



Από την περιοδική έκδοση της Εθνικής Ακαδημίας Διεθνούς Στρατηγικής Κατηγορίας.

# ΤΟ ΕΛΛΗΝΟ-ΑΜΕΡΙΚΑΝΙΚΟ ΠΡΟΒΛΗΜΑ

Τοῦ Καθηγητοῦ κ. Θ. ΚΟΥΛΟΥΜΠΗ

"Ο «Εθνικός Κύρος» δημοσιεύει αξέαδεν τύχοις των ευρυτάτων συνεργασιών διεθνεστερών χώρων, κατά σύντομην, νά συμφωνητική ποντίστη μά το περιγράμμα των. Υπό τό πνεύμα αυτό καταγράψεις πολύ κατωτέρω αφόρος τον Καθηγητού κ. Θ. ΚΟΥΛΟΥΜΠΗ, ASSOCIATE DEAN, AMERICAN UNIVERSITY, SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL SERVICE, WASHINGTON D. C.

"Η συγχρονη πολετική κατάσταση της Ελλάδος έπιεσάλλει την έξιταν τού βόλου πού πρέπει να παιζουν οι 'Ελληνο-αμερικανοί σχετικά με την τύχη και το μέλλον της χώρας των προγόνων τους. Είναι γεγονός φανερούτητο στις δεν θηράργει σημεριά Δημοκρατία στην 'Ελλάδα. Σ' αυτό συμφωνών δύον οι παραπρόποται σύχεινος πολιτικού προσωπικού τολμούσιοι.

Οι φίλοι τής σημερινής Κυβερνήσεως τήν σπουδαίον εθνική έπαναστασήν και διεθνώσιμουν ότι αποτελεῖ μια προσωρινή έπαναστασή τού Στρατού στην διοίκηση τού τόπου για τα δημοσιευμένα μας διλήμματα και προευθυτικής Δημοκρατίας. Οριστέντεν αυτό, διτι η στρατιωτική έπαναστασή πραγματεύεται "να να ουση την 'Ελλάδα σύντομα την κοινωνικήτα επιστολή, το γέος και την χρεωκοπία δύον την είχαν οδηγήσαι σι πολιτικού της.

Οι έγροι τής Κυβερνήσεως όπό την άλλη πλευρά τήν σπουδαίον «χρονού» και σημερίαν ή μα κλίκει ευνυχισμών δημοσιευτικού πού υπέκλεψε την έξουσια, καταστάσης δύον τούς προστατευτικούς νόμους των απομικρών διευθεριών και για 2 1/2 γενίν εώρα χρηστίζει τούς "Έλληνες και συναδέγουνς διασύγχρηνη τήν έπαναστασή της συνταγματικής όμαδήρος στο αριστού και συνεγένες αντεπόλλοντο μέλλον.

"Αγεγένει με τήν ίδεολογική τοποθέσης ένος παρεπηφήτού θηράργουν δημιουργητική καταστή και σύντομοντα γεγονότα τά όποια γερεκτηρίουν τόν ρυθμό τάς σημερινής 'Ελληνικής ζωής.

"Ας δραγίσουσι όπο το πολύ γαροκτεριστικά: 1) Κατευθυνόμενος (ή λογοκρισματος) Τύπος καθώς και τά αλληλίσσια τής πεζίνης (πεζονομικούς (ρεβιδόμενο, τακτοραστη, διάστρο και ένοντα, δια πονδέται, λαυτοτρύποι και τάγνη). Αδέν τά μέτρα δέσμωσις έκτος του δια έπαντον τούς πολίτας πού θεσπίζονται στόν διάλογο και ποικιλωσιούσια τῶν σκέψεων, θεσπίζονται την 'Ελλάδα μά την ποινιστική μεσασμάτο πού είναι πότεται το ωποτάλισμα μας σταντά κατευθυνόμενης πανδειού ή μεθόδου εκθετεως και επιστροφής;

2) Η διεναντίση τού στρατιωτικού νόμου μά δίκες τής φυχολογικές ουσιώνες πού έπεισθει όπο τό έκτοτο ή ποδγέοισος σύστημα. Έτι μια «κατάσταση άναγκας» κοντά δέν μπορει νά αισθανθή δηλώνεται ή και συντοκικός φαραδής. Ξέσω δη μπό στηνη μά στηνη μπορει νά πάντα δύναται κακού ήπολογισμού, κρατικού λέσμου, αιδημοσίστης ή υπερβολικού ζη-

(Επειγόντα εἰς την δέν ζεύζα)

# ТО ЕЛЛІНО-АМЕРІКАНІКО ПРОВАЛІМА

(Συνέπεια της πάτης έπος αλλαγών)

λου δργάνων ασφαλείσεις, χωρὶς νὰ ἐπαρχούν ἡ πολιωμόνδετη δημοκρατικὴ διαθέρμωση καὶ ὁ ἀλεύθερος Τομος ὡς αντιβα-  
ρὸ τῆς μοισιδικῆς καὶ ἀναποδίψυκτα ὄλοκληρωτικῆς δρ-

των τών παραγόντων του κρεπτούς.  
3) Η παραπομπή ε-σχηματισμού της αλγορίθμης κέμπαναντιτελής κυκλεργήσιμως μέσα σε τομείς που δεδομένη νόμιμης παραγόντων συντοπούς από στατικά πολιτικά ένδιδωσεις. Π.χ. η Επανάσταση, η Εκκλησία, ο Στρατός και σκόρπιο ο Αδηλητηριός, η Καταστροφή της Αρχαίας Αθηναϊκής κ.ο.κ.

Εποικίας ή Ελλήνων πρεσβύτερων κλπ. Τό συνέδεται αποτελεσματικά με την καταστάσεων είναι η δημιουργία μιας αποκαταστατικής και υποχρεωτικής κοινωνίας φασιστών, Η "Ελλήνιδη αποκομιδετής, τα γερά της λαϊκαγγέλων και προκαλούν οφέλειαν, οι ανθρώποι προσταθείνονται με κάθε τρόπο να επιτελούνται, οι ανθρώποι προσταθείνονται στο όποιο διατίθεται ο ψύχρων, ο ρόσος, η κατάσταση, η αντίδραση, οι δράσεις, οι «δικοί μας», οι άδειες τους, οι «προστάτες», οι «άδεικες Βράδυτες», οι «αντιτίθετες δρόσεις», οι δράστισαι και οι «έσταντοις», οι «γυριστικοί και οι «επιτηρητοί», οι «κομμουνιστές» και οι «φασίστες», οι «προμακούρες» και οι «αγωνιστές» καθι οι «εκτείνων ουποκομιδετές».

πώρος, «ευηγεργάτες» ήλει.  
Αύτη είναι δυστυχώς μαζί πολὺ ἐπικείνουντη κατάσταση που μάς φέρει στα πρόθυρα μιᾶς σιματηρής, φρικτής και δημητρικής αναμετρήσεως σε ένα τόπο που θυμίζει δυσκαμαδιτικό, αναποτελέστικό από όσο τοδι έντονη στην τραχυλική λοτο-

τού παρεπομόνου αποτέλεσμα της οποίας θα είναι η διατήρηση της συνθήκης της ΕΕ.

Η πρώτη Σχολή πιστεύεται ότι είναι η ακαδημαϊκή σχολή της πατέων και με μεδόνικη συνεπότητα να αποφέρει γούρια στην πολιτική από την Ελλάδα. Αυτό σημαίνει ότι πρέπει να συμμερίζονται με την ίδια προσδιόριση και σύμφωνα διέσθεται με συνάρτησης κυριαρχητικού πολ. διοικητικού κράτους συνέβαρτης των μεδόνων και ιδεολογίας της.

"Η δεύτερη Σχολή Ιωσηπίδης αφέντως το αντίτιτο, προσέβαθε ότι οι «Ελληνομετρικοί» πρέπει να γίνουν σπουδείς και προσωπικότερα προτίμως σχετικά με τα «Α» και «Β» τοπία προσωπικούτων της «Ελλάδος». Πιστώντας έτσι ότι είναι ουδέτερο για όλους τους «Ελληνομετρικούς» να γίνουν τις ίδιες πολιτικές προτίμως, «Επονεμώνος θέματος φυσικώς μηδείς λειτουργεί, να χάνεται ποτέ την προτίμωτη προστασία και στον «Ελληνισμό» της θεωρούμενης.

"Η τρίτη Σχολή προσπαθεῖ ελλεκτικά τα συγχρόνια τα  
έβεβα το δύο ανωτέρω. Συμφωνεί μει ότι είναι χρήσιμο για  
τον "Ελληνισμό της Αμερικής να περιλαμβάνει κων-  
μοτικήν διεύθυνσην μέσα στα πλαίσια της ίδιας ποικιλοτάτας και  
εργούμενός της. Ελλάσ, όλλα από την αλλη λεύκα παραβά-  
χεται στη για πολλούς "Ελληνοαμερικανούς ούτος ο υπέρα-  
θνικός ευθείερημός είναι δυσκολός και αρνητικός. Συμβολείται  
λεύκει επομένως τους "Ελληνοαμερικανούς (τους στην άλλη  
σημαντικότερη πλευρά της) ως επικοινωνητές και λεγούνται  
τα συνεργειζόνταν εποικοδωματικά με τις έκπλοτον "Ελλά-  
νικές κοινωνίες. Άλλα η συνεργασία σύτι πρέπει να εγ-  
χει δράση της. Π.χ. είναι αδιανόητο για την τρίτη Σχολή να  
παρατηθεί η γέννηση της συνεργασίας με κοινωνιοτική ή φιλοτεχ-  
νική άλλου είδους διαλογιστική Κυριότητα. Η τρίτη Σχολή προ-  
σπαθεί με όλα τα λόγια, από την "Ελληνοαμερικανικό πορει-  
γμά την πατέντη διεύθυνση ψηλάσει, ενας αργυρών φρουρών επελέγει  
της και ορώνει το δικό συστήματος της έκπλοτος και δημιουργεί  
εκπαίδευση, που γεννήθηκε στην "Ελλάδα και ευδοκίμησε κα-  
ταξιδεύοντας στη δεύτερη πατέντη της "Αμερικής.

**Επειδή στην ουσία αντέχεται**  
**το πλεόνασμα μάλιστα ή τοπίο Σχολή έργο από τον**  
**Ελληνορωμανόν και μην άκουε προτεραίως την πατριαρχική στον**  
**δημοκρατικό πλαισίο ασθενώς και να μην συμβασιώνεται με**  
**την πατριαρχική στον πλαισίο της Κύριτσας.**  
**Από την πατριαρχική το Δημοκρατικό συνεργάτη.**

πομπήσατε κλπ.) για νά αποφυγιθή η επιδίνωση πολέμου στην υπόλειψη την "Ελλάδας με εμπροστικές και σύμμαχες περισσότες". Οι "Ελληνοαμερικανοί πρέπει νά τονίσουν καθόρα δύο δυνάτες με την "αντορτα" και "ώριματος το μέσον της Ελλήνος, είναι καρός που να ζανούσθηκε ή έπουνοι στους Έλληνες τους του Αιδού, μάτια από γυναίκες και άλιμερες έκλεψες, έκλεψες από επικονιασμένους όπως την Κούρερηση της Σίης "Απρίλιο του 1957. Αιδού δεν συμβαίνει έπεισθαι στα πόλιτά της "Ελληνούμαρτος. Το αίτημα για την επιστροφή της Δημοκρατίας στην πόλη την απέτιλε πολιτικό, άλλα καρίσματα κοινωνικού, πολεοτελεστικού ποσού όπως οι άλλοι ανθρωποτοκοί. Είναι έπουμενοι καθηκοντοί "Ελληνοαμερικανικού Τοπίου και της έπουμενης Ελληνορωμαϊστικού Ιδεολογίας". Εκλεψες πάντα λαϊκούς καθόρα δύο συγκεκριμένα από την Κούρερηση Πανεπιστημιουπόρουμενοι.

Ο μέτοπος δύος του "Ελληνοαμερικανού, νέος ή παλιός,

Ο μεσος όρος των οποίων είναι διατηρητικός, είναι διατηρητικός για τη Δημο-  
πλοσίος ή φτωχός, είναι διατηρητικός για τη Δημο-  
κρατική παραδοση της Ελλάδος και έτει απόλυτη δημοστο-  
νήσιμη στάση του λαού από τον οποίον γεννήθηκε.

"Αν οι αρχαιοτέροι Έλληνες τού έξωτερικού δὲν φωνάζουν κατ' πάσουν για την μάχη Επιτυφλή της Ελευσίνος ήταν οι Έλλαδα, ποὺς φοδούσιν ότι οι δέσμευμένοι Έλληνες της Ελλάδος δὲν έκφρασθούν με ζημίες, με διά κατ' αριθμόν την κρίση του Αρχαϊκού Ελληνισμού.

Η ΣΚΟΠΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΛΟΝΔΙΝΟΥ

1200-1250 BC: Troy, Mycenae, Linear B

νέον είσαι συμπαθής, νά δημιουργή φύλων. Το 1928 για  
την παρέταξε, την σχηματίζει,  
και πάρα γίνεται μια έπειτα  
σταση στην φύση του Κυπριακού.  
Αγορεύεται. Αγορεύεται.

του ὁ δρός της τάχυτης. Ὡγυνέα τοι ἔγει μηρύκες γκαντζί-  
μη μὲ τοὺς ζυγάρους τοῦ  
Παπιρίδη, κι' ὁ Κυρωφός αὐτο-  
τοῦ γίνεσθαι πελάτης του. Ο  
Παπιρίδης ἀσχέτη νέκχη γοῦνα  
επιλεπτικού μὲ διάβασην της  
έργων του φίλου. Όταν γένοι-  
ντον τὰ πλήρωσην μὲ γον-  
ιατα, τὸν πλεύρων μὲ πο-  
νειας Μαζεύει Εργα, καὶ πο-  
στασιατώρων συνέστηταν τα  
γράφους. Εποι κάποι κανεὶς  
μηρύκη ποτὲ στρατιώτη

Τέτοια είναι η ειδικότης τοποθεσία στην Εργα του Ουτρέχτη, όπου μεγάλος οίκος παρασκευάζει γάνης των Λαούδινων, που λέγεται «Σάμπουτς» διέ βάλει πολλούς αν δεν

πόσοι πάντες. Αύτος δε ο μαρτυρεί  
μας Κώνσταντης ότι τα μέσα  
του στό διάδοχο, κατέβορ  
γε τα τόνους για τη Ζωγράφ  
σην, κατέβασε σ' ένα πλήρωμα  
θεωρείσας ότι ήταν στα  
κακότατα και στα πανεπιστημιακά.  
Αύτη τη σημειώση θέλει στην

παρασκεψη ή να συντρύγει με κοριδιονική τη φωνή της  
ή πάλι είδους άλκαλη προτεκτική Κύπρουσση.<sup>24</sup> Η τραγή Σγολή  
ζητά, με αλλαγές λόγων, όπως τον "Ελληνοαρμενικόν παρα-  
γωνόν την ποίησί-την γραμμόν πόλη στη ζωή της" Έλλασσον,  
μέλι πορφυρείν, διπλασία, ενώ συρτυπάς φρουρώς συνεργα-  
τικής και σφραγίδας τοι πιστοποιεῖ της ελλεύθερης και δημο-  
κρατικής πού γεννήθηκε στην "Έλλασσο καὶ ελλασκηποῦ καὶ  
ελλασκηπεῖσι διη δειλὴ πατρίδᾳ της Ἀργείας".

Στην τελευταία συνάντηση της Τρίτης Ημέρας ήταν από τους Ελληνοασιατικούς να μην έχουν προτείχισης μέσα στα δημοκρατικά πλαίσια, όλα και να μην συμβαθύνουν με την οδόντωσή της για την «Αριστερά». Δεξιάς ή Κέντρου που προσποντεί και κανεργήστηκε το δημοκρατικό συντηρητικό.

Έντονης της «Ελλάδος» δέν άκουγεται σημφωνία λαμψά έπι-σημη και ελαύνεις εκφράση κρίτισης. Ιού σταυρού που αλεγούται φθόνος (του στρωτικούντος νόμου) και αυγοκρύσσεις (της έλλειψής τους) δινούν την έντυπωση μοριακής αμφισσίας και συμφυσίου σε ένα τόπο που θυμίζεται για την πολιωμορφία των πολιτικών πορειών, σκέψεων και δημόσιων.

Τα τελευταία 2-12 γρόνια ή "Ελλάδας και δ' "Ελληνισμός διαφέρουμενα συστημάτων στον υπόλοιπο κόσμο. Οι αιώνες εφημερίδες της "Αμερικής (NEW YORK TIMES, WASHINGTONIANA POST, CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, DENVER POST) αθέριζαν περιττά σημάνσιαν της διεθνώς εντελεστηριακού καθεστώτος στη γενετέλαια της Ελληνικότητας. Τα περιοδικά LOOK και HARPER'S κατηγορούνται με φασιστήρες τίτανες την Κυβέρνηση της "Ελλάδος για θεατρική την πολιτική κράτουσμένων της και σιωπηλά έκφραστη της Κοινής Γλώσσης. Η Κυβέρνηση Παπαδόπουλου" απογειώνεται να αποσύρθει από το Συμβούλιο της Ευρώπης κατά από την διαιρετική κράτους θητεία της "Αγγλίας και Δυτικής Γερμανίας. Κυβερνητικοί παραγοντες της Αμερικής, π.χ., ο Υπουργός "Εξωτερικών και πολεοδομίας 50 Ινδονησιανών Επικρατών, οπενθύμιζαν συστάρη την συναγερμή μιας συντονισμένης επιταφροφής της Δημοκρατίας στην "Ελλάδα και παραπρόμον με φόδο το γεγονός ότι είναι μεγάλο μερος των "Άλυμπων του "Ελληνικού Στρατού γιατί εκδιώγεται από τις δύσεις του διευρυνόντας Δημοφιλέστερα για την μαζεύστε των Έντοπων διπλωμάτων. Το διατίταγμα το οποίο φέρθηκε τον Σεπτέμβριο του 1968 ως τον "Ελληνικό Λαό (έξτρια κατώ από την σημεια-

στρατιωτικού νόμου) δεν ήξει ακόμη εφαρμοσθεί στα βασικά, προστατεύει μόνο τον Αύγους περί έλλογων δεν χωρούεται παλιά συγκαὶ καὶ ο υπεριδρός Πρωθυπουργούς της 'Ελλάδος σε πρόσφατες δημόσιες του παραπήδησης όπως 'αλλαγές ζήτησεν αναποδείξεως διάν γινόνται με 'ενοποιησμόντευτασθείν'. Οι έκλαυσης αντιστάλλουνται γιατί η αρχόταν μελλον τότε μισθών θαντού οι απρόσωποιστοι σκοτών της 'έπαναυτισμών' εκπλήρωσαν.

Ο «Ελληνοαμερικανός» πως θυεῖται τὸν Γεώργιο Παπαδόπουλο «έδωσεταιρες πράξεις σύμφωνα νά τὸν πάσσει νά έπαινος φέρει τὴν Ἀμερικήν» επειδή «Ἄλλαδε καὶ τὴν διοίκησην τοῦ τούπου στοὺς πολιτῶν. Διότι καὶ αν ἀκούεις υπῆρχαν φαύλοι Κρετίδαι, κομματοῦτοις κακίστους καὶ ακαύοις, οὐτεπειδὴ πά 212) γρύοντας στρατιωτικὴ διοικήσις νέοις καρπότεροι κινδυνοὶ μαζεύονται σαφῶς επὶ ορίζοντα.

Ο "Ελληνοβεριανός ποιητής θώματα την Γέρειο Πατέο-  
βουλόνω αίσθατούσαντο κακά τη "εγγυώντας τετελεσμένος-  
πρέπει νά χρηματοποιήσει, την φωνή του προσωπικά και συλλογικά για νά εποιησανταν τούς φοιτηρών κνημών (έμοι-  
λας στερεγής κατ'). που διά ζεστάσιν στην "Ελλάδα" αν  
δι Κοινωνιερισμένας και ή "Ελευθερία δέν αποκατασταθείν  
στην γενέτειρά τους.

Τέλος, ο **Ελληνοιστερικόν**, που μειώρει τὸν Γεωργίον Παπαδόπουλον σαν ἔνα «έπιον φύλον θείωματικοῦ καὶ κονσεν συνεμβοῦτο ποὺ ὑπελεύει τὴν νόμιμη ἔξουσιον τοὺς τόπους, πρέπει νὰ βασιζθῇ λόγῳ Ἑλλήνων ἱστορίας νὰ δῃ πάσσα σπραγωτικῶν κατηγοριῶν Σύγχρονης τὸν 2009 αἰώνα, νὰ μετρήσων Ελλα- φρόν τοῦ μάρτυρος καὶ προσόντος καὶ μάρτυρος τῆν φυσικῆς τοῦ μάρτυρος μὲ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ποὺ δὲ πέισουν μὲ εἰπονικά ἀλλὰ καὶ ενεργειακά, συγκέντρως καὶ φυσιοτρόπως μάρτυρα τὴν ἀπότομοτρο- συστημάτων Δημοκρατικῆς δικαιοσύνης.

ΘΕΩΣ ΣΤΗΝ ΕΛΛΑΣΣ.

Τό συμπέρασμα μίλησε διτή θυτερά από 2 112 γρόνια στρατιωτικού νόμου και υποσχέστην πού δέν έκπληρωμηκαν, πρέπει να το απλικηθεί σε όλην την Ελλάς, επειδή τον Ελληνοασιεμπρικούντη γνώσιμα, διάφορα διάλεκτα συναντούμε παντού.

medical leadership and could not have cared for the large number of disabled veterans of World War II.

The remarkable change in VA medicine since then has been dramatic. It has been running away from "business as usual" medicine as fast as it could. For the care of its veteran patients, for the conduct of its new education and research programs, and for the formulation of its medical policy, the VA asked Congress to write a new law to let private medicine assume a huge role in the VA.

Today, 82 of the VA's hospitals are affiliated with 72 of our leading medical schools and clinics. The schools agree. Deans Committee from their staffs to help guide and formulate VA medical policy.

To create national VA medical policy, the VA depends largely on two committees of independent physicians, totaling fifty leaders in medical specialties.

These independent doctors take residencies in VA hospitals to qualify for specialties, and VA has already contributed to the education of more doctors than are on its entire full-time medical staff.

"Thousands of independent doctors work on a consulting basis in VA hospitals, caring for patients and guiding medical policy." Most of the 4,867 full-time VA doctors are members of the American Medical Association, while more than 11,000 nonphysician doctors participate in the program of the VA hospital.

"The whole inspiring story of VA medicine since 1946 is a brilliant example of the American way to solve enormous problems—a story of the voluntary teamwork of all concerned to accomplish what neither government nor private monopoly could ever accomplish alone."

"I am proud of the care we are now giving our veterans. Some of my peers is persons because I played a small part as one of the outside physicians who were invited to aid the medical program for veterans."

"More of my pride is professional. Our hospitals for veterans have helped raise the standards of my profession."

"For all my life I've patriotic, I am proud that my country and those of my profession have not forgotten, in peace and in war, the awful obligation that we placed on millions of boys and young men in the prime of their lives, when they stood between ourselves and national ruin—and stood well. It is fitting, in time of peace, that if they now stand on the brink of ruin through failing health, we as a nation do not entirely forget them."

That was said by Dr. Mayo in 1954.

The essential problem of VA medicine in 1970 are two in number.

The first is to finish modernizing a system in which 266 hospitals are substandard while eight are obsolete and 52 are not fully up to the VA's exacting standards. To this end, construction is continually under way, which is not to say that good medicine cannot be and is not practiced in old buildings. In 1970, with the American Medical Association's Joint Commission on Hospital Accreditation surveyed the antique hospital last December, it commented on the "badly in gravity" of the case given, old building or not. The Joint Commission could be called the high court of hospital evaluation in the land.

The second basic current problem is to maintain an operating budget to fit the same exacting standards.

Whether the House and Senate will approve the full \$315 million increase for 1971 is not yet clear at this writing. If they do, it will not be evident until some time next year. If this is enough, in view of spiraling hospital administration costs, and new federal pay rates which any appropriations increase must absorb.

The painful cutbacks in staff in recent years have not been due to a dollar reduction in budget, but to a failure of the budgeting to keep ahead of needs. Each year, VA medicine has received more operating money per patient, but not enough to meet the higher costs of just maintaining 1965 levels. Specific help from the optimistic-new money needs at appropriations time each year has been lacking. The Congressional veterans committees and the veterans organizations have pretty much given it all out to fully support at that key time each year when the money was being handed out.

## IS FOREIGN POLICY THE PREROGATIVE OF THE MILITARY?

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, during the June debate on my amendment to limit military aid to Greece, I was disturbed that military considerations seem to dominate this country's foreign policy toward Greece.

Evidence of this approach was the fact that when the amendment was called up for a vote on June 29, the only administrative paper in opposition to it was prepared by the Department of Defense. I would have thought that the State Department might have had some views on this matter.

In foreign policy, military factors are of course important. But as we have learned elsewhere, undue emphasis on military factors can be, in the long run, self-defeating. It can lead to policies that have disastrous military consequences.

I ask unanimous consent that an analysis of U.S. policy toward Greece be printed in the Record. The analysis, prepared by Dr. Theodore A. Couloumbis, a professor of international affairs at American University, and Dr. Nicholas A. Stavrou, a professor of political science at Howard University, focuses on precisely this problem of military dominance of U.S. foreign policy. It deserves our close attention.

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

### THE MILITARY ARM OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY TAKES OVER THE DIPLOMATIC BUREAU

Greece provides an excellent case study of a country where US foreign policy has been dominated by military considerations and has been executed by men in olive drab rather than diplomatic charcoal gray. This reverent popular assumption, such as "foreign policy is the business of diplomacy," is not quite true. "Greece control over the military and foreign policy is a case mix of political, military, strategic, economic and ideological considerations." But a closer look at the nature of the post-war relationship between the US and Greece is sufficient to demonstrate the structural reasons for this phenomenon.

The United States inherited responsibility for the protection of Greece and Turkey via the Truman Doctrine in 1947. Greece was threatened by an internal attempt of her communists to seize power by guerrilla warfare, while Turkey was faced strong pressures by the USSR to modify the status of the straits which control the gateway to the Black Sea and the heartland of the Soviet Union. The United States poured huge sums of money in military and economic aid to both countries (amounting to over a billion dollars) and guaranteed their Western orientation through bilateral military alliances as well as insisting on their inclusion in NATO.

The battle against internal and external communism was won and the two nations proceeded with the most pressing task of economic reconstruction and development. While under the US nuclear umbrella Greece and Turkey have relied with the US in cultural, economic, political but preponderantly military factors. A few indicators are sufficient to demonstrate the all-pervasive nature of military interrelationships throughout the post-war years while Greece and Turkey marched forward on the road to development—the United States decreased and eventually in the case of Greece terminated its economic aid. On the contrary military aid through grants, soft loans and underpriced surplus sales continued strong.

Another key element in Indicator is provided by the annual figures of Greek personnel training in the United States. Up to three percent per year of the entire Greek officer corps of 11,000 receive their training at various levels in United States installations. Thus, over a period of twenty to thirty years, amounts to an overwhelming number of American-trained. The assumption, often made, that there builds a special comradeship and谊 among the two sets of military men which becomes virtually unbearable.

Another most interesting observation flows from the following statistics: Of the total number of Greek personnel receiving training in the US the crushing majority have been men of the Greek armed forces while only a negligible minority have been selected from the various pure or civilian bureaucratic agencies in Greece. Greek officers and soldiers have often worked intimately with their American counterparts as a member of NATO installations and commands at regional headquarters such as Naples, Bam, Washington, D.C., or Brussels. The presence of American bases and personnel in Greece, the permanent visits of the 6th Fleet discharging its normal tasks, exercises, search and rescue, negotiations, joint-NATO exercises, or the US overseas air force radio network beaming American speeches on to large Greek audiences—all these factors make for a giant profile for the American military presence. Naturally it should not go unnoticed that even the Greek Central Intelligence Agency (KYP) was established by its American counterpart and prior to the coup of April 1967 was financed directly by its American sponsors.

Theoretically, American policy in Greece is exercised by the country team headed by the American ambassador. It includes sections drawn from the foreign service, defense, other departments having advisory roles in Greece such as Agriculture or Commerce and of course the intelligence agencies. The statistics presented reinforce the overwhelming importance of military contacts between Greeks and Americans quickly lead to the conclusion that US military personnel hold the high cards in the decision-making making emanating from the country team. The effectiveness of the US military input to politics in Greece is reinforced by the independence from civilian control which the Greek armed forces have enjoyed throughout the post-WWII period. This conclusion is strengthened by the views of most Greek political circles who articulate on the subject of Greek-American relations. People like Constantine Karanikolas, Efendi Vakasis, Andreas Papandreou, George Mytilineos, Milti Theodorakis and other political elites, are working for the restoration of Democracy in Greece, are agreed in one basic assumption. That the US military arm is the only influential, if not decisive, instrument of US foreign policy in Greece. They argue that the US either engineered the Coup of April 21, 1967, or at least remained benign in its inaction before the suspension of democratic freedoms in Greece. All these political people are definitely agreed that

the US has since that time quietly supported the military pacts of Greece, in the interest of maintaining (or not endeavoring) US strategic interests; namely American bases and personnel in Greece as well as access rights to airports, overflight rights for the much restricted American military aircraft, and weapons and military equipment for the military exercises of the 6th Fleet operating in the Mediterranean sea.

If we accept for a moment the premise that US military considerations outweigh all other factors in the determination of our policy in Greece, let us look into the substance of our foreign policy (word as well as action) with respect to this country. At its cautious best our policy toward Greece can be described as a "painless" alliance. On occasion we deplore the "Temporary" (nothing is temporary until it is ended) suspension of democratic freedoms and civil rights in Greece and urge sincerely that democracy should be restored in the not too distant future. On the other hand, we point up the vital strategic location and importance of the Greek real estate and the fact that the United States has been fulfilling its NATO obligations with religious exactitude.

These obligations presumably involve a welcome source vis-a-vis US military presence in the Greek territorial complex, a willingness to devote a large part of the governmental budget to defense spending (the possibility that large portions of the defense expenditures will not be used for internal control is, I think, irrelevant), a recognition taken into consideration here), and correct attitudes of silence if not enthusiastic approval with respect to the much-discredited US policies in Indochina. Last but not least, the untested but very thankful approval of the US goes to the Papadopoulos government for his prudent (some say devious) policies vis-a-vis the potentially explosive Cyprus issue which could engulf Greece and Turkey in war (one aspect of Cyprus is that the great southern flank of NATO at the great risk of the Russian bear which is comfortably acclimating itself to swimming in the warm waters of the Mediterranean sea).

The military spokesmen of our foreign policy vis-a-vis Greece, however, go a step further than sharing the two items of this dilemma. They unwittingly at times and consciously at other times perform the role of the most vocal advocates of war-makers for the Greek regime in the United States. A classic example of this role—is the unwilling side—is the constant hearings and grants of minor and major officials of the US-NATO establishment visiting Greece, inspecting sites, keeping babies, and invariably posing in smiling countenance with their inevitable pictures. These pictures are prominently displayed by the pro-government newspapers in Greece, transmitting with a picture rather than a thousand words a simple message to the war-weary Greek public: UNCLE SAM LIKES US! (Alfred Friendly in a recent column published by the Washington Post claims that American Theta has put a certain step to this practice).

On the other hand from this side, one discerns the Pentagon's position on the Greek regime following statements made by Defense officials before the various committees and subcommittees as well as plenary sessions of the two houses of Congress. A classic example of this attitude is exemplified by the Defense document presented in evidence by Senator Strom Thurmond before the US Senate debate on Senator Hartke's resolution that would have denied military aid to Greece pending the restoration of democracy there.<sup>1</sup> The document

elegantly identifies the essence of the American Gibsonia, but goes considerably further than that. It asserts the good faith of the Greek regime with respect of its oft-announced intentions of releasing Democracy to Greece and affirms to a committee which is to be established by the Greek government (within the end of 1970) a reasonable time-limit for the application of the 1958 constitution and presumably the announcement of elections which would mark the most unequivocal sign of the return of democracy in Greece.

What is remarkable about the concrete of this document is the innocent and unconvincing trust with which the intentions of the Papadopoulos government are accepted with such an air of palpable blindness.

Let us examine briefly the record of the Papadopoulos regime in its ever three years of governance. We will quickly come to the conclusion that the Pentagon's exhortations with respect to the intentions of the Greek regime is not warranted. The old theoretical notion that actions speak louder than words has been discarded. The papalists have been replaced, who have sought to emphasize (not the rhetoric, Let us look at the record): The review comes to power in 1967, charging the imminent takeover of communists and the rampant corruption of the parliamentary regime. Neither of these charges being proven, the regime has dropped them and has adopted new, flexible, tactful and theoretical positions. The new positions are: (1) Instituting the objectives of the regime include such long-range goals as the recharging of the Greek social and political culture, the re-education of the Greek public as to introduce civic maturity among them, the transition of Greece from the status of developing to that of a developed country. All these could be off taken seriously twenty or a hundred years ago. The regime has spoken with many words and far fewer actions regarding these long-range objectives will be heeded to here. Some call the regime a "peacockish" which should give way to civilian, representative role as soon as possible, while others have opted for the deep, surgical objectives which should write if not a new chapter, at least a new paragraph in Greek history.

The most authoritative spokesman of the regime, P. M. Papadopoulos, has spoken uniformly about return to democracy on a Hellenistic foundation. The intention of his regime, however, its intentions appear suspect at best. After three years have elapsed since the April 27 takeover, the country is still under the shadow of martial law and strict military control of the governmental apparatus. Even if certain ministries have been entrusted to various civilian personalities, it is to a certain extent in Greece that the Greek State retains its grip on the revolutionaries, workers in the bureaucratic apparatus. These men are invariably retired military officers that enjoy the highest confidence of the revolution, if they are not already members of the revolutionary council. The latter quite possibly on matters of highest policy for the Greek nation.

Papadopoulos announced with great fanfare the first general election to be held in Greece since 1952. This election was delayed, and considerably elaborated on, after the unsuccessful coup d'etat of King Constantine in December of 1967. This constitution, which limited the powers of the King, weakened the authority of parliament and reinforced the powers of the executive, was put to the vote of the Greek people in late September 1968. The main catch was that the vote took place under martial law conditions. And that an overwhelming majority of over 92% of the Greek people not only voted for the constitution but simultaneously voted for a provision which would keep their own civil rights and freedoms in the freeze until the Revolution decreed it safe or proper to permit a thaw.

It was unabashedly claimed by some proponents of the Revolution that the Greeks had voted freely for their own political cause and for the perpetuation of martial law.

Although the new constitution has been put into effect, its provisions are largely symbolic, and do not provide for the protection of the land which simply rotatates. Nothing is sacrosanct if it endangers the "national security". The Papadopoulos government proved that, when it ignored the decisions of Greece's highest administrative court and forced its chief Justice, Stasinopoulos, to resign. This illustrates this hybrid and uncertain freedom that the Greeks are allegedly regaining greater than the linked with which the majority of Greeks of the present generation handled. Early in 1970 preventive censorship was lifted and the new law defining the rights and duties of the Greek press went into effect. For many eager to be emancipated publishers, the new law proved worse than pure and simple military censorship. The philosophy of the new law was the imposition by members of the press of "constructive self-restraint". As long as the press did not openly display what could be construed as "awakening old political passions", or reporting on questions dealing with national defense and security, or reporting on suicides, or presenting news in a fashion promoting a "defeatist, antinational" spirit, they were free to write and publish anything they wanted, but then face the consequences, if they broke the elaborate and deeply interpretable law.

The principles of justice, fairness, employ constitutes a set of abstracts laws that would not be applied are too numerous to mention in this short article. Suffice it to say that the new "progressive" legislation being carried out of the revolutionary committees limits the right of trial by jury, shackles the educational system under which strict military scrutiny, has abolished all local representation from mayor to county and has represented the local entities with centrally appointed commissioners, has purged the right of labor strikes, the continuation and maintenance of political parties and the development of even the most rudimentary internal opposition. A regime which has repeatedly and continuously urged modernization and development has also seen fit to denounce the right of political parties and political education from nine to nine. A summation of the picture just painted indicates that there is a tremendous gap between promise and delivery of goods, between rhetoric and action.

The peninsula, by choosing consistently to ignore the double standard of not doubtless of the Greek government is rapidly becoming identified as an accomplice among the persecutors of the revolutionaries and the persecutors naturally the public. An accomplice, that is, which is responsible for the perpetuation of unnecessary dictatorial conditions in their country. The long term consequences of this attitude are clearly apparent. The United States is losing the natural support of the great popularity of the Greek political spectrum. This will mean that it and western Europe will be compelled to reassess the favorable position that the US has enjoyed in Greece since 1967 may be seriously jeopardized. This then creates a thankless situation where the US will be required to support a dictatorial government against the pressures of the Greek people as well as international public opinion in order to maintain its strategic interests on the Greek mainland. The problem is that the US is in an impasse which the United States can avoid because Greece today provides the US with a creditable, popular, pro-western alternative to the currently governing Greek junta.

What is the alternative and how can it be brought about? The alternative is the transition from the present impasse to a

<sup>1</sup> The measure was narrowly defeated 30 to 42. It is indeed unique that 42 US senators voted against aid to the Greek nation since the days of the Truman Doctrine in 1947.

situation where the electoral process will permit the Greek people to elect a representative and legitimate government. How can this transition be brought about and what leverage, if any, does the US possess in the situation? The US, although our policy has been to support the Free Country, possesses no considerable leverage in Greece. The early part of this paper examined the parallel relationship and the commandery between the military establishments of the two countries. Secret, clear-cut statements backed with appropriate action (such as references of aid, or support) to the Free Papagos-deputies in their attempt to achieve the Papagos-deputies government will give the Greeks that it has been promised from the beginning of their takeover. The gentle pressure appears to us to have adopted this attitude by reasoning that December 1953 is a reasonable deadline for the complete application of the constitution. This means in effect the lifting of martial law, the permission of political parties to restructure themselves and, most importantly, the announcement of elections.

Now, many critics of the regime may question the legitimacy of the elections as to be held under possible conditions of intimidation and fraud. This must be avoided at all costs if the Greek situation is to find an evolutionary way out of its present impasse. Once the constitution is applied and elections announced the present regime must give way to an interim or transitional or service government made up of representative personalities drawn from the ranks of the Greek political world (which is its overwhelming preponderance). This government which should not stay in power more than six months will administer fair and impartial elections. The members of this government, will therefore be excluded—par excellence—from running in the elections of EPT. The members and the supporters of

the present regime will be free to form a new party (if they desire) and seek for the first time the mandate from the Greek people. Naturally, ought to the elections, martial law will have been lifted, political prisoners will have been freed, the press will have been unshackled and campaigning will be thoroughly active irrespective from any source. Military power and justice will once more revert to the civil authorities, and the armed forces will no longer interfere in the political process. They will revert to their traditional role of defending and

There are serious indications that the great preponderance of the Greek politicians are ready to support such a compromise solution. The solution is indeed a compromise. It is the kind of solution that Hitler, who came to power by illegal means, would not only go so unopposed, but to form a political party of their own and seek the vote of the Greek people. Namely there are many hot-heads who would like to see the Jews members prosecuted and perhaps executed, but this is the kind of attitude that the Greeks have naturally in sympathy with. The only difficulty is that the representation of the Jews in the Greek Parliament is still very small.

<sup>1</sup>There are those having fears that certain sections of the 1953 Constitution would allow for repressive conditions to obtain at Mysore. The compromise would save the last post-Junta elected Parliament, exercise a power to review and revise the Constitution.

ture compromise and return of the responsibility for the future to the most legitimate arbiters: The Greek People!

The pressure of the US must be substantive and relentless. The Greek government must be positively encouraged to do as much as it has promised to do in its next budget moments. The US has the leverage among the Greek military establishments, the solution has the support of the overwhelming preponderance of the Greek political world, the support of the European Union, and the Greek people will be more than willing to come to decide for themselves without the bouncy and unpredictable end of a reactionary, neofascist movement against the Junta.

Creses does not need to become another Vietnam to be coerced to democratize. There are many, safe and alternative ways to avert violence in a war-tired country, and to divert the energies of a very talented people toward the positive goals of economic and social development, and pluralism, democratic politics—in short, a "good polity." The task is complex and difficult, but it can't be simpler than to implement—*now*—the package which after all has brought a commendable high economic development rate in its post-war years under perhaps the most difficult circumstances.

The peaceful transition outlined above will have the ~~unintended~~<sup>unconscious</sup> American policy-makers from many households which we are currently besieging them with respect to Greece. Our domestic liberal opposition that points to Greece as an example of exporting dictatorship to protect dubious at best military interests can be quieted if it is succeeded. Our NATO allies will be pleased if it is succeeded. Greece from their political forums, will stop pressuring the US with regard to funding the perpetration and growth of a dictatorial regime. Fear that a Vietnamese scenario will develop in Greece will be put to rest. Western and US strategic interests will be equally well served by a conservative government, as it has been consistently throughout April 1967. Finally among the reasons that the Greek regime will become progressively "massetered" or "papa loquacis" and will start sailing with Moscow in order to save its internal political survival from external (Western) pressures will be permanently removed.

The time is ripe today for the US to re-examine its priorities so as to convince the present government that it can share its chances with the verdicts of its own people.

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ROMAN WOMEN ON HER SIDE

Mr. ERVIN, Mr. President, the Washington Post for August 24, 1970, contains an article entitled "Polling Women on Her Hair," written by George Gallup. Dr. Gallup's poll indicates that the overwhelming majority of American women would prefer my proposed amendment—Senate Joint Resolution 221—over the House-passed Equal Rights amendment—House Joint Resolution 264.

It is not surprising that this should be so.

The House-passed amendment is designed by its proponents to abolish all legal distinctions between men and women, no matter how necessary or reasonable such distinctions may be, and to compel Congress and the 50 States to make all future laws applicable to men and women in exactly the same way, no matter how irrational such action may

My amendment will abolish all unfair legal distinctions made between men and women without subjecting women to compulsory military service and without depriving women of the protection given them by laws which are reasonably designed to promote their health, safety, privacy, education, or economic welfare, or to enable them to perform their duties as homemakers or mothers.

I ask unanimous consent that Dr. Gallop's article be printed in the Register.

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

Policing Women on the Road

(By George Gallup)

PRINCETON, N.J.—"Like all mothers, I get fed up with being cooped up in the house. I'd probably even enjoy a part-time job, but I wouldn't change roles with my husband for one minute."

A HARRISBURG, Pa., mother of three small children talks about her role in life.

"You hear a lot of talk these days about equality for women," she added. "Single girls may find some discrimination in the business world, but I'll bet most women are fairly satisfied with their place in society."

assured with what they are doing."

She would probably win her bet, according to the results of a special Gallup survey just completed which focused on the attitudes of American women toward their roles in life. Interest in working and job descriptions

Two-thirds of American women, mothers included, believe they get as good a break at the world today as men do. However among those who have attended college, from those ranks the women's liberation movement has drawn much of its support. Fewer (33 per cent) believe they get as good a break as men.

Moreover, the survey finds that a majority of women feel that members of their sex are in somewhat more difficult when it comes to reaching the upper echelons in business.

Women are now organizing in city after the publishing handbills, taking out full-page newspaper ads, picketing and threatening court suits. On Wednesday, the National Organization for Women (NOW) will lead a nationwide protest strike for equality with men.

The feminists are protesting what they regard as "intolerable discrimination" against women in industry, government and the professions.

Here are some of the other blights of

Among the two-thirds of American women

7 per cent; who are presently not working jobs outside the home, the weight of preference is not to work. Among those women who do crave outside employment (27 per cent), most would choose a part-time job over a full-time position.

Reasons cited by women not now working who want outside employment divide mainly between those who "need the money" and those who admit to being bored at home. Although 65 per cent of U.S. women be-