

Cold War History

THE GREEK JUNTA AND THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM

**A CASE STUDY OF SOUTHERN EUROPEAN
DICTATORSHIPS, 1967-74**

Edited by

Antonis Klapsis, Constantine Arvanitopoulos,
Evanthis Hatzivassiliou and Effie G. H. Pedaliu



The Greek Junta and the International System

This book examines the international dimensions of the Greek military dictatorship of 1967 to 1974 and uses it as a case study to evaluate the major shifts occurring in the international system during a period of rapid change.

The policies of the major nation-states in both East and West were determined by realistic Cold War considerations. At the same time, the Greek junta, a profoundly anti-modernist force, failed to cope with an evolving international agenda and the movement towards international cooperation. Denouncing it became a rallying point both for international organizations and for human rights activists, and it enabled the EEC to underscore the notion that democracy was an integral characteristic of the European identity.

This volume is an original in-depth study of an under-researched subject and the multiple interactions of a complex era. It is divided into three sections: Part I deals with the interaction of the Colonels with state actors; Part II deals with the responses of international organizations and the rising transnational human rights agenda for which the Greek junta became a totemic rallying point; and Part III compares and contrasts the transitions to democracy in Southern Europe, and analyses the different models of transition and region-building, and how they intersected with attempts to foster a European identity. The Greek dictatorship may have been a parochial military regime, but its rise and fall interacted with significant international trends and can therefore serve as a salient case study for promoting a better understanding of international and European trends during the 1960s and 1970s.

This book will be of much interest to students of Cold War studies, international history, foreign policy, transatlantic relations and International Relations, in general.

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Cold War History

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Abbreviations

ACLU	American Civil Liberties Union
AHEPA	American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association (US)
AI	Amnesty International
AIUSA	Amnesty International USA Archives
AKEL	Rehabilitation Party of the Working People (Cyprus)
ARD	Consortium of Public Broadcasters of the Federal Republic of Germany
BR	Bavarian Radio
CAP	Common Agricultural Policy (EEC)
CCMS	Committee on the Challenges of Modern Society (NATO)
CDU	Christian Democratic Union (West Germany)
CHP	Republican People's Party (Turkey)
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency (US)
CM	Council of Ministers
CoE	Council of Europe
CSCE	Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe
CSU	Christian Social Union (West Germany)
DC	Christian Democratic Party (Italy)
<i>DDF</i>	<i>Documents Diplomatiques Français</i>
DGB	German Trade Union Confederation
DIAYE	Diplomatic and Historical Archive of the Greek Foreign Ministry
DP	Democrat Party (Turkey)
ECHR	European Convention on Human Rights
ECOSOC	Economic and Social Council (UN)
ECPR	European Consortium for Political Research
ECtHR	European Court of Human Rights
EDA	United Democratic Left (Greece)
EEC	European Economic Community
EENA	Union of Young Greek Officers
EFTA	European Free Trade Association
EIB	European Investment Bank
EK	Centre Union Party (Greece)
EM	Edoardo Martino Files

EOB	Executive Office Building
EP	European Parliament
EPA	Environmental Protection Agency (US)
ERE	National Radical Union (Greek Right)
ETA	Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (Spain)
EU	European Union
FCO	Foreign and Commonwealth Office (Britain)
FDP	Free Democratic Party (West Germany)
<i>FRUS</i>	<i>Foreign Relations of the United States</i>
GDP	gross domestic product
GDR	German Democratic Republic
GFL	Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library
HA-BR	Historisches Archiv des Bayerischen Rundfunks
HAEU	Historical Archives of the European Union
IATE	Bank of Greece Historical Archives
ICJ	International Commission of Jurists
ILO	International Labour Organization
ILRM	International League for the Rights of Man
INR	Bureau of Intelligence and Research (State Department, US)
JP	Justice Party (Turkey)
KKE	Communist Party of Greece
KYP	Central Intelligence Service (Greece)
LSE	London School of Economics
MAE	Ministère des Affaires Étrangères
MBA	Maria Becket Archive
MEP	Member of the European Parliament
MFA	Armed Forces Movement (Portugal)
MP	Member of Parliament
MSI	Italian Social Movement
NAC	North Atlantic Council
NARA	National Archives and Records Administration
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO	non-governmental organization
NPMP	Richard Nixon Presidential Materials Project
NSA	National Security Adviser
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
OEEC	Organisation of European Economic Cooperation
PASOK	Panhellenic Socialist Movement
PCE	Spanish Communist Party
PCI	Italian Communist Party
PCP	Portuguese Communist Party
PFLP	Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine
PLO	Palestine Liberation Organization
PPC	Public Power Corporation (Greece)
PPD	Popular Democratic Party (Portugal)

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PRC	People's Republic of China
PSOE	Spanish Socialist Workers' Party
PS	Socialist Party (Portugal)
ROC	Republic of China
SC	Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities (UN)
SIFAR	Italian military secret service
SPD	Social Democratic Party (West Germany)
STD	Science and Technology Department (Foreign and Commonwealth Office)
TLP	Turkish Labour Party
TNA	The National Archives
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UN)
UGT	Unión General de Trabajadores (Spain)
UMD	Unión Militar Democrática (Spain)
UN	United Nations
UNDL	UN Digital Library
UNESCO	UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNGA	UN General Assembly
US	United States
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WDR	Public-Broadcasting Institution (West Germany)

Foreword

The years 1967 to 1974 stand out as a dark chapter in contemporary Greek history which threatened to devastate the nation's political landscape. In early 1967, despite a major constitutional crisis, the country retained the basic institutions and norms of a democratic state and a free civil society. With the pre-eminent conservative leader Constantine Karamanlis languishing in self-imposed exile, the national stage was dominated by the aging centrist Prime Minister George Papandreou and his economist son, Andreas, whose populist anti-Western rhetoric alarmed the conservatives and challenged the monarch's traditional authority over the nation's defence establishment and armed forces. Against Washington's advice, young King Constantine contemplated resolving his feud with the Papandreous through drastic 'extra-constitutional measures', to be carried out by top army generals loyal to the crown. An open clash appeared briefly to have been averted when new elections were proclaimed for 28 May. But unexpectedly, on 21 April 1967, a conspiracy of middle-rank army officers staged a coup in Athens, declared martial law, confined the king to his summer palace and arrested prominent politicians, including Andreas. The ensuing seven-year dictatorship threatened to undo the progress towards democratization achieved since the end of the Civil War in 1949.

The swift success of the bloodless coup and the long duration of the Colonels' authoritarian regime revealed the fragile nature of the country's democratic system. It also dashed hopes that the core institutions and liberal traditions of the democratic West might shield its member states against home-grown enemies of political freedom and legality. In proclaiming 'Western liberal democracy as the final form of human government', the American scholar Francis Fukuyama appeared to overlook the abrupt descent into a dark abyss of democracy's vaunted birthplace.¹

To be sure, in the history of modern Greece, dictatorships have been anything but rare. Most recently, by espousing a hard-right populist ideology, banning political activity and suppressing freedom of expression, civil liberties and human rights, the Colonels' 'revolution' appeared to emulate that of General Ioannis Metaxas (1936–41). Both regimes governed by executive decree, submitted political opponents to internal exile, harassment and torture, purged education, the judiciary and civil service of those deemed disloyal to the government, and

launched a crude propaganda effort to glorify the nation and its rulers. Yet despite similarities in their anachronistic mentalities and tactics, the two regimes differed dramatically, most notably in the stature, legitimacy, sophistication and capabilities of their top leaders.

In August 1936, after a brilliant military career and deep emersion in national politics as head of a royalist party, Minister of War and Prime Minister, Metaxas was called upon by King George II to end the stalemate between royalists and republicans in Parliament which the Communists appeared eager to exploit. With the king's full endorsement, Metaxas declared martial law, dissolved Parliament, banned unauthorized public gatherings, retired prominent republicans in the military and civil service, and adopted some of the slogans and trappings of fascism, including a uniformed and indoctrinated youth movement. But he also introduced much-needed social and economic reforms, modernized the armed forces and fortified key sectors of the country's frontiers. A sophisticated student of power politics and a genuine patriot, Metaxas served well the nation's long-term interests and guided its foreign policy with a steady hand. In October 1940, his decision to resist Italy's invasion through Albania effectively aligned Greece with Great Britain in standing up to the Axis aggressors. It also briefly unified the country, turning the taciturn and unpopular dictator into a national hero. Metaxas' unexpected death on 29 January 1941 spared him the ultimate wrath of his domestic victims and opponents, leaving behind King George to personify the hated regime. The monarch's return to his throne (September 1946) was made possible by the widespread fear among the majority of Greeks of the growing Communist insurgency (1946–49) and by the determination of Great Britain and the US to prevent Greece from being absorbed into Moscow's expanding orbit.

In contrast to Metaxas' imposing political stature, acumen and personal achievements, in April 1967, a handful of obscure and mediocre middle-rank officers seized power by fraudulently activating a standing military plan (code name 'Prometheus') intended to suppress a Communist uprising. The Colonels' show of armed force shocked and cowed the public and earned the enmity of virtually all politicians, cultural and professional elites, the palace and senior army officers, many of whom were forcibly retired from military service following King Constantine's failed counter-coup of December 1967 and hasty flight abroad. Despised by virtually all political and social groups and deprived of experienced civil servants, the junta governed by executive decree and the direct control of key ministries and state agencies. It sought to gain popularity by abolishing the monarchy, forgiving farmers' debts and extolling the regime's success in defending the nation's purity against Communism and the corrosive influences of a decaying West. The Colonels intervened in religious affairs, violating canonical law, and imposed a new leadership on the Church of Greece, all the while proclaiming the greatness of 'Greece of Greek Christians'. More importantly, they also introduced a patently authoritarian constitution granting the armed forces the status of a praetorian guard, and, in October 1973, hoping to acquire a measure of legitimacy, experimented with a civilian government designed to function under the watchful eye of the military. But, weeks later, the risky move backfired when widespread

protests against the regime, initiated by students of the Polytechnic University in Athens, erupted into violence and were brutally suppressed by security forces.

Following the expulsion of several of its more inept members, a reconstituted junta of hardliners sought to prove their mettle and draw attention away from the spreading domestic crisis by reviving the nation's long-standing aspiration for union with Cyprus. In July 1974, they secretly reinforced the modest Greek military presence on the island, attempted to assassinate the republic's President, Archbishop Makarios, and caused the final collapse of the already paralysed government. The gambit proved to be a colossal miscalculation. It prompted Turkey to invade Cyprus and annihilate its Greek defenders, threatening to engulf the two neighbours and NATO partners in all-out war. Disorganized, incompetent and incapable of defending the country, the Colonels' regime collapsed in confusion and disgrace. A group of prominent politicians and military officers urgently pleaded with Karamanlis to return from Paris without delay to save the country from an impending disaster. By answering their call, Karamanlis earned the lasting gratitude of his compatriots and acquired the encomium bestowed upon him by a prominent philhellene historian: 'The Restorer of Greek Democracy'.²

Much like the cleansing of dung-hills in the proverbial Augean stables, removing the detritus of the Colonels' dictatorship was bound to prove a herculean task. Yet the junta's abrupt disintegration and humiliation cleared the way for the rebuilding of a genuinely democratic and progressive state and provided a measure of much-needed national unity and reconciliation. According to a prominent authority on Greece, the junta's disappearance 'led to a sweeping reform of political institutions and encouraged the wholesale liberalization of social attitudes, heralding the most democratic and liberal era that Greece has ever experienced in its history'.³ Among the earliest domestic developments were the legalization of the Communist Party (September 1974) and the referendum abolishing the monarchy (December 1974). A liberal constitution (1975), originally delegating extensive executive powers to the President of the Republic, was later modified (1986), strengthening Parliament and limiting the Presidency to mostly ceremonial functions. The role of the armed forces was strictly limited to defending the state against foreign aggression under civilian authority. The junta's principal members were tried in open court and sentenced to long prison terms, while many of its civilian appointees were dismissed from their posts. New legislation promoted the secularization of civil society, improved public health and social services, and introduced modernizing reforms in the education and justice systems. A new Socialist Party, PASOK, led by Andreas Papandreou, emerged as the principal rival to Karamanlis' new Conservative Party, New Democracy. In the realm of foreign policy, which remained dominated by the crisis over Cyprus and festering Greek-Turkish conflicts over the Aegean, Greek participation in NATO's regional commands was suspended, to be resumed in 1980. Relations with Washington, which the junta had assiduously cultivated, became correct but reserved, while membership in the European Economic Community was the Karamanlis government's highest priority and historic achievement. Unavoidably, in the decades ahead, political turmoil and economic crises would reappear. But the nation's

nightmare was over: after seven years of authoritarian rule and international isolation, Greece had regained its place among Western Europe's democracies.

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Notes

- 1 Francis Fukuyama, 'The End of History?', *The National Interest*, summer 1989.
- 2 C. M. Woodhouse, *Karamanlis: The Restorer of Greek Democracy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982).
- 3 Stathis N. Kalyvas, *Modern Greece: What Everyone Needs to Know* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015): 118.

1 Introduction

*Antonis Klapsis, Constantine
Arvanitopoulos, Evanthis Hatzivassiliou
and Effie G. H. Pedaliu*

This volume focuses on the international dimensions of the Greek military dictatorship of 1967–74, and uses it as a case study to evaluate the major shifts that were occurring in the international system during a period of rapid change. This is a novel approach of a subject hotly debated from that era until the present day.

The 1967–74 Greek junta was not a decisive moment in the Cold War or in European history, but it certainly caused a shock to Western public opinion. Although Greece had gone through a vicious civil war during the 1940s, parliamentary democracy had survived (largely thanks to US priorities), and the country had scored an impressive economic development in the 1950s and 1960s which had allowed it to become the first associate member of the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1961. Despite its chaotic political crisis of the mid-1960s, Greece seemed to be an established member of the West. The hijacking of such a country – reputed to be the ‘cradle of democracy’ – by a group of relatively low-ranking military officers, was seen as a failure of the West and its leader, the US. Was this, at the end of the day, where the American intervention of the Truman Doctrine (and all the talk about America’s commitment to the ‘free world’) was bound to lead?

This sense of shock largely decided the nature of contemporary academic debates on the Greek junta. Moreover, the late 1960s and the early 1970s was a time of wider international academic debates on the imposition of military regimes (often allegedly with American help or acquiescence), of which the 1973 Chilean example was the most impressive and arguably the most painful. Last but not least, intellectually this was a time when ‘systemic’ interpretations and grand narratives about the international system were ascending, usually focusing on the role of the superpowers (and sometimes inflating it). Generally speaking, the prevailing tendency was to seek generalizations, often ignoring the importance of the specific, and the lack of archival material rather facilitated this trend.

As could be expected, the early interpretations of the junta were dominated by the indignation that the military regime caused internationally. Not unnaturally, the conspiracy theory was prominent in that phase, focusing on the alleged role of the US in the imposition of the Greek junta. A seminal book by one of the junta’s most known opponents, Andreas Papandreou, insisted on the role of the ‘American-driven tanks’.¹ A prominent scholar, James E. Miller, author of one

of the chapters of this book, has pointed to the success of this ‘Andreas narrative’ that managed to appeal to the ‘underdog mentality’ of a large part of the Greek public opinion (always ready to see Greece as the victim of great power interdictions), and allowed him to impose his political preponderance at a later stage.² There were, of course, other, more balanced assessments – for example, a major collective volume that formed an integral part of the adverse international reaction to the Greek dictatorship.³ The best account of the Greek junta in the international bibliography, significantly balanced, was written by one of its most renowned British opponents, but – inevitably perhaps, for a book written so early – remained rather descriptive.⁴ Last but not least, the ‘dependence theory’, a major intellectual tool of those days, remained central in the grand interpretations of contemporary Greek history. The word ‘dependence’ became a keyword (and often appeared in the titles) of numerous academic works on Greece during the 1970s and 1980s.

We do insist that the major problem of scholars at that time was their lack of access to archival material. Once this was overcome, in the past 15 years, a new bibliography appeared which, as usually is the case in the writing of history, put forward significantly more elaborate and complex conclusions. The unequal US–Greek relationship could not be disputed, but the evidence showed that the coming of the junta was by no means an American decision: it was the result of the crushing failure of the Greek political system to retain control over developments in a country rapidly growing economically and in need of a political reform that the political system was simply unable to effect. Nowadays there is not a single work, based on archival sources, that argues that the junta was of American making, although it is stressed that the Americans – heavily burdened by Vietnam, disagreements in NATO and their own internal turmoil – finally acquiesced to the Greek dictatorship, but only *after its imposition*.⁵ There have also been well-researched contributions on British or French policy towards the junta, the political and social history of the era, as well as (and this is where the subject becomes intriguing for us) Greece’s role in the ascendancy of the international/transnational human rights movement.⁶

Meanwhile, the international scholarly debate on the late 1960s and the 1970s also tended to expand to additional themes. Scholars naturally started by putting forward more elaborate assessments of ‘1968’ – a pivotal event in contemporary history.⁷ Soon, however, they pointed to a major change that was taking place during this period in societies and in international affairs, namely the start of the West’s slide to the post-industrial era. In this new epoch, technological, economic and international developments were effecting important changes in the structure of the international system. It was not only détente or the rise (or so it seemed then) of a ‘Third World’; the now prosperous societies of the West had satisfied their immediate needs and were turning their attention, among others, to human rights, humanitarian issues, communications (facilitated by breathtaking technological advances) and the ‘quality of life’ (thus environmentalism), but also to economic and monetary international cooperation, which became even more salient after the abandonment of the Bretton Woods system in 1971 and the first oil shock in 1973. These affected the value systems of Western societies, as well as

the needs of diplomacy, which now had to deal with a multitude of international meetings on novel fields. Naturally, at a time of dramatic expansion of international cooperation (necessary after the multiplication of international borders following decolonization), the role of international organizations was elevated.⁸ As is usually the case in such transitional eras, the more 'traditional' themes of diplomacy, strategy and the Cold War now co-existed with the 'new frontier' subjects. International developments, especially during these eras of transitions, are usually a messy affair, more often than not combining various – even contradictory – trends. It was a very interesting era of wider transitions.

It is in the study of this challenging 'grey area' of profound, pivotal transitions that this book has the ambition to contribute, connecting the debate on the Greek junta with these crucial international developments. The Greek junta was a profoundly anti-modernist (indeed, reactionary) force, and the Colonels proved on successive occasions that they were unable to comprehend the changes. They proved exceptionally incompetent even in more traditional domains such as the economy, European policy, strategy and military affairs, as their record on Cyprus clearly demonstrates. Last but not least, Greece is a small country which is not expected substantially to influence such grand changes in the international system. However, exactly because of its high symbolic value for Western societies, and as its dictatorship seemed to point to a Western 'failure', Greece did become an indicator of the new trends of the international system. This book thus discusses the military dictatorship in a small state of Southern Europe as a case study, in order to point to continuities, as well as to structural changes in the international system during this period. There has been no overall archive-based appraisal that examines how and why the actions of the Greek junta had such widespread international reverberations; how they affected the policies of state and non-state actors, and how their legacy influenced the evolution of the attitude of international organizations, international law and practice, as well as the rise of transnational activism. At the same time, the volume aims to promote a better understanding of how, in the 1960s and 1970s, the Southern European dictatorships contributed to the intermestic volatility of the West and to the tendency of its citizens to question conventional Cold War politics. Last but not least, the study of Southern European transitions to democracy also reveals interesting threads uniting these processes with the rise of the new agendas of the international, especially the European, system. The Greek dictatorship may have been a parochial military regime, but its rise and fall interacted with significant international trends. Thus, it can serve as a case study for promoting a better understanding of international and European trends during the 1960s and 1970s.

The structure of the book aims to cover, as far as possible, these research priorities. Part I deals with the interaction of the Colonels with state actors. This is the part of the book that deals with the more 'traditional' themes of international affairs. The policies of the major Western powers were profoundly realistic, and they tended to bypass difficult issues that might jeopardize Greece's participation in the Western alliance, even if the country was under a distasteful regime. Still, this part also assesses the interplay between domestic politics and foreign policy

and the restrictions encountered by Greece's allies in their efforts to base their policies towards the junta on 'realist' Cold War assumptions.

Part II discusses the emerging, new frontier issues: the rising transnational human rights agenda for which the Greek junta became a totemic rallying point; the role of international organizations (although it is argued here that the more specialized, 'regional' ones tended to be more effective than the global UN); transnational activism; and the role of international environmental cooperation both in exposing the anti-modern character of the junta, but also in aiding the diplomacy of the Greek transition to democracy. The anachronistic junta was internationally isolated, and this impeded the country's continuing modernization, but simultaneously it became the catalyst for international organizations and transnational movements to develop and flourish. As can be expected, this part focuses more on issues of 'soft power' – it deals with what, at that time, were seen as the 'idealist' aspects of international affairs.

Part III has a more comparative flavour. It discusses the dictatorships in Southern Europe (and the Turkish military's intervention in politics in 1971) and their transitions to democracy. Chapters in this section analyse the different models of transition, and how these intersected with attempts to foster a European identity which finally led to the upgrading of the EEC's soft power into a stabilizing and democratizing force for Southern Europe. This new EEC role also significantly compensated for the growing anti-Americanism in the region.

The volume brings together a team of established and early career scholars from the fields of International Relations, Political Science, Diplomacy and International History. In methodological terms, the emphasis is on the availability of archival evidence which, we feel, facilitates more definite and lasting conclusions. However, this is combined, in several of the chapters, with a re-evaluation of older theories of political science, theories of transition and the Neo-Classical Realist theory. Our starting point (although, we admit, this may not be the prevailing thesis internationally) has been that these disciplines are not incompatible, at least under certain conditions; there is a broad space where scholars can communicate and gain from each other's methodological tools, allowing for both prudent and accurate generalization and at the same time for emphasis on the specific. Of course, inevitably each one of us will do it in the discipline's own way, namely, what John Lewis Gaddis has described as the political scientists' tendency for 'general particularization' and the historians' option for 'particular generalization'.⁹ We are satisfied that the chapters in this volume rather confirm our assumption of compatibility and point to the possibilities for synergies in the future as well.

In Part I, Chapter 2, James E. Miller discusses the policies of the Lyndon B. Johnson administration towards the collapse of Greek democracy in the mid-1960s and the imposition of the junta in 1967. He argues that US officials tried to head off a coup by dissuading King Constantine from such a move, but largely ignored the possibility of a revolt from lower ranks of the army. He also sketches the role of the fear for Andreas Papandreou, who had become a particular *bête noir* for US Embassy officials. Last but not least, he explains how the US finally

decided to come to terms with the unpleasant reality of the Greek junta, especially after the failure of King Constantine's counter-coup in December 1967.

Based mostly on the Richard Nixon tapes, Harry Papasotiriou shows, in Chapter 3, that the US President had two main priorities regarding Greece. First, at a time of increased Soviet influence (and naval presence) in the Mediterranean, he wanted to support Greece as an ally regardless of its regime, so long as it was pro-Western. Although Nixon put pressure, both publicly and privately, on the junta to implement reforms, geopolitics took precedence over values. Second, Nixon wanted to court Greek-American voters in his effort to get re-elected in 1972. His Greek policy during the months before the 7 November 1972 presidential election is shaped mainly by electoral considerations. In this regard, it was politics that took precedence over values.

In Chapter 4, Maurice Vaisse argues that Franco-Greek relations during the junta are an indicative example of French diplomatic practice, based on the recognition of states rather than of governments. This allowed Paris to continue almost normal diplomatic relations with the regime of the Colonels. Contrary to the attitude of the French public opinion, always hostile to the dictatorship, successive French Presidents (Charles de Gaulle, Georges Pompidou, Valéry Giscard d'Estaing) did not disrupt relations with Greece, which continued to grow in the economic field as well. The turning point came under Giscard d'Estaing, who favoured the return of democracy to Greece and its integration into Europe.

Antonio Varsori shows, in Chapter 5, that the fall of Greek democracy had a strong impact both in Italian foreign policy and in the country's internal political situation. The Italian centre-left governments immediately condemned the dictatorship and played some part in shaping the EEC position towards Greece. Later on, the attitude of the Italian authorities softened as Greece was a useful NATO partner and Italy began to fear a growing Soviet military presence in the Mediterranean. In contrast, Italian public opinion became more interested in the Greek situation. Especially after 1969, as a consequence of the so-called 'strategy of tension', the parties of the Left feared that what had happened in Greece could also happen in Italy. On its part, the neo-Fascist extreme right regarded the Greek military regime as a model and they hoped that a military dictatorship could be installed in Italy too.

Nikolaos Papanastasiou discusses a pivotal aspect of Greek-West German relations, and of the popular mobilization in Western Europe against the Colonels, namely, the broadcasts of Bavarian Radio (BR) under the direction of Pavlos Bakoyannis. These made Bakoyannis a symbol of the anti-dictatorial struggle in Germany after the April 1967 coup, and the Colonels exerted strong pressure on Bonn to replace him. Papanastasiou highlights the gap between the German advocates of a 'realistic' approach to the junta, and those who wished Bonn to confront the regime; the German contribution to the development of the Greek anti-junta struggle abroad; and the collaboration between the Greek radio programmes of Munich (Bavarian) and Cologne (Deutsche Welle) with resistance groups in Greece and abroad.

Dionysios Chourchoulis, Manolis Koumas and Anastasios Panoutsopoulos present and evaluate, in Chapter 7, the diplomatic initiatives of the Greek junta

towards the People's Republic of China (PRC), Israel, and the newly established military regimes of Libya, Congo and the Central African Republic. They note that the Colonels undertook significant initiatives towards Communist China (after Nixon's opening to the PRC), Israel (appointing a full ambassador to that country in 1972), as well as some debatable initiatives in Africa towards neutralist regimes. These were a failed attempt to offset Greece's diplomatic isolation after its withdrawal from the Council of Europe (CoE) in 1969. Other strategic or ideological considerations, as well as détente, played a secondary role to the reshaping of the junta's foreign policy.

In Part II, Chapter 8, Effie G. H. Pedaliu stresses that the Colonels' regime became synonymous with torture and the blatant abuse of human rights and civil liberties. It was an anachronistic regime that collided directly with the prevalent *zeitgeist* during a period of liberalization in social attitudes. Under pressure from international opinion and transnational movements, the undemocratic practices of the junta were debated at many international fora. Pedaliu focuses on the discussions at the CoE and the UN. She explains why the CoE was successful in condemning the regime to international isolation, whereas the UN failed to put any effective pressure on the military dictators. She also examines how the Greek case influenced international law and the institutional development of the UN with regards to the protection of human rights and anti-torture policies.

Eirini Karamouzi discusses, in Chapter 9, the reactions of the EEC to the toppling of democracy at the first European state to have signed an Association Agreement with the Community. She follows the deliberations that took place between the Commission, the Council of Foreign Ministers and the European Parliament. The Greek dictatorship rekindled the debate on the issue of democracy within the Community, initiated by the 1962 Birkelbach report; the subsequent decision to freeze the Association Agreement ultimately contributed to shaping a political identity based on the idea of democracy, which had not originally been part of the EEC's self-image. This legacy would prove important, not during the dictatorship, but for the period of transition to democracy as, in the eyes of the Greeks, the EEC and the CoE were the only two organizations that had denounced the dictatorship.

In Chapter 10, Evanthis Hatzivassiliou examines the junta's responses to NATO's environmental programme, the Committee on the Challenges of Modern Society (CCMS). The Greek dictators tried to use the CCMS in order to secure international recognition. When they failed to achieve this, the Colonels simply ignored the NATO process. Cooperation with the CCMS was furthered after the restoration of democracy. The aim was twofold: to use an uncontroversial, 'apolitical' subject in order to stabilize the troubled relations with the alliance; and to secure firm results on the level of environmental policy itself. This oblique use of the CCMS, as a modernist project bringing the new democracies of Southern Europe closer to NATO, is also evident in the cases of Portugal and Spain during their own transitions to democracy.

In Chapter 11, Sarah B. Snyder explains the reactions of many external observers to the Greek junta's harsh treatment of its perceived enemies, particularly the reports that the Colonels were subjecting political rivals to torture and imprisoning

them in island concentration camps. The junta's tactics produced new adherents to the cause of human rights. Among those who actively publicized Greek human rights abuses were academics, legal scholars, politicians, international human rights groups, and ad hoc non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Through their activism, governmental support to the junta, particularly among members of NATO, became more complicated. Furthermore, activism against human rights violations in Greece fostered transnational connections among those engaged on this issue. Those ties served as a foundation for later mobilization on human rights issues and fostered a broader transnational human rights movement in the years that followed.

Konstantina Maragkou's Chapter 12 focuses on the impact of two fierce opponents of the regime's illiberal practices, Jim and Maria Becket, and their metamorphosis into champions of global human rights advocacy. She maps out their lobbying actions and analyses how their unceasing campaigning and transnational connections managed to make a critical contribution to the emboldening of the international human rights regime. She demonstrates their activism's transformative effect on the international campaign against torture, but also the ways in which the resulting *zeitgeist* of human rights discourse influenced the regime's downfall and the post-Colonels' peaceful transition to democracy. Based on the Becket family archive and additional archival sources, as well as interviews, Maragkou provides a case study of the micro-level evolution of the international human rights regime.

In Part III, Chapter 13, Mogens Pelt examines the Turkish March 1971 'coup by memorandum' in relation to the Colonels' coup in Greece. The Turkish generals seem to have decided to differ from the Greek example of 1967 with tanks out in the streets. They recognized that a direct military dictatorship might prompt liberal critics to draw uncomfortable parallels to the dictatorship in Greece. Turkey, like Greece, was a member of the CoE and an associate member of the EEC – and in 1969 Greece had been forced to leave the former and was under rising attack in the latter. Last but not least, the strategy of the Turkish military was informed by the experience of the previous May 1960 coup.

Charles Powell examines the Spanish transition in Chapter 14. He discusses the theoretical literature on the international dimensions of the 'third-wave' transitions, and interprets the Spanish case as a gradual process of political, social, economic and cultural convergence with the leading social market economies of Western Europe. He discusses the consequences of Spanish economic modernization since the Franco era and the options of Spanish actors, as well as the activity of European ones, including regional organizations (the EEC and the CoE), the major European states, transnational political and labour organizations (most notably, the Socialist International) and German party foundations (with special emphasis on the Ebert Foundation). He suggests that the US military bases on Spanish soil ultimately limited – rather than enhanced – Washington's ability to significantly influence the democratizing process.

In Chapter 15, Mario del Pero deals with the Portuguese revolution of 1974 and the transition that followed. He touches upon the interplay between domestic and

international dynamics, the constraining impact of the Cold War and the regional (Southern European) reverberations of the Portuguese events. The Portuguese case became a precedent – and was perceived to be a key test – of what could happen in other Southern European countries such as Spain and Greece or in Italy, where Communist forces seemed to be on the verge of joining governmental coalitions for the first time since 1947. The particular case of Portugal was thus connected to the Cold War and to the regional Southern European context. Del Pero points to the different approaches of the US and the major European states, as well as to the key role played throughout the crisis by Western European socialist parties and governments.

Antonis Klapisis explains the Greek transition in 1974–75 in Chapter 16. He notes that the Prime Minister, Constantinos Karamanlis, had to deal with a power vacuum in Athens, the threat of a new coup by pro-junta officers and the ongoing war in Cyprus, which could easily lead to a general Greek–Turkish conflict. Still, the Greek transition evolved smoothly. It lasted until June 1975, when the new Greek constitution was adopted and put into effect. Klapisis argues that since the Greek transition was not a case of ‘overthrow’ (as in Portugal) or a ‘guided’ transition (as in Spain), it was made possible through careful but decisive steps, which secured the avoidance of a new coup that would almost certainly have led to bloodshed. The Greek transition thus resulted in the setting up of an established, modern European democracy.

The huge theoretical debate on the nature of militarily regimes is revisited by Constantine Arvanitopoulos in Chapter 17. He classifies the Greek junta as a praetorian ruler type. The Greek military did not exercise power from behind the scenes, but assumed the role of government itself. They intended to do so for an indefinite period of time, with no intention of returning to the barracks. They dismantled democratic institutions and attempted to create their own institutions and a sense of legitimacy. Arvanitopoulos’ major contention is that the regime’s failure to acquire social legitimization had severely limited its options even before the 1974 Cyprus crisis and had posed major obstacles to the continuation of its rule.

Concluding the volume, in Chapter 18, Michael Cox discusses the threads that connected the Greek dictatorship with the breathtaking developments in the international system, including the Cold War, crises in the global South and the social/intellectual developments in the West that saw their peak in ‘1968’. He stresses that only by understanding the turbulent character of world politics in the second half of the 1960s – a period characterized by youth rebellion and a profound cultural challenge to established norms – can we really begin to explain what happened in Greece, the reactionary policies of the military junta and why the US and its Western allies responded the way in which they did. He also points to the profound effects that the junta had, in turn, on the international image of the US and the boosting of anti-Americanism internationally.

Coming now to the end of a long road (its start was the big international conference in Athens on the fiftieth anniversary of the 1967 coup, in which most of the authors of this book participated), we feel that this volume makes a leap in bringing out new conceptual frameworks and interpretations – not just in terms

of the history of the Greek junta, but also regarding the study of small states and the better understanding of a crucial transitory phase in international history. Admittedly, there are additional themes that the book could usefully cover – most notably, we would have wanted to include a chapter discussing the policy of the Soviet bloc towards the junta. However, we opted to safeguard the book's role as a tribune presenting novel, state-of-the-art research rather than to produce a general, but inevitably simply descriptive account. We are satisfied that the volume presents a novel look at its subject.

Notes

- 1 Andreas G. Papandreou, *Democracy at Gunpoint: The Greek Front* (New York: Doubleday, 1970).
- 2 James E. Miller, *The United States and the Making of Modern Greece: History and Power, 1950–1974* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2009).
- 3 R. Clogg and G. Giannopoulos (eds.), *Greece under Military Rule* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1972).
- 4 C. M. Woodhouse, *The Rise and Fall of the Greek Colonels* (London: Granada, 1985).
- 5 See, among others, Louis Klarevas, 'Were the Eagle and the Phoenix Birds of a Feather? The United States and the Greek Coup of 1967', *Diplomatic History* 30/3 (2006): 471–508; Konstantina Maragkou, 'The Foreign Factor and the Greek Colonels' Coming to Power on 21 April 1967', *Journal of Southeast European and Black Sea Studies* 6/4 (2006): 427–43; Effie G. H. Pedaliu, 'Human Rights and Foreign Policy: Wilson and the Greek Dictators, 1967–1970', *Diplomacy and Statecraft* 18/1 (2007): 185–214; Miller, *The United States and the Making of Modern Greece*; John O. Iatrides, 'Απρόθυμος Ηγέμονας: Αμερικανική Διπλωματία και η Ελληνική Πολιτική Κρίση (1961–1967)' ['Reluctant Hegemon: American Diplomacy and the Greek Political Crisis'] in Manolis Vassilakis (ed.), *Από τον Ανένδοτο στη Δικτατορία [From the Relentless Struggle to Dictatorship]* (Athens: Constantinos Mitsotakis Foundation, 2009), 43–67; Neovi M. Karakatsanis and Jonathan Swarts, *American Foreign Policy towards the Colonels' Greece: Uncertain Allies and the 1967 Coup d'État* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018).
- 6 See, among others, Lorenz Plassmann, *Comme une nuit de Pâques? Les relations franco-grecques, 1944–1981* (Brussels: Peter Lang, 2012); Alexandros Nafpliotis, *Britain and the Greek Colonels: Accommodating the Junta in the Cold War* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2013); Kostis Kornetis, *Children of the Dictatorship: Student Resistance, Cultural Politics and the 'Long 1960s' in Greece* (New York: Berghahn, 2013); Pavlos Sourlas (ed.), *Η Δικτατορία των Συνταγματαρχών και η Αποκατάσταση της Δημοκρατίας [The Colonels' Dictatorship and the Democratic Transition]* (Athens: Foundation of the Parliament, 2016); Konstantina Maragkou, 'Favouritism in NATO's Southeastern Flank: The Case of the Greek Colonels, 1967–74', *Cold War History*, 9/3 (2009): 347–66; Effie G. H. Pedaliu, 'Human Rights and International Security: The International Community and the Greek Dictators', *International History Review*, 38/5 (2016): 1014–39; Barbara J. Keys, 'Anti-Torture Politics: Amnesty International, the Greek Junta, and the Origins of the Human Rights Boom in the United States' in Akira Iriye, Petra Goedde and William I. Hitchcock (eds.), *The Human Rights Revolution: An International History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 201–21; Sarah B. Snyder, *From Selma to Moscow: How Human Rights Activists Transformed US Foreign Policy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2018), 60–86; Kristine Kjærsgaard, 'Confronting the Greek Military Junta: Scandinavian Joint Action under the European Commission on Human Rights, 1967–70' in Poul Villaume, Rasmus Mariager and Helle Porsdam (eds.), *The 'Long*

1970s': *Human Rights, East–West Détente and Transnational Relations* (London: Routledge, 2016), 51–70.

- 7 Carole Fink, Philipp Gassert and Detlef Junker (eds.), *1968: The World Transformed* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Jeremi Suri, *Power and Protest: Global Revolution and the Rise of Detente* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003).
- 8 Of the numerous relevant works, see among others, Philippe Chassaigne, *Les années 1970: fin d'un monde et origine de notre modernité* (Paris: Armand Colin, 2008); Niall Ferguson, Charles S. Maier, Erez Manela and Daniel J. Sargent (eds.), *The Shock of the Global: The 1970s in Perspective* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2011); Antonio Varsori and Guia Migani (eds.), *Europe in the International Arena during the 1970s: Entering a Different World* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2011); Sidney Tarrow, *The New Transnational Activism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Andreas Wenger, Vojtech Mastny and Christian Nuenlist (eds.), *Origins of the European Security System: The Helsinki Process Revisited, 1965–75* (London: Routledge, 2008); Sarah B. Snyder, *Human Rights Activism and the End of the Cold War: A Transnational History of the Helsinki Network* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Iriye, Goedde and Hitchcock (eds.), *The Human Rights Revolution*; Barbara J. Keys, *Reclaiming American Virtue: The Human Rights Revolution of the 1970s* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014); Snyder, *From Selma to Moscow*; Adam Rome, *The Bulldozer in the Countryside: Suburban Sprawl and the Rise of American Environmentalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); J. Brooks Flippen, *Conservative Conservationist: Russell E. Train and the Emergence of American Environmentalism* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 2006); Jacob Darwin Hamblin, *Poison in the Well: Radioactive Waste in the Oceans at the Dawn of the Nuclear Age* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2008); J. R. McNeill and Corinna R. Unger (eds.), *Environmental Histories of the Cold War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010); David Kinkela, *DDT and the American Century: Global Health, Environmental Politics, and the Pesticide that Changed the World* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2011).
- 9 John Lewis Gaddis, *The Landscape of History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 62–3.