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
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. Tascia 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 'sanitized 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 elite 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)
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-pied 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 types of anti-Communist feeling after the civil war, the pan was wiped out."

One of the sharpest-nosed species of US military advisors 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 let out.

I recalled the story told to me by a Harvard don who had come across similar material while researching for his book. When he tried to reach its source in the State Department, he was 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 he was removed from his KYP post, Colonel Papadopoulos remained -- the front man. Opposition politicians who sought the ear (or the purse) of James Petr, CIA chief in Athens before the coup, were often told: 'See George-he's my boy.'" "George's" spy work on the Papadopoulos, which portrayed him as leftist fanatic, was a factor in CIA fears that Greece in 1966 was headed for a "red" takeover. This spectre was raised at a meeting of the National Security Council in Washington in mid-February 1957, 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.

Athenians 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
Great tour of homeland

The high point of the Greek-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, 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 $200 million investment in Greece, a complex of petrochemical and steel plants, oil refineries and tanker fleets. He has won the junta's top prize, one purposed by rival investors as ardent 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 extolled 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 Tintomis, became Minister of Public order immediately after the coup. The junta needed a civilian face and Tintomis 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 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 President. 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 pastelbana 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.