

S. 2754

[Report No. 93-662]

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

NOVEMBER 29, 1973

Mr. PELL (for himself and Mr. JACKSON) introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations

DECEMBER 20, 1973

Reported by Mr. PELL, with amendments

[Omit the part struck through and insert the part printed in *italics*]

A BILL

To prohibit all military assistance to Greece until it is determined that Greece is fulfilling its obligations under the North Atlantic Treaty.

1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*
2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*
3 That the Congress declares that it is the policy of the United
4 States Government to provide military assistance and military
5 sales, credit sales, and guaranties to or for the Government
6 of Greece only when that Government fulfills its obligations
7 under the North Atlantic Treaty, including both adherence
8 to the political principles stated in the preamble to the treaty
9 and the maintenance of its capability to perform common
10 defense functions assigned under the current North Atlantic

1 Treaty Organization defense plans. Therefore, no military
2 assistance and no sales, credit sales, or guaranties shall be
3 provided to or for the Government of Greece under the law
4 *this or any other Act after the date of enactment of this Act*
5 until the President (1) undertakes a comprehensive review,
6 *after such date, of United States policy toward Greece, (2)*
7 *has made a full report with respect to such review to Con-*
8 *gress, and (3) finds and reports to Congress that, as a result*
9 *of such review, the Government of Greece is in full compli-*
10 *ance with its political and military obligations under the*
11 *North Atlantic Treaty. If the President proposes any such*
12 *military assistance, sales, credit sales, or guaranties, notice*
13 *shall be given to the Speaker of the House of Representatives*
14 *and the President of the Senate thirty days in advance thereof,*
15 *stating that such military assistance, sales, credit sales, or*
16 *guaranties are to be given, the terms thereof, and the over-*
17 *riding national interest which justifies it, notwithstanding any*
18 *other provision of this Act. The provisions of this section shall*
19 *not apply to funds obligated prior to such date of enactment.*

Calendar No. 638

93d CONGRESS
1st Session

S. 2754

[Report No. 93-662]

A BILL

To prohibit all military assistance to Greece until it is determined that Greece is fulfilling its obligations under the North Atlantic Treaty.

By Mr. PELL and Mr. JACKSON

NOVEMBER 20, 1973

Read twice and referred to the Committee on
Foreign Relations

DECEMBER 20, 1973

Reported with amendments



Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 93^d CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

Vol. 120

WASHINGTON, TUESDAY, APRIL 2, 1974

No. 46

Senate

REDUCTION OF MILITARY TIES WITH GREECE

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, the news that the administration finally has decided to interrupt our expanding military ties with the repressive dictatorship of Greece is both warmly welcome in its substance, and stunning in its format.

The announcement is welcome in that it is precisely the kind of decision in our policy toward Greece that I and many of my colleagues have been pressing the State Department to advocate in this administration.

The announcement is astounding in that it came, not from the Department of State, but from the Pentagon, and was based not on strictly military factors, but on the basis of broader political considerations.

Meanwhile, the State Department, which presumably is the formulator of our overall foreign policy is said to be attributing the change in our military plans in Greece to technical delays.

This is at best a puzzling reversal of roles: The Defense Department acting politically while the State Department is concerned with technical military logistics.

It was Defense Secretary James Schlesinger who, according to a story by Dan Morgan, of the Washington Post of March 29—Friday—decided to suspend the homeporting of an American aircraft carrier in Greece until there is "greater harmony in our mutual perceptions than exists at the present time."

The homeporting of a carrier was to be phase 2 of our naval homeporting program in Greece. However, Mr. Schlesinger said that the future of phase 2 "would depend on the evolution of political developments."

Meanwhile, and sadly in my view, the State Department, according to the Post story, is attributing the suspension of phase 2 to "delays in making technical arrangements" for facilities to support the carrier's aircraft and for housing accommodations for a vastly increased number of Navy personnel in Greece.

As I have said, I welcome this decision to at least pause in our unseemly embrace of the undemocratic junta ruling Greece. At the same time, the fact that the decision came from the Defense Department tends to confirm the long-

standing impression that far too much of our foreign policy originates in the planning rooms of the Pentagon.

The decision to halt expansion of the homeporting plan is a good one, regardless of who made it or announced it.

Phase 1 of the program—homeporting destroyers in Greece—was at the expense of our own home-based naval facilities. It increased our military presence abroad when it has been in the U.S. interest to reduce it.

In addition, authoritative reports on the situation in Greece paint a grim picture of disarray in the country. The junta is increasingly alienated from the Greek people, including its former supporters in the professional and business middle classes. There is a growing threat of a takeover by extremists either of the ul-

tranationalist or Quasadañ school or by the Communist far left. There is uncontrolled inflation and economic deterioration, and a growing tendency among the Greek people to blame their troubles on the United States, because of our Government's military support and association with the junta.

In these circumstances, I believe homecoming for our naval forces makes more sense than homeporting in Greece.

Mr. President, the need is growing for the United States to indicate clearly that reliance on a junta antagonistic to the Greek people is a dangerous security risk for the United States and the North Atlantic Alliance.

The British have given such a message by canceling Navy visits to Greece. My bill—S. 2754—suspending military aid to Greece, which was approved by the Senate in January, bears a similar message. Curtailment or elimination of homeporting in Greece would be another such step.

Aside from the practical and security aspects of the Greek problem, I have been even more concerned by the lack of progress and now retrogression in the restoration of constitutional government in Greece. The shocking arrest and incarceration of the Central Unionist, moderate leader, a true Greek patriot, George Mavros, offers sad evidence of this backward movement. His only crime, apparently, was to applaud the cancellation of the British navy visits.

ator from West Virginia wish me to yield to him?

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD, No. Mr. President: I can take care of the calendar later.

AMERICAN INDUSTRY HAS BEEN WEARING BLENDERS

Mr. MOSS, Mr. President, a constituent last week sent me a particularly appropriate and thought-provoking letter. Mr. Lawrence Sheppick of Fall Lake City asked why both the car manufacturers and Government seem to be ignoring available improvements to increase automobile gas mileage. I consider Mr. Sheppick's question "right on target." A Treasury Department study recently completed indicates that utilizing available technology, mileage on American automobiles could be increased an average of 73 percent. Why have not improvements been made? The answer is simply that such improvements could add hundreds of dollars to the cost of the heavier new cars. When gasoline was plentiful and cheap there appeared to be little incentive to make mileage improving changes.

The current fuel crisis has shown how unfortunate such an approach was. The fuel crisis has also made it mandatory that we quickly take advantage of available approaches to increase automobile efficiency.

For this reason, 3 months ago, I introduced S. 2034, a bill designed to increase automobile efficiency. My bill placed a levy on the sale of new cars based on mileage.

The Treasury study I previously mentioned provided added information on the amount of levy required to motivate automobile manufacturers to improve mileage on new cars. The study calculated the cost of gasoline saving improvements on various weights of automobiles to achieve a uniform mileage of 20 miles per gallon. Naturally the cost would be highest on the heaviest cars. The lightest American cars would require no improvements since they already achieve 30 miles per gallon or more. Accordingly, I have modified the levy schedule of S. 2034 to that shown in the Treasury study.

I, together with my colleagues Senator Percy and Senator Nease, am submitting as an amendment to H.R. 8214 an amendment to the Internal Revenue Code of 1964 to provide a levy on the sale of new automobiles with respect to their fuel consumption rates. This levy is designed to make it more logical for automobile manufacturers to achieve an automobile mileage of 20 miles per gallon than to pay the levy.

I am convinced that with the right incentives to apply our available technology we can have both the comfortable cars and the fuel mobility we have enjoyed in the past.

Hobart Rowen in his column for today said, "The Nation's being ill-served by half-baked measures" to cope with the energy crisis, he said:

At the same time, American industry has shown that it, too, has been wearing blinders. In Detroit, where the chief executives

had done anywhere from \$440,000 a year (Chrysler's Lynn Townsend) to \$75,500 (Henry Ford II) for their efforts, the auto companies have been caught flat footed, with huge inventories of gas-guzzling monsters.

As a result, auto stocks are plunging and thousands of workers are facing layoffs that needn't have come if the top men had really earned their plush salaries.

Michael Evans of Chase Econometric Associates, Inc. puts this letter point as well and so bluntly as anyone:

The market share of standard-size cars fell 7 percent last year, which is as much as it had fallen during the previous seven years. These figures, which do not have been a secret from executives in an industry which has more daily and weekly data than any other.

I personally know of several instances where middle management argued strenuously last year that production lines should be reoriented toward small cars. Yet this argument fell mostly on deaf ears as the top executive level of the Detroit "Big Three" departure from GM was based on more than long boring staff meetings.

COMMUNICATIONS FROM EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS, ETC.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate the following letters, which were referred as indicated:

APPROVAL OF LOAN TO COHN BEEF FARM COOPERATIVE, HUMBOLDT, IOWA

A letter from the Administrator, Rural Reorganization Administration, U.S. Department of Agriculture, transmitting pursuant to information requested in Senate Report No. 497, Department of Agriculture and Related Agencies Appropriation Bill, 1964, the approval of a loan to Cohn Beef Farm Cooperative, Humboldt, Iowa, to finance increased costs of previously-loaned generation facilities. Referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

REPORT OF DEPARTMENT OF STATE

A letter from the Acting Secretary, Department of State, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on U.S. Contributions to International Organizations for fiscal year 1972 (with an accompanying report). Referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

REPORT OF NATIONAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES ON EDUCATIONAL PROFESSIONS DEVELOPMENT

A letter from the Chairman, National Advisory Council on Educational Professions Development, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report entitled "Vocational Education: Staff Development Priorities for the 70's" (with an accompanying report). Referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, Post Office, Communications, and Federal Offices, BUREAU OF AGENCIES, N.Y.

A letter from the Administrator, General Services Administration, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report that the House and Senate committees receiving their approval and that the authorization be authorized for the proposed construction of a Post Office, Courthouse, and Federal Building for Auburn, N.Y. Referred to the Committee on Public Works.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

The following reports of committees were submitted:

By Mr. SPARKMAN, from the Committee on Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs, with an amendment:

S. 1848. An act to expand the national flood insurance program by substantially increasing limits of coverage and total amount of insurance authorized to be outstanding and by requiring known flood-prone communities to participate in the program, and

for other purposes (Rept. No. 93-483), together with additional views.

By Mr. BARTLETT, from the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, without amendment:

S. 1974. A bill to study an Indian nation's trail within the national trails system (Rept. No. 93-554).

By Mr. ERVIN (for Mr. JACKSON), from the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, without amendment:

H.R. 2448. An act to provide for the conveyance of certain mineral rights in and under lands in Onslow County, N.C. (Rept. No. 93-564).

By Mr. BURDECK (for Mr. BIRLE), from the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, with an amendment:

S. 1498. A bill to authorize the establishment of the Kofa River Indian Villages National Historic Site (Rept. No. 93-496).

By Mr. FANNIN (for Mr. BIRLE), from the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, with amendments:

S. 417. A bill to amend the act of June 28, 1948, to provide for the addition of certain property in Philadelphia, Pa., to Independence National Historical Park (Rept. No. 93-567).

By Mr. ERVIN, from the Committee on Government Operations, with amendments: H.R. 2245. An act to amend Reorganization Plan No. 2 of 1973 (Rept. No. 93-566).

INTRODUCTION OF BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS

The following bills and joint resolutions were introduced, read the first time and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as indicated:

By Mr. PELL (for himself and Mr. JACKSON):

S. 2754. A bill to prohibit all military assistance to Greece until it is determined that Greece is fulfilling the obligations under the North Atlantic Treaty. Referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

By Mr. DOMENICCI:

S. 2753. A bill to require the Administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration to study the feasibility of entering into certain international cooperative programs involving the utilization of space technology and application. Referred to the Committee on Aeronautics and Space Sciences.

By Mr. HUGH SCOTT (for himself and Mr. FEWITT):

S. 2756. A bill to provide health care insurance for people of the United States and to improve the availability of health services, and for other purposes. Referred to the Committee on Finance.

STATEMENTS ON INTRODUCED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS

By Mr. PELL (for himself and Mr. JACKSON):

S. 2754. A bill to prohibit all military assistance to Greece until it is determined that Greece is fulfilling its obligations under the North Atlantic Treaty. Referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. PELL, Mr. President, hardly had the sound of firing and the rumble of tanks subsided in the wake of former President Papadopoulos' bloody suppression of the defenders of Greek freedom, when a military coup toppled him from power. Although the situation following the coup is still murky, it does seem clear that the new regime is determined to move away from rather than toward the

reestablishment of democratic government and the rule of law. The Greek military aggression for the time being of a constitutional dictatorship thus seems inevitable, dashing any American hopes for the contrary.

It is reported that one reason for Papadopoulos' downfall was the reaction of moderate elements of the Greek military against the rash and the violent measures used to quell the uprising. Hopefully these conservative, but more democratic members of the military will have a voice in the direction of the junta and exert a moderating influence.

I do not believe, however, that we can rely alone on this possible development to bring about a change for the better in Greece. Nor do I believe the United States can ignore the consequences stemming from the circumstances surrounding the crushing of the recent uprising against the junta, in which U.S. military equipment and tanks were involved. The realistic call, therefore, for a strong U.S. denunciation of the junta's policies and U.S. measures to implement words with action.

Let us examine more closely for a moment the tragic events that have been occurring in Greece. In many respects, these events are reminiscent of the uprising of the people of Hungary in 1956. There, students and workers took the lead in an open struggle to obtain freedom from the Soviet regime. In that struggle, they confronted Russian tanks.

In Greece, students and workers again took the lead in a struggle to free their country from dictatorship and return it to constitutional democracy. In that struggle, however, the Greek students and workers confronted American-made tanks, turned on the people by their own government.

There is, moreover, another important difference between these two uprisings. In Hungary, the students and workers rebelled against the imposition of a puppet government of the Soviet Union. In Greece, the wrath of the workers and students was directed toward both the Papadopoulos government and toward our own country, the United States.

The cry of the students was "Out with Papadopoulos" and "Out with the Americans."

It is more than sad—it is tragic that the United States should be viewed with such hatred by the people of Greece. But it is also understandable. For 6 years, the people of Greece have watched the U.S. Government give moral and material support to a Greek regime that has denied democracy, destroyed freedom, and persecuted and tortured its political opponents.

For 6 years, the people of Greece have watched while American admirals and generals made highly publicized public appearances with the admirals and generals of the junta.

For 6 years, the people of Greece have watched while the flow of arms and munitions from the United States to the Greek Government continued unabated.

It is little wonder, with this background, that the people of Greece concluded that their government—a junta of colonels that did not dare face the people

in a democratic election—was being supported by the United States.

Several years ago, when I proposed here in the Senate that the United States discontinue its military assistance to the Greek regime, I was told that cutting of military assistance would be an act of interference in the internal affairs of Greece. I could not agree then, and I do not agree now, that continuing military assistance to the Greek junta is an act of noninterference. The Greek people—who now face the muzzles of American-made tanks—obviously do not consider the arms supplies an act of noninterference.

Since the Greek junta, through the years, has been continuing military aid to Greece, has been that Greece is an essential element in the overall NATO strategy and a keylink in our defense posture in the Mediterranean.

In pursuit of that policy, the administration put forward and moved ahead with a program to increase U.S. naval forces in Greece, moving destroyers from U.S. ports, including Newport, R.I., to Greece. This policy went unchallenged despite repeated reports from Navy families of rising anti-American sentiment in Greece because of apparent support of the junta.

The cries of the Greek people—"Out with the Americans"—make it clear that military assistance to Greece as a NATO partner has come at a very high price. Unfortunately, it is quite clear that the goal of strengthening NATO has not been achieved. The Greek Navy has practically been confined to home ports for fear that more Greek naval vessels will revolt against the junta, and I understand the Greek Air Force has been rationed in gasoline so that its planes cannot fly beyond the borders of Greece.

We are learning, I believe, a lesson we should have learned long ago—that a nation cannot be strong unless its government has the free and willing support of the people. It is a lesson we should have learned in South Vietnam.

Greece obviously cannot be a strong partner in NATO while government energies are devoted to suppressing its people. The tragic error of U.S. policy toward Greece is that the administration believed that lack of democracy in that country was of no concern; that the United States could maintain a strong Greek participation in NATO simply by providing a flow of military assistance to a dictatorship.

We have talked a great deal about democracy, but in our policy toward Greece, the U.S. Government consistently has turned its back on those Greeks who have looked to this Nation for support in their courageous stand for democratic rights and freedom.

I emphasize that I am not advocating intervention in the internal affairs of Greece by the United States. I am urging that the United States end its implicit endorsement of the undemocratic Greek Government by ending the flow of military assistance.

In June of this year, I introduced with the distinguished junior Senator from Washington (Mr. Jackson) an amendment to the Foreign Military Assist-

ance Act, which would have made continued military assistance to Greece contingent upon the Greek Government's adherence to the principles of NATO, including respect for democratic institutions and individual freedoms.

The Senate, after full debate, adopted that amendment. I regret very much that the committee of conference on that bill struck the amendment from the bill, an action that was at least pleasing to the administration, and in fact largely the result of fierce administration opposition to the amendment.

During debate on that amendment last June, the junior Senator from Washington, an expert on NATO military affairs, said:

It is just common horse sense that if the democratic order in Greece continues to be subverted, and the best people, the best professionals they had in their military service are forced out, Greece's contribution to NATO will end up at zero.

He continued,

I think it is high time that we blow the whistle on the operations of the Greek colonels.

It is now past time to blow the whistle. At this point, I can see no argument for continuing military assistance to a government that has crippled its effectiveness in NATO through unremitting pursuit of undemocratic, dictatorial government.

In support of this conclusion, let me quote from the excellent report of the Committee of Nine on Improving NATO, made to the recent session of the North Atlantic Assembly in Ankara. Commenting on alliance solidarity, the report states:

The Committee is convinced that the common interests which brought North America and Western Europe into military alliance and intimate political and economic association remain compelling. Strong forces continue to induce the two sides of the Atlantic to remain together.

These forces consist, first of a common and deep-seated attachment to the ideals of individual liberty, democratic institutions, and the rule of law. The Committee considers it the duty of the states of Western Europe and North America to do all that they can properly to aid in the establishment and maintenance of such conditions in each of the member-nations. In a period of detente, the strength of the Western position and the public respect which the Alliance itself can command will be profoundly affected by the extent to which member-nations uphold the ideals upon which the Alliance was founded. The failure on behalf of any member to live up to these ideals most inevitably weakens the political and moral position of the Alliance as a whole.

We can only sadly conclude that Greece, under a military dictatorship, is just such a member, when its government uses force of arms to suppress its people, having denied them time and again the promised opportunity to express themselves in democratic elections.

Accordingly, I am today introducing a bill which would prohibit military assistance in any form to Greece until such time as it is determined that Greece is fulfilling its obligations under the North Atlantic Treaty.

I ask unanimous consent that the text

of the bill be printed in the Record at the conclusion of my remarks.

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

S. 2754

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Congress declare that it is the policy of the United States Government to provide military assistance and military sales, credit sales, and guarantees to or for the Government of Greece only when that government fulfills its obligations under the North Atlantic Treaty, including both adherence to the political principles stated in the preamble to the Treaty and the maintenance of its capability to perform common defense functions assigned under the current North Atlantic Treaty Organization defense plans. Therefore, no military assistance or credit sales, credit sales, or guarantees shall be provided to or for the Government of Greece under the law until the President (1) undertakes a comprehensive review of United States policy toward Greece, (2) has made a full report with respect to such review to Congress, and (3) finds and reports to Congress that, as a result of such review, the Government of Greece is in full compliance with its political and military obligations under the North Atlantic Treaty. The provisions of this section shall not apply to funds obligated prior to such date of enactment.

By Mr. DOMENICI:

S. 2755. A bill to require the Administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration to study the feasibility of entering into certain international cooperative programs involving the utilization of space technology and application. Referred to the Committee on Aeronautics and Space Sciences.

Mr. DOMENICI, Mr. President, events of the last several months, especially those in the Middle East, have brought to our attention the immediate energy shortage. We have all heard many comments regarding this energy crisis but I feel it is important to note that we are not really facing an energy crisis per se but more specifically a petroleum shortage.

I think we all realize and accept the fact that the use of petroleum products will continue to be our most needed source of energy. While, as I have stated, fossil fuels are our most important source of energy, we must continually search for new supplemental forms of energy. We have known for years that our available petroleum supply has remained relatively constant while our demand has increased. Today we are just beginning to experience the effects of this petroleum shortage.

We have just recently passed legislation that will give the President the power to most effectively utilize our present resources. I feel that this was a very important initial step in meeting our present energy crisis but we must now look to the energy by which to supply this Nation with its future energy needs. This will require an increased utilization of our fossil fuels, which can only be accomplished by cooperation between the Government and private enterprise. This joint effort to produce maximum quantities of energy resources must be done in a manner that will not harm

our environmental quality. I will be the first to admit that this is a difficult problem but I am confident through diligence on our part we may achieve these goals.

I believe it is important to remind myself that the countries of Western Europe and Japan are also sharing in a petroleum shortage. These countries do not admit that this is a difficult problem but I am confident through diligence on our part we may achieve these goals.

I believe it is important to remind myself that the countries of Western Europe and Japan are also sharing in a petroleum shortage. These countries do not admit that this is a difficult problem but I am confident through diligence on our part we may achieve these goals.

As a member of the Aeronautics and Space Sciences Committee, I have recently read testimony as to the utilization of solar energy as a possible supplemental form of energy. We have small communities today that are heated and cooled by solar rays from the sun. The National Science Foundation and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration are investigating the possibility of building large solar arrays in space that would beam solar energy to Earth. I feel that these and other uses of solar energy could possibly be an excellent supplemental form of energy to be used in the future.

It was during these hearings that I realized the possible benefits from an international cooperative R. & D. effort to explore the possibilities of utilizing solar energy. It would appear that all countries involved could mutually benefit from a pooling of R. & D. as to how solar energy might be used as a supplemental form of energy. I am therefore introducing a bill today that would require the Administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration to study the feasibility of entering into certain international cooperative programs involving the utilization of space technology and application for the conversion of solar energy. This bill would call for the Administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration to work in conjunction with the Secretary of State, Secretary of Defense, and the Director of the National Science Foundation to make a full and complete study of the desirability for international cooperation and cost sharing in the development of a system for the collection and conversion of solar energy.

I am introducing this bill because I feel that the Administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration could advise the President and the Congress as to the possible benefits gained in an international pooling of research and development for the conversion of solar energy. It is my sincere hope that Congress take upon its own initiative to explore all possibilities of supplemental forms of energy that might help us alleviate our energy shortage.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record the bill to require the Administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration to study the feasibility of entering into certain international cooperative programs for the conversion of solar energy. This bill would enable the Administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration to explore the possible benefits from an international cooperative effort of research and development.

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

S. 2755

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) in accordance with the provisions of article II of the National Aeronautics and Space Act of 1958, as amended, the Administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, in conjunction with the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Defense, and the Director of the National Science Foundation, is authorized and directed to make a full and complete study of the possibilities for international cooperation and cost sharing in the development of a system for the collection and conversion of solar energy. Such study shall include, but not be limited to, a consideration of the feasibility and desirability of—

- (1) establishing an international consortium;
- (2) utilizing other existing international organizations, or establishing a new international organization, in the development of such an energy collection and transmission system;
- (3) the Administrator shall invite and permit representatives of the public, of other nations, and of international organizations to submit for his consideration reports and information concerning the subject of the study required by this Act;
- (4) the Administrator shall report the results of the study required by this Act to the President and the Congress no later than one year after the date of enactment of this Act.

Sec. 2. There are authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act.

By Mr. HUGH SCOTT (for himself and Mr. FEAR):

S. 2756. A bill to provide health care insurance for people of the United States and to improve the availability of health services, and for other purposes. Referred to the Committee on Finance.

HEALTH RIGHTS ACT OF 1973

Mr. HUGH SCOTT, Mr. President, reform of the Nation's health care system is a matter of the highest urgency. The financial disaster which a prolonged illness can cause a family is often more tragic and debilitating than the disease itself. We have seen this often—a family's financial resources are drained because of the inordinate costs of health care, particularly round-the-clock hospital care which catastrophic illness requires. The examples are numerous and the consequences calamitous.

In an effort to remedy this national health crisis, I am happy to introduce today, along with my distinguished Senator from Illinois (Mr. FEAR), the Health Rights Act of 1973. In essence, our proposal will assure all Americans solid protection against the skyrocketing costs of medical care. It will make a reality of the total comprehensive health care which our Nation guarantees.

There is a growing consensus among the American people that reform of our Nation's health delivery system is essential; that improvement in the overall quality of health care is essential; and that action on a national level is essential to make good health care available to all citizens.

RESTRICTIONS ON MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO GREECE

DECEMBER 20, 1973.—Ordered to be printed

Mr. PELL, from the Committee on Foreign Relations,
submitted the following

REPORT

[To accompany S. 2754]

The Committee on Foreign Relations, to which was referred the bill (S. 2754) to prohibit all military assistance to Greece until it is determined that Greece is fulfilling its obligations under the North Atlantic Treaty, having considered the same, reports favorably thereon with an amendment and recommends that the bill as amended do pass.

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

The purpose of S. 2754 is to require the Executive Branch to undertake a review of United States policy toward Greece with specific attention to whether the Government of Greece is (1) in a position to fulfill its military obligations to NATO and (2) is fulfilling its political obligations under the preamble to the North Atlantic Treaty, which states:

The Parties to this Treaty * * * are determined to safeguard the freedom, common heritage and civilization of their peoples, founded on the principles of democracy, individual liberty and the rule of law.

S. 2754 provides that all military grant assistance, sales, credit sales and guaranties to Greece would be prohibited until (1) such a policy review is completed, (2) the results reported to the Congress, and (3) a finding is made by the President that Greece is in full compliance with the political and military obligations undertaken as a signatory of the North Atlantic Treaty. As amended, the bill provides that the President may extend military aid to Greece notwithstanding the prohibition and requirements of the bill if he finds that such action would be in the overriding national interest and gives the Congress thirty days' advance notice.

BACKGROUND

Since April 1967 Greece has been ruled by a military junta which has denied the Greek people the most elementary personal and political freedoms. In May of this year elements of the Greek Navy mounted an abortive move against the junta. Seizing on this episode as a pretext, the junta abolished the Greek monarchy, proclaimed a "presidential parliamentary democracy" and announced plans for a referendum on certain constitutional changes, including the confirmation of General Papadopoulos in a non-elected term of office as President of Greece.

During Senate debate on the 1973 foreign aid bill last June, Senators Pell and Jackson introduced an amendment, virtually identical to S. 2754 (but without the Presidential waiver provision) prohibiting further military aid to Greece pending an Executive Branch review of U.S. policy toward Greece. The sponsors of the amendment argued that the events of June 1973 were evidence of a continuing deterioration of the political situation in Greece, which, in their view, raised serious questions about Greece's ability to fulfill its commitment to NATO and called into question the justification for continued U.S. support of the existing Greek Government. On June 25 the Pell-Jackson amendment was adopted by the Senate by a vote of 46-41. The House version of the foreign aid bill did not contain a similar provision, and at the insistence of the House Conferees, the Senate amendment was dropped by the Conference Committee.

In July 1973 the junta produced a vote of approximately 70 percent in favor of the proposed constitutional changes, including Papadopoulos' assumption of the presidency. Meanwhile, however, popular resistance to the junta continued to grow and discord within the junta increased while serious inflationary trends in the economy compounded public dissatisfaction with the government. In early November demonstrations by students and workers were harshly suppressed by the Greek armed forces using U.S.-supplied tanks and other military equipment. A number of students were killed by the junta's forces in the course of these events. Shortly thereafter President Papadopoulos was overthrown by an armed forces group reportedly masterminded by General Ioannides, the chief of the junta's military police. Martial law has been reimposed and the Papadopoulos constitution declared null and void. The present junta is considered by most knowledgeable observers to be a grouping of relatively unknown figures with divergent opinions and very little popular support.

The November demonstrations were accompanied by strong public expressions of anti-American sentiment, the objects of which were the U.S. Government's close relationship with the previous military junta and the home-porting agreement by which a U.S. Navy destroyer squadron, including its personnel and dependents, is presently stationed in Greece. At the height of the October crisis in the Middle East the Greek Government was not asked, perhaps for fear it would be refused, U.S. use of Greek facilities in connection with the forwarding of military equipment to Israel.

—There has been no U.S. grant military assistance to Greece since the middle of fiscal year 1973. In that fiscal year, however, the United

States provided military sales credit to Greece in the range of \$60-70 million and made cash arms sales of about \$15 million. Credit and cash programs of similar size are anticipated in fiscal year 1974.

COMMITTEE ACTION

On November 29, 1973, Senator Pell, for himself and Senator Jackson, introduced S. 2754, the language of which was very close to that of the amendment passed by the Senate earlier in the year. An executive session of the Committee on Foreign Relations was held on December 7, 1973, with Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Rodger P. Davies in order to examine the situation in Greece. In the course of this session, S. 2754 was discussed.

At an executive session of the Committee on December 18, a modified form of S. 2754 was considered. The modifications consisted of the insertion of technical language to make the bill conform exactly to the wording of the earlier Pell-Jackson amendment. In the course of the Committee's consideration of the bill, Senator Javits offered an amendment providing for Presidential waiver authority. This amendment was accepted without objection and S. 2754 was ordered reported favorably with amendments by a roll call vote of 10 to 4. Those voting in favor of reporting the bill were Senators Fulbright, Mansfield, Church, Symington, Pell, McGee, Muskie, McGovern, Humphrey and Javits. Those voting against were Senators Aiken, Case, Scott and Percy.

COMMITTEE COMMENTS

The objective of S. 2754 is to bring about a reappraisal of U.S. policy toward Greece as a member of the North Atlantic Alliance. Since the coup of April 1967, U.S. policy appears to have been based on the premise that the maintenance of base rights and other military privileges in Greece was more important to the United States than movement toward a return to democratic government. To those who urged that the United States seek to use its influence to moderate the repressive policies of the junta and to encourage a return to democracy, the executive branch has replied that "the trend toward a constitutional order is established." It was said that U.S. pressure for political reform would be viewed by the junta as unjustified interference in Greek internal affairs, and would therefore likely strengthen the hand of hard-line elements within the junta.

The failure of this policy has never been more apparent than it is today. The most recent coup has brought to power a new junta whose internal policies are, if anything, more repressive than those of its predecessor and whose attitude toward Greece's future role in NATO and the maintenance of U.S. base rights is a source of considerable anxiety to knowledgeable U.S. observers. Equally disquieting is the knowledge that the new junta represents an unstable grouping of individuals with diverse views, very little experience in civil government and with even less public support than its predecessor. Furthermore, in the course of the latest series of political upheavals which began in June of this year, the morale and capabilities of the Greek armed forces have been further impaired. Finally, the Committee is

concerned over a rising tide of anti-Americanism in Greece because of apparent U.S. support for both the past and current military juntas and because of the presence of the U.S. naval forces which are home-ported in Greece.

Under these circumstances, a majority of the Committee on Foreign Relations believes that it is imperative for the United States to rethink its relationship with the military elements which appear to be driving Greece inexorably toward political upheaval. In terms of morality and political principle, the policies of the junta are wholly incompatible with those on which the North Atlantic Alliance was founded. In addition, the increasing internal instability in Greece and the continuing diversion of the Greek armed forces from their intended missions raise serious questions about Greece's ability to make a viable contribution to the NATO defense effort.

It is not the purpose of this bill to interfere in the internal affairs of Greece or to penalize the Greek people as a result of disapproval of authoritarian government. The bill has a wholly positive purpose which is to compel an examination of whether continued U.S. support for the junta is consistent with the principles of the Atlantic Alliance and whether such a policy does, in fact, serve the United States' long-term interest in a cohesive, democratic Greece.

The bill simply states that it shall be the policy of the U.S. Government to extend military assistance, and military sales credits or guaranties to the Government of Greece only when that government fulfills its military and political obligations under the North Atlantic Treaty. In order that the Congress may have some basis for determining whether such compliance exists, the amendment requires that the President undertake a comprehensive review of U.S. policy toward Greece to include an examination and finding regarding the present Greek Government's performance with regard to both the political and military obligations of the treaty, and to report fully its findings to the Congress. As amended, the bill offers the President the option of avoiding the prohibition and the examination and finding process in the event he regards the provision of military assistance to Greece to be in the overriding national interest.

Those members of the Committee who do not share the majority view point out that it would not be proper for the United States Government to make a unilateral finding as called for in the bill regarding the degree of Greek compliance with the principles of the North Atlantic Treaty. In their view such a judgment can properly be made only by the members of the Alliance acting collectively. They also point out that the real thrust of S. 2754 appears to be an effort to dictate the domestic policies of the Greek Government and as such constitutes an unwarranted interference in the internal affairs of an ally. Many of those who hold this view also argue that despite its internal difficulties, the Greek Government is currently meeting its military commitments to NATO, that an interruption of U.S. military credit sales and guaranties would impair Greece's military capability and that the passage of this bill would be regarded by the junta as an unfriendly act which could lead to the termination of U.S. base rights and home-porting privileges. Given what many members of the Committee regard as a serious Soviet challenge to U.S. interests in

the Middle East and the Mediterranean area, it is argued that the loss of such facilities would entail serious risks to U.S. security interests.

The majority of the Committee recognizes the seriousness and sincerity of these minority views, but offers the following comments:

1. While it is true that the North Atlantic Treaty is a collective undertaking, each party has a right to insist upon compliance on the part of other signatories. Furthermore, the question of whether U.S. military assistance should or should not be granted is not one which the United States should allow other parties to the treaty to decide.

2. Unlike some previous legislative proposals, S. 2754 does not call upon the Greek Government to adopt any particular reform. It simply cites the obligations of the North Atlantic Treaty, which the Greek Government has accepted, as a general standard to which the Greek Government can rightly be expected to adhere.

3. While it is admittedly difficult to measure the Greek armed forces' capability to fulfill their NATO defense role, repeated purges of the officer corps and the restrictions which have been placed on the operations of certain air and naval elements as a result of the junta's misgivings about their political reliability have, without doubt, impaired that capability.

4. Although certain elements of the Greek armed forces may be in need of more modern equipment, the primary role of many units during the past six years has been the enforcement of the authoritarian policies of the junta.

5. Despite the junta's efforts to indoctrinate the Greek armed forces, the dedication of most officers to democratic principles remains strong—as does the armed forces belief in Greece's commitment to NATO. There is widespread agreement among long-time observers of the Greek scene that any effort on the part of the junta to terminate Greece's defensive arrangements with the United States or NATO would encounter massive resistance in both military and civilian circles.

In conclusion, the majority of the Committee believes that the present policy of subordinating our political principles to supposedly pragmatic factors in our dealings with the Greek Government, especially in order to insure continued access to Greek bases, is mistaken and tragically shortsighted. The trend in Greece is toward chaos rather than return to democratic government. Unless the United States moves promptly to reassess its long-term interests in Greece, the traditional friendship between the Greek and American people may be further impaired and a series of political events may be set in motion which could result in the loss of the very base and home-porting arrangements to which we presently attach overriding importance.

○

*Para. 4, 5
has change
added by W
10-1-77*