# Athens Institute for Education and Research ATINER



# ATINER's Conference Paper Series HIS2014-1282

The Greek Military Golpe into the Italian Communist Newspaper "L'Unita" Reportages

Marzia Nocilli
PhD Student
"La Sapienza" University
Italy

## An Introduction to ATINER's Conference Paper Series

ATINER started to publish this conference papers series in 2012. It includes only the papers submitted for publication after they were presented at one of the conferences organized by our Institute every year. The papers published in the series have not been refereed and are published as they were submitted by the author. The series serves two purposes. First, we want to disseminate the information as fast as possible. Second, by doing so, the authors can receive comments useful to revise their papers before they are considered for publication in one of ATINER's books, following our standard procedures of a blind review.

Dr. Gregory T. Papanikos President Athens Institute for Education and Research

This paper should be cited as follows:

Nocilli, M., (2014) "The Greek Military Golpe into the Italian Communist Newspaper "L'Unita" Reportages", Athens: ATINER'S Conference Paper Series, No: HIS2014-1282.

Athens Institute for Education and Research

8 Valaoritou Street, Kolonaki, 10671 Athens, Greece

Tel: + 30 210 3634210 Fax: + 30 210 3634209 Email: info@atiner.gr

URL: www.atiner.gr

URL Conference Papers Series: www.atiner.gr/papers.htm

Printed in Athens, Greece by the Athens Institute for Education and Research. All rights reserved. Reproduction is allowed for non-commercial purposes if the source is fully acknowledged.

ISSN: **2241-2891** 

18/09/2014

### The Greek Military Golpe into the Italian Communist Newspaper "L'Unita" Reportages

Marzia Nocilli
PhD Student
"La Sapienza" University
Italy

### **Abstract**

The outbreak of the Greek military coup d'Etat recounted through the original pages of the newspaper "L'Unità", founded by Antonio Gramsci in 1924. This paper aims at describing both the news arriving in Italy through the newspaper reportages written by the correspondent Aldo De Jaco, and the internal reactions of the Italian Government; in more details:

- 1. The seizure of power by the military in Greece, on April 21st1967: the tanks in the streets of Athens and Thessaloniki;
- 2. The arrests of communists, already identified in accordance with the plan Prometheus (Ierax II), a first investigations on the role played by C.I.A. in the coup d' Etat, exiles on the Aegean islands, murders, banishments and tortures on opponents, presence of some Italians among the deportees;
- 3. Calls of Greek Communist Party and the clandestine radio "Φωνή της Αλήθειας" to the struggle against the dictatorship;
- 4. Martial Courts against the opposition, approved by King Constantine;
- 5. Demonstrations of solidarity with Greece resistance in Italy and demonstrations of Greek immigrants who lived in Italy;
- 6. The Council of Europe calls for an investigation into the destiny of the Greek parliamentarians;
- 7. Letter sent by the U.S.S.R Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Gromyko, asking for the grace to Manolis Glezos; 8. Italian Communist Party and Greek resistance;
- 9. Expulsion of the international press from Greece.

This work especially studies the relation between the P.C.I. (Italian Communist Party) and the K.K.E., E.D.A., and P.A.M., in order to focalize how precious it has been this time to the future arrangements of some Communist Parties.

The official reactions of the Italian government involved by the scandal of secret files of S.I.F.A.R. (Italian Military Intelligence Service), it seems to merge the destinies of the two countries, both into the "N.A.T.O. Plan for the Europeans": being alerted to the fight against the danger of a victory of any Communist organization within the continent.

### **Keywords:**

The teardrops which you will see
flowing from our eyes
you should never believe
signs of despair.
They are only promise
promise for Fight<sup>1</sup>.

This work aims at studying, through the original pages of the Italian newspaper "L'Unità", the seizure of power by the military junta in Greece on April 21<sup>st</sup> 1967: how the news were reported in Italy, the frequency and the accuracy of the information.

The choice of reading the Greek military coup with the words written on this newspaper becomes more clear recalling its particular history: it has been the official newspaper of the Italian Communist Party (P.C.I.), founded by Antonio Gramsci in 1924, and the best way to understand how the relations between some of the Communists parties were going to change; these parties were obviously admitted into the Third International network, and this is a fast enough time of new dynamics into that: both "interior" (K.K.E. and E.D.A.) and "exterior" (Greek Communist Parties and P.C.I.).



ALLA VIGILIA DELLE ELEZIONI LA CORTE E LE FORZE REAZIONARIE SPALLEGGIATE DAGLI USA TENTANO DI STROZZARE LA DEMOCRAZIA

### COLPO DI STATO MILITARE IN GRECIA

### Papandreu e i leader della sinistra arrestati Il paese in stato d'assedio isolato dal mondo

Dal Vietnam alla Grecia

LA VI FLOTTA USA NEL PORTO DEL PIREO

"L'Unità" writes on its front page, on April 22<sup>nd</sup> 1967: "Military Coup d'Etat in Greece", the title is in bold, capital letters and underlined: "On the eve of the elections the Court and the reactionary armed forces backed by the U.S. attempt to strangle democracy". The description given by the journalist, Aldo De Jaco, who was the newspaper reporter from Greece, immediately portraits the situation, focusing on the central elements of the Coup d'Etat: the presence of the U.S. Sixth Fleet in the port of Piraeus, the complicity of the King and the suspension of constitutional rights in order to guarantee the security with extraordinary "measures" and with the declaration of the martial law.

4

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Panagoulis A., *Promise*, written in Military Prisons of Bogiati February, 1972

As soon as the coup d'Etat takes place, the news Agency *T.a.n.jug.*<sup>1</sup> Immediately informs that the resistance in Athens is struggling against the military forces: the images of tanks in the streets of the two major Greek cities will soon be reported by the international press.



The picture of a student's demonstration in Athens and Thessaloniki appears on "L'Unità", just published by the newspaper "Avghi": the slogan screamed by the protesters was "ο φασισμός δεν θα περασει"<sup>2</sup>.

How could the military junta, in few hours, put down the opposition? The declaration of Kolias, the new Prime Minister, seems to pass over on the ongoing repression and justify the seizure of power as a necessary act to save the fate of the country by the anarchist threads and, of course, his words are colored with the usual paternalistic rhetoric of "the revolution to save the Nation" (*Ethnosotirios Epanastasi*): "The coup was made for the good of the nation and the new government is on the side of workers"<sup>3</sup>.

Greece in the 1967 has not yet passed the fractures of the long civil war, fought after the war until 1949, and is still living as the daughter of the Truman

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>T.a.n.jug. (Telegrafska Agencija Nove Jugoslavije) was the Yugoslavian news Agency, founded on November 5 1943.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>L'Unità, *I carri armati a Atene e Salonicco*, anno XLIV, n. 110, Sabato 22 aprile 1967, p. 3 <sup>3</sup>L'Unità, "*La VI Flotta USA nel Porto del Pireo*", anno XLIV, n. 110, Sabato 22 aprile 1967, p. 3

Doctrine<sup>1</sup> and Prometheus Plan<sup>2</sup>, who is just a piece of the vast project called "Stay Behind" (better known as "Gladio"<sup>3</sup>).

This organisation created a network of espionage and sabotage structures, made of its own independent sections in the single State, on the occupied territories of Italy, Greece and Turkey. It was thought to prevent the victory of any Communist Party in these countries, and to make their transition into the sphere of influence of the USSR difficult.

1967 is a crucial year in Italy, since then the first of innumerable of investigations on the works of the S.I.F.A.R. (Italian Military Secret Service) takes place.

Inside the S.I.F.A.R.'s structure there was the so called Office "R", "Section Special Studies and Training of Personnel", responsible for the general coordination of Gladio operation.

In order to understand the historical value of the presence of the U.S.A. Navy moored in the Pireaus Port we need not to underestimate the fact that the Greek generals, as any military forces of every countries participating in the NATO, were, somehow, dependent on this Organization, therefore, someway, of the U.S.A..

Some historians claim that, though most Greeks did not believe that the U.S.A. Secret Service played a role in the coup d'Etat, there was a closer relation between the C.I.A. and the K.Y.P. (Κεντρική Υπηρεσία Πληροφοριών) of which Papadopoulos had been a member and that is considered responsible for the facts of Greece 1967<sup>4</sup>.

The first two documents issued by the military junta, published promptly by "L'Unità", targeted the suspension of civil rights and freedom:

1 "By virtue of Article n. 91 of the Constitution, me, King of the Hellenes, I decide the suspension of Articles 5, 6, 8, 10, 11, 12, 14, 18, 29, 95 and 97 of the Constitution in force, in the whole territory of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Harry S. Truman, President Harry S. Truman's address before a joint session of Congress, march 12nd 1947, so called Truman Doctrine: "The Greek Government has also asked for the assistance of experienced American administrators, economists and technicians to insure that the financial and other aid given to Greece shall be used effectively in creating a stable and self-sustaining economy and in improving its public administration [...] The very existence of the Greek state is today threatened by the terrorist activities of several thousand armed men, led by Communists, who defy the government's authority at a number of points, particularly along the northern boundaries.[...]Meanwhile, the Greek Government is unable to cope with the situation. The Greek army is small and poorly equipped. It needs supplies and equipment if it is to restore the authority of the government throughout Greek territory. Greece must have assistance if it is to become a self-supporting and self-respecting democracy. The United States must supply that assistance. We have already extended to Greece certain types of relief and economic aid but these are inadequate. The Greek Government has been operating in an atmosphere of chaos and extremism. It has made mistakes.", Yale Law School, Lillian Goldman Law Library, 20<sup>th</sup> Century Documents, New Haven

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> C. L. Sulzberger, Foreign Affairs: Prometheus Unbound; to prevent a Coup rumors of plots chief of Staff's orders, New York Times, May 3<sup>rd</sup> 1967, p. 43.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Philip Agee and Louis Wolf, *Dirty Work: the C.I.A. in western Europe*, L. Stuart, 1978

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>J. Becket, 1970, Tortura in Grecia, Milano, Feltrinelli, p. 44-50

country, because of the dangers that threaten public order and security of the country";

- 2 "On the basis of some regulations of 1912, concerning the conditions of a state of siege, announces the following:
  - a. It is allowed the arrest and detention of any person regardless of the legal provisions currently in force. The detention is not subject to any limit of time;
  - b. Whether the arrest is made for political reasons, any previous measure of bail is canceled and arrests are not subject to any restriction".

Which "dangers" is the junta talking about?

We claim that they certainly were concerned about the elections that were meant to be carried out on May 28<sup>th</sup> in Greece: the predictions bet on the victory of Georgios Papandreou (ΕΚ, Ενωση Κέντρου) and ΕDΑ (Ενιαία Δημοκρατική Αριστερά) supported by the banned Greek Communist Party (ΚΚΕ, Κομμουνιστικό Κόμμα Ελλάδας) from abroad.

The persecution of the Greek Communists, which could be avoided upon rejection of the communism with a formal declaration, was regulated in accordance with Law 504, under which many members of the Party were arrested, killed or preferred exile: in 1955 there were 4,498 political prisoners and 898 exiles, and the numbers will grow over time. It would be correct to emphasize that almost two thousand Greek communists were imprisoned under the dictatorship of Metaxas in 1940.

SI RAFFORZI IN TUTTO IL MONDO LA LOTTA PER LA LIBERTA' E LA PACE!

### **Beloyannis e altri 3 patrioti** assassinati dai fascisti di Atene



### Due ministri greci hanno presentato le dimissioni

DAL NOSTRO CORRISPONDENTE

PIRAGA, 30 — Questa mattinia dal quattro, alla Caserma Cude della disposte parallelamente el nutro della disposte parallelamente el nutro della caserma Cude della distanza di circa quindici di Alene, Belovannia e stato associate della caserma con altri ire valorosi cude della distanza di circa quindici anciente della properatoria della caserma con altri ire valorosi con pagni. con le mani ammanetta necesita finado forcei alibera, della guinnia e i subi compani e i con le mani ammanetta representa della properatoria del unità dicei macchine della polizia palitica properatoria di tutta fretta alla, grande Caserma Cude, distinta di escreccione la presso politica di rasportato in tutta fretta alla, grande Caserma Cude, distinta di escreccione la presso politica politica properatoria di Sordegna.

Torrisponda della polizia politica, sono della polizia politica, sono della polizia politica, sono della caserma, la nerbita abilita della polizia politica, sono della caserna, la nerbita abilita della polizia politica, sono della caserna, la nerbita della polizia politica sono della polizia politica, sono della polizia politica sono della polizia politica, sono della polizia politica sono della polizia politica, sono del

M'altro lato militanti della closse operala indurante la ternazionale.

E questo l'ennesimo crimine ispirato dagli americani, di cui si macchia la canaglia fascista di Atene, la stessa gente che

al La notiza, trapelata da rudio o Londita e ripresa con ampi para, iticolari dalla tado Grecia Licibera, si e immediatamente diffosa nelle democrazie popolari, e in tutto il mondo, sollevando una indicibile ondata di indignazione.

Nuove dimissioni nel governo greco?

I prime ministre Venizeles ha conreito a lungo con Il prime ministro reco Platifras a proposito della socializza della solizza e proposito della solizza e consiste a certate: l'amties di la consiste a certate: l'amties della solizza e consiste della consiste della solizza e consiste del Si precede che le escualoni capinia avventue atmane, nonostotate la ppostitione di diversi ministri delconi e particolarmente quelle del

Nieci ra

After the end of the Greek Civil War, on March 30 1952, Nikos Beloyannis was taken from the prison of Kallithea and executed to carry out the death penalty for ideological offenses, sentenced by the Court Martial<sup>1</sup>.

Georgios Papadopoulos was a member, among others, of that Court: a member who had voted against death sentence, but as we all know, after the failed attack on Dec. 13<sup>rd</sup> became the Prime Minister of the military junta. And moreover, we need to remember that on April 23<sup>rd</sup>, the Sunday after the coup, Georgios Papandreou was going to inaugurate the political campaign in Thessaloniki.

As the historian Mathiopoulos writes, following the detailed laws against the communist in the whole country, and before of the junta coup d'Etat, almost the 90 percent of the population could be defined as "communist",

This a very important point as, thanks of those special regulations, anyone -in order to be hired and have a job- needed to get a certification of "political status" that proved to be not a "dangerous" individual.

As we know the Plan Prometheus' duty, Ierax II in Greece, is to make a list of people potentially "dangerous", and in this matter "dangerous" stands for: suspected to be a communist<sup>2</sup> or a left-wingers<sup>3</sup>.

S.I.F.A.R. is likely to be responsible of making this kind of list too.

### Intervista col leader dell'EDA Iliou

### «UNA DITTATURA MILITARE SOLLEVERÀ **UNA GENERALE E DECISA RESISTENZA»**

Mercoledi scorso il capo del gruppo parlamentare dell'EDA e membro dell'escutivo del partito, lliou, ci ha rilasciato la seguențe intervista Domanda: e Quale ê il bilancio della situazione politica greca dal colpo distot del 15 luglio 1955 ad oggi? 3. Risposta: «Le forze della destra e dell'illegalità hanno ottenuto alcuni successi in questi due anni rispetto alla situazione di tipo rivoluzionario creatasi nel luglio del '65. In ogni caso però l'ala fascista della destra, che desiderava già da ailora una dittatura aperta, non ha potuto realizzare i suoi progetti; si è invece realizzato un compromesso che ha portato al governo Paraskevopulos; questo compromesso i basava sul fatto che Giorgio Papandreu aveva rinunciato alle sue parole d'ordine contro gli abusi del re e della corte. Nello stesso tempo però il figlio del leader del «centro», Andreas Papandreu, ha incominciato a esprimere una linea e della parole d'ordine che, se corrispondevano agli orientamenti delle masse popolari, entravano in contrasto con gli interessi delle forze economiche e sociali che

dominano il suo partitio. Tutto ciò ha preoccupato la corte e gli americani e li ha indotti a giudicare che, se anche il vecchio Papandreu era sin. cero nel suo desiderio di giungere a un compromesso, egli però, non controllava il suo partilo: di contro la propaganda del figlio creava dei pericoli per la destra perche o egli era sincero — e allora si prospettava una grande alleanza della sinistra e dei "Centro" epurato dagli elementi reazionari — o egli agiva per pura demagogia e allora sarebbero state le masse stesse ad abbandonarlo per seguire e rafforzare la sinistra più conseguente.

Cost si è giunti alla decisione di

seguente.

« Cost si è giunti alla decisione di cancellare il faticoso compromesso raggiunto. Con quale prospettiva? Certo il re non ha violato di nuovo la Costituzione (dando alla minoranza il controllo del paese) e l'ERE stessa non ha accettato il mandato per fare delle elezioni ilbere che darebbero certamente la vittoria alle forze demoratiche. Al contrario, e secondo le tradizioni della destra greca, assiste-

remo agli abusi di ogni forza di pressione (polizia, esercito, formazioni terroristiche) per dare la vittoria elettorale all'ERE s.

Domanda: « Ma si giungerà veromente a delle elezioni? s.

Risposta: « Non vi è dubbio che è ancora e sempre aperta la possibilità del ricorso a una dittatura, senza elezioni, ma ciò verrà fatto in caso di estrema necessità. I nemici del popolo sanno assai bene che questa sarebbe l'ultima loro possibilità. Anche gli americani, come la Corte, devono mettere in conto che una dittatura militare solleverobbe generali e vono mettere in conto che um dit-tatura militare solleverebbe generali e decise resistenze. Allo stato dei fatti gli americani e la corte sperano di ottenere – se possono – tutti o la maggior parte dei vantaggi che una dittatura comporta evitandone però gli svantaggi. Come? Attraverso elezioni truccate e un nuovo compromesso con quella parte del "Centro" che ha an-cora delle relazioni con gli americani e con la corte. Ciò che avverrà do-mani si vedrà».

a. d. j.

The head of the Parliamentary group of the E.D.A., Iliou, gave an interview to "L'Unità" on April 19<sup>th</sup> 1967, in which he declared to feel not so sure the elections would be held; he was still afraid of the danger of a dictatorship which, however, he believed would be avoided because of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>L'Unità, "Beloyannis e altri 3 patrioti assassinati dai fascisti di Atene", Lunedì 31 marzo 1952, Anno XXIX, n. 2 (Nuova Serie), front page.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Amnesty International, Report "Situation in Greece", 27<sup>th</sup> of January 1968, in the Appendix at the end of this work: n. 1 "The Declaration of Loyalty".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Mathiopulos P., 1968, Il colpo dei colonnelli il 21 aprile ad Atene, Milano, Mondadori, p. 14

interests of the U.S. and the royal court in Greece. Dictatorship would be prevented by rigged elections and a new "compromise with the EK, or with the people who were referable to it who were still talking with those forces<sup>1</sup>.

What was the reaction, from the front page of "L'Unità" in the Italian Parliament?

The Italian Communist Party (PCI) without delay asked the Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister to discuss in order "to know the opinion of the Italian Government on the coup d'Etat carried out in Greece by the king and the military caste".

Communist deputies Longo, Amendola, Barca, Miceli, Laconi, Macaluso, D'Alessio, Tognoni, Busetto, Sandri lead the discussion "to unequivocally show Italy antifascist solidarity support to democratic forces in Greece". Sandri's speech urged the government to clarify its opinion: "The duty of the government to condemn the coup is not determined only by the fact that Italy is an anti-Fascist Republic, but also by the political weight importance that this intervention might have against of a country that, like Italy, joined the North Atlantic Treaty Organization"<sup>2</sup>.

On the other hand what is " $L'Unit\grave{a}$ " writing of those early hours of the state of siege in Greece?

The country is isolated, all the borders are closed, the port of Athens is "forbidden by all airlines," the maritime connections are interrupted. Five hundred Greek citizens leaving to Greece to celebrate Orthodox Easter and their plane get stuck in Rome. Six British journalists just landed in Athens – departed from the Rome Airport of Ciampino – are forced to return back to Italy<sup>3</sup>.

The work of most recent historians shows that the first hours of the coup were crucial to its success: communists and left-wingers from the list mentioned earlier, who could be against the junta coup, were prosecuted.

<sup>3</sup>L'Unità, "Sospesi I voli aerei dall'Italia per la Grecia", Anno XLIV, n. 110, Sabato 22 aprile 1967, p. 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> L'Unità, "Intervista con leader dell'EDA Iliou", anno XLIL, n. 110, Sabato 22 aprile 1967, p.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>L'Unità, "Emozione in Italia", anno XLIV, n. 110, Sabato 22 aprile 1967, p. 1



About 8.000 people were arrested and 6.844 people were exiled to the island of Yiaros<sup>1</sup>."L'Unità" wrote about the deportation of dissidents on Aegean Islands: Andreas Papandreu, Manolis Glezos, Kirkos and Theodorakis were deported or killed?<sup>2</sup>

The censorship was practised by the junta to stop the diffusion of information from Greece.

On April 25<sup>th</sup> Italy celebrates the Liberation from Nazi-Fascism regime.

In that occasion, in 1967, the Secretary of P.C.I. Enrico Berlinguer wrote on "L'Unità": "The tragedy that is occurring in these days in Greece recalls to all of us and to the other European countries that the Fascism could come back in its most brutal way"<sup>3</sup>.

Berlinguer pressed the Italians institutions: solidarity is needed towards the Greece resistance. The words of the Prime Minister, Aldo Moro, were strongly criticised; he talked of "anxiety" for what was going on in Greece and forgot to condemn the fascist coup d'Etat in that country.

Pietro Nenni (the P.S.I. joint the government coalition with D.C. during Moro Premiership in the 1967), Italian deputy Prime Minister, spoken out very clearly against the communists: he judged them unable to give a strong help to the democratic progress. Berlinguer urges not to forget how Italy is not immune from the risk of corruption, from attempts to limit the constitutional

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>K. Stefatos, Engendering the Nation: political persecution and terrorisation against women dissidents during the Greek military dictatorship (1967-1974), Politics Department, Goldsmiths, University of London, 2010, p. 141

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>L'Unità, Corti Marziali in tutta la Grecia per stroncare ogni opposizione, Centinaia di comunisti deportati nell'Egeo, Anno XLIV, n. 113, Martedì 25 aprile 1967, p. 1

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>L'Unità, "*La lotta per la libertà resta indivisibile*", E. Berlinguer, Anno XLIV, n. 114, Martedì 25 aprile 1967, p. 2; full articles in appendices of this work, n. 2

rights, from the danger coming by the scandal of S.I.F.A.R. and its secret plan: an ambush against the democracy.

Meanwhile, in Italy, there were everyday several demonstrations in solidarity with the Resistance in Greece, organized by political parties, trade unions, students, workers and by Greeks living in Italy.

Fanfani, the Italian Foreign Ministry, during the sharp debate in the Senate, criticized the Coup d'Etat, but asking not for an action against it<sup>1</sup>.

While the U.S.A. officially said the coup was a rape of democracy, the chief of C.I.A. in Greece, Jack Maury, was cynically asking "How could a whore be raped?"<sup>2</sup>

The news that Manolis Glezos, deputy of E.D.A., was still alive but sentenced to death by a Military Court, persuaded the U.S.S.R. Foreign Ministry, Andrej Gromyko, to declare that any action that would put a risk on Glezos' life it would arise soviet and every democratic and peaceful people's indignation<sup>3</sup>.

It is interesting to observe the deep relationship between the two countries, Italy and Greece, in order to understand the future assets of the P.C.I. and the Greek Communists Parties, inside the Third International fraternity.

K.K.E. has been banned from Greece and it supports the E.D.A. and the K.K.E. of interior that from 1967 will led up to the P.A.M. (Panhellinic Antidictatorial Front) and to the youth organisation Rigas Feraios, till the end of the junta in 1974.

P.C.I. and K.K.E. of interior slowly expressed more criticism of P.C.U.S. policy, and they gradually tried to depart from it.

K.K.E. of esterior, with all Greek communist who were forced to exile, remained very faithful executor of sovietic international policies.

As Rosario Bentivegna said: "Then the Greek communist movement was divided into two parts: to Florakis, that joined the countries of the Warsaw Pact (which joined the Greek Communists fled from their land after the Civil War) and the Greek Communist Party of interior, where the activists were old and new communists remained in Greece, led by Dracopulos, former director of the Greek Resistance during World War II, who shared the policy of the P.C.I. condemning the occupation of Czechoslovakia".

These few days will be a decisive moment to understand the way two important Communist Parties of the Mediterranean area will approach their future relationships with the theory of the Third International network and, basically, with the U.S.S.R..

<sup>2</sup>P. Moroni e Konzeptburo, Rote Fabrik, *Le parole e la lotta armata: storia vissuta e sinistra militante in Italia, Germania e Svizzera*, Shake Edizioni, Milano, 2009, p. 48.

<sup>3</sup>L'Unità, "La nota di Gromiko, dalla nostra redazione", Anno XLIV, n. 117, Sabato 29 aprile 1967, p. 1.

11

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>L'Unità, "Serrato dibattito fino a tarda notte al Senato, Le sinistre chiedono la condanna del colpo di Stato in Grecia e dell'escalation in Vietnam", Anno XLIV, n. 116, Venerdì 28 aprile 1967, p. 1

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>R. Bentivegna, *Senza fare di necessità virtù. Memorie di un antifascista*, Einaudi Editore, p. 297

### **Appendices**

### **N. 1**: "The Declaration of Loyalty" <sup>1</sup>

	Report of Amnesty International (continued)	4. Brothers/Sisters
	APPENDIX A Text of "DECLARATION OF LOYALTY"	a) Name Age Profession
	KINEDOM OF CREEKE	Abode Street No.
	Ministry	b) Name Age Profession Abode Street No.
	Address, ctc. SECRET	Abode Street No.
		5. Service record
	PERSONAL RECORD	
	Having the force of a responsible declaration	Education — qualifications
	Names	SOLVENSON AND AND AND AND AND AND AND AND AND AN
	(Surname in capitals)	Foreign languages: a) language speaking writing
	Name of father     Age     Name of mother	Foreign languages: a) language speaking writing b) language speaking writing
	Name of grandfather	c) language speaking writing
	Name of grandmother	(Signify: moderate – well – very well)
	Date of birth Place of birth	Military Service: (give units in which you served and specialist trades ac
	District Province Permanent abode:	
	town or neighbourhood District	quired)
	Province Street No	Total to a control of the control of
	Date of issue Police office of issue	1. To what organisation, association or society do you belong or have you
	2. Profession or occupation	belonged, and since when?
	Children a) Name Age Profession  Married to whom; or unmarried	Do you continue to be a member, or when did you cease?
	Name     Married to whom or unusurried     Married to whom; or unusurried     Married to whom; or unusurried	<ol> <li>Have you ever up to the present been a member of a communist or othe organisation constituting an instrument of the Communist Party of Greec (KKE - Kommounistikon Komma Ellados) or serving directly or indirectly its aims and aspirations, especially the National Liberation From (EAN) the National Solidarity Movement, ELAS, EPON, the United Democratic Left (EDA), the Vouth Movement of EDA, the Democratic Movement of G. Lambrakis, the Pan-Hellenic Women's Union (PEG), the Greek Committee for International Relaxation and Peace, the Bertrand Russell Committee for International Relaxation and Peace, the Bertrand Russell Committee for International Relaxation and Peace, the Bertrand Russell Committee for International Relaxativity of the parties and the legalisation of the KKE, the Committee of Young Workers of Greec (SEES) the Committee of Working Women, the Pan-Hellenic Strugglo of Greece (EFEE), the Committee of Pupils in Internediate Education (SEMME)</li> <li>On behalf of which of the above organisations and for what periods o time have you ever directly or indirectly taken part in the collection of tund either on behalf of their adherences or the aim which the organisations pur sue, either at the instruction of the organisations or on your own initiative or have you contributed to such collections?</li> </ol>
1000		14. Do you promise that you will do nothing contrary to national obligations
	Have you cooperated or do you cooperate directly or indirectly with any such organisation, without being officially a member of it? Which organisation and at what time?  Without being a member of any of the above organisations have you ever	14. Do you promise that you will do nothing contrary to national obligations and your duties as they are defined by the laws?  15. Do you promise that you will not betray secrets or other information coming to your knowledge as a result of your work, and you will not oppose in any way the work of the Government?
	such organisation, without being officially a member of it? Which organisation and at what time?  Without being a member of any of the above organisations have you ever made direct or indirect propaganda on behalf of any of them or on behalf of their proclamations or aims?	and your duties as they are defined by the laws?  15. Do you promise that you will not betray secrets or other information coming to your knowledge as a result of your work, and you will not oppose in any way the work of the Government?  Having studied confully and in absolute conducts the above questionuaire.
5. 6.	such organisation, without being officially a member of it? Which organisation and at what time?  Without being a member of any of the above organisations have you ever made direct or indirect propaganda on behalf of any of them or on behalf of their proclamations or aims?  Have you ever had contact or an understanding with members of the communist party, with whom and when?	and your duties as they are defined by the laws?  15. Do you promise that you will not betray secrets or other information coming to your knowledge as a result of your work, and you will not oppose in any way the work of the Government?
5.	such organisation, without being officially a member of it? Which organisation and at what time?  Without being a member of any of the above organisations have you ever made direct or indirect propaganda on behalf of any of them or on behalf of their proclamations or aims?  Have you ever had contact or an understanding with members of the com-	and your duties as they are defined by the laws?  15. Do you promise that you will not betray secrets or other information coming to your knowledge as a result of your work, and you will not oppose in any way the work of the Government?  Having studied carefully and in absolute coolness the above questionnaire.  1 declare in knowledge of the penal sanctions laid down under Article 4 of A.N. \$16/1 and Article 4 of 1907 Constitutional Act in the case of false declaration, that my answers, made of my own free and uninfluenced will, correspond fully to the truth, and that I have hidden nothing in relation to the questions put to me.  (Date)
5. 6.	such organisation, without being officially a member of it? Which organisation and at what time?  Without being a member of any of the above organisations have you ever made direct or indirect propaganda on behalf of any of them or on behalf of their proclamations or aims?  Have you ever had contact or an understanding with members of the communist party, with whom and when?  Have you ever taken part in 'peace marches' or in prohibited public open-air assembly, in which communist or anti-national slogans were displayed and when?	and your duties as they are defined by the laws?  15. Do you promise that you will not betray secrets or other information coming to your knowledge as a result of your work, and you will not oppose in any way the work of the Government?  Having studied carefully and in absolute coolness the above questionnaire, I declare in knowledge of the penal sanctions laid down under Article 4 of A.N. 516/84 and Article 4 of 1967 Constitutional Act in the case of lake declaration, that my answers, made of my own free and uninfluenced will, correspond fully to the truth, and that I have hidden nothing in relation to the questions put to me.
5. 6. 7.	such organisation, without being officially a member of it? Which organisation and at what time?  Without being a member of any of the above organisations have you ever made direct or indirect propaganda on behalf of any of them or on behalf of their proclamations or aims?  Have you ever had contact or an understanding with members of the communist party, with whom and when?  Have you ever taken part in 'peace marches' or in prohibited public open-air assembly, in which communist or auti-national slogans were displayed and when?  Have you ever been arrested and when and for what reason by the Police or	and your duties as they are defined by the laws?  15. Do you promise that you will not betray secrets or other information coming to your knowledge as a result of your work, and you will not oppose in any way the work of the Government?  Having studied carefully and in absolute coolness the above questionnaire, I declare in knowledge of the penal sanctions laid down under Article 4 of A.N. \$16/1 and Article 4 of 1907 Constitutional Act in the case of false declaration, that my answers, made of my own free and uninfluenced will, correspond fully to the truth, and that I have hidden nothing in relation to the questions put to me. (Date)
5. 6. 7. 8.	such organisation, without being officially a member of it? Which organisation and at what time?  Without being a member of any of the above organisations have you ever made direct or indirect propaganda on behalf of any of them or on behalf of their proclamations or aims?  Have you ever had contact or an understanding with members of the communist party, with whom and when?  Have you ever taken part in 'peace marches' or in prohibited public open-air assembly, in which communist or anti-national slogans were displayed and when?  Have you ever been arrested and when and for what reason by the Police or Military Authorities?  Have you taken part in public assembly during which public order was dis-	and your duties as they are defined by the laws?  15. Do you promise that you will not betray secrets or other information coming to your knowledge as a result of your work, and you will not oppose in any way the work of the Government?  Having studied carefully and in absolute coolness the above questionnaire.  1 declare in knowledge of the penal sanctions laid down under Article 4 of A.N. \$16/1 and Article 4 of 1907 Constitutional Act in the case of false declaration, that my answers, made of my own fre and uninfluenced will, correspond fully to the truth, and that I have hidden nothing in relation to the questions put to me.  (Date)
5. 6. 7. 8. 9.	such organisation, without being officially a member of it? Which organisation and at what time?  Without being a member of any of the above organisations have you ever made direct or indirect propaganda on behalf of any of them or on behalf of their proclamations or aims?  Have you ever had contact or an understanding with members of the communist party, with whom and when?  Have you ever taken part in 'peace marches' or in prohibited public open-air assembly, in which communist or anti-national slogans were displayed and when?  Have you ever been arrested and when and for what reason by the Police or Military Authorities?  Have you taken part in public assembly during which public order was disturbed and when?	and your duties as they are defined by the laws?  15. Do you promise that you will not betray secrets or other information coming to your knowledge as a result of your work, and you will not oppose in any way the work of the Government?  Having studied carefully and in absolute coolness the above questionnaire.  1 declare in knowledge of the penal sanctions laid down under Article 4 of A.N. \$16/1 and Article 4 of 1907 Constitutional Act in the case of false declaration, that my answers, made of my own free and uninfluenced will, correspond fully to the truth, and that I have hidden nothing in relation to the questions put to me.  (Date)
5. 6. 7. 8. 9.	such organisation, without being officially a member of it? Which organisation and at what time?  Without being a member of any of the above organisations have you ever made direct or indirect propaganda on behalf of any of them or on behalf of their proclamations or aims?  Have you ever had contact or an understanding with members of the community party, with whom and when?  Have you ever taken part in 'peace marches' or in prohibited public openair assembly, in which communit or anti-national slogans were displayed and when?  Have you ever taken part in 'peace marches' or in prohibited public openair assembly, in which communit or anti-national slogans were displayed and when?  Have you ever been arrested and when and for what reason by the Police or Military Authorities?  Have you ever been arrested and when and for what reason by the Police or Military Authorities?  Have you ever been arrested and when and for what reason by the Police or Military Authorities?  Do so any member of your family belong to any of the above communist organisations, or reside in countries which have a communist regime?  Do you acknowledge that the KKE, with its variously named organisations, has through its activities and actions betrayed the national interest and has sought by every means the destruction of the social order, the seizure of power, the multilation and enslavement of Police from Helleno-Christian deals, canning montrous catastroubles to the country and unheard of	and your duties as they are defined by the laws?  15. Do you promise that you will not betray secrets or other information coming to your knowledge as a result of your work, and you will not oppose in any way the work of the Government?  Having studied carefully and in absolute coolness the above questionnaire.  1 declare in knowledge of the penal sanctions laid down under Article 4 of A.N. \$16/1 and Article 4 of 1907 Constitutional Act in the case of false declaration, that my answers, made of my own free and uninfluenced will, correspond fully to the truth, and that I have hidden nothing in relation to the questions put to me.  (Date)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>See note n. 8 for any further information

### N. 2, "La lotta per la libertà resta indivisibile", E. Berlinguer<sup>1</sup>

# La lotta per la libertà resta indivisibile

L FASCISMO non è stato solo il periodo più oscuro della storia unitaria del nostro paese. Nella sua ultima fase esso ha messo in pericolo la sopravvivenza stessa dell'Italia come nazione libera e indipendente. Per l'Europa e per il mondo il fascismo ed il nazismo hanno rappresentato la minaccia, del tutto concreta e reale, dell'aprirsi di una lunga e fosca era di barbarie. Qui è dunque il valore storico, per tutto il cammino della umana civiltà, della vittoria mondiale sul fascismo e qui è il valore per la vita e l'avvenire della nostra patria, della nostra vittoriosa insurrezione dell'aprile 1945. Qui e nella liberazione di immense energie che quella vittoria ha messo in moto e che da essa hanno ricevuto ispirazione e forza per far avanzare in tutto il mondo la causa della libertà e del progresso del popoli.

Ma è davvero morto il fascismo in Europa? O si può affermare che esso vive soltanto, come un residuo del passato, in paesi come la Spagna e il Portogallo? E si devono ancora chiudere gli oechi di fronte alla minaccia che viene a tutta l'Europa dalla politica del rinato militarismo tedesco? Ma ecco che la tragedia che colpisce in questi giorni la Grecia ricorda a tutti che anche in altri paesi europei il fascismo può ripresentarsi nella sua forma più anerta e brutale. E fuori d'Europa, ecco la guerra americana nel Vietnam, che mostra fino a quali aberrazioni e a quali pericoli può condurre il tentativo di negare ai popoli la loro indipendenza e libertà.

Per questo noi ricordiamo oggi il 25 aprile nella consapevolezza che la battaglia per la libertà degli uomini e delle nazioni e per la pace continua e deve continuare in ogni paese e su scala mondiale, in condizioni che se sono nuove — perchè si fondano sulle grandi conquiste e avanzate di questo ventennio — niente hanno di idilliaco.

Ma, oltre a questo, va ripristinata ed estesa in Europa e in Italia la coscienza di altre verità, che proprio nell'esperienza della lotta contro il fascismo erano divenute patrimonio comune di tutti i democratici. La prima di queste verità è che non vi è paese i cui ceti dirigenti privilegiati non siano disposti e pronti, se le condizioni lo consentono, a liquidare ogni libertà quando son messi in forse i loro sordidi interessi di classe o di casta.

La SECONDA verità è che la democrazia è sicura solo se riesce a realizzarsi integralmente, liquidando progressivamente ogni ostacolo alla propria espansione, improntando di sè e rinnovando fino in fondo tutti gli aspetti della vita sociale, dagli ordinamenti economici alla vita dello Stato dal costume alla cultura. La terza verità è che la lotta per la libertà resta e deve rimanere indivisibile. Di qui viene oggi non solo la necessità di dare nuovo sviluppo al movimento di libertà e la sece sel Vistaram per il dourse di

La terza verità è che la lotta per la libertà resta e deve rimanere indivisibile. Di qui viene oggi non solo la necessità di dare nuovo sviluppo al movimento per la libertà e la pace nel Vietnam, ma il dovere di una operante e immediata solidarietà internazionale verso il popolo greco, solidarietà che del resto democratici italiani di tutti i partiti hanno già cominciato a manifestare, ma che deve esprimersi anche in precisi atti politici e di governo (ed è davvero deplorevole, a questo proposito, che proprio leri l'on. Moro, parlando della Grecia, non sia andato al di là di generiche espressioni di « ansia » e « preoccupazione », senza pronunciare nè una precisa condanna del colpo dei fascisti greci, nè una parola di solidarietà verso coloro che ln Grecla oggi soffrono e combattono per la libertà).

Infine è necessario ricordare sempre che non vi può essere resistenza vittoriosa ai tentativi reazionari, non vi può essere difesa e sviluppo della democrazia laddove le forze della democrazia non sono unite.

S TUPISCE, perciò, che proprio in un commento dedicato ai fatti greci, l'Avanti! finisca per prendersela con noi comunisti, che non saremmo in grado di portare un valido e vigoroso contributo alla causa del progresso democratico. Veniamo, dunque, alle cose nostre e poniamo apertamente la questione: è al sicuro la nostra democrazia da degenerazioni autoritarie? I Moro e i Rumor sembrano voler trarre dagli avvenimenti greci proprio la beata convinzione che l'Italia, per sua fortuna, nulla ha da temere in questo senso (salvo, ben s'intende, il pericolo comunista). Ora, non saremo certo noi comunisti a negare che la democrazia in Italia abbia basi più solide che in molti altri paesi. E tutti sappiamo che questo si deve, oltre che al carattere che hanno avuto da noi la lotta contro il fascismo e la Resistenza, al fatto che anche successivamente vi sono state (e vi sono ancora oggi) forze popolari e democratiche imponenti e di ogni orientamento le quali si sono mostrate pronte, e capaci, di stroncare ogni attacco aperto ai diritti democratici e costituzionali (e tutti sappiamo da che parte questi attacchi sono venuti). Ma non vi sono forse anche in Italia limitazioni dei diritti di libertà (si pensi alle fabbriche) e fenomeni di corrosione e degenerazione della vita pubblica (si pensi ai rapporti tragoverno e gruppi economici dominanti, allo svuotamento del Parlamento, agli attacchi alle autonomi locali, si pensi a una vicenda come il SIFAR e al modo equivoco con cui si cerca di liquidarla), che possono offrire fertile terreno agli intrighi e alle manovre dei gruppi reazionari? O dobbiamo solo affidare le sorti della democrazia alla politica di un governo che appare sempre più in preda alla confusione e alparalisi e impotente ad assicurare un reale progresso democratico dell'intera nostra società nazionale?

Affermare, come ha fatto domenica Nenni, che è ingiusto attaccare il centro-sinistra nel momento in cui esso « realizza rijorme destinate a modificare profondamente i rapporti sociali e il clima politico e sociale della vita civile della nazione», può significare solo ingannare se stessi: e non intendere che la necessità principale dell'ora è invece proprio quella di opporre alle tendenze degenerative che sono in atto l'ascesa del moto di ripresa democratica e unitare che viene anche da noi sviluppandosi sempre più estesamente in tutti i campi e in tutte le formazioni politiche.

Enrico Berlinguer

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>See note n. 16 for further information

### References

- Agee P. and Wolf L., *Dirty Work: the C.I.A. in western Europe*, L. Stuart, 1978. Amnesty International, *Report "Situation in Greece"*, 27<sup>th</sup> of January 1968.
- Becket J., 1970, Tortura in Grecia, Milano, Feltrinelli.
- Bentivegna R., Senza fare di necessità virtù. Memorie di un antifascista, Einaudi Editore.
- L'Unità, "Beloyannis e altri 3 patrioti assassinati dai fascisti di Atene", Lunedì 31 marzo 1952, Anno XXIX (Nuova Serie), n. 2 (80)
- L'Unità, "La VI Flotta USA nel Porto del Pireo", anno XLIV, n. 110, Sabato 22 aprile 1967.
- L'Unità, "Intervista con leader dell'EDA Iliou", anno XLIL, n. 110, Sabato 22 aprile 1967
- L'Unità, "Emozione in Italia", anno XLIV, n. 110, Sabato 22 aprile 1967
- L'Unità, "Sospesi I voli aerei dall'Italia per la Grecia", Anno XLIV, n. 110, Sabato 22 aprile 1967
- L'Unità, "*La lotta per la libertà resta invisibile*", E. Berlinguer, Anno XLIV, n. 114, Martedì 25 aprile 1967
- L'Unità, Corti Marziali in tutta la Grecia per stroncare ogni opposizione, Centinaia di comunisti deportati nell'Egeo, Anno XLIV, n. 113, Martedì 25 aprile 1967
- L'Unità, "Serrato dibattito fino a tarda notte al Senato, Le sinistre chiedono la condanna del colpo di Stato in Grecia e dell'escalation in Vietnam", Anno XLIV, n. 116, Venerdì 28 aprile 1967
- L'Unità, "La nota di Gromiko, dalla nostra redazione", Anno XLIV, n. 117, Sabato 29 aprile 1967
- Mathiopulos P., 1968, Il colpo dei colonnelli il 21 aprile ad Atene, Milano, Mondadori Moroni P. and Konzeptburo, Rote Fabrik, Le parole e la lotta armata: storia vissuta e sinistra militante in Italia, Germania e Svizzera, Shake Edizioni, Milano, 2009
- Panagoulis A., *Promessa*, written in Military Prisons of Bogiati February, 1972, in *Vi scrivo da un carcere in Grecia*, Milano, Rizzoli, 1974
- Moroni P. and Konzeptburo, Rote Fabrik, *Le parole e la lotta armata: storia vissuta e sinistra militante in Italia, Germania e Svizzera*, Shake Edizioni, Milano, 2009
- Stefatos K., Engendering the Nation: political persecution and terrorisation against women dissidents during the Greek military dictatorship (1967-1974), Politics Department, Goldsmiths, University of London, 2010
- Sulzberger L. C., Foreign Affairs: Prometheus Unbound; to prevent a Coup rumors of plots chief of Staff's orders, New York Times, May 3<sup>rd</sup> 1967
- Truman S. Harry, *President Harry S. Truman's address before a joint session of Congress, march 12nd 1947*, Yale Law School, Lillian Goldman Law Library, 20<sup>th</sup> Century Documents, New Haven