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Greece: The Colonels' Puritan Revolution

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AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF Nikolaos E. Mpras for the
Master of Arts in Political Science presented May 11, 1970.

Title: Greece: The Colonels' Puritan Revolution.

APPROVED BY MEMBERS OF THE THESIS COMMITTEE:



Ronald Cease, Chairman



Lyndon Musolf

The purpose of this paper is to examine the present political situation in Greece and the events that took place from the time that Papandreu's Center Union Party came to power in 1964 to the military coup d'etat in 1967. However, in order to develop a picture of what led to the coup of 1967, it is necessary not only to discuss specific events prior and during the coup, but also to present a brief background of modern Greek politics since Greece's independence from the Turks in 1821.

The paper is divided into five chapters: the first chapter briefly summarizes the events that took place on

April 21, 1967; the second traces the events that led to the April 21 coup d'etat; the third indicates what the situation was before April 21, 1967; the fourth discusses the policies and governing methods of the present military regime; the fifth is a concluding statement.

There is little data in books or professional journals about recent Greek politics. Consequently, this work was largely dependent on newspapers, news magazines, and the testimony of a number of Greeks for information.

The Greek people are presently under the dictatorial rule of a military regime. Resistance against the regime appears to be increasing. As resistance increases, more repressive measures and unrest will develop, until the country erupts into a bloody civil war.

GREECE: THE COLONELS' PURITAN REVOLUTION

by

NIKOLAOS E. MPRAS

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

At 2:30 on the morning of the 21st of April 1967, the Greek army carried out a coup d'etat and replaced the civilian democratic rule of Greece with a military dictatorship.

The coup d'etat was initiated with the sudden arrest of political leaders and the take over of communications media and police districts in all major cities of Greece with armored vehicles manned with battle-ready soldiers.

The coup came so suddenly and the movement of those carrying it out was so smooth that no one even suspected that a coup had been contemplated.

Eight soldiers with machine guns and rifles with fixed bayonets broke into the home of Andreas Papandreou, son of the Prime Minister and a representative in the Greek Parliament, and dragged everyone out of bed, shouting "Where is Andreas". Andreas and his family thought at first that the house had been invaded by terrorists to assassinate them.

Similar situations were repeated throughout the country, as the military junta was determined to eliminate

all of its political opposition, by arresting and jailing most of the national and community political leadership of Greece.

Known supporters of the Papandreou regime were arrested immediately. Confidential sources¹ in the service of the military junta indicate that some of the most able career officers were either retired or were arrested and jailed without any regard to their rank, professional expertise, or service record. Career civil servants were also replaced immediately by relatives and trusted friends of the regime. Labor unions were dissolved by military order and then re-established, with their new membership made up of junta-approved people. Voluntary, professional, and civil organizations were reorganized along the same lines, and their leadership was hand-picked by the military governor of each military district.

The civilian leadership of small communities, such as the village presidents, was replaced by appointed military officers.

Reorganization in Greece was complete. Most of the civilian and political leadership was replaced by military officers and their supporters at the lowest level, in the smallest village and smallest organization.

¹A number of Greek sources must remain confidential out of fear of reprisals by the regime.

CHAPTER II

WHAT LED TO THE COUP D'ETAT

The story of the present military dictatorship goes back to December 1966, when George Papandreu resigned as Prime Minister of Greece. The resignation came as a result of the struggle between King Constantine and Papandreu over the question of whether Papandreu had the power to fire one of his ministers without the King's approval.

Following Papandreu's resignation, King Constantine appointed a caretaker government and promised that elections would be forthcoming in May of 1967.

King Constantine promised that elections would be held even though it was not likely that he would allow national elections to take place as long as the Center Union Party* was strong. The leaders of the Center Union, George and Andreas Papandreu (the King's bitter enemies), were very popular with the Greek people, and the King was fearful that a national election as promised would be turned into a national plebiscite against the royal family.

*Note: Greek political Parties with abbreviations were as follows:

Political Parties	Political Spectrum
Center Union Party (CUP)	Center
Liberal Democratic Center (FIDIK)	Center Right
National Radical Union (ERE)	Right
Progressive Party (KP)	Right
United Democratic Left (EDA)	Left

At this point (in order to attract attention away from the issue of the promised elections), the persecution of Andreas Papandreu began, and in December of 1966, the Athens prosecuting attorney charged Andreas with high treason and asked that his immunity as a member of the Parliament be lifted. Andreas was accused of being the ring-leader of a leftist faction composed of young officers in the Greek armed forces; of intending to overthrow the Monarchy by force, and of wishing to establish a socialistic government in Greece. Although ERE, one of the major political parties, supported this move, smaller political parties, as well as the CUP, the dominant party, opposed it.

During the months preceding the coup, there was heated parliamentary maneuvering and double-dealing between the political parties and the King.

On March 30, 1967, the CUP sponsored legislation (protecting deputies of Parliament from arrest during the election period) intended to provoke a parliamentary crisis and bring about the resignation of the caretaker government.

This move was successful, and on April 3, the King, bypassing the CUP, appointed Panayiotis Kanelopoulos, the leader of the ERE, as the new head of government.

Because the CUP had a majority in the parliament and the new government evidently could not receive a vote of confidence, the King told Kanelopoulos to dissolve

Parliament.² Kanelopoulos was told by the King to continue as the head of a service government and prepare for elections within forty-five days, as required by the 1952 constitution.

During this period Andreas Papandreou would no longer be a deputy, but a candidate for re-election. His immunity as a member of Parliament would be removed, and he would be subject to arrest. As indicated above, he had already been charged with high treason.

Andreas's arrest was expected to provoke large scale demonstrations in the major cities of Greece and, consequently, to give the King and his supporters an excuse to postpone the May elections.

It had become apparent that the CUP would win over-whelmingly in free elections and that the royal family and its supporters would be in trouble politically.

Upon dissolution of Parliament, Kanelopoulos evidently came to an understanding with George Papandreou that Andreas would not be arrested. Apparently Kanelopoulos did not play the game as was planned by the King and the Army.

As the agreement between the leaders of the two major parties became evident, the Army Colonels³ struck on April 21, at 2:30 in the morning; Kanelopoulos was

²Stephen Rousseas, The Death of a Democracy-Greece and the American Conscience (New York: Grove Press Inc., 1967) p. 61.

³The agreement obviously was only a pretext. The efficiency of the coup indicates extensive planning.

arrested along with other Greek political leaders.

When The Coup Was Carried Out

Moments after midnight on April 21, soldiers in battle dress, began to appear in every key city and town and at every major street and intersection all over Greece. Radio stations, airports, railroads and all communication and transportation media were seized by the Army.

Greece's borders were closed, and its communications with the outside world stopped. No planes could land or take off, and arriving ships were turned away from ports. Suddenly, a land of 8,550,000 people, roughly the size of the state of New York, found itself totally cut off from the rest of a puzzled world, in the first military takeover in Free Europe since the 1930's.⁴

The leaders of the coup invoked the royal name in every action they took. They sought to give legitimacy to their actions by fostering the impression that they were in the name of his Highness the King.

The leaders moved quickly, indiscriminately arresting all political leaders regardless of party, as indicated by the following:⁵

In Athens' Kolonaki district, three soldiers and a captain called at 2 a.m. upon Premier Panayotis Kanelopoulos, who had heard of trouble and barricaded his door. The officer explained

⁴"Greece", Time, (April 28, 1967), p. 28.

⁵Ibid.

that they had come to protect him. "I need no protection", cried Kanelopoulos, "I am Premier of Greece". The soldiers broke down the door. "Why don't you kill me here?", the Premier asked. The soldiers hustled him swiftly into an army truck and drove him off to a detention center.

In his suburban home at Kastri, a political foe of Kanelopoulos, former premier George Papandreou, was dragged out of bed and marched off without even being given time to put on his shoes; he had to carry them along. His leftist son Andreas, sleeping some miles away was a particular target of the military; they sent eight soldiers and a captain to fetch him. They overpowered his bodyguard, smashed a glass door while breaking into the house, and dragged Andreas off in his underpants, his feet bleeding from the glass.

The scene was much the same all over Athens. By 3:00 a.m., practically all of Greece's leading politicians, of almost every persuasion and leaning, had been rounded up and herded into detention centers in downtown Athens. The military suspended key clauses of the constitution, banned strikes and all public gatherings, imposed censorship on the press, closed schools, banks and stores, did away with the need for search warrants and set up special military courts to try violators.

Although King Constantine attempted to persuade his army friends to reverse the course of events, he was unsuccessful. He finally went along with the junta. It was reported that:⁶

The Putschists rounded up over five thousand persons in three categories--suspects, potentially dangerous and known enemies--in those two hours (allowing themselves a one hundred per cent margin of error in the numerical estimate).

⁶George Bailey, "The Puritan Revolt in Greece", The Reporter, (May 18, 1967), p. 19.

During its first one hundred days the military dictatorship took steps to insure its stay in power through terrorism of the Greek people by martial law, by setting down rules of what the people could do and could not do, and by determining what books they could read and how they should dress. Some of the steps taken during this period by the junta to reform the moral character of the Greeks are indicated as follows:⁷

Special military courts-martial have been set up all over the country to punish Greeks who offended against King, Church or Junta. In Athens a worker was sentenced to one year in prison for "behaving like a Teddy boy", a tradesman to six months for "disobedience to authorities". Mikis Theodorakis, the noted leftist musician, who composed the score for the film "Zorba the Greek", last week was sentenced in absentia to 5½ months in prison for offending the honor of the royal family. An estimated 150 to 200 Greeks are already behind bars on such charges, and more are arrested each week.

The junta also seeks to reform Greece by issuing an almost endless of do's and don'ts. A few outlandish decrees, such as the ban on beards, were prudently withdrawn, but others have stuck. The junta has blacklisted the works of nearly 300 Greek and scores of foreign authors, some Red, but others simply liberal, such as Senator J.W. Fulbright. They have stripped Actress Melina Mercouri and some 400 other Greeks abroad of their citizenship, because they have "lost their Greek soul and conscience". They have banned who's who in Greece;...A decree forbidding five or more persons to assemble without prior police permission has all but killed Athen's social life.

⁷"Greece: the First 100 Days", Time, (August 4, 1967), p. 29-30.

As soon as the three leaders (Pattakos, Papadopoulos and Makarezos) of the junta were sworn into office by the Primate of Greece, they appointed Constantine Kollias as Premier. He was the sole civilian in the junta government, and prior to his appointment as Premier he served as the chief prosecutor in the Greek Supreme Court.

Initially, Papadopoulos accepted the position of Minister to the premier, Pattakos took over the ministry of the interior, and Makarezos became minister of coordination. Although all three apparently had equal power, Papadopoulos gradually emerged as the boss.

According to Time,⁸ Papadopoulos in a three month period established a general directorate of governmental policy, operating under his personal control. The directorate gave him veto power over all laws drafted by the various ministers. In addition, Papadopoulos created his own cabinet, which superseded the work of regular ministries in fields such as press censorship, sports and civil service. Papadopoulos also relieved Pattakos of command of the politically powerful Armored Forces Training Center near Athens and gave command of the Center to his own men. In a conference with Makarios, President of Cyprus, Papadopoulos declared, "I am the boss in Greece".⁹

⁸"Greece: I am the Boss", Time, (September 15, 1967), p. 39-40.

⁹Ibid.

Before the end of the junta's first eight months in power there were signs that King Constantine was not satisfied with the role he played in the newly formed government. Traditionally, the King is the commander-in-chief of the Greek Armed Forces and is thought to have complete control over the Royal Greek Army. However, this was not the case under the new military government. The King's power over and his influence within the Armed Forces were weakened because the new government was composed of military men who had the support and loyalty of the Greek Armed Forces. This kind of support was, of course, critically essential for the success of the coup d' etat.

Although Papadopoulos seemed to be in complete control of the Royal Greek Armed Forces, King Constantine on December 13, 1967, attempted a counter-coup against the military dictatorship. He was unsuccessful in his effort to rally military support against the junta.¹⁰

When King Constantine realized that his counter-coup had failed, he escaped to Rome with the Royal family.

The King's escape to Italy eliminated him as a serious contender for power. Certain confidential Greek sources contend that King Constantine just wanted to find a way out, since he was unable to control or influence the direction the junta was taking. Others contend that

¹⁰Stockton Bayard, "How the Colonels Trapped the King", The Reporter, (February 22, 1968), p. 31-33.

the King did not act very rationally and did not plan the counter-coup very carefully.

Since the junta had the whole country in a tight grip, all the movements made by Constantine were likely known to it, as indicated in the following:¹¹

The junta knew all of Constantine's movements. They knew he used his trips to talk to the loyal officers. In fact, the King was officially warned that his excursions and conspiratorial meetings were frowned upon. Presumably all of Constantine's communications were known to the junta. Indeed, the colonels may well have been able to control what information was allowed into royal hands and added some of their own. There was almost nothing the Palace could accomplish in secret.

If the junta knew of Constantine's every move, then it is obvious that the military dictators were aware of what the King was planning and did nothing to stop it, until the countercoup was declared. The junta was not concerned at all about the events planned for December 13, 1967. "The junta was so confident of the People's mood that it did not even disconnect the city's phone system as it had done during the coup that brought it to power last April".¹²

¹¹Stockton Bayard, "How the Colonels Trapped the King", The Reporter, (February 22, 1968), p. 31.

¹²Ibid, p. 31.

See The Political Situation In Greece From 1944 to Our Days, A Greek Government Publication (Athens: Ministry To The Prime Minister, Press And Information Department, Foreign Press Division, 1968), p. 16-18.

The junta had set a trap for the King. Its success eliminated him as an obstacle to the junta's rule and at the same time showed that Constantine was not popular with the Greek people and the Royal Army.

Following Constantine's abortive countercoup, the junta retired or dismissed most of the senior army officers. This was done not only to eliminate any opposition that might still exist within the army, but also to make room for the promotion of junior officers and to complete the "Revolution" by installing Armed Forces friends and supporters into every key position. According to Stockton Bayard;

The junta had dismissed not dozens but hundreds of senior officers to make way for the young and ambitious in the lower ranks. Some sixty senior officers have so far been removed since December 13, on suspicion of sympathy if not support of the King.¹³

Papadopoulos, by removing the old hierarchy from the Armed Forces, succeeded in his attempt to eliminate any possible competitors for power. The Army lost its old leadership and was replaced by Papadopoulos' loyal men. Papadopoulos was thus in complete control of the only body that could turn the tables in Greece.

Because it was necessary according to the 1952 constitution that all governmental operations have the

¹³Ibid, p. 33.

approval of the King, and because the King had escaped to Italy following his abortive counter coup, the junta moved quickly to solve this problem, as indicated:¹⁴

The King confided to friends that he had no plans for an immediate return. Meanwhile, the government in Athens seemed to be preparing for a somewhat more prolonged royal absence. By decree, it appointed an administrative and household staff for the temporary regent, Lieut. General George Zoetakis, so that he can carry on the full official duties of Greece's head of state.

Although General Zoetakis was given no power as head of state except that given to him by the ruling junta, his role serves to give legitimacy to actions taken by the military government. Greece is still a royal monarchy under the law.

Around January 1968, Andreas Papandreou was released from prison,¹⁵ the result of political pressure from the U.S.A. and other western countries. He was later deported to Paris, where he set up headquarters of a Greek government in exile.¹⁶ Papandreou became Premier of the exile government and Kalliopiannis Vice Premier. Ampatielos was designated

¹⁴"Greece", Time, (January 5, 1968), p. 32.

¹⁵Ibid, p. 32.

¹⁶M. Periphanakis, "Formation of Government Outside Greece Gives Premiership to Andreas Papandreou", Atlantis, LXXV (October 6, 1968), p. 1.

as minister of labor, Melina Mercouri as minister of education, E. Blahou as minister of foreign affairs, and Nikos Nikolaides as minister of the treasury (first names of all members of the "government in exile" were not given by the source of information, Atlantis).

The purpose of the formation of the "Greek Government in Exile" was to form an organized resistance to the military dictatorship in Greece. Papandreou does not recognize the military junta as the legal government of Greece because it is not an elected government but one which came to power with the force of army, tanks and guns.

Meanwhile, the head of the ruling junta George Papadopoulos, lost no time in touring Greece and publishing government pamphlets stating his views and explaining his reasons for the April 21 coup d'etat.

Papadopoulos's campaign by tour and government publications sought to justify the actions the military had taken and played upon the fear of the people that the communists would have taken over if the Army had not interfered. In a book entitled "Our Creed" (To Pistevomias), Papadopoulos published speeches made to the foreign press justifying his actions. The book includes "his thoughts", similar in format to those of Chairman Mao Tse Tung.¹⁷

¹⁷George Papadopoulos, To Pistevomias, A Greek Government Publication (Athina: Ekdotis Genikis Diefthinseos Tipou, April 1968).

In all of his speeches to the Greek people, Papadopoulos sought to associate his coup with the Truman Doctrine. The main points of his talks centered around the idea that as the Truman Doctrine had saved Greece from the communists after world war II, so also did the military coup of April 21, 1967.¹⁸ It is understandable why Papadopoulos had chosen this method of convincing the Greek people to accept his "revolution". The Greeks continue to hold bitter and horrifying memories from the "Antartopolemon", guerilla warfare, which followed world war II. In most parts of Greece, communism is synonymous with criminality. Papadopoulos then sought to reduce everything down to black and white. Because communism is a dirty word in most parts of Greece, Papadopoulos declared that his "revolution" was a necessity in order to rid the imminent threat of a communist take-over in Greece. Anyone who was against the April 21 coup, had to be either communist, or a communist sympathizer, which, of course, justified any means to rid the country of such people.

In a question and answer period following a speech to foreign correspondents, Papadopoulos declared that only the communists had been rounded up and had been stripped of their rights as citizens of Greece.¹⁹

¹⁸Ibid, p. 17-39.

¹⁹Ibid, p. 83-87.

A sample of the questions and answers is as follows:²⁰
 (literal translation from Greek to English):

Question: How much time do you think will be needed so that Greeks will be taught to act accordingly politically? And when will the Greek people be ripe for new elections?

Answer: The training of the Greek people will be lengthy. I am not in a position to give a certain date. Answering the second part of the question, I say that elections will take place as soon as possible, and as soon as the nation is secured, we will return to constitutional life.

Question: You have said before that the reason why the "revolution" came was to stop communism. How do you justify the arrests of people who we all know never were nor are communists, such as Papakonstantinou, and Zigdis?

Answer: Surely in my opinion they are not communists. If they happened to be communists they are free to say it. But communists although they never constituted danger number-wise, never the less have long experience in exploiting every human weakness. This makes it possible for them to even make people believe they are black although they are white. The above mentioned individuals were then arrested in order to avoid bloodshed, as it would have happened if they were not apprehended.

In another question and answer session before French journalists on May 28, 1967, Papadopoulos answered questions concerning the revolution. An example (literal translation from Greek to English):²¹

Question: What are the actual changes in the lives of the Greek People today after the "revolution?"

Answer: The answer is somehow long. With two words I can say that the people were redeemed from itself.

²⁰Ibid, p. 83-87.

²¹Ibid, p. 40-44.

Throughout his speeches directed to the foreign press and to Greek Americans,²² Papadopoulos portrayed himself as savior of the nation. In one of his many statements Papadopoulos described the Greek nation as being an ill person, in need of medical surgery.²³ Of course, the doctor happened to be the one and only now famous surgeon, George Papadopoulos.

To ingrain his thoughts in the people of Greece, and on Greeks living abroad, George Papadopoulos devoted a section of a book of his public speeches to what he called the "Historical Extracts From the Speeches of the Greek President George Papadoulou". The book was published by the Greek government and has been widely distributed to all Greeks. Distribution to the Greek communities in the United States was made by the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese.

The following are a few extracts from the thoughts of George Papadopoulos.²⁴ (Literal translation from Greek to English).

1. Communism will never have any place among the Greek-Christianism.
2. The salvation of our country has more meaning for us than the belief for regular political future as long as the present situation is thought to be necessary to save the nation.

²²Ibid, p. 52-53.

²³Ibid, p. 11.

²⁴Ibid, p. 163-206.

3. Democracy was born here. The ideas for individual and social freedom were developed here.

4. We are passengers in a ship to which we are indebted to steer in a safe course towards which the nation is predestined.

5. Communism is a very well organized minority.

6. We all are indebted to proceed together towards the predestination of our race.

7. We must all become bearers of the 21st of April spirit.

8. The revolution did not consider nor is considering anything else except the nation's salvation.

9. I do not think that there is any nation in the world that permits those who are insane or those who break the laws to circulate free in the society.

10. Greece is now marching with determination, with strength, and with faith in the path of her great predestination.

11. The population and the national government have undertaken the crusade for the rebirth and for the progress of the nation.

12. The April 21st revolution was not a movement by a few persons, groups, or social classes. It was a revolution for mutual independence.

13. It is very important sometimes that Greece also become well-governed, entirely of persons that know how to live in an organized society and not in a jungle.

14. The slave does not have the opportunity to think. He is then indebted to carry out what the regime thinks is proper for him to do.

15. The revolution was a historical necessity.

16. We struggle to erase the pain from the human society, which is called Greece.

17. We must establish Greece as an example of free, rule-loving, and harmonious living society of human beings.

18. For God's sake, we the Greeks have a heavy inheritance. It is not possible for us to have any kind of relationship with the tyranny of communism. We must protect ourselves not to fall prey to communistic propaganda.

19. Greece is not permitted to die. We are obligated to keep Greece alive, we are obligated that Greece becomes great.

It is evident that the junta tries to justify its actions by portraying itself as the savior of the Greek Nation and by playing on the people's fears of communism.

The New Constitution

As the work of the "revolution" moved very rapidly in touching all sectors of private and public life in Greece, a commission was appointed almost immediately to draw up a new constitution. The constitution of 1952 was set aside.

On May 5th, 1967, the military government of Greece announced the reformation of the old constitution. The Colonels declared that a new constitution was in order to enable the country to meet its new "expectations".²⁵

The national government almost immediately proceeded to take steps to that effect. As a first step towards the drafting of a new constitution, the government leaders directed the appointment of a twenty member commission to make studies and recommend alterations to the 1952 constitution. Mr. Harilaos Mitrelias, President of the State Council, was named chairman.²⁶

The commission proceeded to work on its assigned task, and on December 23, 1967, it presented to the

²⁵Study Of The New Constitution, A Greek Government Publication (Athens: Ministry To The Prime Minister, Press And Information Department, Foreign Press Division, 1968), p. 2.

²⁶George Papadopoulos, To Pistevomas, A Greek Government Publication (Athina: Ekdotis Genikis Diefthinseos Tipou, April 1968), p. 99-102.

national government a draft of the new constitution. After the draft was studied by the national government, it was released for publication on March 15, 1968, to enable the people to "contribute to it" before it was presented to them for approval.²⁷

The termination date for public debate was May 31, 1968. During the two and a half months "study" period the government claimed that it received:

More than five million post cards,--making it possible to sound the views of the public opinion and thus facilitating the National Government in its intention to provide the country with a new Constitution meeting the wishes and the will of the Greek people.²⁸

Following a review of the recommendations made by the Metrelas Commission and supposedly by the Greek people, the National Government leaders, after long discussion with other members of the government, drew the final draft of the new constitution and then released it for publication during the first half of July 1968.²⁹

From July to the election, the leaders of the "revolutionary" government worked feverishly and tirelessly to set the mood, to convince the Greek people to vote

²⁷Study Of The New Constitution, A Greek Government Publication (Athens: Ministry To The Prime Minister, Press And Information Department, Foreign Press Division, 1968), p. 2-3.

²⁸Ibid, p. 3.

²⁹Ibid, p. 3.

"yes" on the newly formed constitution. According to several Greek friends who were in Greece during that period, the leaders of the "revolutionary government" led a massive campaign of "Nai" (Yes) votes for the new constitution. They covered all naked walls with "Nai" posters, and opposition to their campaign was prohibited.

According to a number of sources, government leaders used the clergy in the campaign to give legitimacy to the government's acts. The government's main slogan was said to be "Greece for Greek Christians".

Reportedly priests were compelled to accompany members of the government campaigning for the new constitution. It is understandable why the regime chose this campaign method in trying to convince the Greek people to accept the new constitution. Historically, it is the clergy that always has provided leadership to the Greek people in times of despair. It was the clergy that kept alive in every Greek the fire of patriotism during the Turkish occupation, and it was the clergy that first raised the Greek flag in 1821 and called on the Greek population to rise up against the Turks. Even today the leadership of the clergy is valued and is respected as much as it was in the past. A ready example is the Archbishop of Cyprus, Makarios, who with his traditional leadership united the Cypriots,

led them in their fight for independence from Britain, and was ultimately elected President of Cyprus.

Despite the advantages accruing from the lack of any organized opposition to its campaign for the new constitution, the Greek military government took no chances. As reported by the Associated Press in Athens:

The Greek regime ordered military and police units on alert Saturday and issued a last-minute appeal for a massive "Yes" vote in Sunday's Constitutional referendum. Foreign Minister Panayiotis Pipinelis pleaded for other countries to help the regime by easing opposition. He insisted that despite the existence of martial law, "the referendum is free, without any pressure the people can vote according to their conscience." All open opposition, however, was forbidden. Soldiers and police stood by to quell any possible demonstration of dissent. Extra buses, trains, and ships were laid on in a final stepped-up effort to get all eligible voters back to their homes in time to cast ballots. Few Greeks had any doubt about the outcome should the constitution be turned down. Deputy Premier Stylianos Patakos said Friday that in event of a rejection: "We would be obliged to draft a new constitution, but under conditions of more discipline".³⁰

The following account of what went on during the Constitutional referendum was given by several Greek friends who were living in Greece at the time.

On Sunday, September 29, 1968, the cities were crowded with armed police and military units. Some of them were stationed as guards in poll places and major intersections, and

³⁰"Greek Regime Urges Constitution Passage", The Sunday Oregonian, September 29, 1968, Section I, p.2.

others were used to patrol the cities. Battle ready soldiers were searching house to house looking for people who did not go to the polls. One of my friends told me that during the day of the referendum, several soldiers broke into the house of his parents. They found his mother baking bread, and forced her at gunpoint, and without allowing her to change into a different dress or wash off her flour-covered hands to go to the polls and vote on the new Constitution. I was told that most of the Greeks voted at gun-point, surrounded by military and police units. Another difficulty which the Greek people had in expressing their approval or disapproval, and vote according to their conscience was the way that the ballots were made up. According to my Greek friends, the "Yes" ballots were in blue color, and the "No" ballots were in red. I was told that if someone picked the "No" ballot which was colored red, he was automatically admitting that he was a "Red" or a communist.

It is clear from the above that the Greek people not only did not have a "yes" or "no" choice, they were also denied the right to remain away from the polls.

As was expected, the Greek people overwhelmingly approved the new constitution. The result as reported by the government was as follows:³¹

1. Registered voters: 6,516,285
2. Voted: 5,048,981
3. Valid ballots: 5,030,466
4. Invalid ballots: 18,515
5. "Yes" votes for the new Constitution: 4,638,543
6. "No" votes against the new Constitution: 391,423

Of course, the results were only what the regime chose to let the public know.

³¹"Complete results on the Constitutional Referendum, Sunday April 29," Atlantis, LXXV (October 6, 1968), p. 1.

On November 8, 1968, the results of the referendum were approved by the Greek Supreme Court:³²

The Greek Supreme Court Friday ratified the results of the Sept. 29 referendum in which Greek voters approved the new constitution put before them by the military dictatorship. The court's approval paved the way for the constitution to go into effect on Sunday when it is published in the government gazette. Not all of the 138 articles become effective immediately. Ten dealing with press and individual freedom remain temporarily suspended. The new charter replaces a constitution approved by the Greek Parliament in 1952.

Part of Article 138 of the new constitution provides that the regime can delay any individual rights until it has enough time to complete the aims of the revolution; the regime can rule by decree on any matter.³³

The new constitution establishes Greece as a crowned democracy, strips the King of most of the powers given to him under the 1952 constitution, and increases the power and authority of the Executive. Moreover, it establishes the Greek armed forces as the defender of the new political and social system.

A partial summary of the 1968 constitution is as

³²"Court Backs Greek Vote", The Oregonian, November 10, 1968, Section 1, p. 4.

³³Shedion Tou Neou Syntagmatos Tes Ellados, A Greek Government Publication (Athina: To Iporgiko Simvoulion, 1968).

follows: ³⁴ (literal translation from Greek to English).

1. Article 2. All powers are derived from the people. The people are the source of all authority. The King has no prerogatives nor powers except those which are explicitly given to him by the Constitution.

2. Article 14. Yellow press which contributes to the destruction of morals, democracy, and deviates from the true mission of the press is punished. After the second offence within five years, the court shall order the suspension of the publication temporarily, or permanently.

3. Article 42. The King will rule only through the elected and responsible representatives of the people. No act of the King shall be valid nor will it be carried out unless it is also countersigned by a competent minister, also alone by his signature assumes responsibility for such an act.

4. Article 46. Only by the consent of the national council may the King dissolve the Parliament. The King has no legislative power according to the new constitution. He only issues and promulgates the laws.

5. Article 48. The executive has the power not only to publish executive decrees, he also has the power to regulate decrees of legislative content, provided he has authorization from the chamber of deputies. During emergencies or in urgent situations, the executive has also legislative powers by decrees, which become acts of law.

6. Article 54. This article creates the National Council, and its major functions are as follows:

1. It will assist the King to make right decisions on important matters.

2. Will assist in appointing the Prime Minister when not nominated by the Parliament because of a deadlock over such nomination.

3. Will assist in dissolving Parliament.

7. Article 57. The members of Parliament are reduced from the original number of 300, to a maximum of 150. Also at least one sixth of the members of Parliament must be elected by the

³⁴Ibid, p. 3-53.

entire body of voters, which constitutes the whole nation. This is done to avoid the dependency of candidates upon local and personal ties. The constitutional court has the power to choose between 25-30 members of Parliament. (By this method, the court can deny the majority to any party it chooses).

8. Article 58. Political party leadership will no longer be personal or a family affair. Political party leaders shall be popularly elected in local and national conventions. Political parties shall be required to maintain records of their incomes and expenses. All kinds of contributions must be listed by name, and each year during the month of February such party must publish its financial statements. The Constitutional Court shall decide if a party is legal upon submission of its charter to the Court. (The Court by this has the power of granting permission for the formation of a party).

9. Article 88. No member of Parliament may be appointed at a cabinet of the government, with the exception of the Prime Minister, and the deputy prime ministers. Even if a member of Parliament resigns his parliamentary seat, he cannot be appointed to any governmental position. (Members of Parliament were appointed to governmental positions under the 1952 constitution).

10. Article 89-92. The Prime Minister shall make all general policy, and shall supervise to the application of the laws. The deputy ministers shall assist the Prime Minister. Undersecretaries shall be held personally responsible for carrying out the duties which fall within their jurisdiction.

11. Article 106. With this article, the Constitutional Court was created. The major functions of the Constitutional Court are: Articles 61-63-65.

1. To declare on the validity of provisions and laws.
2. To approve charts of political parties and dissolve such parties if they are found to work against the laws of the land, and against democracy.
3. To investigate elections, and rule on their validity.

12. Article 112. No civilians may come under the jurisdiction of military courts, naval courts, and airforce courts except for criminal offences against the security of the armed forces.

13. Article 124. The Armed Forces have the responsibility of defending the existing social and political system against any "insidious attempt".

14. Article 127. At the beginning of each session, the Parliament will elect by a two-thirds majority a commissioner to assist in the Parliamentary control. (This is modeled after the Swedish Ombudsman).

15. Article 129. Although for historical reasons the King is the leader of the armed forces, the administration and command of such forces will be exercised by the elected civilian government through the chief of staff.

16. Article 138. This article upon the signature of the Prime Minister becomes effective, with the exception of the articles which permit the basic freedoms. (Article 138 in effect postpones promises of free assembly, free strikes, free press, and free political parties until the military regime decides to permit such freedoms. What the people voted then on September 29, 1968, was a promise for their freedom some day whenever that may be).

In short, Greece today is ruled by a military dictatorship in the person of George Papadopoulos. Greek citizens have no civil rights except what Papadopoulos decides to hand out to them on a day-to-day basis.

CHAPTER III

HOW IT WAS BEFORE APRIL 21, 1967

A brief background of Modern Greek Politics.

Since Greece freed herself from Turkish rule in 1821, she has been dominated by her allies (Britain and the United States) and treated primarily as an essential strategic Mediterranean base at the expense of her national sovereignty.

Modern Greek politics has its beginning when the Greeks accepted Othon as their King. This was accomplished through the efforts of the Triple Alliance and the influence of Great Britain. Othon was the son of Ludwig, King of Bavaria. Early in 1833 he was delivered to Greece aboard a British warship.³⁵

When Othon abdicated some twenty-nine years later, the British again intervened to insure that Greece would remain a monarchy. This time a member of the Glucksburg family, and an ancestor of King Constantine, was installed on the throne.

Since Greece's independence in 1821, Greek politics has been oriented to the Great Idea (Megaloidea)

³⁵H.A. Lidderdale, Makriyannis: The Memoirs of General Makriyannis 1797-1864 (London: Oxford University Press, Ely House, 1966), p. 149.

that the Greeks re-establish the empire of ancient Byzantium. As a result of the Great Idea, a series of wars with the Turks ensued to establish a "Greater Greece".

To finance such wars, Greece was forced to borrow large sums of foreign capital especially from the British, and as Greece's debts to Britain grew, British dominance over Greek foreign and domestic policy was achieved. On the economic side, the British achieved ownership of all public utilities, mining of all sorts, transportation, and valuable pieces of real estate in all parts of Greece. Major portions of the entire Greek economy were controlled by the British. As a result, and also because the "wars" failed to achieve a Greater Greece, a series of plots and coups occurred.³⁶

³⁶Stephen Rousseas, The Death of a Democracy—Greece and the American Conscience (New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1967), p. 73-74.

It is sometimes maintained that plots and coups are part of the Greek character and will occur whether or not foreign powers intervene in Greek internal affairs. The author however, does not accept this assumption. He views the main causes for the political instability in Greece as follows: 1) the King has always been looked upon by the republican forces as being an instrument of foreign powers who govern Greece through him; 2) the King is a non-Greek who was installed in Greece by foreign powers, who have in many instances intervened to keep him in power or to return him from a forced exile; 3) since the King owes his position and power to the support of foreign powers, he feels no obligation towards the Greek people nor is he sympathetic to their problems, but instead constantly works on a "divide and conquer" policy towards Greek political leaders.

Since Greece has never been left alone to manage her affairs, it is not known whether she would be politically more stable without foreign intervention.

As the Monarchy sought to gain strength, it openly aligned itself with the military. This alliance brought public opposition to the Monarchy and, subsequently, the exile of King George II on two separate occasions prior to the outbreak of the Second World War. During the King's periods of exile, the republican forces sought to strengthen their power within the Greek armed forces, but their attempts failed. The reason for the failure to gain any power within the armed forces was that high-ranking republican officers were purged by the well-entrenched royalist officers who, through the support of the Allies, always held all key positions within the Greek armed forces. As a result of the republican failure to gain strength within the Greek armed forces, King George II was returned to Greece from his second exile after a rigged plebiscite in his favor gave him ninety-seven per cent of the votes in 1935.³⁷

Following his return to Greece, King George II installed John Metaxas, a right-wing General of the Greek Army, as prime minister. On the pretence that Greece was in danger of being overtaken by communists, Metaxas (evidently with the King's approval) staged a coup which not only eliminated all open opposition to the King, but also ended constitutional government in Greece. Following the coup,

³⁷Ibid, p. 74.

Metaxas lost no time in exiling (during this period Andreas Papandreou, a young university student, was exiled to the United States) or placing under arrest all political opposition. He also dissolved parliament and established a government similar in substance and form to that of Hitler's.³⁸

Henceforth, until the time of his death in January 29, 1941, Metaxas ruled the Country with an iron hand.

Although the Greek people were dissatisfied with the Metaxa's dictatorship, they arose spontaneously and expelled the Italian invading forces from Greek soil. About this time, however, Metaxas died and the Germans came to the aid of their retreating allies, the Italians. Several months after the German assault, the Greek armed forces were defeated, and the Country fell under German occupation.

During the period of German control, high ranking political and military leaders in the Greek government collaborated with the invaders and were later recognized by the German occupation forces as the legitimate government of Greece as a reward.³⁹ The occupation of

³⁸Ibid, p. 74.

³⁹W.A. Heurtley, H.C. Darby, C.W. Crawley and C.M. Woodhouse, A Short History of Greece (New York: Bentley House, 1967), p. 145.

Greece by Germany forced King George II to go into exile for the third time. He took his political friends with him and made them members of his Greek government in exile. Metaxas's machine, however, continued to operate for the duration of the German occupation under the different "quisling" regimes. During this period, various resistance groups sprang up in all parts of the country. The strongest one was led by the communists and was initially aided by the British. However, this resistance group lost British support in 1943. The British shifted their aid to the monarchy-oriented guerillas, as Britain wished to insure the return of King George II to the Greek throne. Evidently the British wanted to make certain that their dominance in Greece after the war would not be diminished nor threatened by the left of the republican forces.⁴⁰

Although the King's government in exile (this government was appointed at the will of the King and represented only his views) was in constant communication with the resistance forces, it failed to appreciate and heed the strength of anti-monarchical feeling developing in occupied Greece. It continued to act as if the Greek people supported its dealings with other

⁴⁰Stephen Rousseas, The Death of a Democracy—Greece and the American Conscience (New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1967), p. 75.

governments.⁴¹ It made such agreements as that which surrendered the Greek forces under British Command, and that with the United States providing for Lend-Lease supplies.

Meanwhile, those in the resistance movement inside Greece, primarily led by communist and venizelist elements (the venizelist movement was named after Eleftherios Venizelos, a republican who served as prime minister of Greece from 1910 to 1920), made an agreement that after the war they would oppose the return of the King.⁴² The principal supporters of the King's return to Greece were the King's government in exile, the British, and the collaborators inside Greece. The British government supported the King and his government in exile as the legitimate rulers of Greece, but, because they also needed the support of the resistance forces inside Greece, they did not force the issue at the time.⁴³

In July 1943, the King under British pressure promised a "fully representative" government after Greece's liberation, to be followed by elections for a constitutional assembly within six months.⁴⁴ Following this statement an abortive mutiny attempt within the Greek forces in Egypt

⁴¹W.A. Heurtley, H.C. Darby, C.W. Crawley and C.M. Woodhouse, A Short History of Greece (New York: Bentley House, 1967), p. 147.

⁴²Ibid, p. 145.

⁴³Ibid, p. 146.

⁴⁴Ibid, p. 150.

occured. (The mutiny was led by anti-monarchists and was rapidly suppressed by British forces). This was followed by the resignations of several of the King's governments in succession. Since the King solely appointed his governments in exile, each time there was disagreement with the King's policies the leaders of such governments had no alternative but to resign.

Meantime, George Papandreou escaped from Greece in the middle of 1943 and was asked by the King to form a government. Upon his acceptance, Papandreou decided to call a conference in Lebanon to form a government of national unity, with the leaders of the resistance participating. The leaders of the resistance force reluctantly agreed to Papandreou's proposal and finally joined his government. The agreement between Papandreou and the resistance forces allowed the Allies to take over Greece without bloodshed, and Papandreou's government of national unity (formed in exile with leaders of the guerilla force participating) became the first government in liberated Greece as the Germans withdrew to the north in October 1944.⁴⁵

In November of 1944, General Scobie, the British Commander in Greece, ordered the dissolution of the guerilla forces. As a result of this order relations among members

⁴⁵Ibid, p. 150.

of the Greek government (government of national unity) began to deteriorate. The communist and other ministers representing the guerilla faction left the government. The leaders of the guerilla forces refused to disband. The withdrawal of the guerilla faction from the government was followed by an outbreak of violence between the Greek and the British authorities on the one side, and the guerilla forces on the other. The fighting was so fierce that the British were forced to bring in large reinforcements from Italy. Meantime, negotiations were initiated between the British and the guerillas. A truce was achieved. The guerillas were to lay down their arms, and the government was expected to make liberal reforms. Amnesty for political crimes and a plebiscite on the question of the Monarchy to be held under international supervision were promised.⁴⁶ When the results of the truce did not materialize, things began to deteriorate again. By this time however, the British had thrown all of their support behind the right-wing royalist group. British concern over Greek affairs was observed by William Hardy McNeil, a postwar U.S. Assistant Military Attache in Athens:⁴⁷

⁴⁶Ibid, p. 151.

⁴⁷Stephen Rousseas, The Death of a Democracy-Greece and the American Conscience (New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1967), p. 77-78.

Their first and principal concern was that the government of Greece should always be friendly towards them; and the men who shaped British policy for Greece were by this time firmly convinced that an EAM (Left) government would not be friendly. Exactly what "friendly" meant was not clear. Probably it meant in part the re-establishment of economic concessions to British-owned public utility and other companies; but in the last analysis, and far more important, it meant a government in Greece that would side with Great Britain in case of another war.

Apparently the British were not concerned about what the interests of the Greek people were, but only what best served British interest. Even though the right wing royalist faction enjoyed little support from the people, the British supported it.

Under the terms of an agreement(see pp. 34-35 and footnote no. 46) between the Greek and British governments on the one hand and the guerillas on the other, the resistance forces layed down their arms and disbanded. On the other hand, the rightist faction with the assistance of the British troops spread into all parts of Greece, taking retributions on their political opponents. (This was in violation of an earlier promise by the British and Greek governments of political amnesty for all).

The activity of the right was so disruptive that Clement Attlee, the British Prime Minister, cabled the Greek Regent(the Primate of Greece was designated by the Greek government as regent of Greece until the King's

return in September 1946) in August, 1945, that he was "disquited at the information of new excesses on the part of the Right".⁴⁸

Long after the resistance forces had layed down their arms and dissolved their forces, the Greek government depended upon British troops to maintain control over the country. This, of course, assured the British of the return of their prewar capital concessions, including control over Greek public utilities. As one American official in Greece at that time stated:⁴⁹ "Greece had become a client state of the British, who had effectively limited (one might say terminated) the sovereignty of the Greek government".

From the time the Left put down its arms in February 1945, to the time of the election in March of 1946,

an estimated 85,000 Greeks were arrested and 1,300 killed. Neither the police nor the gendarmerie were purged of wartime collaborators...Efforts of the Prime Minister to limit royalist control of the army were blocked by the British Military Mission, which accused him of trying to play politics with the army, and by General Scobie and the British Ambassador. Control of Greece's air force and navy was in the hands of other special British missions.⁵⁰

⁴⁸Ibid, p. 80.

⁴⁹Ibid, p. 81.

⁵⁰Ibid, p. 80.

As was expected, the government that emerged from the March, 1946, elections was controlled by the royalist forces. The date for the plebiscite on the question of the King's return to Greece was set for September, 1946. The plebiscite was held as scheduled, (the vote was approximately eighty-one per cent for the return of the King) and on the twenty-eight of the same month King George II arrived in Greece.⁵¹ With the King's arrival, guerilla activity against the royalist forces increased. In December, 1946, the government brought charges at the United Nations Security Council that Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Albania were supporting guerilla activity and therefore threatening Greece's internal security.⁵²

To investigate Greece's charges, the U.N. decided to send a commission to Greece to gather additional information on the spot. Following the commission's on-the-spot investigation and on the basis of its report, the U.N. General Assembly condemned Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Albania for aiding the guerillas in Greece.

In March, 1947, King George II died, his youngest brother Paul succeeded him to the throne, and the British

⁵¹W.A. Heurtley, H.C. Darby, C.W. Crawley and C.M. Woodhouse, A Short History of Greece (New York: Bentley House, 1967), p. 154-155.

⁵²Stephenn Rousseas, The Death of a Democracy — Greece and the American Conscience (New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1967), p. 83.

Ambassador in Washington informed the U.S. that because of economic difficulties, Britain was forced to terminate her involvement in Greece. The announcement by the British Ambassador brought an end to the British economic and political dominance over Greece that had lasted for more than one hundred years and ushered in a like dominance by the United States through what is known today as the Truman Doctrine of March 12, 1947.⁵³

The Truman Doctrine, of course, was hailed by the "right", for without British or American assistance it could not have remained in power for long. As was the case with the British, the U.S. also decided to throw all of its support behind the rightist elements and all of its might against the leftist guerillas. Although guerilla warfare continued until late in 1949, the guerillas were finally defeated militarily. They could no longer withstand the far superior American military might that had been thrust against them since 1947.

Following the end of the guerilla warfare, the U.S. tried to set up a representative government in Greece to reconstruct the country economically. However, this was not an easy task. The main problems the United States encountered in its self-assigned task were as follows:⁵⁴

⁵³Ibid, p. 83.

⁵⁴Ibid, p. 84-98.

Governments were falling faster than they were formed, corruption was running high in governmental circles (the machinery of government had not basically changed since Greece had won its independence from the Turks), and inflation was increasing steadily.

Although political instability had been a major part of Greek political life since Greece's independence, the Right (with initially British and later American military and economic support) not only managed to control the formation of every government that came into existence over the years, it also made all decisions concerning the appointments of top military and governmental personnel. However, with the formation of the CUP in 1961 (the new party was a coalition of all political parties except the ERE and EDA), things began to change.

In the 1963 elections the CUP emerged as the major party in Greece.⁵⁵ Because none of the parties received an absolute majority of the popular vote, new elections were scheduled. On the second election in February 16, 1964, the CUP won an absolute majority.⁵⁶ (Fifty-three per cent). For the first time, the Right found itself in the unusual position of being clearly in the elected minority.

Up to 1964-1965, the Right maintained full control

⁵⁵Ibid, p. 21.

⁵⁶Ibid, p. 22.

over the government machinery. The police, the army, the rural gendarmerie and the bureaucracy in general were controlled and staffed with "their own" people. It is fair to say that Greece was the only nation on the side of the Allies in which the Nazi collaborators were not purged from their governmental positions at the end of the war.⁵⁷

Although the Right was defeated in the polls for the first time since Greece's independence in 1821, the Palace, the Right, and the Army did not appear greatly concerned, as they still had absolute control of the bureaucracy and the security forces. In other words, they were still in full control of the "sub-level governments" where the real power was. On top of this, Papandreou, wanting to please the Palace, appointed as Defense Minister Petros Garoufalias, a staunch Palace supporter, and made other pro-royalist appointments to his government as well.⁵⁸

Greek affairs appeared to have stabilized, until the Cyprus crisis exploded in 1966. The Cyprus problem brought about a rapid deterioration in the relations between Greece and Turkey (both members of the NATO Alliance) which

⁵⁷Ibid, p. 19.

⁵⁸Ibid, p. 24.

threatened NATO's southeastern flank. At this point, Washington became alarmed, and began pressuring Greece to resolve its difference (for example, the U.S. suggested that Cyprus be partitioned between the Greek and the Turkish communities) with Turkey according to Washington's dictates. Papandreou however, refused to act like a good satellite and decided to take an independent stand on what he thought were Greece's national interests. As if Papandreou had not already gone far enough by disobeying the wishes of Washington, his government added more fuel to the fire by publicly stating that "it would welcome Soviet assistance in preparation for a possible war with Turkey". This prompted the U.S. Embassy to demand an "explanation".⁵⁹ Moreover, Papandreou threatened to remove the extreme right-wing officers from the army's high command.⁶⁰ From this point, Papandreou's government began to rapidly skid towards the confrontation that took place on April 21, 1967.

Meanwhile, Papandreou's behavior and public statements began to alarm the "Right". At the end of 1966 Papandreou was informed by "a wealthy Greek ship-owner", who "had a conversation with his good friend

⁵⁹Ibid, p. 32.

⁶⁰Ibid, p. 32.

John McCone, director of the CIA", that:⁶¹

Major elements of the right-wing General staff had began to doubt the patriotic motives of the Center Union government and were beginning to discuss a coup d'etat should the government continue to pursue its liberal policies.

Upon receiving the above information (the informant is not known to the author), George Papandreou called a secret meeting of his inner cabinet to discuss the gradual replacement of the Army's General Staff. Garoufalias (the Defense Minister and staunch supporter of the Palace) reported immediately to the King what was discussed during this secret inner cabinet meeting. The King informed Papandreou that he would strongly oppose any change in the High Command of the Greek Army. The reaction of Papandreou and the cabinet was that Garoufalias had to be replaced. However, the attempt to remove Garoufalias from office was blocked by the King. The struggle between Constantine and Papandreou resulted finally in the army's take over on April 21, 1967.

The following section of this chapter will be devoted to a more thorough account of the events that took place from 1964 (the year that the Center Union came to power), to 1967, when martial law was substituted for

⁶¹Ibid, p. 29.

Parliamentary government in Greece.

What happened from 1964 to 1967.

When George Papandreu, a man of liberal ideas and very anti-royalist, was elected premier in 1964, the stage was set for a political showdown between the royal palace and the Papandreouses. It was no more than a few months after his election that Papandreu found himself in a political turmoil in his attempt to exercise his duties as head of the Greek government.

A summary of the situation in Greece from 1964 to 1967 is given in the following:⁶²

George Papandreu was voted into power in 1964 as the head of the Union of the Center Party. He was joined by his son Andreas, an American citizen and professor of economics at the University of California who had returned to Greece in charge of a recovery mission subsidized by the Ford and Rockefeller foundations. The eldest Papandreu made his son, still an American citizen, the alternate minister of coordination. George Papandreu started transferring key officers and rightist appointees from the Central Intelligence Service and the army high command to points as far removed as possible from the Athens area. This move would have excited suspicion immediately had it not been for the formation-then in progress-of an army contingent for duty on Cyprus. The influx of rightist officers into Cyprus pleased General George Grivas, who is in charge of the army's Cyprus operation, but displeased Archbishop Makarios, the President of Cyprus, who was looking to Cypriot Communists and the Soviet block for support. At the prompting of his son, the senior Papandreu then reversed his policy and began sending leftist officers to Cyprus-among them members of the small Aspida

⁶²George Bailey, "The Puritan revolt in Greece," The Reporter, (May 18, 1967), p. 19-21.

(Shield) organization, whose aim was the overthrow of the Monarchy and the severing of Greece's military alliance with the West. This pleased Makarios but displeased Grivas, who subsequently exposed the Aspida conspiracy and implicated Andreas as its leader.

The administrative investigation that followed Griva's exposé implicated twenty-eight officers, including the deputy chief of intelligence and the chief of intelligence on Cyprus. The young new King, Constantine II, interceded and demanded a full-scale judicial investigation: ...

.....
 Papandreou refused to mount the investigation. When the King turned directly to the Minister of Defense and the investigation proceeded, Papandreou dismissed the minister, who thereupon refused to resign without a writ of dismissal signed by the King. The King in turn refused to sign until a replacement was named. To his astonishment Papandreou named himself. The King refused to accept this, pointing out that he could not allow Papandreou to preside over an investigation of a conspiracy in which his own son was implicated. Thereupon Papandreou announced that he would resign within twenty-four hours. Fearing that Papandreou would use the twenty-four hours to dissolve Parliament and call for new elections or set an Aspida military coup in motion, the King demanded that Papandreou resign then and there. When Papandreou refused, the King appointed a new Premier from the ranks of Papandreou's own party the same night.

George Papandreou reacted to his ouster by taking to the streets and attacking the King point-blank on the issue of monarchy versus republicanism. "Who rules Greece?" he asked, "The King or the people?"

In the turmoil that ensued, just enough members of Papandreou's Center Union defected to allow the conservative National Radical Union to govern in coalition with the small Progressive Party and the Center Union defectors.

After fifteen precarious months the coalition government fell in December, 1966, when the Conservatives refused to support a new electoral law providing for proportional representation, a system that would have favored the smaller and splinter parties.

One more caretaker government under Ioanis Paraskevopoulos was brought down on the issue of Andreas Papandreou's parliamentary immunity. In

March of this year an Athenian court had found fifteen officers guilty of plotting against the state and the monarchy in the Aspida conspiracy trial. In accordance with the findings of the court, the public prosecutor prepared charges of high treason against Andreas Papandreou.

The prosecutor made application to Parliament for the lifting of immunity of Andreas and another deputy. While this was being considered, George Papandreou's Center Union proposed an amendment to the election law to extend the legal immunity of members after the dissolution of Parliament.

King Constantine then tried to arrange for the formation of a grand coalition between the National Radical Union and the Center Union to prepare the elections but was rebuffed by his long-confirmed enemy, George Papandreou.

The King's subsequent appointment of Panayotis Kanelopoulos of the National Radical Union as Premier drove the two Papandreous to a new pitch of fury, the senior announcing that Constantine was no longer "King of Greece but King of the National Radical Union," and the junior advising the King publicly to choose a pleasant spot for his exile.

When Kanelopoulos dissolved Parliament on April 14 and called for elections on May 28 without bothering to put the issue to a vote, his action was almost universally accepted as the last storm signal.

Another account as given by Ramparts Magazine:⁶³

It had been rumored that the King and the U.S. had a longstanding deal: "You help me keep my throne, and I'll keep Greece in NATO for you". (NATO, of course, is the key to American interest in Greek politics). The King was threatened by the Papandreous--especially young, popular Andreas. Certainly Andreas would replace his aging father as Prime Minister if the Papandreous' popular Center Union Party won the national elections set for May 28th. Andreas was out to eradicate the political and economic oligarchy of which

⁶³Stanley K. Sheinbaum, "Prelude", Ramparts, VI (October, 1967), p. 43.

the monarchy was an integral part, for which the monarchy relied on the military, for which the military relied on the U.S. -all for NATO. ...

.....
 As early as 1964, when Andreas' charismatic leadership became evident, the plot against him was set in motion. ...

.....
 So, when the May 28th elections drew near and Andreas Papandreu's popularity remained strong, it became apparent that he had to be cut off. A coup was therefore in the making. A propaganda base had been laid: Andreas was a pro-communist; he might take Greece out of NATO. U.S. officialdom was prepared for Andreas to go. ...

.....
 But with all that ground work laid, the "official" coup got couped: An even more irresponsible group of military made their move first, and today Greece is not in the hands of an anti-democratic King with U.S. support, but rather a radical fascist clique.

Additional testimony is given by Andreas Vachliotis and Kyriakos Diakogiannis, to Stanley Sheinbaum a journalist for Ramparts magazine. Vachliotis and Diakogiannis claim that they were threatened and forced by the Greek CIA to fabricate evidence against Andreas Papandreu.

The testimony of Andreas Vachliotis follows:⁶⁴

This story begins in Paris in June 1964, where I was spending my vacation. Andreas Papandreu had just become Minister of Coordination (the highest-ranking post in the Greek government after the Prime Minister) in the cabinet of his father, Prime Minister George Papandreu. ...

.....
 Andreas Papandreu, having spent 20 years as an economics professor at American Universities was

⁶⁴ Andreas Vachliotis, "The Testimony of Andreas Vachliotis", Ramparts, VI (October, 1967), p. 44-46.

totally naive about the intricacies of Greek Politics. He is a staunch democrat, a respected economist and an honest man, but because of his political inexperience, I was very much afraid of the maneuvers other Greek politicians were plotting behind his back. ...

I remained in Paris, but Andreas returned to Greece. ...

He asked me to put some of my ideas into writing, and during the month of July, I wrote him a number of memoranda.

It was one of these memoranda which was later used as a pretext for putting Papandreou in jail. ...

It was seven typed pages on yellowish paper, and it is now in the hands of the Greek judicial authorities. What this memorandum basically said was that Papandreou, to protect himself and establish his father's government fully in control, should undertake "the creation of an organization to control the mechanism of the Greek state, both inside and outside the country", to preempt control from agents of the fascist-leaning military and secret police. I further recommended, in that proposal, the "gradual replacement" of the military chiefs of staff, as well as the heads of the police, gendarmerie, and the multitude of secret police organizations, including KYP which, from all evidence, were actively engaged in undermining Papandreou's government. ...

There was not the faintest suggestion, either in my proposals or in any of my talks with Andreas Papandreou, that the replacement of key officials should be accompanied by violence or imprisonment--as KYP and the junta were later to allege. ...

KYP was founded in 1950--its purpose to be roughly comparable to that of the American CIA, which, incidentally, helped start KYP. ...

That KYP was out to destroy Papandreou is very clear to me. Takis Apostolopoulos, a key KYP agent, told me just a few days before the coup that he "would give my right arm to get Andreas Papandreou". Major Evangelos Tsakas, now a special counselor to Minister of the Prime Ministry Papadopoulos, also said to me that Papandreou "ought to have been killed that same night of the coup. We should get rid of him." ...

In June of 1966, the KYP agent Apostolopoulos, known to me then by the name Varikopoulos, came to me and said that he wanted the copies of the memoranda I had prepared for Andreas two years before. ...

He told me that in the investigation of Papandreou, already underway for two years, there were materials incriminating me, too. ...

I finally gave in and said I would permit KYP to make copies of the memoranda, provided the originals were returned to me. So, the agent took me to the KYP building in Athens. ...

They took the memoranda away from me into a room where I was told there was a photographic machine. Ten minutes later, several KYP agents returned and told me, "we have decided to keep the documents and not give them back to you. You can go."...

KYP agent Apostolopoulos came to me again and told me that they wanted me to write down everything that had happened between myself and Andreas Papandreou in 1964. I did so, making clear that I thought he was an honest man, and a democrat, who would do the right thing in Greece.

Apostolopoulos threatened me with being charged as an accomplice and subjected to length imprisonment. Facing that charge and the warning that unpleasant things might happen to my wife and son, I agreed to sign a document prepared by them. It claimed that Andreas Papandreou was about to organize a coup d'etat by a group of dissatisfied young officers, that he was planning to remove the King, and to take Greece out of NATO, and that he was in general guilty of pro-communist sympathies and treasonous activities. Of course, none of the charges were true. ...

On the 6th day of September at 6:00 p.m., the three armed KYP agents took me to the public prosecutor's office, where I gave perjured testimony. ...

I left for Paris in August of this year, letting KYP think I was going there on its behalf to spy on a conference of Greek democrats in exile. I did not go back. ...

KYP probably thought they could insure my return to Greece by forbidding my wife and son to leave Greece with me. ...

I was able to have my wife and son secretly picked up by a chartered airplane and flown to Paris to join me four days later.

The second testimony is that of Kyriakos Diakogiannis, who claims that he was also unwillingly forced by the Greek CIA to fabricate false evidence against Andreas Papandreou:⁶⁵

My involvement in the frame-up of Andreas Papandreou began in June of 1964, when I was introduced to Andreas Vachliotis, an Athens lawyer and friend of Papandreou. After a series of long discussions, Mr. Vachliotis and I agreed that in Papandreou resided the best hope for the renaissance of Greek democracy, and together we drafted, at Papandreou's request a number of proposed reforms in various areas of Greek political life. ...

.
In August, I returned to Athens, where Vachliotis introduced me to a KYP agent, Takis Apostolopoulos, who promptly ushered us into the office of Premier Stefanopoulos. ...

.
After an interrogation and briefing by Takis and Major Tsakas of KYP, I gave a sworn statement before a judge of Instruction, recounting the events exactly as they occurred—with one important difference. I was also asked to attest that Vachliotis had related to me a conversation between himself and Papandreou, in which the later had purportedly advocated the use of violent means to eliminate his opposition. Mr. Vachliotis had never told me anything of the sort. In their search for treasonable "evidence" against Papandreou, KYP was obliging us to perjure ourselves, with thinly veiled threats to our persons and those of our families. ...

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⁶⁵Kyriakos Diakogiannis, "The Testimony of Kyriakos Diakogiannis" Ramparts, VI (October, 1967), p. 46.

The imaginary conversation to which I attested went in substance like this:

Papandreou (reading our proposal to replace key military and police officials with trustworthy men): But you haven't said how this should be accomplished.

Vachliotis: Gradually, after careful selection...

Papandreou (smiling ironically): This kind of affair only succeeds when the heads begin to roll...

I was later assured by KYP agents, Takis and others that my perjured testimony and that of Mr. Vachliotis were the secret foundation stones of the State's case against Papandreou, to be sprung on an unsuspecting defense at his impending trial.⁶⁶

As the division and political struggle between the King and George Papandreou became public, the whole country came close to political anarchy.

Young people (mostly University students) took to the streets in support of George Papandreou; clashes with the police occurred almost daily.⁶⁷

Members of Parliament, enraged over the recent events, carried the fight into Parliament, which was daily turned into a wrestling ring; it became common and necessary for the Athens police to intervene whenever a fight erupted.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ Kyriakos Diakogiannis escaped from Greece on July 10, 1967.

⁶⁷ Prin Kai Meta Tin Epanastasin, A-Greek Government Publication (Athens: Ipourgion Proedrias Kiverniseos, Geniki Diefthisis Typou Kai Plirophorion, March 1968), p. 9.

⁶⁸ Diati EGINE E Epanastasis Tes 21 Apriliou 1967, A Greek Government Publication (Athens: Ipourgion Proedrias Kiverniseos, To Monotipikon Sygrotima Tsiberioti, 1967), p. 41-58.

Strikes by laborers in support of George Papandreou also were common. The nation became so paralyzed by such strikes that army personnel and police officers were often called to fill the vacancies created by the striking workers.⁶⁹

Papandreou's popularity was so strong, that the King found it impossible to successfully establish a government without him. It seemed that the only way that Papandreou could be eliminated from the political scene was by some non-electoral means. What this means was, became evident at 2:30 a.m. the twenty-first of April 1967.

⁶⁹Ibid, p. 97-102.

CHAPTER IV

HOW IT IS NOW

The new Greek Constitution of 1968 has not been fully implemented.

According to Article 138 of the new Constitution, all power and authority rests with the junta. Basic freedoms, such as free assembly, free elections, and free speech are postponed indefinitely until the regime decides to permit such freedoms.

However, in other sections of the 1968 Constitution, the junta has moved towards accomplishing a national reorganization.

The military dictatorship claims to have achieved a number of changes in Greece during the last two years.⁷⁰

The regime claims that "it relieved the administration from the party spirit", but it has not yet brought into effect Article 123 of the new Constitution, which provides in part that "public servants are in the service of the people".⁷¹

⁷⁰Two Years Of Creative Activity, A Greek Government Publication (Athens: Ministry To the Prime Minister, Press and Information Department, 1969), p. 6-21.

⁷¹Ibid.

In the economic sector, the regime claims to have increased the subsidies for agriculture by about 14.5 billion drachmae,⁷² for country roads by 2.4 billion and for housing loans by 1.4 billion, and to have reorganized the bureaucracies to facilitate economic development.⁷³

In its drive to bring about national change in agriculture, the regime indicates that it is striving for the following.⁷⁴

1. Mechanization of agriculture,
2. Intensive cultivation in place of extensive cultivation,
3. Profitable yield cultivation instead of limited yield cultivation, and
4. National reorganization of agriculture on the basis of recent scientific developments.

The regime has encountered some active opposition in its efforts to reorganize agriculture. This opposition had resulted in open physical violence, as indicated in the following by the Associated Press, reported in

⁷²The drachmae is the basic monetary unit in Greece. As of April 4, 1970 the official rate of exchange was 30 drachmae to one U.S. dollar.

⁷³Two Years Of Creative Activity. A Greek Government Publication (Athens: Ministry To The Prime Minister, Press and Information Department, 1969), p. 10-11.

⁷⁴Ibid.

The Oregonian:⁷⁵

A reliable source said Thursday rioting farmers using pitchforks battled police in central Greece, leaving 55 persons injured and 60 under arrest. The rioting broke out Monday as hundreds of farmers protested possible government expropriation of land. The fighting swirled around the village of Megalo Kalivia in central Greece, the source said.

Farmers wielding pitchforks and sticks clashed with police in a two-hour battle. Of those injured, 15 were police.

In the field of social services, the regime has
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set the following goals:

1. Allocating of two billion drachmae by 1972 for the development of modern hospitals,
2. Establishment of medical dispensaries, as well as hygienic equipment all over the country, and
3. Granting up to 1.4 billion drachmae to farmers for housing, and the erection of 1,700 new houses for refugees.

In the field of national education, the regime claims that:⁷⁷

1. The promise of free education became a fact under the regime.
2. Books, manuals, laboratory training, etc. are offered free of any charge at all,
3. The amount of 504 million drachmae were proclaimed for the construction of school buildings, and
4. Loans will be reimbursed by the students under favourable terms, two years after their graduation.

⁷⁵"Greek Police Fight Rioters", The Oregonian, April 11, 1969, p. 1.

⁷⁶Two Years Of Creative Activity, A Greek Government Publication (Athens: Ministry To The Prime Minister, Press and Information Department, 1969). p. 11-14.

⁷⁷Ibid, p. 12-15

Although the above would be impressive, if true, such measures by themselves would not necessarily improve the quality of education. Educators must be left free to exercise their professional judgements and responsibilities in their daily classroom duties. According to several Greek friends (see footnote number 1), however, educators have been turned into propaganda media for the regime". Educators are told what they can and cannot say in the classroom. It was indicated, for example, that while a teacher was lecturing in the class, he accidentally used the word "democracy", a forbidden word in Greece. Upon hearing this, the police authorities arrested the teacher and subsequently gave him a prison sentence.

While new classrooms can brighten the educational scene and ease the free exchange of ideas, this is not presently the case in Greece. Instead, classrooms have become prisons of minds to facilitate only poisonous propaganda to serve the "masters".

In its effort to receive the support of the labor class in Greece, the regime apparently aims according to article 27 of the Constitution, to "ensure employment for labour and protect them from the point of view of working and remuneration conditions, in order to effect their moral and material elevation".⁷⁸

⁷⁸Ibid, p. 14-15.

It is not clear how far governmental action has in fact improved the condition of the workers. However, there are no known administrative measures taken by the government to implement the above constitutional provision.

Under present economic conditions, it would appear difficult for the regime to undertake the large public expenditures required to meet projected goals. An indication of the problem is expressed in the following quotation from Free Greece:⁷⁹

Exports last year went up only 12 million dollars from the 452.6 million dollars earned in 1967. Tourism receipts dropped for the second year in a row, from 126.8 million dollars to 120.3 million dollars. Before the military take-over, tourism had been growing rapidly and according to forecasts, should have earned 156 million dollars last year. With foreign debt due to rise by 83 million dollars this year from 428 million on December 31, 1968, it is estimated that the total national debt will be 1.88 billion dollars by the end of 1969, more than five times the country's expected total assets in gold and foreign currencies.

The regime has made many promises to the people, but things just do not happen by promises alone. Besides resources, a government needs good administrators with the talent and brains to carry out economic programs.

Because Greece is not a country of abundance, it is a must that its resources be administered very carefully

⁷⁹"Greece's Economic Condition", Free Greece, (April, 1969), p. 2.

and that they be used in the "right" place to yield the best results.

During the early months of the military regime, it repeatedly sought to acquire the "brains" of Andreas Papandreou* while he was in prison charged with high treason. These efforts apparently failed:⁸⁰

The Greek military junta has asked Andreas Papandreou, the political leader whom it has jailed on charges of high treason, to advise it on economic matters.

This overture by Greece's military leaders to the man they have labeled their archenemy was revealed Saturday night by Brig. Stylianos Patakos, minister of the interior. ...

.....
Patakos visited Papandreou with Ioanis Rodinos-Orlandos, under secretary of coordination and one of the officials mainly responsible for directing the country's economy.

Rodinos-Orlandos told papandreou that he considered him his teacher, and that he had studied his books on economic development. ...

.....
The minister, backed by Patakos, then urged Papandreou to state his opinion on the Greek economy, to comment on the measures taken so far and to suggest what else should be done. Both officials told Papandreou that the charges against him need not prevent him from contributing, as a Greek, to the country's economic progress.

Papandreou said that since all he had read about current events for the past six months was in the government-controlled press, he was in no position

⁸⁰"Greeks Seek Advice from Jailed Leader", The Oregonian, October 9, 1967, section I. p. 2.

* Andreas Papandreou is an economist of note and for a number of years was head of the department of economics at the University of California at Berkeley.

to judge the situation.

Rodinos-Orlandos then urged the prisoner at least to sum up in one word his impression of how things were going.

Papandreou said; "Monstrously".

After renewing their appeals for help, the officials left. A few days later, another official in the coordination ministry appeared at the prison. He told Papandreou that the government would send him any economist or group of economists he might designate in the economic ministries or the central bank to provide him with whatever data statistics he might need. However, Papandreou reiterated his refusal.

It is very difficult to acquire any further solid information concerning the economic situation in Greece. The difficulty stems from the fact that any news concerning the economy of the country is managed and edited by the government. The press can only print what the government permits; inquiries into the economic affairs of the country are "discouraged".

Unfortunately, the political and social life of the Greek people does not appear to be in better health than the nation's economic life. The situation is characterized by terror and intimidation. The country is ruled by military decree. People have rights only when the junta decides to give them on a particular day, hour or minute.

The following cases are presented with the hope that they will give a clear view of what is happening in Greece today. The cases are reported in Free Greece.⁸¹

⁸¹"Greece Today", Free Greece, (June-July, 1968), p. 3-29.

Case I. They took my friend X from his house at nine in the morning. He returned two hours after midnight. What happened during the 17 hours of his absence? At the time we knew nothing. Later his wife persuaded him to talk to me in confidence.

They had shown him a photograph of an election meeting--there was to have been a general election. They asked him to identify himself on the photo, He did. There was no further questioning. They started beating him up with truncheons, fists, kicks. There were five of them. They were hitting him on the head, all over the body. They were kicking his genitals. They revived him, made him say "Long live the King", then "Long live the revolution". From time to time they "rested". Others were being treated in the same way. He could see them or hear them scream. "It was only 17 hours for me" he said, "because I am oldish and frail, for the young it was hell".

There was a boy who had been having this for the fifth day. They would give you as much as they thought you could take, short of dying. I think they had orders not to kill.

Case II. At last they let X go with the warning that if he dared to see a doctor, if he dared tell anyone, all this would start again.

When I saw him two weeks after it happened, his arms were blue on the inside because he had covered his face with them. His chest, his back, his legs were blue. His face swollen and red. His genitals swollen, bruised and aching. He could not breathe or cough freely. He told me they were beating him with fists on the region of the heart. They were telling him that they would "kill his heart". He had two ribs broken.

Day after day I heard of more cases like this. I saw a boy with a dislocated spine.

The working-class districts were especially hit. (I can speak only of Athens and Piraeus. I heard of terrible things in Salonica, but there I have no personal knowledge).

Men from 17 up to 70 were selected, mostly from photographs of political meetings, or sometimes for things they had said when all this was legal, when we were free.

The people of the free countries accused us of accepting the colonel's coup apathetically. We were never apathetic. We were struck dumb. We knew that the whole of the nation's leadership

had been arrested.

We felt helpless, alone and unarmed, facing tanks and brutality. The radio was shouting blood thunder.

Case III. They hit the soles of her feet with sticks and when her skin cracked they made her walk on the rocky ground. Then they said they would kill her. They blindfolded her and, still half-naked, she stood for execution. They fired in the air and the girl collapsed. This is called "mock execution".

They drove her to the security police station at Bouboulinas street. They threw her into an underground cell. Four days without food or water. She could count the hours by the changing of the guard. She did not know if it was day or night. It was cold. There were no blankets. Only the damp cement floor and crawling little beasts which horrified her.

On the fourth night she was brought out for interrogation. The same questions, the same threats.

They tied her to a bench. One man beat the soles of her feet, another pulled her hair and banged her head on the bench, others twisted her arms. They screamed insults.

One moment they would all be raging, suddenly someone would be kind. Would she not confess? She refused. Immediately the "hard" men would reappear and the beating would start again.

Case IV. There was another operation in hand, "Intimidation". Nobody is secure in his job. Thousands are fired. Thousands are threatened. To keep your job you have to sign a certificate of loyalty. You have to inform on anyone disloyal.

In spite on everything, the young people started resisting. Writing on the wall, printing leaflets, and distributing them. Arrests are immediate.

Torture now has another purpose. It is aimed at extracting information.

Case V. I will give the case of a young man of 18. He was taken by the security police and thrown into an underground cell. There was no light whatsoever. He could not know whether it was night or day. There was nothing but the coarse cement floor.

He was left there for a week without food or water. A kind policeman furtively brought him a little yogurt on two occasions.

On the seventh day he was brought out for

interrogation. Who had given him the leaflets? Who else was involved. Why not answer? He would have to anyway..."after".

They threw him down and tied his legs to a chair. They started hitting the soles of his feet with twisted wire, then with thin sackfuls of sand. His feet swelled and blistered and the skin cracked. The blood oozed down his legs. At the same time others were hitting his body, his head. They tore his shirt and started beating him on the breast. He thinks it was with truncheons. At the beginning he was screaming, so they put a dirty rag in his mouth. They pressed his neck. He fainted. He was brought- to with a bucket of water thrown in his face.

The beating on his feet started again while another torturer twisted his genitals. He kept fainting. He would be no man any more, he was told.

Similar accounts of such tortures, given by Greeks who escaped from Greece, were published by Look Magazine in 1969.⁸²

The regime aims by torture and intimidation to keep the people quiet through fear. Young people are the major target. Reportedly, hundreds of them go through the many security police stations just to be beaten and frightened.

Despite the harsh methods used by the junta to silence opposition, opposition has not been crushed. The Greek people, although terrorized and with their leaders in jail, have done their best to show their resistance to the present dictatorship.

⁸²Christopher Wren, "Greece: Government by Torture", Look, (May 27, 1969), p. 19-21.

An interesting resistance technique is indicated in the following account by Parade:⁸³

The military junta of colonels which now runs Greece has imprisoned thousands of political opponents, but the colonels have not yet succeeded in silencing the resistance.

The patriotic front or PAM has found an ingenious way of making its cry for freedom heard: Time-fused tape recordings.

First the PAM worker rents a well situated office or a delivery truck. In it he plants a tape-recording anti-junta speech, with several minutes of lead-in silence recorded before speech begins. He then turns the machine on and has time to disappear before the machine blares out his illegal message. ...

.....
Underground newspapers, which must be printed secretly and often by crude methods in order to avoid suspicion, are also booming in Greece. There are at least ten in operation, with the most widely read, Nea Hellada (New Greece), celebrating its 25th issue this month.

It is evident that, despite terroristic methods, the junta has not succeeded in breaking the spirit of the Greek population.

The colonels at first declared that the intention of "their" revolution was only to eliminate the threat of a communist take-over. However, they have arrested or exiled not only left-wingers, but middle-of-the-roads, right-wingers, and any one else that they consider a threat to the regime.

⁸³"Greek Resistance", Parade, (February 2, 1969), p. 7.

At times the actions of the regime appear to make no sense at all, as indicated in the following:⁸⁴

The true nature of the Greek military dictatorship is revealed in the fate of Maj. Gen. George E. Koumanakos, who gained international renown fighting communists in the field of battle and is now completing his 17th month of imprisonment by the colonels who claim they have saved Greece from communism.

The Koumanakos case is another example, dismally frequent in this generation, of Kafka come to life. No formal charge is pending, no trial is scheduled, no fixed limit has been put on his captivity. Underlining the Kafkian touch, Koumanakos had kept scrupulously free of political connections--unlike many fellow Greek officers.

Why then is he imprisoned? For precautionary reasons. Koumanakos, a living legend in the Korean war as the fearless commander of the Hellenic Expeditionary Forces, is a patriot who some day conceivably might oppose the present tyrants. Thus, the junta took no chances with a potential rebel.

Koumanakos is one of many. The distinguished Adm. Athanasios Spanides, 66, is beginning his 14th consecutive month of detention in a Greek village. A brigadier, one of the Army's most daring officers, is in poor health after suffering head injuries (supposedly in a diving accident) while in captivity. A highly respected retired major general who responded to his recent early morning arrest by slapping the face of the arresting officer was beaten bloody by security troops.

But the case of Koumanakos is perhaps the closest to Kafka because of his valorous and wholly non-political career.--So circumspect was he about keeping out of politics that he purposely

⁸⁴ Evans Rowland, and Robert Novak, "Greek Hero Suffers Kafkian Fate", The Oregonian, June 27, 1969, p. 36.

went abroad in the spring of 1967 to avoid the national election campaign that was cancelled by the colonels' coup of April 27, 1967.

Assuming that he had nothing to fear from anti-communist fellow officers, Koumanakos returned to Greece May 17. Seven days later he was arrested at his home without charge.

It seems that the colonels are determined to eliminate any Greek, regardless of ideology, who is capable of leadership. Papadopoulos is determined, it seems, to bring the minds and bodies of every Greek man, woman, and child, to his mercy. Naturally the easiest way to accomplish this is by separating the "heads" from the "bodies".

Despite great pressures against the regime by other nations for the return of democratic government and the basic freedoms to the Greek people, the military dictatorship has made slight response. Occasionally Papadopoulos will make an announcement (when under fire from other European nations) which seems to carry some hope that the military tyranny will end, but the hope always remains unfulfilled.

It is very clear that Papadopoulos, while trying to give the impression of a "great libertarean", is determined to continue ruling Greece by military decree.

The calculated use of window-dressing by the

regime is indicated by the following:⁸⁵

Last week, in a move calculated to convince the world that he and his colleagues really were civil libertarians after all, Premier George Papadopoulos announced that three of the suspended constitutional guarantees- the inviolability of the home, the right to peaceful assembly and the right to form associations-were being restored immediately.

His first intention, Papadopoulos cheerily told a press conference, had been to disclose the new measures on April 21, the second anniversary of the coup that brought the junta to power. But on second thought, he explained, he had decided to make the announcement on the eve of the Greek Orthodox Easter celebrations. Most observers, however, agreed that Papadopoulos' timing was less influenced by Easter spirit than by the NATO meeting under way last week in Washington. At least four NATO nations-- Denmark, Norway, the Netherlands and Italy-- had indicated that they would challenge Greece's fitness for membership in the alliance at the Washington meeting. And by his partial restoration of civil rights Papadopoulos clearly hoped to blunt such criticism.

Whatever happened in Washington, however, the new measures appeared to be little but window dressing. Since nine of the constitutional guarantees remain suspended, individual Greeks still have no protection against such abuses as arbitrary arrest.

"The new measures don't mean a great deal in practical terms", conceded one American official familiar with Greek affairs.

In another article by Time, the following observation was made:⁸⁶

⁸⁵"Greece: Window Dressing", Newsweek, LXXIII (April 21, 1969), p. 52-55.

⁸⁶"Why Greece's Colonels Are That Way", Time, (April 18, 1969), p. 32-33.

Rather like a stern father rewarding good behavior, Premier George Papadopoulos last week returned several previous liberties to the Greek people. He was observing both the Easter season and the second anniversary of the coup that ousted the previous government and brought Papadopoulos and his fellow army colonels to power. He was also trying to head off criticism of the Greek regime from the NATO ministers' meeting in Washington. Announced the Prime Minister: 1) freedom of assembly and association will be restored; 2) homes will be off limits to policemen without warrants; 3) press censorship will be reviewed; 4) some of the nearly 2,000 political exiles who have been held on Aegean islands may be brought home, and some government employees ousted by the regime will get their jobs back. Papadopoulos seemed not to notice one irony: The press conference revealing all these freedoms was held in the now vacant Senate chamber of the Parliament building in Athens. One freedom that the birthplace of democracy has not recovered is a democratic assembly.

Such subtleties apparently do not trouble Papadopoulos and his colonels because they are elementary men. Or so it seems, for in a complex world they are trying to forge an anachronistically simplistic nation. Long hair is now immoral for schoolboys; the government has ordered haircuts, and in some cases police wielded the shears themselves. Bouzouki tavernas, where high-spirited Greeks loved to smash crockery in time with the frenzied music, have been tamed: guests are no longer allowed to break even a single saucer. Miniskirts are forbidden for young girls, and bar girls are being discouraged. Government officials must attend church--other Greeks are urged to do so to build a nation of "Christian Greeks"--while anyone who publicly doubts God or the army may be held guilty of blasphemy. These spiritual upliftings are hastened, opponents of the military government say, by torture as well as exile. "Christians behave themselves because they are afraid of going to hell", explains Deputy Prime Minister Stylianos Patakos. "Likewise, under our regime, Greeks behave because they are afraid. Only the bad people are going to be punished".

The military regime of Greece evidently has

chartered the course which the Greek people must follow. It has determined what needs to be done, and no dissent by the Greek people is permitted. If anyone dares to challenge the reasoning of the "wise men" (Papadopoulos and his lieutenants), he is, as Deputy Prime Minister Pattakos says, "punished". For persuading the Greek people to accept their physical and moral liberation, the colonels do not use reason, apparently because they are not reasonable men. Instead, they use threats, violence and exile to implement their decisions.

No civil body in Greece has power except that which is allowed by the military regime. The Greek Constitution of 1968 has become the tool for the military dictatorship to continue its repressive, terroristic, and autocratic rule, while providing no time table at all for a return to democratic and parliamentary government in Greece. Article 138 of the 1968 Greek Constitution provides that:⁸⁷

The present Constitution, after its approval by the Greek People through Referendum, signed by the Council of Ministers and published in the Government Gazette, comes into immediate

⁸⁷ Constitution Of Greece 1968, A Greek Government Publication (Athens: The Council of Ministers, The Prime Minister, The Deputy Prime Ministers, The Ministers, 1968), p. 56.

effect, with the exception of the provisions of Articles 10, 12, 13 § 1, 14 §§ 1-3, 18, 19, 25 §§ 2-3, 58 §§ 1-2, 60, 111, 112, 121, § 2, which provisions the National Revolutionary Government is authorized to place into effect through acts published in the Government Gazette.

The regime, by acquiring the constitutional power to withhold or to put into effect the provisions of the constitution has the power to grant or to withhold:⁸⁸

1. The right not to be arrested or imprisoned without a judicial warrant.
2. The right of a person arrested to be brought before a magistrate within a reasonable period of time.
3. The right to be tried by a competent judge as against that of judicial committees or military tribunals.
4. The right of home privacy as against unreasonable searches without legal warrants or in a manner provided by law.
5. The right of free expression, orally, or in print.
6. The right to worship as a person's conscience dictates.
7. The right to establish representative government, and the establishment of judicial power.
8. The right to assemble peacefully, and to form associations.
9. The right to freely establish political parties and participate in them.
10. The right of free community elections and or other local government elections for electing local government leaders.

The 1968 Constitution was created for the sole purpose of perpetuating the dictatorial and police

⁸⁸Ibid, p. 7-49.

powers of the present military dictatorship.

The circumstances under which the Constitution was prepared and put to referendum, reflected not the wishes of Greek people, but that of the Colonels. The Constitution was formed under martial law and put to referendum in an atmosphere of terror and repression.

CONCLUSION

From the beginning of his election as premier of Greece in 1964, George Papandreu was never given the chance to form his own government. Immediately following his election, the King challenged Papandreu's authority to appoint and fire members of his cabinet.

It is difficult politically and administratively to carry out any governmental function if the Prime Minister is denied the authority to appoint cabinet ministers of his choosing. (The 1952 Constitution was not clear as to the King's powers over the appointments and dismissals of cabine members).

Political chaos reigned from June, 1964 until the army coup d'etat of April 21, 1967. The near anarchy provided the rationale used by the army when it seized control of the government.

The action of the army came as the country was preparing for national elections, which would have tested the relative strength of the King and the Prime Minister.

As the time for the national elections approached (less than one month before the army's coup d'etat), public opinion polls showed that George Papandreu would win the elections with an overwhelming majority.

Such a result would have been rightly interpreted as a plebiscite against the King.

As we know, the elections scheduled for 1967 never took place. The country has been run by military decree since the April 21, 1967 coup d'etat. The junta has complete power to rule the country as it wishes, and as long as it wishes.

The whole Greek nation is ruled by the threat of terror, and torture. The re-education of the Greek people has been assigned by the head of the military junta, Papadopoulos, to the police. The army must sustain the permanent revolution and, according to the new Constitution, must see to the health of the state and to the training of the politicians.

By virtue of the powers granted to the military junta by the 1968 Greek Constitution, the regime has and is exercising the power of withholding the rights of free speech, free assembly, free elections, free press and other basic and fundamental rights. The present military regime gives no indication of plans to return the country to democratic ways. In fact, all present signs show that through radical reorganizations of prior democratic institutions, the "junta" intends to implant itself and its ways in Greece permanently. According to one source,⁸⁹

⁸⁹Roy Perrot, "Athens Is Talking About The Junta's Permanency", San Francisco Chronicle, August 13, 1969, p. 6.

One has only to see the new officers' houses springing up, or read the latest list of promotions and commissarships in the government gazette, to see how quickly a new administrative class has been given a vested stay exactly as they are. In impoverished Greece, a good job is something to be tenacious about.

Some of the strongest evidence of the colonel's hopes of permanency, and of the kind of Greece they are aiming for, is in the schools. A government which thinks of itself as a transient caretaker does not make radical changes in the educational system, particularly of a kind which a democratic successor would have to reverse.

In civics lessons, emphasis is laid upon duty to the State, obedience, the virtue of family life, all couched in a sort of fundamelist morality. Teachers told me that modern histories which deal with cooperative agencies, like the United Nations, were rejected in favor of older ones, of a more nationalist bent.

From the age of nine, children now have to learn a "correct" and academic form of Greek called Katharevousa—in addition to the classical and modern versions of the language. "No wonder that younger children hardly know the names of basic things", said one headmaster. "The mental confusion is painful. We've gone back 50 years".

School children are also obliged to do weekly essays (set by the Ministry to ensure conformity) on the philosophy of Prime Minister Papadopoulos's personal credo. The credo, which leans on rhetorical Christian apothegms and heroic goals, is contained in three volumes of speeches and is about the only literature to see book form in the last two years.

The school curriculum is one of the few clear indications that exist as to what the prime minister means when he says that "maturity" is a prerequisite of a return to democratic ways. The reaction of the middle-class parents I met was precisely what it would be among their British or American counterparts. They are distressed at the indoctrination.

It is very likely that if the Western Allies do not actively intervene on behalf of the Greek people, another civil war, similar to the one against the

communist terrorist that followed World War II, will be required before Greek people will be able to return to a democratic representative government.

Unfortunately, there are no signs to date suggesting possible allied intervention.

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