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# THE OB

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**Papadopoulos: The CIA's front man.**

## Greek dictator

IN THE tawdry political thriller that is Greece today, one consistent motif is the progress of George Papadopoulos. He has taken over the country, the Premiership, the Regency and the Presidency. What is the game plan now for this man from nowhere whose name is a Greek equivalent of John Smith? Where is he leading his hijacked nation?

A stay in Athens has allowed me to fill in many parts of a puzzle that has persisted since the Papadopoulos gang seized power in 1967. Some pieces were found in Cyprus, where junta agents showed their hand in the attempted assassination of Archbishop Makarios, others in

### INQUIRY

**CHARLES FOLEY, investigating in Athens, Cyprus and Washington, finds evidence that the CIA engineered the colonels' coup in Greece, with dictator Papadopoulos as its front man—and now uses secret knowledge of his wartime collaboration with the Nazis to keep its grip on the regime.**

America, chief source of power for the colonels.

The United States Administration—which has just reaffirmed its warm support for the Colonels' regime—speaks with

two voices. While Congress is assured that Papadopoulos is being needled daily to restore at least the forms of democracy, military and diplomatic aid has been unstinted. A flickering

# SERVER

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## in CIA's pocket

respectability is bestowed on the regime by visiting firemen, from Vice-President Agnew to Maurice Stans, former Secretary of Commerce and chief Nixon election fund-raiser. The Pentagon serves as the Colonels' 'Prudential,' and US investment as their economic lifejacket.

Ambassador Henry J. Tasca cheerfully confesses: 'This is the most anti-Communist group you'll find anywhere. There is just no place like Greece to offer these facilities with the back-up of the kind of Government you have got here.' 'You,' not 'we,' is the only pretence

The quotation comes from a diary kept by a visiting Congressman who was briefed at the United States Embassy and JUSMAAG (Joint US Military Aid Assistance Group) head-

quarters. He showed me a 'sanitised version' of his notes on US aims and military activities in Greece. At one point a two-star general is recorded as saying: 'It's the best damn Government since Pericles.'

JUSMAAG, with its élite staff of more than 100 top military and civil advisers, its training programme for the Greek Army and its hot line to the Pentagon, symbolises the massive American presence in Greece, which opponents of the regime bluntly call 'an occupation force.'

The Pentagon prizes Greece as an ace in the Super-Power game, and Papadopoulos as the man to guard it. He has recently opened up Piraeus, the port of Athens, as the Sixth Fleet's home port, bringing ashore another 10,000 servicemen and

their dependants. Thirteen other installations also come gift-wrapped—from nuclear missile bases in Crete to the major communications sites of NADGE (NATO Air Defence Ground Environment)—a £100 million 'electronic chessboard' against the USSR. More than 12,000 Greek officers have had training in the US, and the American and Greek commands are meshed into an 'old boy' network.

Why has the Colonels' Greece become America's forward base in the Middle East? President Nixon gave one explanation: 'Without aid to Greece, we would have no viable policy to save Israel.' Or, of course, US interests in the oil-rich Arab

(Continued on page 2)

# 'Best damn government since Pericles' - US General

(Continued from page 1)

nations. Thus, in defiance of a 112-57 vote in Congress, he has ordered ceaseless shipments of heavy arms and Phantom jets to the junta.

For Greeks, then, the question is not whether the US Administration is holding up the dictatorship: it is a matter of how long it can do so in the face of a new and rising hatred that has inspired a series of bombings against US cars and installations.

Among old hands at JUSMAAG, Papadopoulos, 55, is jocularly known as 'the first CIA agent to become Premier of a European country'. Many Greeks consider this to be the simple truth.

The charge is that not only did the CIA engineer the coup that brought the Colonels to power on 21 April, six years ago, it may still be concerned in such moves as last month's second 'revolutionary coup' which replaced King Constantine with Papadopoulos as Head of State.

In the light of Watergate all things are possible, but there is also some hard evidence. For perspective, we must glance back to 1964, when Greece's veteran liberal leader, George Papandreou, brought his Centre Union Party back to power with 53 per cent of the vote. His son, Andreas, an American by virtue of wartime service in the US Navy, was teaching economics at Berkeley, California. He recovered his Greek nationality to join the Government.

As Minister of State in charge of intelligence, Andreas Papandreou was stunned to find that the Greek Secret Service, KYP, was in reality a financial and administrative appendage of the CIA. This, he thought, accounted

for many obstacles to the new centre-left coalition that was trying to form a modern, and independent, nation.

Mr Papandreou, who was imprisoned after the coup brought down his father's Government, is today a professor at a Canadian university but may be met with on resistance missions to Germany (where there are now 400,000 Greeks), and Italy. The pipe-smoking and outspoken, he told me how he discovered that the KYP chiefs had bugged all Ministerial conversations and bound them into several volumes for their American mentors.

'We dismissed the two top KYP men and replaced the chief with a reliable officer, General Agoras, who was ordered to protect the Cabinet from surveillance,' he said. 'He came back apologetically to say he couldn't do it. All the equipment was American, controlled

by the CIA or Greeks under CIA supervision. There was no kind of distinction between the two services. They duplicated functions in a counterpart relationship. In effect, they were a single agency.'

Papandreou tried to take the KYP off the billion-dollar CIA budget by having its agents paid by the Greek Treasury. He failed in this, but succeeded in shifting the officer who had been liaison man between the KYP and the CIA since 1960. 'He was George Papadopoulos, the present dictator,' he said.

Soon Mr Papandreou learnt that his conversations (which included a long off-the-record talk with this writer) were still being recorded for the US Embassy. He asked KYP's new deputy chief to make a thorough search of his office and home for electronic devices.

## Training in America

'It wasn't until much later that we discovered he'd simply planted a lot of new bugs. Lo and behold, we'd brought in another American-paid operative as our No. 2,' he said.

KYP is, in fact, an American creation. It was built up after the Greek civil war of 1945-49, when the US took over from Britain the task of crushing the Communists.

Hundreds of KYP agents went to America for training by the Office of Strategic Services and its successor, the CIA. Among them, for a course in psychological warfare, was Major Papadopoulos. A stringent investigation was made of his anti-Communist credentials.

What these contained has never been made public, but a comrade of General Grivas, himself the wartime leader of a fanatically anti-Communist private army called 'X', confirmed circumstantial reports that Papadopoulos served as a captain in the Security Battalions raised by the Nazis to hold down British-armed partisans during the war. Most of their work was in the Peloponnese, Papadopoulos's home ground, where he interrogated suspects.

Papadopoulos, said my informant, was a great believer in Hitler's 'new order'. In the wake of anti-Communist feeling after the civil war, the past was wiped out.

One of the sharkskin-suited species of US military advisers in Athens hinted to me at a party, when I mentioned Papadopoulos's German background, that it was related to his subservience to US wishes. 'George gives good value,' he smiled,

'because there are documents in Washington he wouldn't like to let out.'

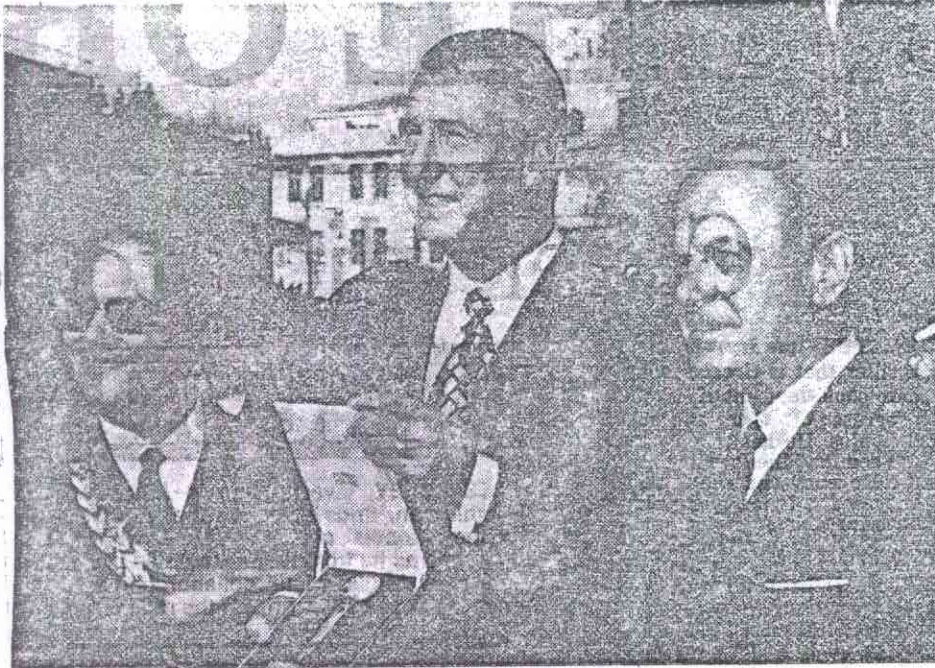
I recalled the story told to me by a Harvard don who had come across similar material while researching for a book. When he tried to reach its source in the State Department, he was crisply told to 'lay off.'

This explains one curiosity of the Colonels' Greece. Writing in THE OBSERVER recently after a visit to his old Resistance friends, C. M. Woodhouse noted how intense official propaganda portrayed Communism as the only enemy Greece had ever had and minimised the German occupation until even Nazi atrocities were seen as provoked by the Communists. This rewriting of history clearly reflects the dictator's concern at the danger that the gap in his official biography may some day be filled in.

Not that his patrons want to shoot holes in the Provisional President's image, yet. As an amiable JUSMAAG officer put it: 'He controls the most useful piece of real estate around here, a private beach-head in the Med and the last stop for our planes before Pakistan. George may be short on charm, but we trust him. Well, we have to.'

Even after being removed from his KYP post, Colonel Papadopoulos remained the CIA's front man. Opposition politicians who sought the ear (or the purse) of James Potts, CIA chief in Athens before the coup, were often told: 'See George—he's my boy.'

'George's' spy-work on the Papandreous, which portrayed them as leftist fanatics, was a factor in CIA fears that Greece in 1966 was headed for a 'red' takeover. The spectre was raised at a meeting of the National Security Council in Washington in mid-February 1967, when CIA reports from



When Vice-President Agnew visited Athens he was presented with a golden key to the city by the Mayor (left). 'With these keys,' said the Mayor, 'you can open not only the doors of Greece but also symbolically the hearts of all Greece.' Papadopoulos looks on.

Athens indicated that a right-wing counter-coup was imminent. The question was: Should the US Embassy be asked to stop it? The answer, after some agonising, was no. Presidential adviser Mr. Walt Rostow ended the session by telling White House aides and Near-East experts that their 'non-action' made the future course of events in Greece inevitable. I have confirmation of this from a senior civilian present at the deliberations.

What evidence is there that the CIA worked behind the scenes to promote the 1967 coup? First, the composition of the tiny cabal of obscure officers who launched it. Four of the five chief conspirators were intimately connected with US forces or intelligence. The fifth man, Brigadier Pattakos, had no direct CIA links, but was

brought in for the sake of the armoured units he commanded.

The means employed were also significant. The NATO 'plan Prometheus,' devised in conjunction with US officers, was a contingency scheme for use if Greece faced an immediate threat of war or revolution. Yet when the Colonels staged their revolt and flooded Athens with tanks, Greece's US allies did not stir. No planes took off, no marines landed, no move came from the Sixth Fleet, which was off Crete. Greek officers who telephoned US colleagues were told to let nature take its course.

A KYP agent who has recently fled to Italy has cast further light on these events. He insists that a few key CIA agents in Greek uniforms backed up operations on the night of the coup, their task being to see that

it was bloodless.

Since then a succession of US leaders has visited Athens to voice open approval of the Junta and its value to NATO (questionable after the successive purges of the armed forces). Secretary of Commerce Stans, who collected millions of secret campaign dollars for Mr Nixon's re-election, brought a message of admiration from the President. Secretary of State Rogers celebrated last American Independence Day with the Colonels.

His pleasure at visiting a country 'where so many principles underlying our own Declaration of Independence had their origin 2,000 years ago' was brought to a blushing climax when Papadopoulos lifted a glass to Mr Nixon's 'enlightened policies.'

## Grand tour of homeland

The high point of the Greco-US wooing came with Mr Agnew's grand tour of his ancestral homeland. Washington had been surprised in 1968 when the unknown Agnew was selected as Nixon's running mate—a surprise dispelled by the discovery that his name was backed by the Pappas family of Boston, one of the most influential contributors to the Republican Party. Mr Tom Pappas, whose forbears came from the same small village as Agnew, is the go-between for the Papadocracy and the White House. He enjoys both Greek and US citizenship and served as co-chairman of CREEP's finance committee while keeping clear of any malpractice.

Mr Pappas has boasted of his pride in being 'an old CIA hand.' He is also proud of his £500 million investment in Greece, a complex of petrochemical and steel plants, oil re-

fineries and tanker fleets. He has won the Junta's top prize, one pursued by rival investors as ardently as the Holy Grail, the Greek Coca-Cola monopoly.

Everywhere that Spiro went in Greece, Mr Pappas went too. His bulky, sweating figure squeezed from the helicopter behind the VIP. He arranged a dinner for Agnew and the Colonels at which the Vice-President exalted the 'achievements' of the junta and its 'constant co-operation with US needs and wishes.'

Mr Pappas's former staff director at the Esso-Pappas works in Greece, Paul Totomis, became Minister of Public order immediately after the coup. The junta needed a civilian tinge and Totomis was one of the few the Colonels could trust.

The CIA may still consider Papadopoulos as a puppet to be manipulated at will. But the dictator has not merely purged the Armed Forces of 'unreliable' elements, he has built up a new, indoctrinated officer corps in his own image over the past six years—'as long as Hitler had to make over the German Army,' remarks a gloomy ex-Minister in Athens.

This observer, once wholeheartedly pro-American, told me that while it might be useful in the short run for the Pentagon to use Greece as a staging post in its ventures, 'we must ask ourselves about the long run—the kind of situation that makes the Vietnams of the world.' He believes, too, that the Americans have given Papadopoulos another clear assignment: to deliver up Cyprus, now an independent republic, so as to secure a further base in the Near East, and remove that bothersome neutralist, Makarios.

For the moment, the US must continue to back Papadopoulos.

Its commitment of men, money and principle is too great for sudden change. Indeed, Mr Rogers fell over himself after last month's coup to deny that the US would use current NATO talks to 'influence the political process in Greece.' How long this support may be maintained in the face of turmoil and popular hostility in Greece is anyone's guess—but when and if the time comes to shed the load, it may not be easy.

The US Government is gravely shaken, its sundry secret services bedraggled and at-odds. Papadopoulos used this and the Navy revolt to make his first independent move—assuming CIA approval for the deposing of the King.

Having got away with it, he will move towards his next goal—we may dismiss the promised elections as a farce—the life Presidency. He hopes to rule unchallenged, as did Greece's last dictator, General Metaxas, until his death in 1941.

Meanwhile, defence expenditure has soared. Britain, France and Germany compete to sell him arms. Greece, superficially, is thriving: it is strangely like Mussolini's Italy between the wars.

And, like that pasteboard Caesar, Papadopoulos has expansionist aims. Who can tell, if he is permitted to snatch Cyprus, where he may turn next? He is, after all, an officer raised in the old school of the *Megali* idea, the dream of a greater Greece.