

JOURNAL OF THE HELLENIC DIASPORA

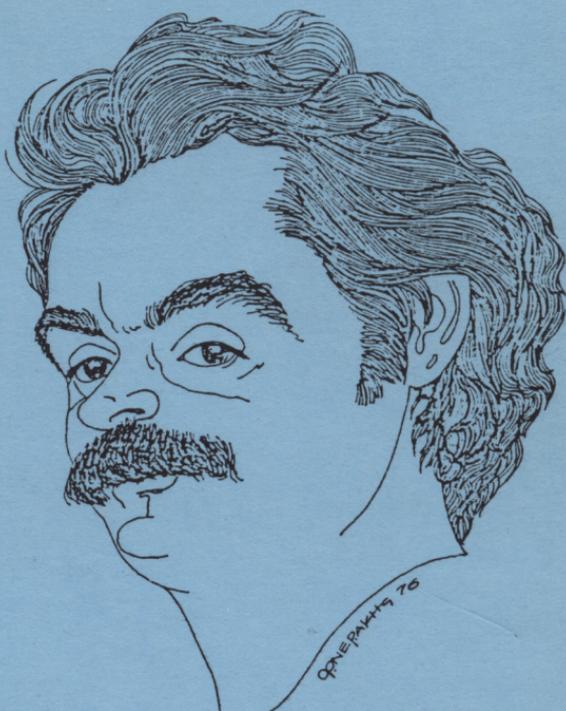
CRITICAL THOUGHTS ON GREEK AND WORLD ISSUES

Dialectics of
Dis-Information

Political Assassinations
in Greece

Yiannes: Art & Politics

Book, Film, Program
and Art Reviews



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JOURNAL OF THE HELLENIC DIASPORA

Critical Thoughts on Greek and World Issues

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EDITORIAL NOTES

The current issue features three principal articles and several short pieces.

Marios Evriviades, through a content analysis of two publications and the way they handled (or failed to handle) certain recent events in Greece, e. g., the assassination of two Turkish envoys, the assassination of Richard Welch, and a visit to Greece by a Soviet official, suggests that these publications may be witting or unwitting instruments of CIA's "dis-information" campaign whose purpose is to undermine capitalism's ideological enemies. Evriviades also bases his inferences on the avalanche of recent revelations about CIA operations by ex-CIA agents and congressional investigations. Reading his article, one gets the feeling that the cold war in Greece, which lies on the borders of the American empire, continues as usual.

John Katris' article is in the same vein as that of Evriviades, coming under the category of "dirty tricks" that go back to the days of the "Greek War of Independence." Katris gives us a historical sketch of political assassinations which have occurred in Greece since 1831. In the 19th Century, they were often the outcome of competition among the "Great Powers" (France, England, Russia and Germany) while in the 20th Century they are connected with Atlantic imperialism - especially the American version. Moreover, the author suggests that contemporary assassinations are the doings of impersonal "mechanisms," e. g., the several "traffic accidents" in recent Greek history. Of course, this impersonality might only reflect the increasing ingenuity of our espionage network. The responsible forces, the imperialistic patrons and their domestic stooges, are as concrete and real in the 20th Century as they were in the 19th Century.

Peter Pappas introduces Yiannes, a Greek-American artist who views art platonically. He sees art as a commentary on contemporary society and does not divorce it from politics. As Aristotle said, "man is a political animal." Surely, Yiannes' art does bring out some of the contemporary contradictions in the American society (affluence vs. poverty, imperialism vs. democracy, etc.). And by doing that it is not less of an art. If we can accept wholism as a property of art, the artist who compartmentalizes art and politics (*artism*) is indeed a fake. Art which lacks a social consciousness can only serve the material interests of the establishment and the artist.

Our brief selections include reviews of poets, books, exhibits, films, a musical group, and a reply to an article published in a previous issue of *JHD*.

Nikos Spanias asks us to compare certain Greek poet luminaries in the East and the West to the relatively unknown Greek poets of social protest who sprung up in the 1940s. He suggests that the greats may not scintillate as much any more.

In our book reviews, Dan Georgakas informs us about the recent publication of a book on Byzantine Cretan wall paintings and suggests that it be acquired, especially, by public libraries in cities with large Greek commun-

ities. Moving to more recent Greek history (1910-1944), M. Byron Raizis views the publication of Marxist Asimakis Panselinos' autobiographical book as a potential unifying force in contemporary Greek society - although the "idealistic" conclusions in Panselinos (and the reviewer) may not go over too well with the orthodox Marxists. Lee Finkle doubts whether the "new populism" (meant to unite the American "white ethnics" and the blacks within the traditional political framework) will be more effective than the "old populism."

Next, we present a series of reviews on recent cultural activities in the U. S. John Pyros reviews a Greek-American art exhibit held in Philadelphia. One becomes impressed by the diversity of talent among the Greek emigres and their descendants. Although there are residues of Greek cultural archetypes in these works of art, the art works also contain many universal themes. Dan Georgakas gives us a brief account of the film, *O Thiassos*, which is now circulating in the U. S. The film represents the long-suppressed side of Greek history. Indeed, it is must viewing for all Greeks, but especially for those Greek-Americans who kept silent during or spoke in favor of the dictatorship. Peter Pappas describes the work of the Greek Popular Chorus, a resistance group which sprung up in the New York area during the dictatorship. It continues the task of political awareness and education through music and song and is a tribute to the Theodorakis group and the people who inspired its inception.

The final piece is a reply by Marios Nikolinakos to Prof. Cavarnos' article on U. S. foreign policy, which appeared in an earlier issue. The reply touches upon the perennial conflict between liberals and radicals, with the former stressing the importance of morality and the latter stressing the importance of power and vested interests as the actual determinants of foreign policy. Prof. Nikolinakos suggests that perhaps we should not have published this article. The Cavarnos article was published not necessarily because we agree with it but because our readership is not homogeneous. In addition, the dialectics of dialogue could have a beneficial impact on political education.

Nikos Petropoulos

DIS-INFORMATION: ITS DIALECTICS AND APPLICATION

by Marios L. Evriviades

Within the last year, and rather belatedly, the American public has been informed of the various abuses committed by the various intelligence agencies of its government such as the Central Intelligence Agency, the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the National Security Agency. Specifically, the public has been informed how these agencies, and their instruments, have been involved in projects such as the interception of postal mail, fatal drug experimentation on unsuspected people, smear campaigns and overt and covert military operations throughout the world - involvements that have caused innumerable deaths and untold human suffering.

The Congressional investigations that have ensued, although limited in scope and objectives, have confirmed these abuses and have revealed many others.¹ Most important for the purposes of this essay have been the confirmations that knowingly or unknowingly missionaries, businessmen, various publications and publishing houses, academic institutions and academicians, journalists and the press throughout the world, have been funded, manipulated and used by the CIA for its own objectives.² These people and institutions have gathered information for the CIA, have "leaked" information and, more importantly, they have been used for the most sophisticated art of secret agencies -- the art of *dis-information*.

With *dis-information*, the aim is not to create or enhance a "good guy" image for one's own side. The objective is rather to discredit and to throw the enemy into confusion; and if that enemy happens to belong in the so-called "free world," to create the appropriate conditions for the process of "destabilization" which could invariably lead to a *coup d'etat*, if the objective is not a limited one.³

Theoretically, one can draw a distinction between *dis-information* and propaganda whether the latter is "white," "grey" or "black."⁴ In practice, however, the distinction is of no consequence since in both cases the aim is to mislead and discredit in some way. The difference between the one and the other is one of degree, and I, for one, choose to make no distinctions. *Dis-information* is in essence the highest form of propaganda, involving document forgeries, literary hoaxes, and all forms of psychological warfare that may include sabotage and murder.⁵ As submitted earlier, the desired effect is always the same: to discredit and confuse your opponent, to "guide" him into self-destruction, and even destroy lives if the "ends" necessitate it. At the same time *dis-information* need not be all that. It may and at times does involve "truths" or, as in the majority of the cases, "half-truths" targeted for specific purposes. In other words, falsehood is not of the *essence* in this business. What is of the essence however is the *timing* and the *manner* by which information is being channeled, that in the final analysis turned it into *dis-information*.

Finally, *dis-information*, though generally directed against an identified enemy and his ideology or against a potential enemy, can also be applied with the same tenacity against one's own people. The two most recent examples in the United States have been the unsuccessful attempt of the CIA to discredit⁶ the Seymour Hersh *New York Times* story of December 22, 1974, on the CIA's "massive, illegal domestic intelligence operations" and the successful attempt (at least with the U.S. House of Representatives) to discredit the staff as well as the work of the Pike Committee on U.S. Intelligence Agencies and Activities.⁷

The channeling of *dis-information* has been going on in the most sophisticated manner, particularly when one considers that in most cases the instruments are not aware of the services they are performing. A case in point is that of the New York communist paper, *The Daily Worker*, which without the knowledge of its staff was being subsidized by the CIA in the form of secretly prepaid subscriptions. The aim was to demonstrate the real threat of communism in the United States.⁸ The British publication *Encounter* has been funded by the CIA and, in one case at least, the CIA funded the tour of the Boston Symphony in Europe.⁹

Since publications and books in particular are "the most important weapon of strategic (long-range) propaganda," as one officer of the Agency has put it, the CIA has been contributing a substantial effort and expense to establish and maintain contacts within academia throughout the world. In the United States alone, the Agency "is now using several hundred American academics" who "are located in over 100 American colleges, universities and related institutes."¹⁰ Agency funds, for example, helped establish the Center for International Studies at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1951.¹¹ Insofar as it can be determined, through such connections, the CIA has "sponsored, subsidized or produced" over 100 books of which 25% have been in English.¹²

With the above background and considerations in mind, I would like to become more specific and examine selectively how *dis-information* has been, as of late, at work in Greece and Cyprus, adversely affecting the interests of both countries.

As a starting point, I shall begin with two events, totally unrelated in my opinion, the assassinations of the two Turkish envoys in Austria and France in late October 1975 and the assassination of the CIA station chief in Greece, on December 24, 1975. The latest information from the Austrian authorities is that the investigation goes on although there are absolutely no leads.¹³ From Athens, it is reported that the Welch file remains open and that charges have been filed against unknown assailants.¹⁴

Concerning the assassinations of the Turkish envoys, a certain London periodical called the *Foreign Report (FR)* lost no time to point an accusing hand against the Cypriots, although it did so with big "ifs" and question marks. "Did the Greek Cypriots do it?" read its lead story of October 29, 1975 (1413), and then *FR* went into its usual wild speculation ending with

the big "if," just to be on the safe side. Now before I proceed further, I must digress and introduce the reader to this publication, for it is not widely known. *Foreign Report* is a *confidential* weekly newsletter published by *The Economist* (London).¹⁵ It is confidential because subscribers are asked to sign a declaration that accompanies the order form undertaking "to respect its confidential character" and under no circumstances to reproduce its contents "in whole or part." This is deemed necessary so that *FR* can "write with the greatest freedom." With great modesty, *FR* professes to know what it's "talking about," focusing on *why* things happen and it "is not afraid to say what will happen next. Its prose is terse and hard-hitting." *FR* is expensive: 80 U.S. dollars for overseas subscribers was the annual rate the last time I checked, and its length is usually 8-10 pages. Its most prominent subscribers are governments and their embassies; and the information it provides influences, shapes and at times determines policies as I shall indicate below in at least one recent case regarding Greece. *FR* *does* speculate a lot, *does* name names, and *does* provide useful information. To all this, however, there is a crucial *proviso*: the information is provided selectively and often, significant information is deliberately omitted. Moreover, *FR* does have "connections" with the CIA and it is "influenced" by the Agency, although I by no means suggest that it is controlled by the Agency.¹⁶ Whether or not its publishers and editor know it, *FR* is an instrument for *dis-information* and because of the nature of its clientele a perfect one at that. The "connection" between *FR* and the CIA can be deduced from the contents of its reports. However, those not versed with content analysis, but nonetheless equipped with common sense, can arrive to that inescapable conclusion if they examine the manner by which *FR* "covered" the Welch assassination, as compared to similar events. *FR* "covered" the Welch case by maintaining a *conspicuous silence*. In choosing this course, it gave itself away to us amateurs who are not privy to privileged information.

For a publication that professes to know what is going on and why, one not afraid to name names, this was a strange silence indeed! *FR* could not wait to speculate on the case of the Turkish envoys; it did not wait when an exiled Serbian publisher was murdered in Munich (*FR*, 1352, July 24, 1974) nor did it keep silent when a Croatian worker was murdered in Sweden (*FR*, 1423, January 15, 1976). In both cases the murders have been indirectly attributed to the Tito Yugoslav regime. The Welch case was one *FR* should have jumped at, to say nothing of the professional obligation to inform its subscribers. This of course would have assumed that *FR* is indeed what it professes to be, and *that* it is not. *FR* remained silent because it was "advised" or even "instructed" to remain so and like a good student its editor, Robert Moss,¹⁷ did just that. This deduction is inescapable for there can be no other explanation to the whole affair. "Coincidentally," the silence in distant London was accompanied by a "gag" order of the Greek government against the Greek press not to deal with the case. At the same time, high police officials have confided privately that the American embassy and

CIA investigators were not "forthcoming" in supplying information to the appropriate Greek authorities. Incidentally, this silence in *all* fronts makes one begin wondering out loud, but on this point I better not elaborate further.

Aside from the crude attempt to discredit the Cypriots, in this particular case, *FR* did no real damage to Cypriot or Greek interests. I have covered the case in some detail simply because of the need to establish that a "connection" exists between *FR* and the CIA. In a more recent case, however, *FR* played its *dis-information* role perfectly. On March 11, 1976, TASS announced the new Soviet Ambassador for Greece to be a certain Ivan Ivanovich Udaltsov. *FR*, in its March 31, 1976 issue (1432), gave its "privileged" subscribers a resume of Mr. Udaltsov. He was identified as a "high-ranking member of the KGB," one who "played a major role" in the planning of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia (he served in Prague from 1965-1970); one "instrumental in implementing" the cultural repression of the early 1960's in Russia; as the chairman of *NOVOSTI*, the coordinating agency of propaganda, whose first job was to "launch a campaign of denigration" against Solzhenitsyn. *Apropos* this occasion, *FR* went on to divulge how Russia has been, for over a year, "covertly providing financial subsidies to the Communist Party of the Exterior in Greece." Citing "reliable east European sources" it put the figure to "some 60 m drachmas" monthly.

With the train on the rails, things began "rolling" in Greece. The "pretext"¹⁸ was provided when the Soviet Ambassador visited, according to protocol, the leaders of the various political parties in Greece between May 10-14, but "ignored" the Communist Party of the Interior.¹⁹ Foreign Minister Bitsios called in the Ambassador and reprimanded him for showing favouritism and warned him to be particularly careful with his conduct lest it might be interpreted as interference in the country's domestic affairs. Wide publicity was given to the meeting and Bitsios' warning to Udaltsov. The Athens daily *Akropolis* ran a front page article (May 16, 1976). Furthermore *Akropolis* quoted "political and diplomatic observers" in Athens as recalling a report by the London *Times* of April 4, on Udaltsov's KGB background. The London *Times* also carried the story of the Bitsios-Udaltsov meeting (May 18), adding that "Greek Deputies recently called for an investigation of foreign intelligence reports that the Soviet Union was financing the Communist Party of the Exterior at the rate of about 14 m pounds a year." The amount corresponds to that given by *FR* as does all the other information on Udaltsov. The *Times* did not identify its sources. Apparently its editors had signed *FR*'s confidentiality declaration.

This writer is in no position to know whether the allegations of *FR* are true or not. It may very well be that they are. What is at issue here, however, is the timing and the manner in which this information was channeled, the aim being to drive a wedge between Greek and Soviet governments, and, more importantly, to create domestic unrest by providing pretexts to the remnants of monarchofascism in Greece. A secondary goal was to indirectly

indicate that anti-Americanism in Greece, has nothing to do with past and present U.S. policy towards both Greece and Cyprus, but that it is "instigated" from outside - which brings us to another *dis-information* campaign that has been going on ever since the fall of the junta.

In the aftermath of the Welch assassination, American newspapers and periodicals picked on it as their starting point to report on anti-Americanism in Greece. Instead of identifying the true causes²⁰ of this anti-Americanism, namely that it was the *inevitable* backlash of past and present U.S. policy, a policy guilty for its complicity and support of those monarchofascist and anti-democratic forces that have suppressed the freedom of the Greek people for so long, and have brought about the destruction and dismemberment of the Republic of Cyprus, the American press chose to attack the Greek press for its coverage of anti-Americanism in Greece, blaming *it* in the process.²¹

Of the many vitriolic attacks on the Greek press that have appeared in the American press, three stand out prominently. One by Dusko Doder in *The Washington Post* of January 8, 1976, and two by a certain gentleman Taki (*sic*) Theodoracopulos, "Anti-Americanism in Greece" in *The New York Times* of January 23, 1976 (Op-Ed section) and in his letter from Athens, "Yankee Go Home Rides Again" in *National Review*,²² February 20, 1976, a periodical for which he is a regular correspondent. I have purposely chosen these three articles because there are common allegations in all three, and more importantly, they attribute the causes of anti-Americanism in Greece to the "irresponsible" Greek press, the evil hand of the Kremlin rulers, and the monolithic communist conspiracy. Furthermore, all three articles contain allegations first aired by yet another London publication called the *Soviet Analyst*. SA is of a similar format as *Foreign Report*, though not so mysterious. Its editors and authors sign their contributions, and most are respected academicians. Nonetheless, they belong to that school of thought that is intellectually convinced of the evils and aggressive intentions of the Soviets. Being thus victims of their own ideology, they are incapable of conceiving that domestic and social unrest, or such phenomena as anti-Americanism, can result from causes not related to the "communist conspiracy" and the "conspiratorial" Kremlin leadership.²³

Both Messrs. Doder and Theodoracopulos, after paying lip service to the real cause of anti-Americanism (re U.S. policies), something they *have* to do if they are to have some credibility, they go on to attribute it to an "irresponsible"²⁴ Greek press, which they furthermore accuse of being subsidized and bribed through external communist funds.²⁵ But what are their sources? Doder cites "responsible Greek officials" and "foreign diplomats" while Theodoracopulos is more specific, at least in his *NR* article, and cites the *Soviet Analyst* as his main source, plus some Greek intelligence officials and one unidentified Greek journalist.²⁶ I shall confine my comments to the relationship between the information provided by the *Soviet Analyst* and the articles of Theodoracopulos, because Doder's sources may

very well be his own creation, in order to back up a preconceived analysis.²⁷

The SA diatribe on the Soviet interference in Greek affairs is very definitive: "The Soviet Union is behind the high-pitched campaign of speeches and street agitation now being waged to force the Karamanlis government to move still further from Greece's American ally and from NATO." In his *New York Times* article, Theodoracopulos wrote: "It is the Soviet machine that would appear to be behind the high-pitched campaign of speeches, labor unrest and street agitation now being waged against the Government of Constantine Caramanlis...." In *NR* he wrote: "The Soviet machine is behind a high-pitched campaign of speeches, labor unrest, and street agitation that is being waged against the government of Premier Konstantin Karamanlis (*sic*)."
SA: "The Soviet embassy... maintains daily contact with representatives of the... (KKE/Exterior), which is totally controlled, financed and directed from Moscow [SA emphasis]. It is the embassy that issues the orders, dictating the themes to be developed in the party press, the speeches to be made by KKE deputies in parliament and the party's role in the constant street demonstrations." *New York Times*: "The Soviet Embassy most certainly maintains regular daily contact with representatives of the Communist Party in Greece, and clearly the Embassy issues orders, dictates the themes in the party press, the speeches to be made in Parliament and the party's role in street demonstrations" (Theodoracopulos provides the additional information here that both communist parties are financed from outside). *NR*: "The Soviet Embassy in Athens maintains daily contact with representatives of the local Communist Party. It is the embassy that dictates the themes to be developed in the Party press, the speeches to be made by Communist deputies in Parliament, and the Party's role in the constant street demonstrations."

SA does not allege that external communist sources fund certain daily newspapers, but it indirectly accuses "most Athens dailies" as co-travellers, simply because they carried pictures of the KKE's secretary-general in the presence of Brezhnev. Theodoracopulos, however, in his articles, pulls out all the stops. He not only alleges that sections of the press have been bribed, but that bribery has been extended to segments of the "trade union movement, and [the] civil service" (*NR*). These allegations which are treated as facts, lead to the "logical inference" that anti-Americanism has no indigenous causes but that it is due to the "unprecedented encroachment of the Soviet Union."

As submitted earlier, the main source, and the *main thesis* of all this is the SA. Though more academic than *FR*, SA is knowingly or unknowingly an instrument of *dis-information* as well. Under the pretext of academic respectability, it proceeds now and then to uncover Soviet machinations and to identify alleged KGB operatives.²⁸ As for its role in Greece, SA certainly did engage in *dis-information*, for its "information" and erroneous thesis have been "picked up" and found their way in such influential forums as those of the *New York Times*, and with a timing that cannot be just a coincidence.

Whatever the academic credentials of SA, or any one publication, it definitely becomes guilty of foul play when it attributes the demonstrations in front of the U.S. embassy on April 21, 1975 – the first free anniversary to condemn the 1967 military takeover – to direct orders from a certain Trokhin, whom it identifies as the new KGB resident in Athens.

In attempting to expound on specific cases of *dis-information* in practice, I have chosen the countries of Cyprus and Greece as examples. *Foreign Report* and the *Soviet Analyst* were specifically chosen because they have served as instruments for the channeling of *dis-information* in two specific cases. To re-emphasize a point, I by no means suggest that either of the two publications are CIA controlled or funded,²⁹ although in the case of *FR*, I think, I have established that a “connection” exists between the newsletter and the Agency. Be that as it may, both publications have a “selective” and biased coverage of events and are engaged in the art of “leaking” information to achieve specific “effects” and accomplish certain “ends.” Whether they are aware of it or not, they are engaged in *dis-information* and the two cases examined provide sufficient evidence. The CIA is too sophisticated to attempt to control such publications, for her long-range or short-range goals are more likely to succeed if such and other publications maintain their “credibility.” The CIA is unlike, say, its Greek counterpart which during the dictatorship established and funded the weekly *Cosmos Simera*³⁰ in Cyprus. So obvious became the control of the aforementioned weekly by Greek intelligence, that eventually even the school-children of Nicosia could tell which Greek officer was responsible for which “story.”

Dis-information, whether from the CIA or the KGB, will continue to be effective and will continue to “destabilize” and bring havoc wherever it is applied, so long as individuals or countries seek strength and protection not from within themselves but from patrons and guardians. For, to paraphrase Jerry Farber,³¹ the hardest and most difficult battle to be won, is not against one’s patrons or guardians, but against what patronage and guardianship have done to one’s mind.

References and Notes

1. For details on the investigations and findings of Congressional Committees, the reader is advised to consult the following: The five volumes of the Hearings before, and Proceedings of, the Select Committee on Intelligence, U.S. House of Representatives (Pike Committee) 94th Congress, 1st Session (1975-1976); the two issues of *The Village Voice* of February 16 and 23, 1976 where most of the final Pike Committee report has been “leaked” after the House of Representatives voted against its publication; the interim report of Alleged Assassinations Plots Involving Foreign Leaders, and the seven volumes of Hearings with the six final reports of the Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities (Church Committee, 94th Congress, 1st Session (1975-1976).

2. That such activities have been going on has, of course, been documented in such works as: Victor Marchetti and John D. Marks, *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence* (Alfred Knopf, 1974); Philip Agee, *Inside the Company: CIA Diary* (Penguin Books, 1975); Stuart H. Loory, "The CIA's Use of the Press: 'A Mighty Wurlitzer,'" *Columbia Journalism Review*, September/October 1974; Seymour M. Hersh, "Huge CIA Operation Reported in U.S. Against Anti-War Forces, Other Dissidents in Nixon Years," *New York Times*, December 22, 1974; Richard L. Rashke, "CIA Funded Manipulated Missionaries," *National Catholic Reporter*, August 1, 1975.
3. The case of Chile has been a classic one in terms of pursuing the "unlimited objective" only because it has been so well documented. *Mutatis mutandis*, the destabilization process can be applied against any government, simply because the principles of "destabilization" in their conceptual framework, are of universal character.
4. As do Marchetti and Marks, *op. cit.*, pp. 172-173.
5. Cf. John Barron, *KGB: The Secret Work of Soviet Secret Agents*, (Readers Digest Press, 1974), pp. 23-24.
6. Morton H. Halperin, formerly on the staff of the National Security Council (1969), gives an excellent account on the Agencies *dis-information* campaign. See his "Led Astray by the CIA," *The New Republic*, June 18, 1975.
7. Richard D. Lyons, "Pike Charges CIA Effort at Retaliation for Findings," *New York Times*, March 3, 1976.

The frustration of Representative Otis Pike on the battle he waged and lost emerges clearly in his interview with Italian journalist Oriana Fallaci. See her "Otis Pike and the CIA," *The New Republic*, April 3, 1976. Cf. also her interview "The CIA's Mr. Colby" in the March 13, 1976 issue. The allegations that the CIA threatened to "destroy" Mr. Pike, if true, represents a case in which the Agency simply lost its cool. For the allegation, see *New York Times*, *ibid.*
8. Marchetti and Marks, *op. cit.*, p. 172.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 67-68.
10. Excerpts of the final Church Committee Report on the Foreign and Military Intelligence Activities, as published in the *New York Times*, April 27, 1976.
11. Although the Church Committee final Report does not identify the research center as that at MIT, it is identified in the Marchetti and Marks' book, *op. cit.*, pp. 224-225.

12. *New York Times*, April 27, 1976, based on the Church Committee final Report. The following are some of the books "sponsored, subsidized or produced" by the CIA. Walt Rostow *The Dynamics of the Soviet Society* (1953); Oleg Penkovsky, *The Penkovsky Papers* (1965); Kurt Muller, *Foreign Aid Programs of the Soviet Bloc and Communist China*; Ladslav Bittman, *The Deception Game* (1972); *Quotations from Chairman Liu* (1967) (a competitor to Mao's red book).
13. An Armenian group claimed responsibility for the two killings, as well as for the killing of another Turkish official in Lebanon.
14. The United Press has accused the Cypriot socialist leader Lyssarides as being responsible and the latter has filed libel suit against the press agency.
15. All quotations are taken from brochures advertizing *FR*. As I am not a subscriber, I feel no obligation of confidentiality to *FR* and therefore I shall *freely* cite it if the need arises.
16. After lists of alleged CIA agents began appearing all over the world, *FR* went into an offensive naming alleged KGB agents in an apparent effort to "get even." See for example its February 4, 1976 issue (1426), "The KGB offensive in Western Europe," and its March 24, 1976 (1433), "Soviet Spies in UN Agencies." *Soviet Analyst*, another publication of which more will be said later, has engaged in this practice even before. You see the naming of "alleged" agents did not become popular with the *Athens Daily News*.
17. One of his recent articles entitled "The Tribulation of Chile" in *National Review*, October 10, 1975, attributes the fall of Allende to Allende's own incompetency, absolves the CIA of any wrong doing, and stops short of being an apology for the Pinochet regime.
18. I have enclosed *pretext* in quotations because I have the suspicion that the Greek government itself may have welcomed the opportunity to do exactly what it did, and publicize it as well. If that is the case, then I can only say that the interests of Greece are being ill-served, while the job of *dis-information* becomes much easier.
19. Without at all condoning the refusal of the Ambassador to visit the Interior Party, it is only fair to say that since the Soviets recognize only one communist party in Greece they cannot be expected to act against their interests.
20. Marios Ploritis in his excellent article "Ta Argyria" in *Vema* of January 11, 1976, traces with erudition how the American press did identify these true causes in past years, but *hypocritically* chose to ignore them during its recent attacks on the Greek press.

21. The problem with the American press was put succinctly by the Washington-based writer and journalist Elias P. Demetracopoulos. In response to a vitriolic attack on the Greek press that appeared in the January 23 Op-Ed section of the *New York Times* he wrote: "Blaming the messenger who brings the bad news is an old game. Blaming the press for reporting the bad news is not quite as old but just as foolish...." Letter to the Editor, *New York Times*, February 12, 1976.
22. Wills informs us that *National Review*, the arch-conservative weekly, "seemed, at first, principally made up of ex-communists and ex-CIA employees." Among the ex-communists were two of the founding fathers William Kendall and James Burnham, and such people as Whittaker Chambers. The ex-CIA included Willmore [William?] Kendall, James Burnham (the ex-communist) and still an editor, and William F. Buckley, Jr., its present editor-in-chief. Buckley was a "deep cover" agent and this "well guarded secret was one of many little things exposed around the edges of the Watergate affair." Buckley's sister Priscilla, currently managing editor of *NR*, also worked for the Agency. See Gary Wills, "The CIA from beginning to End," *The New York Review of Books*, January 22, 1976. It may come as a surprise to Mr. Theodoracopoulos that many of his employer-colleagues were ex-communists and ex-CIA spooks, but then again it might not.
23. It would be extremely naive to believe that the Soviets would not exploit, to their own advantage and whenever they can, indigenous political and social unrest. To make them the cause of it, however, is to acknowledge one's own myopia.
24. The irresponsibility of the Greek Press is no better and no worse than the irresponsibility of the press *per se*. That of the Greek press has been vividly illustrated lately by its ridiculous coverage of the "radioactive and miraculous" water. Given a choice, however, I would rather have that kind of irresponsibility which my reason can judge independently, than having the My Lai massacre being described to me as a battle, with so many dead and wounded and so many enemies captured.
25. In accusing one of bribery the self-righteousness of the accuser is implied. In light of the confirmed revelations of CIA funding of American and foreign correspondents this is *some* kind of accusation leveled against the Greek press!
26. The issue of *Soviet Analyst* referred to in the *NR* article, but *not* in the *New York Times*, though not identified, is the June 5, 1975 issue, in which Brian Crozier's article "Moscow's Arm in Greece" appears. Theodoracopoulos *does not* inform his reader that his main thesis, in *both* articles, is the thesis advocated by SA. Furthermore, by not giving an exact citation and credit to the SA, Mr. Theodoracopoulos is certainly guilty of plagiarism, maybe not in his *NR* contribution, but certainly in his *New York Times* one.

27. If they are not, then as Mr. Ploritis correctly submits, the "Greek officials" cited are the remnants of the past tyranny, which the present government, for reasons known only to itself, allows to function freely and consequently to continue their destructive role.
28. Such as its article "The KGB's United Nations Base" *Soviet Analyst*, July 3, 1975.
29. The same can be said for other publications and individuals referred to in this work.
30. This publication, despite its direct relationship with Greek intelligence in Cyprus, or because of it, did achieve its purpose - destabilization - by providing the necessary ammunition for those who viewed Cyprus as the Mediterranean Cuba. Not surprisingly, *Cosmos Simera* would be cited as a source by none other than *Foreign Report* concerning communist activities and Soviet espionage. See *Foreign Report*, January 6, 1972 (1229).
31. See his classic essay "The Student As Nigger" in *The Student As Nigger: Essays and Stories* (New York: Pocket Books, 1971), p. 100.

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POLITICAL ASSASSINATIONS*

By John Katris

General Introduction

Murder, the taking away of human life by another human, has existed since the beginning of Man. Political murder, on the other hand, came into existence with the emergence of organized power. As a consequence, political assassination has deep historical roots, with a marked upswing during the Middle Ages. Since then, the world has undergone many changes and many small nations, large nations, empires, and super-powers have come into being. Mankind has subdued nature and technology has developed with a frenetic pace, but despite these developments the relations between the rulers and the ruled continue to be governed by political crime as a method of practical politics. About the only noticeable change is that political assassinations have proliferated and have, especially, become *perfected*.

I am actually referring to a new development of our age, which can chronologically be placed within the last 30 years and which is closely allied with the invasion of American imperialism in the lives of various peoples. It is really a novel phenomenon which, along with all the other calamities (e. g., loss of human life, usually a worthy one, sundry repercussions, undermining of political checks and balances, etc.) spreads a fog of terror, instills fear, and discourages people from participating in the processes of struggle.

There was a time when the assassins were identifiable persons. Today, they are the impersonal forces of power (or of a parallel power structure) which one could call paragovernment, CIA, Intelligence Service, Mafia. Nonetheless, a recurrent characteristic of both periods (the classical and the "neoclassical") is an attack by Atlantic neofascism.

There has been no change from a strictly ethical perspective. The hired murderers of the Doge of Venice and the Roman Emperor thrust their knives into the hearts of their intended victims with the same lack of moral compunction as characterizes today's assassinations of Martin Luther King in America, Patrice Lumumba in the Congo, and Alexander Panagoulis in Athens.¹

The *goals*, which distinguish political crime, cover a broad spectrum. The most persistent purpose is the preservation of power. Another one is the capture of power (e. g., Allende, Makarios,² John Kennedy); another, preventing the creation of more humane conditions for life (Robert Kennedy); another, the fabrication of pretexts for war (Sarajevo, Dahoud Hodza). The organizers of political crime also resort to assassination when the trade-union "establishment" is in danger (e. g., Jablonsky in America who was murdered by the Mafia, along with his wife and daughter, when he became President of

*This article was translated from the Greek by one of the editors -- Nikos Petropoulos.

the Miner's union; an analogous situation in Greece was that of A. Paparregas). Finally, we have the political murders, individual and *en masse*, whose apparent motive is revenge and counter-revenge but whose real purpose is the termination of popular movements by eliminating their leaders (e. g., the end of the Civil War in Spain and the period of white terror³ in Greece during 1945-1950).

An additional subdivision into two broad categories is the following: (1) the political assassinations carried out by known, and commissioned, persons or teams who have secured their immunity from prosecution ahead of time and whose crime is portrayed as a "patriotic duty" (e. g., Allende, Che Guevara, Aris Velouchiotis, the last attempt against Makarios on 7-15-74); and (2) those assassinations in which the perpetrators remain, or attempt to remain, anonymous and in which the organizers seek to attribute the crime either to an accidental event (e. g., Lambrakis, Sarafis) or to a diametrically opposite source (e. g., Polk, Zevgos).

The *executions*, or the attempts, which have as targets the agents of despotic rule do not come under the category of political assassinations. They clearly constitute tyrannicides (e. g., G. Papadopoulos, the Premier of Spain, Hassan of Morocco, the Tzars, the kings, Mussolini...).

It is also incumbent upon me to refer to the judicial assassinations, beginning with Christ and ending with the death decisions manufactured by the Greek courts during the decade, 1940-1950, culminating in the executions of Beloyiannis, Batsis, Ploumidis, etc. Judicial assassinations are found during all epochs and in all nations. They are a powerful weapon in the hands of a totalitarian and despotic regime, which can use them extensively to legitimize political crime.

What emerges from this brief historical review is the reaffirmation of a very well-known truth: that power is indeed a very sweet temptation, in the process of whose attainment and preservation every human feeling is set aside (And certainly, not to speak of morality and justice).

Greece

Now, let us examine the ramifications of our topic within the Greek context, where we have the "privilege" to hold two pan-European records in actual traffic accidents and in political assassinations. We shall occupy ourselves with the second topic.

In the last 150 years of independent existence, political crime was adopted in Greece as the usual method of applied politics. The first major assassination was the murder of Kapodistrias (1831), Governor of Greece, whose power was challenged by the vested interests of the *Kotzabashides*⁴ who feared restrictions on their social and economic privileges. A more basic cause was the antagonisms among the foreign powers (Russia as pro-Kapodistrian and France-England against Kapodistrias). Up to this day, it is still not possible to determine if that assassination had a positive or a negative impact

on the course and evolution of the country. Between a despotic government, on the one hand, and the backroom intrigues of the two dynasties, on the other, it is difficult to say which of the two would have been the lesser evil.

Somewhat less significant and without wider implications was the assassination of Prime Minister Theodore Deligianis (1905), 85-years old, for personal and political reasons (The assassin had a gambling casino which was shut down by the Deligianis Government).

Eight years later (1913), there took place the regicide of George A', which is attributed to the antagonisms among the foreign "protectors" (Germany vs. France and England) over the placement of the country within the German Kaiser's sphere of influence. The assassination also has a familial character; many historians maintain that the hand of the perpetrator - who was "suicided"⁵ by the security forces - was armed by the royal pair (Constantine and Sophia), brother-in-law and sister of the Kaiser. The assassination of George A' reminds us of similar crimes in ancient Rome.

During the same decade (1910-1920), there occurs a series of political assassinations (e. g., Andreas Kavafakis, Ion Dragoumis, etc.) whose purpose was to render unbridgeable the prevailing national divisions. Attributing the blood-bath of that period to "fanaticism" or to the "excesses of political passions" is an oversimplification. To put it simply, fanaticism was exploited. The division was a phase in the deadly foreign antagonisms, and especially in Germany's attempt to break the British hold on Greece.

In the 15 years (1920-1935), there takes place a succession of attempts against the life of Eleftherios Venizelos; these attempts were instigated by non-Greeks. In one of these attempts (1920), a German submarine landed the assassins in Greece (one of whom later became Hitler's radio broadcaster against Greece and the other, the leader of a Security Battalion during the occupation⁶). The last attempt against Venizelos took place on Kifisia Avenue in 1933 (His car was chased by and shot at from the cars of the murderers, with the result being the wounding of Venizelos' wife and the killing of his bodyguard); this sounds like a prelude to the ensuing "traffic accidents." The Stefanos⁷ of that period was not a "model." He was the Director of the General Security of Athens, Ioannis Polychronopoulos, in charge of the execution squad. Another known figure among the murderers was the wanted bandit, Karathanasis.

Chronologically, the last attempt against the life of Venizelos "coincides" with the change of guard occurring in the political apparatus of the [domestic] economic oligarchy and their foreign patrons. In 1933, the Greek bourgeoisie moves from the Liberals to the Populists [right-wing]. Britain undergoes corresponding internal changes, as it prepared the 4th of August dictatorship for Greece (George B' - John Metaxas), in view of the coming Second World War.

We next enter the stormiest and bloodiest period of our recent history, the decade 1940-1950, which is marked by war, betrayal, occupation, hunger, national resistance, defeat, white terror, civil war, Makronysos...⁸ A decade

which is both an epic and a disgrace. The value of human life was reduced to zero. We had the inflation of death. There was no need for window-dressing. The slogan of the American general, Van Fleet, "Kill...", prevails; and the Greeks kill the Greeks... It is the first taste of the Atlantic invasion.

The time of the "traffic accidents" has not yet come. Murder during the period, 1940-1950, is wide open. The murderers are well paid. For every head of a decapitated guerrilla (fighters against the foreign invaders) which is grossly exhibited in the provincial squares, the murderers (collaborators of the Germans...) are paid dearly. Also paid generously are the State's agents who commit political crimes. The Director of the General Security (I. Polychronopoulos), who masterminded the attempt against Venizelos, becomes a parliamentary deputy of the right. (Likewise for K. Papadopoulos, leader of an armed germanophile organization). The officers of the gendarmerie who assassinated Yiannis Chalkidis are decorated with honors. Gregory Sourlas, head of a gang of thugs, responsible for 100's of murders, is proclaimed with honor as a "leader of a resistance organization."

In order to accelerate the pace of death, the military courts work unceasingly. They even convict and execute 17-year old girls who refuse to sign a "declaration of repentance." (Naturally, the German conquerors themselves contributed to this genocide with 1000's of mass-executed Greeks).

Among the political assassinations of the 1940-1950 decade, especially worthy of recall are those of the journalist Kostas Vidalis, former minister Yiannis Zevgos, Electra Apostolou, and American journalist George Polk.

Mr. Vidalis is a great martyr to the journalists around the world. He started, on his own initiative in 1945, on a journalistic mission to Thessaly, in the "valley of death," which was the kingdom of Sourlas' gang. The probability for survival was not even one in a million. And yet he went. On the way, they took him off the train, tortured him, gouged his eyes out, mutilated him, and finally gave him the coup de grace. This horrifying scene unfolded in front of, and under the direction of, a British captain.

John Zevgos, a leading member of EAM⁹ and a minister in the Government of National Unity (1944), was assassinated in Salonica. The assassin was apprehended but went unpunished. Electra Apostolou succumbed to the tortures of the Special Security during the occupation. She was a veritable heroine.

George Polk was found murdered in Salonika. He was preparing to go to the mountains in order to interview Marko.¹⁰ This assassination was organized by the "Intelligence Service" and was executed by organs of Security. It was attributed to the leftists, Gregory Stakiopoulos and N. Vasvanas, both of whom had unshakeable alibis.

We must *especially* take notice of the last 20 years (1956-1976). It's the time when the Right consolidates its power, when dependence on American imperialism and NATO is legitimized, and when the paragovernmental apparatus becomes organized (The paragovernmental structure is a parallel mechanism of the existent power structure and carries out the dirtiest jobs,

primarily the assassination of political rivals). Except for a brief reprieve, during the government of G. Papandreou, the entire 20 years is dominated by the rule of the Right. (The seven year dictatorship, 1967-1974, was a change of form and not of substance). Greece becomes transformed into a modern *Banana Republic*, with a CIA, the Mafia, the 6th Fleet, foreign bases, and a dual system of justice -- one for the Greeks and another for the occupation forces.

During that period, political crimes become more *modernized*. The "traffic accident" is applied in many instances. Among the political assassinations which shook Greece, as well as international public opinion, we refer to the murders of General Stephanos Sarafis (military commander of ELAS),¹¹ Gregory Lambrakis (Deputy of the Left), Attorney Nikiforos Mandilaras, Deputy George Tsarouhas, John Chalkidis, George Panagoulis, and, later, Alexander Panagoulis. In all these cases, the government authorities insisted that it was a "traffic accident."¹²

The indirect *confession* of the agents of the government and the para-government in regard to the Lambrakis assassination is noteworthy: "The people of Salonica gave their answer -- a Third Army confidential communique said -- to the Lambrakis provocation." And Mr. P. Pipinelis, the principal counsel to the Palace, said: "There was no reason for anybody to get excited over the death of a man who had insulted the queen (Frederiki). Lambrakis had made himself an outcast of society. Eliminating him should not have been of great import. Why should we persecute law-abiding officers on the pretext that they were implicated in the annihilation of a worm?"

To this incomplete inventory, we have an historical duty to add many others -- the indirect murders. We must mention the many "suicides," such as that of George Konstantinos who was found hanged but whose murderers had forgotten to place a stool. There are also those of Maria Kalavros and P. Ellis. Is not murder implicit in the suicides of the heroic Colonel John Barsos and of so many others?

Conclusions

First, looking into the "quality" of the victims, from the viewpoint of morality in a general sense, we note that those assassinated -- especially during the last three decades -- were the cream of the crop (the "best of the best"), the purest and rarest flowers of Greek society. We must accept the fact that the choice of victim by the centers of power takes place with infallible foresight.

Secondly, those who are really guilty are never arrested. Even if they are arrested, as a result of something going wrong, they are never punished. A singular exception is the mildest form of punishment (three years in jail) meted out against Emmanouilides and Kotzamanis -- the perpetrators of the Lambrakis assassination. No one else has been punished.

Conversely, the higher-ups, morally responsible for Lambrakis' death,

General Mitsos and the rest of the officers, were honored by the State. During Karamanlis' first post-dictatorship visit to Salonica, Mr. Mitsos was on the platform of dignitaries and exchanged warm embraces with today's Premier.

In the case of judicial punishment, it happens that the courts cover up the guilty and convict the innocent (e. g., N. Mountis in the murder of the British journalist Ann Chapman, and Stakiopoulos and Vasvanas in the murder of American journalist George Polk).

However, in the case of tyrannicides, the punishment is terribly harsh (e. g., attempts against the Shah, Hassan of Morocco, etc.). In the case of G. Papadopoulos, the Greek dictator, A. Panagoulis was sentenced to death but was saved due to a world-wide crusade. Nonetheless, the price he paid was heavy. He was consigned for five years to a living hell [i.e., in prison].

In the assassination of Christos Ladas (which comes under tyrannicides), the inhuman and hypocritical side of the establishment and its foreign patrons reveals itself. The assassin, by the name of Moutsogiannis, was caught on site; and he confessed. But he was not punished; he still lives... However, several 100's were executed who, at the time of the crime, were in prison for their actions during the occupation. This was a clear case of revenge, which provided a pretext for the elimination of innocent rivals. In this instance, Americanocracy excelled even Hitler's bestiality.

As a *general conclusion*, we must notice that much blood has been shed through the method of political assassination. That famous Tree of Freedom is unquenchable. And it is tragic but true that progress -- the attainment of human dignity -- passes over the myriads of victims of political crime.

Among other things, the most significant lesson for the peoples themselves to learn is that the Atlantic imperialism, together with all the other "goods" with which it floods the world, also imported the *impersonal* political assassination. In essence, the crime is decided and planned by *mechanisms* and executed by specially trained human robots.

If there is any ultimate lesson to be learned, it is the recognition, as a first order of priority, of the necessity of freeing ourselves from foreign dependence. That is the only way that we can save ourselves from political crime. That is the only way toward the humanization of Greek life. The attainment of democratic conditions is a necessary pre-requisite for the social liberation of our country.

Editor's Notes

1. Alexander Panagoulis, the man who attempted to assassinate the dictator Papadopoulos but failed, was himself killed on May 1, 1976. The government presented his death as a traffic accident, but the opposition and the majority of the Greek people suspect it was a political crime.
2. Refers to the coup against Archbishop Makarios by the Greek junta; the coup against the Archbishop was one of a series of assassination attempts against him.

3. A campaign of threats (not necessarily carried out) by the right against the democratic forces.
4. Greek feudal landowners during the Ottoman period.
5. This is the literal translation of the Greek, implying that the Security forces killed him and made it appear as a suicide.
6. The Security Battallions were right-wing vigilante groups who collaborated with the Germans and later fought against the leftist guerrillas.
7. A model by profession, Stefas turned himself in as the man who was driving the car which led to Panagoulis' death.
8. A concentration island camp in the Aegean where many of the leftists have been exiled.
9. EAM, the National Liberation Front, was the principal resistance organization fighting the Germans.
10. Marko Vafiades was a Kapetanios in the resistance War against the Nazis and during the Civil War became commander of the Democratic Army.
11. ELAS was the Greek Popular Liberation Army, the military wing of EAM.
12. Many of these were killed during the recent Papadopoulos dictatorship.

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YIANNES: THE DEVELOPMENT OF A POLITICAL AESTHETIC

by Peter Pappas

One always feels a great sense of trepidation when one utters the phrase, "politics and art." It is an unpopular phrase; in the closed universe of middle class aesthetics the word, "politics," and even more, the word, "society," becomes a subversive insinuation, an attack on hallowed aesthetic principles of "excellence" and "pure" artistic judgment. The point is, of course, that art is in fact an act of consciousness; an act of self-perception by a specific man or woman. And since all men and women are to some extent at least formed by the community which gave them birth, art becomes a reflection of man's social situation. That reflection, that act of self-perception, is a political act. It is only in this way that we can fruitfully discuss the meaning of the relationship between politics -- or society -- on the one hand, and art on the other; it is only in this way that art begins to make any sense. As a consistent act of consciousness, as a comment by an individual on the world in which he lives.

The work of Yiannes is an excellent example of a continual development and refinement of a political aesthetic; however, the word, "political," as used in this review, and more importantly, as meant by Yiannes himself, is to be understood in the strict Aristotelian sense. When Aristotle wrote that man was a "political animal," he did not mean "political" in the manner that the word is understood today but rather something broader, in a way, different; what he meant, of course was that man was a civil animal, a *social* animal, and politics itself was understood as the study of man's community. It is this sense of the meaning of the word, "politics," that informs Yiannes' art and that defines his aesthetic. His work is not political at all in a grossly tendentious or agitational sense; quite the opposite, it is strictly analytical. As a matter of fact, to return to a formulation used earlier, it is an act of consciousness, a constant process of active reflection upon the structure of society. Yiannes' work is a conscious effort to understand the human community -- in the broadest possible meaning -- in which he lives and creates; it is an attempt to achieve a level of consciousness that is subjective and analytical at the same time, a level of consciousness that simultaneously describes the world and defines him as an artist.

It is therefore neither accidental nor insignificant that from the very beginning of his creative development Yiannes has concerned himself with the examination of the *situation* (as opposed to a middle class aesthetic concept such as "plight") of the artist in his society. A clay work done in 1969 dramatically illustrates that concern.* Ostensibly untitled but in reality inspired by the arrest and imprisonment of Mikis Theodorakis by the junta, this cera-

*For a more complete set of plates, see the *Coffeehouse: Contemporary Greek Arts and Letters*, No. 2, 1976.

mic plate not only vividly defines the nature of Yiannes' inquiry of the world but describes the direction that all his subsequent work will take.

The work itself, I think, needs no extensive explanation; its meaning is clear and forthright. Its description of the artist's situation, I might add, is one that cuts across national frontiers and political blocs; its significance extends way beyond the borders of Greece. What is most uncanny in this work, however, as in all of Yiannes' work, is the *precision* of the statement, the happy conjunction between message and medium. What simpler – and yet most exact and most subtle – depiction of the suppressed artist than a pair of hands playing the piano – or holding a pen or a paintbrush – surrounded, and silenced, by a multitude of pistols? This desire for a clear, honest image extends through all of Yiannes' work; it is part of this determination to ensure the integrity of the impact of the work upon the observer, in other words, to ensure the viability of the *relationship* between the work and the observer.

This work also gives the first indication of the one question that will increasingly occupy Yiannes' attention: the meaning in all its ramifications, of the commercialization of art, in other words, not only art as product but the product as art. It is this aesthetic concern that lends a special significance to the fact that the Theodorakis tribute is done in the form of a plate that is meant to be on a wall like all those hundreds of thousands of souvenir plates depicting scenes from Greek antiquity that are sold to tourists in Greece as examples of "classical art." Here, Yiannes forthrightly confronts the challenge of ersatz art, the challenge of a pseudo-cultural form of "aesthetic education" that is supposed to spiritually uplift the beholder who, incidentally, is viewed as a *buyer*. The "Theodorakis Plate" is a repudiation of all those who purposely, and cynically co-opt art. As opposed to a souvenir plate that is meant to be hung up as a decoration and comfortably forgotten, the imprisoned hands playing the piano is meant as a challenge and as an affirmation; as a statement of the oppositionist nature of artistic creativity and of the fact that art is an endless confrontation, a perpetual motor to consciousness.

Yiannes' exploration of the relationship between art (in the "fine art" sense) and the "objects" of everyday life is elucidated even further in another untitled work completed in 1969 (plate 1). This piece, done in clay with a superimposed photo-image, also illustrates Yiannes' strong sense of paradox. But in contradistinction to artists such as Duchamp or Man Ray, whose visual paradoxes were intended to create an immediate perceptual, thus aesthetic, confusion in which fact would lead to the humiliation of any sense of aesthetics, Yiannes' paradoxes are "didactic" (in the positive, Brechtian sense); they are essentially dialectical. Yiannes, as opposed to the Dadaists, does not intrude the world on our sense in order to humiliate art but rather intrudes art on the world so that he may humiliate our complacency, our sense of self-satisfaction and well being. Thus, the picture of the starving child imposed on a loaf of bread immediately confronts the observer with the

salient facts of the world's distribution of the economic wealth, or rather, of the advanced industrial nations' self-distribution of the world's wealth. Within every loaf of bread Americans consume, within every car produced by General Motors or Ford, within the profits of I.T.T., Lockheed, Standard

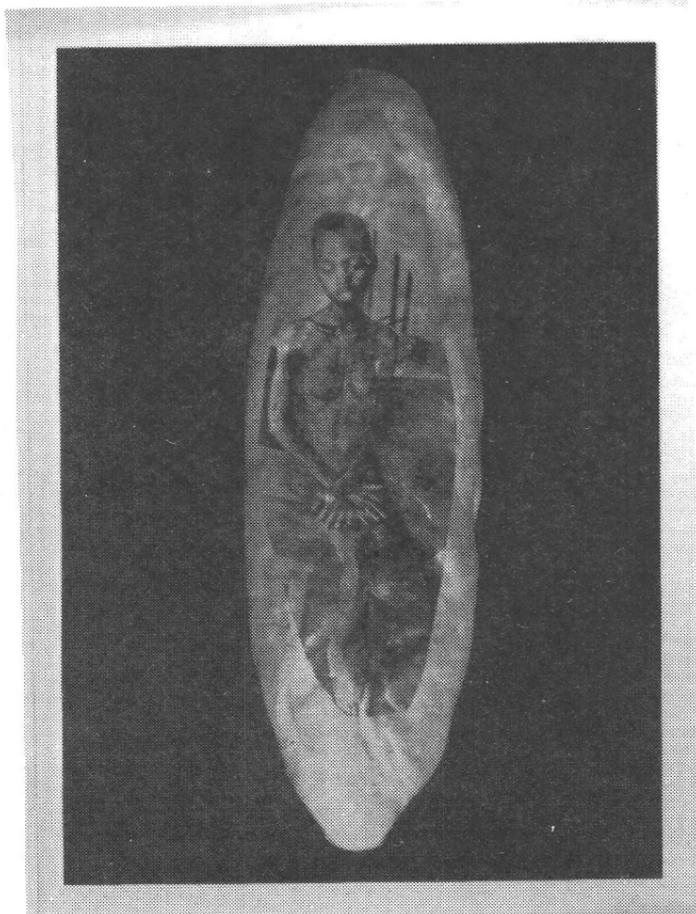


Plate 1: *Photo by Angelo Papastefanou*

Oil, United Fruit, and Anaconda, lies hidden the rest of the world, the misery and degradation of millions of Asians, Africans, Latin Americans, and even Europeans (the "less developed" kind like the Greeks). Yiannes' paradoxes are not products of self-amusement but of a rigorously conceived aesthetic

that is thoughtfully applied and executed. "The Product," done in clay and polyester in 1971, is another example of this aesthetic. Skulls in a half-opened sardine can (perhaps Portuguese sardines a la Salazar or Spanish a la Franco)! The consumer society is not an innocent, benevolent, welfare state. It is a complex structure of economic exploitation and self-aggrandizement. And it survives because we the consumers, its acolytes, allow it to; because we not only greedily devour its products but when we are done scream for more. There is no end to the extent of our gluttony; there is no end to the manufacture of "products."

Perhaps the most ambitious examples of Yiannes' dialectical aesthetic, of his Brechtian sense of education, was the "happening" he executed in May of 1972 in New York City's Washington Square Park.

It began with Yiannes sitting at an ordinary restaurant table (which he had brought for the occasion) in the middle of the park, eating a full meal of salad, main course, and vegetables, and complemented by a bottle of Coca-Cola. He sat there, eating silently, leafing through a variety of reading material (*New York Times*, *Wall Street Journal*, *Travel and Leisure*, and a copy of the *New York Daily News* with a huge headline that read, "Quang Tri Falls"). As he ate and read without uttering a word, a crowd gathered and watched in either amazement, confusion, or simple boredom. Suddenly, though, Yiannes stood up, walked over to the side where he had a set of boxes ready and took out a life-size mannikin replica of himself and sat it at the table where he had been previously eating. Then, in front of the ever more confused onlookers, he disrobed down to a swimsuit and put his clothes on the dummy (after which he immediately put on an identical set of clothes) and then started replacing the real food on the table with clay replicas -- down to a replica of the Coke bottle itself. There was only one difference. The food now distinctly looked like military hardware. In fact, the peas were replaced by miniature grenades, the pieces of sliced meat were transformed into morsels of Mirages, the lookalike dummy consumer enjoying his evening meal was literally consuming the products of the military-industrial complex. The spectators looked on with increasing awareness of what had transpired in front of them; finally, the happening ended with a discussion between the onlookers and the artist and between the onlookers themselves on the nature of American involvement in the affairs of the world. This happening, and the painted and glazed ceramic "meal" which has survived it and is now resting on a mirror surfaced restaurant table in the artist's studio, was appropriately titled "Le Repas."

"Le Repas" was more than simply an audience participation event. It was an artistic act that operated on a dual level. First, by the slow transformation from reality to a ceramic simulation of reality, the observer was made conscious not only of the fact that art springs from life, that it is a reflection of a specific social situation, but that it is essentially plastic, that it is solely a creation of man's mind and spirit and does not possess a "life" of its own. The spectator was made to understand in this manner that art is neither

autonomous nor self-sovereign. Art is not to be awed as something peculiarly sacred; art is born from man's hands, from his need to articulate his condition whether it be (apparently) private or communal. That sense of art was made even clearer when Yiannes himself -- the artist -- "disturbed" the original live scene and then slowly recreated the ceramic one.

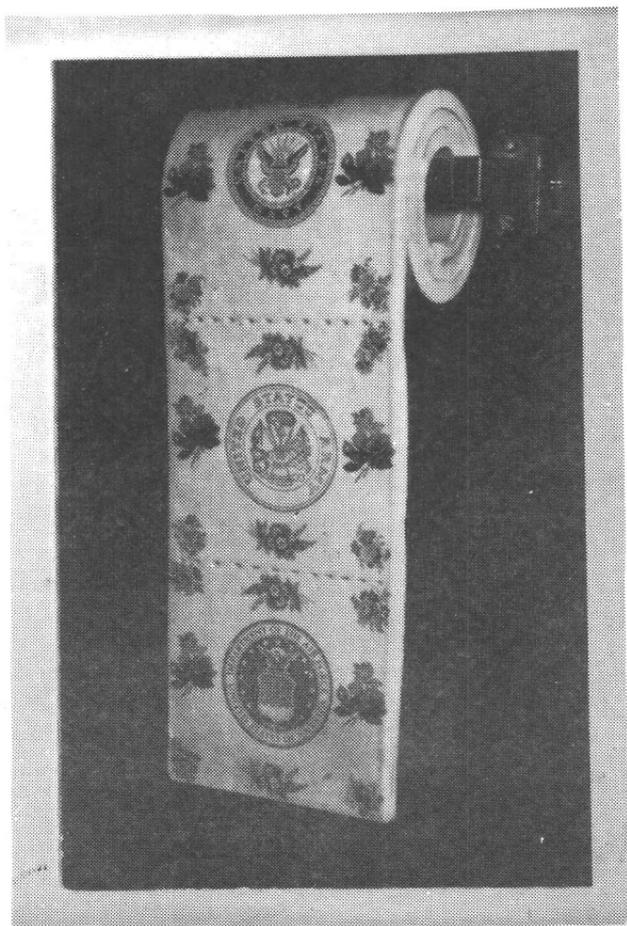


Plate 2: Photo by Angelo Papastefanou

Having established the human quality of art, "Le Repas" proceeded to establish art's educational nature as well; it not only taught the observer an aesthetic lesson about the nature of art's function but it aspired to, and succeeded in, teaching him a political lesson, to be more precise, a social lesson. The little grenade vegetables, the Mirages tidbits, the carefully orchestrated collage of *Wall Street Journal* on *Travel and Leisure*, together formed an un-

mistakable image in the spectator's eyes. They clearly understood what was meant by the entire thing. And that is why they engaged in discussion when it was all over (even though of course it wasn't, the discussion itself being a part of the happening). They knew they were being taunted out of their apathy, perhaps they were being accused of complicity -- or at least unconscious complicity -- perhaps they were merely being warned. In any event, they were being told to desert their almost criminal indifference, even more, they were being told that it is precisely indifference that is not indifference but much more. It is a license given to others to conduct bloody affairs in the bloodiest way. Indifference is an act of complicity -- in art, by the way, perhaps more than anywhere else. That may very well have been the most fundamental lesson that Yiannes had wanted to convey. That there is no such thing as an "indifferent," "value free" art. An indifferent art is, at the very least, an art of unconscious complicity, an art that in its ultimate objective function denies its original subjective impulse -- the will to opposition.

There is one more point that should be made about the happening, and it applies, I believe, to all of Yiannes' work. Regardless of its polemical nature, of its severe commitment, and especially, of its desire to educate, Yiannes' work is always realized with the most compassionate good will and without even the barest hint of malice. As I said before, Yiannes' work is didactic in the Brechtian and not in the pedagogical sense. The artist identifies with the observer, indeed he seeks to learn from him, he believes art to be in a unique way a common exchange of experience. This is not an arrogant but a sympathetic art; in its essence, it is an art founded upon the most classical sense of community.

In 1971, Yiannes began working on a series of pieces which he is still elaborating today. Constructed out of clay and decals, clay and nails, clay and scrub brush bristles, this series, and the works which comprise it, remains untitled. While it is not possible in this review to fully discuss a group of pieces which are at the same time unusually clever, very witty, and intensely analytical, I would like to make one general comment. Beyond any other significance that this series of works or the individual works themselves might have, one element remains paramount. Nowhere else in his work has Yiannes delved more thoroughly into the relationship between art and the symbols of everyday culture. The basis of this series of "toilet paper" sculptures is the consumerization, in the quest of an ever "prettier," thus more effective merchandizing, of our cultural symbols. Whether those symbols are malevolent, such as the emblems of the American armed forces (plate 2), or spring from the very source of our common cultural heritage, such as the painting of Whistler's Mother (in another toilet paper work by the artist), they have been co-opted in the name of product marketing. Using the *1812 Overture* as the background to an advertisement for Quaker Oats signifies the abdication of cultural responsibility; it signifies not only the absolute suppression of art but, further, the equivalence of art with oatmeal, the victory of the Benthamite principle that "pushpin is as good as poetry."

And so, consumerism becomes the highest form of liberal utilitarianism. The only "good" art is the art that "sells" and the best art of all is the art that can sell -- not itself -- but oatmeal, and soap suds, and, of course, toilet paper.

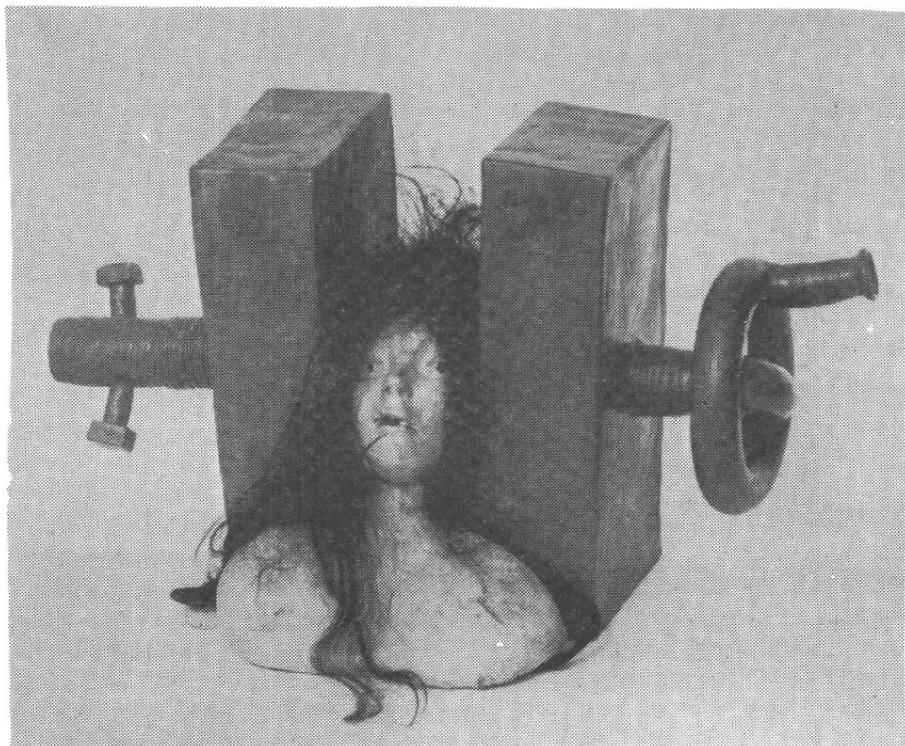


Plate 3: *Photo by Angelo Papastefanou*

At the outset of this review I wrote that Yiannes has always striven to convey a precise image. This need for precision is not only visual but conceptual and has manifested itself in yet another way -- most of Yiannes' work is untitled. But far from this being a contradiction it is a consistent application of the desire to articulate ideas that are not marred by equivocation or half truths. For Yiannes, a title is an arbitrary perceptual judgment at its worst, while at its best being capable of only a partial definition of a specific work. What is important is the image, the conception behind the image, and most essential of all, the new situation that the work creates and clarifies, the situation in all its multiplicity, in all its continuous development and refinement. A work of art is not static -- it creates itself anew before the eyes of every new observer, with the passing of each moment, with the constant redefinition that the world undergoes. A title is not only static but regressive.

It allows people to comfortably ignore a work of art by having a ready made definition of it at their fingertips. But to say that Monet's water lillies are only flowers or Cezanne's apples and oranges only fruit, is, of course, not only ridiculous, it is simply untrue. But that would be precisely what we would have to say if we abdicated our critical faculties in favor of titles. A title is only, and simply, a momentary judgment -- neither more nor less.

But Yiannes has always been concerned with the situation, with the condition of the world that his work describes. Perhaps the best known example of this sense of a situation is an untitled clay sculpture done in 1970 and featured on the front cover of *Ramparts* magazine in July of 1971 (plate 3). The head, the vice, the expression of confusion and pain on the woman's face, are the basic components of the image. From that point on the image is left to us to develop and define. In any event, a title is of no use; what is important is the clarity of the creation and our ability to come close to it. It is this fundamental empathy that is at the core of Yiannes' work, an empathy that springs from the earth itself. In the artist's own words:

Clay is from earth, and putting ideas into clay is to make them a part of the earth, strong and vital. In Greek, the word for clay is "pilos." For city -- "polis." For citizen -- "politis." For me, the three are inseparable. As my work springs from the world in which I live, in which we live, I use this media because I cannot separate it from pilos-polis-politis.

Art as the highest form of community, as the essential definition of solidarity. Not a "politicized" art in which political sentiment is allowed to intrude upon and subvert the integrity of the medium but a *political aesthetic*, a sense of art that is firmly rooted in a vision: a vision of man, of the world, of art itself as a vessel of human resistance and hope. That is what Yiannes strives for and what his work, to an extraordinary degree, has succeeded in accomplishing. No less a feat than the identification of the artist with his fellow men, and the use of the earth's gifts not to despoil and ravage but to forge the bonds between freedom and creativity, between brotherhood and art.

“IN PRAISE OF ELYTIS, YES, BUT...”

I am an admirer of the poetry of Odysseus Elytis. A long time ago, an organizer of an Elytis poetry festival approached me to contribute, by means of an introduction, a few lines on the poet's most celebrated work, "Axion Esti" ("Worthy It Is"). When I delivered the following article, the enthusiastic organizer of the festival completely lost his enthusiasm over me. The article, he thought, was laudatory but not enough to be presented at a public reading. Rather, he thought, my laudation started in the second half of my introductory article, while (so he thought) in the first half I stood the poet against the wall and fired deadly shots at him... He insisted that the harm done was beyond repair. He was deeply disappointed. He pressed me politely to revise radically the first half of my otherwise "commendable" piece.

He was, after all, the organizer of the festival (and a worshipper of Elytis), and he demanded from us all not to mince our words: the praise should be loud and in the affirmative, an extollment.

I was unable to pull a non-stop, breathless encomium, and bowed myself out of the festival. The title of my intended but not delivered article was: "...IN PRAISE OF ELYTIS..." Now, I add to it (along with my explanation) two more words: "YES, BUT..."

* * * * *

Poetry, like crime, has its untouchables. For over a quarter of a century now, through the well-aimed, unswerving efforts of many clever manipulators and shrewd promoters, the names of Seferis, Elytis and Gatsos continue to loom solid and larger than life on the poetic horizon of Greece. They are unshakeable ones, or the untouchables. They reign supreme. They are the tradition and the progress. The Greek sun shines with triumphant splendor on their brow; the blood-stained Greek earth belongs to them. The blue sea and the azure of the sky are their properties. They are the three majestic poets who, each in his own unsurpassed, special way can feel the pulse of our fatherland...

Seferis, the sublime voice of modern Greece, creates those universal metaphors that illuminate the deeper meaning of our times -- they tell us; Elytis is the inexhaustible fountain of Greek lyricism and Nikos Gatsos (the author of a slim, single volume of poetry published thirty-five years ago and doting upon it the way a coloratura soprano dotes upon her once glorious lost voice) is that miracle of poetry, i.e. a Greek poet clothed in our Demotic Song and bestriding a surrealist future...

Well, how strong they keep coming, these three above-mentioned gentlemen! How proud we should be of all three of them! And how green with envy must be turning the unmentioned remaining poets of Greece...

This new -- and by proxy, if I am permitted to say -- poetic Despotism Eclairé controls the lights of our poor country in the Western Hemisphere as Yannis Ritsos and Nikiforos Vretakos (two frequently brilliant poets almost always marred by stale, flat and unprofitable repetition) are the luminaries

of Greece in the Eastern countries. Platitude and dressing up of trivia cannot create great poetry. How can one, therefore, explain the magnificent emergence of two of the most diarrhetic poets – Ritsos and Vretakos -- of modern Greece? Consider the following couplet for a partial explanation, at least:

What is the cause of their fame and foreign adoration?

They read much better in a bad translation.

As for Seferis and Elytis (Gatsos I must discard for he is not even a talented poet, talent is a question of quantity. Talent does not write one page: it writes three hundred.), although they are indeed two genuine poets, rooted in the Greek idiom and who, for this very reason, read much worse in the best translation, I must say, stamping the words with emphasis, that a casual omission of their august names from a Modern Greek Anthology is not such a heavy and irreparable loss. No! Not any more... There is a formidable new generation of poets, the so-called generation of the 40s, the “War Generation” who started writing from 1940 and who go on writing... It is this generation of poets – Manolis Anagnostakis, Yannis Dallas, Jason Depountis, Tassos Leivaditis, Panos Thassitis, Michael Katsaros, Takis Sinopoulos, Dimitris Papaditsas, Thanassis Fotiadis, and a score of others -- who produced an awesome body of poetry unmatched in originality and depth. Although they defy classification one can safely call them poets of Resistance and Social Protest. The majority of these poets, untranslated as they are, remain virtually unknown outside the boundaries of Greece.

It is imperative, therefore, that readers of our poetry take the War Poets into consideration, compare them with, and even pit them against, a poet of the stature of Odysseus Elytis in order to measure him at his full height.

And now let us praise famous men... Let us praise Elytis... He is not, of course, the only leafy tree of Greece, the only golden bough, the only olive branch, the only cloud, the only light, the only sun. But he is, like the title of his long, narrative poem, a worthy poet. He is the best representative of war-torn Greece. Dark, like Greece, luminous like Greece, besieged and liberated, stern and playful, hungry and visionary...

“...Nights with a hundred arms
in the vast firmament
Set my entrails astir
This agony burns me
Where I might find my soul
That four-leaf
teardrop!
With the lamp of the star I went out to the skies
In the meadow’s chill air on the earth’s only
shore
Where I might find my soul that four-leaf
teardrop!...”

He is a poet flooded with conflicting, difficult ideas and emotions, a singing poet who is engaged in a hunger for belief, for affirmation, splendidly

spelled out in "Axion Esti" which is full of faith and the burden of mystery. Like a worthy poet, he does not imitate but he assimilates all the basic poetry of Greece -- Solomos, above all -- creating thus his own seed of poetry.

Nikos Spanias

POLITICS

I
don't want
to hear about
 Karamanlis
or the other
political cut-out
figures of our
 times.

Raw
phrases have
kidnapped
my brain
and are
demanding
 ransom!

Who
will
play
the
saviour?
 a democrat?

Perry Nicholas

KONSTANTIN KALOKYRIS: *THE BYZANTINE WALL PAINTINGS OF CRETE* (RED DUST, INC., 182 PAGES. \$25.00)

Most Greeks are not aware of a vigorous school of Byzantine painting which flourished on Crete from the 1200s through the 1500s. Most of these works can only be seen on site which in general means a small church crumbling into ruin. Now, for the first time, reproductions of the paintings are available in book form. Given the condition many of the originals are in, this book is likely to be the only place most of us will ever be able to see them.

The book, *The Byzantine Wall Paintings of Crete*, is beautifully and lovingly put together with excellent reproductions of the photographs of Farrel Grehan, many in full color. It is a coffee-table size book, sturdily bound, with fine paper: a perfect gift item. The text by Konstantin Kalokyris, a professor of Christian and Byzantine Archeology at the U. of Thessaloniki is dry and pedantic but absolutely thorough and accurate. What is more significant than this supportive text are the paintings which can speak for themselves. On the whole, they seem more individualized and forceful than most work from the Byzantine world. The selections for closeups and general layout are very well thought out.

We are indebted for this volume not to a Greek press or a major commercial publisher but to a small press named Red Dust Inc. (218 E. 81st St., NYC 10028). The list price of \$25 is in line with that of books of this nature and quality. We urge that people interested in having the volume write directly to the publisher (instead of using a bookstore) and that they ask for a 20% discount. Readers should also request local university and public libraries to order this book. The wall paintings of Crete are part of our multi-faceted tradition; it would be a disgrace if large Greek communities in places such as Chicago and New York could not get many copies of this fine book into public institutions.

Dan Georgakas

ASIMAKIS PANSELINOS: *TOTE POU ZOUSAME (WHEN WE LIVED)* (FOURTH EDITION, KEDRO PUBLICATIONS, ATHENS, 1975)

Tote Pou Zousame is an eminently readable and most remarkable book by retired attorney Asimakis Panselinos. Now in his early seventies, the author was born in a village of Mytilene where he spent the years of his youth before moving to Athens, first to study law at the University of Athens, and then to settle, raise a family and practice law as well as the ideas he had formulated during his turbulent formative years.

As a youth, and later on as a student, Asimakis Panselinos became exposed to the Marxist sociopolitical ideology that was so new then and was adhered to by a number of influential intellectuals and simple workers in the author's immediate surroundings. The impact of that theory and those personalities was so strong and positive that it enabled and inspired the young Panselinos to outline his own attitude toward life, his own humanism, on the basis of the sorrow and pain they experienced together, as well as of the hope they shared in a new and more perfect society.

It is not easy to classify Mr. Panselinos' book into any readily definable category – autobiography, belles lettres, history of ideas, sociology, memoirs, etc. – for it is all of them and even more. *When We Lived*, in my opinion, is a literary chronicle of the ideas, rather than the events, that shaped the destiny of a whole generation (roughly 1910-44) while also affecting the spiritual and intellectual development of the narrating consciousness: Asimakis Panselinos.

Written during the author's maturity, or rather when one reaches "the philosophic mind" -- to echo Wordsworth here -- and first published in 1974, shortly before the collapse of the catastrophic junta, this lyrical chronicle is also a personal confession of faith in many, and a national legacy that must be read by all Greeks and their friends, in and out of Greece -- and especially by those who pride themselves on their patriotism and adherence to the principles of the rich Hellenic cultural, religious, and political tradition, for there is much that remains valuable, and relevant in that tradition; as there is much that is outdated, irrelevant, wrong or rotten and must be abandoned or adjusted to the rapidly changing times.

Always a revolutionary in spirit, and a man who did not become static and rigid by fanatical attachment to idols of the past, or dogmas of the present, Mr. Panselinos succeeded in recording his feelings and thoughts with sympathy and warmth, with "emotion recollected in tranquillity" -- to echo Wordsworth once again. I mentioned William Wordsworth here not in order to establish any similarity in attitudes and concerns between the Romantic Englishman and the Marxist Greek, but because, while reading *When We Lived*, I was reminded of the manner and circumstances that characterized Wordsworth's confessional lyricism in his great poem *The Prelude* -- a text that witnessed the growth of its author's psyche and mind against a background provided by the momentous events of the French Revolution, the Napoleonic Era, and the new Europe that they created.

Equivalent in impact to those historical events of the early nineteenth century were, for Panselinos and many thinking and feeling people of our times, the liberating Balkan Wars, the First World War, the Russian Revolution of 1917, the Asia Minor Disaster of 1922, and the new realities that they created for any Greek -- and any person anywhere -- who could not afford to ignore them, and who could not go on living in the superficially idyllic and innocently pastoral life-style of the recent past. For the Greek the dilemma was more crucial, for the recent past had only offered poverty, exploitation,

failure, disillusionment, resignation, and intellectual lethargy.

When We Lived is divided into three long parts. The First (ten chapters, pages 11-163) covers Panselinos' life in Lesbos up to the aftermath of the 1922 catastrophe and his migration to Athens. The Second (six chapters, pages 167-274) presents the intellectual and emotional growth of the young law student during the late 1920's, until the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939, which found Panselinos a maturing married man, practicing law and writing for, or editing, Marxist magazines -- such as *The New Pioneers* -- in close collaboration with the intellectual elite of the Greek Left. The Third Part (seven chapters, pages 277-397) records the dramatic events of the war, the panhellenic reaction to the Fascist Italian invasion of Greece, and the suffering of Asimakis and all good Greeks under the Nazi Occupation. Particularly vivid are his recollections of the active and passive resistance of the people during those years "that tried men's souls" -- to paraphrase Tom Paine here -- and of his sensational escape when the Nazis and their eager henchmen tried to arrest him. The narrative ends there and then, in 1944, with the impending collapse of the Third Reich and the dawn of the national and political liberation of Greece. Against the atmosphere of suffering and gloom, of greatness and baseness, a certain sparkle of hope for the future -- based on man's determination and recent experience -- began to glimmer, then.

Asimakis Panselinos also turned into literature his impressions from the rest of his long and creative existence in three prose works. *Days of Our Life* (1957), *In Moscow with the Youth of the World* (1962), and *Our Strange Friendship* (1973), the friend being the author George Theotokas. His literary debut, however, was made with *Days of Wrath* (1945), a collection of poems. Two more books of poetry -- *Voyages with Many Winds* (1964) and *The Coffeeshouse of the Other Street* (1971) -- established Panselinos as a poet who is "engaged" and committed, like Varnalis, Ritsos, Vrettakos, Pappas and others, to social reform and justice. In these texts the author used subtle satire and caustic wit for a deserving cause.

Not all Greeks will agree with Mr. Panselinos' views, sentiments, and political loyalties. And they do not have to -- as he maintains himself, in true lawyer fashion: rather than separate mankind, dissent, on the contrary, helps identify the controversial issues. Thus the first step toward a dialectical, and non-violent, solution of problems and differences is established in a progressive and civilized society. There is much merit in Mr. Panselinos' professional opinion that the Special Act (*Idiónymō*) of the Eleftherios Venizelos Administration (in the late 1920's) collectively turned all Greek communists and socialists into "criminals" existing in an intolerant society. According to that Law, since the avowed goal of communism was the "violent overthrow of the existing social structure," any person professing to be a communist was automatically considered a public enemy of the State and was ruthlessly treated as such by policemen and justices alike. These men were usually so unenlightened, or so insecure and scared, that they would not hesitate to

brutalize any person whose actions (and even thoughts and feelings) were myopically deemed antisocial, and, by extension, unpatriotic, anti-Greek and traitorous.

His training as a lawyer, and his experience with outlaws and offenders, as well as with their respectable and lawful counterparts in the ranks of the conservative establishment, sharpened Mr. Panselinos' wits and argumentative techniques. And this has affected his tone and style in a most salutary manner: the author often enjoys presenting himself as some sort of "Devil's Advocate." His profound sense of genuine humanism, however, permeates the whole book, and no residue of bitterness or hostility toward his inhuman enemies can be traced -- only serene sadness. This may be seen in Panselinos' analyses of several political personalities. For the Liberal Venizelos originally he had great admiration. This feeling was later on tempered with disappointment, when Venizelos' democratic zeal stopped short of what was expected of him: the ousting of the foreign monarchy and real political freedom to all parties. Panselinos' analysis of fascist dictator John Metaxas is quite revealing in its psychological probing of the darkest depths of this ugly man's mind -- of a soul that was monstrously twisted by all manner of inferiority complexes and repressed desires.

Colorful and interesting are the author's sketches of creative writers and intellectuals (Costas Varnalis, Elias Venezis, Nikos Kazantzakis, Yannis Kordatos, Stratis Myrivilis, Demetrios Glinos) and a host of other young and old artists, educators, scholars, editors, or political leaders in his native Lesbos and in the rest of Greece. Mr. Panselinos explains, with sympathy and insight, the gradual conversion of a few artists, (Myrivilis, Kotopouli), from the Marxist orientation of their youth, to the conservatism that early success, financial pseudosecurity, and their basically bourgeois idiosyncracies, made them espouse openly in their maturity. For these persons the author feels sorry; he expresses disappointment but no hostility. Panselinos wisely understands human nature.

When We Lived, written in a beautiful, vivid, and almost poetic demotic that captivates the reader, is a literary work of a consummate prose writer and poet. At the same time it is the product of a keen, scholarly, and well-trained intellect whose erudition in literature, political theory, philosophy, sociology, and history is abundantly manifested. Mr. Panselinos' greatest achievement, in my view, is his success in dignifying the intellectual and artistic restlessness and output of the Greek Left, and placing it squarely into the very heart of the panhellenic creative and scholarly consciousness of the period 1910 to 1944. Its color and spirit are genuinely Greek, and must be accepted and hailed as such by an enlightened establishment, especially by the post-1974 united and forward-looking new Hellenism. There is no time for fanaticism, recrimination, and explosive passions.

There are many passages of distilled, undogmatic, and lyrically-expressed wisdom in *When We Lived*. I would like to end my presentation by

quoting one of them that refers to Asimakis Panselinos' cosmotheory and reveals his character (in my translation):

Marxism always remains the most complete theory for the explanation of the social phenomenon and of man within the framework of his social life, and today more so than in every other time. Yet, not a single theory can encompass the human adventure in its totality, since what man is remains finally undeterminable – since theories have consequence, whereas man is contradictory... From this view point, I think again, that political freedom is not simply (and solely) the edifice of a certain social relationship, but it is at the same time the expression of the very combative instinct in man which, in his social life, becomes idealized in the battle of ideas and gives it breath (p. 382).

Books like Mr. Panselinos' fascinating chronicle and memoir, will do much to heal the psychological traumas that the Greek nation has experienced during the last generation.

M. Byron Raizis

RICHARD KRICKUS, *PURSUING THE AMERICAN DREAM: WHITE ETHNICS AND THE NEW POPULISM* (ANCHOR BOOK, 1976)

The late nineteenth century Populist revolt against the new industrial state was acted out while millions of eastern and southern Europeans were migrating to the United States. Both the Populist farmer and the immigrant industrial worker bore a large share of the burden of industrialization. But despite their common plight, these two great forces in American society never joined together, and in fact were often antagonistic. In recent years the old Populist standard has been resurrected to do battle with the same, if somewhat larger, corporate-political foe. The forces behind this "New Populism," however, are not the farmers, but the descendants of the old immigrants, now commonly referred to as "white ethnics."

In *Pursuing the American Dream*, Richard Krickus sets for himself a timely and ambitious task. His book is an attempt to place the white ethnic in historical perspective, to demonstrate the problems facing the white ethnic today, and to develop a program that will bring about dramatic changes and will enable the lower classes to get their fair share of the American pie. The study successfully clears up several misconceptions about ethnic political behavior and demonstrates the prejudice and insensitivity of the majority toward the children and grandchildren of the last major group of whites to arrive on the American scene. But on the whole, the book is seriously flawed. The New Populists are only vaguely identified, their program sounds much like the traditional liberal reforms espoused by the Democrats since the New Deal, and the means of bringing about the New Populist program are not very convincing.

Half of the study is devoted to the historical background of the immigrant without ever relating this material to the present conditions of the white ethnic. Instead, Krickus deals with the "immigrant legacy" simply by attempting to disprove the stereotyped view of the conservative ethnic in American labor and political history. While emphasizing that the ethnics often supported progressive unions and strike activities, he concedes that the corporate leaders were able to manipulate ethnicity by playing one ethnic group against the other to beat back for decades the attempt to organize American workers. This divide and conquer policy has long been accepted by historians as the reason for the slow growth and conservative posture of organized labor in this country.

The obvious parallel to this situation today is the enormous division between the two sectors of the population that suffer most from the corporate structure -- blacks and white ethnics. Instead of showing how these two groups are kept from joining together, Krickus concentrates on trying to explain why white ethnics feel the way they do about blacks. These ethnics, it would appear, have legitimate reasons for their hostility, reasons that liberals ignore or attribute solely to racism. What Krickus fails to see, however, is that the system still takes a heavy toll on certain groups, and these groups continue fighting amongst themselves rather than challenging their real adversary. It would have been more rewarding to have analyzed Nixon's use of the race issue in 1972, which, for the first time, won a majority of the Catholic ethnics over to the Republican party.

Ethnic anger apparently stems from the ethnics' perception of the "Great Society" of the 1960's, which, according to Krickus, was mostly for the benefit of blacks. Blacks were getting all of the attention -- from the government, from the media and from the liberal establishment. What's more, they were becoming a majority in several northern cities and seemed to be treating the white ethnics in a manner similar to the way blacks were treated when they were a minority. In Newark, for example, more blacks and Puerto Ricans were going to college than were white ethnics because the liberal government programs to enrich educational opportunities were concentrated in the black community. Many blacks will be surprised to discover that government programs have been moving them ahead of whites in the area of education.

Does Krickus assume that blacks can only get involved in higher education with government aid? If so, he would have done well to have studied the history of blacks in America as well as that of the white ethnic. He would have discovered that part of the black cultural heritage has been a strong emphasis on education. During the post Civil War era of legal apartheid in America when blacks were blocked from entering local white colleges, they established over one hundred black colleges to educate their people.

Krickus does not deny the existence of a black-white ethnic conflict. But he says it is wrong to ascribe it simply to some sort of traditional white ethnic racism. There are other causes too. All very well, but this is the only

mention of white racism. Instead of trying to analyse this racism, the author concentrates on the "other causes" such as conflicting cultures, division of available resources and black racism.

In discussing the problem of splitting up the limited amount of goodies the system has to offer, Krickus turns to the controversial issue of affirmative action and quotas, which he sees as a program foisted on the white ethnics by the cosmopolitan elites who are not affected by the policies. Again, the author ignores the long history of black quotas and the role that black leaders have played in this matter. Quotas had long been used as a way to keep blacks in their economic place (just as busing had long been used to keep blacks in their segregated educational place). It has been largely through the demands of blacks that this device has been turned around to create equal job opportunities. It is not surprising that the issue of job quotas first came to prominence in the building trades unions, which had systematically excluded blacks from construction work for decades. This sector of the working class also became a symbol of hostility to young radicals in the late 1960's and strong supporters of the policies of Richard M. Nixon, the master manipulator of white racial fears.

But even if we accept the arguments against quotas -- and many are sound -- what are the alternatives? Since Krickus' aim is to elaborate new directions, we can reasonably expect to be provided with alternatives. What does he offer in place of affirmative action? He wants housing, jobs and educational opportunities for all. Good enough, but the question still remains one of finding means to make these goals reality. Krickus only tells us they will come with "fundamental reforms of our political system and economic institutions," which will be achieved by the New Populists with the support of white ethnics. But, as Krickus points out, since white ethnics were appalled by the radical attacks on U. S. political and economic institutions in the 1960's, one wonders how they will be the agents for implementing these fundamental changes.

Krickus does say -- as have blacks and radicals for years -- that the surest way to accomplish change is through an alliance of the black and white have-nots. The creation of this coalition has plagued reformers and radicals for years. Krickus says it can be accomplished when the Democratic party develops a sensitivity to white ethnics as they have done for blacks in the past. If this is what white ethnics want, then they indeed have very limited goals.

The shortcomings of the author's analysis become most apparent in his definitions. Like the Populists of the nineteenth century, Krickus is at his best when defining enemies: "establishment liberals," "left-wing intellectuals," "liberal academics," "radical intellectuals" and "new leftists" all lumped together as "cosmopolitan elites." When names are finally offered, we get such luminaries as Seymour Martin Lipset, Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Daniel Bell and Edward Banfield. Most of these people have few friends in the black community or among white radical groups. The New Populism

has a familiar ring. Like the old Populists they are prone to finding scape-goats. Instead of Wall Street and Zionists, the new enemies are the cosmopolitan elites and bureaucrats. Krickus implies that all elements in American society from the center to the left have adopted an anti-ethnic attitude, but the only people he ever mentions are those who are identified as the "New Conservatives."

Finally we must turn to what passes as the program of the New Populists. It again smacks of the old Populism: economic concentration leads to abuses both in the economy and the political system. The solution will be to break up the giant corporations in order to achieve corporate responsibility and to foster competition. Along with this must come a more progressive tax system, a national health program and wider citizen participation in government and business decisions that affect people's lives. To achieve this reform program, progressive unionists, civil rights leaders and Democratic radicals will have to enlist the support of the white ethnics as well as the blacks. What is to be avoided is the resort to anything that goes against the ethnic's ingrained acceptance of the American economic creed of private property and the profit motive, and the unfortunate use of socialistic rhetoric. This sounds much like the left-of-center coalition first put together by Franklin D. Roosevelt in the 1930's, which finally ran out of steam with Lyndon B. Johnson's "Great Society" in the 1960's.

The old Populists had a similar program of reforms to deal with the similar problems of the late nineteenth century. Krickus might have asked himself what ever happened to the old Populist's program of reform. He would have discovered that those reforms were adopted by the Progressives and New Dealers and finally succeeded. If the program of the New Populists has the same degree of success as that of the old Populists, then we can look forward to a future that will be little different from the past.

Lee Finkle

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ART EXHIBIT: "THE HELLENIC PERSPECTIVE II"

Greeks and others concerned with the Hellenic diaspora will find news of the art exhibit by 14 Greek-American professional artists, entitled "Hellenic Prospective II," of utmost interest. Sponsored by the Hellenic University Club and tastefully presented at the Balch Institute in Philadelphia from June 7 until July 16, 1976, the show was concise, modest, compact, excellent; and, of course, as reflected by all other groups enjoying/suffering diaspora existence, it ran the gamut from totally Greek to a totally non-Greek expression. The 14 artists who participated in the exhibit were the following: Kosta Alex, William A. Baziotes, George Constant, George Douris, Evangelos Frudakis, Alexander L. Generalis, Helen Kontes, Aleko Kyriakos, DuWayne Meliotes, John Paleopanidis, Olga Paulis, Stephanos Sideris, Nicholas G. Sperakis, and Theodoros Stamos (Due to technical complexities, sculptor Stamatis N. Burpulis and photographer Nick Diamondidis, who had originally planned to participate, withdrew).

1. Kosta Alex. Enjoying an international repute, his works evince a droll, dadaist sense of humor. Working with corrugated cardboard and newspaper, his quasi three-dimensional portraits suggest a rather mordant view of humanity through pieces such as "Man on Page Sixteen," depicting a silly-looking creature seemingly impaled in daily newspaper idiocies; "Man with a Hat No. 70," portraying a somewhat shimmering cartoon Popeye; and "Man of the World," of course, depicting each of us as a boob/hayseed/hick Everyman.

2. William A. Baziotes. Now deceased, one of the brightest of international Greek-American artists and a former professor, as well as painter, his "Stroller" evokes an eerie gothic mood; and his "Sea Things" is reminiscent of Margritte with the attendant vague verbal (sea-see) and optical illusions of birds, leaves and the moiling sea.

3. George Constant. Another of the elder artists, Constant's "Self-Portrait," in realistic vein, offers a man who has seen much but humbly acknowledges he has not even begun to understand it all. Another of his works, "Sun, Sea, and Sky," has the quaint flavor of a lackadaisical and less frenetic Mondrian.

4. George Douris. A Philadelphia-based artist, his sculpture, "Persephone," reflects a Dubuffet style. His "Muses," a ceramic relief of broken goddesses, suggests a demise of Hellenism, and/or of the gods, and/or of crippled caryatids.

5. Evangelos Frudakis. A sculptor, his "Portrait of the Artist's Mother" is honest, acceptant, forgiving, honoring and loving. What more could any parent ask of any child?

6. Alexander L. Generalis. One of the younger sculptors, his bronze, "The Murder of Talos," expresses the violence inherent in certain Greek mythic themes.

7. Helen Kontes. Her portrait sculpture, "Abraham Lincoln -- the Man

of Unfathomable Sorrow," is powerful, though, in a modern classical vein, too much mined.

8. Aleko Kyriakos. Another sculptor, his piece, "Phylax," offers an insightful and ironic statement of the warrior huddled behind his armor and frozen in abject terror! His equally powerful, "Pennsylvania Lion," proffers a huge, very elephantine-tailed beast -- not quite poised, not quite at rest.

9. DuWayne Meliotes. A photographer, his country-scene and his black ballet dance-series are evocative, yet gentle, pacific, calm.

10. John Paleopanidis. Greek-born, his wood sculptures express archaic, pre-Turkish Grecian themes: Byzantine carved boxes, double-headed eagles. They conjure shepherds, goatherds, wailing mountain music and changeless-majestic human patterns.

11. Olga Paulis. Her charcoal drawings, such as "Mallory" and "Lester," are well-executed; almost too much so, as if they were meant for illustrations in romance/confessional magazines.

12. Stephanos Sideris. Athenian-born, though evincing patches of Renoir/Henri Rousseau/Utrillo and even Watteau, his paintings are personal, unique, and most distinctly Grecian. His oils, "The Outing," "The Breezy Day," and, especially, "Quiet Village," behold a lovely rustic and sweetly lemon-tine timelessness.

13. Nicholas G. Sperakis. New York-based, Sperakis is the most politically volatile of the artists represented. His woodcuts, e. g., "Voltaire," reveal a smouldering peasant-like cynicism of the sin passed-off as civilization.

14. Theodoros Stamos. Another of the most widely honored Greek-American artists, his abstract-expressionistic works (with those of Baziotes) can stand next to DeKooning, Motherwell, Stella and other modern giants without embarrassment or chagrin. Stamos' "Infinity Piece," though certainly far from his best, at least gives a smattering of the power he achieved through his paintings. His "Grand Green Sun-Box" seems to commend the Josef Albers square with its boxey charcoal greys and greens.

Concluding, these notations, of course, constitute only rapid-stroke, thumbnail impressions and, obviously, are not meant (or able) to be definitive, enveloping, labeling, or, in any way, constricting to the works of the artists mentioned. The notes are meant to etch briefly those artists who have exhibited in "The Hellenic Perspective II;" to record their efforts; to offer a fleeting homage; and, finally, to help broadcast the good news to those interested in the Greek diaspora.

John Pyros

O THIASSOS*

O Thiasos ("The Travelling Players"), just released in the United States, is the most distinguished film ever made by a Greek and it immediately establishes Theodor Angelopoulos, its director, as one of the world's most interesting film makers. *O Thiasos* is an epic tale of modern Greek history, tracing events from the Metaxas dictatorship of 1936 to the American protectorate of the 1950s. However, it is less a straight forward historical account than a montage of interconnected events, often staged as independent tableaux. The main action is carried forward by the lives of a small troupe of actors who go to country towns presenting the romantic play *Golfo the Shepherdess*. Within the circumference of the lives of the members of the troupe is worked out the politics of the time with an overlay of themes borrowed from the Atrides myth.

Instead of a Hollywood treatment where the action is linear and of one style, *O Thiasos* scrambles time and cinematic forms. Dramatic asides, writing on the walls, songs, and posters are as important as any formal scene. Individuals may begin a walk in 1939 to arrive at a political rally in 1948 or vice versa. Sometimes the actors address the camera to assure us it is all a play. Sometimes the film is super realistic, like a Telly Savalas playing a N.Y. cop on television. Other times it is as stylized as the surreal cinema of Jean Cocteau. The film demands much from its audience because it seeks to give much: a complete and true history of the contemporary Greeks.

Angelopoulos, who wrote as well as directed the film, is not totally successful with all his techniques. For one thing, the pacing is too slow and the film runs four hours plus, which is too long. Some segments don't work at all. Nonetheless, the work as a whole is beautiful and the film is must viewing for every Greek.

Unlike many film directors, Angelopoulos is not afraid of ideas or of history. He shows the partisan cause of WWII to have been the highest expression of the Greek national consciousness, and its heroes and heroines to be deserving of legendary stature. This homage, however, never slips into false sentimentality nor does the film maker fail to show us the frailty of the partisans. Furthermore, there is no wishy-washyness regarding the destructive nature of the Varkiza agreement or the director's sympathy with the positions of Aris Velouchiotis. At times the anguish of the partisans is almost too intense to bear and it is set solidly as the latest cycle of *the* recurring Greek tragedy.

Greeks have always loved to honor their fallen heroes with funerals. Towards the conclusion of *O Thiasos*, there is such a funeral. A partisan leader who has been in jail for 20 years dies in prison. A group of some seven

*For additional discussion of this important film see the article by Vito Orlando in *Kaffenion No. 2* and the essay by Peter Pappas scheduled for the winter issues of *Cineaste*.

men and women of different ages are the only ones who will dare pay open homage at the graveside. The surreal moment is poignant with pain until one person begins to clap, and then the others join in, clapping quietly, clapping with dignity – it is a tribute from individuals, a nation, and history, all-at-once. There are many such magical moments in this film.

Angelopoulos was born in Athens in 1936 and graduated from law school in Greece. He studied in Paris and returned to Athens in 1964 to become a film critic for the left wing daily *Dimokratiki Allaghi* until it was suppressed by the colonels in 1967. He has two previous films, *Anaparastassi* (*Reconstruction*, 1970) and *Imeres Tou 36* (*Days of 36*, 1972). Below are some excerpts from an interview with the director made by Nouredine Ghali. The *Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora* is pleased to make it available to a Greek audience in co-operation with the Museum of Modern Art and the journal *Cinema 75*:

Q: What was your starting-point for *O Thiassos*?

A: The idea of a group of actors making a journey. For me (at the time of the dictatorship) it represented a search for identity, for what's called the "national character" ...or, then again, for my own identity in the Colonels' Greece. The story came later. It was something that had intrigued me for a long time, the history of my childhood years. Those years are so important that I can readily see the key to an understanding of Greece's present politics in them. I can go back to the 1922 catastrophe (spoken of in the monologue), when the Greeks were thrown out of Asia Minor. I think that in the years between 1922 and the final executions of civil war guerrillas one finds the real political key to our own times.

Beyond the troupe of actors and the history, there's a third level in the film: the myth of the Atrides. Why use this myth? First, because it comes from the origins of Greek civilisation. Second, because I have a score to settle with our Greek civilisation. By introducing it into the account of those years, I take away its status as a myth: it becomes history, and thus comes down to a human level. At the same time, it's a "cultural" element that's very important for an understanding of Greek civilisation. I used other such cultural elements too.

The myths also serve as texts. The film's articulation is its progress through a series of texts.

Q: The troupe seems to form a social microcosm; does its composition reflect sections of contemporary Greek society?

A: No, not at all. Rather, the actors form a "cell," a family on the model of the Atrides family. That's very different. In watching the film, one can easily distinguish the various political currents that the characters represent. Whether they want to or not, these actors live active political lives. Three of them place themselves on the left. A fourth takes a right-wing fascist path.

Q: What does the bearded revolutionary represent? Is his poem authentic?

A: The poet who goes mad is someone who fought in the civil war with the Popular Front, who was arrested and tortured by the regulars, who was deported and fell ill... and who sees a revolutionary dawn in the future. The

poem he reads is absolutely authentic, and was written by Mihalis Katsaros after the defeat of the Popular Front. It's both an elegy for a lost revolution and the mirage of a revolution to come.

Q: To what then do the three monologues correspond?

A: They constitute the three chronological levels of the film. The first corresponds to 1952, the year in which the film opens. It's from this first level that the film looks back, not through conventional flashbacks but through a kind of collective memory, since that concerns the whole troupe. The second level corresponds with everything prior to 1952. And the third corresponds to the moment when all three are launched at the viewer, the moment that they are actually heard, in 1975...

Q: You use sequence-shots even more extensively here than before. Why is that?

A: My principle is to bring together certain elements and articulate them in such a way that a dialectic would be *between* the shots. I prefer to introduce all the elements in one shot by moving the camera. Thus the dialectic works between elements seen within the same framework. A dialogue springs up between these elements that appear, disappear, then reappear and so on. Often the camera introduces a dialectic in both time and space, since there are many occasions when a single movement takes you back to an earlier time. I think that's one of the most interesting things about the film. It's possible to read it on several levels, in a way that's richer and more interesting.

Dan Georgakas

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THE GREEK POPULAR CHORUS

On June 20 of this year the Greek Popular Chorus gave a concert of Greek folk songs (*dimotika traghoudhia*) at Carnegie Recital Hall in New York City. It had been the Chorus's first appearance in the area for a period of many months. It was also the first time that the Greek community in New York had a chance to see the Chorus under its new director, Elly Paspalas.

The Greek Popular Chorus was formed in March of 1974 by Mikis Theodorakis and later taken over by Yiannis Glezos. In the last few months of the military dictatorship in Greece it lent its voice to a variety of democratic and anti-junta demonstrations and events. Later, with the coup against Archbishop Makarios and the subsequent Turkish invasion of Cyprus, it became one of the vanguard elements in the campaign of solidarity waged in New York on behalf of the Cypriote people. The Chorus raised hundreds of dollars in a series of benefit concerts undertaken in cooperation with the Cypriote Federation of America and the Cypriote Consul General. Concurrently, it participated in countless demonstrations and many of its members assisted individually in the organization and leadership of those demonstrations, both in New York and in Washington. The Greek Popular Chorus, in an exceptionally brief period of time, became one of the cultural mainstays - in the most militant sense of that phrase - of the community. That is why its appearance, after an unduly long absence, was greeted by universal appreciation.

The Chorus's new director, Elly Paspalas, is a woman of formidable talent. A student at the Manhattan School of Music, she is an accomplished pianist, singer, and composer. But her voice is, at the very least, equaled by the extraordinary voice of the Chorus's primary male singer, Grigoris Maninakis. Mr. Maninakis's voice is not only magnificent, it is uncannily Greek. Whether singing the songs of Epirus, Crete, Asia Minor, or the Dodecanese, his voice adopts the tonal colors of the melody's homeland. In the end, even if there were no other reason for the existence of the Greek Popular Chorus, Elly Paspalas and Grigoris Maninakis would be reason enough.

Peter Pappas

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A COMMENT ON CAVARNOS' ARTICLE*

I do not know how far the publication of Professor Cavarnos' article corresponds to the aims put forward by the present journal, as it is an article void of any substance. My critique is hard, but I feel it as a duty to make a hard critique; otherwise, we leave the discussion of important issues up to "scientific analysis," which in the final analysis is illusory and ungrounded.

I will be very short and point out the leading contradictions in the article.

First, I cannot understand what is this "sound and constructive foreign policy." I do not know what kind of political science or history Professor Cavarnos teaches his students, but every student realizes that policy is not being made on grounds of morals or of metaphysics, but on grounds of interests - particularly interests of an economic character. The foreign policy applied by every government, in this case by the American government, is therefore dependent on the interests represented by it - more concretely by the class interests in power. That is why this "we" - the people? who? - which Professor Cavarnos uses, is completely out of place. The known events of foreign policy in the States during the last years make it quite apparent that this "we" does not play any role. Foreign policy is being determined by the forces controlling the government as represented by Kissinger. When Cavarnos writes, "we failed to recognize the new dynamic forces at work in our era and did not care enough to identify to a reasonable degree our interests with those of the developing world," (p. 15), he is completely far from any reality. American foreign policy has been exactly the result of the recognition of these new forces and has aimed at controlling them - something which the author himself recognizes on the next page. Furthermore, the statement that the American foreign policy should be identified with the policy of the developing countries is groundless, as there is no apparent reason for that. These interests are not identical but contradictory, as independence and freedom and development (I mean independent development), which are the issues with which developing countries are concerned, do not coincide with the interests of the American state. America's interests lie in controlling the aforementioned countries for economic reasons, i. e. control of raw materials, control of markets, control of strategic positions.

I am shocked therefore by the statement (on page 16) that "we must realize that we cannot and should not attempt to control too much beyond our borders." Who is this "we"? Why is it necessary to realize it? Why we "cannot"? Furthermore, why we "should not" control? Finally, what is the meaning of this "beyond our borders"? A characteristic sentence of

*Prof. Cavarnos' article, "Positive and Constructive American Foreign Policy," appeared in *JHD*, Vol. II, No. 4, Oct. 1975, pp. 15-25.

political naivety, which is contrary to the often alleged claim of American political science to be "positive."

I cannot understand either how Cavarnos arrives at the conclusion (on p. 19) about the Cyprus question. He comes to the wise conclusion that the "Cyprus issue should be settled on its own merits, on the basis of justice." Why? Why is it erroneous to say that "Turkey possesses the strategic straits and is therefore more valuable to us"? This is the argument proposed by those who have the power. Actually, it is irrelevant whether this argument is erroneous or not. On what grounds would it be erroneous, as these forces determine policy and the relevant means.

The passages about "moral re-armament" and the statement about "unjust wars" are quite funny, as if the question -- whether a war is just or unjust -- were an absolute and not a relative one. What about the moral vacuum? The revelations about Watergate, the atrocities in Vietnam, the revelations about the CIA, the Chile question, and the Lockheed affair -- to name only a few examples -- have revealed how corrupt the American government is. How do morals make out in regard to power? If I challenge the morals here, it is not because morals are not important but rather because politics is a matter of power and not a matter of morals. Morality has not solved problems in history, power has. If you need a proof for that, look at the case of Chile, the tortures applied in Brazil, Chile, Turkey, in Greece during the dictatorship, and elsewhere in the world. All this has been and is being practiced in an age which claims for itself to be Christian and of high morals.

What does it mean to have leaders who possess "exceptional ability, integrity, wisdom, and long practical experience"? I am wondering whether Cavarnos is a professor of politics and history or a moral theologian. Such void statements are usually made by people who have no relation to reality. Can Cavarnos apply the above qualities to any presidents of the U. S. and particularly to those since Kennedy?

The conclusion drawn at the end of the article about a "positive, bipartisan, coherent, consistent," etc. policy "based on wisdom and prudence and sound economy" is within this frame -- out of any realism, devoid of any practical meaning, moralizing and naive. Finally, what I am challenging is not Cavarnos' article but the fact that the journal publishes such a paper which is an offense to its readers.

Marios Nikolinakos

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