story through a lead paragraph quoting the embassy as denying the validity of the forged letter, which Ethnos then splashed all over its front page. Demetracopoulos says the decision thus

to publicize the letter, while denying its authenticity, was not his own, but his publisher's. In any event, the story created a sensation, and was seized upon the next day by the Communist paper Avgi for anti-American exploitation.

Following his escape, Demetracopoulos settled in Washington. He became a consultant for Brimberg & Co., members of the New York Stock Exchange. He continued to work as a journalist, but mostly he set out to win friends and to influence people on Capitol Hill. He cultivated such diverse senators as Byrd of Virginia and Javits of New York. A personable bachelor, he became an extra man for dinner. Strom Thurmond gave him a warmly inscribed photograph. In the annals of high-level lobbying, he holds a respected place.

His labors against the junta were rewarded a year ago, when the House approved an amendment urging a halt to American aid to Greece. But his greatest successes came last month in Miami, when he first persuaded key Democrats to include an anti-junta plank in the Democratic platform, and then received the "Dear Elais" letter from McGovern. It was in this letter that McGovern gratuitously spelled out what he would do about Greece "in January of next year."

What is puzzling in all this is the apparent willingness of so many key political figures to swallow, hook, bait and sinker, the line Demetracopoulos is feeding them. He himself is staunchly anti-Communist, but overthrow of the present regime would invite the instability and political chaos the Communists most desire. McGovern hasn't thought this thing through — and McGovern, alas, is not alone.

STATINTL

In Greece: 'The Present, Or What It Is Like'

Inside the Colonel's Greece, by "Athenian."
New York: Norton. \$6.95.

By John K. Cooley

In May the noted Greek economist, John Pasmazoglu, known in the United States as chairman of the Greek Committee of the Eisenhower Foundation, joined hundreds of other prominent Greeks of all political convictions who have been deported to remote villages. His special crime was to have held a news conference warning that the Greek colonels' economic policies were unsound, and that Greece could not hope to become a full member of the European Economic Community as long as it is ruled by the military dictatorship which seized power on April 21, 1967.

A few days later, editor Iannis Horn of the English-language newspaper "Athens News" went to jail for having published a headline observing that bomb explosions, as well as "schoolchildren summoned for the occasion," had greeted the visit to Athens of U.S. Vice-President Spiro Agnew, a friend of the regime, last October.

These are merely two of the innumerable occurrences under a system which Prime Minister George Papadopoulos, the former intelligence officer who led the successful conspiracy of April, 1967 against parliamentary government, describes as "the Greece of Christian Greeks." Nearly 45 books have appeared in English and various other European languages about this Greece. "Inside the Colonels' Greece" is the best this reviewer has seen.

The anonymous author is apparently well-known to many Greek political emigres and probably to the Athens authorities as well. The facts and analyses he marshals and documents in his closely reasoned, unemotional text, show clearly that he has lived in Greece, not outside it, for most if not all of his life.

He is an anti-Communist, scornful of the way the Greek Communist Party and the Soviet Union acted in the past and are now exploiting the present situation without taking any political risks.

But he is also without illusions about the Greek royal family or the Rightist politicians who now oppose the officers' dictatorship. He does appear to have considerable respect for former Prime Minister Constantine Karamanlis, living in silent exile in Paris, and for ousted Prime Minister Panayotis Kanellopoulos, who despite several periods of house arrest and close surveillance in Athens continues to issue statements and manifestos demanding a return to democracy.

He refutes the colonels' arguments about "chaos" and "anarchy" before the coup, or the "Communist takeover" it was supposed to prevent.

The book's main headings disclose its argument: Part I, The Past, Or How It All Came About; Part II, The Present, Or What It Is Like and Part III, The Future, Or How To Get Rid Of Them. After explaining Greece's development from the departure of the Turks a century ago until the Metaxas dictatorship of 1936, he dispassionately analyzes the events and effects of World War II (including some embarrassing details about the activities of some of the present rulers, including Mr. Papadopoulos, during that period).

Next he deals with the "liberty in tutelage" of the parliamentary regime of 1950-1963 and what he calls the (relative) "complete liberty" of 1963-1965, which ended when the inexperienced and ill-advised young King Constantine forced resignation of the late Centrist Prime Minister, George Papandreou. Papandreou's withdrawal helped prepare the ground for the conspiracy of "unknown and undistinguished officers" who were to shove Constantine aside and into exile when his clumsy attempt to unseat the junta failed in December, 1967.

The author describes in detail and in moderate language how the present regime works: who suffers and who benefits from it; the effects of its policies on education, the information media, culture, Greece's standing abroad, and the stultifying effect on Greek life in general of the regime's anti-intellectualism, censorship and military law under which a man can (and often does) go to prison for a year for a single sentence uttered

STATINTL

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NEWS APR 29 1972

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Greek Anniversary

THE OBSERVANCE SLIPPED by almost unnoticed in the public press — the fifth anniversary of the Greek military regime's seizure of political power.

The past five years have been ones of heavy-handedness, political imprisonment, torture, suspension of Parliament and elections, and press intimidation. Yet there apparently is no real ground swell of popular antagonism against the regime, outside of a relatively small circle of Athenian intellectuals.

To many outsiders, the question might be, why?

And the answers range from the abundance of employment and television sets, washing machines, beer and cars to the stocky figure of Prime Minister George Papadopoulos. For the past five years the former colonel has maneuvered shrewdly, making himself the undisputed strongman of Greece.

The regime maintains its control through a large police force and the 150,000-man army, both of which have been upgraded in pay, perquisites and status to form a new privileged class in Greece. The army symbolizes law and order, and this deeply appeals to many in the small towns and rural areas of the nation.

One wonders why military rule has been so successful, but a look at the nation's economy may supply the answer. Give a person a well-paying job and plenty of comforts and it's unlikely that he'll complain too much about other conditions.

Per capita income has risen 33 per cent since the colonels took over in 1967. Stores are crammed with TV sets, refrigerators and a multitude of other appliances. Cars also are becoming easier to acquire even though the price is still high. However, unemployment is non-existent. In fact, Greece exports 300,000 workers to Western Europe.

Greece's major growth industry is tourism with some three million visitors expected this year, 40 per cent more than last year and projections envision a steady increase of 25 per cent annually for the next several years.

Although there is some complaint of a lack of freedom, there are many who say there is more freedom in Greece today than there was prior to the military takeover. Restrictions on the press have eased in the past year and the number of political prisoners continues to decrease.

Of course, as in any nation, there are those who will fight the ruling power and Greece is no exception. The intellectuals are battling the military leadership and in keeping with the fashion of the day they blame most of the nation's ills on the United States.

The CIA, it is alleged, had a hand in the colonel's coup of 1967 and still is responsible for keeping the regime in power. But some opposition leaders who have spent time in jail believe the Athenian "outs" have made the U.S. the whipping boy because of their own lack of will or ability to undermine the military government.

It seems that you have a difficult time preaching revolt when the people have plenty of work, see foreigners flocking to their country for visits, have money to spend and a variety of consumer items to make life a little more comfortable.

Ten Years of Greek Fascism

By Dan Georgakas

Since its seizure of power in April 1967, the military dictatorship in Greece has followed a path seeking to transform that country into a virtual colony of U.S. imperialism.

At the same time the junta has sought, with much less success, to crush the Greek resistance movement.

U.S. aid to the military regime has continued without interruption in spite of congressional acts to delay shipment of certain heavy weapons. The U.S. government's enthusiasm for the regime was reinforced when Spiro Agnew visited Greece in the summer of 1971 amid great fanfare.

Agnew's visit was followed by an agreement that Athens would become a new official home port for the U.S. Mediterranean fleet. This will mean tens of millions of dollars annually for the troubled Greek economy. In February, President Nixon released all frozen aid to Greece, including the shipment of new jets.

The brazen Nixon blessing of the fascist junta is the final flower of long-standing U.S. policy. The first overt interference came in 1948 when Truman ordered massive military assistance to the royalist government. This aid, which included the experimental use of napalm, coupled with conflict within the socialist world over Tito's struggle with Stalin led to the defeat of the Greek left in the civil war. Tens of thousands of patriots went into exile and an equal number were jailed.

The 1950s were dominated by the governments of Costas Karamanlis who ruled with a tough hand and full U.S. support. Even during this period, however, officers within the Greek military developed clandestine groups with ties to U.S. intelligence. These men were trained in the U.S. By the early 1960s when the Greek masses were again in motion, the CIA contact man in Greece was George Papadopoulos who would emerge as the junta strong man.

CIA line wins out

For a time U.S. policy was undecided between the State Department's trust that George and Andreas Papandreou could keep Greece dependable while retaining the form of parliamentary democracy and the CIA's desire to insure dependency with its colonels. The debate was won by the CIA when it became clear that the general elections scheduled for May 1967 would bring the center and left some 80 percent of the vote with great expectation from the masses of fundamental changes. The colonels were given the go-ahead to use NATO weapons and a NATO contingency plan to take over the government.

The colonels moved swiftly to crush opposition through a policy of torture, exile and imprisonment. Every public and private organization was purged of persons with any connection to the mildest progressive forces in Greece. This ruthless disregard of national interest was masked by a pseudo-nationalist jargon about "Greek Orthodox Christian purity" which not even the colonels took seriously.

A key man during these events was Tom Pappas, the Boston industrialist who raised over \$1 million from Greek shipowners for the Nixon-Agnew election campaign. Pappas has the Standard Oil franchise in Greece and his foundation has been identified as CIA conduit. The expatriate Greek millionaire group he heads has

been the main beneficiary of the coup. Stavros Niarchos and Aristotle Onassis have received huge tax concessions to get them to invest in Greece. Less well known figures from the group have gotten similar privileges.

One of the latest junta giveaways has been to place all publicly owned land in Greece up for auction. This amounts to millions of acres and thousands of islands and islets. Most of this land will end up in the hands of the expatriate millionaires and their friends. Another example of junta financing is the building of tourist complexes at public expense and then leasing them to private parties for management and profit. Thus the junta's vaunted drive against corruption has amounted to little less than the replacement of the royalist cliques by the colonels' own coterie of rural gentry, nouveau riche and international capitalists.

No popular support

Popular support for the regime has remained nil. Not a single prominent political figure of pre-junta Greece, whether rightist, leftist, or centerist, has been won over. Less than ten deputies from the last legal parliament have collaborated. Recently two archbishops and sixty bishops took public positions against the regime.

Such conservative and somewhat "safe" protests reflect the general mood of the nation. The funeral of George Papandreou, the last legal premier, was turned into a huge anti-government rally when hundreds of thousands shouted the slogans which had terrorized the Greek establishment in the early and middle 1960s. Every such gathering is a tinderbox carefully guarded by the police and army. Even a film as innocuous as Woodstock had to be banned because peace slogans and wild cheering took place in the theater when Jimi Hendrix rendered his parody of the American National Anthem. Only constant surveillance, arrests, beatings and torture keep the superficial impression of tranquility.

While worldwide pressure has brought the release of many prisoners and an abatement in torture, the resistance has not very effectively taken advantage of the junta's massive unpopularity. There has been no significant clandestine organization of workers, no rural guerrillas, only limited urban warfare and no large-scale participation of youth who were the spearhead of the movement in the 1960s.

Much of this failure can be traced to the disillusionment felt by the masses toward all pre-junta figures and organizations. The king, his clique and the right wing are blamed for setting the conditions of the junta in the first place. The center is thought to be mainly a movement of only rhetorical struggle. The greatest disillusionment, however, is with the organized left. Almost all cadres of the Communist party and the United Democratic Left were completely unprepared for the coup, despite prior warning signs.

The collapse of the left can be traced to a large extent to the ineffective popular front tactics of the left. Unprepared to seek power in their own name, their resistance activities have been primarily verbal, emphasizing the political prisoner issue and sentimental feelings about Greece rather than engaging in class politics with immediate socialist goals.

The United Democratic Left now has no viable

STATINTL

21 APR 1972



Greek democracy fights on

One of the reasons given in the White House's why-we-are-in-the-Vietnam-war catechism is that the people of South Vietnam should have the right, freely and democratically, to determine their own destiny.

One need but turn to Greece to see what Nixon has in mind, even when there is no war.

Five years ago today, a fascist-militarist junta seized power in Athens. It established a concentration camp regime: torture became the medium of justice; democratic and trade union rights were crushed.

The junta putsch was inspired, encouraged, and paid for by the White House through the CIA and the Pentagon agencies. The colonels have paid off, opening the doors to the U.S. monopolies. The big payoff, however is the transformation of Greece into a base for the U.S. Sixth Fleet, a forward base against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, and against the Middle East. Greece's enslavement by U.S. imperialism is thus a threat to world peace, a time-bomb against detente in Europe. The interests of the American people demand Greece's liberation.

On this fifth anniversary of the junta's seizure of power we urge our readers to demand of the White House that it get all U.S. military and espionage forces out of Greece; and to demand of the Greek Government (Embassy, 2221 Massachusetts Ave., Washington, D.C.): cessation of torture, freedom of all political prisoners, and a general political amnesty.

Greeks' anti-fascist

By WILLIAM J. POMEROY

unity appeal

LONDON, April 20—Tomorrow (Friday) is the fifth anniversary of the 1967 coup in Greece that brought to power a fascist junta of army colonels who had CIA backing. Despite the ruthless dictatorship they have fashioned, featured by concentration camps, torture and the extinguishing of political, trade union and other human rights, the popular struggle against the fascist regime has continued to grow, both inside Greece and on an international scale.

This year a joint call has been made by the various Greek resistance movements for April 21 to be made an International Day of support for the Greek freedom struggle and of aid to the victims of the fascist junta. An appeal is made to Americans in particular.

The 1967 coup was nurtured by the CIA and in the NATO military agencies of the U.S. government, and today the Nixon Administration is seeking to reap the harvest of those fascist seeds by acquiring Greek naval bases for the U.S. Sixth Fleet.

World conference

The appeal was comprised in the main resolution of the Second International Conference against dictatorship and for the restoration of democracy in Greece, held in Paris on March 17-19. It was the broadest and most successful conference that has occurred to date on the struggle to abolish the junta regime.

Present were delegations and observers from 21 countries besides a wide spectrum of Greek organizations themselves. The French Committee for a Democratic Greece, the British League for Democracy in Greece, the Swedish Committee for Democracy in Greece, the Norwegian Committee for Greek Democracy, British and Irish trade unionists were among them. In the Soviet delegation were the composer Aram Katchaturian, and Galina Ulanova, the ballerina.

Greek delegates

Greek organizations that sent delegates or from which invited leaders came included: Democratic Defense (the Center Party's resistance organization), the Communist Party of Greece

(KKE), the Pan-Hellenic Liberation Movement (PAK, which is headed by Andreas Papandreu), the Patriotic Anti-Dictatorship Front, the Central Council of Anti-Dictatorship Committees, the Agrarian Party and Cooperatives, the Committee of Political Refugees, the United Anti-Dictatorship Movement of Greek Seamen (EASKEN).

One of the main problems in the struggle to abolish the dictatorship has been the difficulty in bringing about unity, both inside and outside Greece, of the varied left, center and conservative resistance groups, which have tended to follow the pattern of the political parties and organizations that existed in Greece prior to the fascist coup. The Second International Conference showed an encouraging growth of unity and coordination, as well as a broadening of international support.

United by oppression

This trend has been fostered by experiences within Greece, where the fist of the junta has been brought down on all opponents of the regime, regardless of their political affiliation or belief. Communists, Center Unionists and rightist Radicals find themselves in the same jails and concentration camps for resistance activities and are compelled to work together.

Most important of the unity pressures is the simple fact of general, unreconciled opposition to the junta by the overwhelming majority of the Greek people. Mass trials are a continual feature of the country's life, as new resistance workers come forward to replace those arrested. Pressures and maneuvers to compel or attract leaders of all parties to recognize the regime or to collaborate with it have changed nothing and have left the junta as isolated as it was at the beginning of the dictatorship.

The unity trend has had its most impressive manifestation in the response within Greece to the appeal for General Political Amnesty, which has demanded the release of all political prisoners without exception and the procla-

mation of a general amnesty. Circulated in the latter part of 1971, it was signed first by 470 personalities from all political trends and from all sectors of Greek society — academics, lawyers, judges, writers, clergymen, trade unionists, even military men.

Although the fascist regime

Tortures exposed

hounded the signatories, depriving many of their livelihood, banning them from employment, and arresting them in some cases, 430 of them maintained their support for the appeal and, more significantly, were joined by hundreds more, bringing well-known signatories now to over 1,000. The General Political Amnesty Campaign continues, and its success permeated the Paris Conference.

The fight for the freedom of political prisoners has brought the most glaring spotlight of exposure on the fascist junta, which has tried to squirm away from it by releasing a number of the prisoners in December, 1971, and in January, 1972. In doing so, it has pretended that political prisoners no longer exist in Greece.

Under pressure from foreign journalists, however, the junta's Minister of Justice admitted on Feb. 10, 1972 that there were in fact 334, of whom 270 had been sentenced and 64 were awaiting trial. Since then it has been ascertained, as of March 13, that there are 323 sentenced political prisoners and 72 others awaiting trial, with more being arrested all the time, including some of those who had been released.

Conditions of political prisoners have, in fact, worsened. In Nov. 1970 the junta terminated visits and assistance to the prisoners by the International Committee of the Red Cross, to whom accounts of torture and maltreatment had been given in the past. Torture and confinement in dark, damp and insanitary cells has been resumed, attested to by letters smuggled from the prisons.

STATINTL

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Greek Rule Never Stronger

"Papadocracy" Is Hallmark as Regime Enters Fifth Year

By William Touhy
Los Angeles Times

ATHENS—On a recent overcast day in the freshly scrubbed main square of Messolonghi in western Greece, Prime Minister George Papadopoulos told the assembled throng in his strident, stilted accent:

"Our progress and that of our children will be halted only over my dead body."

No one in the applauding provincial audience or among the dozens of security agents on duty doubted the determination of the stocky, scowling 52-year-old former colonel, though there may have been a few in Messolonghi, and many others in Athens, who questioned his concept of progress.

On April 21, the military regime marks the fifth anniversary of seizing political power from a fractious and fragile Greek parliament, thus ending democratic government here.

Since then, Papadopoulos has maneuvered shrewdly, making himself the undisputed strongman of Greece, and, in the process, he has undeniably solidified the position of his regime.

Greece's political masters used to be referred to collectively as "the colonels," but the phrase is now passe. Papadopoulos is the supreme: prime minister, defense minister, foreign minister, minister of government agencies, and most recently, he has taken over as regent for self-exiled King Constantine.

The official symbol of the regime is a phoenix rising from flames guarded by an armed soldier. But cynics today tend to describe the government rather as "papadocracy," and anything resembling parliamentary democracy based on free elections is not yet in sight.

An extended trip through Greece today produces the inescapable impression drawn from both pro- and anti-government elements in this nation of 8.5 million,

that Papadopoulos' military rule has never been stronger.

As one opposition politician summed it up: "There is no effective force today to challenge the regime, neither inside nor outside Greece."

To many outsiders, the gnawing question is why, after five years of heavy-handedness, political imprisonment, torturing, suspension of parliament and elections, and press intimidation, there is no real groundswell of popular antagonism against the regime outside a relatively small circle of Athenian intellectuals.

There are several reasons: Partly, it is because the regime maintains its control through a large police force and the 150,000-man army, both of which have been upgraded in pay and status to form the new privileged class of Greece.

The army symbolizes law and order, and this deeply appeals to many in the small towns and rural areas of Greece.

Further, the powerful Greek Orthodox Church has tacitly backed the regime, one of whose slogans is "a Greece of Christian Greeks." The wealthy business community also supports the government, which advocates free enterprise and generous tax exemptions.

The regime does not have to worry much about the opposition, since it is disorganized, almost chaotic, and has failed to unite around a single leader or political nucleus.

But perhaps the most important underlying reason for the success of the regime is the great consumer boom that has only belatedly arrived in Greece.

Per capita income has risen to more than \$1,200, up one-third since the colonels took over in 1967.

Stores in provincial towns are crammed with television sets, refrigerators, washing machines, and other appliances. Greece, although still

an underdeveloped country, has more than a half million sets.

Beer-drinking is on the increase, since it is considered a status symbol in a nation whose cheapest drink is wine.

But the biggest status symbol of all is the automobile. Over the Easter holidays, fully 200,000 cars left the Athens-Piraeus metropolitan area for the countryside with 600,000 people—out of a total population of 2.5 million.

Unemployment is nonexistent in Greece. The country, in fact, sends 300,000 workers to Western Europe, and the remittances from them and Greek seamen abroad are expected to bring in \$500 million this year.

Greece's major growth industry is tourism. The nation expects 3 million visitors this year, 40 per cent more than last year, and a steady increase of 25 per cent annually is expected for the next several years.

New hotels are sprouting up throughout the mainland and on Crete, Rhodes, Corfu, and smaller islands.

Economists predict a 7 to 8 per cent increase in real growth.

The economic danger spots, however, are rising prices and a large trade deficit. But as one Western economist said:

"A developing country like Greece needs to run a deficit to import the materials needed to industrialize. And Greece has a good line of credit to Western nations."

Critics of the regime charge that the economic takeoff was set in motion before the military takeover. Whatever the case, the Papadopoulos government is clearly reaping the benefits of the consumer boom.

How do Greeks thrive in other ways under what amounts to the dictatorship of Papadopoulos?

"You must remember that most Greeks in the provinces and islands are conserva-

tives," says a widely travelled professional man.

"They remember the civil war that killed 350,000 people from a population base of 7 million. Few Greeks want to undergo another bloodbath for the sake of an emigre king or some old politicians.

"Thus, most Greeks are content with their lot today. For those who decide to oppose the regime, the going is tougher. I would not say that they live in fear, but rather in the shadow of fear."

Most opposition figures agree that Papadopoulos has eased the restrictions on personal liberties during the past year.

These opposition sources say there are now only 343 political prisoners in jail, 25 of whom have been paroled because of poor health. There are 30 or more in jail who have not yet been charged.

Thus, even the opposition admits that the military regime may be correct when it claims that there are fewer political prisoners in jail today than at any time since the civil war of 1947-49.

Restrictions on the press have also eased. Technically, censorship has been abolished, but Greek papers operate under a tough press law.

Newspapers recently carried an anti-regime statement signed by 130 former deputies.

In some book stores, copies of Guevara, Marcuse, and Brecht are sometimes available, though in the provinces a nod from a government agent is enough to discourage a bookseller from stocking anything considered controversial.

Opposition sources estimate that there are at least 100,000 paid government informers in Greece—doormen, concierges, taxi drivers, waiters, news vendors—and some 30,000 in Athens alone.

In villages, a platoon of local militia also acts as the

continued

16 APR 1972

Greece Today: Military Rule Never Stronger

BY WILLIAM TUOHY
Times Staff Writer

ATHENS — The Greek military regime next Friday marks the fifth anniversary of seizing political power from a fractious and fragile parliament, thus ending democratic government.

They have been five years of heavy-handedness, political imprisonment, torture, suspension of Parliament and elections, and press intimidation.

Yet there is no real ground swell of popular antagonism against the regime, outside of a relatively small circle of Athenian intellectuals.

To many outsiders, the gnawing question is, why?

And the answers range from the abundance of employment and television sets, washing machines, beer and automobiles to the stocky, scowling figure of Prime Minister George Papadopoulos.

Shrewd Tactician

Since April 21, 1967, the 52-year-old former colonel has maneuvered shrewdly, making himself the undisputed strongman of Greece, and, in the process, undeniably solidified the position of his regime.

Greece's political masters used to be referred to collectively as "the colonels" but the phrase is passe. Papadopoulos is supreme. He is prime minister, defense minister, foreign minister, minister of government agencies, and most recently, he has taken over as regent for self-exiled King Constantine.

The official symbol of the regime is a phoenix rising from flames guarded by an armed soldier.

But cynics today tend to describe the government rather as "Papadocracy," and anything resembling parliamentary democracy based on free elections is not yet in sight.

Never Stronger

An extended trip through Greece today produces the inescapable conclusion, drawn from both pro-government and anti-government elements in this nation of 8.5 million, that the military rule of George Papadopoulos has never been stronger.

The regime maintains its control through a large police force and the 150,000-man army, both of which have been upgraded in pay, perquisites, and status to form a new privileged class in Greece.

The army symbolizes law and order, and this deeply appeals to many in the small towns and rural areas of Greece.

Furthermore, the powerful Greek Orthodox Church has tacitly backed the regime, one of whose slogans is "a Greece of Christian Greeks." The wealthy business community, also, supports the government, which advocates free enterprise and generous tax exemptions.

Opposition Disorganized

The regime does not have to worry much about the opposition, since it is disorganized, almost chaotic, and has failed to unite around a single leader or political nucleus.

As one opposition politician summed it up: "There is no effective force today to challenge the regime, either inside or outside Greece."

But perhaps the most important underlying reason for the success of the regime is the great consumer boom that has only belatedly arrived in Greece.

Per-capita income has risen to more than \$1,200, up one-third since the colonels took over in 1967.

Stores in provincial towns are crammed with washing machines, and

other appliances. A developing country, Greece nevertheless has more than half a million TV sets.

Beer-drinking, for instance, is on the increase, since it is considered a status symbol in a nation whose cheapest drink is wine.

But the biggest status symbol of all is the automobile. Over the Easter holidays, fully 200,000 cars left the Athens-Piraeus metropolitan area for the countryside with 600,000 people—out of a total population of 2.5 million.

Car and Gasoline

Greeks will pay up to one-third of their yearly incomes to purchase and maintain a car. And though gasoline costs more than 90 cents a gallon, consumption rose 14% last year.

The new gambling casino on Mt. Parnis 20 miles outside Athens is jammed on weekends — with middle-class businessmen — and the line of parked cars extends so far down the road that mini-buses ferry customers to gaming tables manned by mini-skirted dealers, girls imported from Britain.

"We are not ready to fight for democracy," explains one left-wing writer sourly. "We are too busy paying for our cars and our TV sets."

Workers Exported

Unemployment is nonexistent in Greece: The country, in fact, exports 300,000 workers to Western Europe, and the remittances from them and Greek seamen abroad are expected to bring in \$500 million this year.

Greece's major growth industry is tourism: The nation expects 3 million visitors this year, 40% more than last year. And projections envision a steady increase of 25% annually for the next several years.

New hotels are sprouting up throughout the mainland, on Crete, Rhodes, Corfu, and smaller islands. Tourist

sites are jammed. On the road to the Temple of Delphi, the driver likes to point out the crossroad where, he says, Oedipus killed his father.

Inflation, Deficit

Economists predict a 7% to 8% increase in real growth. The economic danger spots, however, are rising prices and a large trade deficit. But, as one Western economist adds:

"A developing country like Greece needs to run a deficit to import the materials needed to industrialize. And Greece has a good line of credit to Western nations."

Critics of the regime charge that the elements of the economic takeoff were set in motion before the military take-over. Whatever the case, the Papadopoulos government is clearly reaping the benefits of the consumer boom.

How do Greeks thrive in other ways under what amounts to the dictatorship of George Papadopoulos?

Recall Civil War

"You must remember that most Greeks in the provinces and islands are conservatives," says a widely traveled professional man. "They remember the civil war that killed 350,000 people from a population base of 7 million. Few Greeks want to undergo another blood bath for the sake of an emigre king or some old politicians. Melina Mercouri, after all, is not Greece."

"Thus, most Greeks are content with their lot today. For those who decide to oppose the regime, the going is tougher. I would not say that they live in fear, but rather in the shadow of fear."

Another Greek, a young businessman, adds: "Many Europeans and Americans who complain about the lack of freedom in Greece today never really know what Greece was like under democratic regimes. Polit-

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KENNEBEC JOURNAL

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Five years of Greek colonels

Greece, the birthplace of democracy, has now endured the longest lasting military dictatorship in its history. When the army colonels, headed by George Papadopoulos, took over on April 21, 1967, they pledged it was "only to secure the conditions that will allow democracy to function in Greece." Five years have now passed and the prospects for national elections look dim. Material prosperity, the absence of strikes and the curbing of inflation have all tended to numb the political consciousness of the people.

An elaborate police and informer network has spread throughout the land. Mario Modiano writes from Athens that, "The regime's greatest achievement has been the discovery of the 'golden mean' of repression. To discourage active opposition, Prime Minister Papadopoulos has left the dividing line between what is and is not permitted deliberately vague."

Arbitrary action by the army has strengthened this uncertainty. For example, when a girl is caught distribut-

ing leaflets calling for elections there is no need to arrest her, reports Le Monde. It is simply arranged "to have her raped by four or five far from reluctant paratroopers".

C. M. Woodhouse, a British authority on Greece, wrote in the Observer, "Nothing will shake the conviction that the Colonels were brought to power by the CIA." Greeks, said Woodhouse, talk of America's "hermaphrodite policy" of supporting an oppressive dictatorship in order to prevent the loss of a strategically vital ally. Vice President Spiro Agnew's visit last October to his native village — accompanied by Papadopoulos — confirmed the image.

Everyone in Greece says that the colonels "can't go on forever." But the prospect of any alternative authority grows steadily more remote. Former political leaders like Andreas Papan-dreou are fading from public consciousness. Organized labor has become a tool of the colonels. And after five years, the western world has become accustomed to Greece's dictatorship.

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Intelligence and the Colleges: A Study

STATINTL

By Don Hill

The Virginian-Pilot Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON.

THE CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY—The CIA, dreaded, accused, and abused on seven continents—has joined the college PR lecture circuit.

But unlike its fellow campus crawlers among government agencies and special pleaders, the CIA wants its public relations program kept hush-hush.

Secret publicity? This tricky exercise was attempted last month at Hollins College, Roanoke, Va., at a weekend conference entitled—honest—"Freedom and Thought Control in America."

A senior CIA official made a speech to more than 100 students, at least one newspaper reporter, and a girl with a tape recorder.

The handsome, gray-haired speaker—who had been identified in advance publicity only as "John Maury, federal employe"—was introduced to the open audience as a spokesman for the Central Intelligence Agency.

Maury actually is a high CIA official, in charge among other duties of the agency's congressional liaison.

His remarks, Maury told the mixed-bag group confidentially, should be "kept in the family."

The girl with the tape recorder said afterwards she planned to make transcriptions for anyone who wanted them.

Maury subsequently protested that news reports of his foray would require the CIA to "review its efforts" at "trying to maintain some sort of communication with the academic community."

Queried for this report, he said last week, "Well, we wouldn't want to be accused of going around propagandizing on college campuses."

It's hard to see what else the CIA was doing. According to Dr. Henry Nash, chairman of Hollins' department of political science, Maury told him the Hollins visit was a kind of visit to see whether the CIA can speak to student groups to try to sort of refurbish its

image.

In his talk, Maury painted a glowing picture of CIA operations.

The agency, he said, is "the eyes and ears of the policy makers and it is our job to collect enough information so that they will not blunder into dangerous situations."

Later over cocktails, Nicholas Von Hoffman, the Washington Post's impassioned leftist columnist, who was a fellow conference participant, tweeted Maury about that.

Von Hoffman unkindly mentioned the Bay of Pigs, as "one of the agency's triumphs."

The agency, Maury responded, only gathers information; it doesn't make policy.

The speaker had some titillating tidbits for the audience. It is little known, he said, but the senior Russian intelligence officer on duty the day Francis Gary Powers was shot down, May 1, 1960, was working with American intelligence. The officer was later caught and executed.

Von Hoffman apparently didn't take time to note that some circles don't consider the 1960 U2 incident an American intelligence triumph either.

The CIA, however, Maury said was able with accuracy to determine the extent of the Russian long-range missile threat and this information helped President Kennedy triumph in the Cuban missile crisis.

There was some heckling from Maury's audience, according to people who were there. A woman told Maury she'd lived in Athens a year and was appalled at the CIA's role in supporting the military "colonels coup" in that country.

Maury shot back that he'd been in Greece for six years and had been Athens agent at the time of the coup. Some of her statements were inaccurate, he told the woman.

After the speech session, Maury, Von Hoffman and others retired to the home of Hollins' publicity director, Mrs. [Name], for cocktails and more heckling.

Despite the criticism to which it is subjected, Maury said in his speech, the CIA's activities are directed and scrutinized by a number of federal organizations and the Congress.

How about the CIA's subsidizing of the National Student Association, an international scandal when the story broke, Von Hoffman asked Maury over drinks.

There was no other way to provide the money for those students to get to international conferences, Maury said.

But, Von Hoffman asked innocently, hadn't congressional committees already decided not to appropriate funds for this purpose? Didn't the CIA thus thwart the will of Congress?

"You don't understand," Von Hoffman says Maury replied.

It's not really a secret that the CIA long has attempted to maintain contact with college campuses. That, after all is where it must recruit the bright young minds that will don the cloaks and wield the daggers of the future. That also is where the scholarly studies and overt information gathering that are the basis for 90 per cent of intelligence are centered.

Maury had noted in his speech that the CIA reaps some of its criticism because it's a facet of American morality "that we feel that anything done in secret must be a little naughty."

Like secret publicity maybe?

Maury also had said that intelligence workers "learn from mistakes and failures."

There may have been a lesson at Hollins. The newspaper reporter was drawn to the Maury speech because of advance publicity sent out by the college. It said that a "federal government employe" would discuss intelligence activities. CIA agents often describe themselves to acquaintances simply as "federal employes." "That just meant CIA to me," the reporter said.

"I know," said Jane White, the student chairman who arranged the conference that way.

5 MAR 1972

Mood in Greece Today--- Helplessness and Fear

STATINTL

C. M. WOODHOUSE

If the present mood of the Greeks had to be summed up in a single word, the most accurate would be their own word, *stenokhoria*. Its literal meaning of being cramped in a narrow space has given way to a wide metaphorical connotation.

Distressed, embarrassed, humiliated, bored, frustrated, annoyed, disillusioned, helpless, bitter, fed up: all these feelings, separately or in combination, are included in *stenokhoria*. In one or other of these senses it applies to the government, to its opponents, and to the passive majority.

The resentment of the opposition needs no explanation. In the provinces it is less articulate

The author of "The Story of Modern Greece," C. M. Woodhouse began his association with Greece in 1943 when he took command of the Allied military mission to the guerrillas in the Nazi-occupied country; his article is from the London Observer.

than in Athens, but not less deep. It is a minority, but a growing minority. Many who acquiesced in the revolution at first now see no further use for it, and even doubt whether it was ever necessary. At the same time they see no prospect of getting rid of it: hence the feeling of helplessness, reinforced by fear.

By common consent, the only prospect of changing the government lies with the Americans. Nothing will shake the general conviction that the colonels were brought to power by the CIA, the only reason being the undoubted fact

that their power-base lay in the CIA's Greek equivalent, the KYP.

Consequently, the opposition is bitterly critical of the Americans. At the same time supporters of the government despise the Americans for yielding to blackmail. Their "hermaphrodite policy" was one of the less unkind descriptions heard.

But although the government is securely in power so long as the Americans regard Greece as indispensable, the colonels show signs of being uncertain what to do with their power. They too suffer from *stenokhoria*.

They regard their revolution as continuous and permanent. They have even tried to devise an ideology, their two chief theorists (Georgalas and Papakonstantinou) both being ex-Communists. The prime minister's boasted aim is a total psychological transformation of the Greek people.

The translation of this aim into practice is so far unimpressive. In terms of security and prosperity the revolution is said to be well advanced. Papadopoulos has now proclaimed an educational and an administrative revolution. The first comprises plans for selective secondary education and a reorganization of university curriculum. The second includes an enlarged consultative assembly, elected on a system of corporative representation as under Mussolini's fascism, and a decentralization of government.

So far from carrying out a grand design, the government gives the impression of feeling its way uneasily from problem to problem. Sometimes it

gets bogged down in technicalities that ought to be left to experts, like price control. Businessmen complaining about the level of rents for commercial property are surprised to be told that "only the prime minister" can settle the matter. And Dep. Prime Minister Pattakos' preoccupation with trivialities is a standing joke.

This floundering in the lower reaches of administration contrasts strangely with the grandiose phrasology of government propaganda. But it seems that the propaganda no longer attracts any attention, nor does the government care whether it does so or not.

The blue-and-white slogans all over the countryside are in many places battered and tarnished and neglected.

Both sides, however, are intensely conscious of the impact on foreigners. Every Western reaction—particularly British—is carefully monitored. "Why do you so dislike the Greeks?" asked one of my acquaintances, with reference partly to the Cyprus dispute and partly to present criticisms.

Contrary symptoms cause great joy to the government and sorrow to its opponents. Best of all was the reception in London last autumn by Sir Alec Douglas-Home of the Greek foreign undersecretary. For days beforehand we were told in the press that it would happen, and for days afterward we were told that it had happened. There was virtually no interest in what had been discussed: The meeting was the message.

At the same time there is a strongly expressed con-

tempt for foreign opinion. "The army will not tolerate foreign intervention," declares the government press. It knows very well that every visit to Athens by a NATO official, a French Minister, a British general, an American vice president, is foreign intervention—on the side of the government.

These ambivalent attitudes towards the West are part of the Greek heritage. They passionately want to be accepted as Europeans, without becoming a European dependency.

A characteristic *cri du coeur* appeared in the press at the time of the death of the poet George Sopheris. A young graduate wrote a letter deploring Greek subservience to foreign judgments. Sopheris, he said, was rated above Palamas only because he was awarded a Nobel Prize: "The eagle was slighted, the sparrow took the prize." He reached out for a general moral. "We must throw away the rotten relics of the bad old days," he wrote. Native worth must be properly appreciated, and foreign intervention rejected. "Is it not time to change our character? We are not Orientals, we are Greeks."

A perennial dilemma is implicit in his anguished phrases. Greece does not belong either to the Middle East or to Europe. To be Greek is better than either. But Greece must be assimilated to Europe before Europeans will recognize it. The old system failed in the task. Can the military dictatorship suc-

STATINTL

3 MAR 1972

Greek fascists aim to put Cyprus under NATO rule

By WILLIAM J. POMEROY

LONDON, (By airmail)

— Close on the heels of the announcement of U.S. plans to establish a permanent base for the Mediterranean 6th Fleet at Piraeus in Greece have come demands from the Greek fascist regime for President Makarios in Cyprus to submit to conditions that would place Cyprus under NATO control.

These developments are part of U.S. military strategy affecting both the Middle East and the southern rim of the socialist countries.

On Feb. 11 the Greek military junta served a note on Makarios demanding not only that he surrender allegedly imported arms to the UN peace-keeping forces on Cyprus, but also that he dismiss cabinet members considered "hostile to the Greek government" and bring in representatives of the "enosis" movement associated with the right-wing Gen. George Grivas.

On agenda for years

These demands would destroy the independence of Cyprus and pave the way for Cyprus to be dragged into the NATO structure. This has been on the NATO agenda for years, and there have been successive plots to overthrow or to murder Makarios, and partition the island between Greece and Turkey (both NATO members).

At present there are two British bases on Cyprus, at Akrotiri and Dhekelia in the western Greek Cypriot area. These are air and ground troops bases. The U.S. is reportedly seeking to establish another naval base for the 6th Fleet on Cyprus and to be the chief stirrer of the present plot to subvert Cyprus' independence.

Last August Gen. Grivas, with the complicity of the Greek junta and with the CIA not far in the background, returned secretly to Cyprus from exile in Athens and began to organize underground forces for the overthrow of Makarios.

Grivas raises the slogan of "enosis" or union of Cyprus with Greece. His intrigues have had the backing of the 1,500 Greek officer detachment which heads the Cyprus National Guard. The British Guardian reported on Feb. 13 that he is hiding in a Greek army on Cyprus.

Freedom from British colonial rule, won by Cyprus in struggle and hard bargaining in 1959, left a Greek band in the National Guard, the two British bases (for which rent is not even paid), and strife incited between the Greek and Turkish communities. Communal strife in 1964, fanned by NATO intrigue, brought in a UN peace-keeping force and also resulted in the stationing of a Turkish army contingent of 600 in the eastern part of the island.

Popular front

In all this time Makarios has been supported by a form of popular front of Cypriot nationalists and the AKEL, the Cyprus Progressive Working People's Party or Communist Party of Cyprus.

AKEL's representation in the Makarios parliament is kept to a minimum in the interests of unity, but the party enjoys mass support and is easily the strongest political force in the country. It is the mass backing for Makarios that has checked imperialist intrigues, as shown in the demonstration of 10,000 in Nicosia Feb. 15 who denounced Greek-NATO intervention.

The Greek note of Feb. 11 charged that AKEL was about to be brought into Makarios' cabinet and that AKEL was creating its own armed forces. On Feb. 15 the general secretary of AKEL, Ezeziel Papaioannu, denied both of these allegations, declaring that while AKEL fully supported President Makarios it had no wish to join the government.

Greek Cypriot attitude

Grivas and his backers have counted on the affinity of Greek Cypriots with the Greek people to try to promote their subversion against the Makarios government. The true nature of that affinity was shown, however, in a demonstration of thousands of Greek Cypriot students outside the Presidential palace in Nicosia Feb. 16. They chanted: "We want union with free Greece, not with a dictatorship" and "Down with fascism!"

Independent Cyprus has its strongest supporters in the Soviet Union and in the socialist countries of East Europe. Last June visit to the Soviet Union and re-

ceived a pledge of strong backing against imperialist intrigues.

It was the reported delivery of 278 tons of arms from Czechoslovakia — 15,000 automatic rifles and other weapons and 7,500 cases of ammunition — to the Makarios government on Jan. 21 that gave Cyprus the means to resist the Grivas subversion and other intrigues, and brought the Greek fascist junta's note of frustrated outrage.

Statement by Greek CP

The Communist Party of Greece, in a statement issued by its Political Bureau on Feb. 11, said:

"The Republic of Cyprus is in immediate danger. The events of the past few days in Cyprus, the rumors and threats accompanying them, confirm past and recent revelations that a coup is being prepared to bring down the legal government of Cyprus. ELDYK — the Greek Armed Forces stationed on Cyprus — and the junta officers in command of the Cypriot National Guard and the armed conspirators under General Grivas, have been given the job of carrying it out.

"This coup is led by the U.S. imperialists, the CIA and NATO, and is the first phase of the plan agreed to at Lisbon and Brussels for the imposition of a NATO solution on the Cyprus question.

"Confirmation of the conspiratorial plans against Cyprus and of the direct and active participation in them of the dictatorship, are given by the junta's ultimatum to President Makarios, and the top level meeting to discuss Cyprus, held in Athens under the chairmanship of General Zoitakis, in which the dictators George Papadopoulos and two Deputy Premiers of the Junta Government, General Angelis, Foreign Minister Xanthopoulos-Palamas, the former Junta Ambassador to Cyprus, Panayotakos, and chiefs of the National Guard and ELDYK, who had been specially called to the Greek capital, took part.

"The conspiracy, which is being intensively pressed, is part of the permanent attempt of the U.S. to strengthen its military and political position in the East Mediterranean, using Greece and Cyprus

for spring board bases for aggressive adventurism, which they are preparing against the socialist and Arab countries. The junta agreement with the U.S. for the establishment of permanent bases in Greece for the U.S. 6th Fleet is part of this plan."

6 FEB 1972

Many Greeks View U.S. As Barrier to Democracy

By HENRY KAMM

Special to The New York Times

ATHENS, Jan. 29 — After nearly five years of authoritarian rule by the junta, many Greeks rank the United States, alongside Premier George Papadopoulos as a principal barrier to the restoration of democracy.

This view emerged as a consensus of scores of interviews in the course of an 18-day visit, including trips to two provincial centers.

While persons formerly active in public expressed their disillusion with America most explicitly, conversations with people in all walks of life disclosed a high degree of identity of views between the former leaders of Greek political life and ordinary citizens. Politicians were less fearful, however, about allowing their opinions to be quoted.

The conversations covered the spectrum of political leaders, from Panayotis Canellopoulos, the conservative Premier whom Mr. Papadopoulos overthrew, to Ilias Iliou, leader of the legal substitute of the Communist party, outlawed since the Greek civil war. (All party activities are outlawed now.) Among those interviewed were left-wing activists, right-wing generals cashiered by the junta, intellectuals of many political persuasions, former and present officials and urban workers.

While conversations did not include peasants because most do not feel free to talk politics with strangers, people in regular touch with rural areas asserted that the same views on the Government and the United States prevailed there.

In the most extreme — and most commonly held — form, the view is that the United States sponsored the military coup d'état of April 21, 1967, or had advance knowledge, but failed to warn the Canellopoulos Government.

"I don't believe the United States was responsible for the coup," said Mr. Canellopoulos, "but 99 per cent of Greeks do."

However, the former Premier, who represents the most moderate attitude toward the United States, shares the view that American policy is determined primarily by military considerations and that the Americans

will therefore give their friendship to any government in Greece that lives up to arrangements allowing them ample military facilities.

The current negotiations for the granting of "home port" facilities to the Sixth Fleet, which would allow thousands of dependents of sailors to take up residence in Greece, worries and angers many Greeks. They see such a move as another sign of friendly recognition conferred upon the junta to satisfy American military desires at the expense of the political wishes of most Greeks.

Strategic Value Seen

The talks are adding fuel to the widely voiced complaint that the United States considers Greece essentially as a piece of real estate of strategic value in the event of a renewed outbreak of fighting in the Middle East.

John Zigdis, a political moderate and highly respected former Cabinet minister, was interviewed in a hospital the day after his temporary release because of illness from the four-and-a-half-year prison term he is serving for having expressed opposition views. "I hope the American Government will soon understand that it is more important to have the traditional friendship of the Greek people than only the free use of Greek territory," he said.

The official United States position, as expressed here, lends weight to the argument: "The national security of the United States has top priority here and will continue to have."

The friendship for the United States, which in the past was almost palpable in this hospitable country, appears to have eroded astonishingly. In the consensus of Greek and diplomatic observers, including Americans, this is the result of a view expressed by the strongly pro-American former Foreign Minister, Evangelos Averoff-Tossizza.

"In the minds of the Greeks, the regime is American, created by the Americans and supported by the Americans," he said. "Everybody tells me that the Americans have only to lift a finger to bring them down."

Minister Notes a Change

However, the former Minister, who, while hostile to the Papadopoulos Government, has been the leading proponent of a widely unpopular policy of sending Greek representatives, said he did not believe that the United States

could do much to topple the junta. In the days of democracy, he explained, the United States could perhaps have one Greek government replaced by another, but he said he doubted that it could do so to what he called a "police regime."

He said that the United States had contributed through what he called "stupid errors" to create the impression that it not only accepted the coup for American national reasons but also actually supported Mr. Papadopoulos and that it believed his occasional assertions early in his regime that he planned to return representative government to Greece.

Among the errors charged by Mr. Averoff was the coupling in 1970 of the full resumption of military aid, reduced after the coup, with an assertion that it was being resumed because progress toward democracy was being made.

"They should have coupled it with a statement that America hoped it would lead to such progress," the former Minister said.

Mr. Averoff differs from sterner critics of the United States in not favoring an immediate halt in military aid. But he agrees with the generally held opinion that such signs of American esteem as the visit by Vice President Agnew last autumn and earlier visits by Secretary of Defense Melvin R. Laird and the Secretary of Commerce, Maurice L. Stans, were unnecessary gestures used by the junta to bolster their standing in Greece and abroad.

Giving the Green Light

"Agnew was the first important Western personality to come here since the coup," Mr. Averoff said. "He will give the green light to many others."

Many former close friends of the United States are more hurt and disappointed than Mr. Averoff, who described himself as a man "without illusions."

On this subject, as well as on many others, differences that formerly divided not only the principal parties, the liberal Center Union and the conservative National Radical Union, but also groups within each party have faded in the face of common opposition to the junta.

Among those who have drastically revised their views of America is Michael Papaconstantinou, a former Deputy Defense Minister and Center Union deputy. He felt so strongly that Greece needed to remain close to the United States, even after the coup, that he used his time in prison, where the junta had put him with many other elected politicians, to draft two books about the United States. He completed them after his

release and both were published but his disappointment has grown so deep that he has withdrawn them.

A Saddened General

On the other side of the political fence, a former general of conservative and strongly royalist tendencies returned from exile last year saddened to learn that in his absence his wife had received tokens of continuing friendship only from the European officers with whom he had served in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. The Americans, with whom he had also formed many friendships, had not been heard from, he said.

"I should not be surprised," the general said bitterly. "The mother of the junta is the Pentagon, the C.I.A. and the American arms manufacturers."

Bitterness at the United States is reflected in the attitude of Greeks who once had extensive relations with the American Embassy and social relations with its members. Individual accounts can be summarized in an accusation that in the first years after the coup the United States Embassy ostracized those who had been its friends. Since then, according to the accounts, American officials have sought to renew old friendships — often to find that the Greeks were unwilling.

The embassy has also been embarrassed by a practice, begun in 1969, of having children from the American community school sing Christmas carols for Premier Papadopoulos. The minor event is treated by state television and the pro-Government press with elaborate attention, enraging opponents of the junta.

Embassy officials tell inquiring newsmen that the idea originated with a Greek on the faculty at the grade school at the Athens air base and that the embassy had no control over the school. However, the teacher, Miss Freddi Kalogerakis, interviewed by telephone, said she was "100 per cent American," from Chicago. She expressed admiration for the junta's achievements. Her pupils are American airmen's children whose school fees are paid by the Defense Department.

Greeks Bitter About Issue

The caroling controversy, dismissed as insignificant by American officials, was brought up with bitterness by most of the Greeks interviewed, from former Cabinet ministers to workers.

The deposed politicians, represented by Mr. Canellopoulos, George Mavros, leader of the Center Union, and Demetrius Papaspyrou, president of

STATINTL

Continued

STATINTL

NEW YORK, N.Y.
POST

EVENING - 623,245
WEEKEND - 354,797

JAN 26 1972

Concerning Greece

It is a mark of nobility that The Post comes forward with editorials concerning the gunmen of Athens. The harsh dictatorship in Greece is just one more little unpleasant fact in our lives.

Your editorial of January 20 reminds the American people that their apathy reinforces the cordiality that exists between Nixon, the Pentagon and their puppets in Athens. Visits by Agnew, Laird and an unending parade of American brass have armed the junta with a degree of defiance of the feeling of the Greek people and the international community.

American foreign policy has turned Greece into a nuclear base. Most Greeks understand that America never intended to and cannot now defend Greece. Nevertheless, it uses its territory as headquarters for the entire CIA operation. Greeks have ample ground to believe that the Greek army and security forces are under direct American command.

GEORGE POLIMEROS.

The Washington Merry-Go-Round

Greek Junta and Taint of the Nazis

By Jack Anderson

Sen. Lee Metcalf (D-Mont.), a combat soldier against the Nazis in World War II, has discovered a Nazi taint in the U.S.-supported Greek military junta.

The outraged Metcalf has evidence that George Papadopoulos, the junta strongman, personally helped rehabilitate Greek officers who betrayed their country by fighting beside the Nazis.

Some of Metcalf's data indicates that Papadopoulos actually collaborated with the Nazis in World War II. The Greek Embassy told us this was "malicious and untrue."

In fact, an affidavit in our hands reports a statement by Phillips Talbot, who was U.S. Ambassador to Greece at the time of the 1967 junta coup, that "we were aware that some of them were collaborators." Talbot now tells us he doubts he said it.

We have also learned that the veteran CIA station chief in Athens, James Potts, has had many reports of the junta's dark Nazi past.

Metcalf dug out part of the story from a dissertation by Howard University political scientist, Dr. Nikalaos Stavrou.

The Nazis trained, financed and directed Greek "security battalions" to hunt down the gallant Greeks who were arrying on the resistance.

When the war was over, ac-

ording to Stavrou, the Greek government "stipulated that those who betrayed Greece during the war would be punished."

But some extremist right-wing officers returning from exile hated the Communists more than the Nazis. Their view, Stavrou said, was that the traitors were "good nationalist officers." The Nazi collaborators and the returning extremist exiles joined in a "Holy Bond of Greek Officers" from which many of the Greek junta military men of today have come.

Nazi Collaborator?

Another Metcalf document is a confidential "discussion paper" published by the Hudson Institute "think tank" and written by Greek resistance leader Elias Demetracopoulos. It cites reports in *Le Monde Diplomatique*, an influential French paper, that Papadopoulos served the Nazis in World War II under "Major Koukoulacos, commander of a security battalion armed and equipped by the Germans."

Demetracopoulos reports that Papadopoulos, after seizing power in Greece, rewarded his old commander by making him head of the nation's gigantic Agriculture Bank.

Incredibly, Papadopoulos also issued a brazen decree that the time served by Greeks in the Nazi-trained security battalions and other quisling units during World

War II would count toward government pensions.

This is a little like giving Axis Sally and Tokyo Rose social security rights for the time they spent broadcasting for the Nazis and Japanese.

We have learned that Metcalf not only is searching out the past of Papadopoulos, but of other prominent junta personalities to see what role they played in World War II.

These include H. Demeroutis, a militia commandant on the Aegean island of Euboia; Koukoulacos, who reportedly has retired from his post bank job; former Central Intelligence head, General Alexander Natsinas for whom Papadopoulos worked and General Nikolaos Gogoussis, a right-wing militarist.

Steam Deaths

The Navy is inspecting hundreds of steam valves in the wake of an explosion which killed or injured a dozen sailors on the USS Trenton.

A Navy message to the fleet around the world, meant only for the eyes of top commanders, said "hundreds of these valves have been in service for years with no known catastrophic failures" except in the Trenton case.

Nevertheless, "it is important that means for preventing over pressurization be implemented promptly. . . For the active fleet, it is recommended that . . . commanders take ac-

tion to have the necessary valve modifications made . . ."

The scalding steam deaths, the wire indicated, were caused by faulty design, faulty installation or both. A court of inquiry in Norfolk has been sifting evidence to determine the exact cause.

The tragedy is that the Navy, in the past, actually fired a pipe inspector, Oscar Hoffman, for demonstrating the kind of diligence that would have turned up such faults. Meanwhile, we have heard disquieting reports that the Navy did not learn from the Hoffman fiasco, but has also covered up warnings by other pipe inspectors.

Even as the Navy tried to find out whose goof killed the Trenton sailors, we have obtained a copy of a confidential report on another fire aboard the USS Roark. We told of the fire on the destroyer earlier this year. Now, the restricted report has verified our findings.

The document declares that on Jan 19, 1971, lubrication oil from a strainer caught fire and burned insulation, belching up "a large volume of black smoke and six toxic or irritating gasses."

Most damningly, the Navy report found that the strainer and its shields had been reported "unsatisfactory" during sea trials before the Navy accepted the ship—but nothing was done about it.

Bell-McClure Syndicate

Envoy to Greece Hit in House Study

By JEREMIAH O'LEARY
Star Staff Writer

A House Foreign Affairs subcommittee staff study on Greece describes the U.S. Embassy in Athens as having "very low morale" because political reporting of embassy officers is subordinated to rescuing Ambassador Henry J. Tasca and his career from errors.

The document, prepared by staff consultant Clifford P. Hackett after a one-month assignment there in August, was furnished to newsmen yesterday by Elias P. Demetracopoulos, an exiled Greek journalist.

Committee staff administrator Roy J. Bullock confirmed the authenticity of the study, but said it was only an internal memorandum that has no status with the subcommittee on Europe.

Identification Deleted

"The subcommittee won't be very happy that you have this document," Bullock said. Demetracopoulos declined to say how he obtained the study from which he said he made copies, deleting only the number identifying to whom it was issued.

Since U.S. aid was resumed to Greece in September 1970, Hackett's study said, "The morale of the embassy seems to have declined in direct proportion to the falsity of the perceived trend (toward restoration of constitutional government by the Greek military dictatorship).

"It is not exaggerated to state that there is general dismay in both the embassy and in the State Department in response to both this 'trend' which has now proved illusory and to the political reporting from the embassy which served to reinforce what is now recognized as a false perception."

Hackett continued: "The political reporting has, in the judgment of several embassy officers, been tailored to fit the present ambassador's (Tasca's) preconceptions of what he hoped would be a trend toward constitutional government.

"Athens is seen as a very undesirable post, despite its amenities, where assignment means service under an ambassador who has seriously erred in his perceptions of political developments and where political re-

porting would be subordinated to the exigencies of rescuing that ambassador and his career from those errors."

The study said it was clear that the CIA and U.S. military aid mission in Greece continue to share a "sharply different view from that of the political section" on the political realities.

Amid this "general dismay," Hackett's study added, "Over this divided embassy presides an ambassador now disabused of his earlier optimism concerning the regime's democratic intentions but sharing the political section's pessimism about any prospect of changing the sturdy Greek dictatorship even if Washington were to direct such a change."

The prospect of a change from Washington, he declared, seems remote since the announcement of the visit of Vice President Spiro Agnew. (The study was written before Agnew's recent visit to Greece.)

Bullock said Hackett is a former USIA employe with European experience and was an employe in the office of Rep. Benjamin S. Rosenthal, D-N.Y., chairman of the subcommittee on Europe.

Demetracopoulos, the exiled journalist, criticized the present Athens government and U.S. military aid to Greece in testimony last July before Rosenthal's subcommittee.

Rosenthal initiated Hackett's trip to Greece on July 22. The assignment was to obtain information on effects of American policy, military relations and the views of both the government and the opposition on the future of American assistance.

Hackett's study said he talked with about 20 opposition leaders, ranging from far right to leftist-liberal, but that he spoke with only one representative of the government, a middle-level civil servant in the foreign ministry.

This man, who Hackett said was suggested to him as appropriate for making a courtesy call, told the committee staffer that Greek politics were not a proper American concern.

The study found that the

American Embassy political section was distressed at what was called the "steady development of the military government and the apparent American inability to make clear our unhappiness with the junta. The unhappiness seems to focus on events since Ambassador Tasca arrived 20 months ago."

Hackett reported to the subcommittee that Tasca's initial assignment was to "justify" full resumption of American aid. He said it was difficult to assess how much embassy staff pessimism is due to the realization that "nothing can change truly in American policy so long as the ambassador remains" and how much to the evident invulnerability of the military government.

Views in Opposition

Hackett found a paradox in that Greek opposition leaders believe the United States could exert a nearly decisive influence on the longevity of the regime while embassy staffers believe Washington couldn't prompt a change even if ordered to do so.

Tasca, a 58-year-old career diplomat and former ambassador to Morocco, assumed his post in January 1970. A native of Providence, R.I., he has been a deputy assistant secretary of state for African affairs and has served in Bonn, Rome and with NATO.

A similarly critical report about U.S. foreign policy toward the Greek military government was issued by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in a staff report in March. The report said the State Department and the embassy in Athens gave too much credence to junta statements that parliamentary government would be restored and gave away leverage when the U.S. embargo on arms for Greece was lifted last year.

Cherchez le CIA

DEMOCRACY AT GUNPOINT

By Andreas Papandreou.
Deutsch, 351 pages. £3.30.

This is Andreas Papandreou's personal apologia for the part he played in Greek politics between 1960 and 1967, and an exposition of his promise that it was the Americans who overthrew parliamentary government in Greece. It thus fits into his present strategy for establishing himself as the accepted and undisputed leader of the left-wing factions in exile and in Greece.

Mr Papandreou's interpretations of the discreditable and tragic development of Greek political life both before and after the coup d'état on April 21, 1967, and the remedies he proposes are certainly not held by all the opponents of the present dictatorial regime. This is evidenced by the failure of the active resistance groups both abroad and in Greece to concert their actions and their policies. Mr Papandreou remains as controversial and divisive a figure in exile as he did during the seven years he was politically active in Greece.

Andreas Papandreou, the son of the late George Papandreou, first came into conflict with a Greek government when, as a student, he was arrested in 1939 for underground activities against the Metaxas government. On release he left for the United States where he held various university posts until 1959 when he returned to Greece. When his father became prime minister in 1964 he took his son into his cabinet. He quickly made his mark as an advocate of radical economic and administrative reform (ironically, many of his ideas have been put into effect by the present military regime), as an opponent of any compromise on the Cyprus issue and as a declared enemy of the Greek establishment.

He made enemies, too, among leading personalities of his father's political party, the Centre Union, who feared both his radicalism and his ambition to take over the party leadership. Mr Papandreou does not give the relationship between himself and other Centre Union personalities the weight it deserves, nor, of course, does he see his admitted courting of

the "militant democratic organisations" between 1965 and 1967 as giving reasonable grounds for suspicion that he envisaged leading a popular front government.

There is no doubt that the attempt to discredit him and ruin his political future by charging that he was the political leader of a group of army officers plotting to set up a left-wing dictatorship was pure fabrication, and on this Mr Papandreou successfully defends himself. What he fails to establish is that this plot against him, the subsequent dismissal of his father by the king, the coup on April 21st and even the abortive counter-coup by King Constantine in December, 1967, were all part and parcel of a plan devised by the American CIA.

Mr Papandreou clearly believes that if something is stated often enough and with enough conviction it will be believed. His book is threaded with countless assertions that Colonel Papadopoulos was the CIA's chief agent in Greece, that the Greek Central Intelligence Agency (KYP) was "but an extension of its American counterpart, that the Greek armed forces were under the direct control of the American Pentagon and that the king, the queen mother and the leadership of the right-wing party, the National Radical Union, were likewise playing the game of the Americans. Thus, he concludes that in fact Greece is America's Czechoslovakia. It has now become the vassal of the American military-industrial power complex.

This is lively, heady stuff and will come as manna to those who see the fingers of the CIA in every troubled pie, but unfortunately Mr Papandreou's documentation is less than impeccable. It rests on a report allegedly submitted to him in 1968 by an unnamed "disaffected member of Papadopoulos's junta now living abroad." This is not good enough.

LAKEWOOD, N.J.
OCEAN CO. TIMES

E - 5 SEP 17 1977

Colonels Rule with Heavy Hand

By TOM CULLEN

ATHENS — (NEA) — Greece's military government has few visible earmarks of the fascist dictatorships of the past.

You will come across no one getting his arm twisted in broad daylight, as was the case in Hitler's Germany. Nor is anyone required to wear a yellow badge, as Jews were under Nazism. Whatever else they may be, the Greek colonels do not appear to be racists.

Reliable sources say that whatever torture the Greek police practiced on political prisoners in the past has now been stopped, largely thanks to the pressure of international opinion.

It is perfectly possible for an American tourist to enjoy a holiday here without ever meeting up with anything more menacing than a traffic cop. The overseas visitor can revel in the glory that was the Acropolis or sample the delights of ouzo in a taverna without ever being aware that anything is amiss beneath the surface.

Yet many Greeks are unhappy and find the military regime headed by Premier Papadopoulos oppressive if not stifling. This is particularly true of the intellectual and professional classes.

I had not been in Athens since 1963, and Greek friends I had looked up then were delighted to learn that I was back in town. They were less so when I told them that I was not on holiday, but on a reporting assignment.

One made excuses not to see me: His mother-in-law had turned up unexpectedly, and he was going to be busy showing her the sights. Another whom I met at a side walk cafe was extremely



Premier George Papadopoulos
A regime shot through with contradictions.

nervous for fear our conversation might be overheard.

I did not blame these Greek friends for not wanting to talk to a reporter whom they had not seen in

mark in print that could be traced to its source might cost them their jobs, and there were wives and kids to think of.

The Papadopoulos regime is shot through with contradictions, every positive producing a corresponding negative. A few days after I arrived here the government released 234 Communists being held prisoner on the island of Leros, announced that the prison camp was being shut down.

But Christos Sartzetakis, the courageous judge in the Lambrakis murder case who was portrayed in the fictionalized film "Z," is still being

other reason, apparently, than that he refuses to bow to the colonels.

Opponents of the regime like Stefanos Stefanopoulos and Panayotis Kanelopoulos, both former prime ministers, are allowed to see foreign reporters, but elections in Greece are no nearer than they were four years ago when the colonels took power.

Precensorship of articles before they appear in the press has been abolished, but editors live in fear of what they can print. For example, the publishers and staff members of the anti-government newspaper Ethnos were given sentences ranging up to five years for publishing an interview which referred to the need for a "national government" to deal with the Cyprus crisis.

The third Greek friend whom I looked up in Athens is Spyros, whom I first met when he was a psychology major at London University. Since then he has done brilliant work in the field of child psychology, has read papers at scientific conferences in America, where he has made many friends. This made Spyros' present mood of anti-American bitterness all the more shocking to me.

"I was driving through Constitution Square the other day when I was stopped by a traffic light, and, glancing over, I saw an American Air Force sergeant in the next traffic lane," he told me. "He was a big, beefy guy with a cigar stuck in his mouth at a jaunty angle. Suddenly I had an almost insane impulse to ram his car."

"I am a peaceful man, as you well know," my friend

SEP 16 1971
M - 55,766
S - 70,067

'The Intelligence Game'

CIA Draws Praise And Blame From Writers

By LEW SCARR

Copley News Service

Perhaps no area of our government having a direct bearing on our attitude in the cold war has been more controversial, yet less understood than our intelligence network.

It is partly that we don't know what the Central Intelligence Agency does, but if it does what we think it does, it goes against our sense of fair play and that is bad.

The popular notion is that the CIA is a law unto itself. It is believed that it freely interferes in the internal affairs of sovereign nations, and that it overthrows anti-American governments, even democratically elected ones, to install anti-Communist governments.

Some writers have capitalized on these beliefs, shadowed them with a cloak and fastened them with a dagger and written books to support them. Fortunately, most were crudely written and rudely received.

Still, many congressmen and some journalists continue to ask, why have an intelligence community at all? Mostly the questioners are those to whom "intelligence" connotes spies, saboteurs and political activists.

Those living in the intelligence community consider the question absurd. But it deserves an answer.

Any president of a large corporation, and, indeed, any chief of state, must have "intelligence" if he is to fulfill his responsibilities.

He may get it from newspapers, from briefings by his subordinates or from reports from consultants. Wherever, he must have intelligence, or he will not survive long.

Before World War II, the armed services had relied heavily upon civilian specialists in wars and, when the fighting was over, they sent the specialists home and forgot all about the need for intelligence.

Gen. George C. Marshall once described the Army's foreign intelligence as "little more than what a military attaché could learn at a dinner, more or less, over the coffee cups."

Five months before the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, Hairy Howe Ransom reports in "the intelligence establishment," President Roosevelt summoned Col. (late Maj. Gen.) William J. Donovan to draft a plan for a new intelligence service, designed for the requirements of a global war and patterned in the main after the British.

Donovan was a successful lawyer who had won the Medal of Honor in World War I.

"He was an imaginative, aggressive man," Ransom writes, "who had traveled abroad extensively. So far as intelligence work went, he was an amateur, but in the American tradition of public service he seemed qualified to assemble what was to become the forerunner of CIA."

During World War II the closest approach to a central intelligence system was the widely publicized Office of Strategic Services — the almost legendary OSS.

It is difficult to assess the worth of OSS because its official history still remains classified. Still, it must be given credit, despite traditional detractors, for invaluable contributions to allied victory, especially in Burma and in defeating the axis in North Africa and in aiding the French resistance.

But it wasn't until 1947 that Congress created the CIA. It was fashioned after OSS and it was born during the year that cold war was declared.

Actually, Congress in setting up CIA delegated it a single function, intelligence, and nothing more. That it does much more is without question, but just what and where it does it is hard to say.

There is a theory among intelligence agents, the good ones, that there should "almost always" be no failures. It is better, so the theory goes, to leave a problem unsolved than to risk failure or discovery.

Still, there have been failures: the Bay of Pigs, the U2 incident.

Taking into account CIA's policy toward supercaution, it would seem reasonable to assume that for every failure there must have been, oh, ten or more successes.

The failures have been pinned on the CIA while the successes almost never are. Not definitely.

Some have suspected the CIA of having brought on the downfall of Nkrumah in Ghana and Sukarno in Indonesia, of having installed the military junta in Greece and of having thrown Sihanouk out of Cambodia.

But these redits, if they are, do nothing more than support the notions of observers who see the CIA as a molder of temporary geography and a shaper of tentative history.

It is the same attitude which Miles Copeland III, who once worked for the State Department and the CIA, writes of in his "The Game of Nations:"

"In the intelligence game, competitors seek to gain the greatest possible advantage short of going to war."

STATINTL

STATINTL

A Sane U.S. Policy for Greece

By C. L. SULZBERGER

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

ATHENS—The American dilemma in Greece is in a sense whether to be liked by the Government and disliked by the people in order to shore up a sagging Mediterranean strategic position, or whether to jeopardize U.S. ability to stand by NATO and Middle East commitments in order to affirm preference for democratic rule.

James G. Lowenstein and Richard M. Moose, special investigators for the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, aptly stated this by writing: "U.S. policy has had two declared objectives: to maintain Greek military cooperation with the United States and NATO, and to bring about the restoration of democratic institutions in Greece. Both objectives became enmeshed in the matter of the embargo on heavy arms."

This has developed into a boiling issue here since the House of Representatives voted in Washington to suspend such help unless the President invokes a special "national security" escape clause. And, mixed with the matter of the American legislative restriction is that of American popularity.

The United States is getting the worst of both worlds. The Government is furious that any restrictions should be placed upon pledged aid to a loyal NATO ally that maintains the longest military service period and is perhaps in the most exposed position. At the same time the opposition complains that Washington supports the "colonels" regime and introduced it in the first place.

Part of this complaint arises from the fact that prior to the Lowenstein-Moose visit the American Embassy apparently minimized contacts with political leaders of the previous regime, virtually all of whom are in opposition, and seemed to seek unnecessarily cozy relations with the colonels. Moreover, too many U.S. officials, including military and naval commanders, permitted themselves to be photographed in posed pictures here.

All this encouraged organized propaganda on the extreme left to fan flames against the U.S.A. The Greeks have an unfortunate habit of blaming others for their own mistakes, perhaps because they refuse to tarnish their excessive pride known as *philotimo*.

With an ambassador who, on State Department instructions, avoided calling on exiled King Constantine for eighteen months after coming here,

although accredited to the sovereign, and with continual displays of grouped American and Greek officials, an impression was inculcated that this regime was of our making and we liked it. Furthermore, the local press has recently been publishing anti-regime testimony culled from the U.S. Congressional Record and emphasizing criticism of the American Embassy.

A compendium of opposition opinions, largely anti-U.S., has been printed in London representing the views of exiled leaders. This claims (to cite Markos Dragoumis, a former deputy) that "if U.S. support were withdrawn for just 24 hours the junta would collapse." It also says (quoting John Katris, a journalist) the 1967 coup was "positively supported by NATO and agencies of the American Government."

Similar opinions are widely held in Greece itself. But the evidence is wholly unconvincing. The United States for long withheld various kinds of military aid and even when former Premier Karamanlis, the most prominent political emigré, called for a Greek Army revolt—nothing happened. As for U.S. connivance in the coup, neither the Embassy nor the C.I.A. knew of it in advance and, in fact, expected an entirely different group—royalist generals—to attempt a similar exercise.

At this instant the United States is unpopular with both the regime and the masses for contrasting reasons. But there is no need to react to this situation with emotional extremism. It is a Greek, not an American, habit to touch the stars with one hand and the mud with the other.

The United States neither produced the coup nor keeps these coup-makers in power. One has but to recall that only one man was killed when it occurred (and that was accidental) and when King Constantine summoned a counter-coup with his generals not a single Greek fought for the colonels' overthrow.

There is only one sensible policy for Washington to follow now. It should continue in every possible way to press the Athens Government to restore freedom and it should maintain full contacts with the opposition while enjoining U.S. officials from foolish endorsement of an ideology we don't admire.

But, at the same time, it should recognize that Greece as a NATO ally is entitled to modern armament. We don't have to love this regime any more than we have loved past Portuguese or Turkish regimes while fulfilling our NATO obligations. And we require Greek air and naval bases to implement U.S. commitments in an area otherwise largely hostile.

YORK, PA.
RECORD

M - 33,894

JUL 16 1971
EDITORIAL

Arms aid to Greece

A new effort to ban arms aid to Greece and its dictatorial junta was defeated narrowly in the House Foreign Affairs Committee Wednesday after a State Department official testified that the strategic importance of Greece to NATO outweighed her suspension of constitutional government and civil rights.

Greece has been ruled by a junta of army colonels since a 1967 coup. A three-year American embargo on heavy arms shipments was lifted last fall despite opposition in this country and from ousted Greek democratic elements now in exile. The Nixon administration seeks to allot Greece \$118 millions in military aid during this fiscal year.

Opposition to this aid was led by Rep. Wayne Hays, Democrat of Ohio, whose amendment would prohibit all military aid to the Athens regime unless the President found the assistance "vitally required" in the national security interests of the United States. Hays said Wednesday he would carry his fight to the House floor.

After the House committee's vote, its subcommittee on Europe heard testimony from witnesses denouncing the Greek Government as a "fascist dictatorship based on torture and intimidation."

Mrs. Margaret C. Papandreou, American-born wife of Andreas Papandreou, who is the son of the

former Greek premier, George Papandreou, testified that the coup had been engineered by the Central Intelligence Agency and the State Department and implemented by the National Security Council in February, 1967, because of the opposition of her husband and his Center Union party to a proposed partition of Cyprus between Greece and Turkey.

Mrs. Papandreou's testimony and other objections to U.S. support of the junta voiced during pre-vote hearings, echoed those of a former premier, Panayotis Kanellopoulos, last month in an interview in Athens with Baltimore Sun correspondent Oswald Johnston. Kanellopoulos said that the American argument that military considerations compel Washington to support the regime is "the greatest error Washington has made."

"The United States should give first place to democracy & human rights. The geographical position of this country is nothing if the people living there are not ready to do wholeheartedly what is asked of them in a critical hour."

We're afraid the Nixon administration, like its predecessors, is goofing in Greece. Just like Nixon and his predecessors goofed in South Vietnam. There, too, support of the people will be necessary to accomplish our aims in Indochina. But will we have this support any more than we have it in Greece?

BAN ON ARMS AID TO GREECE FAILS

House Unit Defeats Measure
—Floor Fight Planned

By FELIX BELAIR

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, July 14—A proposal to ban arms aid to Greece was narrowly defeated today in the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

The committee rejected by a 14-to-12 vote an amendment to the Administration's \$3.3-billion foreign aid authorization bill. The amendment had been proposed by Representative Wayne Hays, Democrat of Ohio, who said he would carry his fight to the House floor when the measure came up for action there.

The committee's action came as Rodger P. Davies, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, told a Senate Appropriations subcommittee that the strategic importance of Greece on the southern flank of North Atlantic alliance outweighed her suspension of constitutional government and civil rights.

After the House committee's vote, its subcommittee on Europe heard testimony from four witnesses denouncing the Greek military Government. It was termed a "fascist dictatorship based on torture and intimidation" that "will weaken the moral foundations of the NATO alliance."

No Economic Aid

The Hays amendment would prohibit all military aid to the Athens Government unless the President found the assistance "vitally required" in the national security interests of the United States. No economic aid for Greece is planned in the current fiscal year.

Recently declassified figures on the military aid allocations planned by the Nixon Administration for the fiscal year that began July 1 include \$118-million for Greece. This total would include the sale of \$60-million in new weapons on credit. Twenty million dollars would be in the form of a grant and the remaining \$38-million in the form of "excess" equipment no longer required for United States defense purposes.

Mr. Davies told the Senate Appropriations Committee that "we shared the concern of many members of Congress over the question of constitutional government and attendant issues, such as civil rights."

"Since the coup in April of 1967, we saw some tangible signs of a return to more normal democratic forms and procedures and we hoped that these would continue at a pace which would result in a restoration of full constitutional government at an early time," he said.

"Some progress has been made, but our relations with Greece have been made difficult by the failure of the Greek authorities to move more rapidly in that direction," Mr. Davies said. "We have had to weigh this situation against Greece's dedication to NATO and her steadfast support of that organization in a geographic situation which places her against Warsaw Pact borders."

Mrs. Papandreou Testifies

Criticism of United States policy toward Greece was given before the House foreign affairs subcommittee by Mrs. Margaret C. Papandreou, the American-born wife of Andreas Papandreou, who is the son of the former Greek Premier, George Papandreou, and leader of the Pan-Hellenic Liberation Movement.

Mrs. Papandreou, who now lives with her husband in Toronto, asserted that the "coup of the colonels" had been engineered by the Central Intelligence Agency and the State Department and implemented by the National Security Council in February, 1967, because of the opposition of her husband and his Center Union party to a proposed partition of Cyprus between Greece and Turkey.

"The Americans could have foreclosed a military takeover," the witness said. "If they had made a clear declaration that any attempt to impose totalitarian rule in Greece would mean immediate withdrawal of all economic and military aid, the severing of diplomatic relations and serious problems with the NATO alliance, no coup would have been possible."

"The failure to say no was the green light to go ahead," Mrs. Papandreou said. "It considered that because of Greece's critical geopolitical position, military considerations were more important than the fate of eight-million people."

Mrs. Papandreou asked Representative Benjamin S. Rosenthal, Democrat of Queens and chairman of the subcommittee, to demand from the State Department copies of the report of the Human Rights Commission of the Council of Europe with its charges of torture of Greek men and women who "had their teeth smashed out." She said the report had been "classified" by the department.

"Is this another service to the Greek junta?" she asked. "Is this to hide from the Americans that we support government by torture?"

30 JUN 1971

- INTERPRETIVE REPORT -

U.S. Influence Dwindling in Greece

By ANDREW BOROWIEC
Star Staff Writer

ATHENS — Slowly but unmistakably, the United States is losing its ability to influence the course of events in Greece.

On the surface, all signs of American presence are still here. Heavy American arms are again arriving in Greek ports after a three-year embargo. The U.S. 6th Fleet operating in the Mediterranean can drop anchor in almost any Greek port, and American missiles pointing at the Soviet Union are deployed in the country.

Greece continues to be an active member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and despite its own policy of friendship and cooperation with Soviet bloc countries, takes a cautious approach to any idea of reduction of military forces.

The major factor causing setbacks for the American policy here centers on the nature of the regime — a basically right wing military junta refusing, for the sake of its survival, to return the country to traditional parliamentary democracy.

U.S. Public Opinion

A large segment of American public opinion remains highly critical of the junta. While the regime in Greece resents this criticism, its opponents feel it is not strong enough.

Former politicians now in opposition and a sizeable part of the Greek population feel American is the regime's main backer. This, many diplomats believe, ruins the chances of America's leverage here if and when the regime changes.

It is a difficult situation in which few clearcut answers and decisions are possible. It complicates America's role in this strategic Mediterranean enough.

country, damages its popularity and exposes American diplomat in Greece to considerable strain.

Strain Affecting Ties

Despite assurances by many Greek officials that "all is well" and "we are friends," the strain of the situation is increasingly creeping into Greek-American relations. In the long run, it may cause greater complications.

At a recent meeting of the Council of Europe in Strasbourg, U.S. Asst. Secretary of State for European Affairs Martin J. Hildebrand reportedly expressed the view that the army-backed regime enjoys the "broad support" of the Greek people.

Although a number of observers agree with this assessment, it was not a popular statement in Western Europe which generally remains critical of the junta and its internal policies.

Despite the fact that political persecution in Greece now is no greater than under the previous parliamentary regimes, Europe remains opposed to the junta which stems from the bloodless coup of April 21, 1967.

Charges Involve CIA

Charges have been made by some reputable West European politicians that the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency "runs Greece."

In reality, while there is some obvious cooperation between the American military and intelligence services and the Greek army, the United States has little influence here.

Stability in Greece in the generally unstable and explosive Mediterranean area is viewed as crucial by American diplomats. Yet the same diplomats stress they do not desire "stability at any price." The United States, they insist, "is not committed to the colonels at all cost."

Because no other possibility has loomed on the Greek political horizon, the United States has little choice.

In his contacts with members of the ruling junta, U.S. Ambassador Henry J. Tasca has tried to insist on the im-

portance of a return to parliamentary democracy.

A full application of the constitution, the release of all political prisoners and general elections would "clear the air" and eliminate Greece's ostracism, is Tasca's view.

But the "colonels" have to consider the problem of their own survival. Although in the past four years they have scored a remarkable economic success, politically they are still basically insecure.

That is why all American arguments in favor of general elections and at least some form of transition have carried little weight.

The reestablishment of heavy American arms shipments — to the tune of \$56 million — was viewed as an essential measure aimed at permitting Greece to function as a full-fledged NATO member in the insecure Mediterranean.

The opposition — vocal mainly in exile — attacked the shipments as a proof of America's collusion and support for the colonels.

Some junta members were not elated simply because they felt the amount was insufficient for the needs of the Greek army.

In the vicious circle of arguments and counter-arguments, one thing appears certain:

The United States has less and less to say in Greece. As time goes by, American influence is bound to decrease. And if one day the Greek colonels decide to relinquish their grip on the country, the United States would be even in a weaker position.

27 JUN 1977

The Colonels' Fifth Year-1

Greeks Speaking Out
Against The RegimeRightists, Conservative-Center Politicians
Terming Junta Weak And UnpopularBy OSWALD JOHNSTON
Sun Staff Correspondent

Athens—About two weeks ago, one of the clandestine underground organizations that occasionally ruffle the serenity of the colonels' regime in Greece circulated an unusually strongly worded anti-regime pamphlet among the tiny foreign press corps here.

The flyer called on all local officials put in office by the regime to resign or face eventual punishment as "traitors." It threatened the colonels themselves with the firing squad. And it scoffed at the regime's frequent claim that only its Army-backed coup in April, 1967, prevented a Communist takeover then.

Gang Of Perjurers

The coup, declared the pamphlet, was not carried out by the Army, but by a gang of perjurers, traitors and unworthy colonels who had been absent from all battlefields.

The blast, despite its vehemence, did not come from the once unruly and vocal, now largely expatriate, Greek intellectual left. Under the rubric "Greek Anti-Dictatorial Youth Movement," the flyer was signed with a rubber stamp "Colonel Porfyris"—pseudonymous leader of a para-military ultra-conservative opposition movement.

To knowledgeable observers

of Greek politics today, the "Colonel Porfyris" flyer only emphasized a trend that has become more and more pronounced as the colonels now in their fifth year in power, have become more and more entrenched.

Right Wing Criticism

Most criticism of the regime nowadays is coming from the right, except for occasional blasts from expatriate leftists, such as Nikis Theodorakis, the Communist composer.

from prison last year, or Andreas Papandreu, the highly vocal son of a former center-left prime minister. The left wing is almost entirely silent.

But the criticism that is heard is not limited to the bravado of underground shock troops. Much of it comes from responsible leaders of the political parties that were in power before the colonels took over. Unable to participate in politics, they are nevertheless an important factor today if only because the regime is unwilling to muzzle them outright.

They include such men as Panayotis Kanellopoulos, leader of the conservative Radical Union party, and prime minister of Greece when the coup fell four years and two months ago, and George Mavros, head of the rival Union of the Center party, the political vehicle of the late George Papandreu. Together, both parties represented by these men totaled 30 per cent of the vote in the last national elections to be held here in 1964.

Colonels Upset

According to seasoned observers here, the persistence of centrist and conservative opposition to their undemocratic regime is upsetting to the colonels—if only because it is hard to dismiss as Communist-inspired.

Partly for the same reason, the "responsible" opposition has fueled some of the sharpest denunciations of American policy towards the regime. In the eyes of many, such criticism is telling precisely because it is stripped of the once-fashionable fantasy that the colonels' coup was really an American plot, engineered by the CIA.

As Mr. Kanellopoulos, a strict conservative, put it recently: "I cannot believe that myself—Greek today that it is not true."

3 Main Arguments

In talks with opposition leaders, three main arguments emerge:

1. The regime is weak, unpopular and unsure of itself.
2. The Army, supposed underpinning of what strength the regime has is demoralized, faction-ridden and weakened by the upheaval that put a clique of middle-ranking officers in command of the nation.
3. The main hope for a return to democracy in Greece is a push against the colonels from within the Army, mainly by officers loyal more to the nation and to the exiled King Constantine than to the regime.

Underlining the argument is a current of disappointment and disillusion that the United States as a matter of considered military and diplomatic policy, is giving the regime political and moral support.

Mr. Kanellopoulos, in a recent interview, made the point this way:

The American argument that military considerations, especially the position of Greece as a NATO member occupying a strategically vital place in the Eastern Mediterranean compel Washington to support the regime is "the greatest error Washington has made."

Instead, "the United States should give first place to democracy and human rights. The geographical position of a country, even if it is a key position, is nothing if the people living there are not ready to do wholeheartedly what is asked of them in a critical hour.

"I don't think the Americans should interfere to change the regime. But it should stop interfering to support such a regime."

"A Very Weak Regime"

As for the Greek armed forces, the key to U.S. policy: "The value of the Greek military forces is much lower than before 1967. Morale is low, mainly because there is now a contrast between the armed forces and the Greek people.

"I believe it is a very weak regime. It has no organized political base among the people. The only base is the armed forces—and even now I believe the Greek officers would not be willing to support such a regime" the 68-year-old former prime minister said.

Mr. Mavros, as inheritor of the more left-leaning party of George Papandreu, is less vehement in his judgment.

The regime is "utterly unpopular" he declared recently. It is unstable, too unsure of itself to lift martial law, allow democratic elections or implement the constitution it promulgated and with much fanfare caused to be approved by an overwhelming majority in a referendum nearly three years ago.

"The regime has failed to introduce even a single institutional reform in Greece in the last four years, he explained.

Both oppositionists attribute to this weakness Prime Minister George Papadopoulos's current efforts to open contacts with some of their pre-coup colleagues in the political field.

And while both men deride these efforts, they recognize that the move has seriously upset many of the tougher, more puritanical middle-rank officers upon whom the colonels relied for their primary support four years ago. This, too, they see as a sign of weakness.

The key argument urged in favor of the continuing large-scale American military aid to Greece has been that NATO's whole southern flank depends on a stable, militarily reliable Greek ally.

A visitor here will soon find, however, that the stability, strength and preparedness of the Greek armed forces are unknown quantities.

In the view of the opposition here the answer is that the Army is not worth the investment the United States has put in it.

The government, unsurprisingly, does not agree, and neither do NATO and American officials.

Combat readiness is classified as "superb," and Greek military men are highly praised for professionalism and a no-nonsense willingness to co-operate with the complex NATO chain of command.

An important factor in the anti-regime contention that the Army has suffered since the April, 1967, coup has been the fact that some 3,000 to 4,000 officers, many seniors included, have been retired in the past four years.

This has broken the back of the officer corps, it is contended, leaving behind men who are either super-loyal to the regime to the detriment of the Army as a whole, or mistrustful of it and

Continued

17 JUN 1971

STATINTL

Greece's Other History

Les Kapetanios:

La guerre civile grecque 1943-1949

by Dominique Eudes.

Fayard (Paris), 493 pp., 30 Fr.

Democracy at Gunpoint:

the Greek Front

by Andreas Papandreou.

Doubleday, 365 pp., \$7.95

Man's Freedom

by Andreas Papandreou.

Carnegie-Mellon (distributed by

Columbia University Press),

72 pp., \$4.00

Nightmare in Athens

by Margaret Papandreou.

Knottice-Hall, 390 pp., \$8.95

Vérité sur la Grèce

by Anonymous.

La Cité (Lausanne), 252 pp., 21 Fr.

Greece: February 1971

A Staff Report Prepared for the Use

of the Committee on Foreign Relations,

United States Senate.

U. S. Government Printing Office,

16 pp.

L. S. Stavrianos

Imagine what would be the common belief today if General Westmoreland had won the war in Vietnam several years ago. Ho Chi Minh would be remembered as a bloodthirsty communist traitor, while Emperor Bao Dai, Diem, Ky, and Thieu would be hailed as the saviors of their country. We would know nothing of My Lai, and we would have forgotten about napalm, defoliants, "free fire zones," and mass "relocation" of peasants. Instead we would be treated to tales (which ultimately we would accept as the full story) of wholesale atrocities in POW camps and of mass graves which would be exposed and publicized, as they were when the My Lai story first broke.

Such transformation of fact into myth, and myth into fact, has happened in the case of Greece. Unlike Westmoreland, who failed in Vietnam, the British General Scobie and the American General Van Fleet won their wars in Greece. As a result, few people now realize that Greece entered the postwar period with a state apparatus pervaded from top to bottom with quislings.¹ Few people also know that in Greece no resistance fighter ever received a medal for his services to his

country; instead these men were hounded down and imprisoned and shot. This, and much more, remains largely unknown outside Greece, because no revisionist historian has so far refuted the cold war mythology about Greece.

How great the need for a reappraisal of the history of the Greek resistance and how useful such a reappraisal would be are evident in *Les Kapetanios*, the pioneering study by the French journalist Dominique Eudes. Based on extensive personal interviews as well as published sources, Eudes's work contains much hitherto unpublished information. Certainly it should be translated into many other languages.

The hero of *Les Kapetanios* is Ares Velouchiotes, who might be described as a Greek Tito who failed. Like his Yugoslav counterpart, Ares was a Communist leader who, during the Occupation, sought to ensure Partisan hegemony against both native oligarchs and foreign powers. But Ares was a tragic figure, doomed both by flaws in his own personality and by a Stalinist party leadership slavishly committed to the Kremlin line. Against this leadership Ares had no chance because he lacked Tito's ability to formulate a nationalist communist doctrine, and to organize and lead a nationalist communist party.

Rather Ares was a typical guerrilla chieftain—a fearless, commanding figure, a brilliant tactician in mountain fighting, but far too impetuous and undisciplined to work with the plodding mediocrities of the Communist Party hierarchy. Accordingly he was always an outsider. This was especially so after he signed under mysterious circumstances a "declaration of repentance" which freed him from incarceration during the Metaxas dictatorship of the late 1930s. But unlike other signatories, Ares promptly resumed the struggle against the dictatorship after his release.

With the Axis occupation of Greece in 1941, Ares finally came into his own. In the mountains of Roumele he became a folk hero—the leading resistance fighter in all Greece, a glamorous, guard in their black berets, became legendary. True, he was feared for his

violence and harsh discipline. "Your rods are only for pissing," he warned his men, and if any of his followers molested women or stole peasant produce they were summarily executed. He did establish unprecedented security in his domain, but in the process became the object of fear and vilification on the part of the old politicians and intellectuals of Athens.

Ares's success in organizing resistance bands accentuated his differences with George Siantos, Secretary of the Communist Central Committee which controlled the mass resistance organization, the EAM or National Liberation Front. Siantos was determined to follow to the letter the current Soviet line of national and international unity against the Axis. He summoned Ares to Athens and lectured him on the need to cooperate with the old prewar political leaders, with Zervas and his "nationalist" guerrilla bands, and with the British agents led by Christopher Woodhouse. Ares protested that the Central Committee was unaware of deliberate and coordinated intrigues against the Partisans by Zervas and Woodhouse, and he urged the Central Committee to move from occupied Athens to the liberated areas of Free Greece in order to build an uncompromised resistance movement.

Siantos's firm refusal even to consider such a move reflected another serious disagreement: the gross underestimation of the Partisan bands by the Party leaders. Many Party officials were graduates of the KUTV—the Comintern's Communist University of the Toilers of the East. These "Kutvistes," as they were called in Greece, were thoroughly indoctrinated in Party orthodoxy and blindly loyal to Stalinist Russia. As a consequence, they adhered rigidly to the traditional Marxist belief in the primacy of the urban proletariat in revolutionary struggle, and, conversely, to the assumption that the peasant Partisan bands were mere auxiliaries to the crucial urban conflict.

In view of conditions in occupied Greece, this was a critically erroneous assumption, which was to end in catastrophe. By contrast, the partisans in Yugoslavia and China grew in strength, for Tito and Mao had the resources and independence of mind to resist the Kremlin. Siantos and his lieutenants remained in Athens, not only ignorant of but hostile to the burgeoning Partisan forces. To Siantos, Partisans were from an entirely dif-

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DAILY WORLD
8 JUNE 1971*International News***Chile's intellectuals defend Cuba**

SANTIAGO DE CHILE—Eighty prominent Chilean intellectuals issued a statement in Santiago on Saturday condemning those who lent their names and talents to an imperialist-inspired slander campaign against Cuba. The statement was in direct reference to the so-called "Padilla case" in Cuba, and pointed out that poet Heberto Padilla had admitted he slandered the Cuban revolution and had contacts with CIA agents. The Chilean intellectuals sharply attacked a statement issued under the name of French novelist Jean-Paul Sartre and several others protesting Cuba's handling of the "Padilla case."

The Chileans said: "We think the time is ripe for every worker in the cultural field to determine his place and his position in the construction of a new society. There is no room for hesitation on this question. We believe every progressive writer must be a revolutionary and support the people."

"We completely agree with Fidel Castro's remarks that it is necessary to intensify the struggle against imperialist ideology and colonialism in culture. We believe national cultural values must belong to the entire people and not to unrepresentative groups of individuals. We support the Cuban's efforts to build a new socialist society." The statement was signed by Chilean National Literary Award winners Juvencio Valle and Carlos Droguett, writers Guillermo Atlas, Antonio Scarmeta, Gonzalo Rojas, painters Jose Balmes, Guillermo Nunez and 73 other Chilean intellectuals.

New U.S. radio station in Greece

SALONIKA, Greece—The U.S. and the Greek fascist junta last weekend signed a new agreement extending the broadcast rights of the Voice of America radio station for another 14 months and providing for the establishment of a new VOA station at Kavalla, in northwestern Greece. The new station is very powerful (2,500 kilowatts) and will be backed up by a "Radio Free Europe" station which is to be set up nearby. Radio Free Europe is a branch of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency. Reasons for the moves closer to the Yugoslav border were not disclosed.

TOP SECRET

JUNE 1971

STATINTL



they claimed that anti-junta leaders wished the resumption of U.S. arms aid for patriotic, national-security reasons. That claim turned the trick—for the time it succeeded in silencing Fulbright and other critical Senators. How could they argue against the purported wishes of the very Greek democrats they wished to help in restoring democracy?

The incident raises a familiar question: how can the American people's elected representatives evaluate foreign policy matters which concern far-away places? Ideally, of course, Senators and Representatives, no less than Cabinet members and the President himself, should be able to rely on the honesty and accuracy of U.S. intelligence agencies, the Pentagon, and the State Department. Yet, Fulbright was sandbagged into silence because he had not been in Greece and therefore could not know first-hand that the genuine anti-junta leaders opposed and still oppose U.S. military aid to the Greek dictatorship.

The answer to the credibility question was met in part earlier this year. In February, Fulbright's Foreign Relations Committee sent to Greece two staff experts whose findings, released two months ago, contradicted a State Department paper issued in January.

Fulbright's aides, James G. Lowenstein and Richard M. Moose, reported that although "all institutional laws necessary to put into force the constitution were promulgated by the end of 1970 as promised by the Greek government . . . , the constitution is by no means yet in effect. . . ."

To Americans who have long agonized over the coddling by successive U.S. Administrations of fascism in Spain, Portugal, and Latin America, as well as in Vietnam and Thailand, the staff report's conclusion was no surprise:

"The policy of friendly persuasion has clearly failed. The regime has accepted the friendship and the military assistance but has ignored the persuasion. Indeed, the regime seems to have been able to exert more leverage on us with regard to military assistance than we have been willing to exert on the regime with regard to political reform. We see no evidence that this will not continue to be the case."

Senator Fulbright is not, of course, the only representative of the American people to have raised critical questions about the efficacy, if not the morality, of this nation's defending "freedom" (and markets) against Communism by sponsoring right-wing governments which suppress the drive of foreign peoples for genuine self-determination. But in getting facts, Fulbright and others must obviously do it with a little help from their friends—who apparently can be found neither in the State Department nor in the White House.

Oddly enough, it may be from the Commerce Department that the truth will out. At a luncheon in Athens attended by several junta ministers a few weeks ago, Secretary of Commerce Maurice H. Stans uttered some public words which may yet win him the Martha Mitchell Blabber-Mouth of the Year award. Stans thanked the nice Colonels for the "sense of security that the Government of Greece is imparting" to U.S. business firms.

—RALPH Z. HALLOW

(Mr. Hallow, an editorial writer for the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, has discussed the Greek situation with democracy-loving government officials in Athens.)

Whitewashing the Junta

This spring is a double anniversary for Greece. One-hundred-fifty years ago the Greeks began their nine-year struggle for independence from Turkey. Four years ago, with what many Greek democrats believe was the complicity of the CIA and the U.S. military mission, a group of Greek army officers seized power. They still have it, thanks in part to a U.S. foreign policy which is still based on fighting the Cold War against Communism.

To stay alive, what the present fascist government in Athens needs most is what only Washington can—and does—provide: the prestige of approval. With no free press, the average Greek may believe that actively opposing the junta is useless because it has American backing. He sees and reads about the open friendliness of U.S. diplomatic and military missions toward the Colonels, whose best "proof" that they are the legitimate defenders of the "free world's eastern flank" is the continued American military aid to Athens.

Particularly galling for anti-fascist Americans should be the mendacity of some State Department officials who work hard at selling to Congress the Pentagon's line on the junta. One of these officials told a Senate subcommittee last August that the anti-junta leadership in Greece favored unrestricted resumption of U.S. military aid. That testimony came less than a month after my return from Athens, where I had found the opposite to be true.

In a committee hearing, moreover, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Roger Davies reportedly told Senator J. W. Fulbright that the Colonels were making progress toward the restoration of democracy. Such an outright lie would have doubled-up with laughter the Greeks I had met.

Fulbright's acerbic skepticism did not daunt the junta-apologists. In later testimony,



Piarotti in the New York Post.

Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-01601R000500220001-5
 a democracy when you see one?"

of a supra-control agency could alter the situation in a short time and provide an improved capability for the development of subversive direction of civil disturbances. Meaningful degrees of subversive influence and organized control are distinct future possibilities in the United States civil disturbance problem.

(2) Anti-Vietnam/Anti-Draft Movements

Anti-Vietnam and anti-draft movements have increased in scope and number in the past two years. Protests against war have been common for many years and have generally followed the pattern of marching, picketing, and distributing literature by individual groups. The first nation-wide attempt to coordinate these peace movements was effectively made in the spring of 1966 by the Spring Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (SMC). In 1966 the SMC coordinated and staged anti-war rallies in San Francisco, New York City, and a number of minor demonstrations in other cities. Because of the success of the SMC's initial endeavor, the anti-war movement established the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (NMC) to act as a permanent coordinating committee for demonstrations. Originally distinct from, but aligned with the NMC in ideology, were the anti-war/anti-draft groups. At the present time, even though the anti-war/anti-draft groups profess individuality and separation from other groups, their similarity of aims and actions operate to have almost the force and effect of an interlocking directorate similar to the NMC. Very strong support to the anti-war movement is also forthcoming from such "left" groups as the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), the CPUSA youth front group, the W. E. B. Du Bois Clubs of America (DCA), the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), Youth Against War and Fascism, the Progressive Labor Party and a veritable host of smaller organizations. Tactics of the various organizations have undergone a change from passive actions to more militant actions, with "direct confrontations" now the main objective. Although the majority of anti-war protesters appear reluctant, for moral, practical, or legal reasons, to engage in public demonstrations of a nature which violate existing laws, there is a significant minority of professional agitators and young students who advocate either violent action or so-called disobedience of such a nature that violence is almost sure to ensue. Although many of the more articulate voices in the peace movement counsel against illegal actions, it appears that they have slight influence on those persons already committed to such action.

(3) Subversive Conspiratorial Aspects

a. Peace movement

Although it cannot be substantiated that the anti-war and the anti-draft movements are acting in response to foreign direction, it must be pointed out that by their activities they are supporting the stated objectives of foreign elements which are detrimental to the USA. Many leaders of the anti-war and anti-draft movement have traveled to foreign countries, including Cuba, East Europe and North Vietnam to meet with Communist leaders. Therefore, the possibility exists that these individuals may be either heavily influenced or outright dominated by their foreign contacts. They may, in turn, influence their followers, the majority of whom have no sympathy for the Communist cause, but are unaware of their leaders' affiliations. Groups, such as The Resistance and the Students for Democratic Society (SDS), have openly announced their continuing intention to violate the law by aiding and abetting individuals desiring to criminally evade the draft. Both these groups have become increasingly more militant and are co-sponsors of illegal demonstrations against the draft, the military, and civilian and government recruiters on college campuses.

b. Civil rights movement

The Progressive Labor Party (PLP), a Marxist-Leninist group, was able to capitalize on an incident in order to spur Negroes to violence in Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant, New York City in 1964. Another Communist-oriented, Marxist Leninist group, the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM) has been shown to be conspiring to commit murder and wanton acts of vandalism. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and in particular its chairman, H. Rap Brown, has been instrumental in aggravating tense situations in ghetto areas and in prolonging civil disorder. While most civil rights leaders are moderates and the majority of the Negro population abhors violence, a sufficient number of individuals seem susceptible to the violent rallying cries of the militants to make these individuals dangerous to society.

c. Friendly forces

USCONARC and CONUS Armies, and the U.S. Army Intelligence Command support the Department of the Army by continuing current reporting of information on civil disturbances.

2. (C) ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS OF INFORMATION (EEI)

All CONUS-based major Army commands and subordinate commands will report information as obtained to satisfy Department of the Army EEI relative to:

a. Plans, operations, deployment, tactics, techniques, and capabilities of individuals, groups or organizations whose efforts are to reduce U.S. military capabilities through espionage, sabotage, subversion, treason, propaganda and other disruptive operations.

b. Patterns, techniques, and capabilities of subversive elements in cover and deception efforts in civil disturbance situations.

c. Civil disturbance incidents or disorders which involve CONUS military installations or personnel.

d. Thefts of significant quantities of weapons and ammunition from civilian companies or industries. Thefts of significant quantities of government weapons and ammunition from Active Army, Reserve, National Guard, or ROTC installations and facilities.

e. Strikes, civil disturbances, and labor disturbances which affect military installations, or other strikes or labor and civil disturbances of sufficient magnitude to indicate a probable employment of federal troops to preserve or restore order.

f. Information concerning opposition that may be expected by military forces if called upon to maintain or restore order. Specifically, possible courses of action, methods and capabilities, weapons and support.

g. Impact or significance of changes in federal, state, or municipal laws, court decisions, referendums, amendments, executive orders, or other directives which affect minority groups.

h. Cause of civil disturbance and names of instigators and group participants.

i. Indicators of potential violence:

(1) High unemployment rate among minority groups.

(2) Noticeably heightened crime rates among minority groups.

(3) Dissatisfaction and complaints arising from disparity of average income between the whites and the non-whites.

(4) Declining rapport between law enforcement officials and minority groups.

(5) Migration of large numbers of a minority group into a city slum area.

(6) Protests of the minority community relative to conditions in slum areas, such as de facto segregation in housing and schools, lack of jobs, lack of recreational facilities, police brutality, and overcharging of goods and services by local merchants.

j. Indicators of imminent violence:

(1) Presence or participation in local activities by militant agitators.

(2) Increase in thefts and sales of weapons and ammunition.

(3) Increase in efforts of extremist, integrationist, and segregationist groups to instigate violence, e.g., increase in numbers of handbills, pamphlets, and posters urging acts of violence.

(4) Increase in number of incidents of window breaking, false fire alarms, thefts, and other harassments of damaging nature to the community.

(5) Reports and rumors of planned violence.

(6) Presence of known instigators of violence.

3. (C) ORDERS AND REQUESTS FOR INFORMATION

a. Supporting plans of USCONARC and CONUS Armies, and the U.S. Army Intelligence Command will include provisions for rapid reporting and dissemination of responses to the above EEI in the following priority consistent with appropriate security regulations:

(1) Task Force Commander

(2) Army Operations Center (AOC), DA

(3) MDW or CONUS Army wherein the disturbance is imminent or in progress.

(4) USCONARC/USARSTRIKE

(5) CINCSTRIKE

b. Commanders will insure that units and personnel are familiar with announced EEI.

c. Local liaison with federal and civilian agencies by the military intelligence operating elements of the USAINTC is encouraged.

4. (C) INTELLIGENCE AND COUNTERINTELLIGENCE OPERATIONS

a. Information required to accomplish the mission of the Chief of Staff, U.S. Army, will be obtained through all resources available to the commanders, to include intelligence reports, estimates, studies, and special studies prepared by the commands.

b. OACSI, DA, will prepare and disseminate reports, estimates, studies, and special studies, as appropriate, from information obtained or received at the national level.

c. The primary organization for direct support of the Department of the Army in the coverage and reporting of information on civil disturbances is the U.S. Army Intelligence Command. The Command's operational planning will include provisions for providing civil disturbance information to the task force commander upon announcement of his appointment and thereafter.

d. Upon dispatch of Personal Liaison Officer by the Chief of Staff, U.S. Army, to the area of anticipated trouble, ACSI, DA, will, in turn, designate an ACSI point-of-contact (ACSI-POC) who will respond to satisfy the requirement of the Chief of Staff, Army (CofSA) Personal Liaison Officer.

5. (U) MAPS—appropriate maps for the objective area will be provided by the Army Map Service.

6. (U) Counterintelligence summary (See Section 4 of the Civil Disturbance Planning Packet pertaining to the objective area and current SPIREP).

GREECE

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, the situation in Greece to Americans and people throughout the world. On April 21, Mr. Elias P. Demetrapoulos delivered an informative address to students at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. I feel the address will be of interest to Senators, and ask unanimous consent that it be printed at this point in the Record.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Cyprus press hails Makarios' plan to visit Soviet Union

Daily World Foreign Department

The announcement that President Makarios of Cyprus will visit the Soviet Union on June 2-4 has once more focused world attention on this island republic in the eastern Mediterranean. There is likely to be considerable speculation in the capitalist news media about why Makarios is going to the USSR at this particular time.

The Cypriot press, which has come out unanimously in favor of the trip, has stressed the important point that in a time of extreme tension in the Middle East, Makarios' Soviet visit can help to underline how the USSR has always defended Cyprus independence.

Cyprus, an island of 3,572 square miles, is about as big as Delaware and Rhode Island put together and is located at an extremely strate-



PRESIDENT MAKARIOS

gic spot in the eastern Mediterranean — 40 miles south of Turkey, 60 miles west of Syria.

In 1956, Cyprus became the staging area for the British-French attack on Egypt, about 150 miles to the south. Britain still retains two important air bases on Cyprus.

From ancient times, a majority of the people of Cyprus considered themselves Greek. But from 1571 to 1878 the island was under Ottoman Turkish rule and an important Turkish minority community developed on Cyprus. The present population is roughly 600,000, of whom 82 percent are Greek and 18 percent Turkish.

Greeks and Turks on Cyprus lived together about as well as could be expected until the independence struggle against the British colonialists began in earnest in 1955, with Archbishop Makarios of Cyprus' Greek Orthodox Church becoming the symbol of that struggle.

Divide and rule policy

Britain took advantage of the division in the island's population the way it did in Ireland, India, Palestine and elsewhere. When Cyprus became independent in 1961, with Makarios as President, deep hatreds had been created between Greeks and Turks. These hatreds erupted into something like civil war in the 1960's, and as a result a United Nations peacekeeping force is still on duty on the island. The Turkish community, headed by Dr. Fazil Kuchuk, is still boycotting the government, although 15 out of 50 legislative seats are reserved for them by the Constitution.

There is every indication that other forces would like to use the ancient policy of creating division in order to rule Cyprus.

Major threats

The major threats to Cyprus' independence come from:

1) The U.S., through NATO. When Greek-Turkish fighting broke out on Cyprus in 1963-64, the U.S. opposed sending UN peacekeeping forces, and backed a plan whereby West Germany would have sent an expeditionary

force of 10,000 troops to "restore order." Undoubtedly, this West German NATO force would have remained on Cyprus permanently. Plenty of incidents could have been provoked between Greeks and Turks to create a pretext for keeping the troops there. With a West German military garrison, British air bases, and the U.S. Sixth Fleet centered on Cyprus, imperialism could have tried a real come-back in the Middle East. Fortunately this project failed.

2) The Greek fascist military junta which seized power in Athens in 1967, strongly supported if not directed by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency and the Pentagon. The Athens junta tried to use Cypriot feeling for "enosis" — union with Greece — to establish its fascist rule over the island. The so-called "National Front" on Cyprus campaigned for placing the island under the rule of the Athens junta, established secret arms dumps, and in March, 1970, tried to assassinate Makarios.

If the National Front plot failed to gain any popular support, it was largely due to the determined opposition of AKE and LPEO. AKEL is the Cypriot Progressive People's Party (formerly the Communist Party of Cyprus) and PEO is the All-Cyprus Labor Federation whose leadership is almost entirely from AKEL.

PEO, affiliated to the World Federation of Trade Unions, takes in more than 40,000 of the 72,000 organized trade unionists on the island.

3) The threat of intervention by Turkey. In the past, Turkish governments have used mainly strategic arguments to support their claims to Cyprus, backed up by anti-Greek incitement and appeals to help the Turkish minority on Cyprus. At the moment, the danger from Turkey seems the least of all.

In all the crises which Cyprus has been forced to undergo in the past decade, the Soviet Union has steadfastly supported Cyprus independence. During the March, 1970, incidents, the USSR had to make that support unmistakably plain to the U.S. The Cypriot public therefore welcomes news of Makarios' Soviet trip.

DENVER, COLO.

POST

MAY 15 1977

E - 252,198

S - 344,155

ANDREAS PAPANDEOU

U.S. Masterminded 1967

Coup, Greek Claim

By RENA ANDREWS
Denver Post Staff Writer

"My wedding is coming up soon, Mr. Prime minister. I would like Cyprus as a gift."

The quote is attributed to the "arrogant, ill-mannered, uneducated, spoiled brat" King Constantine of Greece who is in exile in Italy by another Greek political figure, also in exile, Dr. Andreas Papandreu.

Papandreu was in Denver to speak at the University of Denver Tuesday night in the DU "Focus" lecture series.

Papandreu, considered by many as one of the world's leading economists, in an interview at The Denver Post Building Wednesday put most of the blame for the existence of Greece's military junta on the royal family, notably Queen Mother Frederika.

CALLED FOR HELP

... "She served as the avenue for CIA virtual control of Greece," he charged. "She called President (Lyndon) Johnson after King Paul died and asked for his help in running the country because her son was too inexperienced."

Papandreu also said it was the U.S. government that masterminded the military coup in 1967. At that time, his father, the late Prime Minister George Papandreu, and Andreas were imprisoned at Averoff, a prison normally used to incarcerate criminals in Greece.

The Harvard-trained economist said the coup was bloodless because it was "a truly modern one in that it was computer programmed."

"Before the coup, I was giving a talk to the foreign journal-

ist club at the Grande Bretagne Hotel in Athens in February 1967 titled "The Cards Are Stacked in Greece," he recalls. "I spoke against American intervention in my country and criticized American policy in Vietnam."

The American Embassy representatives waded out during

my talk and the ambassador condemned me in a public statement for my criticisms.

"I met with him and pointed out that my remarks were much milder than anything Sen. William J. Fulbright ever charged. His answer was, 'That's true. But Fulbright is an American and you're a Greek.'"

Papandreu said he was imprisoned in Greece for eight months by the military junta.

He now lives in Toronto, Canada, where he teaches, and also travels throughout Europe where a skeletal underground group (of about 1,000 persons) is organizing under the name Panhellenic Liberation Movement. The group collects money and support and considers its mission "a long, uphill, slow struggle to bring democracy back to Greece."

AMONG EQUALS

Asked if he is the leader, he replied: "Let's say I'm first among equals."

He said the worst thing in Greece today — and the reason why another uprising is unlikely in the immediate future — is the suspicion "of even brother against brother."

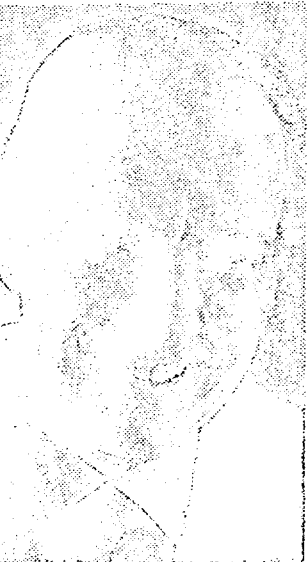
He doesn't foresee immediate public elections and cites the existence of martial law as an example of "the situation there." He also said that Greek Prime Minister Papadopoulos is "an extremely heavily guarded man, whose home is surrounded by tanks and well-placed machine guns."

He said the U.S. wants King Constantine back in Greece even though the military junta would rather not have him back because "for the U.S. the king is the one permanent conveyor of American influence. Juntas

row and the U.S. wants more than that."

Does he see any hope for the grim picture of Greece he paints?

"As a good, proud Greek, I have to answer yes to this. But don't ask me when this will be. We'll just have to keep trying."



ANDREAS PAPANDEOU

coup "computer program."

DAVID TONGE in Athens takes up the story of the investigating magistrate in the film "Z," who has just been charged with planning bomb explosions against the regime.

Man who unmasked Greece's secret service

People throughout the world who have seen the film "Z" will remember its hero, the unflappable investigating magistrate who eventually un-masks the gendarmerie general and others who arranged the murder of the deputy.

This story is based on the political murder which occurred in Greece in 1963 of the Left-wing deputy, Mr Lambrakis. The magistrate whose difficulties are portrayed in the film, Mr Christos Sartsetakis, is in prison and has just been charged with planning bomb explosions against the regime.

It is difficult to find people in Greece who believe he is guilty, or that these charges are what he is really held for. To most people the point is that eight years ago it was Mr Sartsetakis who in his investigations of Mr Lambrakis's death brought out for the first time the real power of the secret services in Greece.

It was they who were probably responsible for the death, and to this extent the Lambrakis affair is a harbinger of the 1967 coup. This coup was planned by Mr Papadopoulos and others from the secret services.

Today it is those services which, with the army, rule Greece, and at least two other members of the present Cabinet are known to have figured in the Lambrakis affair. How many more of them were working behind the scenes?

As with the murder of President Kennedy, investigations

into Mr Lambrakis's death never really cleared up the mystery of who had ordered the assassination. Mr Sartsetakis was able to indict those who carried it out, the car driver, Kotsamanis, and his passenger, Emmanouilidis. He also had imprisoned the gendarmerie controller of Northern Greece, General Mitsou, and three other officers, including the local security chief.

But these four were only indicted on lesser charges. Their rôle in giving the orders for Mr Lambrakis's death was never settled, nor was it ever found out who had ordered them to act.

The trial proved far from a moment of truth. After 67 days and hearing 200 witnesses the court acquitted the officers and sentenced the driver and the passenger who had bludgeoned Mr Lambrakis to sentences totalling less than 20 years. Both are now free. Mr Sartsetakis is not.

To understand this one has to remember that in the meantime the King had dismissed Mr Papandreou's Centre Government and that the secret services had been drawn back into power. If they also protected those who had served them would this be surprising?

For Mr Sartsetakis to have indicted these services he would have had to have attacked the main bastions of Greece's power structure — the Palace, the Government, and the Army. The Palace's rôle seems the most mysterious.

One former Centre Union deputy has told how he received a leak of a secret list of proscribed names from the royal palace on Corfu. His name was on it, as was that of Mr Lambrakis. This was two months before the death of Mr Lambrakis and in the meantime Mr Lambrakis had particularly angered Queen Frederika by the part he played in arranging the demonstrations which greeted her on her visit to London.

Few people failed to notice that Emmanouilidis, who struck the blow, had been the Queen's personal bodyguard in 1962 — and this, in spite of having a long criminal record. The implications of this have never been clarified, but what was brought out fully was the growing power of a series of Nazi-type organisations which had grown up in the 1950s.

The book, "The Lambrakis Affair," now forbidden in Greece, claims that these organisations were set up by the private office of Mr Karamanlis, then Prime Minister, working in collaboration with the information services of the Ministry to the Prime Minister.

The present Government spokesman, Mr George

Georgalas, an ex-Communist with training in Agitprop, the Communist propaganda school, played a leading rôle in these services, according to the book. He had been greeted by KYP, the Greek equivalent of the CIA, on his return from Hungary, personally having dealings with Mr Papadopoulos, who was then in KYP.

Mr Georgalas then became a founding member of a group which in 1958 violently broke up a meeting of the Friends of Peace in Piraeus. All of which may explain why he has wasted no time in criticising Mr Sartsetakis.

Since the latter's arrest he has accused him of political adventuring and partiality in his judgments. Mr Sartsetakis cannot answer back and point out that he was three times described by his superiors as one of the country's best judges, and that the Minister of Justice in 1962 praised him in Parliament for his investigations.

These organisations which were set up by the extreme Right were well known to the security authorities. They were frequently used as a sort of unofficial police force. On May 19, 1963, they collected 3,000 members of three Salonika groups to protect General de Gaulle who was visiting the town. Three days later it was the same groups who attacked Mr Lambrakis. General Mitsou, it is claimed, used to support them financially.

Mr Karamanlis's reaction to the news of the death was to shout: "Who in God's name is ruling Greece," and probably no one in the Government wanted so extreme a step. But the Frankenstein's monsters they had created to deal with communism had outgrown their political masters. Four years later various parallel organisations set up in the army were to replace the politicians altogether.

Once the murder had occurred, all that the Government could do was try to play it

down. The Secretary of Northern Greece at the time, Mr Ioannis Holevas, now the Colonels' Minister of Merchant Marine, tried to make up for what he may possibly have known about before and been unable to prevent.

Another figure of today to appear on the scene was Mr Dmitri Kapsaskis, now the Colonels' faithful coroner, who denies all torture allegations and claims that Mrs Niarchos died of barbiturates three hours after taking them, which doctors generally find most improbable.

He arrived in Salonika with no apparent professional excuse and quickly wrote a report saying that death was by impact of the pavement. The other coroners refused to sign it.

Those who went against all this have suffered. Mr Sartsetakis was one, a gentle cultivated man with a puckish sense of humour, and a brilliant reputation. But he was first dismissed from his post, then forbidden from working. For him the wheel has swung full circle, as it has for others.

The journalist, Mr George Romaos, who in 1963 published documents proving the secret services' support for the extremist groups, was arrested in February and like Mr Sartsetakis disappeared into the hands of the military police.

Their trial, if and when it happens, will show just how far the Lambrakis affair is continuing today. There is every indication that to Greece's rulers it is as important now as then. The gendarmerie officer who arranged Mr Sartsetakis's arrest was the son of the general whom Mr Sartsetakis had had arrested seven years earlier.

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SPRINGFIELD, MASS.
UNION

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MAY 6 1972



GEORGE GEORGALAS
Power Behind the Junta?

By TOM CULLEN
Special to The Union

ATHENS — Secretary of State George Georgalas holds one of the highest positions in the military junta which governs Greece. George Georgalas is a former Communist who for many years was a paid Moscow agent.

Brain Trust

Many responsible Greeks who are opposed to the "colonels' government" of George Papadopoulos consider Georgalas the brains behind the dictatorship.

Whether he is in fact the junta's mastermind is an open question but he certainly enjoys the confidence of Papadopoulos to whom he is directly responsible and anything can happen in the looking-glass world of present Greek politics.

There can be no question, however, concerning Georgalas' Communist past, though the government does its best to hush it up. For many years the deputy

minister operated in Eastern Europe as a sort of Kremlin version of James Bond.

Actually Georgalas injects

a dash of color into the otherwise olive-drab world of the military junta. On the one hand, leftists accuse him of being a CIA agent; on the other, many of the Army officers who surround Papadopoulos have no love for him, being suspicious of his Communist past. He is a favorite target for antigovernment newspapers which use him to snipe at the regime.

Tall, dark-haired, blue-eyed and handsome, Georgalas was born in Cairo of Greek parents and was already a Communist when he arrived in Athens at the age of 18. "Educated in Greece and abroad" reads the official government biography of Georgalas. What the government handout does not mention is that Georgalas was arrested as a student agitator at the University of Athens and forced to continue his studies

Ex-Red Agent Ruling Greek

Junta?

In Paris he was selected by the Reds for guerrilla warfare training, smuggled back into northern Greece for the tail end of the Communist-inspired civil war. Georgalas arrived too late for the actual fighting and managed to avoid arrest when the Reds were later rounded up.

In 1949 Georgalas was sent to Moscow to a school for political commissars, where he proved to be one of the most promising pupils. It was in Moscow that he met his wife, who was a Greek refugee from the civil war.

Changes Sides

Georgalas' first assignment after graduating with honors as a Kremlin agent was in Budapest, where in 1954 he was put in charge of the "Voice of Truth" Communist broadcasts beamed to Greece. He was in Hungary during the 1956 anti-Communist uprising. Whether this had anything to do with his decision to defect to the West the following

The opportunity occurred when he attended an International Youth Congress held in East Berlin. He simply crossed into West Berlin, was picked up by the CIA and was de-briefed.

Afterwards Georgalas worked for the KYP, the Greek Intelligence Service.

ice opportunities will be available on an equitable basis among significant segments of the population of unemployed persons, giving consideration to the relative numbers of unemployed persons in each such segment.

Section 9. Training and manpower services

This section provides for training and manpower services related to the public service jobs, allowing 20 percent of the funds under the legislation to be used for such purposes.

Section 10. Special responsibilities of the Secretary

Subsection (a) of this section provides that the Secretary shall establish procedures for periodic reviews by an appropriate agency of the status of each person employed in a public service job under the legislation to assure that (1) in the event that any person employed in a public service job under the legislation and the reviewing agency find that such job will not provide sufficient prospects for advancement or suitable continued employment, maximum efforts shall be made to locate employment or training opportunities providing such prospects, and such person shall be offered appropriate assistance in securing placement in the opportunity which he chooses after appropriate counseling, and (2) as the rate of unemployment approaches the objective of section 4(c) of the bill—when the authority for further funding under this legislation would be detripped because the overall unemployment rate is falling below 4½ percent—or financial assistance will otherwise no longer be available under the legislation, maximum efforts shall be made to locate employment or training opportunities not supported under this legislation, and persons who have been employed in public service jobs under the legislation shall be offered appropriate assistance in securing placement in the opportunity which he chooses after appropriate counseling.

Subsection (b) provides that the Secretary shall review the implementation of the procedures established under subsection (a) at intervals six months after funds are first obligated under this legislation and at six month intervals thereafter.

Subsection (c) provides for the Secretary to reserve such amounts as he may deem necessary to provide for a continuing evaluation of programs assisted under this legislation and their impact on related programs.

Section 11. Special provisions

This section contains general and administrative provisions.

Section 12. Special report

This section provides that the Secretary shall transmit to the Congress at least annually a detailed report setting forth the activities conducted under this legislation, including information on the extent to which participants in such activities subsequently secure and retain public or private employment or participate in training or employability development programs, and the extent to which segments of the population of unemployed persons are provided public service opportunities in accordance with the purposes of the legislation.

Section 13. Definitions

This section contains definitions of terms used in the legislation.

The term "public service" is defined as including but not limited to work in such fields as environmental quality, health care, public safety, education, transportation, recreation, maintenance of parks, streets, and other public facilities, solid waste removal, pollution control, housing and neighborhood improvements, rural development, conservation, beautification, and other fields of human betterment and community improvement.

The term "unemployed persons" means (A) persons who are without jobs and who want and are available for work, and (B) adults who or whose families receive welfare assistance benefits who are determined by the Secretary of Labor (in consultation with the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare) to be available for work, and who are either persons without jobs or persons at work in jobs providing insufficient income to enable such persons and their families to be self-supporting without welfare assistance. The determination of whether persons are "without jobs" shall be made in accordance with the criteria used by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the Department of Labor in defining persons as unemployed. This definition of "unemployed persons" is not applicable to the term "rate of national unemployment (seasonally adjusted)" used in the triggering provisions of section 4, which term refers to the seasonally adjusted unemployment statistics announced by the Bureau of Labor Statistics on a monthly basis.

Section 14. Effective date

This section provides that the legislation shall be effective upon enactment and makes clear that the determinations with respect to the triggering provisions of section 4(b) shall take into account the rate of unemployment for a period of three consecutive months even though all or part of such period may have occurred prior to such enactment.

GREEK RESISTANCE LIVES

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 3, 1971

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, for the many millions of the people of the world who love Greece and who pray for that great country's return to representative government, the voice of Melina Mercouri is one of courage and hope. Indefatigable in her efforts to rally world opinion against the military junta that has now been in power in Greece for 4 years, Miss Mercouri has written for the New York Times of April 21, 1971, the following article that describes precisely the spirit of resistance that still resides in that unhappy land:

GREEK RESISTANCE LIVES

(By Melina Mercouri)

PARIS.—We once had an unwelcome guest in our house. It was during the wartime occupation of Greece by the Germans. Nazi officers were billeted in people's homes. We drew Gunther. Gunther had a constant need to prove that he was of the "master race." He did so by brandishing an enormous revolver and commanding us to watch him urinate on the living room floor. Then he would wave to us with the revolver and say:

"If you don't like it, why don't you do something about it?"

I am reminded of Gunther when friends, or pretended friends, ask: "If the Greek people detest the colonels' regime so much, why don't they do something about it?"

Any fairly impartial observer of the Greek scene will tell you that at least, I repeat, at least 90 percent of the Greek people oppose the regime, which took power in a coup four years ago today. Yet to date there has been no large manifestation of resistance. Can one then deduce that the Greek is a coward? Let anyone tempted to think so study the record of Greek resistance against the Nazis. Their courage was an inspiration

to all of Europe. Their efficiency was applauded by Churchill. Hitler, in what he considered praise for the Greek fighter, spoke of his "contempt for death."

No, we Greeks have no death wish. We equate love of liberty with love of life. The Greek is only too well aware that the colonels' regime subsists only by force of arms, by court-martial and by torture. He knows that Mr. Papadopoulos, who was the coordinator of the C.I.A. With the Greek intelligence service, K.Y.P., was an able student.

He has created a vast spy system in Greece. Spies are present in every office, in every class of every school, in sports clubs, in municipal administrations, in public places. The tourist, seduced by the sun and beauty of Greece, may not know that the waiter who serves him an ouzo, or the taxi driver who takes him to the Acropolis, could be on the spy payroll. But the Greek knows it.

Yet if active resistance is slow and cautious in forming, the Greek has used another weapon, the weapon of isolation. The colonels are isolated. They have only their tanks and their spies. Not one single politician of any stature has in any way joined or given support to the regime.

Who supports them? Sad to say, their bulwark is the American State Department and the American Pentagon.

Spokesmen for the State Department, in justification of heavy arms shipments to Greece, have stated that the Greek regime was moving toward democracy. Permit me to say that not only is this not true, but also the State Department knows it's not true. Of course it would prefer that the colonels erect a more presentable facade, but so far the results have been pitiful.

There are many Americans who deplore and militate against their Government's support of the Greek junta. We know them and cherish them. There are others who say:

"Of course we hate dictatorships, but there are military considerations. Greece occupies a strategic position. It is the southeastern flank of NATO."

Let us then forget human considerations, or moral considerations. In this foolish age when peoples assign their destinies to Pentagon determination, let us have a look at military considerations. In time of crisis, what kind of ally could the present Greek regime be?

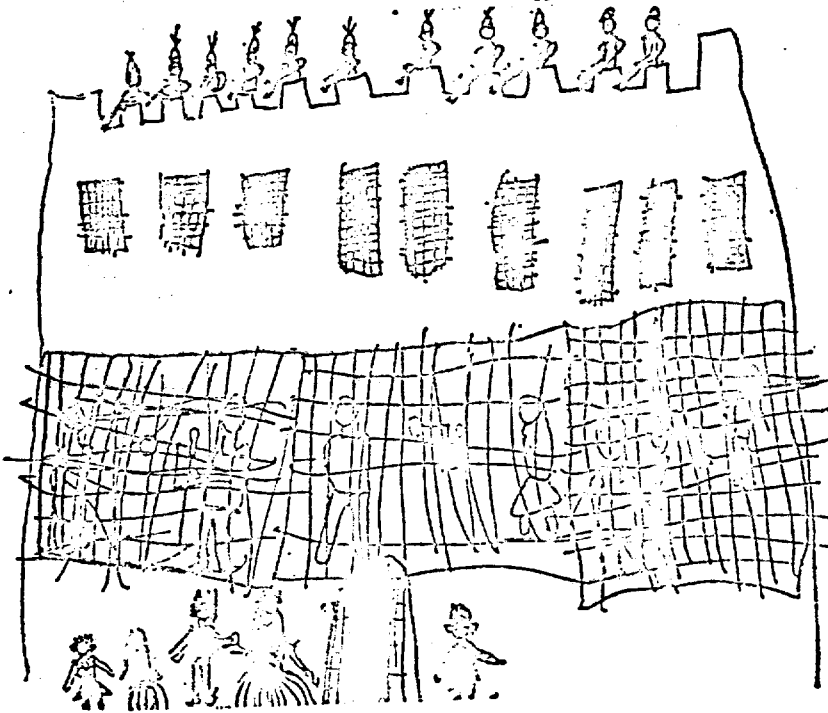
The junta, to stay alive, had to purge 2,000 officers from the Greek Army. These included the very best of the NATO-trained forces. Does not military consideration compel an examination of what this means to the efficiency of the Greek Army?

To name all the officers purged or imprisoned by the junta would make a very long list, but it is a list of men whose hostility will one day explode. They resent bitterly that the junta, to maintain power, has resorted to bribe and purchase. Those who were not purged saw their salaries tripled. Does a mercenary army make a reliable ally? I submit that for military consideration.

But there is a longer list. It numbers eight million. These are the Greek people. They, who once admired the Americans, now see them as the main support of their oppressors. Admiration has turned to rancor. In time of crisis the American Pentagon believes that the Greek people would support a hated regime, or would forgive the country that armed them, they are making a historic blunder, a blunder of monumental proportions.

If the moment comes in which the junta has to divert its rigid surveillance of the Greek people because its army is needed elsewhere, then as surely as night follows day the Greek people will rise up and crush them. On that day the question will no longer be asked: where is the Greek resistance?

21 APR 1971



This drawing is by a 6-year-old Greek girl whose father is a political prisoner in that country

Greek Resistance Lives

By MELINA MERCOURI

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No, we Greeks have no death wish. We equate love of liberty with love of life. The Greek is only too well aware that the colonels' regime subsists only by force of arms, by court-martial and by torture. He knows that Mr. Papadopoulos, who was the coordinator of the C.I.A. with the Greek intelligence service, K.Y.P., was an able student.

He has created a vast spy system in Greece. Spies are present in every office, in every class of every school, in sports clubs, in municipal administrations, in public places. The tourist, seduced by the sun and beauty of Greece, may not know that the waiter who serves him an ouzo, or the taxi driver who takes him to the Acropolis, could be on the spy payroll. But the Greek knows it.

Yet if active resistance is slow and cautious in forming, the Greek has used another weapon, the weapon of isolation. The colonels are isolated. They have only their tanks and their spies. Not one single politician of any stature has in any way joined or given support to the regime.

Who supports them? Sad to say, their bulwark is the American State Department and the American Pentagon.

Spokesmen for the State Department, in justification of heavy arms shipments to Greece, have stated that the Greek regime was moving toward democracy. Permit me to say that not only this is not true, but also the State

Department knows it's not true. Of course it would prefer that the colonels erect a more presentable facade, but so far the results have been pitiful.

There are many Americans who deplore and militate against their Government's support of the Greek junta. We know them and cherish them. There are others who say:

"Of course we hate dictatorships, but there are military considerations. Greece occupies a strategic position. It is the southeastern flank of NATO."

Let us then forget human considerations, or moral considerations. In this foolish age when peoples assign their destinies to Pentagon determination, let us have a look at military considerations. In time of crisis, what kind of ally could the present Greek regime be?

The junta, to stay alive, had to purge 2,000 officers from the Greek Army. These included the very best of the NATO-trained forces. Does not military consideration compel an examination of what this means to the efficiency of the Greek Army?

To name all the officers purged or imprisoned by the junta would make a very long list, but it is a list of men whose hostility will one day explode. They resent bitterly that the junta, to maintain power, has resorted to bribe and purchase. Those who were not purged saw their salaries tripled. Does a mercenary army make a reliable ally? I submit that for military consideration.

But there is a longer list. It numbers eight million. These are the Greek people. They, who once admired the Americans, now see them as the main support of their oppressors. Admiration has turned to rancor. If in time of crisis the American Pentagon believes that the Greek people would support a hated regime, or would forgive the country that armed them, they are making a historic blunder, a blunder of monumental proportions.

If the moment comes in which the junta has to divert its rigid surveillance of the Greek people because its army is needed elsewhere, then as surely as night follows day the Greek people will rise up and crush them. On that day the question will no longer be asked: where is the Greek resistance?

Melina Mercouri, the actress, lost her Greek citizenship and property because of her outspoken opposition to the present Government.

28 MAR 1971

Letter From the Greek Underground

By ELEFTHEROS ANTHROPOS

ATHENS—I spent this New Year's Eve planting bombs at three American targets in Athens.

I would have called anyone a lunatic who would have predicted this back in 1967 before the colonels backed by Americans took over our country. As our group waited, we received word that the bomb at the American military canton at Omonia Square went off as did the one at the Congo Palace Hotel occupied by American military personnel. Our contact who passed near the third target at the set time reported back that there had been no explosion.

We had to make a difficult decision. This was the first time that one of our bombs had not gone off and we could not risk the police finding the mechanism intact. Someone had to go back. The youngest volunteered. We waited in the small hours of the morning, fearful that he might blow himself up as two others of another organization did outside the U.S. Embassy in September, or that he might be caught and tortured, as hundreds have been, until he revealed everything. At dawn we heard his footsteps on the stairs. As he entered, he took from under his coat the detonator and the plastic explosive.

The day I was first approached by a member of E.M.A. (Greek Militant Resistance) and asked to hide explosives was the day I had to face myself and could no longer seek refuge at the level of words. Before that day I had resisted my conscience with the arguments of cold reason: "How can I fight a well-

organized modern army, how can I fight the junta which has behind it the whole power of the United States, how can I hide anything from the omnipotence of the C.I.A.? It is absolutely illogical that a few men improvising primitive arms should dare to try to lift this dead weight of steel and concrete which has fallen on our country. Of course it is unacceptable to live under this dictatorship, to live without the basic freedoms, the basic respect for human beings, but I am impotent and one must face reality."

I tried another more clever argument: "Why not concentrate on my career, become first a success without altogether denying my principles, and then reveal my ideas in the proper time and place? If all young people did the same, then a time would come when the junta would fall under the pressure of the new generation."

The result of this "reasonable thinking" was that I soon despised reason and despised myself. The truth was that I did not want to risk my personal well-being and security. When I decided to hide the bombs, I felt a sense of enormous relief, of liberation, for the decision to join the struggle was the natural consequence of my beliefs, of my whole life.

I might have remained passive if we did not have our Greek past, so many killed, so much pain, so many times having to build up from nothing. Perhaps I would have reacted differently if we had not so often been disillusioned by the powerful of the world trampling on our ideals. I felt a terrible personal responsibility toward the

people who believed in ideals and suffered for them, both to those in the past and to those who today fill Greek prisons. I had the feeling I had betrayed them.

How did such a change occur in me, a person who had no inclination toward violence, and in others? That is really for the powerful of the world to answer, the Nixons and the Brezhnev, the generals and the diplomats, who play a separate game from the people of the world. They have alienated themselves from the real basis of human life which is the happiness of people.

I have studied American history and admired its great men from Lincoln to Roosevelt. I cried at Kennedy's death. We are sorry for what will fall on the American people, it is not their leaders who do the fighting in Vietnam nor who will suffer for what their leaders have gotten them into in Greece.

Though our strength is small, we will go on, contributing to the larger fight in the world where the will of the people opposes the leaders. Power can command, power can rule, but the soul of a people has a different kind of power which cannot be suppressed forever. The power machine of the Pentagon cannot understand this as it is not in its technological dictionaries.

Our history shows that freedom is born in pain. A price must be set on tyranny and the tyrants must pay the price.

Eleftheros Anthropos is the nom de plume of a young member of the Greek underground.

DENVER, COLO.
ROCKY MT. NEWS

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MAR 9 1971

On senators and Greeks

THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS Committee has published an attack on the military junta ruling Greece, and our colleagues of the Eastern Establishment press are giving it favorable coverage.

They are billing it respectfully as "a Senate staff report." Its thrust is that the American embassy in Athens is too cozy with the regime, which is mildly dictatorial, and that the State Department isn't doing enough to pressure Greece back on the democratic path.

It turns out that the report is the work of two former foreign service officers, employed by the committee, who spent a week in Greece. It's possible they know more than the 86 State Department people, 47 information officials, 7 military attaches and lord knows how many CIA agents stationed in Greece—many of them for years—but we wouldn't bet on it.

The embassy is denounced for being "quick to praise . . . slow to criticize" the ruling colonels. (Is this bad diplomacy?) and the U.S. ambassador, Henry Tasca, is painted as an apologist for the junta. Imagine! An ambassador hasn't provoked a row with the government to which he's accredited. Naturally, the committee is thinking of summoning Tasca for testimony.

Throughout the report runs the idea that it is up to the United States to do

something about the junta and to see that Greece again has free elections and parliamentary rule.

This activism is strange coming from the committee. We fail to understand how Chairman J. William Fulbright can be so negative and isolationist about Southeast Asia and so gung ho about making Greece shape up.

None of this, we hope, will be taken as a defense of the Greek colonels. It's true that they overthrew an elected government (albeit an inept, chaotic and corrupt one) and use heavyhanded police tactics when challenged. But it's not the business of the United States to reverse every dictatorial regime. (If it were, there would be more flagrant examples than Greece to start with.)

The Nixon Administration sends arms to Greece not because it approves of the junta, but because it wants to bolster the southern flank of NATO. Also, it is in Washington's interest to have good relations with Greece in case the Middle East blows up.

There is something arrogant in the committee's view that the United States knows what is best for Greece. The restoration of Greek democracy is up to the Greeks. After all, they developed that form of government and had an advanced civilization when the ancestors of most Americans were painting themselves blue or skulking in caves.

Washington Report
**Book Roils Right
 and Left**

BY WALTER TROHAN

WASHINGTON, March 7—Books which roil the anger of both the left and the right can be assumed to contain a goodly measure of the truth.

Such a volume is the recently published "Phoenix With a Bayonet," an American journalist's interim report of the Greek revolution, issued by Georgetown Publications of Ann Arbor, Mich.

Already the author, Bayard Stockton, is receiving the silent treatment from the liberal establishment because they are opposed in principle to military regimes. But his criticism of the junta, often by name, make it doubtful that the book will be republished in Greece or be applauded by the right.

Still, his work is of importance to all Americans because it shows the good the peaceful revolution has already accomplished. It concerns an area vital to American interests, because Greece offers the only anchorage for United States men of war in the Eastern Mediterranean should war expel in the Middle East.

It will be remembered that on April 20, 1967, a group of colonels seized power in a revolution which did not cost a single life. Their leader was and is George Papadopoulos, a philosopher-soldier, who hopes some day to bring free elections to his country or says he does.

King Constantine, a personable young charmer went into exile. This commentator met and talked with the former king when he was crown prince, so he can claim a morsel of personal knowledge. The king attempted to regain power late in 1967 in an abortive coup which Stockton details.

Greek exiles, who have managed to release much of their passion and prejudice in the American press, have charged that the American military and the Central Intelligence Agency masterminded the military take over. They have told many stories of cruelty and terror,

which Stockton dismisses as manufac-

Stockton views the colonels as proud and sensitive independent nationalists, who are the tools of no outside interests. He notes the economic progress being made in the country and sees the colonels are guiding the country toward a western type of Democracy, altho the American liberal establishment will not concede it for a minute.

HOWEVER, this praise is mixed with criticism. He details the blunders of the colonels, including the insularity peculiar to many of the military and suspicion of the press. He warns that the regime should not be driven to seek closer ties with Communism. He is critical of the slow pace of reform, especially of the Greek bureaucracy.

Stockton, who lives in Greece with his German wife and three children, is convinced that if an election were held tomorrow Premier Papadopoulos would be returned to power because he has brought increased prosperity without runaway inflation. The king, an attractive figurehead, may come back some day as a result of a free election.

The author states that there is a warning to Americans in the Greek crisis and that is that a definite threat exists that something similar could happen here. However, this commentator can't see any group of American colonels taking over the government or even a military base, for that matter.

"The Greek case offers to the heart-sick, the dubious, the worried and aimless and those who yearn for authority a potential compromise between straight military dictatorship—as often seen in the grovelling underdeveloped countries of the Middle East, Africa and Latin America—and the free-wheeling, permissive bewildered democracy of the west," Stockton says. "A power seizure by the few is an easy solution for indolent communities whose faith in their own system and whose willingness to galvanize that way of life into positive, democratic activity, is too weak."



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18 JANUARY 1971

WHAT THEY SAY ABOUT THE COLONELS

CONVERSATIONS IN GREECE

THOMAS W. PEW, Jr.

Mr. Pew, editor and associate publisher of the Troy (Ohio) Daily News, has made three trips to Greece since the military coup of April 21, 1967, to gather information and conduct the interviews for this article. His most recent visit was from September to December of 1970. The three trips to Greece since the military take-over were preceded by a one-year residence (1964-65) by the author and his wife, and by other trips to Greece that date back to the early sixties.

Athens

At the Athens International airport my wife was subjected to a thorough body search. All women on the flight received the same treatment. Landing as we did soon after the multiple hijackings in the Middle East, we had grown accustomed to the strict security precautions that had begun in Dayton, Ohio, and increased in thoroughness as we approached Greece. But my wife and I were at first at a loss to understand this search of body and luggage in Athens, since we had deplaned and were not transferring to another flight.

It was too late, as far as we and the other passengers remaining in Athens were concerned, to hijack an airplane. It wasn't until several days later, when we were discussing the airport procedure with some Greeks, and after the events surrounding the visit of U.S. Secretary of Defense Melvin R. Laird, that the reason for the search became obvious.

The Greek authorities weren't looking for weapons or bombs bound for the Mideast; they were merely using this as a cover to look for weapons or bombs meant for local use. Why the women were particularly singled out is still not certain, but it's a good guess that somewhere back along the course, Greek security had received a tip that a woman was bringing something into Greece that would not be approved of by the colonels.

But as we had returned again to Greece to find out just what the Greek dictators do and do not approve (and there are items a lot milder than plastic explosives on their unapproved lists); and, in turn, to discover the extent to which the people approve or disapprove of the colonels, the airport experience was a good occasion to start asking our question: "What do you, as a Greek, think of the colonels?"

The first answer came from a professional man, who elaborated freely on the reasons for the opinion he expressed:

Power has gone to their heads. Like a Greek dancing high on ouzo, they are so intoxicated by their position they hardly know what to do with the people they have absolute rule over.

With all this trouble in the Middle East it suits the United States to keep these guys on here, and we find that an absolutely disgusting motive on the part of America. Can you blame us? They [the colonels] learned the tricks they used in the take-over from the CIA and they learned and used them well.

Now the United States military treat our dictators as though they are all brothers of the same "free world" military fraternity. These Greek brothers are celebrated as some of the boys who have really hit the big time. I mean, they have a whole country at their disposal, not just an army. Your own military people love them and admire them.

You should have seen the reception the colonels got from the Sixth Fleet when it was here. The U.S. sailors, poor lads, were all dressed out on the decks of Greece ships, cheering our colonels—military men of Greece exemplifying what the good army life can lead to. God, what a farce it all is. Only for us Greeks it's beginning to wear a bit thin.

Just how thin the situation could wear was emphasized by the bomb blast that thundered through the Athens National Gardens on October 4, moments after Secretary Laird had laid a wreath at the tomb of Greece's Unknown Soldier a few hundred yards away. But the bomb blast aside, the Greek military junta has hardly been able to contain its glee over the visit by Laird and his traveling companion, Adm. Thomas Moorer, chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff. Laird is the highest ranking U.S. official so to honor the colonels since the take-over, and his coming to Greece is viewed by both the rulers and the people as the final stamp of American approval on the military dictatorship.

The degree of official satisfaction is best illustrated by a translation from the Athens newspaper, *Eleftheros Kosmos*, (Free World). Beneath the headline, "Laird: I represent Nixon," the story read: "Laird's arrival in Athens coincides with exceptional and possibly crucial ferment in the Mediterranean and the Middle East. . . . Those anxieties were stressed by Laird. . . . It is significant that Laird finds Greece a true ally standing firm to its obligations, thanks to the insight of the revolutionary leadership."

Another Greek newspaper, the *Nea Politeia*, was even more blunt in describing the terms of the embrace between the two Pentagons (the Greeks have named the building housing their military establishment after its American counterpart): "U.S. leaders fully realize that a nation, however big and powerful it may be, cannot depend exclusively on itself and needs the cooperation and support of friends and allies, on whose frank cooperation and support it can count as long as its policy towards them is based on equality and avoids any unreasonable interference in their home affairs." "Interference in home affairs" is here obviously meant to read: just keep the arms and ammunition coming and leave your "unreasonable" democratic principles at home.

It is no wonder the colonels view the Laird visit with such complacency, since it came within a month after the United States announced that it would resume sales of heavy arms to Greece. The resumption had begun secretly with the visit of the U.S. military group of colonels to another, so to speak—and came to nearly twice as much military aid as was authorized by Congress. But

16 DEC 1970

'Nightmare' Recalls Terror of Junta

Exile's Wife Indicts U.S. Policy

BY EVELYN BE WOLFE
Times Staff Writer

A pounding on the door by men with guns in the middle of the night presaged a nightmare for Margaret Papandreu, the American wife of Andreas Papandreu, son of a Greek prime minister and the acknowledged leader of the Greek resistance movement in exile.

In a book titled "Nightmare in Athens," Mrs. Papandreu recreates the anxiety, heartache and suspense following the military coup of junta colonels of April 1967 which led to her husband's arrest and imprisonment.

Margaret Papandreu issues a chilling indictment against American foreign policy. "The Greek problem," she said in a recent interview, "is basically an American problem—the product of a foreign policy distorted by a phobia about communism."

"The idea of writing the book came to me after our family fled from Greece to Sweden and eventually to Canada, where Andreas now conducts a graduate program in economics at Toronto's York University.

"The book expresses my own anguish of what I felt amounted to American complicity in maintaining fascism in Greece. I wanted enough Americans to understand this and realize how easily matters of foreign policy slip from their hands."

The tall, attractive Margareta (as she is known to Greeks) admits she changed, through confusion and despair, from an essentially nonviolent individual to one who partici-

ipated in plans which had as an aim the violent overthrow of the government.

Did this make her more sympathetic to the actions of militants in the United States?

"It is easier perhaps for me now to understand the mentality behind a Black Panther movement, in the way they view their world, she said. "The major difference is that here there still are democratic methods available by which to make a change. As long as they exist, I don't think violence is the answer."

"Their impatience I sympathize with. Their likelihood of success I question. Their impatience in wanting for themselves the society they envision is naive because they are blocked by a majority. It is different in Greece where the majority of the people are oppressed by a police state."

"I have made no pretense at being objective in my story, although I have tried to be honest," admitted the midwesterner. "There are times when I criticize my father-in-law (Greece's former prime minister George Papandreu) and my own husband's actions."

"The book reflects also some despair when I felt the Greek people didn't react strongly enough to the junta moving into power. A country can move toward a totalitarian system without even knowing what's happening."

She related that "one year before the military coup, and after my father-in-law had just been thrown out of government, I was summoned before a military hearing and interrogated for four hours."

She was charged with writing "indirect" letters to friends in the United States. One, said, David Johnson, in particular, had been intercepted.

"It expressed my fears that there was going to be a military take-over and that the United States was going to find itself supporting a dictatorial solution in Greece."

"I was questioned about things I knew nothing about and which in fact I knew did not exist," added Mrs. Papandreu, "particularly concerning a conspiracy which my husband was supposed to have organized to take the king out of Greece and Greece out of NATO."

The outspoken author believes "the thing that bothered them the most was that I was a woman and was too knowledgeable about Greek political affairs. They didn't like that. They argued I was asking for interference by the United States when actually my wish was for the United States not to interfere but simply to state its support of democratic rule in Greece."

Gained Notoriety

Following the hearing, Margaret Papandreu found she had gained considerable notoriety. "The next day my picture was printed on the front page of a Greek newspaper and next to it a picture of Madame Nu. The parallel drawn was that I, too, had attacked the CIA."

Later, when campaigning through Greece with her husband, who by then had become his father's right-hand man and heir apparent to leadership of the democratic opposition, Margaret Papandreu shared in the accolades.

"I discovered that villagers and young people had been very pleased with what I had done. During our tours not only did they shout Andreas but also 'Margareta.' She learned to communicate in Greek and be-

came one of the first men in Greece to tour in a political campaign with her husband in the style of the Western democracies.

Little did the University of Minnesota graduate realize back in 1948 (when she met the handsome Andreas in a dentist's office in Minneapolis) that she would become so entangled in Greek politics. For that matter neither did the young Greek who was to become a well-known and respected reformer he felt were badly needed in a country trying professor of economics at several American universities, including UC Berkeley.

"Our involvement in Greek affairs came on gradually," explained Mrs. Papandreu, "starting in 1959 when we arrived in Athens with our four children for a Fulbright year of study."

Papandreu had been gone from UC a year, returned for half a year and then left again for Greece, this time to fulfill a job as economic director to the Bank of Greece and to direct the Center of Economic Research.

"Four months passed and Andreas received his first blast from the rightist press in response to a report he submitted recommending radical changes in higher education, to raise its standards of living," his wife said.

"At that point Andreas had decided to reenter Greek politics with his father. Then came the coup and eight long months in prison not knowing whether Andreas' life would be spared. These were times of agony and despair."

How has this turmoil affected the lives of the Papandreous' four children, George, 18, Sophia, 16, Nick, 14, and Andriko, 11?

Basis of Experience

"They question many things," she said. "They learned to communicate in Greek and be-

STATINTL

The Mess STATINTL That Is Greece

J. H. HUIZINGA

DEMOCRACY AT GUNPOINT: THE GREEK FRONT, by Andreas G. Papandreou. New York: Doubleday, \$7.95.

MAN'S FREEDOM, by Andreas G. Papandreou. New York: Carnegie Press, \$4.00.

The first of these two books by the Greek professor-politician is hardly a model of the "objectivity" the publishers claim for it. It is the passionate, embattled politician who has filled its 360 pages just as it is the detached professor who holds forth in the 71 pages of *Man's Freedom* (the three Benjamin F. Fairless Memorial lectures which Mr. Papandreou gave in the autumn of 1969). In conjunction the two volumes show him to be a versatile performer, as lucid and readable when he is telling the story of his country's decline and fall as he is scholarly—although occasionally lapsing into "academese," as when making the point that "man's freedom" in our modern societies would be well served by "decentralization of the social decision-making process."

Nothing could be more natural than that in writing about Greece the professor should have made way for the politician. One would hardly expect one of the leading actors in a drama that is still unfolding to comment on it in a spirit of detachment. The criterion by which a book of this kind

J. H. Huizinga is a journalist and the author of Confessions of a European in England and Mr. Europe: A Political Biography of P. H. Spaak.

is to be judged is its efficacy in furthering its writer's cause, its value as propaganda for the overthrow of the Colonels and the restoration of a democratic Greece.

As such it suffers from a defect which should be put to the writer's credit; he has clearly been unable or unwilling to approach his task from the standpoint of the cold-blooded public relations professional who writes for maximum effect, with a view to what

Papandreou writes rather than the head. And his heart is pretty full. Not only because he has suffered a great deal from his enemies, who first smeared him, the one-time friend of Adlai Stevenson, as a Communist and, subsequently, when the Colonels took over, threw him in jail. But also because he is a Greek and the hearts of Greek politicians are notorious for their fullness, which is expressed in a type of polemic that is downright Levantine in its virulence. The result is a book which, as he himself admits, "will anger a good many people."

BELABORING AMERICA

It cannot help but do so because of the crude attacks on the country to which he, by his own admission, owes his life. (He quotes President Johnson saying, soon after Papandreou had been arrested: "I just told those Greek bastards to lay off that son-of-a-bitch, whatever his name is."). The United States, rather than the Colonels, is the real villain of the piece, as he presents it. "The book," he says in the introduction, "deals most of all with the arbitrary exercise of raw power by a great nation" of whose "imperialism" Greece has become the "victim." April 21, 1967, saw "the first successful CIA military putsch on the European continent." The Colonels "serve only the narrow interests of Big Brother across the Atlantic. . . . They have taken over the country in order to deliver it on a platter to the economic and strategic interests of the US military-industrial complex."

It is true that half way through the book he partly exonerates the top brass of the CIA: "I do not refer necessarily to its leadership but to a team within it." And at this point he also qualifies his belief in its evil omnipotence, describing the "team within it" as merely capable of "influencing government policies." But toward the end of the book the CIA-bogey, reinforced by two allies, has recovered all its former majesty: "The President was powerless vis-à-vis the rising powerful bureaucracies of the Pentagon, the CIA and the world of the corporate conglomerates of the USA."

A MATTER OF PITCH

STATINTL

It is the sort of wild writing that used to be the stock in trade of the Greek press. But it seems singularly inappropriate in a book addressed to the American public and presumably designed to win friends and influence people, especially as no attempt is made to produce any evidence. This is not to say that the CIA or elements of it kept on the sidelines throughout. For although, as the exiled Greek lawyer Constantine Tsoucalas has written in *The Greek Tragedy*, the information about the CIA's role is "very inadequate," circumstantial evidence makes it "highly unlikely that the CIA was not involved." Pitching his key so much lower, he carries a measure of conviction whereas Papandreou, shouting as if he were operating in Athens' political marketplace, does not.

In passing, it should be noted that on one occasion he takes liberties with the truth that cannot be excused by the heat of the battle in which he finds himself. He ascribes his resignation as Alternate Minister of Coordination in November 1964 to the fact that his intransigent opposition to American wishes regarding Cyprus had made him "a source of serious friction between the government and the Americans in Greece." But at least as weighty a reason lay in his having become involved in a transaction concerning the assignment of a large research project to a personal friend. It was this which unleashed what Tsoucalas, no enemy of his, describes as "an all-out attack by the Right and some of his colleagues." Not a word of all this in Papandreou's account of the episode. According to him every member of the Cabinet regretted his departure. It is only at a later stage that he makes an indirect allusion to the hostile feelings he aroused within his own party: "the concern among other party leaders that they might be overshadowed by me."

It is because these personal jealousies and ambitions have played such a large part in the political life of the last few years before the coup that Papandreou's book, like Tsoucalas's or that of the two British dons, John Campbell and Philip Sherrard, (*Mod-*

Papandreou's Son At Yale

CIA Accused Of Masterminding Greek

By STANLEY FISHER
Register Staff Reporter

Greek exile Andreas Papandreou, the son of former Greek Premier George Papandreou, told a Yale audience Thursday night that the CIA planned and is running the military junta in his country.

Papandreou, arrested during the 1967 coup d'etat of George Papadopoulos and in exile since his release late that year, told the Yale Political Union that Cyrus Vance was the "top adviser" to the CIA on the military takeover.

At a press conference Thursday afternoon, the former Greek cabinet member said there are currently 1,000 to 2,000 CIA operatives in Greece under the leadership of an American agent named James Potts.

Papandreou, author of a book on the coup, said an unnamed Greek officer, a member of the Papadopoulos junta, had fled to Sweden, where he filed a report naming Vance as the liaison between CIA forces in Greece and the U.S. State Department.

Currently a teacher of economics at York University in Canada, Papandreou asserted, "the military couldn't have taken over without Washington's aid" and said the takeover was based on a computerized contingency plan devised by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization for each member nation.

These plans — "Zed" for France and "Prometheus" for Greece — provided a means for the military to assume control in a crisis.

The decision to institute Plan Prometheus in Greece, he said, came out of a congressional subcommittee meeting in February, 1967, when the re-election of his father as premier seemed certain.



Register Photo by Robert C. Child III

Andreas Papandreou, son of former Greek Premier George Papandreou and himself a Greek cabinet member, spoke at Yale Thursday to charge the CIA with planning the 1967 military coup in Greece.

Although the U.S. declared an embargo on military aid to Greece following the coup, Papandreou said this has been violated and that American military aid to Greece has been escalated since last December.

According to Papandreou, U.S. Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird will go before NATO this December to suggest that Greece be made "the fortress of the West" and that full forces be given the junta.

Papandreou, who became an American citizen in 1944 and remained here for 17 years before resuming his Greek citizenship and winning election to the

Greek parliament, charged that the CIA controlled the Greek intelligence forces even before the coup.

He commented that the military regime in Greece has reinstated the use of torture and this regime "has received the support of Laird, Agnew, the Nixon administration." He added that an expatriate Greek artist has published an account of

his own torture by machines marked "made in USA."

Papandreou said that, during the June 1967 hearings of the Security Subcommittee of the Foreign Relations Committee, a Pentagon official testified that

Coup

the CIA's role in the coup was classified but men in allied nations had access to the information.

He also asserted that Papadopoulos is the "only CIA agent to be elected a European premier."

"The Greek incident is symptomatic of a state of affairs in the world," he said, "I don't see the Greek question as isolated," and added that the danger of totalitarianism is not limited.

He expressed a fear of a trend toward totalitarianism and advised, "It's important that forces conscious of the danger decide on a course of political action."

Papandreou himself is a leader in the Panhellenic Liberation Movement, an organization within and without Greece which is attempting to restore to his country "a trio of values — national independence, popular sovereignty and the democratic process."

He said a number of U.S. congressmen are against aid to the junta in Greece but "despite this, Nixon is going ahead; he is taking a big responsibility on his shoulders."

1 NOV 1970

STATINTL

FEEL CIA AIDED COUP**Greeks Suspicious of U.S.**

By PAULA DRANOV

Special to The Star

ATHENS — Ask a Greek why a military dictatorship is tolerated in the cradle of democracy, and he is likely to shrug and blame his country's regime on the United States.

"What would happen if Greeks rebelled?" says one Athenian. "The 6th Fleet would land, and it would be all over."

Many Greeks emphasize that in early 1967 their country was in urgent need of a strong, stable government to end the strikes and violence that plagued the nation. They remain convinced that the coup was staged with the aid of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency.

Europeans Suspicious

That same view is shared by suspicious Europeans who say the United States has not been as outspokenly critical as other Western governments of the Greek military junta.

The Greek suspicions are quite natural, an Athenian says. "We are a small country. Since our independence from the Turks in 1828, we have had larger countries as protectors. First it was the British, then the Americans.

"Before 1947, everything that went wrong—floods, political developments, everything—was blamed on the British. Now when something happens, Greeks figure 'the Americans have done it.'"

Certainly in Athens, the American presence is obvious. And certainly the colonels who head the Greek government are anxious to retain the strong, friendly ties their nation has had with the United States since the end of World War II.

Billions Provided

Since 1946, the United States has provided more than \$3.8 billion in military and economic aid to Greece, of which \$1.4 billion was military.

In Plaka, the Athens leading to the Acropolis, sailors from the 6th Fleet

wander from tavern to discotheque. Enterprising nightclub owners blast rock-and-roll music into the wee hours and attempt to lure sailors with American-style burlesque shows.

From the beaches south of Athens, bathers can glimpse in the distance the gray bulk of American ships.

The Greeks are aware that their country offers the only port in the eastern Mediterranean where American naval men can come ashore to a peaceful welcome.

So important is Greece to the United States that the ban on shipments of heavy arms—the last vestige of official American disapproval of the military dictatorship—is now being lifted.

The Greek government, smarting under the disapproval of its neighbors in Europe, takes pains to demonstrate its support for the United States.

Early in May, for instance, Greek Foreign Minister Panayotos Pipinellis went out of his way to praise President Nixon's decision to send American troops into Cambodia.

American interests in Greece are not only military and political.

Following the 1967 revolution, many European tourists boycotted Greece mainly for political and moral reasons, while Americans continued to flock to the country.

And in the three years since the coup, American tourists have consistently outnumbered those of any other nationality, despite the fact that more and more Britons, Scandinavians and Germans are responding to Greece's massive campaign to lure visitors.

For the visitor, Greece is cheap. A weekend at a plush seaside hotel, including meals, amounts to less than \$10. An evening in a Greek tavern with dinner and wine for four people comes to about \$4.

For Americans, there is much that is familiar.

To order a cup of coffee, you ask for Nescafe—and often you get hot water and a can of instant coffee to do-it-yourself.

Ask for a "Chicago" in a Greek sidewalk cafe, and you get an American chocolate ice cream sundae with fudge sauce and whipped cream.

It used to be that Greece was one of the few European countries where there was no Coca-Cola. Since the junta took over, however, Coke has arrived in Greece, dealing a heavy blow to Tam Tam, a local cola product.

PITTSBURGH, PA.
POST-GAZETTE

M - 243,938

JUL 24 1976
Greece (Act IV)

The End of the Colonels: Compromise or Bloodshed

By *Ralph Z. Holloway*

Post-Gazette Editorial Writer

ATHENS — With the press tightly censored and the army firmly in control, there's not much the Greek democrats can do to restore democracy except hope that Western nations and especially the United States pressure the Colonels into gradually relinquishing power.



The rumor here is that the reason neither Russia nor the Greek communist party is doing much against the regime is that Moscow believes continued martial law is making conditions ripe for a takeover.

Official U.S. sources claim most of the professional Greek army men would like to see the government broaden its base and not rely so much as it does on the military. These sources are somewhat confident that the junta will allow municipal elections in the fall of next year or on the fourth anniversary of the "revolution"; that is, the Colonels' coup of April 21, 1967, led by Col. George Papadopoulos, who was a Greek intelligence agent serving as liaison officer between the KYP (the Greek CIA) and the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency.

Evangelos Averoff, the much respected foreign minister in the right-wing Caramanlis government from 1953 to 1963, sees the future a little differently. A member of the ERE (National Radical Union) conservative party, he foresees the possibility of the dictatorship perpetuating itself as in Spain.

AVEROFF, 12 years older now and thinner in the face than when foreign minister,

says that some high-ranking army men are saying among themselves that the "revolution" has failed, that they should return the country to democracy and that the army shouldn't mix into politics.

This he sees as an opening wedge for his plan to join the present government, giving it the respectability it sorely needs and has been unable to get (the Colonels have completely failed to co-opt a single respectable or respected democratic politician into lending his name and prestige to the junta by accepting a portfolio).

The tradeoff would be that to get Averoff now, the junta would have to sign publicly a pact stipulating that elections would be held soon, on a specified date.

The junta, he believes, is attracting some young Greeks

to it but simultaneously sending most Greek youth into the ranks of the "Maoist-type groups" who promise direct action against the dictatorship.

His is obviously a vulnerable position, allowing his critics to call him an opportunist or even a collaborationist. Not even his own party endorses his back-door approach.

"There are many politicians whose passions drug them into wanting what is not possible, not practical," rejoins Mr. Averoff, adding, "This dictatorship will end either through compromise or blood. I'm against blood."

"That's why an accommodation with the Colonels must be made to bring democracy back" before the youth is lost," he says.

Even the junta's dedicated opponents, however, concede some accomplishments by the regime.

ELECTRICITY has been brought to the villages and peasant debts exceeding \$330 were canceled by the agricultural bank. The fiscally conservative Averoff sees this as but one example of maladministration, "The economy is turning over but with conspicuously disquieting signs. We are eating today the bread of tomorrow," he wrote in the Sunday Times (of London) a year ago. He still believes that.

As for the junta's much-heralded morality — even puritanism — Averoff believes he can point to more corruption and favoritism now than when the politicians ruled. It's worse now because there's no free press to watchdog the government.

"Some 300 members of parliament did a little dirty work under the democracy; today, it's 5,000 officers doing it," according to critics.

"GREEKS know this," say one democratic politicians bitterly, "but the Americans in Greece do not."

Anti-Americanism — which may account for the open hostility I personally encountered as an American in several contexts from Greek workmen — is beginning to form, according to anti-junta politicians because many Greeks think the Colonels are sponsored by the Americans.

The attitude of some official U.S. personnel here did nothing, in my opinion, to contradict that assessment, and that unfortunate thesis may account for the apparent Americanization of the present Greek tragedy, the last act of which the Greek people shall write themselves, even to the last letter — Z.

CHICAGO, ILL.
SUN-TIMES

M - 541,086
S - 697,966

Books SUN 24 1970

Arrest and torture in Greece

By George Anastaplo

Both "House Arrest" by Helen Vlachos (Gambit, \$6.95) and "Barbarism in Greece" by James Becket (Walker, \$5.95) address themselves to the conscience of free men in the West by laying bare the deceit and torture needed to maintain in power the tyrannical regime of junior army officers who overthrew Greece's government in April, 1967.

Helen Vlachos was, before the colonels struck, Greece's most distinguished publisher and editor. She was known by everyone to be royalist, conservative, anti-Communist, wealthy and influential. When the colonels came, she promptly shut down her newspapers — and kept them shut down despite repeated efforts by the colonels to entice and then to force her to resume publication. Her refusal to collaborate led eventually to house arrest (with her husband) and thereafter to her escape to London.

MRS. VLACHOS' BOOK is valuable for her reflections upon what a free press means today: She sees "the good journalist as the last of the free adults in this regimented world." She not only recounts the coming of the colonels, with their tiresome claims of having saved Greece from communism, but she also exposes their claims as false, self-serving and even ludicrous.

The coup was partly made possible by the imprudent feuding from 1963 to 1967 of the politicians, press and Palace of Greece. What makes Greece both exciting and vulnerable is a developing sense of self-importance. Each Greek is prepared to lead his country to glory, few are prepared to submerge themselves (except in the face of foreign invasion) to a common purpose.

LIBERALS CONVENIENTLY DETECTED such an invasion in the maneuverings in Athens of the American CIA. Conservatives were more effective in conjuring up foreign threats, partly because of the distorting legacy in Greece of a cruel civil war a generation ago: They could, Mrs. Vlachos admits, publish "whipped-up warnings of 'Communist danger,' always a useful pre-election vote-winner for the parties of the right, in which we had also indulged."

However responsible Mrs. Vlachos may have been for contributing to the political paranoia and the self-righteousness of the colonels (they were among her most devoted readers), she was perceptive enough to see that such upstart extremists could not be the saviors of Greece—and she was courageous enough to immediately declare herself in opposition to them. The American government, on the other hand, allowed itself to be taken in by the colonels' pretensions.

MRS. VLACHOS HAS long been among those Greeks who are "genuinely pro-American, believing ourselves very lucky as a small and isolated nation to have the help and support of this great democratic power. And quite sincerely, in (the) early hours of the Junta coup, not only did we not accept it as an American-conceived plan, but we expected a violent reaction against it from the American government."

Helen Vlachos: "Whipped-up warnings . . . in which we also indulged."

But the American attitude toward the present Greek regime need not depend on our desire to help restore "freedom and democracy" to this faithful ally. What we can and should insist upon, if we are to continue our considerable support of the present regime, is a minimum of decency. On this question James Becket, a sober American lawyer, is decisive in his "Barbarism in Greece."

BECKET CAREFULLY DOCUMENTS, with illustrations drawn from a dozen case histories, the extent to which the most brutal torture has been deliberately and systematically used the past three years (on more than two thousand men and women in a country of only eight million) to crush resistance movements and to discourage political opposition in Greece. Prolonged torture has been inflicted upon priests, conservatives and army officers (including, to our shame, some who fought with us in Korea), as well as upon liberals and Communists.

The names are given by Becket of 126 torturers and of 32 places of torture, as are the names of 426 tortured people and of 12 who have been "killed by the authorities" (including, we are told, an 8-year-old boy who was tortured "to force him to reveal his father's hiding place"). So far as we know, no policeman or soldier has been punished for torturing prisoners. But "some defendants have been given up to three years extra for 'insulting the tribunal' when they have talked about their tortures at their trials."

It was on such evidence that the Council of Europe was prepared in December, 1969, to expel Greece from membership. (The colonels quit a few hours before they were due to be expelled.)

IT HAS BEEN CLEAR for at least two years now that the colonels' government (with its Orwellian motto, "A Greece of Christian Greeks") has had recourse to torture on a scale and of an intensity unknown in peacetime Greece. The current American-sponsored "pacification" by the colonels of the Cyprus issue has set them on a course which is explosive. In this, and in other respects, the present Greek regime may endanger NATO even more than it has already.

George Anastaplo teaches at the University of Chicago and at Rosary College in River Forest.

June 29, 1970

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—SENATE

S 10133

The purpose of this prohibition is to demonstrate to the Greek government, and the world, that the current military regime does not enjoy the backing and support of the U.S. Congress . . .

The United States should not supply military aid to governments whose actions are anathema to our own principles.

By the narrow margin of 45 to 38, the Senate failed to endorse the committee's recommendation. In view of the developments in Greece since the Senate's action, I think it is even more regrettable that this body did not register its disapproval at that time—when it could have said to the generals in Athens that "this country will not give you any more arms to use to repress the freedom of your people."

But, fortunately, we now have an opportunity to correct that mistake. Since the coup in 1967 the United States has agreed to supply a total of nearly \$300 million in additional arms to Greece—through the grant, sales, and surplus programs. A considerable amount of this is piled up in warehouses, undelivered because of the partial restriction on shipments—which amounts to but a tap on the wrist of the generals. We should not glut this pipeline of open support further. We should draw the line on further aid and say that the U.S. Senate does not wish to give more weapons to a government that demonstrates its utter contempt for the democratic values inscribed in the preamble to the NATO Charter.

I hope that the Senate will adopt the amendment.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. CHURCH. I yield to the Senator from New York.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I should like the author of the amendment to listen to this colloquy.

I notice that the first clause of the amendment reads "unless specifically authorized by law hereafter enacted."

Does the author of the amendment and the manager of the bill contemplate that, if we authorize a program for Greece which is discharged, this amendment would not foreclose submitting and getting together to go ahead with it and that it might be much larger than \$300 million?

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, the Senator from New York is entirely correct in his statement.

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, I hope the Senate will agree to the amendment of the Senator from Indiana.

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me?

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, I yield the balance of my time to the Senator from Indiana.

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, I should like to make a few comments.

The Senator from New Hampshire said that we were singling out one country. We are not singling out Greece. We are not anti-Greece. We are not anti-Greek people. We are not antidemocracy of the type Greece brought to the attention of the world.

We are saying that this present regime is not within the framework of the ideals of Americanism.

Mr. President, I would like to quote a distinguished President of the United States who said:

NATO means more than arms, troop levels, consultative bodies, treaty commitments. All of these are necessary. But what makes them relevant to the future is what the alliance stands for. To discover what this Western Alliance means today, we have to reach back not across two decades but through the centuries, to the very roots of the Western experience.

When we do, we find that we touch a set of elemental ideals, eloquent in their simplicity, majestic in their humanity; ideals of decency and justice, and liberty, and respect for the rights of our fellow men. Simple, yes; and to us they seem obvious. But our forebears struggled for centuries to win them and in our own lifetime we have had to fight to defend them.

These ideals are what NATO was created to protect. It is to these on this proud anniversary, that we are privileged to consecrate the alliance anew. These ideals, and the firmness of our dedication to them, give NATO's concept its nobility, and NATO's backbone its steel.

This is all we are asking for. We are against dictatorships. We are against disrespect for the rights of our fellow men.

This is what the amendment is all about. The President whom I quoted was President Nixon in a most eloquently worded statement delivered to the NATO Ministers in August 1969.

This amendment is within the very ideas and ideals of President Nixon. These ideals should be carried out.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that additional documents in support of the amendment be printed at this point in the RECORD.

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

AMENDMENT

Mr. President, those who believe that America should continue to equip the Greek army for military reasons would do well to bear in mind that the present amendment in no way threatens the junta with a precipitous withdrawal of support.

Even if we decide to prohibit future military aid, the Greek junta could still receive a minimum of 88 million dollars worth of American military equipment.

Because the amendment is not retroactive, funds already approved for Greece would not be recalled if the amendment is passed. Only future allocations would be prohibited.

At the end of the last fiscal year, \$97,237,000 in funds already allocated for Greece, was still unused. That 97 million dollars which the Defense Department calls "undelivered appropriations" is literally money in the pipeline to Greece. Shutting the value on the United States' end of that pipeline will not keep that 97 million dollars from the hands of the Greek colonels.

Military appropriations programmed for this fiscal year amount to \$24,298,000. In other words, a total of \$121,735,000 worth of military equipment was available for delivery to Greece this fiscal year. Of that 121 million dollars, the Department of Defense estimates \$33,619,000 will actually be delivered by the end of this fiscal year.

So, even if future appropriations are prohibited, \$88,116,000 worth of military equipment will still await delivery to the Greek junta.

From a military point of view, the proposed amendment promises to be less effective than many of its supporters would hope. But the moral and political arguments for sup-

porting the present amendment are very compelling.

To pass the amendment would be to serve public notice that the United States will not condone the development of a dictatorship in Europe. It would reaffirm our allegiance to the principles of democracy and freedom at a time when that reaffirmation would mean so much to Greek citizens now struggling under this oppressive regime.

And, it would demonstrate our solidarity with the other nations of Europe who rightly perceive that the death of democracy in Greece is a threat to the strength of NATO.

MILITARY REASONS FOR SUPPORTING HARTKE AMENDMENT

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, it is frequently argued that, regardless of political and moral factors, we should continue to support the present dictatorship in Greece for military reasons. I would like to outline briefly why I do not find this argument very compelling.

First, NATO is more than a military organization. The purpose of NATO lies in the defense of a form of civilization. The defense of the geographical area is a means to that end, not an end in itself.

If we destroy from within the form of civilization which NATO is supposed to defend, the defense of the geographical area becomes meaningless.

President Nixon stated most eloquently, NATO's true purpose in his statement before the NATO ministers in August 1969. Allow me to quote from the President's address:

NATO means more than arms, troop levels consultative bodies, treaty commitments. All of these are necessary. But what makes them relevant to the future is what the alliance stands for. To discover what this Western Alliance means today, we have to reach back not across two decades but through the centuries, to the very roots of the Western experience.

When we do, we find that we touch a set of elemental ideals, eloquent in their simplicity, majestic in their humanity; ideals of decency and justice, and liberty, and respect for the rights of our fellow men. Simple, yes; and to us they seem obvious. But our forebears struggled for centuries to win them and in our own lifetime we have had to fight to defend them.

These ideals are what NATO was created to protect. It is to these on this proud anniversary, that we are privileged to consecrate the alliance anew. These ideals, and the firmness of our dedication to them, give NATO's concept its nobility, and NATO's backbone its steel.

Second, Greece needs NATO more than NATO needs Greece. There are powerful military reasons why it is in the best interest of Greece to remain allied with NATO. Those who believe that Greece will voluntarily withdraw from NATO must believe that, in the event of armed attack by Communist forces, Greece will submit peacefully, an insult to the courage of the Greek people or will be able to resist the Soviet Union successfully—an insult on commonsense and military reality.

Third, in the past, Greece has always been a strong and enthusiastic supporter of NATO. To argue that Greece might withdraw because of our action today would suggest that Greece no longer supports NATO as it did in the past.

Fourth, the Greek regime has caused a complete disintegration of the Greek Armed Forces and assigning the remain-

GREEK JUNTA'S FOREIGN POLICY

The article in the June 4 Daily World, "Trade agreement reached between Greece, Albania" will certainly cause confusion. This is what the Colonels and their CIA bosses want: To present the Athens' junta as seeking good relations with the Socialist world, thus to gain the tolerance (or the support?) of the liberals abroad, and simultaneously to help it blackmail those Western governments which are trying to find a pretext for supporting the military regime.

The junta-controlled press repeatedly have "warned" the NATO countries that the Colonels will turn to the East if they don't refrain from "intervening into the Greek affairs." Foreign Minister Pipinelis gave the same "warnings," though in a diplomatic way, during the sessions of the European Council last December, and at the NATO meetings in May.

Facing enormous financial difficulties and an unprecedented trade deficit, mostly because the majority of the European countries have cut down on imports from Greece, the junta tries hard to expand trade with the Socialist bloc. However, and contrary to what some American newspapers sustain, the latter is cool to the overtures. The recently signed trade agreements between Greece on one hand and Bulgaria, Rumania, and Hungary on the other, are routine; the volume of import-export is kept to the before-the-coup level, despite the serious efforts the Colonels made to increase it.

—An informed Greek, New York, N.Y.

THE NEW YORK TIMES BOOK REVIEW
31 May 1970

Democracy at Gunpoint

The Greek Front.

By Andreas Papandreou.

365 pp. New York: Doubleday & Co. \$7.95.

Barbarism in Greece

*A Young American Lawyer's Inquiry into the Use of Torture
In Contemporary Greece, with Case Histories and Documents.*

By James Becket.

Foreword by Senator Claiborne Pell.

147 pp. New York: Walker & Co. \$5.95.

By DAVID HOLDEN

It is not necessary to carry a torch for the Greek Colonels to suggest that ever since their midnight coup three years ago they have had a disproportionately bad press in the Western world. Disproportionate, that is, not only to what is said about comparable regimes elsewhere, but also to what is known about Greek history, ancient, medieval and modern.

Perhaps I should say what ought to be known, for it is one of the features of much Western comment on contemporary Greece that its authors seem often as innocent of real Greek history (as distinct from the mythical variety) as they are of the real composition of the moon. If the one is made of green cheese the other, it seems, is a splendid record of heroism and democracy, sul-

Mr. Holden is chief foreign correspondent of the London Sunday Times.

lied only by the conquest of the beastly Turks. Hence the Colonels are condemned as "un-Greek," and their actions are seen as a betrayal of all that Greece has ever stood for.

Now this, to put it mildly, is a distortion of the facts. Leaving aside the dubious claim of the slave-state of classical Athens to be the cradle of democracy, at any rate as a modern American or Briton might understand the term, what about Byzantium? For 1,000 years the flower of all things Greek, its political institutions were autocratic, its rulers were despots—and only a quarter of them died natural deaths. Or take the painful story of the modern state of Greece. Born in factional strife and murder, on the sufferance of the Great Powers, out of the centuries of Turkish rule, it has rarely known anything that most Western nations would call political stability. In the last 50 years alone it has suffered two civil wars, eight military coups d'état and a change of government on the average nearly once a year.

It is true that until shortly before the Colonels' coup one man, Constantine Karamanlis, had survived as Prime Minister through eight years and three elections, and in doing so had conveyed the impression that Greek politics were maturing. They were not—or not much. His regime was exceptional, for reasons that had as much to do with the cold war as with him, and the events that followed had a half-comical, half-tragical air of d'èjà vu.

The quarrel between the King and the Prime Minister, George Papandreou, the factionalism and personal jealousies of the politicians, and the tendency of the political forces to polarize between extremes, with reckless inflation of the Communist menace by the right and demagogic irresponsibility on the left—all this had happened before in one way or another, not once, but often. Even the Colonels, when they came, seemed bound to some old Greek script.

When George Papadopoulos decreed that miniskirts were unlawful, he was only doing what General Pangalos had done after his coup d'état in 1924. And when he talked of "national regeneration," commanding all Greeks to be honest and hard-working and worthy of "their 3,000 year-old heritage," there was little in his program that had not been mapped out by General Metaxas for his dictatorship before World War II.

An Anti-American Tirade

DEMOCRACY AT GUNPOINT:

THE GREEK FRONT

Andreas Papandreou

(Doubleday, 365 pp., \$7.95)

Reviewed by Alfred Friendly

The reviewer is based in London and has reported from Greece for The Washington Post, of which he is an associate editor.

With few exceptions (who tend to be ostracized for their nonbeliefs), all Greeks are convinced that the United States, through the CIA, engineered the coup of April 21, 1967, that brought the Junta to power. There is no documentary or acceptable factual evidence for this conviction; credence in it also requires the premise that the CIA is not only villainous but insane. One is left only with the argument that where there is so much smoke there must be fire, a dubious supposition at best. Leva once noted during the McCarthy days, by the existence of machines that manufacture and lay down smoke screens.

Moreover, injecting an unwonted qualification, Papandreou concedes with respect to his informant, "It is possible that his facts do not always correspond to historical reality." But, Papandreou is sure, "they do reflect the interpretation given to the coup by men who participated in it."

It is also a tour de force to write a history of postwar Greece without mentioning the Marshall Plan, except for a passing comment that Greece was subjected to American tyranny because all major economic decisions had to be approved by the chief of the American AID mission.

American responsibility for the overthrow of Greek democracy is the thesis of Andreas Papandreou's book. It is restated with the insistence and constancy of the theme in Ravel's "Bolero" but without its ultimate suggest of the hearer. In the end, one has only Papandreou's word for it.

But qualifications, even those rarely offered, are elsewhere forgotten throughout the book. Russia's involvement at a lower level becomes the official, formally adopted policy of the Pentagon, then the State Department and finally the White House itself: America decided that Greek democracy should be overthrown, and thereupon the author uses this thesis like Procrustes used his bed: whatever the inconsistencies or impossibilities, they are made to fit. By this method you can prove that it was Abel who slew Cain.

Papandreou's book will be useful to the scholar who takes it as an ex parte, propaganda story of a principal actor, a political conniver of the left, as the colonels were of the right. Put together with other accounts, matched against the facts that will emerge, it will make its contribution.

This is too bad, for something that does not need his word for it—American influence in postwar Greece was obviously enormous; an objective account of what it was, how it was used and what it really accomplished for good or evil would be of greatest value. But Papandreou has given us only a strident, confused and personal anti-American tirade, clouded with the musty odor of paranoia.

The younger Papandreou's furious political strivings beginning about 1964, his unbridled political ambition, his hairy flirtation with crypto-Communists and his formidable demagoguery are today considered by some anti-Junta Greeks to have been the principal factors that frightened a foolish King Constantine into upsetting constitutional government and paving the way for the Colonel's coup. Papandreou's responsibility in the Greek tragedy is not negligible.

The nearest comes in 365 pages to presenting what a historian would accept as evidence to support his thesis is the memorandum of a man he identifies as a Junta conspirator who since defected and left Greece. The memo alleges CIA connivance through the person of the coup leader and present Greek dictator, George Papadopoulos, who, it is pretty clear, was at one time or another on the CIA payroll. But, in the words of the memorandum, "When I say that Papadopoulos was an agent of the American CIA, I do not refer necessarily to its leadership but to a team within the CIA."

It is something of a tour de force for him to write a purported political history of the times without mentioning this central fact. Occasionally—it appears almost by inadvertence—he lets a crumb of information into the account from which an otherwise informed reader can deduce that the last days of the story were all about.

STATINTL

27 MAY 1970

Interview with the wife of Kazantzakis

By ALLEN ZAK

LOS ANGELES, May 26 — Mrs. Helene Kazantzakis, widow of Nikos Kazantzakis, the Greek poet and novelist, is a diminutive, pale, seemingly frail woman who would hardly be noticed in a senior citizens' Saturday night pin-ochle league.

Her appearance is deceiving. When speaking of the military junta in Greece, Madame Kazantzakis is fire and ice, and doesn't fear offending her American audiences by placing heavy responsibility for Greek fascist control on the U.S. government.

"Greece since World War Two," said Mrs. Kazantzakis, "is the world's first example of Vietnamization. The U.S. and Britain let Greeks fight Greeks to gain control over us."

She was in Los Angeles April 29, where she appeared on television and before a meeting at the Retail Clerks Union Hall in Santa Monica to speak against the Greek junta.

She detailed the step by step betrayal of Greek democratic forces at the close of World War II by Britain and the U.S.

She told her predominantly youthful audience how Winston Churchill, near the close of the war, had ordered rearming of Nazi collaborators and turned them against ELAS, the Communist-led anti-Nazi resistance movement.

The collaborators, who betrayed thousands of their countrymen to the German vaders, were supported by the U.S. under the Truman doctrine, she said, and the result, she declared, was the destruction of the first popularly supported political movement in modern Greek history.

The Greek Royal family also tainted with wartime collaboration, she asserted.

Many of the same fascists, she noted, are now in positions of power under the present military dictatorship.

The Greek junta's suppression of anti-fascist, democratic and even classical well documented, but mysterious death all who would abolish dem-

ocracy." "This is our heritage," she said, "Both Greek and American."

Kazantzakis is best known in the U.S. for "Zorba, the Greek" and "The Last Temptation of Christ" among other novels. His wife has published essays and a book on the life and ideas of her celebrated husband.

Mrs. Kazantzakis was aware of the impending 1967 coup days before it occurred. In France at the time, she got on the radio to warn of the danger to the Papanou administration via a conspiracy involving the Greek Royal family, King Constantine and Queen Frederick, the Greek General Staff, and the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency.

Before that coup took place, however, which was aimed at taking over the Greek government prior to an election in which centrists and leftists promised great strength, a group of army colonels beat them to the punch.

That didn't take the U.S. government off the hook, in the view of Mrs. Kazantzakis, but only showed that "sometimes the State Department and the CIA don't always know what each other is planning."

"A victory of the Center Union (a coalition of liberal parties) would have resulted in a government friendly to the U.S., but the U.S. government only wants us as slaves," said Mrs. Kazantzakis in an interview with this reporter.

She said organized resistance against the junta was small but active. The resistance is split into three wings: Centrists, leftists, and royalists.

Mrs. Kazantzakis dismissed the royalists and centrists ("The centrists want new elections... for what?"), and said that the best hope for an overthrow of the military government lay with the left.

An ancient Athenian oath was cited and translated by Mrs. Kazantzakis, who said it was well documented, but mysterious death all who would abolish dem-

27 MAY 1970

STATINTL

Foreign Affairs: The Many Shapes of Chaos

By C. L. SULZBERGER

SERQUIGNY, France—The Mediterranean has traditionally been regarded as a vital seaway by the Western world and, more recently, as NATO's critical right flank. Yet rarely in peacetime, if such a euphemism is permitted, has the Mediterranean been more disrupted.

Today it is a *mare nostrum* for neither West nor East. Large American and Soviet fleets and smaller allied flotillas play an edgy game of tag. Both ends of the famous sea are politically punctuated by dictatorships—in Greece and Spain. Between them is increasingly chaotic Italy.

Eastward lies war, between Israel and the Arabs. Relatively non-viable national revolutions dominate the southern shore. Only France and Turkey, among littoral states, are neither unstable, undictatorial nor committed to armed conflict.

American diplomatic influence on the southern coast is limited by our support of Israel and it is embarrassed on the northern coast by association with non-Communist Europe's best known vestigial dictatorships, those of Franco and the Greek colonels. Secretary of State Rogers has a chance to urge easement of the former when he visits Madrid

Thursday and to suggest the start of liberalization before Franco yields power.

In Greece the situation is more complex. As with Spain, U.S. interest focuses primarily on access to air and naval bases to offset the growing Soviet Mediterranean fleet and the growing network of Soviet military facilities thrusting toward Libya and Algeria.

Disorganized Opposition

Spanish opposition to Franco and Greek opposition to the colonels is extensive but disorganized. This lack of unity makes it easier for the dictatorships to warn against the alternative of Communism, which is endorsed by only a small but relatively effective minority in each country.

Although Spain was once famous for having fostered history's sole sizable anarchist party, the word "anarchist," like almost every other political definition, was first invented in Greece and all Greek opposition movements, left, right and center, are tinged with anarchic divisions. The colonels are fully aware of this and play the game of divide and rule with skill.

It is silly to blame Washington for sponsoring the colonels' coup in the first place—although this is the persistent

claim of Communists and fellow-traveling propagandists. The famous C.I.A. did not know about another proposed coup discussed among Greece's senior generals. Nevertheless, it surely didn't sponsor that one either because it wasn't even attempted. As for the colonels—most of them were unheard of in Washington before they scrambled to power.

It is slanderous when Andreas Papandreou, a former American citizen and university professor who was first arrested then released by the colonels, labels the April 21st coup d'état "the American version of the invasion of Czechoslovakia by the Warsaw Pact."

Papandreou calls for cooperation among resistance movements and organization of commando units to oust the colonels by armed action. Although he is allied to Antonis Brillakis, émigré leader of one Greek Communist faction, his proposal has been coolly received.

Imposed Tranquility

A sizable portion of the Greek middle class and farming communities accept the colonels' rule for the imposed tranquility it provides—rather than many Italians liked the "trains running on time" under Mussolini. Moreover, the colonels have retired most poten-

tially hostile officers.

Mikis Theodorakis, a renowned Communist composer, was also jailed, then released, by the colonels. A French opposition politician claims credit for his freedom although French Government leaders say they had arranged it.

Theodorakis now promotes a "national resistance council" to include all elements. However, the Communists themselves are so split that the movement has fallen flat. Theodorakis opposes Papandreou's call for violent action and believes "we have many other means to overthrow the colonels." He complains of Moscow's support for the "most dogmatic and least progressive elements" in the Greek Communist party.

Meanwhile the Soviet Union and its allies maintain cordial relations with the colonels. The Kremlin's only contribution to resistance is to blame the United States in its own propaganda for supporting the Athens regime. Thus, apart from France (less than fully allied to NATO), Turkey (where anti-Americanism grows) and Israel (which complains of inadequate American support), the whole Mediterranean is in varying degrees of turmoil, revolution or counter-revolution. Washington has shown there is little we can do about it.

24 MAY 1970

STATINTL

Unsoeratic dialogue

DEMOCRACY AT GUNPOINT: The Greek Front. By Andreas Papandreou. Doubleday. 365 pp. \$7.95.

By George Anastaplo

A conspiracy of junior Greek Army officers, exploiting American training, equipment and concerns, subjugated their country on April 21, 1967 to a tyranny which has consolidated itself in power the past three years by purges, torture, deceit and bribes.

Andreas Papandreou, a Greek-born economist who enjoyed a distinguished professional career in American universities for twenty years before returning to Greece in 1959 for eventual service as a minister in his father's government, has given us an insider's account of the events leading up to the constitutional crisis that began in 1965 and gave a handful of unscrupulous officers their long-sought opportunity to seize power.

Papandreou's account is valuable both for the information it provides us about what was said and done by influential Greeks in the Sixties, and for what it manages to display (sometimes inadvertently) of the sporadic turbulence and irresponsibility of Greek politics. It is an account which is distinctively (and intriguingly) Greek in that it is dramatic, plausible and intermittently persuasive — and almost completely oblivious of the fact that opposing accounts would be similarly plausible and persuasive. It was such single-mindedness which permitted Greek politicians in 1965-1967 so to insist on their relatively unimportant doctrinal differences as to make it easy for ruthless military opportunists (who are radically different from them) to seize power. It is significant that, despite the presence of the colonels, the politicians of Greece still find it difficult to close ranks and let bygones be bygones.

One critical difference between Professor Papandreou (who is now at York University in Toronto) and other Greek politicians is his imprudent frankness. In this he is more an intellectual than a politician. Thus, he himself reports that his eighty-year-old father was moved to berate him when the colonels struck and the Papandreous found themselves prisoners:

Didn't I tell you? The Paraskevopoulos government [an interim coalition government] was our last chance for avoiding a military takeover. With your militant stand against [such a government], with your strong statements against the King, with the distrust you instilled in the American contingent here, this [military

takeover] became inevitable. . . .

The author, on the other hand, sees as his critical defect not the lack of sufficient self-restraint but rather the fact that he did not press vigorously enough for radical reforms while his father's party held power in 1964-1965. Even so, one glimpses again and again in this book the desperation of the late George Papandreou as he tried to control his headstrong son.

Andreas Papandreou's frankness would be more fitting in the memoirs of a very old man, with his public career behind him, than in the political manifesto of a middle-aged man who hopes to devote his many talents to the further development of his country. One need not decide how much is valid in his bitter criticism of other opponents of the Greek colonels, at home and in exile: Certain things cannot be said publicly without making it most difficult thereafter to secure the cooperation necessary among former political rivals if Greece is to be peacefully liberated from her military tyrants. In his partisan and often ungenerous criticisms, which neglect long-run political consequences, Professor Papandreou is curiously like Vice President Agnew. Both men display a volatile combination of intelligence, ambition, forensic energy and political inexperience; both, it should be added, can and should be better than they mistakenly believe it expedient to appear in public.

Papandreou probably overstates American responsibility for the coup which crushed the troubled constitutional government of his strategically vital country three years ago. But whatever the truth may be about the role of the Pentagon, the CIA, and the State Department in Greece then or now, it is likely that anti-American sentiment will prevail for years to come, and supplant all the beneficial effects of our massive economic and military aid since the Second World War. Conservatives and royalists have already begun to say what Andreas Papandreou was saying long before the colonels struck — that the U.S. is primarily responsible for the miserable state of affairs in Greece today.

Certainly, at least since April 1967, the American government has been pursuing in Greece an unimaginative and perhaps even cynical policy — insofar as we have a policy at all — that is at least as irresponsible as the one the Greek politicians foolishly pursued before the colonels came. The United States refuses to repudiate the dangerously incompetent tyrants who must continue to parade "the American alliance" in Athens if they are to survive in power. We are losing our last clear chance to help our true Greek friends form a coalition government that could avoid political and economic disaster.

George Anastaplo teaches at the University of Chicago and at Rosary College, River Forest, Illinois.

Robert Hunter on the CIA
—Is it a department of dirty tricks,
or an organisation of fact-gatherers?
Did it underwrite the seizure of power
by the Greek Colonels?



STATINTL

In the Ashenden stories, Somerset Maugham put a human face on the British Secret Service. No matter that the Hairless Mexican killed the wrong man: this bumbling helped soften the image of a ruthless and ever-competent machine dedicated to doing His Majesty's dirty business, and made

Richard Helms, Director of the CIA

everything right. Not so with the Central Intelligence Agency—or the CIA as it is everywhere known. No humour here; just the sense of a sinister and heartless manipulation of the democrats of a hundred coun-

18 MAY 1970

STATINTL

Hecklers Add a Chant For Parading Greeks

At the height of the annual Greek Independence Day Parade up Fifth Ave. yesterday, a group of about 100 balloon and placard-carrying persons staged a chanting but orderly counter-demonstration behind police barricades at 72d St.

They yelled such slogans as "CIA-Get Out of Greece" and "Fascists state, Fascist state."

Thousands March

Thousands of sons and daughters of Hellenes marched along the parade route from 59th to 79th Sts. to commemorate the 149th anniversary of Greece's independence from Turkish rule. The rainy weather diminished the number of expected spectators.

Leading the contingent was a company of white-skirted Evzones, members of the Royal

Palace Guard, who were flown in from Athens for the parade.

They missed the demonstration, dropping out of the parade at 68th St. to go to the reviewing stand.

The demonstrators were members of the American Committee for Democracy and Freedom in Greece. Associate Professor John Shenis of the State University in Newark, chairman of the committee, accused the Greek government of "paying for a parade to advertise a dictatorship. There is no freedom in Greece."

WHFFLING, W.VA.
NEWS-REGISTER

MAY 7 1970
E - 30,102
S - 59,244

AT WHAT PRICE?

U.S. Missiles In Greece?

IN AN EDITORIAL last week discussing how the Defense Department had secretly supplied the repressive Greek junta with nearly twice the amounts of military aid authorized by Congress, we mentioned how the Pentagon had referred to Greece as one of our four "forward defense countries" in Europe.

Now the full implications of that term are beginning to surface. French publisher and politician Jacques Servan-Schrieber after a visit to Greece the other day declared that the CIA is backing the Athens junta and envisaged a growing divergence between European and American interests there. Speaking in Strasbourg at the time when the Council of Europe was indicting the Greek government for oppression of its people, Mr. Servan-Schrieber said:

"In Greece the basis of the problem is Atlantic and military. No one is unaware that the United States has made Greece its principal strategic base in Europe and that it has installed there its principal missile bases. With Spain, Greece is an anchorage point of the American military system in Europe, and the CIA plays a role all the more dangerous because the organization there is often self-governing and personal, as in Southeast Asia..."

Well now, Mr. Servan-Schrieber may believe that Americans are aware that we are maintaining a nuclear base in Greece, but the truth is that not even our Senate Foreign Relations Committee has been told of such a move. The committee's chairman, Senator Fulbright, has been arguing for some time, that if not the public, at least responsible members of the Senate have a right to know where our foreign nuclear installations are and what agreements have been made with foreign countries respecting them. Senator Symington also has sought for some time to break the secrecy surrounding deployment of American nuclear weapons overseas but with little success. It would seem that in light of these latest reports, that the Administration in Washington owes it at least to the Congress to tell exactly what we are maintaining in Greece and at what price.

Senator Fulbright has stated that the presence of American nuclear missiles alters the framework of our foreign policy toward the country in question, and may involve us in its domestic politics by giving us an interest in maintaining a particular regime in power. That may explain the Defense Department's lavish policy of providing arms aid to the Greek military dictatorship.

There have been reports circulating that the Nixon Administration is considering lifting altogether the embargo on military deliveries to Greece because of pressure from the Pentagon, which is concerned over the situation in the Eastern Mediterranean, where the Soviet Union reportedly has been building up its fleet. It follows then that Mr. Servan-Schrieber probably has accurate information when stating that we have made Greece our principal strategic base in Europe and that we have installed there missile bases.

If all of this is true we certainly are playing with fire in still another part of the world. Such a situation has international implications because of the strong sentiment in Western Europe against the authoritarian practices of the Greek colonels who overthrew the constitutional government and today rule by brutal decree and torture. Do we not remember the Cuban missile crisis of 1962 and the promises we made then to remove our own missile bases from Turkey? At least shouldn't the Congress of the United States know what our military is doing in all parts of the world? We believe so.

Theodorakis urges Greek

Le Monde

Paris

Mikis Theodorakis broke a 16-day self-imposed silence April 29 to give his first press conference since his unexpected release by the Greek regime and his arrival in France. For the first time he felt truly free and ready to resume his work as a political militant and as a musician.

When he handed the famed composer over to French radical leader Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber on April 13, Greek Prime Minister George Papadopoulos told the politician with a smile: "I'm putting an explosive package in your hands—I wish you joy."

It was clear the leader of the junta was aware Servan-Schreiber's statement that Theodorakis would not engage in political activities on French soil was only a matter of form. Nonetheless, he was happy enough to be rid of such an awkward prisoner. For no jail could hold this curly-haired, baby-faced giant of a man obsessed by the idea of revolution.

The outlaw turned prosecutor casts a threatening shadow over the regime. Even his jailers and torturers could not help humming the tunes of his songs against tyranny and would sometimes render him small services.

His continued presence in Greece—particularly behind bars—became intolerable for the regime that thought it could neutralize his influence.

There must have been some thought of liquidating him. On the night of Aug. 20-21, 1967, when he was arrested, his captors took him to a fir grove outside Athens, where, hands bound behind his back and with spotlights trained on him, he was told he was to be executed.

"What are you feeling now?" an officer asked, as he pressed a pistol to the composer's chest with a trembling hand. "Shame," the composer replied. "Because you speak Greek."

He is convinced that secret American pressure was behind the April 21 coup. "By imposing a peace of the graveyard on us, the Central Intelligence Agency wanted to assure the future of NATO bases on our territory, and to guarantee the safety of Greek and foreign monopolistic capital in our markets," he said. "George Papadopoulos and his colonels are merely proxies for the United States."

That Theodorakis has no great regard for the present masters of Greece is the least one can say. "Unlike the Nazis they have no ideology whatsoever to propose. They are semi-literate, they hate all forms of culture, they are anti-Greek and chauvinistic at the same time, and take anti-Communism to absurd lengths. They have the mentality of small-time fascists."

And the man who wrote the music for "Zorba the Greek" caps his distaste for them with the crowning insult: "These people love outmoded tangos and military marches. . . ."

"Just as Hitler conquered Europe, but not its peoples, so George Papadopoulos has taken over the machinery of state without winning the souls of the Greeks," he said.

The composer-activist feels that resistance to the regime has been largely passive to date because the coup itself and the ease with which it was carried out took the population by surprise. He says that the people, subject to pitiless repression implemented by the most modern methods, are taking part in a resistance movement whose many aspects are not always visible to the outside world. He admits, however, that the Greeks are not yet ready for a showdown.

The people are discouraged

Hundreds of thousands of people died and the Greeks suffered cruelly under the German occupation and the civil war that followed. The political parties, which have been in decline since 1965, were not able to cope with the situation.

resistance

In this situation many Greeks take refuge in comforting illusions, Theodorakis says. Some say the dictatorship is so ridiculous that it is bound to die a natural death in the not too distant future. They feel that Greece's exclusion from the Council of Europe will force the Americans, through the pressure of Western public opinion, to abandon the colonels to their fate.

But there is an opposing point of view which sees the junta as a permanent feature, enjoying as it does in practice the military, economic and financial support of Western Europe as well as the United States.

Both are thus resigned to the fait accompli, while cherishing the misplaced hope that circumstances will impel the regime to follow a more liberal course.

Theodorakis, who was one of the founders of the Patriotic Front resistance movement, explained the conclusions the organization draws from these analyses of the situation. "The Greek people must begin by shedding their illusions and our duty is to help them do it. They have to learn to depend on their own resources, at least until the socialist bloc, Western Europe and the Middle East states undergo a radical change of heart in their attitude to the Greek regime."

A program is required

But he recognizes that some specific program is required to galvanize Greeks into actively opposing the dictatorship.

"They will be called on to make great sacrifices and they have the right to demand from their leaders a program with precise objectives worthy of these sacrifices.

"When it is all over the people should be able to count on the establishment of a reinvigorated democracy with all—and I mean all—the liberties restored and the army back where it belongs, in the barrack rooms. They should also be able to depend on a redistribution of the national wealth on a basis of social justice.

"The state apparatus, stripped of its reactionary and incompetent elements, would implement a new economic, social and cultural policy to improve the lot of the underprivileged and working classes. It would bring in young people to assume positions of responsibility and the entire population would take an active part in the running of the country."

It is an impassioned picture of the Greece of tomorrow that Mr. Theodorakis paints. This leader of Lambrakis Youth—named after Gregoris Lambrakis, the EDA (Union of the Democratic Left) deputy for Salonika, who was assassinated on May 22, 1963—has been dreaming of his new Greece through 30 years of occupation, civil war, prison, internment and deportation.

"Perpetual militant"

Behind the indefinable gentleness of his expression, the tender irony, flashes of humour and bursts of laughter, there is a steely determination which shows through in the declaration of this self-styled "perpetual militant."

"Before we can lead the Greek people to victory we will have to bring together all the various resistance organizations, from whichever point of the political compass they come, under a single committee. It is towards the establishment of such a body that I will from now on direct all my efforts."

3 0 APR 1970

STATINTL

Greek leader accuses Washington

WASHINGTON — The United States promoted the fascist putsch in Greece in April 1967 and is doing everything it can to keep the colonels' junta in power, Andreas Papandreou, a prominent Greek leader in exile, said here in a speech. He said that the Pentagon and CIA consider Greece the most important strategic beachhead of NATO in the Mediterranean. The "Prometheus" coup was worked out by the CIA and NATO, he charged.

Papandreou said that if the Pentagon halted its aid to the Greek fascists, they could not stay in power more than a week.

STATINTL

LOS ANGELES TIMES

30 APR 1970

Greek composer Mikis Theodorakis said in Paris that "American imperialism" was propping up the military government in Athens and appealed for Europe's moral and material aid to end the "Fascist dictatorship." The composer, recently freed from a Greek prison, said "NATO's American generals are there to turn Greece into a huge military base. And behind them is the CIA, and the State Department and the Pentagon."

STATINT

PHILADELPHIA, PA.
INQUIRER

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APR 29 1970

Papandreou's Bitter Views Of the CIA, Greek Regime

DEMOCRACY AT GUN-POINT: The Greek Front. By Andreas Papandreou. (Doubleday & Co. 339 pages. \$7.95.)

TWICE imprisoned, tortured and exiled, Andreas Papandreou is understandably bitter about political conditions in Greece, and especially the tight military dictatorship that has been running the country since 1967.

Many Americans think of Greece as the beneficiary of the Truman Doctrine, saved from the Communists by U. S. intervention; and as a reliable NATO ally.

Papandreou looks at it differently. He regards Greece, since the U. S. filled the vacuum left by the departing British after World War II as an "American colony," and its armed forces and intelligence services as extensions of the American Military Mission and the CIA.

Examined closely, Greece bears many resemblances to South Vietnam, without American troops and American casualties. The U. S. supports and sustains the ruling government, no matter how undemocratic, no matter how many thousands of political prisoners are jailed and tortured.



HAROLD J. WIEGAND

Book Review

PAPANDREOU quotes a former chief of the CIA in Greece, when his father, George Papandreou, a former premier, was refusing to go along with U. S. policies, as saying "Go tell your father that in Greece we get our way. We can do what we want and we stop at nothing."

Andreas Papandreou spent the years from 1939 to 1959 in this country, studying, serving in the armed forces during the war, and teaching. When he returned to Greece, he became active in politics and his father's party, the Center Union.

The party clashed with King Constantine, with the rich Greeks of the Right Establishment, and with the CIA. It wanted the king to restrict himself to his constitutional limits; it wanted the army to obey the lawfully elected government; it wanted America to treat

Greece as an ally and not a satellite.

George Papandreou became premier when his party won an election, but the king forced his resignation. When new elections were about to be held, and all indications pointed to another Papandreou victory, both the king and the army planned separate takeovers.

YOUNG colonels, backed, according to Andreas Papandreou by the U. S., got ahead of Constantine and seized power under Col. George Papadopoulos. Papandreou says that it did not make much difference to the U. S. whether the king or the army took over, except that the CIA had close relations with Papadopoulos. This, says Papandreou, was the "first successful CIA putsch on the European continent."

BALTIMORE SUM

27 APR 1970

Greece Feared CIA Springboard

Paris, April 26 (AP)—Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber claimed today that the situation in Greece raises the danger of submission of all Western Europe to the United States Central Intelligence Agency and military.

Mr. Servan-Schreiber, author of "The American Challenge" and former editor of the weekly news magazine *L'Express*, is now secretary-general of the small, leftist French Radical Socialist party.

After accompanying the Greek composer, Mikis Theodorakis, out of Athens two weeks ago, Mr. Servan-Schreiber contended that the real powers behind the regime in Greece are the CIA and American military.

In a two-page column in *L'Express* today Mr. Servan-Schreiber—still president of *L'Express* publishing group—said his claim was followed by pressure from CIA-related sources.

He said he was told he should not annoy the CIA because the North Atlantic Treaty Organization needs a stable government in Greece in order to assure the defense of the West.

But Mr. Servan-Schreiber argued that such preoccupation with external defense risks engendering weakness internally.

27 APR 1970

GREECE:

Flight to Freedom

*Tap, tap, it's you.
Tap, tap, it's I.
Which is to say,
In wordless speech,
I'm holding on, I don't give in.*

These lyrics, recently smuggled out of Greece, were written by the celebrated composer Mikis Theodorakis while in an isolation cell, where he communicated with a fellow prisoner by tapping in code against the wall. Arrested for pro-Communist activities shortly after the military junta seized power in Athens, the 44-year-old Theodorakis has spent most of the past three years under detention. All this time, he continued to write his music—a mournful blend of Byzantine and folk themes—often beating out the rhythm on the bars of his cell. And during these years, Theodorakis, composer of scores for the movies "Zorba, the Greek" and "Z," became a symbol of resistance to the military regime. Last week, he realized in life what he had celebrated so often in song—freedom.

Theodorakis's release from prison was arranged by Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber, the former editor of L'Express and now Secretary-General of France's newly renovated Radical Party. Approached by a group of Greek students in Paris, Servan-Schreiber had agreed to intercede on behalf of 34 anti-regime intellectuals who were on trial for sedition in Athens. Never one to shun the glare of publicity, Servan-Schreiber flew to Athens aboard his private Lear jet and met with Greek Premier George Papadopoulos, who reportedly told him that nothing could be done for the defendants while the military court was still convened. Instead, Papadopoulos offered to free Theodorakis. That same day, Servan-Schreiber picked up the ailing Theodorakis at a hospital outside Athens and the two flew back to Paris. Looking pale and shaky as he stepped off the plane, Theodorakis was surrounded by well-wishers and tearfully embraced by actress Melina Mercouri. "My body is here," he said, "but my soul is still in Greece, where I left my children and my wife."

Arms: The junta's motives for releasing the composer seemed apparent enough. Theodorakis badly needed treatment for a recurrence of the tuberculosis he had contracted years ago, and the regime saw an opportunity to curry some rare favorable publicity in the West by making a humanitarian gesture. Moreover, the Nixon Administration has made it clear that it will not lift the U.S. ban on shipments of new model weapons to Greece until the colonels in Athens soften their dictatorial rule. In response, the junta recently announced the release of several hundred political prisoners and an easing of martial law in Greece. And last week, the defendants in the sedition

trial were sentenced to lighter penalties than had been widely anticipated.

In Paris, there were rumors that, in exchange for Theodorakis's freedom, Servan-Schreiber had agreed to defend Greece before the Council of Europe, which last week voted to release a 1,000-page report on the junta's use of torture against its political opponents. And speculation only increased when Servan-Schreiber, in a statement that seemed aimed at partially exonerating the colonels, charged that "those who govern Greece are the CIA and the American military." But only Theodorakis himself could reveal Servan-Schreiber's role. And for the time being, the composer was in seclusion at a sanatorium outside Paris. "Mikis is recovering very well," said Melina Mercouri. "He had a tortured life in and out of prison. Now, after so many years of fighting for democracy and liberty, he has the right to explain his situation himself."

STATINTL

26 APR 1970

ONASSIS IS URGED TO AID PRISONERS

Frenchman Says Millionaire
Will Press Greek Regime

Special to The New York Times

PARIS, April 25—Aristotle S. Onassis, the Greek shipping magnate, and other important businessmen have agreed to help in applying pressure on the Greek military Government to halt its political persecutions and release political prisoners, according to Jean Servan-Schreiber, the French writer and political leader.

Mr. Servan-Schreiber, who has been active in the last two weeks in behalf of Greek prisoners and who has said he obtained the release of the composer Mikis Theodorakis, said in an interview that he had seen Mr. Onassis several times during that period and had told him that the prisoners had to be released.

"Otherwise," Mr. Servan-Schreiber said he had told Mr. Onassis, "there will be such a revolt in Greece that you will lose your investments."

Mr. Onassis agreed with this analysis and said he would help, Mr. Servan-Schreiber said. The writer remarked that with a program to invest \$600-million in the next two years, Mr. Onassis has "the strongest voice in Athens."

Mr. Servan-Schreiber said: "What Mr. Onassis tells the colonels I don't know. You have to use the power you have and Onassis does."

Cites Foreign Help

In his campaign to mobilize opinion against the military regime, Mr. Servan-Schreiber cited the help of Thomas A. Pappas, a prominent Greek-American business man who heads Esso Pappas in Greece and who is friendly with the Administration in Washington. He also enlisted Gilbert Trigano, a Frenchman who is head of the Club Méditerranée, a tourist business that annually sends thousands of vacationers to the villages it operates in Greece.

"I went to Trigano and asked for a blank check," Mr. Servan-Schreiber said. "I wanted authority to tell the Greek Government that if they did not free the prisoners, they faced closing of the tourist villages. Trigano agreed."

Because of the Club Méditerranée's importance other tourist organizations in Europe would follow suit, Mr. Servan-Schreiber asserted.

Up to now, only Mr. Theodorakis has actually been freed. The regime has also promised the release of Jean Starakis, a French journalist of Greek origin who was sentenced two weeks ago to 18 years in prison for plotting against the regime.

The French Government claimed credit for freeing Mr. Starakis who said he would return last weekend with Mr. Starakis but failed to do so, neither confirmed nor denied the official French version. Mr. Starakis's mother returned today from Athens without her son but expressed confidence he would be released soon.

Mr. Theodorakis, who is in a private clinic under treatment for what Mr. Servan-Schreiber described as chronic tuberculosis, will make his first public appearance since his arrival here at a press conference next Wednesday. Mr. Servan-Schreiber said it had been agreed when he obtained the composer's release that Mr. Theodorakis would not organize any political activity against the Greek Government but that there had been no commitment about Mr. Theodorakis's freedom to speak out on political issues.

H Plans to Withdraw

Mr. Servan-Schreiber, who recently became secretary general of the Radical Socialist party after making the weekly L'Express one of France's biggest publishing successes, has been accused by his rivals of intervening in Greek problems to advance his own political cause at home.

Revealing some sensitivity to this accusation, he said that next Tuesday three of four prominent French nonpolitical figures, whom he did not name, would formally assume charge of the campaign on behalf of Greek prisoners.

"I am withdrawing from the limelight," Mr. Servan-Schreiber said in acknowledging that his presence in the forefront of the campaign made it more vulnerable to political attack.

He said the new group would have available the business figures he had cited and whom he described as "my friends." He emphasized they had the power to reduce or increase their investment in Greece, and he said that they had come to

interests coincided with the defense of moral values. Mr. Servan-Schreiber added that the Greek leaders were also sensitive to the moral pressure ordinary of Europeans.

He was critical of what he viewed as the predominant and semiautonomous role played by the Central Intelligence Agency and the Pentagon in Greek affairs. When he returned with me Theodorakis made the charge that Greece was run by the C.I.A. and said he had proof, though he did not give details, the charge added to the controversy concerning his intervention.

He later said that one element of proof he had gathered in a weekend in Athens was the fact that "when I knocked on several doors the only response was with the C.I.A."

STATINTL

ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

26 APR 1970

Is Greece An American Nuclear Base?

Senator Symington's commendable effort to break through the secrecy surrounding deployment of American nuclear weapons overseas takes on fresh interest in view of reports from Greece.

The Missouri Senator, with the backing of Chairman Fulbright of the Foreign Relations Committee, has been contending for some time that if not the public at least responsible members of the Senate have a right to know where our foreign nuclear installations are and what agreements have been made with foreign countries respecting them.

As Senator Fulbright has said, the presence of American "nukes" alters the framework of our foreign policy toward the country in question, and may involve us in its domestic politics by giving us an interest in maintaining a particular regime in power. These are reasons enough why somebody besides the military should know what is going on.

Now, as if to provide chapter and verse references to support that argument, the repressive military government in Greece comes to attention. Explaining why American policy toward the Greek colonels' tyranny is so charitable, *Time* magazine this week states that Greece figures more prominently than ever in U.S. military planning, in part because it serves as "a prime location for communication nets and missile sites on Crete."

A few days ago the French publisher and politician Jacques Servan-Schreiber after a visit to Greece declared that the CIA is backing the Athens junta and envisaged a growing divergence between European and American interests there. Speaking in Strasbourg at a time when the Council of Europe was indicting the Greek government for oppression of its people, Mr. Servan-Schreiber said, according to *The Christian Science Monitor*:

"In Greece the basis of the problem is Atlantic and military. No one is unaware that the United States has made Greece its principal strategic base in Europe and that it has installed there its principal missile bases. With Spain, Greece is an anchorage point of the

American military system in Europe, and the CIA plays a role all the more dangerous because the organization there is often self-governing and personal, as in Southeast Asia..."

Mr. Servan-Schreiber may think "no one is unaware" of American missile bases in Greece, but in fact the American people are unaware of it. He may be right or wrong, but certainly the Foreign Relations Committee of the United States Senate has the duty to know whether Greece is or is not a principal base for American nuclear missiles.

After the Cuba crisis of 1962 the United States was supposed to have withdrawn its Jupiter missile bases from Turkey in order to avoid giving the Soviets any new excuse for trying to install nukes on our doorstep as we had installed them on theirs. As nuke trajectories go, however, Greece is virtually identical with Turkey. If we are using Greece to hold a nuclear pistol at Russia's head, the Soviet expansion of missile deployment and many other aspects of its foreign policy might become more understandable.

Also illuminated would be the United States Government's attitude toward the Greek colonels. If they are providing us with nuclear bases that may well explain why, at a time when democratic Europe conspicuously breaks with the Greek dictatorship, the United States goes on supporting it. To get the bases, have we sacrificed our freedom of action and opened the way to unending blackmail?

It is nothing short of shameful that the United States, because of the militarization of its foreign policy, finds itself increasingly alienated from the European democracies and increasingly committed to the continent's two most despicable dictatorships, in Greece and Spain, as anchors of its diplomacy. What this means is that we are being pushed to the Mediterranean fringes of Europe while we steadily lose influence in Europe itself. If all this is going on because of the Pentagon's mad obsession with maintaining a nuclear ring around the Soviet Union, then at the very least the U.S. Senate ought to know about it.

M - 59,391

S - 69,238

APR 24 1970

Secret and Repugnant

In Strasbourg last week, 15 West European governments (with only France and Cyprus abstaining) were voting strong condemnation of Greece's military dictatorship at the Council of Europe.

Specifically, the 15 charged not only that Greece had tortured and otherwise mistreated political prisoners but that it did so as an "administrative practice" officially tolerated by the colonels' junta that overthrew the legal government in April of 1967.

The report on which the Council of Europe action was based, a 40,000-word document drafted by the European Commission of Human Rights, cited the case of a pregnant woman who was one of many beaten on the soles of the feet; and noted that this is a preferred practice by the Greek police because while it is intensely painful, no lasting marks are left if the beating is skillfully done.

In Brussels, the European Executive Commission announced it was preparing to "reconsider" the in-limbo 1962 agreement of association between Greece and the Common Market.

While these steps were being taken in Europe, the disclosure in Washington of secret—and quite substantial—military assistance to the current Greek regime was in ironic and shocking contrast.

Despite United States suspension of "major" military items to Greece after the 1967 coup, Congress has authorized \$24.4 million in military aid for the 1970 fiscal year.

Over and above this, however, Congressional sources have disclosed that the Pentagon is delivering additional equipment, from stocks described as surplus, worth \$20 million more.

It is such activity as this, plus the inexcusable arrival of the U.S. Fleet at Piraeus during recent political trials in Athens, that lend credibility to the exaggerated charges of such figures as France's Servan-Schreiber that the Central Intelligence Agency is the real master of Greece.

Not even the obvious threat of increased Soviet naval maneuvering in the Eastern Mediterranean can justify the provision of arms to a repressive dictatorship without the knowledge or approval of Congress or the American people.

STATINTL

MADISON, WISC.
JOURNAL

M - 68,775

S - 107,031

APR 24 1970

Director Godard Peddles Marxism

By JOSEPH McBRIDE
(Of The State Journal Staff)

Jean-Luc Godard was sitting in the Rathskeller of the Wisconsin Union earlier this week. Hardly anyone recognized him. As somebody said, you don't have to have read James Joyce to be influenced by him — he's in the air we breathe. The same with Godard, a world-famous French movie director.

THE GENERAL public seldom sees his movies, and even some of his early followers are repelled by his recent pictures (formless political harangues), but Godard is responsible more than any other director for the way movies look today.

Conditioned by his image as a nervy paranoiac, I had been wary of meeting Godard. Instead I found him strangely gentle, even shy, talking in a soft voice as he puffed on fat Boyard cigarets.

"If I'm famous, it's only because I'm still a bourgeois," he told students in the Union Theater after showing a 1969 film, "See You at Mao."

To which a girl responded, "Karl Marx was famous."

Godard is making a brief U.S. tour to raise cash for a film — "Till Victory" — which he is making for the Al Fatah group in Jordan. He is a dogmatic Marxist-Leninist.

HE DISARMED the audience of about 1,000 with his reply to a women's liberation group's charge that his tour was sponsored by an "exploitive" company (Grove Press) and that his

film dealt only with sexual, not ideological liberation.

Godard applauded and said he considers the film "completely revisionist" today.

"I need to be liberated by a woman," he added.

Once considered an intransigent individualist, Godard now makes films with "comrades of the Dziga-Vertov group" (named after an early Russian director). The group consists of Godard and Jean-Pierre Gorin, who appeared with him and who, according to Godard, is "exactly like me."

Pardon me if I find Godard's new stance of toiler for the masses as sophomoric as the audience, which accused him of not being radical enough.

OTHER GODARD observations:

● On collectivism: "I don't speak personally, but as a militant worker. This movie was done by people who didn't know where they were but thought they knew where other people were."

● To a member of the audience who said the movie had made him want to "send people into the fields" for Mao Tse-tung: "We try not to work any more with feelings and impressions."

● On his American movie, "One American Movie": "A dead corpse. It's unfinished. It will never be finished. It's bad . . ."

● On "Z": "It's not realistic. The proof is that it won an Oscar. The Greek government is controlled by the CIA, and Hollywood is the ideological branch of the CIA."

● On mass consumption: "If a million prints are made of a Marxist-Leninist film, it becomes 'Gone With the Wind.'"

● To a person who called him a trend-follower: "You know more about me than I know about you. That's not fair."

● On his radicalization: "I was raised in a bourgeois family. To escape from my family, I worked in another family,

show business. It took me 15 years to discover that it was an even more powerful family than the other."

GODARD MADE it difficult for the unconverted by refusing to talk about movies, only about politics.

When I met him earlier, I had innocently attempted to draw him out on his future projects. He turned away and stared into space.

And when I asked about his former friend and fellow director, Francois Truffaut, with whom he broke after an ideological dispute, he scowled.

Politics obviously means more to him than people.

Why hasn't he worked with the brilliant photographer Raoul Coutard in the last two years?

"Coutard is now making a film in South Vietnam for Paramount," Godard said. "So I have nothing more to do with him."

Godard deserves his audience, and they deserve him.

23 APR 1970

⊕ **Anti-CIA publicity**

The U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) is in for another big publicity campaign against it. This time in Western Europe.

Opponents of Greece's military regime, censured by a Council of Europe vote last week, are planning a new propaganda offensive against the CIA's reported influence in Athens.

Launching it was French politician-writer Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber. Greek Premier George Papadopoulos recently released Greek composer Mikis Theodorakis from confinement and permitted him to fly out with Mr. Servan-Schreiber to Paris.

In Paris afterward, Mr. Servan-Schreiber said he had "incontrovertible evidence" the CIA and the American military, sometimes in ways unknown to the U.S. State Department, are the "real powers" in Greece.

Antijunta forces led by economist Andreas Papandreou now are gathering all available evidence to publish it.

E - 19,771

APR 23 1970

STATINTL

A Very Small Retreat

The Greek regime, responding to world opinion, has taken a number of initiatives in the last few weeks to improve its image.

The release of Composer Mikis Theodorakis and 332 other political prisoners, the avoidance of the death sentence in the Athens sedition trial and the relaxation of martial law, all are part of a calculated pattern.

At the same time it is clear that the Greek regime has engaged in extensive torture, and the suspension of civil liberties. The foreign ministers of the Council of Europe have accused the Greeks of using torture as an "administrative practice" and the carefully documented case that was presented confirm the allegations. Civil liberties are highly abridged, and laws are applied in constructions for which they were never intended.

Europe has been a good deal more sensitive to the Greek situation than the United

States. Jean Jacques Servan-Schreiber, the Secretary - General of the French Radical party, who arranged the release of Theodorakis, immediately called a press conference to expound his view that the CIA controlled Greece, and that American influence in Greece and elsewhere was a threat to Europe and the world. While this no doubt paints an exaggerated picture, there is no doubt that the United States has been giving the Greek colonels more support than they deserve. President Nixon has been directing a policy of allowing the U. S. to drift closer and closer to the regime, when he should be taking steps to highlight the grotesqueries that go on under the banner of NATO.

The recent changes in Greek policy are merely a sop to world opinion and should be regarded in that light. America has too many friends who deal with their enemies by locking them up.

YORK, PA.
GAZETTE & DAILY

M - 35,186

APR 22 1970

ONLY IN AMERICA

The release from "preventive detention" of the famous Greek composer Theodorakis was achieved somehow through the offices of a French editor who is active in the politics of his country and western Europe as well. We do not profess to know what considerations led to the Greek decision to permit freedom to the composer. But presumably it was just that, a Greek decision by those elements which, according to a statement by the French editor, hold in their hands effective control of Greece. We refer to the U.S. military and the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, the CIA.

The French editor says that his visit to Greece afforded him documentary proof of the Pentagon-CIA role. It is reasonable to assume, then, that he secured the release of Theodorakis without Pentagon-CIA approval, for if so there would have been no reason for him to have made his remarks about these U.S. agencies. Could it possibly be that he has given us a clue to a better understanding of the real nature of dictatorships around the world which it is usually said U.S. foreign policy supports?

There is, of course, no question about U.S. policy support for the dictatorship in Greece or for those in South Korea, Taiwan, Congo, Brazil and elsewhere. But are such dictatorships actually locally owned and managed also? Or are some of them, maybe most, locally managed while ownership lies with the Pentagon and the CIA? Perhaps it would be better to say that the way it works is for the CIA to plan and finance the kind of local management it desires and for the Pentagon to supply the hardware to keep the local management in business.

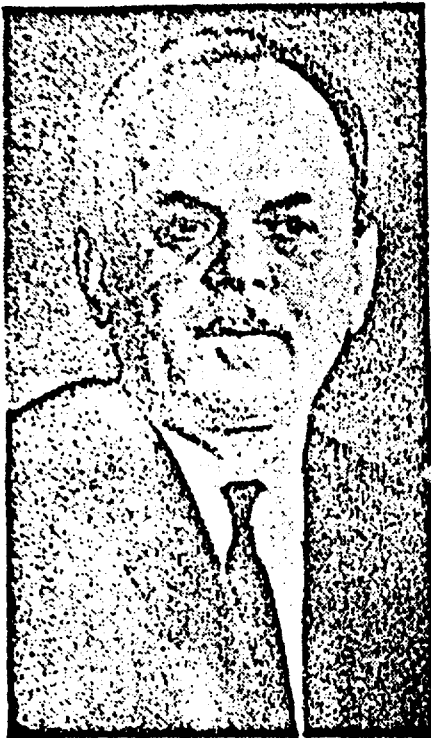
Should that be an accurate description of the setup, then it is misleading for anyone to focus critical attention on, say, the Greek dicta

Greek matter. The place to focus attention is on the CIA, the CIA and the Pentagon. They are apparently operating an imperialist foreign policy. For if what the French editor says is true about Greece is true, too, of other nations, these nations have been taken over politically by the CIA, with CIA control maintained by Pentagon resources.

The scheme is a little different from the old imperialist pattern imposed in Asia and Africa by the Western European colonizing countries. But it is different only in measure of sophistication. The CIA and the Pentagon have, so to speak, perfected an imperialist disguise that can be pierced only when someone like the French editor wanders into the act and begins to talk out of turn. Unfortunately, his words probably do

not reach many American ears. And most Americans go on thinking that there is really no such thing as U.S. imperialism. Other peoples, however, do know what the CIA and Pentagon are up to. The secret can't be kept from them. Only in America does this type of ignorance prevail simply because the powers-that-be see to it that Americans alone are kept in the dark.

20 APR 1970



Associated Press

Premier Papadopoulos

... holds firm grip

By Peter S. Mellas

Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Athens

The revolution of April 21, 1967, completes its third year with an unquestioned grip on the country and with Premier George Papadopoulos as the accepted leader of the group of colonels who acted to start a new era for Greece.

Operating on the basis of a well-planned blueprint whose drafting and implementation commenced in the late '50's, the colonels have managed to consolidate their position, although many had thought they would never survive this long. Indeed, the indications now are that they will continue in power for some time.

With military precision the coup leaders won legality through compromise with King Constantine during the first eight months of the revolution. They completely established themselves after the King's abortive counter coup in December, 1967, and his flight from the country.

But the Army-backed regime presents a dilemma for the West.

Internally, Greece continues to offer the foreign visitor the same enchanting attraction as in the past. But an unspoken fear lurks of the sort which prevails in police states. There is a feeling that sooner or later some sign of submission or conformity will be required.

Greece: a thistle for West

From
Athens

(One reason given for French abstention was France's desire not to widen the gap already existing between "Europe" and Greece.)

Reactions from Athens, however, are far from encouraging. There was official disappointment in the Greek capital because the Council of Europe had not taken more account of Greek announcements on the eve of its meeting. These said that 330 prisoners were being released.

Also the release of the Greek composer Mikis Theodorakis apparently made no difference to the council's vote. The composer himself appeared at a press conference in Strasbourg. This was arranged by Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber, former editor of the French news magazine L'Express.

Mr. Servan-Schreiber is building up a political image as the

liberal-minded leader of the old French Radical Party. He went to Athens at the request of a Greek students' association to intervene on behalf of political prisoners. He return bringing with him the famous Mr. Theodorakis for medical treatment with approval of the Greek regime.

Charge repeated

It is Mr. Servan-Schreiber who has raised the question of a possible conflict between American and European interests in the Greek situation. After his Athens visit he stated that the United States Central Intelligence Agency was backing the Greek junta. He said he would have more to say on that when he went to Strasbourg.

At his Strasbourg press conference he repeated the charge. He said that everyone knows this. Reports from Strasbourg April 16 quoted him as saying:

"In Greece the basis of the problem is Atlantic and military. No one is unaware that the United States has made Greece its principal strategic base in Europe and that it has installed there its principal missile bases."

"With Spain, Greece is an anchorage point of the Ameri-

STATINTL

NEW YORK, N.Y.
TIMES

W - 895,505
S - 1,415,507

APR 20 1970

FRENCH RADICAL STIRS CONFLICTS

Servan-Schreiber's Paper
Tells of Theodorakis Plea

By HENRY GINIGER

Special to The New York Times

PARIS, April 19—Greek and French politics have become inextricably mixed in the person and activities of Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber, the journalist turned politician.

Last week headlines and controversy involving Mr. Servan-Schreiber, who is attempting to revive the old Radical-Socialist party here after having made a publishing success of the weekly L'Express, were in full bloom. Headlines and controversy have accompanied him through his career and more were in prospect after his return to Athens Thursday to pursue the task of freeing opponents of the Greek military regime that he began last weekend.

Tomorrow L'Express, from which Mr. Servan-Schreiber has nominally withdrawn as publisher but not as owner, will add fuel to the fire with an account accusing the French Government of applying pressure on Greece in an attempt to stop his efforts to free Jean Starakis, a French journalist of Greek abstraction sentenced last Sunday to 18 years in prison for plotting. The newspaper account also says that Mr. Servan-Schreiber has involved the United States in his activities.

He Brought Back Theodorakis

Last Monday he startled the French political scene by arriving at Le Bourget in a chartered twin-engined jet with Greece's most famous musician and resistance leader, Mikis Theodorakis, whom Mr. Servan-Schreiber said had been released from captivity after he appealed to Greek authorities.

Mr. Servan-Schreiber's exploit was praised by most politicians, but it did not take long for the Gaullists, the French Government, the Greek Government and Mr. Theodorakis's leftist political friends to pile on him.

He seemed to aid his opponents by a series of statements that struck many people as making too much of a good thing. He said that he would gain the release of Mr. Starakis, that he had proof that Greece was being run by the Central Intelligence Agency and the Pentagon and that Mr. Theodorakis was no longer a Communist.

He also made it clear that he thought it was a mistake to isolate Greece from the Council of Europe, an 18-member body that tries to promote human rights and cooperation, and insisted on being heard by the Ministerial Committee of the Council, which met in Strasbourg last week to consider a report condemning Greece for violating human rights.

Statements Challenged

His statements were immediately challenged. The French Government declared that it had arranged, even before Mr. Starakis's conviction, for his release, the Greek Embassy asserted that the decision to free Mr. Theodorakis had been made "a long time ago."

Gaston Thorn, chairman of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe, reported after seeing Mr. Servan-Schreiber that the latter had nothing new to tell him, and Gaullists charged that the radical Leader's demand to testify before the committee was a "publicity stunt." Others intimated that he had made a deal with the Greek Government by which he would seek to ward off a formal condemnation in Strasbourg. The condemnation came anyway, with the French Government abstaining.

Further Controversy Likely

The account of Mr. Servan-Schreiber's activities in tomorrow's L'Express appears certain to add to the controversy. In it the French Government is accused of demanding that the Greek Government turn Mr. Starakis over to it and not to Mr. Servan-Schreiber lest the French vote in Strasbourg be changed. The Government is also accused of not being very "sporting" in asserting that Mr. Starakis's release had been arranged earlier.

According to the account, it was Michel Papayanakis, an instructor at the Paris law faculty, who appealed to Mr. Servan-Schreiber to help save

defendants on trial for plotting against the Greek regime. After rejecting the idea of an appeal through Premier Jacques Chaban-Delmas of France because it would be "too late," Mr. Servan-Schreiber decided to appeal directly to Premier George Papadopoulos of Greece, the account said.

On arriving in Athens late on Saturday, the account said, Mr. Servan-Schreiber asked French journalists there: "On what doors should I knock? Who really governs Greece, Papadopoulos, the tough colonels, the C.I.A.?" He concentrated on men who held key positions in banking, government and the police and above all the Premier, whom the account described as "ambitious, intelligent and shrewd."

Unexplained telephone calls were made, and at dawn on Sunday Mr. Servan-Schreiber met with "members of the American Embassy," the account says. They are described as reticent, and the account says the conversation was not cordial.

19 APR 1970

STATINTL

Foreign Affairs: Whose C.I.A. and Pentagon?

By C. L. SULZBERGER

PARIS—Greece again became a subject of heated discussion last week when its most famous composer, Theodorakis, was released, when the Council of Europe hammered the colonels for condoning torture, and when Athens momentarily became a French political football.

Only the last event was surprising. The colonels have in the past shown willingness to liberate prisoners who have become too hot to handle—viz, Prof. Andreas Papandreou. Likewise, the European Council first declared itself on Greece in 1969.

Easement in Athens

It merely hopes continued pressure may produce an easement in Athens, which might ultimately be the case. The regime is vulnerable to economic suasion in the money market and worried about tourism from the West, especially organized mass holidays. Tourism is a major income factor.

The only new element was the intrusion of French politics. Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber, a Paris magazine publisher who has taken over the moribund Radical Socialist party, flew to Athens last weekend and returned with Theodorakis. This was a great humanitarian coup

but Servan-Schreiber made the mistake of trying to turn it into a publicity stunt aimed at furthering his own French presidential ambitions.

The dynamic publisher, who has already shown vast talent for self-promotion, announced that he had learned during his weekend in Athens that Greece was in the hands of the C.I.A. and U. S. Army. This was a remarkably swift journalistic conclusion and undoubtedly founded on precise information.

The only trouble was that he didn't tarry to ascertain what Greeks mean by C.I.A. and Pentagon. The Greek internal and external intelligence apparatus is locally known as "C.I.A." Greece's military headquarters is locally called "the Pentagon." All the key colonels are graduates of one or the other institution.

The combined labels "C.I.A." and "Pentagon" are a useful handle with which to beat the United States and gain popularity among young French voters. Servan-Schreiber promised to go to Strasbourg, where the European Council meets, and "prove" his allegations.

In the end the Council declined to permit him to use its facilities as a sounding board. This was perhaps fortunate since he never followed through on his proclaimed intention.

Perhaps someone told him he was talking about the wrong C.I.A. and Pentagon.

Servan-Schreiber is the only French politician with an American sense of personal publicity which he uses to zigzag from left to right and back again in his power quest. During almost a decade he has hoped to run for France's presidency and has studied the techniques of U.S. leaders, above all John F. Kennedy, with this in mind.

Attaching Politicians

For some time he confined himself to his highly successful management of "L'Express" and a series of books compiled with the help of that weekly's staff and advertised extensively in it. He also successively attached himself to well-known liberal politicians including Pierre Mendès-France, Gaston Defferre and (the latest) Maurice Faure.

Each of these alliances terminated with a more noticeable rise in Servan-Schreiber's fortunes than in those of his associates. The original campaign was touched off by a cover of "L'Express" with the silhouette of an unknown hopeful, "Monsieur X," whose general outline resembled Servan-Schreiber.

Last year J.-J. S.-S., as he likes to be known à la F.D.R. and J.F.K., took over the declining Radical Socialist party

the way a clever publisher acquires a dying magazine for its circulation list. He became secretary-general under the titular leadership of the radical's president, the pleasant, undistinguished Faure. In subsequent months Faure has vanished in the wake of J.-J. S.-S.

The idea of Servan-Schreiber is one that has intrigued previous radical leaders, notably, Mendès-France: to revitalize the Radical Socialists and, using them as a magnetic center, form an alliance of all parties between the right and the Communists. This plan requires genuine support from the nation's youth.

Seeking Youthful Image

Now that J.-J. S.-S. is 46 it is more difficult to produce a youthful image for voters a generation younger. Moreover, indications are that President Pompidou, 58, will seek re-election in 1976. It is therefore imperative for Servan-Schreiber to establish a position now and stake out a claim among the youngsters.

Possibly with this in mind, he made the mistake of capitalizing on his generous and fortunate help for Theodorakis by slashing out against the United States, using familiar shorthand hate symbols. The trouble is they were the wrong C.I.A. and Pentagon.

E - 100,987

S - 155,644

APR 19 1970

"Democracy at Gunpoint" ---

Greece Under the Colonels

STATINTL

"DEMOCRACY AT GUNPOINT: THE GREEK FRONT," by Andreas Papandreu. Doubleday & Co. 365 pp. \$7.95.

THE day I read this pessimistic analysis of the colonels' coup in Greece my daily paper happened to carry a series of interviews in which ordinary Greek citizens appeared resigned to their authoritarian rule. Nothing like

that appears anywhere in Andreas Papandreu's book, of course. As an American-trained minister in the Greek Cabinet once headed by his father, he is fully committed to the restoration of democratic government. But a note of helplessness and frustration is unmistakably present between the lines.

Papandreu was his father's righthand man and obviously in line to become a future Prime Minister of Greece. But the colonels clapped him in jail for nine months, then sent him into exile. He now teaches at York University in Canada, where much of the book was written. At the time Papandreu left Greece the prospects for the overthrow of the colonels looked reasonably bright. Today they are nebulous at best. The colonels are deeply entrenched.

This alone would not account for Papandreu's pessimism. A major cause of his distress is the role he at-

tributes to the CIA in Greece's present plight. If we are to believe him, the colonels' coup was a NATO-elaborated plan to prevent Greece passing into Communist control, a contingency he bitterly disputes. Papandreu says flatly: "The CIA is turning Greece into its leading Near and Middle East espionage and counterespionage base. There are more CIA operatives in Greece today than in Moscow. Greece is on its way to becoming a military intelligence outpost of the United States in Europe."

Nor is this all, says Papandreu speaking now as an economist. "The Greek economy under the colonels is rapidly being patterned after the prototype of a banana republic," he declares and goes on to list details of a large development contract signed by a U.S. corporation with the colonels shortly after the coup. This was followed soon after by a resumption of U.S. military aid. "The Greek military regime apparently has taken over the country in order to deliver it on a platter to the economic and strategic interests of the United States military-industrial complex."

—J.B.

THE ECONOMIST
18 - 25 April 1970

Under western eyes

FROM OUR ATHENS CORRESPONDENT

The Greek regime's unexpected political gestures over the past ten days indicate an energetic attempt by its leaders to reconcile the immovability of their domestic objectives with the needs of external expediency. The release of the composer Mikis Theodorakis and 332 other political prisoners, the avoidance of death sentences in the Athens sedition trial, and the relaxation of martial law all fit into the same context: the growing awareness of Athens that estrangement from western Europe can hurt the regime's basic doctrine, which is to keep Greece within the West at all costs.

The Greek leaders are determined not to be pushed into speeding up the biologically slow process of establishing a new, disciplined democracy by the simple expedient of creating a new class of politicians and waiting for the former politicians to die out. They are realising, however, that alienation from western Europe could hurt them in two ways. First, by intensifying the hostile climate which has cut off Greece from the mainstream of European economic and political evolution, especially by freezing its relations with the common market. Second, by virtue of the fact that the United States is becoming more susceptible to European feelings about Greece.

The relaxation of martial law and the reactivation of habeas corpus marked a significant step forward. It would have been more substantial if the regime had not already incorporated the main martial law provisions in ordinary legislation, and if the application of constitutional safeguards could have been protected by the mechanisms that only a parliamentary democracy can provide. One of the novelties announced by the prime minister was the establishment of a "small chamber" of up to 50 representatives from professional organisations, trade unions and local government to advise on legislation. This will add one more external democratic trimming, and may act as a seminar for a generation of new politicians guided by the law-and-order philosophy.

The trial of the 34 intellectuals, which ended on Sunday when 20 of them were given sentences ranging from three years to life, was also a balancing act in domestic and foreign policy. The prime minister's exhortation to the judges to exhaust their severity on law-breakers and the prosecution's call for one death sentence had evoked such a strong reaction in Europe that, by comparison, the heavy sentences appeared to be light.

There is little doubt here that the dissenting vote on the sedition sentences came from the military court's civilian president. Had the military judges not pressed for the application of a law meant exclusively for cases of communist subversion to defendants who were clearly non-communist, only ten of them (who were also charged with possession or use of explosives) would have been convicted.

The strict application of ordinary laws is now evidently the regime's disciplinary antidote to the whittling down of martial law. It can be assumed that the disclosure of the torture allegations in court was due only to the shrewdness of the defence tactics. The regime was less embarrassed because the allegations referred to dates before the International Red Cross was given access to political prisoners last November. The incident did, however, increase its concern over the anticipated decision of the foreign ministers of the Council of Europe this week to authorise the publication of the human rights commission's report accusing the regime of having used torture as an "administrative practice."

The government did its best to forestall this decision. But in Strasbourg the council ministers were left unmoved by Mr Papadopoulos's measures of liberalisation, and duly condemned Greece for violating the European Human Rights Convention. They agreed that the report accusing the regime of using torture should be published. Only France and Cyprus abstained.

M. Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber, the secretary general of the French Radical Party, who last week persuaded Mr Papadopoulos to release Theodorakis, was, as he had promised, in Strasbourg too. Exactly why, remains a mystery. But he took the opportunity of calling a press conference to expound his belief, already expounded to *Le Monde*, that the CIA controlled Greece, and that American influence in Greece and elsewhere was a threat to Europe and the world. He wished the council would grasp this point. He is due to return to Athens, supposedly to bring back, this time, M. Jean Starakis, a journalist of Greek origin but French nationality, who was sentenced to 18 years' imprisonment last Sunday.

STATINTL

CHICAGO, ILL.
TRIBUNE

M - 805,924
S - 1,131,752
APR 16 1970

Europe Council Condemns Greek

Regime

BY EDWARD ROHRBACH
[Chief of Paris Bureau]

STRASBOURG, France, April 15 — The Greek military government was condemned by the Council of Europe here today for flagrant violation of the organization's human rights convention.

The council's ministerial committee also published a 1,000-page report to document alleged repression by the Greek "colonels" regime. The ministerial committee is composed of foreign ministers representing nearly all of Western Europe's major countries.

Greece has already called the report a "mockery" and has denounced the council's human rights commission for meddling in its internal affairs. The Greeks withdrew from the council over the issue last December rather than be expelled.

Only Cyprus and France did not vote today. The French have never ratified the human rights convention.

Violations Charged

The 17-member ministerial committee charged the military junta with violating 10 articles. The violations include torture, unlawful detaining of citizens, and failure to allow freedoms of speech and assembly.

The accompanying report

parts of which were leaked last November to the press, contains 213 cases of alleged torture and ill treatment. The documentation, with names and places listed, includes descriptions of face-slapping incidents and solitary confinement. Electro shock treatment and dozens of other sadistic practices also are cited. One man claimed his moustache was burned off.

Seek Moral Pressure

Because the Council of Europe has no political power, publication of the highly damaging report is aimed at bringing moral pressure on the Greek junta. The report actually was drawn up last year to

back the campaign of the Scandinavians and the Dutch for expulsion of Greece from the council.

The council's vote to condemn Greece was in danger of being upstaged by Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber, new leader of France's radical Socialist party.

But the leftist politician, a former editor of France's leading news magazine, Express, said in a telegram yesterday he would "prove" to the council today that the "real masters" of the Greek regime are the American military machine and the Central Intelligence agency.

The Frenchman charged in

a press conference that the C. I. A. and the United States' military are keeping the junta in power by working behind the back of the American government. However, he did not produce the documentation as promised.

Servan-Schreiber, who dramatically flew ailing Mikis Theodorakis to freedom Monday from Greece after the "Zorba the Greek" composer had been interned by the regime for two and a half years, said the United States was making the world unsafe for democracy.

STATINTL

DANVILLE, VA.

REGISTER

APR 16 1970

M - 10,649

S - 22,245

CIA Convenient Whipping Boy

The old proverb about the boy who cried wolf so often no one responded when the wolf actually attacked, seems to apply to those who use the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency as a whipping boy in international rivalries.

Little basis in fact, if any at all, is needed to start the finger-pointing at the CIA. Latest to do so with his own propaganda mill to feed is JEAN-JACQUES SERVAN-SCHRIEBER, leader of the Radical Socialist Party in France. He blared forth on Wednesday with the charge that America's CIA and military system are "keeping the Greek junta in power without the knowledge or approval of the U.S. Government."

Such is the use of falsehood in radical propaganda.

The attack on the CIA and, in fact, the whole U.S. Government, by the French radical politician, came right behind the censure of the Greek Government by the Council of Europe, which had accused it of violating ten articles of the

European Convention on Human Rights.

It is ironic that SERVAN-SCHRIEBER's attack on the U.S. and its agency also came at a time when talk around the United Nations is that the PAPADOPOULOS regime in Athens is being wooed by the Soviet Union, which wants Greek ports closed to the U.S. 6th Fleet so that the USSR will dominate the eastern end of the Mediterranean.

At the same time, foes of the ruling junta in Greece are making their pitch in this country and abroad to create a break between the U.S. and the Greek governments. They do so by contending that support of the Greek regime is alienating the good will the Greek people long have held for the United States, which once saved them from a Communist takeover through the TRUMAN Doctrine.

It is a bit silly to put any confidence in the SERVAN-SCHRIEBER accusation that the responsible heads of the U.S. Government do not know what the CIA and our "military system" are doing vis-a-vis Greece.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.
INQUIRER

M - 505,173

S - 913,045

APR 16 1970

CIA Accused of Helping Greek Junta

STRASBOURG, France.—French leftist Jean-Jaques Servan-Schrieber accused the U. S. Central Agency and the "American military system" of keeping Greece's junta in power without the knowledge or approval of the U. S. government.

Servan-Schrieber, author and leader of France's Radical Socialist Party, made the charge at a news conference after the Council of Europe had accused the Greek military dictatorship of violating 10 articles of the European Convention on Human Rights.

Servan-Schrieber declared that the European nations should bring the alleged American intervention in Greece before the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

With only France and Cyprus abstaining, the 17-member council denounced the Greek junta and called for restoration of fundamental human freedoms in Greece without delay.

1 5 APR 1970

U.S. IS CALLED FORCE BEHIND GREEK JUNTA

French Politician Says CIA And American Military Run Nation

By THOMAS T. FENTON
(Paris Bureau of The Sun)

Paris, April 14—The French politician who engineered the release of Mikis Theodorakis, the Greek composer, charged today that the United States Central Intelligence Agency and the American military are the "real masters" in Greece.

"I am absolutely convinced, and I can prove it," Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber, a leader of the Radical Socialist party, told the influential Paris daily, *Le Monde*.

Mr. Servan-Schreiber said he would "reveal the real situation in Greece" tomorrow at a meeting of the council of Europe in Strasbourg. The council, which forced the Greek military regime to resign its membership at its last meeting, is expected also to hear a report from the Scandinavian countries detailing new charges of torture of political prisoners in Greece.

Charges Denied

Mr. Servan-Schreiber, who returned from Athens yesterday with Mr. Theodorakis, the Greek regime's most celebrated political prisoner, angrily denied charges printed in French newspapers that he had exploited the affair for his own political advancement.

He had flown to Athens Saturday, he said, at the requests of Greek students in Paris to intervene on behalf of several defendants in the Athens sedition trial and not to seek liberation of Mr. Theodorakis.

The composer's wife contacted him Sunday, he said, and he immediately contacted "Greek authorities," who appeared "greatly surprised" at his request for the composer's release.

The office of George Papadopoulos, the Greek prime minister, allowed him to bring Mr. Theodorakis, who is gravely ill with tuberculosis, to Paris.

On the flight back, he said, the composer assured him he was no longer a member of the outlawed Greek Communist party. He said Mr. Theodorakis believes the "only chance to restore democracy" in Greece is through "constant moral pressure" from the entire European community.

1 5 APR 1970

STATINTL

Colleges and Individuals Here Seek to Bring Theodorakis

By HENRY RAYMONT

The freeing of Mikis Theodorakis by Greece's military Government, has touched off a series of efforts by colleges and individuals here to bring the composer to the United States.

Mr. Theodorakis, best known in this country for his music for the films "Zorba the Greek" and "Z," was unexpectedly set free from political imprisonment in Athens on Monday. He was permitted to fly to Paris where he has entered a clinic for treatment of tuberculosis.

One group that had actively sought his release, Academicians and Artists for Mikis Theodorakis, sent a representative to Paris yesterday to seek to determine the condition of the 44-year-old composer's health and ascertain whether he was willing to accept a number of offers to teach here.

Dr. Konstantinos Lardas, professor of English at City College of New York and president of the committee, said that at least seven colleges and universities had issued invitations to Mr. Theodorakis to give courses on composition and folk music. They include City College, Hunter College, Queens College and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Should the composer accept any of these offers, he is likely to create a new problem for the Nixon Administration, since his avowed identification with Communist causes would make him ineligible for a normal visitor's visa under the 1952 McCarran-Walter act, under the legislation, which bars members of "proscribed organizations," only the Attorney General has discretionary authority to grant exemptions from the ban upon a recommendation of the Secretary of State.

Government Noncommittal

In Washington yesterday, the State Department was noncommittal on the matter. Robert J. McCloskey, the department's spokesman, declared in response to a question that he would have nothing to say until Mr. Theodorakis actually applied for a visa.

Mr. McCloskey said that the department was aware that many scholars and artists had already taken preliminary steps to obtain Theodorakis's admission to the United States.

This was an allusion to the committee, whose members include Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr., the historian, Arthur Miller, the playwright, and Harry Belafonte, the singer.

On Jan. 3, Socrates Zolotas, regional director of the Immigration and Naturalization Service in Burlington, Vt., approved a petition by Dr. Lardas and other members of the committee asking that Mr. Theodorakis be allowed to apply for a nonimmigrant visa to teach at City College for 10 months. The order reversed a previous decision by the service's New York office denying the petition.

It was also disclosed yesterday that Mr. Schlesinger and Senator Claiborne Pell, Democrat of Rhode Island, had written the State Department urging that it help remove any barrier to the entry of Mr. Theodorakis or other political prisoners who might be freed by the Greek Government.

Vance Bourjaily, a novelist and critic who teaches at the University of Iowa, arrived here yesterday with tape recordings of 90 songs written by Mr. Theodorakis during his imprisonment. He said he obtained the tapes in Greece two weeks ago from friends of the composer who asked they be

delivered to Dr. Lardas's committee.

"The songs are sung by Theodorakis who accompanied himself on the piano," Mr. Bourjaily said. "He probably recorded them earlier this year when he was in exile in Katoona."

Details of Release Unclear

PARIS, April 14—The mystery surrounding the release of Mr. Theodorakis remained unresolved today. But it was widely agreed that it had been a political coup for Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber, the French editor-politician who brought the composer out of captivity.

Mr. Servan-Schreiber, who recently gave up titular control of his successful news-weekly, L'Express, to become secretary general of the ailing Radical Socialist party, declared today that the Central Intelligence Agency and the armed forces of the United States were "the real master of Greece."

"And I have the proof of it," he added. He did not give further details.

Mr. Servan-Schreiber was retorting angrily to a question by the newspaper Le Monde about a rumor that he had obtained the composer's release in exchange for a promise to defend the Greek Government before the Council of Europe.

He said he would go before the Council in Strasbourg tomorrow, accompanied by former Premier Edgar Faure, to discuss the Greek situation. He indicated, however, that he would appeal to the Council not to ostracize Greece.

to U.S.

OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLA.
TIMES

E - 109,682

APR 15 1970

Theodorakis: Prisons, Tourists, Image

By George Weller

In April, season of tourist bookings, Greece's colonels are riding a new leniency kick.

Why their leader, Prime Minister George Papadopoulos, a bantam-sized student of Communist tactics, has decided to shift his mean, alert police apparatus into low gear, is becoming clearer. He has turned uncommonly soft on his enemies, and rarely uses even his onetime favorite epithet of "Communist."

Papadopoulos topped his generous mood by allowing the tubercular Communist composer, Mikis Theodorakis, to be carried off to Paris in a private airplane by the news magazine publisher Jean-Jacques Servan Schreiber. The prime minister said that the release was "humanitarian," granted on the understanding that Theodorakis would indulge in "no political exploitation."

TO ANY GREEK, especially a Communist, this pledge to abjure politics is as realistic as a promise not to breathe.

Mikis

Theodorakis



Andreas Papandreou was allowed to leave on a similar understanding shortly after the colonels took over, and hasn't stopped denouncing them since.

Papandreou, like Theodorakis, was a member of a Communist front when young. He has since formed an alliance with the Greek Communist front operating out of Italy, doggedly preaching to Canadians that the CIA plotted the takeover by the colonels.

One reason why Papadopoulos is easing up is that he evidently does not want Greece to acquire the image of a "prison country" that the exiles are trying to hang on her.

Last year Italian socialists smuggled George

Mylonas, a non-Communist liberal, off an Aegean island. Helen Vlachos, publisher of the independent newspaper Kathimerini, escaped from the apartment where she was under house arrest and surfaced in the London press.

This prison image is especially unwelcome at the critical, moment of tourist bookings, when Greece is competing with Italy, Yugoslavia and Turkey.

Amnesty International, the British organization to free political prisoners, has been running a campaign against Spain and Greece. A similar "don't-visit-Greece" campaign run last year by Papandreou and Melina Mercouri was a total flop. Greece had 30 per cent more tourists than the year before.

The colonels are rough on meddlers from outside, cheerfully denying them any kibitzing privileges on Greek justice. When a German spokesman called Greek sentences "severe," Papadopoulos said he "made a mockery of justice and morality."

Chicago Daily News Service

1 5 APR 1970

**Servan-Schreiber
Sees CIA Behind Junta**

Reuters

PARIS, April 14—Greek composer Mikis Theodorakis spent his first day of freedom in an undisclosed French hospital today while the left-wing French politician who obtained his release attacked the United States for supporting the Greek military government.

Theodorakis, jailed about two years ago for being an alleged risk to Greek public security, was being treated for tuberculosis after flying to Paris from Athens yesterday with French politician Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber. Greece said he was freed on humanitarian grounds.

Servan-Schreiber, former editor of L'Express magazine and now secretary general of the French Radical Socialist Party, said the CIA and the American Army were the real powers behind the Greek military junta.

Theodorakis, 44, is best known as the composer of the music for the films "Z," which attacks the present Greek government, and "Zorba the Greek." His music is banned in Greece.

THE MINNEAPOLIS TRIBUNE
25 Mar 1970

Former Greek Official Says U.S. Policy Is Wrong-headed

STATINTL

By MOLLY IVINS

Minneapolis Tribune Staff Writer

"America is supporting a dictatorship (in Greece) in order to save democracy. — it is a policy I cannot agree with," said George Mylonas, who was the minister of education before the current military regime took over in Greece.

Mylonas is considered one of the most interesting of the exiles now working in the Greek resistance movement, both because he is a widely respected moderate and because of his spectacular escape from the Greek island where he had been interned by the current Greek regime.

Mylonas, 50, was interned on the island of Amorgos shortly after the Greek colonels took power. He planned his own escape with the aid of his daughter Eleni, son-in-law Elias Kulukundis and five Italian socialists. Mylonas climbed down a 1,000-foot cliff where he was picked up in a rowboat rowed by his son-in-law and taken to an Italian cabin cruiser. Mylonas was tipped to the "D-day" by a tourist in a cafe carrying the book, "The Tragedy of Lyndon Johnson."

He was in Minneapolis to speak last night at Grace Lutheran Church near the University of Minnesota.

Mylonas was asked to comment on the theory widely held by exiled Greek leftists that the American Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) was responsible for the coup in Greece.

"I have no knowledge, only opinion," he said. "But it is a fact that the man who



GEORGE MYLONAS

was for seven years the liaison officer between the CIA and KIP, the Greek intelligence service, is now one of the five men in the military regime.

"The people of Greece believe the CIA was deeply involved and it is at least a case of Caesar's wife — even if she is innocent, she does not appear innocent."

Mylonas said he is convinced that the great majority of the Greek people do not support the colonels.

"You ask me how I know this? And I say to you, why not hold an election to see? But there are no elections in Greece. Not only are political elections outlawed, but even the president of the lawyers' association, the doctors' association, even the heads of the athletic clubs in Athens are appointed by the colonels because they are afraid any election would become a show of political opinion."

Mylonas said that if the United States were to take an official stand against the dictatorship, it would mean a great deal to the Greek people, showing them that the West truly believes in democracy.

THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN
23 March 1970

Exile alleges plot for NATO island

By TERENCE PRITIE, Diplomatic Correspondent

The leader of the Pan-Hellenic Liberation Movement, Mr Andreas Papandreou, claims that a new attempt to overthrow Archbishop Makarios and his Government in Cyprus is being prepared by the Greek regime, with the connivance of Turkey and the United States.

He maintains that this improbable alliance is trying to bring Cyprus under NATO domination. Mr Papandreou, who has coordinated most of the Left-of-Centre opposition of Greek exiles to the Athens regime has a fixation about alleged US involvement in Greece's internal affairs. He insists that the US Central Intelligence Agency is the power behind the colonists' junta.

In a statement in Toronto, simultaneously published by his followers in London, he declared that the junta was directly responsible for the recent attempt on Archbishop Makarios's life and for the murder of Mr Georghadjis. The junta, too, had spread the story that Cyprus was in a state of incipient chaos, justifying intervention from abroad.

The Turkish Government,

according to Mr Papandreou, will only simulate anger at the junta's efforts to secure control of Cyprus. Mr Papandreou gives no reason why the Turkish Government should not be alarmed at the prospect of Enosis, especially as the Turkish Foreign Minister, has been giving warnings of an impending coup.

Mr Papandreou said that the US State Department is worried, not about a coup being planned but about the effect that it may have on the Soviet Union—even to the point of encouraging Soviet military intervention.

Mr Papandreou's appeals to the people of Cyprus to "mobilise themselves as quickly as possible to meet the plot against their independence."

When reporting developments inside Greece, the Greeks in exile have been remarkably accurate. But the turning of Cyprus into a NATO island could, from the junta's view, have only one purpose—to ingratiate itself with the Western Powers at a time when the latter are worried over Soviet naval strength in the Eastern Mediterranean.

Suspicious

But suspicion that certain Greek officers, unknown to the military junta in Athens, were behind the plot to kill the President and bring about Enosis still carries a lot of weight in Cyprus. The suspicion was not diminished when Archbishop Makarios denounced as a forgery a document, which Mr Georghadjis had entrusted to a friend just before he met his death, naming Greek officers allegedly behind the attempted assassination, a pro-Enosis coup, and his own death.

This was the situation which the Russians began to exploit, so that by Wednesday night the Turkish Foreign Minister was talking of an impending coup and armed Turkish-Cypriots in Nicosia went on to a red alert behind barricades.

I was eating in a nearly deserted Turkish restaurant during the second night of the red alert when a squad of Eastern European journalists, led by a correspondent from "Izvestia," came in twice, walked about, and marched out again.

So far the determination of the Turkish Foreign Minister, Mr Caglayangil, and his Greek counterpart, Mr Pipinelis, to maintain good relations appears to have survived.

Tomorrow, Mr Glavkos Clerides, Speaker of the Greek Cypriot Parliament and Mr Rauf Denktash, speaker of the Turkish Cypriot Communal Chamber, will resume their long standing negotiations to find a feasible solution to the communal problem.

41 EAST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017, 697-5100

FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS STAFF

PROGRAM Barry Gray STATION WMCA STATINTL
DATE March 15, 1970 11:00 PM CITY New York

INTERVIEW WITH JAMES BECKETT

BARRY GRAY: My guest on WMCA New York is Mr. James Beckett, author of a new book, called "Barbarism in Greece," published by Walker. Mr. Beckett is an attorney, and obviously a writer. His wife is Greek.

Mr. Beckett, I know nothing about Greece, except what I see in the travel ads. How often have you been there?

JAMES BECKETT: Well, I've been there over the last ten years. And my wife and I used to spend the summers there. And before the colonels came, our interest was mainly in the sun and the sea, and the life that the travel ads show.

But in the village which we went every summer, in the summer of 1967 we went and visited there, there was the grave of a young girl who had been shot on the day of the coup. All the elected officials had been thrown out of office. And all the inhabitants of the village were scared to death, scared to death even to talk to us.

GRAY: Do you speak the language?

BECKETT: Yes, though not well. But I do speak the language.

FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS STAFF

STATINTL

PROGRAM The Today Show

STATION WRC TV
NBC Network

DATE March 9, 1970 7:00 AM

CITY Washington, D. C.

CHARGES OF TORTURE IN GREECE EXPLORED

EDWIN NEWMAN: The military regime in Greece, which seized power in a coup almost three years ago, stands accused of using torture on political prisoners. The Council of Europe has ousted Greece from its ranks. The Scandanavian governments filed charges against the Greek regime with the European Commission on Civil Rights.

Amnesty International, a humanitarian group, conducted a month long investigation in Greece and concluded that organized torture does, indeed, exist there.

With us this morning are James Becket, an American attorney, who is involved in the investigation for Amnesty International, and George Mylonas, who was Minister of Education in the government of the former Greek Prime Minister, George Papandreou. Mr. Mylonas was one of six thousand people arrested when the military men took power. He was not tortured because, he says, the present Greek government never tortures prominent people.

At any rate, Mr. Mylonas escaped and is with us today for his first interview in the United States.

Papandreou, in Canadian Exile, Leads Active, Guarded Life

Says Overthrow of Greek Military Regime May Take 5 or 10 Years

By EDWARD COWAN
Special to The New York Times

KING CITY, Ontario, March 6 — "I lead two lives," said Andreas Papandreou, savoring the drama of the line.

The former Greek Cabinet Minister has returned to his initial vocation, teaching economics, but what is most on his mind is a move to oust the military junta that seized power in Athens three years ago and has since ruled without an election. Mr. Papandreou said that the ouster might take five or 10 years.

Mr. Papandreou, who is 51 years old, teaches at York University, on the northern outskirts of Toronto. He is the son of George Papandreou, the former Greek Premier who died in 1968.

Andreas Papandreou—with his 81-year-old mother, his wife, the former Margaret Chant of Elmhurst, Ill., and their four children, aged 11 to 17—lives in a large house with outdoor swimming pool in a subdivision in this small, quiet community a dozen miles north of the university.

Atmosphere Is Different

Lots in the development are two acres or more and houses cost \$60,000 or \$70,000. The Papandreou children want a snowmobile so they can roar through backyards with the other kids. Living in the development might be some people's idea of bliss. At the Papandreou home, the atmosphere is a little different.

An allas is painted on the mailbox. A frisky German shepherd named Turk ("That was the name he had when we bought him," explained the exiled Greek politician) charges across the lawn to appraise visitors. The telephone number is unlisted.

The Papandreous want no photographs or word pictures of their house or car. Mr. Papandreou is accompanied by a bodyguard-chauffeur. In Europe, where he goes every six weeks or so to keep in close touch with the Greek exile movement, "there's usually somebody with Andreas," said his wife.



Andreas Papandreou

To judge from a three-hour visit to their home this week and the ease with which it was arranged, the Papandreous do not live in fear. But, as Mrs. Papandreou put it, "in general, we're cautious."

Over a light luncheon of soup, crabmeat, liver pâté, feta cheese, salad, sliced apples and a white Bordeaux wine. Mr. Papandreou talked with intensity of his own political life and of the April, 1967, coup. Since the junta released him from jail at the end of 1967, Mr. Papandreou has contended that the coup had been arranged with the active assistance of United States military officers in Athens and the Pentagon.

Charges a C.I.A. Role

When, in 1964-66, he was a member of his father's Cabinet, Mr. Papandreou said, the Greek intelligence service was under his jurisdiction, but only nominally.

Mr. Papandreou said that he had tried to "clean up" the service but could not because "it was directly administered and financed" by the United States Central Intelligence Agency. "Next to every man was an American counterpart" in civilian clothes, he said.

Mr. Papandreou predicted that next month Washington would resume giving "heavy"

military equipment to Greece. "The U.S. services have found a way to assist the junta militarily and control the junta," he said. "I don't bluntly identify America with all this," he added. "I do make a distinction between Pentagonism and the political world."

Mr. Papandreou described his own political philosophy this way: "I see myself as a socialist, basically. I'm terribly committed to democratic processes. Human liberty and popular sovereignty I put ahead of social progress."

Says He Is Pragmatic

By socialism, he said, he meant that "the economy is run in the interest of the people."

"I don't believe, say, in nationalization across the board," he said. "I'm very pragmatic. I believe in a mixed economy—this insofar as it's compatible with personal liberty, which I'm not prepared to sacrifice at any cost."

He also believed, he said, in national identity. "I'm very much of a nationalist at this stage," he said. "I think that true internationalism has to go through nationalism."

Mr. Papandreou's mien was somber throughout his political discourse. His pipes lay cold on a table as he smoked one long, unfiltered American cigarette after another. Behind him, a snowy slope and his tall, bare elm and birch trees glistened in the hard, bright winter sunshine.

Mr. Papandreou's book about Greek political life and the coup, "Democracy at Gunpoint," is to be published by Doubleday on April 17. His wife's account of the coup and the eight months her husband was in jail, "Nightmare in Athens," will be issued by Prentice-Hall in the autumn.

Mr. Papandreou has little time for hobbies or family life. On Sundays he may take the family to dinner in one of the many Greek-owned restaurants in Toronto.

The Colonels and Their Good American Friends

Bearing Gifts To Greeks

by Zalin B. Grant

Athens

The secret police recently jailed a waiter named Constantine Taktikos for doodling "KKE"—initials of Greece's Communist party—on the dusty windowpane of a car. The regime has, at one time or another, banned miniskirts and long hair, ordered grammar school history books rewritten to denounce parliamentary democracy, punished anti-regime "whisperers" with harsh prison terms, and tortured women for vaguely specified political crimes. So Constantine's arrest was shrugged off here as further proof of what everyone already knew: that Greece hasn't advanced an inch toward democratic rule since a bunch of faceless Army officers, mostly colonels, seized power on April 21, 1967.

The best to be said about the Colonels' first thousand days is that they moved with a certain sophistication while they converted Greece into a police state, carrying out a few needed reforms in the process. The tone of the regime was set by their smoothly executed takeover, which was based on a computerized NATO contingency plan routinely drawn up a few months beforehand by NATO allies to counter the remote possibility of an externally inspired Communist coup in Greece. The crude terror tactics with which the Colonels underwrote martial law were balanced by more subtle forms of oppression. Result: no protest strikes by the Greeks, no anti-Junta demonstrations. And whatever opposition may be cooking today is fancied by the very brave or the foolhardy.

Chief technician of this straitjacket stability is Prime Minister George Papadopoulos, who rules Greece with the aid of two key subordinates and a "politburo" of colonels. Papadopoulos spent nine of his 17 Army years in the Greek intelligence service—a combination CIA-FBI once closely tutored by American operatives. Greeks say he learned CIA tricks well. Since the coup the secret police force has been more than doubled in size, listening devices have been attached to countless phones and apartments, and a gigantic informer network has been set up. Papadopoulos' ubiquitous apparatus has filled Greece with suspicion, causing a once-outgoing people to eye each other warily. The skills and hookers who once patrolled Athens's Constitution Square have all but vanished, replaced now by less obtrusive plainclothes agents.

Most of the available facts on Mr. Papadopoulos'

earlier career suggest his talents were devoted mainly to plotting. As a young officer in the '50s, he headed a secret right-wing army organization. A major general—now under detention—once unsuccessfully lobbied against Papadopoulos' promotion to colonel, protesting that he had less than a year's combat service and few other recommendations. Colonel Papadopoulos, obviously more confident of his abilities, also promoted himself to defense minister and minister of education and religion after he took over as prime minister. He has maneuvered to consolidate his power within the ruling junta, a gray body of about a dozen officers. "He doesn't yet have the majority of them in his hands," says a well-informed source, "but the others are split into easily controlled factions."

The Colonels' estimate of their popular support is not very high. They haven't risked lifting the strict martial law that has now been in force for three years. Nor have they attempted to legitimize themselves through popular elections. Instead, acting like the soldiers they are, they have methodically moved to insure themselves absolute control in the event outside pressures compel them to suspend martial law or otherwise "liberalize." First of all, the new constitution they handed Greece to approve in a Yes-or-No referendum was loaded with provisions outlawing vaguely defined anti-government activity. "In the future they can pass practically any repressive law to stifle opposition," says a diplomat, "and it won't be unconstitutional." (The constitutional referendum offers insight into how the regime works. At Delphi, government officials passed the word that citizens should dramatize their support of the Junta by voting openly and unanimously for the constitution. They added pointedly that a curtained booth would be available for those wishing secrecy. Of 728 voters, 24 cast ballots in secret; the remainder minus one dutifully deposited their distinctively colored Yes ballots in front of the government election committee. The lone dissenter? The village daredevil, a fellow who had already been arrested several times by the secret police. A well-educated businessman from another town following more orthodox voting procedures confides that he voted Yes because he feared the secret police might trace his fingerprints on a No ballot. Though 92 percent of the electorate approved the constitution, the Colonels apparently reconsidered their document and found it too liberal. Thus far they have refused to implement it.) Secondly, Papadopoulos' regime has begun to build a substructure of repres-

ST. PAUL, MINN.
PIONEER PRESS

M - 100,307
S - 200,306
FEB 21 1970

BY GREEK JUNTA

U.S. Blamed in Takeover

By ROGER BERGERSON
Staff Writer

The United States and Russia were prodded into deposing the governments of Greece and Czechoslovakia by "military-intelligence commands" that function unseen in their midsts, an exiled Greek cabinet minister said Friday.

In a speech at the University of Minnesota, Andreas Papandreou said that the super-powers acted out of fear of losing their control when the two smaller nations showed signs of easing relations with non-ally countries and generally trying to run their own affairs.

Papandreou, a former uni-

versity economics professor, was a cabinet minister at the time of the 1967 coup by army generals. He was expelled from the government with his father, the prime minister.

"Greece is an experiment in control by a military machine that is quite international in character," he said.

When he assumed his cabinet post, and with it theoretical control of Greek intelligence operations, Papandreou related, he ordered that all telephone taps on activists be discontinued.

"I was told that I was powerless to do that, because all of the intelligence money and equipment was supplied by the CIA," he said.

"The whole cabinet protested to the U.S. government but it was made clear that it was considered such an important issue by them, that to accomplish a change would mean a break in diplomatic relations.

"We weren't ready to take that step yet."

The willingness came, he indicated, when the Greek cabinet was told by President Johnson and his advisers that it would have to acquiesce to Turkish demands concerning Cyprus.

"When we said no, we'd fight instead, our fate was decided," he said.

Papandreou said the current Greek dictatorship is "U.S.-made" and claimed that current premier, George Papadopoulos, was liaison between the CIA and Greek intelligence prior to the coup.

In every country, he said, higher echelons of the military have developed into a new caste, fighting to retain the myth of conflict between nations.

"Greece is only the first Western country to go and I'm afraid that Italy is next," he said.

Papandreou saluted the recent expulsion of Greece from the Council of Europe as the first courage shown

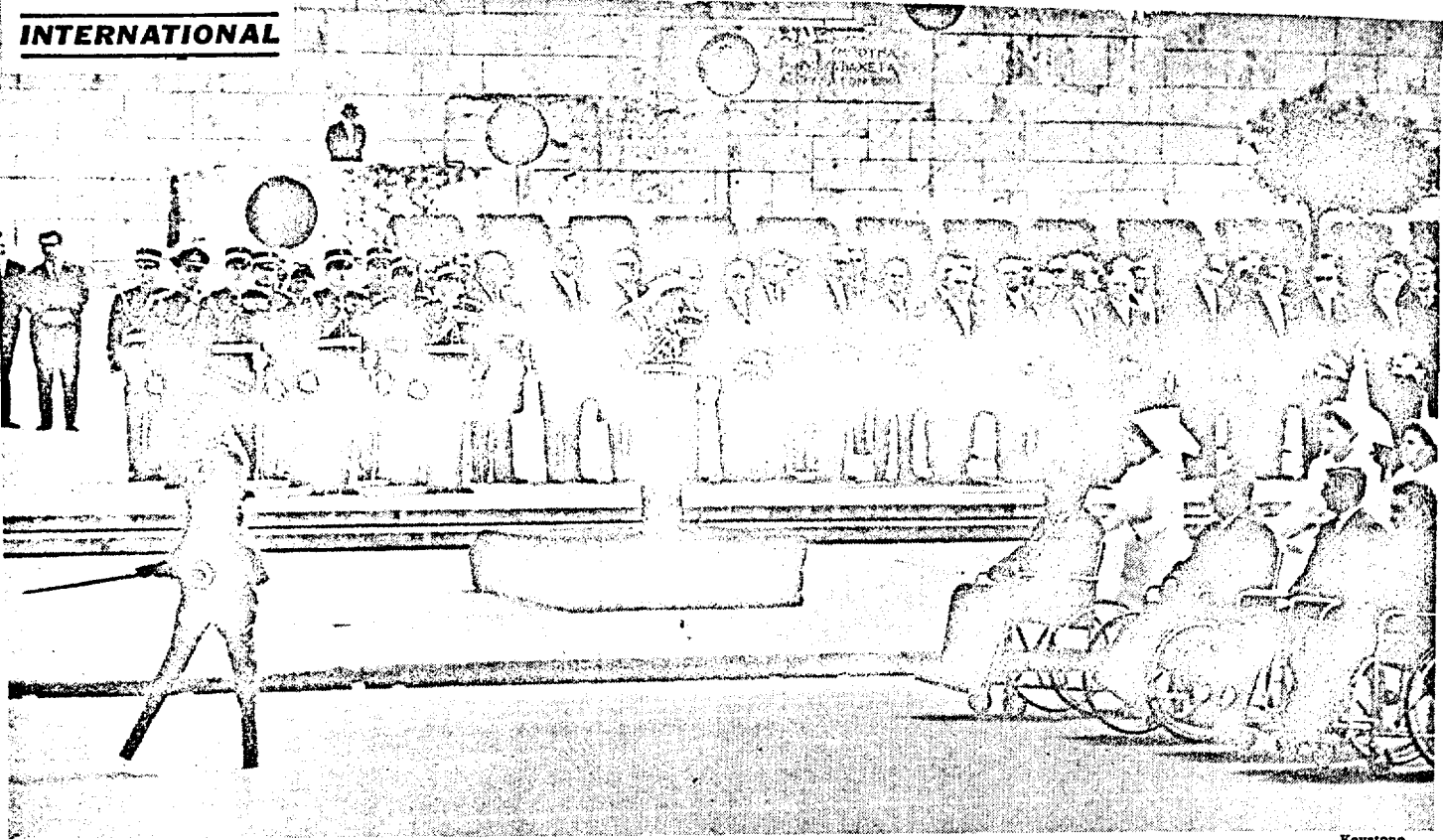
against the "demands and blackmail" of the United States.

A study which he said is still to be made public by the Human Rights Commission of the Council of Europe and Amnesty International will show that the present Greek regime is using a program of systematic torture on its adversaries within the country.

Greece: The Colonels Have Their Way

Last week, after a lapse of nearly a year, the United States sent a new ambassador to Greece, which for 33 months has been ruled by a junta of messianic colonels. The ambassadorial appointment did not reflect American approval of the repressive regime, but it did seem to indicate that, for reasons of strategic necessity, Washington had decided to make its peace with the junta. In Athens, Newsweek correspondents **Bruce van Voorst** and **John Barnes** found that, whether Western liberals like it or not, the colonels are firmly in the saddle. From their on-scene reports, General Editor **Angus Deming** describes life in present-day Greece. For a pair of companion stories, written by General Editor **Russell Watson**, Senior Editor **Arnaud de Borchgrave**, London bureau chief **Robert J. Korengold** and Rome bureau chief **Philip S. Cook** reported on the bleak life of Greece's political exiles—including her young monarch, Constantine II, and his wife and children. (Cover photo by Camera Press—Pix.)

INTERNATIONAL



Keystone

Brave new world: Members of the Greek junta review a parade of disabled veterans in Athens

Greece: A Dilemma for the West

It is one thing for Russians to crush Czechoslovak liberals in the Kremlin's own backyard. But it is something altogether different for a clique of faceless colonels to establish a dictatorship in a West European country. Thus, when military men seized power in Greece 33 months ago—and immediately began issuing ukases against miniskirts, beards and free speech—it seemed unthinkable that they would be allowed to get away with it. Yet that is precisely what they have done. For the moment, at least, the heavy-handed colonels who rule Greece have ridden out the storm. And last week, in a symbolic capstone to their achievement, the vacant post of United States ambassador to Greece was finally filled with the arrival in Athens of career diplomat Henry J. Tasca.

It had been nearly a year since Tasca's predecessor left the embassy in Athens, and during that time a dormant world conscience had begun to stir. There were chilling reports of torture in the dank cells of Athens's Boukoulinas Street prison. There was a powerful, widely acclaimed movie called "Z," which dissected the indecencies of a nascent police state in Greece. There was the spectacle of the Greek Foreign Minister stalking out of the Council of Europe in order to deny his democratic neighbors the chance to evict him. Worst of all, there was a glimmer of repentance or reformation from the

colonels in Athens themselves. Indeed, as if to rub salt in the wounds of its critics, the Greek junta celebrated its third New Year's in power with boasts of peace and prosperity.

Nor were these entirely empty claims, as even the most critical foreign visitors to booming Greece could attest. And the very success of such an unpalatable regime made the "Greek problem" even more agonizing to deal with. This was especially true for the U.S. For throughout the postwar era, there has been a kind of special relationship between Washington and Athens. It was, after all, American aid that helped to defeat the Communists in Greece's devastating civil war twenty years ago. And when the colonels seized power in April of 1967—under the pretext of preventing a Communist take-over—many Greeks automatically assumed, without a shred of evidence, that the coup had been spawned by patrons in Washington and nursed by the CIA. In fact, the U.S. has all along been ambivalent about the new regime in Athens. It slapped the junta's wrists with an arms embargo (later downgraded to a "selective" ban), but despite considerable pressure, has consistently declined to push the colonels any further.

End: To some Americans, there is a vague but nonetheless disturbing parallel between Washington's acquiescence to the Greek junta and the support given for undemocratic governments in places

like Saigon. The Nixon Administration, however, seems to have concluded that there are more compelling reasons for placating the junta than for opposing it to the bitter end. The Mediterranean is steadily yielding to Soviet influence, and even a once staunch NATO ally like Turkey is allowing Soviet-made MIG fighters to land at air bases on its soil. Greece, then, has become even more important than before to American strategic interests, and it appears likely that the Administration will soon order a complete resumption of American arms shipments. Explains one U.S. diplomat: "We are attempting to balance American national interest with moral principle—and that isn't an easy job."

This juggling act could have vast consequences, for by giving the junta its stamp of approval, however reluctantly, the Administration has signaled the colonels' enemies—both at home and abroad—that the regime of Prime Minister George Papadopoulos will probably never be ousted by purely diplomatic means. In despair, the opposition might thus be driven to try to launch a civil war. At the moment, therefore, it is the Greek people and their rulers who provide the best clues to their nation's uncertain future. On the following pages, NEWSWEEK describes the brave new world the colonels seek to build and the fate of the 1974 exiled King and commoners.

How the Colonels Run Things

My country that was the cradle
of beauty,
The cradle of the golden mean,
Today a place of death.
So much light turned to darkness,
So much beauty to fear,
So much strength to weakness,
So many heroes to marble busts.

—A song by Mikis Theodorakis

This is an in-between time of the year in Greece. In the countryside, where the bleak, scarred mountains are still capped with glistening snow, all the crops are in now except for some oranges, which still droop heavily from the branches of groves dotting the shores of the Peloponnese. The olive trees are being pruned and, in fertile valleys and on rock-strewn hillsides, plowing has once again begun. Even in the bustling cities of Athens and Salonika it is a moment for pause. The festive holiday season has come and gone, a new decade has begun, and few Greeks can think of a better way of marking the transition of time than by sipping endless cups of syrup-thick coffee at an outdoor café or passing an evening with friends at a taverna, drinking ouzo and listening to bouzouki music. In short, Greece in this midwinter of 1970 offers the same unchanging tableau that has captivated foreign tourists for generations.

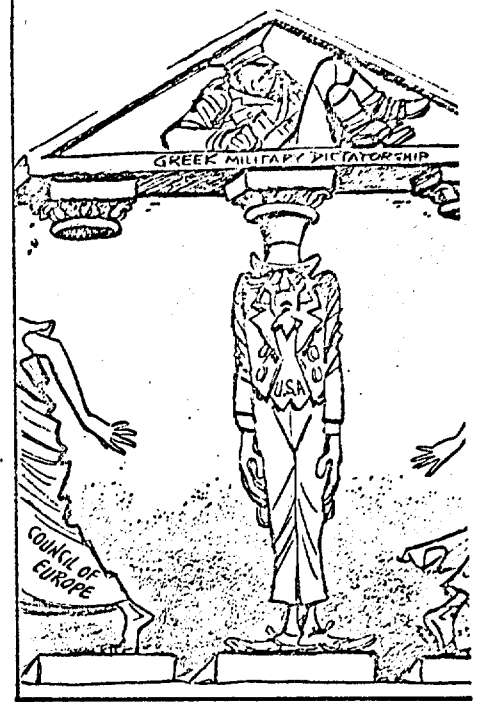
Yet, despite this appearance of normality, many dismaying changes have come over Greece since the colonels seized power there nearly three years ago. One symptom of the change is that Greeks, known so long for their outgoing

warmth and hospitality, now regard foreigners and even fellow Greeks with undisguised suspicion. Nor, any longer, do Greeks pursue with characteristic passion their national pastime: politics. Nowadays, if they talk of politics at all, Greeks do so only in the seclusion of their own homes or in the safe company of their most trusted friends. As out of keeping with the Greek temperament as it may be, silence in public has become not only a virtue but a necessity.

Arrest: Indeed, there is ample enough cause for the paranoia that has gripped the 8.5 million people of Greece. The threat of arrest for the most innocent of "crimes"—perhaps nothing more heinous than having been seen talking with someone who, in turn, was overheard grumbling about the way the government is running things—hangs over everyone's head. On lonely Aegean islands and in closely guarded camps outside Athens, an estimated 3,000 Greeks still await trials that may or may not ever be held. (The "detainees," who once numbered as many as 6,000, range from mildly liberal parliamentarians ousted from office by the military coup to right-wing royalists and even a handful of retired generals.) And, within the consciousness of many Greeks lurks the unspoken fear of torture at the dreaded police headquarters on Athen's Bouboulinas Street—a fate suffered by scores of their countrymen, whose gruesome accounts of brutality have given the junta its most indelible public image abroad.

Although no one outside the junta can say for certain, the weight of evidence indicates that such methods as the *falanga*—beating the soles of the feet with an iron rod or wooden stick—is no longer a widespread practice in Greece. Whether or not out of concern for his regime's image, Prime Minister George Papadopoulos has repeatedly given stern orders against the use of torture. And, coincidentally or not, there have been no published complaints of torture from prisoners or their families since last November, when a Red Cross inspection team with a Greek-speaking Swiss interpreter was given limited access to Greek prisons and detention camps.

Informers: For that matter, the Papadopoulos regime does not need to resort to brutality to keep the populace in line. The contagion of fear is enough in itself to keep most people cowed. By bestowing enviable status upon police informers—they are reportedly paid 500 drachmas (about \$17) a month and are issued special identification cards—the government has built up an Orwellian spy system that keeps tabs on everyone. One result has been a spate of black-humor jokes of the sort that filter out of East Europe. In one of these, a man in an Athens bus asks his neighbor: "Are you connected with the military?"



Herblock © 1969 Washington Post

"What Am I Doing Here?"

"Your father? Son? Brother? Father-in-law? Son-in-law?" The answer is still negative.

"Then in that case," the first man hisses angrily, "would you kindly stop standing on my foot!"

But many Greeks, particularly intellectuals, do not consider the repressive atmosphere a joking matter. "After two and a half years," says one of Greece's more promising young authors, "most people have found that sooner or later, no matter what their position, some demand will be made, some sign of submission or conformity will be required of them. It may be something trivial, like having to put out the flag on the anniversary of the coup. Or it may be a crucial test, such as whether to shelter a friend from the police or help someone escape. The pendulum swings from shame to fear. One is forced into intolerance, ruthlessness, inflexibility. Forgiveness and understanding become dangerous luxuries."

Culture: If the regime has alienated its more gifted citizens, it has also clamped a frozen hand on Greek cultural life. George Seferis, who received a 1963 Nobel Prize for his poetry, has not published a line since the colonels took over. Other Greek authors read their manuscripts aloud at private gatherings or pass them from hand to hand among their own circle of friends. Two of the most respected figures of the Greek stage—Katina Paxinou (who won an Oscar as Pilar in "For Whom the Bell Tolls") and her husband, Alexis Minotis—have quit the Greek National Theater and have formed a company of their own. Some big name stars, such as Melina Mercouri and Irene Pappas, have chosen exile abroad. As a result, their movies are



UPI

Mikis Theodorakis, a former leftist deputy now in prison camp, who wrote the score for "Zorba the Greek" and whose score for the motion picture "Z" had to be smuggled out of the country.

Nor have Greece's schools and news media been spared the heavy hand of Prime Minister Papadopoulos and his reform-minded fellow colonels. Apparently to restore something of the glory that was Greece, the regime has decreed that *katharevousa*—a neoclassical form of the Greek language and virtually a foreign tongue to most Greek youngsters—shall henceforth be a mandatory part of secondary school curricula. In the media, a new law that supplants official censorship (and which threatens prison and fines for articles or pictures that encourage "defeatism" or "rekindle the flames of political passions") plus a "whispering law" (which provides jail and fines for spreading "false reports" or "rumors") combine to gag virtually all public writing and speech in Greece today.

All of this startling transformation in the nation's political, social and cultural life has been wrought by a deceptively bland-looking group of career army officers whose ideology is a mix of virulent anti-Communism, devout belief in Christianity, puritanical morals and almost frenzied nationalism. In short, the men who now rule Greece are fanatics. The symbol of their "revolution" is a stylized phoenix rising from a pyre of flames and its moving force is George Papadopoulos, a short, stocky colonel of artillery with long experience in KYP, Greece's combination of the CIA and FBI.

The Soldier: As Prime Minister, Minister to the Prime Minister, Minister of Defense and Minister of Education and Religion, Papadopoulos is the junta's undisputed leader. But although he traded his uniform for dark blue suits after the coup and rules from behind the same oaken desk in the "Old Palace" used by countless Prime Ministers before him, Papadopoulos still thinks, acts and lives like a soldier. At his home in Psychico, a residential section of Athens, he awakens, without benefit of alarm clock, on the dot of 6 a.m. Breakfasting on nothing more than a cup of coffee which he brews himself (his wife, Despina, prefers to sleep late), the Prime Minister thumbs through four Athens morning newspapers and two economic papers before stepping into his black, bullet-proof limousine. Then, while two motorcycle MP's provide an advance guard and a hundred or so uniformed and plain-clothes police clear the route along Queen Sophias Avenue, Papadopoulos flicks on the car radio to listen to the early morning news as he rides to work. He arrives in his office at 7:30 a.m., leaves at 3 p.m. for a light lunch and nap and returns at 6 p.m.—often to work late.

An austere man, Papadopoulos is also a clean-desk man. Except for two clocks, note paper and a timing device with a buzzer which he sets for as long as he thinks conversations should last, the

Prime Minister's desk top is barren. He does, however, adorn his office with some decorative effects. Among them: a framed charm-necklace worn by his father supposedly containing a piece of the True Cross, and a three-dimensional rendering of Christ at Gethsemane similar to those widely sold in religious souvenir shops. And the same devotional object is found on the desks of Papadopoulos's two top subordinates—Stylianios Pattakos, the regime's Minister of the Interior, and Nicholas Makarezos, the Minister of Coordination.

Tough: Of these two, Pattakos, a former brigadier general with a brother and sister in the U.S., is closer to Papadopoulos, despite the fact that his personality differs vastly from that of his colorless boss. A tough and moody native of Crete, Pattakos has as his personal trademarks a shaven pate, bushy black eyebrows and an earthy sense of humor. Even some critics of the regime credit him with having done a commendable job in supervising the construction of public-works projects such as bridges, roads and school buildings in the rural areas of Greece, which he often visits.

By contrast, Makarezos, the other member of the ruling triumvirate, is the closest thing the regime has to a house "intellectual" (he holds law, political science and engineering degrees). But although Makarezos is given to boasting of Greece's favorable economic indicators (one of his jobs is to supervise the nation's economic growth), his record is spotty at best. Makarezos is the one who approved an abortive deal with Litton Industries for development projects in Crete and the Western Peloponnesus. And although Aristotle Onassis is said to be on the verge of signing a contract for a \$600 million oil refinery deal in Greece, foreign capital, in general, has steered clear of Greece since the military regime took over. On top of that, there are increasingly persistent reports in world money markets of an inevitable devaluation of the drachma.

Stability: For all its obvious black marks, however, the Greek military junta can boast of at least one accomplishment. It has put together a functioning piece of governmental machinery—part military, part civilian—that has remained stable and virtually unchanged in composition for close to three years. Indeed, the only change at the top has been the appointment of Gen. Demetrios Patilis as Second Deputy Premier—a largely honorific title extended in recognition of his role in helping to thwart the 1967 monarchist countercoup which ended with King Constantine's flight into exile.

As Constantine ruefully discovered, gauging public sentiment in Greece has its pitfalls. But although no objective observer feels safe in venturing an opinion as to how much popular support the military regime really enjoys, it seems safe to say that a significant number of Greeks heartily dislike the colonels and all their works. One dramatic indication

of that was provided during the funeral in November 1968 of former Prime Minister George Papandreou—when some 500,000 persons lined the streets of Athens to pay their last respects to a politician who was anathema to the junta.

The demonstration—the only one of its kind since the colonels took over—does not prove, however, that a majority of Greeks oppose the regime. In fact, the junta has assiduously courted public approval—and there is every reason to believe that its efforts have met with some success. Shortly after they seized power, the colonels canceled \$250 million worth of debts owed by Greece's farmers, a move that won them instant applause in a country in which 60 per cent of the population lives on the land. What's more, the junta's highly publicized public-works programs and its nationalistic stance have convinced a number of conservative Greeks that the military has the country's best interests at heart.

The Price: Still, progress under the colonels must be weighed against the enormous price Greeks have paid in personal liberties. And many Greeks—among them the most educated and politically sophisticated—clearly want to see the junta go. Nonetheless, there is little evidence that Greeks are of a mind to rebel against the junta or to combat it with an underground resistance. One reason for this, presumably, is that the civil war that shattered the country in the early post-war years is still a painful memory for adult Greeks. Another is the curious sentiment, shared by many students and intellectuals, that the junta is the creature of the CIA and that only Washington can bring about the regime's downfall—something that neither newly arrived Am-



Mourners at Papandreou's funeral

The Exiles: A Clutch of Feverish Factions . . . And a Coolly Neutral Monarch



On scene: Tasca arriving in Athens

ambassador Henry Tasca nor the White House nor the Pentagon has the slightest intention of undertaking. Yet another explanation for the widespread apathy in Greece toward the country's current political situation stems from a painful disillusionment with professional politics of the past. "It is the democratic forces in Greece who are responsible by their irresponsibility for this regime," says one former minister. "The Greek is in a dilemma. He wants to be a democrat. He doesn't want to support this regime. And yet he cannot see the point of starting a fight to bring back those politicians who failed him before."

Given all these factors, the outlook for a return to constitutional democracy—a promise held out by the junta after the 1967 coup but still unfulfilled—is far from bright. Some observers and critics of the regime hopefully argue that only Greece's 118,000-man army surely has the strength to overthrow Papadopoulos and his fellow colonels. But with Greek officers now enjoying new uniforms, higher pay and such newly acquired fringe benefits as imported German and Italian cars, there is little likelihood that Greece's current generation of captains, majors and colonels will slay the goose that laid the golden egg.

Eventually, some analysts believe—perhaps with more than a dash of wishful thinking—the junta may ease up a bit by restoring democratic liberties on a selective basis and by sponsoring the birth of at least a token political party. Such an evolution might be hastened, these observers believe, if the Greek economy continues to develop strength and if at least some exiled politicians agree to return to the fold on the junta's terms. But these are big "ifs." Meanwhile, George Papadopoulos and his fellow colonels are settling in for a long stay.

Like most people, Greeks have a high opinion of themselves. And so it is perhaps only natural that the thousands of Greeks who have gone into exile since the colonels seized power are nourished by a deeply held conviction: that, by virtue of tradition and temperament, the people they left behind are too proud to tolerate tyranny indefinitely. Says Mrs. Helen Vlachos, an Athenian newspaper publisher now living in London: "The junta could disintegrate at any moment, simply because it is Greece that they are dealing with." Yet, to some émigrés, this kind of determined optimism does not serve the cause. "The colonels," says a self-exiled lawyer, "have been in power for almost three years, and only now are the Greeks abroad beginning to realize that wishing won't make them go away."

So far, the Greek émigrés have been able to do little more than wish, for despite their feverish plotting, they have scant influence with either their own countrymen or with foreign governments. Altogether, there are over 1 million Greeks living overseas, but the great majority of these left home for better-paying jobs in Europe and North America. (Many of the Greeks living in the U.S. are fervent anti-Communists and thus supporters of the colonels in Athens.) True political exiles—those who fled Greece because of conviction or political necessity—number probably more than 5,000. And among the political émigrés, there are only a few hundred activists who devote most of their time and effort to undermining the junta.

Even this small force is, in typical Greek fashion, hopelessly splintered. "As soon as you get any three Greeks together," remarks a Danish politician who has observed the émigrés in action, "two of them gang up against the third." But in the constantly changing

roster of parties and factions, three main alignments have emerged:

- The right-wingers and moderates among the émigrés look to former Premier Constantine Karamanlis, 62, as the "can opener" for the anti-junta forces. Karamanlis, a shrewd and cautious politician who held office from 1955 to 1963 and has lived in Paris ever since, keeps in constant touch with King Constantine by letter and telephone. Perhaps the most widely respected of all Greek politicians-in-exile, Karamanlis is supported by diverse factions ranging from pacifists to a terrorist organization inside Greece known as the Movement of National Resistance and led by a shadowy figure called "General Akritas."

- The left-trending Panhellenic Liberation Movement is led by Andreas Papandreou, the hot-headed son of the late George Papandreou, the Center Union party leader who succeeded Karamanlis as Premier in 1963. Though a former U.S. citizen, Andreas, 51, is passionately critical of American policy. He currently teaches economics at York University in Toronto, and recently formed an alliance with two other groups that include a mélange of centrists, socialists and Communists. In recent months, Papandreou's radical politics and acerbic personality have scared off a good deal of émigré support.

- The Greek Communist Party, in compliance with the current Moscow line, has taken no overt stand against the junta and refuses to cooperate with any other émigré groups. The party's leader is Kostas Koliyannis, 65, who has lived in Eastern Europe since leaving Greece in 1949.

Except for Koliyannis's Communists, most of the émigrés still hope to unseat the colonels by political means. They are reluctant to resort to force, for there is a widespread fear among



Gamma



Camera Press—PLX



Arthur Will

Gentlemen-in-waiting: Exiles Karamanlis, Koliyannis and Papandreou

the moderate and right-wing exiles that another civil war could very well lead to a complete take-over by the Communists. Instead, the émigrés harbor a vague hope that the Greek Army can somehow be persuaded to turn against the colonels, and that the U.S. and other democratic nations will exert pressure that will squeeze the junta out. In this vein, Karamanlis last September issued a statement calling on the army to rebel and implying that the U.S., by giving the colonels time to dig themselves in, was jeopardizing strategic American interests in the Mediterranean.

Ripples: To the émigrés and their admirers, it seemed certain at the time that Karamanlis's call to arms would have a momentous impact on the junta. But in fact, the "political bombshell" turned out to be more like a pebble thrown into a pond, and by the time the ripples reached Greece, they could hardly be felt. And in the view of some of the émigrés themselves, such inability to influence events inside Greece is a matter of simple and well-deserved retribution. "Let us have the courage to confess it at last," Paul Vardinoyannis, an exiled Center Union politician from Crete, declared recently. "It was we who weakened democracy in Greece so much that it proved incapable of putting up even a few hours of resistance. Yet there are still some politicians in exile who think that it is enough to oppose the dictatorship in order to be trusted by the people once again. Unfortunately, we have learned nothing."

Many exiles, however, have indeed learned from their bitter experiences. But the lesson seems to be that, perhaps understandably, the Greek expatriates have misjudged both themselves and the colonels. "We Greeks spend our time gossiping in coffee shops, but you can't bring down governments with gossip," says one émigré. "Our problem is that we've been underestimating the colonels by assuming that they are only temporary. If you look at the way they're operating in Greece—at the laws they are passing, the structures they are creating—you can see they are systematically creating an establishment that will be unshakable, even if one day they lift martial law. By then, the system itself will make free political development impossible. The political parties will be hamstrung and the armed forces will be an uncontrollable superpower. Any way you look at it, time is not on our side. It is on the side of the colonels—or the Communists."



Spartans in Rome: Constantine and his wife romp with their kids

For Constantine, life in exile is largely a matter of acting like a monarch without living like a king. Since December 1967, when he fled to Rome after a clumsy attempt to overthrow the colonels, the King of the Hellenes and his striking Danish consort, Queen Anne-Marie, have slipped into a simple, almost reclusive style of life. Yet even in this diminished state, they have been careful to maintain most of the outward appearances and customs of reigning royalty. For the 29-year-old Constantine and his wife want to make it quite clear that they are not just another pair of swinging ex-royals in the jet set.

Even after two years in Rome, the royal family seems to believe that the call to return to Greece could come at any moment, and in their rented villa at 13 Via di Porta Latina, near the old Roman walls, they virtually live out of a suitcase. In their large, sunny sitting room, little has changed since the house was leased, furnished, from Contessa Christina Paolozzi. There are a few family photographs, a record player, some monogrammed ashtrays and several books scattered around—nothing that could not be packed up at a moment's notice.

Expenses: By royal standards, it is a Spartan household. When their third child, Prince Nicholas, was born last October, 4-year-old Princess Alexia and Crown Prince Paul, 2, had to double up to free a bedroom for the new arrival. "Those rumors of royalty having large, unnumbered accounts in Swiss banks certainly don't apply to us," the 23-year-old Queen remarked wryly in a copyrighted magazine article written by a family friend. (In fact, the King's expenses are paid by the Greek Government. But most of the family's authorized "civil list" of

\$649,000 a year is banked by the junta or used to meet the payroll of the royal palace staff in Athens.)

Constantine's political activities are carefully limited, partly at the insistence of his Italian hosts and partly in order to preserve all his options. He keeps in touch with both the junta and the émigré opposition groups, but for the most part, he has refrained from rebuking the colonels or committing himself overtly to the exiles. "The impression I got from the King," said a Western diplomat who recently met him on a social occasion, "was that by playing it cool, he hopes to keep all the avenues open for his return to Athens. Either the colonels will discover that they need him, or the émigrés will restore him to his throne if the junta collapses."

Unemployed: The King is well aware of the possibility that his strategy may not pan out. Perhaps, unconsciously, that is one reason why he takes such consolation in the company of other unemployed monarchs in his family. He is close to his cousin, King Simeon II of Bulgaria, 30, who was deposed 24 years ago by the Communists. And Constantine and his wife occasionally travel to Spain for visits with his sister, Sophia, the wife of Prince Juan Carlos, who has been designated as the next King of Spain and heir to Francisco Franco as Chief of State. Both youthfully robust, Constantine and Juan Carlos share a passion for sports, and in Spain over the recent Christmas holidays, they hunted game birds each day from dawn to dusk. "I come back home every night so pooped that I go right to bed," Constantine confided to another hunter. "Then I am up early the next morning to do just the same thing. I am having the time of my life."

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WESTERN EUROPE

Europe's Futures, Europe's Choices: Models of Western Europe in the 1970's. Ed. by Alastair Buchan. London: Chatto & Windus for the Institute for Strategic Studies. 1969. 167 pp. 30s. Paperback: 12s. 6d.

Decision for Europe: The Necessity of Britain's Engagement. By J. L. Zaring. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press; London: International Book Export Group. 1969. 221 pp. Index. 66s.

'THE current attempt of the nations of Western Europe to form a closer political association is one of the most exciting political developments of the century.' Thus the opening sentence of Michael Curtis's *West European Integration*, published in 1965.¹ Authors are naturally convinced of the importance of their subject and may be forgiven some over-dramatisation. Some curb on hyperboles would not hurt. In 1962 Roy Pryce started his *Political Future of the European Community*² with the words 'Western Europe today stands on the eve of a decisive phase in its political evolution.' Well, perhaps it did; but it decided little and the story of the boy who cried wolf too often is salutary. Alastair Buchan's new book, a model of sobriety in this respect, observes that 'this is a moment of slack water in the tide of European affairs, of uncertainty and of frustration'.

Europe's Futures, Europe's Choices is published for the Institute for Strategic Studies in London and is edited by its then Director. No other contributors appear under their own name, and the work is apparently the result of a joint research effort of the Institute's members and of wide discussions, the whole written up by Mr. Buchan. The current slack provides a better opportunity to think more wide-rangingly about future policies than a time of momentum. Mr. Buchan notes the difficulties facing such futurology. Analysis of future relations that relies solely on extrapolation of present trends is likely to lead to miscalculation if too precise, to useless generalisations if too cautious. The Institute therefore decided to examine a number of different forms of association that *could* develop in the next decade; hence the sub-title *Models of Western Europe in the 1970's*. The book's threefold purpose is set out clearly at the start, 'to examine different structures of a future Western Europe, in order to see what their effect would be, especially on the Atlantic Alliance and on East-West relations; to assess the possibilities each of these offers to the solution of

¹ New York, London: Harper & Row.

² London: John Marshbank with the Federal Trust.