

FREE VOICE
350 East 67th Street
New York, N.Y., 10021

Set 7

WEVD 1330am - 97.9fm

Sundays 11-12 midnight

Sunday September 21st, 1969

This is the FREE VOICE OF GREECE. (English section.)

We once again welcome you to FREE VOICE OF GREECE, brought to you every Sunday evening on WEVD and WEVD FM from 11:30 to midnight. FREE VOICE is an independent program devoted to informing the American public on the situation in Greece. We rely exclusively upon our listening audience for financial support. We urge you to call us at the end of this program for your suggestions, and if you would like to see us continue these broadcasts, for your pledges of support as well.

And now a review of this week's news:

The Headlines:....A statement by Dimitrios Papaspyrou....New Greek prisons to be built....Greek opposition seeks a joint front....Greek prisoners appeal to big four....Statements by Andreas Papandreou....Editorial I: U.S. policy of containment - its meaning for Greece....Editorial II: Pre-coup leaders ignore emerging forces within Greece.

STATEMENT BY DIMITRIOS PAPASPYROU:

Associated Press and Reuters dispatches in the September 16th edition of Le Monde contained a statement by Dimitrios Papaspyrou (last President of the Greek Parliament before the 1967 coup) which denounces the press campaign recently unleashed against King Constantine, as well as the Prime Minister's speech in Salonika. In this speech, Papadopoulos had remarked that the progress realized by the revolution could not have been obtained if the Greek Parliament had been operative. "The government's actions in the last few days," writes Mr. Papaspyrou, "have well demonstrated that the present military regime has no intention whatsoever of relinquishing its power." Surprised by the "unwonted attacks" against politicians of the former regime and the King by the controlled Greek press, Mr. Papaspyrou estimates that "free men no longer have the right to harbor illusions about what is going on in Greece." The former President of Parliament affirmed that "the ensemble of the Greek political world, despite threats and attacks, are united in the struggle for the reestablishment of legality and democracy, against totalitarian methods and principles."

"GREEK OPPOSITION SEEKS A JOINT FRONT":

Alvin Shuster of the New York Times wrote a lengthy article on September 13th entitled: "Greek Opposition Seeks a Joint Front." Mr. Shuster writes that "not since the Army seized power on April 21, 1967, has there been so much talk among the 'outs' of the need to settle their differences to avoid the political chaos of the pre-coup days." The article also reports on the new elite status of the military; the regime's difficulty in understanding why world opinion is opposed to its rule; and the heavy borrowing by the Greek government to prop up the economy.

"THE PRISONER OF AMORGOS":

In today's New York Times Magazine, there is a long article about Greece entitled: "The Prisoner of Amorgos". The article, written by Nicholas Gage, reports on the forced exile of George Mylonas. Mr. Mylonas was sent into exile by the government last year and remains today a prisoner of the Greek military regime. He is a former member of the Greek Parliament and the Centre Union Party. In 1945 he represented Greece at the San Francisco conference of the United Nations, where he served as secretary to the Greek delegation. In 1964 he was appointed Minister to the Prime Minister, and he later became under-Secretary of State for Education. Mr. Mylonas was given no trial, and no reason for his exile was given by the Greek government. He is permitted no medical attention, even though he suffered two heart attacks prior to his arrest and suffers from arthritis. His children fear he will not live another year without medical attention. The Times article reports that there are 149 other Greeks who share the fate of Mylonas, living on remote islands and villages throughout Greece. Included in this number is the composer Mikis Theodorakis. Mylonas is convinced, says the article, that what happens to the colonels depends on the United States. "...all I ask," he is quoted as saying, "is that American foreign policy not oppose the forces who want to restore democracy to Greece....A clear statement by the American government against the junta would cause a serious reconsideration on the part of [Greek NATO] Officers, whose tacit support allows the junta to remain in power."

GREEK PRISONERS APPEAL TO BIG FOUR:

Le Monde of September 18th reports that Greek political prisoners from the concentration camp on the island of Leros have launched an appeal to the big four in a secret letter which reached London successfully. They ask the big four to intervene in behalf of the 1,200 political prisoners who have been incarcerated by the regime. The appeal, which was circulated in London by an Agency of Greek Information, declared notably: "The administration of the camp refuses to recognize our representatives and endeavors to ignore our grave problems in order to make life even more difficult for us." The letter affirms that several of the prisoners have died due to the bad food and the conditions of detention.

EUROPEAN GAMES IN ATHENS:

The European press has given wide coverage this week to the opening of the Ninth Championship of the European Games held in Athens from September 16th through the 21st. The sports news of the London Times and Le Monde reports that the opening of the championships has been heralded by threats to the participating athletes from various underground political groups who are opposed to the military regime. In a circular signed by one of the opposition groups, the athletes are warned not to participate in any manifestation organized by the junta, as they would thus risk becoming instruments of propaganda. The movement declined all responsibility for the "disagreeable results" which their actions might bring about to the athletes. A large number of police will be in the stadium to insure that nothing will upset the event for which the government has worked so hard. The police

have already dismantled a clandestine group who reportedly intended to destroy the installations at Karaiskakis Stadium where the games are taking place. Leaders of this group include several former army officers. Still another blow to the prestige of the Greek government is reported by the English paper, The Daily Express. Their correspondent states that the Scandinavian bloc are protesting against the Greek junta by refusing to take part in the opening ceremony when top government officials will be present. They will, however, still take part in the games. In still another article, Le Monde reports that the Soviet Athletic Federation has published a declaration through Tass demanding that its decision to send a team to the championships should "not be used for political ends by the Greek authorities." They reserve the right, the declaration went on, to take the appropriate measures at no matter what point in the games, should the Greek government attempt to put pressure on the Soviet athletes in any way, or resort to anti-socialist propaganda. Despite all of these occurrences, says another article from Le Monde, the Greek organizers "have breathed a sigh of relief" once they were certain that there was no longer any danger of the championships being truly boycotted for non-athletic reasons. They had feared that the Soviet Union would simply ignore the games, thus provoking a chain reaction among the Eastern and Scandinavian blocs. In such an event, the championships would have lost their significance and the colonels would have lost face. But finally, close to a thousand athletes will represent European sports at the meeting in Athens, not to mention the 700 journalists and many tourists who are expected. The Karaiskakis stadium can comfortably receive 30,000 persons, and has held up to 40,000 during soccer matches.

NEW GREEK PRISONS TO BE BUILT:

On September 19th the New York Times reported that the military junta in Greece plans to build 3 new prisons in Greece. The prisons, which will be located in Salonika, Larissa and Patras, will be constructed to hold a total of 1000 prisoners. The Greek government decided to build the additional prisons in order to meet an urgent need for modernizing Greek prisons.

THE ONASSIS MILLIONS:

Last week the New York Times reported that Aristotle Onassis, and his wife Jacqueline (the former Mrs. John Kennedy), personally have spent between \$15 million and 20 million dollars since their marriage. Among the many drains on the Onassis' fortune are 9 residences including one in Monte Carlo, Paris, Uruguay, Greece, London and New York.

IF IN ATHENS, REMEMBER THE PRISONERS:

In a letter to the Editor, published in the Hartford Courant of September 12th, Elise Becket wrote: "How can it be fun for tourists in Athens knowing that the rule of terror and oppression by the U.S. supported Greek dictatorship includes systematic and brutal torture of political prisoners?" The letter was written in response to an article published in the Hartford Courant entitled: "Fun Is Greek Word for Athens."

MONKS OPPOSE THE REGIME:

The Philadelphia Inquirer of September 16th reported that the monks of Mount Athos of the Greek Orthodox Church are at war with the Athens government, and they may take their fight to the United Nations. The monks have been up-in-arms since the Greek government published a decree last February whittling away some of the freedom granted Mt. Athos in 1926 when it was recognized as a theocratic republic with its own ruling body. The monks have shown their defiance in various ways, including: shutting the libraries and treasures of their 20 monasteries; refusing to sing the traditional prayers asking for the protection of the King's life; and refusing to help fire-fighters during a recent fire, claiming that if forests burn it must be the will of God. The Greek junta moved in on Mt. Athos after announcing the charter giving the government financial and other controls over the Greek Orthodox Church.

EDITORIAL 1: U.S. POLICY OF CONTAINMENT - ITS MEANING FOR GREECE:

George Mylonas, former member of the Greek Parliament, and presently in island exile in Greece, has said that what happens to the colonels in Greece depends on the United States; and that if the junta is to fall, America can hasten its departure with a clear statement opposing the junta.

The American government has since 1947 followed a policy of containment which is predicated upon preventing the communists from taking power in nations within the containment perimeter. Greece is within that perimeter. The military junta, led by George Papadopoulos, was indeed clever in maintaining that the coup of 1967 was necessary to forestall an imminent communist takeover in Greece. The United States accepted that rationale, and continues to give the Greek government both overt and covert support. Despite the fact that NATO Officers in Greece have been purged since 1967, thereby weakening the NATO Alliance, and despite the fact that all elements who oppose the junta have been purged, arrested, tortured, or exiled, the United States seemingly still believes that the Papadopoulos junta prevents the communists from attaining power in Greece.

It is difficult for any rational individual to believe that the leaders of the American government see anything worth while in the leadership of present-day Greece. The NATO Officers in Greece, many of whom were trained in the United States, are no longer in their positions. The present military leadership is made up of a nepotistic rabble with no knowledge of military science; the possibility of civil war in Greece, brought about by the closing of all political processes by the junta, can only mean that the United States might find itself in a similar situation to that it is now facing in Vietnam; if and when the junta falls, a post-military government will be alienated from the United States since the U.S. supported the junta. The policy of containment is based also on building a stable economy so that the people of a government will not look to the communists for a quick solution to its economic problems. The military junta in Greece, according to a number of journals, newspapers, and studies, has killed the economy through bungling, since economic expertise is non-existent in the upper levels of the junta.

All major political elements in Greece who oppose the junta publically

have stated that it is America who must play a leading role in opposing the Junta. It is clear that American leaders must now be totally discredited with such political elements--elements which one day will return to ruling Greece. How important and respected will America be then? In supporting the short-run government of the junta the United States is losing the long-run battle. America's experience in South America in supporting military leadership closely parallels that in Greece. How popular and how respected is America in South America? How popular indeed is America with democratic leadership in Greece?

Obviously the policy of containment formulated in 1947 is no longer applicable in 1969. International politics is not static, but the containment policy is. To apply the experiences of 1947 Greece to 1969 Greece is erroneous. Worse than that, it can prove disastrous to both Greece and the United States.

If the United States does not alter its policy of support for the junta, it may very well find itself embroiled in a Greek situation more complex and more catastrophic for America and Americans than its involvement in the 1947 Greek Civil War.

EDITORIAL II: PRE-COUP LEADERS IGNORE EMERGING FORCES WITHIN GREECE:

Outside Greece, there are continual negotiations and meetings among Greek political leaders in exile both among themselves and with representatives of various governments. The purpose is twofold: to achieve opposition to the Greek junta, and to formulate proposals on what will replace the junta. Several accounts of such negotiations have appeared in the past two weeks. Last Monday, the New York Times carried a front page article by Alvin Shuster in which he discussed efforts that are being made to unify all the political opponents to the ruling junta in Greece. John Barry in the London Sunday Times two weeks ago wrote extensively of the year-long negotiations conducted by an organization called "Free Greeks" which attempted to unify exiled political leaders ranging from the pro-Moscow Kolyiannis to King Constantine. Partially successful, the agreement among some of the more right-wing elements seems to have been shattered when King Constantine demanded his own conditions for any return to Greece.

Two features stand out regarding most of these negotiations: One, that the negotiators are outside Greece and have paid little attention to developments within Greece; and two, that little attention is being paid as to how this regime will be overthrown. We will deal with the question of political forces within Greece first. There is no question but that the various political exiles have some following within Greece; that some right-wing officers are loyal to the King; or that some Greeks would support Karamanlis, others Kolyiannis. The citizenry in any society is of many differing political views and supports many different political leaders. However, when an existing political leadership is unresponsive to the pressures and demands of new socio-economic groups and pressures for modernization, it is a danger signal. It is well known that by and large most of the political leaders of pre-coup Greece had been discredited. Pressures for democratization, modernization, and industrialization were

bringing to the fore a new political leadership in Greece, a leadership not bound to the divisions or the cliches of the past.

To what extent this potential leadership even today constitutes the most potent threat to the colonels ruling Greece is evident by looking at the roster of those arrested daily. Day after day, leaders in the trades, in the professions, in education are arrested. Many are members of Democratic Defense, one of the largest resistance organizations in Greece. The junta's repeated assertions after each wave of arrests that the resistance organizations have been dissolved is refuted with each new wave of arrests, each new bombing.

As FREE VOICE has repeatedly stated, negotiations for the future of Greece cannot take place ignoring the resistance organizations within Greece - forces which are part of the modern world. These organizations include those who believe that arguments about the king are arguments of the Middle Ages; those who feel that Greece must industrialize, and that the Greek political system must respect the Rights of Man. Negotiations involving the future of Greece must take the future into account and not attempt to ossify Greece into the past.

Nor have the negotiations outside Greece considered the crucial question of just how the junta will be overthrown. There is endless talk of what will replace the junta, but not of how it will be replaced; of who and how power will be shared, but not of how the current powerholders will relinquish their power. Perhaps the reason for this omission is that the answer lies inside Greece. The United States is dragging its feet and refuses to oppose Papadopoulos, despite its embarrassment at the despicable nature of the Greek regime. Some of the United States' other allies can do little that is effective so long as the United States balks. It is conceivable, of course, that given the history of United States involvement in Greek affairs, the United States at some point might decide to support a right-wing counter military coup, an action which would ignore all the progressive, democratic forces within Greece.

At present the only viable method for overthrowing the junta seems to be active opposition. It would be another tragedy for Greece, if the Greeks once again fight for their freedom, fight for the overthrow of their tyrannical oppressors, only to find themselves a colony of the United States supported once again by reactionary forces in Greece.

MORE ARRESTS:

This week FREE VOICE has received the names of the following individuals who have been arrested in Greece. We have received these names from the following sources: BBC, New York Times, Le Monde, the Pan-Hellenic Anti-Dictatorial Union of Rhein-Wupper and Leverkusen in West Germany.

Those arrested include:

Antonis Soterakos, Antonis Damigos, Anestis Souvatzoglou, Dantis Chrysikos. These four men, members of Democratic Resistance Committees, have been arrested for the second time since their release under the New Year's amnesty.

Stafanos Laftsis - 50 years old-died in Averoff prison from after effects of a pulmonary illness.

Sixteen unidentified persons - arrested in Salonika, accused of being members of a clandestine organization.

Mrs. Daphne Simitis - sociologist and mother of two. Held as hostage for her escaped husband, Constantine, a lawyer.

Lina Alexiou - journalist. Released after interrogation.

Eftychios Blextsas - employee of an electrical company. Sentenced to 18 months in prison for declaring in public that the value of the drachma has depreciated and is of no value abroad.

20 unidentified students - arrested in Salonika. Arrested for "pro-Chinese tendencies."

Jean Starakis - French citizen and journalist who disappeared on August 26th. Still no news as to his health or whereabouts.

Efstathios Kondylis - sentenced to 5 years for spreading rumours that the regime was torn by disagreement and that its fall was imminent.

Menis Koumandareas - writer. Given a suspended sentence of 4 months on the grounds that his novel Sailing contained obscene expressions.

George Kosmas - member of the Council of State.

Athanasios Mihalakeas - judge.

Mr. Pantelakis - co-worker with George Kouvelakis who was arrested last week.

In connection with the last three individuals, fourteen unidentified persons have also been arrested.

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL TO EXAMINE CASES IN GREECE:

Le Monde's correspondent from Geneva reports that the International Council of Amnesty International opened Saturday, in that city. This organization, which was created in London 1961, is concerned with the thousands of specific cases of persons incarcerated for political, religious or racial reasons, who have not committed acts of violence. Its International Council will examine, among others, the situations in Greece, Rhodesia and the Soviet Union. In the course of the meeting, which will end Sunday evening, the Council will examine the case of the Greek sociologist, Gerasimos Notaras, who was imprisoned in Greece under dramatic circumstances, as well as other cases.

STATEMENT BY ANDREAS PAPANDREOU:

In the Toronto Daily Star of September 13th, Mark Starowicz published an article on the Greek military junta which is based on an interview with Andreas Papandreou. Mr. Papandreou, who is now teaching at York University in Toronto, was Minister to the Prime Minister, in the government of George Papandreou in Greece. Mr. Papandreou stated that directly prior to the

military coup of April 21, 1967, the National Security Council of the United States had a meeting which was chaired by Walt Rostow, President's Johnson's official advisor on foreign policy. At this meeting it was decided that a dictatorship of the Greek generals was necessary in order to forstall the inevitable election of George Papandreou in the coming elections of May 1967. On April 21, 1967, according to Mr. Papandreou, the United States Sixth Fleet was brought to the south coast of Greece, near Crete. Papandreou stated: "I believe that at some level of the Pentagon, and at some level of the CIA, they knew about the coup and gave it its approval." In relation to the politics of Italy, Papandreou stated: "The danger of a coup in Italy, of a military takeover, remains very real. ...If the socialists do well in the elections when they take place, or if it is predicted that they will do well, or if there is a possibility of a popular front between the socialists and the Communists, and if the Moro wing of the Social Democrats also chooses to join the front, then there will be a dictatorship. That is an absolute certainty. Dictatorship from the same forces that operated in Greece....The past events in Italy paralleled the events that preceded the coup in Greece, very closely." Mr. Papandreou states also that Daniel Brewster, head of the political section of the American Embassy at the time of the coup, is now a political advisor of the NATO forces in Italy. According to Papandreou, Brewster played a "very malignant" role in Greece. If Italy finds itself under the control of the military, then all of the European Mediterranean, excluding France, will be under the control of fascists - this includes Portugal, Spain, Greece, Turkey. Mr. Papandreou foresees a return to the totalitarianism of the 1930s in Europe.

In another article concerning Mr. Papandreou, Le Monde reports on a communique which he released in Rome last Monday affirming that the U.S. is seeking the return of King Constantine to Greece. The communique states that "Horacio Rivero, Chief of the Southeastern sector of NATO, and his official political advisor, Daniel Brewster, are working intensively for the return of King Constantine of Greece under conditions acceptable to the colonels. The Americans believe that if the King returns to Greece to collaborate with the junta and legitimize the Constitution of 1968, the Right will have to give its assent. Such a transaction will give the junta a minimal popular base and an appearance of legality..." For Mr. Papandreou, the recent attacks of the Greek press against the King are nothing but "a smoke screen under cover of which the King will return." He affirms further that the King, in his negotiations, "insists primarily upon questions of personal interest to him. The activity of King Constantine and of personalities of the right abroad undermine the position of Mr. Karamanlis as leader of the Right, and bring direct aid to Papadopoulos and his friends." Mr. Papandreou demands that the King and these personalities of the Right understand that negotiations for the return of the King to Greece are a harsh blow to the Greek people who are struggling against enslavement." "The Right," concludes Mr. Papandreou, "must take a clear position on this question, otherwise it will lose the right to play a role in the free Greece of tomorrow. As for Constantine, he will lose his throne for good if he returns to support the colonels."

ANNOUNCEMENT

On September 29th it will be one year since the Greek junta held a referendum, under martial law, on their constitution. The constitution not only violates the basic principles of human freedom and democracy, but most of its provisions have not even been implemented and there is no indication that they will be in the near future. The Youth Division of the American Committee for Democracy and Freedom in Greece is organizing a demonstration on the anniversary of the referendum, in protest against the fraudulent constitution and the continued repression of the Greek people and tortures in Greece. The demonstration will be held on Sunday, September 28th, at 2:00pm, in front of the Greek Consulate, at 79th Street between Madison and Park Avenues in New York City. All those opposed to brutality and torture, all those opposed to United States support of such regimes, should take part in this demonstration on September 28th at 2:00pm, in front of the Greek Consulate.

GREECE: "A SMILE IS A POLITICAL BETRAYAL"

Tourists visiting Greece are frequently awed by its physical beauty, by the penetrating lucidity of the bright sun, the starkness of its mountains and the joy of swimming in the clear waters surrounding the mainland and the innumerable islands. Yet this vision of brightness and clarity hides a horror beyond belief. Only twisted minds can conceive of the refined methods of physical and psychological torture in which the colonels engage. After a short stay in Greece, sensitivity and awareness can quickly dispel the facade of brightness. We bring you now a short excerpt from a letter written to one of our listeners by a United States Fulbright professor in Greece. In the past he thought that he would retire in Greece, but now he will be returning soon:

"...A heavy pall of solemnity hangs over all," he writes.

"There is little laughter. A heavy gloom as if people are listening to the cries of the anguished or the damned. Yesterday the Greek was a political volcano; now he hardly dare think to himself that he is a free man.... I do not care to live among people who feel that a smile is a political betrayal."

We would like to once again remind our listeners that we depend upon you for our sole financial support. If you would like to see these programs continue, please send us your contributions. The address is:

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350 East 67 Street
New York, New York 10021