

"and if we die we die for our country, for our faith, and we shall fight against this tyranny as long as the strength is in us...."

Makriyannis, MEMOIRS

NEWSLETTER

This is the first newsletter of a monthly service to the members of the Panhellenic Liberation Movement in North America.

It is meant to be an <u>internal</u> organ, with organizational news, information on activities of the leader and the National Council, and whatever else seems to pertain to PAK's fight for the liberation of Greece. It will contain analysis, political commentary, review of events, and particularly, will try to clarify PAK's point of view on issues that have become controversial or confused among the various Greek resistance movements and political parties.

Membership in PAK or Friends of PAK, or a PAK affiliate, entitles one to receive this Newsletter. It will be printed in Greek and in English. Although it is an internal organ, it is not a secret organ, and organizations or individuals who would like to receive the Newsletter who are not members can send \$3.00 to the PAK postoffice (Box 142, Station J- Toronto 6, Ontario) for their subscriptions. This is just enough to cover printing and mailing costs. Because of a skeleton staff for the Newsletter, all subscriptions will be for the year in which they are received, and must be renewed every new year.

Now that we have introduced the Newsletter, stated its simple aims and gotten business details out of the way, we can proceed to substance.

LADY FLEMING'S VISIT

Lady Fleming's visit to the United States from November 27 to December 8, arranged and organized by a PAK affiliate, the United Hellenic Front of New York, was a further contribution by a courageous Greek to the liberation fight. Upon her arrival from London, she held a press conference at the New York airport, which lasted approximately one hour. It was well attended: all wire services, television, radio and major New York newspapers, but not well reported. Perhaps the timing (mid-afternoon on Saturday) contributed to this. Greeting her at the airport were Theodores Stathis of the United Hellenic Front, Jules Dassin, Bill Klamon of the National Students Association, Spyros Granitsas, journalist and representative of the Public Broadcasting Company, Maurice Goldbloom of the U.S. Committee for Democracy in Greece, Margaret Papandreou, and many Greeks from the New York area. Joining her at the podium for the press conference was Senator Vance Hartke, who had invited her to Washington, D.C. to meet and discuss the Greek situation with members of the House-Senate Conference Committee on military aid to Greece. While in Washington, Lady Fleming conferred

with almost all members of that committee which had been set up to work out a joint proposal on military aid from both House and Senate. In the words of Don Fraser, Congressman from Minnesota, her trip there had been "fruitful and timely."

In addition to conference members, Lady Fleming saw additional congressmen and senators, including several presidential candidates. She was the guest of honor at a luncheon given by Bella Abzug, New York Congresswoman and founding member of the Women's Political Caucus, who invited all women members of Congress. Bella Abzug had made a special plea for Lady Fleming on the floor of the House when Fleming was in the hands of the ESA (military police) under interrogation.

Back in New York Lady Fleming lunched with the Editorial Board of the New York <u>Times</u>, met with Senator Goodell, who heads up the American Committee to Aid Families of Greek Political Prisoners (and who is also active on behalf of Daniel Ellsberg in the Pentagon Papers case), spoke at a large gathering of Greeks at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, organized by the United Hellenic Front, and was interviewed by television and newspapers.

Her story vividly portrays the corruption and brutality of the military mafia ruling Greece today. Despite her experiences and the ugliness of the situation, she came with an optimistic message. The junta is not doing at all well, is extremely insecure (as opposed to foreign press images that it is "well-entrenched"), and the Greeks in their overwhelming majority remain adamantly against it. She is convinced that the liberation fight within Greece will develop, grow and become stronger.

A TELEGRAM TO NATO PRIME MINISTERS

The following telegram was sent to a number of NATO prime ministers just prior to the NATO meeting in Brussels, by Andreas Papandreou, leader of PAK:

THIS WEEK THE NATO COUNCIL OF MINISTERS MEET IN BRUSSELS; THE PANHELLENIC LIBERATION MOVEMENT WISHES TO REMIND YOU OF THE FOLLOWING FACTS:

- 1) Greece is the first European country allied to the West to be subjugated to a military dictatorship since the defeat of nazism in 1945.
- 2) The military dictatorship was engineered by Pentagon and CIA circles in Washington and executed by Papadopoulos and other well-trained agents of the American services.
- 3) The military junta achieved power in Greece by employing a NATO-elaborated plan with the code name Prometheus.

- 4) The present military junta of Greece, composed of known Nazi collaborators, has received the moral, economic and military support of the US and European NATO countries.
- 5) While it is clear that the Greek military dictatorship has snuffed out freedom and democracy in Greece, it would not have remained in power if the European NATO members had differentiated their position from the US within NATO. By conforming to the American demands for continuing military and moral support of the Greek junta, they share responsibility with the US for the events in Greece.
- 6) In December 1969 the Council of Europe ousted Greece from its ranks on the grounds that the Greek junta constituted government by torture. The very same nations which through their foreign ministers condemned barbarism in Greece, support it militarily through NATO.
- 7) Those who meet in Brussels surely have the right in the name of naked power to declare that they support the military regime of Athens. The Greek people, however, have the right to fight against their oppressors of 1971 as they fought their oppressors of the early forties.

WHAT HAPPENED AT THE CENTER UNION MEETING IN VIENNA?

Briefly, there was a disagreement which centered around a letter sent to the Congress by Andreas Papandreou.

The PAK Newsletter staff believes the best way of describing the issues involved and the positions of PAK is to quote from an interview given by Andreas Papandreou to Paul Bakoyannis of Radio Munich on December 19, 1971 in Darmstadt, West Germany. Mr. Bakoyannis asked five crucial questions dealing with the letter. Because of limited space, we will print in this issue the first two, and the next three in the March Newsletter. The complete interview is available in mimeographed form by writing to the PAK post office box (see page 1).

1) YOUR LETTER TO THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE CENTER UNION PARTY ABROAD PROVOKED WIDESPREAD DISCUSSION. SOME, INDEED, SPOKE OF YOUR "POLITICAL SUICIDE", SINCE YOU EXPRESSED POSITIONS DIFFERENT THAN THOSE WHICH THE CENTER UNION HAS HELD UNTIL NOW. THIS EVENT LED TO A SPLIT IN THE CENTER UNION ABROAD, AND INSIDE GREECE, THROUGH GEORGE MAVROS, THE PARTY DIFFERENTIATED ITS POSITION FROM YOURS. TO BEGIN WITH, DO YOU AGREE WITH THE ASSESSMENT THAT THE CENTER UNION ABROAD HAS SPLIT, AND WAS THIS YOUR INTENTION WHEN YOU WROTE THE LETTER?

"I realize, of course, that my letter to the Vienna Congress provoked much discussion and commentary. What surprised me, however, is that the positions contained in the letter were considered new positions. For, as it should have been realized, the letter does not contain anything beyond a repetition of the positions of PAK just as they were published in a statement which circulated this past June. They are contained as well in speeches of mine to Greeks and to foreigners.

"With respect to my 'political suicide', it should already have become clear that, in this difficult hour for the life of our nation and people, I am not concerned with the issue of my political career. I am concerned with the liberation of our homeland from the grim American occupation and the establishment of popular sovereignty in the context of the unrestricted national independence of our country. Surely, my letter did not lead to a split in the Center Union abroad or inside Greece. It was the catalytic factor which brought to the surface differences of goals, strategy and tactics in the ranks of the party members.

"At this historic turning point in the history of our nation, the preservation of a superficial harmony and unity serves no use when it puts in jeopardy the struggle of the Greek people."

2) IN THAT LETTER YOU WROTE "POST-JUNTA GREECE WILL BE A NATION NEUTRAL TOWARD THE COLD WAR BLOCS." DO YOU MEAN BY THAT THAT "POST-JUNTA" GREECE, AS YOU PHRASE IT, SHOULD NOT BELONG ANY LONGER TO THE WESTERN WORLD GENERALLY, AND SPECIFICALLY, TO NATO AND THE COMMON MARKET?

"I appreciate the opportunity you give me to elucidate the position of PAK on this important issue. We start with the basic assessmentthat the struggle of the Greek people is by nature a National Liberation struggle. For there should no longer exist even a single doubt by any Greek that the junta dictatorship is anything more than a form of occupation of our country by the American Pentagon in the context of the Atlantic alliance aimed at the total colonization of Greece. There is no reason, perhaps, to reiterate the fact that the dictatorship was planned in Washington beginning in 1965. That in February 1967, the National Security Council of the United States gave the green light for the imposition of the dictatorship and the abolition of democratic institutions. That the dictatorship was executed on the basis of Plan Prometheus which, three months before, had been adapted by the Pentagon to the specific conditions which existed in Greece in 1967.

"Since our struggle is a National Liberation struggle, it is clear that its minimum goal must be the unrestricted independence of our people to decide on all of the issues which concern the future of our country, including as well the position of Greece in the international sphere. And all the forces which fight for the liberation of our country should agree at least on this minimum goal independently of their own views on what the position of Greece in the international sphere should be. PAK, of course, cannot bind the will of the Greek people. After the victory, the Greek people will themselves decide their future. The position of PAK, a position which we will propose, is that Greece must find its way in the world outside the Cold War blocs, which means specifically for us, outside the Atlantic Alliance. For the northern peoples of Europe, I have the suspicion that their own interests are sacrificed on the altar of the military and economic interests of the super-power of the West. But that is for them to decide. In the case, however, of the European countries of the Mediterranean, it is manifest that the Atlantic Alliance has become an instrument of occupation, oppression and totalitarianism. Portugal, Spain, Greece, Turkey. It is incomprehensible for us that a people which fights for its national existence, for its sovereign rights, can

accept and approve participation in a military alliance which not only brought the dictatorship to power, but continues to support it after the passage of a full five years. We would have to be either fools or cowards to insist that we are friends of those who today have suppressed every kind of national and human dignity in our country.

"The Common Market has, to the present, observed a relatively positive stand on the Greek issue. We should not forget, however, that the Common Market is the creation of and is guided by the same network of interests which co-operate in the context of NATO for the oppression of Greece. For this reason, the so-called freezing of ties between Greece and the Common Market is of no significant consequence for us Greeks.

"We believe in a United Europe, East and West, which is based on the unity of the peoples, and not governments. A United Europe which is not the object of exploitation and which in its turn exploits the peoples of the Third World."

-TO BE CONTINUED-

FASCISM IN EUROPE

During his European trip in December, Andreas Papandreou was invited to participate in a conference held at the Turati Institute (December 16) in Torino, Italy, on "A Strategy Against Fascism in Europe." To be included in the panel of speakers were Mr. Soarez of the Portuguese Socialist Party, and Mr. Galvan of the Spanish Socialist Party. Soarez found it necessary to be in Angola with the freedom fighters there, and Galvan was not issued a passport to attend. Both sent representatives. This information in itself is adequate comment on fascism in Europe.

REMINDER

While we struggle for the liberation of all of Greece, we must not forget to work for the freedom of individuals who have already fought for the liberation of our country. To mention a few: Alevras, Karageorgas, Mangakis, Peloponnesios, Kokkinos, Androutsopoulos, Athena Psyhogiou. In each issue of the Newsletter we will list other names. Whatever influence you wield for this purpose, USE:

NEW TRIAL

As we wrap up the first issue of the PAK Newsletter, we have information on a trial (Jan 20) in Athens by Special Military Court of eight young people accused of functioning against the dictatorial regime on behalf of PAK. In response to this information, the National Council of PAK issued the following press release:

(January 16, 1972) "Andreas G. Papandreou, leader of the Panhellenic Liberation Movement, declared today that it is essential that every Western country send observers to the PAK trial which has been planned to serve the public relations needs of the Athens military junta.

"The primary objective of the military junta is the creation of an adverse climate in Western capitals toward active resistance in Greece against the brutal and oppressive military regime.

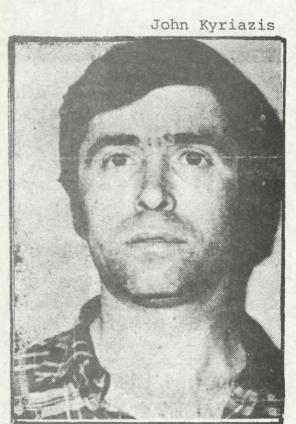
"The Panhellenic Liberation Movement asserts: First, that the Greek people are entitled to combat in Greece the brutal usurpers of power in exactly the same way they combatted the Nazi and Fascist invaders in the 40's. Second, that the trial is being staged following inhuman torture of the defendants. Third, that the trial should offer the opportunity to all European political forces, that support national self-determination, popular sovereignty and democratic processes, to express their unconditional solidarity with the enslaved Greek people in their struggle for freedom and human dignity."

NEXT ISSUE

MORE ABOUT THE TRIAL



Joseph Valirakis



- COMPLETION OF BAKOYANNIS INTERVIEW
- SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENT ON RADIO STATION: VOICE OF THE GREEK LIBERATION STRUGGLE

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE LIBERATION FIGHT NEEDED AND WELCOMED