

NATIONAL & KAPODISTRIAN UNIVERSITY OF ATHENS
FACULTY OF LAW, ECONOMICS AND POLITICAL SCIENCE
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AND PUBLIC
ADMINISTRATION

MASTER'S DEGREE IN SOUTHEAST EUROPEAN STUDIES

MASTER'S DEGREE THESIS
IDEOLOGY, SOCIETY AND ELECTRONIC MEDIA IN GREECE
1966-1976

Supervisor:
Lecturer K.E.Botsiou

Student:
Stavrianea Asimina

Athens, September 2006

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I. Introduction.....	pp.1
II. Historical facts and Ideology.....	pp.2-31
1. The pro 1966 period and the path to dictatorship.....	pp.2-3
i) The Greek Armed Forces and their position.....	pp.4-5
ii) The political and social gap; the reasons that permitted the dictatorship.....	pp.5-6
2. 1967-1973 the dictatorship of G.Papadopoulos.....	pp.6
i) The seizure of power.....	pp.6-8
ii) Who were the dictators?.....	pp.8-10
iii) Policies and ideology of the dictatorship.....	pp.10-18
iv) Towards the dictatorship's fall.....	pp.18-22
3. 1973-1974 the dictatorship of D.Ioannidis	pp.22
i) The dictatorship of Ioannidis and its "confused" ideology.....	pp.22-23
ii) The path to the end.....	pp.24
4. 1974-1976 the return of C.Karamanlis and the restoration of democracy....	pp.24-25
i) The government of National Unity and the elections of November 1974...	pp.25-26
ii) C. Karamanlis and the ideological base of Nea Demokratia.....	pp.26-28
iii) The other political powers.....	pp.28-29
iv) From the dictatorship to the uncrowned democracy and finally to the two-party system.....	pp.30-31
III. The Greek society between 1966 and 1976.....	pp.31-44
1. Demographic trends.....	pp.31-32
2. The Greek economy.....	pp.32
i) The Greek economy until 1967.....	pp.32-33
ii)The economic policy of the dictatorship and the five year plan.....	pp.33-34
iii) The Greek economy from 1967 to 1976.....	pp.35-38
3. City versus countryside.....	pp.38-41
4. External, internal immigration and repatriation.....	pp.41-43
5. Education and illiteracy.....	pp.43-44
6. The role of women.....	pp.44
IV. The Greek mass media	pp.45-63
1. The Greek mass media and their "gagging".....	pp.45-48

2. The electronic media	pp.48-63
i) The radio.....	pp.48
a) The Greek radio: from its appearance to 1976	pp.48-50
ii) The television.....	pp.50-63
a) The first steps of the Greek Television.....	pp.50-52
b) We are on air.....	pp.52-53
c) Junta's first actions concerning television.....	pp.54
d) The evolution of the censored program of the two stations.....	pp.54-60
e) 1974-1976: Back to normal or not?.....	pp.60-63
V. Conclusion.....	pp.63-65
VI. Bibliography.....	pp.66-69

I. Introduction

The period 1966-1976 is considered to be one of the most significant of the modern Greek history. For seven years royal democracy was replaced by a dictatorship and then gave its place to a Republic. Thus, the political and social developments of that era stigmatized Greek society and determined its future. Nevertheless, after a steep “slope” there is, usually, an ascent, and the Greek case followed exactly the same “course”.

The subject that this thesis examines is “Ideology, society and electronic media from 1966 to 1976” and its purpose is to underline the fact that all aspects of life, such as ideology, society, economy, even mass media – as an institution – are particularly effected by historical developments. The research bibliography embodies information towards that purpose and the essay is methodologically divided into three main parts. The first part presents the historical facts and partitions the period into four smaller sub-periods; the years of the political crisis before April 1967, the seven years of dictatorship under G. Papadopoulos, at first, and D. Ioannidis, in continuance, and the restoration of democracy. After historical developments have been displayed, the essay deals with the ideological aspects and policies followed by those who ruled during each sub-period.

The second part treats the social dimensions of the whole period. It sees to demographic trends and economical developments and policies and gets down to several issues that affected social life. Immigration, repatriation and differentiation of the standards of living between the city and the countryside were some of the issues that shaped the social character of the period. Finally, the level of education and the role of women complete the image.

The third and last part of the essay deals with the electronic media from 1966 until 1976 and the first chapter stresses censorship imposed on all Greek mass media by the dictatorial regime. However, the essay is mostly interested in presenting the development of the Greek radio and television and of their program according to the historical conditions. Besides, junta suspended the normal progress of media and was the main responsible for the degradation of their quality and their corrupt base. Therefore, all sectors of life such as society, economy and communications, were affected and determined by the political conditions of each period.

II Historical facts and Ideology

1. The pro 1966 period and the path to dictatorship

The dictatorship that was set up in Greece on April 21st 1967 came as a result of the unstable political period of the '60s. The start was made in 1961 when C. Karamanlis put into practice the plan "Periklis", whose goal was the falsification of the election results in favor of the right side. In fact, the plan succeeded; the centre-left lost the election and the right remained on power.¹ Meanwhile, a "secret" organization called IDEA (Holy Bond of Greek Officers)² that consisted of officers of the extreme right had overtaken the control of the Greek army.³ This organization, which was far anticommunist and pro-monarchic, comprised the political and social parastate and supported Constantinos Karamanlis.⁴

In 1963, after the resignation and the departure of C. Karamanlis,⁵ Georgios Papandreou became the Prime Minister of Greece and the right gave its place to the political power of the center. However, in February 1965, G. Papandreou revealed the plan "Periklis" and caused a chain-reaction. Initially, the case of "Aspida" was divulged by the minister of Defense P. Garoufalias⁶ and was first published in a newspaper of Larissa on May 18th 1965. ASPIDA (Officers Save Country, Ideals, Democracy, Meritocracy)⁷ was an organization inside the Armed Forces that was consisted of lower officers, supporters of Enosis Kentrou (the center), thus democrats,

¹ Katsoulis George, *The History of the Communist Party of Greece*, Vol. 7th 1950-1968, Athens: Livanis Publications, 1976, 34.

² Minuzzo Nerio, *7 Years, 3 Months, 2 Days*, Thessalonica: Poseidon Publications, 1974, 169.

³ IDEA had been created in October 1944 in Athens and had been dispersed in 1952. However, the group of one of the officers of IDEA, G. Papadopoulos, that were supporters of the extreme right and of conservatism, had not given up their goal and had remained united. Grigoriadis Solon, *The History of Dictatorship, Vo. 1st: imposition and prosperity*, Athens: K.Kapopoulos Publications, 1975, 11-13.

⁴ Giannopoulos George – Clogg Richard, *Greece Under the Military Rank*, Athens: Papazisis Publications, 1976, 66-67.

⁵ The scandal of the assassination of G. Lambrakis was the reason for Karamanlis's scuttle as the right was guilty in the eyes of people. Minuzzo Nerio, "op.cit", 159.

⁶ Minuzzo Nerio, "ibid", 168.

⁷ Vournas Tasos, *The History of Modern Greece: From the first postwar years until the day of the colonels' coup (21 April 1967)*, Athens: Tolidi Publications, 1986, 224.

and had been contrasting IDEA.⁸ Moreover, Andreas Papandreou, the son of the Prime Minister was involved. Dimitrios Xaralampis in his book “Clientele relations and populism – the extra statutory acquiescence at the Greek political system” argues that Andreas Papandreou had tried to control KYP and had used the mediation of an officers’ group to acquire a great hold over the army. However, his effort proved to be a trap organized by IDEA and by those officers that were preparing the military coup.⁹

The case of Aspida and the participation of Andreas Papandreou was the occasion for the conflict that broke out between King Constantine and the Prime Minister.¹⁰ The result was the resignation of G. Papandreou on July 15th 1965 because he could not draw back neither regarding the issue of P. Garoufalias nor regarding the control of the army.¹¹ The “obligatory” resignation of Papandreou caused a storm of protests, an era that is known as the “Iouliana” that lasted almost two months and revealed the crisis of the political system.¹² Afterwards, the change of weak and unstable governments was continuous. On July 15th 1965 the government of G. Athanasiadis Novas – one of the apostates of Enosis Kentrou - was sworn but was soon voted against by the Parliament and was followed by the government of Hl. Tsirimokos that was also turned down. The oath-taking of the government of St. Stefanopoulos took place on September 18th 1965 and his government lasted for fourteen months.¹³ In December 1966 I. Pappaskeuopoulos, under the king’s order, formed a government that held only ten weeks and finally, in April 1967 P. Kanellopoulos annulled the Parliament and called an election for the 28th of May 1967; an election that never took place.¹⁴

⁸ Minuzzo Nerio, “op.cit”, 170.

⁹ Xaralampis Dimitris, *Clientele Relations and Populism – the extra statutory acquiescence at the Greek political system*, Athens: Exantas, 1989, 235.

¹⁰ Kontogiannidis Tasos, *The Unknown Night of April 21st 1967*, Athens: Risos Publications, 1997, 11.

¹¹ Giannopoulos George – Clogg Richard, “op.cit”, 48-49.

¹² Sakellaropoulos Spyros, *The causes of the Coup of April, 1949-1967: the social frame of the path to dictatorship*, Athens: Livanis Publications, 1998, 248.

¹³ Grigoriadis Solon, “op.cit”, 24.

¹⁴ Minuzzo Nerio, “op.cit”, 175.

i) The Greek Armed Forces and their position

The Armed Forces bring certain characteristics which shape their political role and thus promote their entanglement in the political life of a country, especially in a period of crisis. The high degree of internal cohesion, the Army's feeling of superiority, the officers' low social origin, their corporatist identity and the prospect of personal gains are some of the features that drive the army to take over a more political role. Furthermore, the basic ideology of the officers, which is the support of the militarist conservatism, makes the stabilizing institutions such as church and family a matter of primary importance. In addition, their unwillingness for change and modernization explains their immediate reaction when an institution or a value is in danger.¹⁵

After the end of the war, the Greek army altered its orientation and its basic object changed to the internal control of the country.¹⁶ In Greece the army was nationalist, anticommunist, in favor of the right, of conservative policy,¹⁷ of NATO and particularly politicized.¹⁸ Besides, the Armed Forces became the center of power due to a number of factors. The role of the army during the civil war, the formation of a parliamentary regime that was not complete and the existence of the counter-constitution and a parastate were some of the reasons.¹⁹ Moreover, the officers of the Greek Armed Forces coming from the lower middle-class faced economical problems and were discontented with the favoritism relating to appointments, transfers and promotions that characterized the army and was provoked by the political leadership. Besides, the prestige and the social place that the officers used to enjoy in the past had disappeared.²⁰

¹⁵ Sakellaropoulos Spyros, "op.cit", 270-271.

¹⁶ Psyroukis Nikos, *The History of the Modern Greece (1967-1974), the regime of the April 21st 1967*, Vol. 4th, Athens: Epikerotita Publications, 1983, 75.

¹⁷ This explains its alliance with the middle class. Sakellaropoulos Spyros, "op.cit", 284.

¹⁸ Diamantopoulos Thanasis, Avramopoulos Dimitris, Pagalos Theodoros, Andrianopoulos Andreas, *The Greek Political Life: 20th century, From the pro-venizelic to post-papandreiki period. With an addendum for G. Papandreou*, Athens: Papazisis Publications, 1997, 236.

¹⁹ Sakellaropoulos Spyros, "op.cit", 284.

²⁰ Giannopoulos George – Clogg Richard, "op.cit", 65-66, 74.

As a result, the political and social gap and the mistakes of those in power led the Armed Forces to undertake the role of the savior of the nation, to interfere²¹ and grasp the power.²²

ii) The political and social gap; the reasons that permitted the dictatorship

Nerio Minuzzo, in his book *Seven years, three months and two days* defined unscrupulousness as “the political degradation, the parliamentary paralysis, the distance between programs and actions, the decline of the values and the strengthening of personal interests” and supported that it was the word that best characterized the years before the imposition of dictatorship; an unscrupulous period.²³ Indeed, the political, the economical and the ideological sphere were all in crisis.²⁴

From 1965 to 1967 the extreme anticommunism, the political immaturity, the dramatization of public life and the semi-totalitarian regime that used the parliamentary system as a pretext for legalization, all played a role to the abolition of democracy.²⁵ Moreover the corruption, the ethical depravity, the arbitrariness, the malfunction of the state and the elimination of the social oligarchy from the Armed Forces supplemented the image of the chaotic political situation. The state was trying to serve personal interests and was indifferent to the needs and will of Greek people. Finally, political events such as the Iouliana and the Apostacy completed the puzzle²⁶ of the political and social gap that the officers were so prompt to fill in.²⁷

²¹ The interference of the army proved its autonomous function in the political system during the dictatorship. Sakellariopoulos Spyros, “op.cit”, 261.

²² It is generally supported that a more populist – a more beneficial for the people - policy can cause fear and can activate the mechanisms of the civil state’s hard core such as the army and the police. Sakellariopoulos Spyros, “ibid”, 266.

²³ Minuzzo Nerio, “op.cit”, 135.

²⁴ Sakellariopoulos Spyros, “op.cit”, 199.

²⁵ Meletopoulos Meletis, *The Colonels’ Dictatorship, Society – Ideology – Economy*, Athens: Papazisis Publications, 1996, 29.

²⁶ Minuzzo Nerio, “op.cit”, 133-135.

²⁷ Giannopoulos George – Clogg Richard, “op.cit”, 171.

The political responsibility pertained to the right that had confirmed and assisted the parastate and had created the fake communist fear.²⁸ But it also belonged to the centre and the right political powers that despite knowing the power of the army, they underestimated its decisiveness to take over a more active role and did not mop up the supporters of IDEA.²⁹ And above all it belongs to the King that pressed the trigger for the aggravation of the political situation in Greece.³⁰

2. 1967-1973 the dictatorship of G.Papadopoulos

i) The seizure of power

The seizure of power by the colonels – the junta³¹ - surprised Greece and was carried out in the name of the army.³² The surprise attack was the most determining factor in the success of the coup as within two hours a small number of officers managed to occupy the key posts and to arrest those politicians and personalities that could harm their “mission”.³³ Besides, the small junta – that of the colonels – had forestalled another one, the big junta, - that of the king - who had lost the opportunity to take full control of the country.³⁴ Dimitris Xondrokoukis in his book “The Calvary of the Greek Democracy” asserts that the factors that made junta a success was the diversion of the King on July 15th 1965, the assignment of Spantidakis – known for his participation in the organization of IDEA- as the chief of the General Staff of the

²⁸ The right had created an anticommunist state. Katsoulis George, “op.cit”, 11.

²⁹ Grigoriadis Solon, “op.cit”, 15, 35.

³⁰ Giannopoulos George – Clogg Richard, “op.cit”, 50.

³¹ In Greece both the regime and the arbiters were called “the junta”. It was used to specify the function of a military movement that was trying behind-the-scene to seize the power with the use of force. The origin of the word is Spanish and means the group, the cluster. Meletopoulos Meletis, “op.cit”, 49.

³² Iliou Ilias, *Political Texts 1974-1976*, Athens: Diogenis Publications, 1977, 13.

³³ Minuzzo Nerio, “op.cit”, 18, 34.

³⁴ The coup of the King had been decided to take place on March 25th 1967 but its postponement gave George Papadopoulos the time that he needed to prepare his own coup. When the officers of the royal junta agreed to act on April 22nd 1967, G. Zoitakis, who was a member of the King’s junta, but also an informer of the military one, communicated to G. Papadopoulos their plans and the latter rushed to impose his own military coup. Diamantopoulos Thanasis, Avramopoulos Dimitris, Pagalos Theodoros, Andrianopoulos Andreas, “op.cit”, 239-240.

Army, the interference of the foreign powers, the problems concerning the Army list and the propaganda of the right press.³⁵

The first step of the new dictatorial regime, whose instigator was Georgios Papadopoulos, was the formation of a new government under the premiership of K. Kollias. The troika of the junta was G. Papadopoulos, Stylianos Pattakos and Nikolaos Makarezos and the three of them immediately became ministers of the new government and rulers of the Greeks.³⁶

The Greek people received the dictatorship with leniency. According to Meletopoulos Meletis tolerance is termed as “the conduct, or better the non-behavior of the man towards a situation; this non-behavior can assume a favorable nuance because it manifests itself with the abstention of demonstrations of negative temper.”³⁷ The Greeks’ tolerance can be explained based on the fact that for many years the Armed Forces and the colonels were seen as the protectors of the Greek state and were considered to be sincere and humble men due to their low and poor origin. Moreover, Greeks hoped that the new regime could bring significant changes and gave the dictators time to prove their intentions. Besides, they were so disappointed by the political crisis of the pro-dictatorial era that at the beginning they were willing to forgive actions even such as censorship. Furthermore, according to Nikos Mouzelis the great power of the country and the defeat of the working class during the civil war meant that resistance could not easily create a popular base. Apart from that, the working class was not prepared for such a political evolution and neither was the Enosis Kentrou. Additionally, the fact that the economic policy of the dictatorship was the same with that of the parliamentary regime prevented the political world from intervening.³⁸ Moreover, the Greek people had been addicted to the consumer goods and limited themselves to the pleasure of a car, a travel or a

³⁵ Xondrokoukis Dimitris, *The Calvary of the Greek Democracy*, Athens: Boukoumanis Publications, 1974, 101-113.

³⁶ Katris Giannis, *The Birth of Neo-fascism: Greece 1960-1974*, Athens: Papazisis Publications, 1974, 29.

³⁷ Meletopoulos Meletis, “op.cit”, 101.

³⁸ Mouzelis Nikos, *Modern Greek Society: Aspects of Underdevelopment*, Athens: Exantas Publications, 1978, 289-290.

country house.³⁹ Eventually, the loss of credibility of the political leaders created the base for the forbearance of Greek people. The dictatorship, however, that relied upon the initial toleration did not manage to obtain a popular base during its “stay” in power and was condemned to walk on a political gap.⁴⁰

ii) Who were the dictators?

The troika of the junta composed of G. Papadopoulos, St. Pattakos and N. Makarezos. Georgios Papadopoulos was born in Peloponnesus, in Axaia and was the son of a teacher.⁴¹ He graduated from the School of Army Cadets and during the occupation of Greece he served at the Security Battalions. He entered the PARAKYP (a detachment of CIA inside the Greek KYP)⁴² and was further trained at the school of psychological war of NATO. Politically he was a supporter of the right and of ERE, had participated in the plan “Periklis” and had organized the sabotage of Evros. His fellow officers used to call him with the nickname “Naseropoulos” because he admired Naser. In addition, Giannis A. Katris supports that he was a regular “visitor” of the psychiatrist Athanasios Xatzidimos.⁴³

Georgios Papadopoulos was a very ambitious man, self-centered,⁴⁴ and despotic. He was a fan of conspiracies, a nationalist and a supporter of NATO at the same time, an anti-communist, a formalist, a conservative that believed that had the power to save the Greek nation.⁴⁵ His middle-class origin and his inferiority complex could explain his insecurity and his brutality. However, despite the fact that G.

³⁹ Zaousis Alexander, *The Deception, April 21th 1967 – July 24th 1974*, Vol.1st, Athens: Papazisis Publications, 1997, 448-449.

⁴⁰ Meletopoulos Meletis, “op.cit”, 114-115.

⁴¹ Meletopoulos Meletis, “ibid”, 51.

⁴² Psyroukis Nikos, “op.cit”, 91.

⁴³ Katris Giannis, “op.cit”, 29, 304-306.

⁴⁴ His words during a speech in Larissa in January 1968 proved this characteristic: “We have no enemies. One is our enemy. Our self.”, Giannopoulos George – Clogg Richard, “op.cit”, 93. He also proved his exhibitionism every morning at 8.00 when he was going at the office. During the drive the sirens never stopped sounding to underline that the dictator was passing by. Minuzzo Nerio, “op.cit”, 11.

⁴⁵ Diamantopoulos Thanasis, Avramopoulos Dimitris, Pagalos Theodoros, Andrianopoulos Andreas, “op.cit”, 337.

Papadopoulos, like all the members of the junta, considered the cultivation of fear among people to be their duty, they were scared of their own shadow.⁴⁶

The political speech of the dictator reflected his political ideas and his ideology. His speech was multi-collected and contradictory at the same time. The Greek Christianity, the worship of the ancestors, of ancient Greece and of Byzantium appeared often in his inconceivable speeches during which Papadopoulos revealed the problematic aspects of his peculiar personality. In his orations the dictator drew on some stable references such as the “Great Idea” of Greece, meaning the greater Greek nation – the homogeneity, the navigation - and through which he promoted the progress of the country. Moreover, the obsession of G. Papadopoulos was the use of medical expressions. Senses such as “sick nation”, “fraction” and “surgical table” were used by the dictator when he talked about the Greek people and especially their assiduity to democracy.⁴⁷ He manhandled the Greek language, while logic and cohesion were most of time absent. He threatened, he sermonized and caused fear. He talked in favour of the big capital and NATO and at the same time asked for modernization; he supported the confinement of the political and social freedoms and tried to justify his unpopularity. As a result, it is undeniable that his little learning made his incomprehensible speeches sound kitsch and meaningless.

The second member of the troika, Stylianos Pattakos was six years older than the others. He was coming from a village of Crete and was the son of a grocer. He was a naïve but cunning person that was possessed by his inferiority complex, as well.⁴⁸ He was an anti-communist, a nationalist and an ardent supporter of the Greek orthodox Christianity. He was a member of the “Zoi” and “Sotir”, two religious organizations, and was the one that made religion one of the basic elements of the regime’s ideology. His family was the most important thing for him.⁴⁹ His position in

⁴⁶ They caused fear and lived in the fear that they caused. For the record every day the Greek public paid three hundred thousand drachmas for the security of the dictator. Psyroukis Nikos, “op.cit”, 192-193. Furthermore, in case Papadopoulos had to attend a reception the dictator’s brother or the dictator’s mistress Despoina Gaspari were responsible for checking his drinks that were served from a special thermos. Katris Giannis, “op.cit”, 308.

⁴⁷ Katris Giannis, “ibid”, 307.

⁴⁸ Meletopoulos Meletis, “op.cit”, 160-184, 56.

⁴⁹ He has said: “I do not believe in parliaments and democracies. I have a wife, two daughters and myself to think of...”. Katris Giannis, “op.cit.”, 310.

the Armed Forces – he was the commander of the armed vehicles – gave him the third place in the troika of the junta.⁵⁰ Finally, he was the prompter of the slogan “Alt or I shot” that proved that he was a man of low caliber driven by his brutality.⁵¹

The third one was Nikolaos Makarezos. He was born in Fthiotida and his family was working the land. He had also been a colleague of G. Papadopoulos in the School of Army Cadets and had studied economics. He was also a military deputy in the Greek seniority of Bonne. He was moderate and avoided the lights of publicity. He was in favor of a more liberal Greek economy and his place in the government as the minister of economy, gave him the opportunity to open foreign capital and investors the door to the Greek market with unbelievable privileges, but in the end harming the Greek economy.⁵²

It is true that the junta was born on a collective base but it was from the first moment designed to serve and promote the interest of its instigator, Georgios Papadopoulos.⁵³ However, the officers that staffed the dictatorship were basically of low origin and as a result they were characterized by their inferiority complex, their class hates and their love for the militarist totalitarianism of the state-monopolist capitalism.⁵⁴ Because of the political developments they had adopted the role and the consciousness of the soldier-guardian of the social establishment and of the bourgeoisie. To conclude, the junta followers had found in the dictatorial regime a way to rise economically and to be elevated to a higher position in the Greek society.⁵⁵

iii) Policies and ideology of the dictatorship

Kyrkos Doxiadis, in his book “Subjectivity and power”, supports that “ideology is the power through speech and at the same time it is a juxtaposition inside the

⁵⁰ Minuzzo Nerio, “op.cit”, 25.

⁵¹ Giannopoulos George – Clogg Richard, “op.cit”, 90.

⁵² Katris Giannis, “op.cit” 312-315.

⁵³ Minuzzo Nerio, “op.cit”, 13.

⁵⁴ Psyroukis Nikos, “op.cit”, 92-93.

⁵⁵ Meletopoulos Meletis, “op.cit”, 57-66.

speech.”⁵⁶ The basic characteristics of ideology are three; the generalizing organizational element according to which ideology organizes ideas in a system with internal logical coherence, the element of mould for the conception of reality and the purified element regarding which ideology purifies reality and becomes a fake consciousness.⁵⁷ The aim of ideology is to generalize a system of beliefs and to form a dogma that can not tolerate contradictions.⁵⁸ Therefore, institutions such as school, press, television, church, army and administrative mechanisms produce and reproduce the ideology of the ruling class that is formed and organized by the ruling power.⁵⁹

Indeed, the dictatorial regime used propaganda as its main mean for promoting its ideology and its political beliefs.⁶⁰ Propaganda can be termed as the communicational action that tries to accomplish the acceptance of a principle, a system, an ideal, a faith, even a myth by a group of people. Its aim is to activate the group for the benefit of the propagator and television is considered to be its most loyal ally.⁶¹

Television, according to Stelios Papathanasopoulos, with its language and its oratory contributes to the creation and confirmation of the ideological stereotypes. The repetitions of the everyday program can in the long-run strengthen and expand the ruling ideology and the cultural prejudices that the television program generates.⁶² As Li Levinger has said: “Television is the literacy of the illiterates, the culture of the uneducated, the health of the poor, the privilege of under-privileged, the exclusive club of the excluded masses.”⁶³ The propaganda of the government or the regime is

⁵⁶ Doxiadis Kyrkos, *Subjectivity and Power, For the theory of ideology*, Athens: Plethron Publications, 1992, 42-44.

⁵⁷ Center of Philosophical Researches, Seminars, *Ideology*, Athens: Dodoni Publications, 42-45.

⁵⁸ Doxiadis Kyrkos, “op.cit”, 57.

⁵⁹ Kautantzoglou Ioanna, *Political Speech and Ideology – The elections of the political change*, Athens: Exantas Publications, 1979,19.

⁶⁰ Another goal of the regime was the quick enrichment. Kastoras Stavros, *Audiovisual Mass Media*, Athens: Papazisis Publications, 1990, 107.

⁶¹ Magliveras Dionysis, *Social Communication*, Athens: Papazisis Publications, 1990, 8th edition, 210-211. Spyros Kastoras sees propaganda as an effort to promote political, social, economical interest by deceiving the public and withholding the truth. Kastoras Stavros, “op.cit” 65.

⁶² Papathanasopoulos Stelios, *The Power of Television, The logic of the media and the market*, Athens: Kastaniotis Publications, 1997, 67.

⁶³ Sifonios Manos, *What does MME mean?*, Athens: Livanis Publications, 1999, 54.

the political propaganda and it is monopolized by the political power. It gives the regime the ability to persuade the masses more easily and to keep people under control. Criticism is “gagged” and propaganda turns to brain-washing. Besides, the Greek dictatorial regime controlled all mass media and had banned political gatherings; thus whispers was the only mean of resistance and was also very dangerous because everyone could be an informer.⁶⁴ The slogans that the propagators used such as “The communists are the traitors of the nation”, “Greece has resurrected”, “The Revolution was an historical necessity”, “Quiet – progress – revival”, “Greece of Greek Christians”, “Unity – work, peace, development” can help us understand the ideological messages that the regime was trying to convey.⁶⁵

Initially, the dictatorship did not have a clear ideology. In order to fill the absence of an ideological orientation, the dictatorship asked for help from some “semi-intellectuals” such as George Georgalas.⁶⁶ Thus, the ideological representatives of the junta, rapidly, constructed a number of pseudo-ideologies to cover the ideological absence and the result was a general confusion of ideas and ideologies.⁶⁷ Vasilis Vasilikos has argued that “in regard with the junta we can talk neither for Hitlerism nor for Mussolinism because the regime did not have an ideology. But we can not talk either for Frankism because the Spanish regime had been based at least on a civil war, while the Greek junta had only the memories of a civil war and its popular base was next to nothing.” Moreover, Mikis Theodorakis maintained that Georgios Papadopoulos never felt the need to fabricate an ideology and did not ask for the solidarity of the masses either.⁶⁸ As a consequence, the ruling ideology of the previous period was reproduced and the harsh ideological mechanisms of the state (armed forces, secret service, justice, church) undertook the duty of that propagation.

⁶⁴ Magliveras Dionysis, “op.cit”, 216-217.

⁶⁵ Giannopoulos George – Clogg Richard, “op.cit”, 81-82.

⁶⁶ Zaousis Alexander, “op.cit”, 487.

⁶⁷ The members of the government and the theoreticians of the dictatorship respected the basic aspects of regime’s ideology but had the right of speaking freely about all subjects by expressing their own opinions and putting their personal stigma. Giannopoulos George – Clogg Richard, “op.cit”, 81-82, 103.

⁶⁸ Minuzzo Nerio, “op.cit” 50, 233.

In addition, for the period that junta ruled, the country was put into “fridge”, “plaster” and into historical stagnation.⁶⁹

During the period 1941-1967 the Armed Forces had been inflated. Furthermore, the communist fear that the “Right” state had been cultivating gave the army a more political role; and it soon became politically independent. In this way the junta of 1967 operated under the same ideological base with the pro-dictatorial period. It reproduced the previous ideology and gave the repressive mechanisms the absolute power. Moreover, the origin of the regime’s personnel was the middle-class and the dictatorship followed the steps of the right concerning social policy. Furthermore, the regime was willing to cooperate with the pro-dictatorial regime. But the right was also willing to cooperate with the dictatorship in order to participate in the governing of the country and to promote its interests. However, governmental positions were not only given to the bourgeoisie but also to the lower middle-class, while agrarians and workers were totally absent. The King saw no other solution but to compromise and the junta exploited his weakness and used him to legalize their regime.⁷⁰

Even though the dictators had been planning their coup from 1952, still they had never thought of forming a governing program. As a result the easiest solution for the ideological representatives of the junta was to give the regime a capitalist orientation.⁷¹ The regime followed the model of the capital accumulation and supported the Greek and foreign big capital, especially the industrial and ship owned. Moreover, the completion of dependent industrialization became one of their first economical goals. Thus, the junta adopted the model of the state monopolistic capitalism.⁷² The regime was pro-American, pro-NATO and in favor of the foreign dependence.⁷³ Furthermore, the militarization of the state had immediately begun⁷⁴ and the ideology of the soldier-guardian was greatly promoted by the regime.⁷⁵

⁶⁹ Sakellariopoulos Spyros, “op.cit”, 11, 168. G. Papadopoulos used to say: “We have a patient and we have put him in plaster”, Psyroukis Nikos, “op.cit”, 195.

⁷⁰ Meletopoulos Meletis, “op.cit”, 75, 80, 86-96, 150-152. The King was also used when the regime wanted to normalize – theoretically - the social life of the country. Zaousis Alexander, “op.cit”, 477.

⁷¹ Meletopoulos Meletis, “ibid”, 259-260.

⁷² Mouzelis Nikos, “op.cit”, 290-291.

⁷³ Tsaousis Dimitris, Leontaritis George, Tsoukalas Constantine, Maurogordatos George, Alivizatos Nikos, Fatouros Argyris, Kitromilidis Pascal, Mousouros L., Maronitis D., Argyriou Alexander, Dragoumis Markos, Georgousopoulos Costas, Kokkinidis Damianos, Filippidis D., Veltsos George, Dimaras A., Giannaras C., Nesoros A., Nikiforos P., Rozakis Chris, *Hellenism – the Greek Character*:

The first effort of the junta to legalize and consolidate their regime was made when the dictators and the ideological representatives named the dictatorship “Revolution of April”. According to the dictators the “Revolution” had come to save the country from chaos and precipice.⁷⁶ But dictators went even further and claimed that the result of the “Revolution” would be a “New Democracy” a good that should be exported, especially to the countries of the West world and its prerequisite was the re-education of the Greeks.⁷⁷ The prompters of the “New Democracy” were talking about “a new Greece, economically and politically developed, whose base would be the Greek-Christian ideals, with an active state mechanism, with real parliamentary system and with citizens that would respect the laws and each other. A state that would care for the young and weak, a non party-spirited country, a state of substantial democracy.” However, this would happen with the politicization of the most powerful sector of the state, the army and as a result the transition of officers to politicians would be justified.⁷⁸

One of the most important ideological references of the junta was the anti-communist feelings of the regime. The dictatorship, as the pro-dictatorial regime, had used communism as an excuse for the military take over. They had supported that communist countries (such as the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria) were responsible for the war of the brigands and in order to protect Greece they seized power. However, the danger was not real.⁷⁹ But the fake communist danger allowed

Ideological and Experienced Axis of the Modern Greek Society, Athens: Estia Publications, 1983, 112. The greatest progress of the Greek capitalist economy was achieved in the sectors of the sea-marine industry, the bank system, the transportations and the services. Besides, Greece was a colonialist metropolis and depended on foreign guardianship. Psyroukis Nikos, “op.cit”, 55-58.

⁷⁴Diamantopoulos Thanasis, Avramopoulos Dimitris, Pagalos Theodoros, Andrianopoulos Andreas,”op.cit”, 242.

⁷⁵ Meletopoulos Meletis, “op.cit”, 309.

⁷⁶ G. Papadopoulos used to say “We have revolted even against ourselves in order to save our nation”. Psyroukis Nikos, “op.cit” 12-17.

⁷⁷ The book “Political Education” of Theofilaktos Papakonstantinou, an ideological representative of the junta, examined the political re-education of the Greek people and was published in 1970. Giannopoulos George – Clogg Richard, “op.cit”, 81, 95-96.

⁷⁸ Psyroukis Nikos, “op.cit”, 23.

⁷⁹ Indeed, YENED had a broadcast called “The spider’s web” according to which the spider’s web was the communist parties of the whole world. It claimed that those that would be caught in the web would

the regime to grab the power undisturbed. The investigations that had followed the regime's accusations for seventy three trucks full of communist guns never proved real. The communist fear was a lie and a way for the dictatorship to impose its will.⁸⁰ Moreover, the regime "suffered" from xenophobia and declared that was not dependent from none foreign power. St. Patakos had once said: "We intend to become lords of our house".⁸¹ However, despite of being anti-communist the junta was also against Slavism and West.⁸²

The next significant ideological element was the Christian faith. The regime used the article 16, paragraph 2 of the Constitution of 1952 to impose the Greek-Christian ideology to all sectors of public life. According to the Constitution "The tuition aims at the ethical and spiritual education and the development of ethical consciousness of young people by following the ideological lines of the Greek-Christian civilization".⁸³ The religious dimension was frequently traced in the regime's propaganda regarding which Greek people had to live ethically by following the religious faith. The element of religion was mainly introduced by St. Patakos who was a religious zealot. However, the slogan "Greece of Greeks Christians" that Papadopoulos launched became the most famous slogan of the dictatorship. Moreover, the dictators and their theoretical representatives were also obsessed with ancient Greece and Byzantium. As a result the ancestor worship was another characteristic of the ideology of the regime. Besides, G. Papadopoulos used to connect the "Revolution of 1967" with the Greek War of Independence of 1821.

In addition, a populist messianic nationalism characterized the junta that became apparent from the first speech of the Prime Minister Kollias the night after the coup. The dictators tried to present themselves as the saviors of the nation in order to equal the government with the nation and succeeded in dividing the people into nationalists

face a slow and painful death. Michaleas Rennos, *Direct Participating Democracy and the Rights of Man*, Athens: Thersitis Publications, 1992, 234.

⁸⁰ Catris Giannis, "op.cit", 354-356.

⁸¹ Giannopoulos George – Clogg Richard, "op.cit", 36. However, Greece was a dependent economy and a dependent state.

⁸² The regime considered west civilization as materialistic and rejected it. Meletopoulos Meletis, 99, 186.

⁸³ Sakellaropoulos Spyros, "op.cit", 160-161.

and non-nationalists, thus anti-Greeks.⁸⁴ As a result, the loyalty certificate was indispensable if someone wanted to be employed in the public sector and some private enterprises. It was also needed in order to go to university or to get a passport.⁸⁵ Nevertheless, the ultranationalist elements were designed for internal consumption. This can be easily explained since the Greek dictatorial nationalism was neither aggressive – if we take into consideration the development of the Cypriot issue/problem – nor economical – if we think of the devastating image of the Greek economy due to the privileges given to the foreign capital -.⁸⁶

The dictatorship wanted to preserve the traditional relations with the international community. Thus, the regime tried to confine modernization and in the end distorted the Greek society and economy, a distortion that is obvious until today.⁸⁷ Besides, the junta was against radicalism, showed no sign of revolutionary change and wanted to maintain the traditional economical structure.⁸⁸

Moreover, the populist ideology characterized the junta. The declaration of the dictatorship on April 21st, the deletion of the agrarian debts, the speech of the military leadership and the class feelings of the officers justified the populist character of the junta. Besides, the dictatorship never acted taking under consideration the special characteristics, needs and interests of the Greek society. On the contrary, its goal was to gain as much as popular support as possible, without aiming at the progress of the country.⁸⁹

The regime used terrorism and fear to safeguard people. The official suppressive mechanisms were the gendarmerie, the police and the army. The repression was systematic and tortures were savage. The junta intimidated people by

⁸⁴ Giannopoulos George – Clogg Richard, “op.cit”, 34, 62, 82, 94-95.

⁸⁵ Sakerallopoulos Spyros, “op.cit”, 163-164.

⁸⁶ Giannopoulos George – Clogg Richard, “op.cit”, 94.

⁸⁷ Tsaousis Dimitris, Leontaritis George, Tsoukalas Constantine, Maurogordatos George, Alivizatos Nikos, Fatouros Argyris, Kitromilidis Pascal, Mousouros L., Maronitis D., Argyriou Alexander, Dragoumis Markos, Georgousopoulos Costas, Kokkinidis Damianos, Filippidis D., Veltsos George, Dimaras A., Giannaras C., Nesoros A., Nikiforos P., Rozakis Chris, “op.cit”, 100-101.

⁸⁸ Giannopoulos George – Clogg Richard, “op.cit”, 104.

⁸⁹ For example the state never interfered in the sphere of production. Meletopoulos Meletis, “op.cit”, 261, 272.

making indefensible arrests, by following the telephone method⁹⁰ or by the threat of dismissal. Moreover, the junta created a huge net of informers. That extra mechanism of repression did the trick as none could never be sure whether his interlocutor was an informer or not.⁹¹

The junta, once on power, abolished the political and cultural liberties of the Greek people. It banned the function of the political parties and organizations.⁹² But the catalogue of the restrictions was quite long. The regime abolished the public gatherings and allowed, only, those that had been checked, in advance, by the precautionary control. Moreover, once a public gathering had started, its character could not change. Police had the right to observe and direct the conversation and could also interrupt a speaker or dissolve the gathering in case forbidden meanings were brought up. The police had also the right to use force and guns to achieve that goal. Moreover, the dictatorship took away the rights of those individuals, whose political beliefs were judged as reprehensible⁹³ and the regime abolished the right of the public servants to go on strike.⁹⁴ However, the most important restriction was that of freedom of speech. The results of censorship were disheartening and an era of obscurantism began for the Greek culture.

The dictators fought everything they were afraid of such as the educational or the cultural progress; and education was fought harsh.⁹⁵ Every change concerning education had followed the ideology of the right and was also characterized by more severe centric control and administrative insufficiency. The junta had four basic goals concerning education: a) First of all, to exclude from higher education as many students as possible. For that reason it followed measures such as the fixation of the results by the police. Moreover, they created the system of 10% according to which

⁹⁰ In some cases the regime had ordered OTE (Organization of Telecommunication of Greece) to deaden the telephone lines of those citizens that wanted to frighten for some days. When those people went to OTE to ask for the damage they were informed that it was an order of ESA. Most of those men never used their telephone freely again as long as the dictatorship lasted. Minuzzo Nerio, "op.cit", 78-79.

⁹¹ Minuzzo Nerio, "ibid", 72-84.

⁹² *Sixty Years of Struggles and Sacrifices, Chronicle of KKE, 1945-1978*, Vol. 2nd, Athens: Modern Times Publications, 1979, 291.

⁹³ Katiforis George, *The Legislation of the Barbarians*, Athens: Themelio, 1975, 149-154, 158.

⁹⁴ Sakerallopoulos Spyros, "op.cit", 165.

⁹⁵ Minuzzo Nerio, "op.cit", 95.

10% of the students would come from those students that during their school years had scored high on school testimonials that “examined” the morality and character of the students. Furthermore, police surveillance was imposed on universities and students were blackmailed to spy other students. The regime also purged the professors and created the post of the government commissar in each university. b) The second goal was the political indoctrination of the young people. This was accomplished by the harsh purge of teachers. In addition, the demotic language gave its place to the puristic Greek and school books were re-written and enriched with religious instructions. In villages and small towns teachers were obliged to give speeches in favour of the regime. Children were encouraged to spy on their classmates and their families and foreign books were thoroughly checked. c) The regime also promoted the support of the right and d) used education to pressure on people.⁹⁶ During the junta mini skirt was banned and people were not allowed to have long hair or beards. Moreover, teachers and students were required to be in church every Sunday and salute the flag every morning.⁹⁷

The political marketing of the regime was perfectly organized. The dictators stumped up and down the country giving speeches and dancing. They also used to visit the spiritual institutions such as the universities and the Academy and got up big fiestas for different celebrations. Finally, the regime also interfered in issues of the church. Its most evident intervention concerned the issue of the archbishop. Since Chrysostomos was eager/prompt to leave his dignity of archbishop a new law was enacted and Chrysostomos was replaced by Ieronimos, as Papadopoulos and the King had agreed.⁹⁸

iv) Towards the dictatorship’s fall

Meanwhile, on December 13th 1967 King Constantine made his counter-revolution but failed and then left Greece with the royal family for Italy. His place was taken by the general G. Zoitakis who was sworn Prime Minister by G.

⁹⁶ Richard Clogg, *Inside the Colonels’ Greece*, London: Chatto & Windus Publications, 1972, 87-95.

⁹⁷ Giannopoulos George – Clogg Richard, “op.cit”, 221.

⁹⁸ Vournas Tasos, *The History of Modern Greece: Junta*, Athens: Tolidi Publications, 1986, 81-82.

Papadopoulos.⁹⁹ The plan of Constantine was condemned to come to nothing basically for two reasons. Firstly, because the leadership of the Navy that was pro-royalist had resigned their commission and secondly due to the discharge of officers by the junta.¹⁰⁰ It also lacked the element of surprise and the lower officers of the army, who supported the junta, had not been eliminated.¹⁰¹ Besides, the improvised and hasty organization of Constantine's resistance could have never given back to the King the control of the country. On the contrary, the King had given Papadopoulos the best chance to get rid of Constantine who had never really accepted the new regime and to appear in the eyes of the people as the leader that had send off the royal family, in spite of the fact that he had not abolish monarchy.¹⁰²

Another action of resistance occurred on August 13th 1968 when Alekos Panagoulis attempted to assassinate G. Papadopoulos. Panagoulis tried to blast the dictator's car during his drive to the office but due to a problem of the mechanism the explosion was delayed and Alekos Panagoulis was arrested and tortured.¹⁰³ Nevertheless, the junta exploited, propagandistically, the incident to its benefit. It obliged churches to praise God for the dictator's salvation and Greek television to present Papadopoulos as a hero, protected by the Virgin Mary.¹⁰⁴ Al. Panagoulis was condemned to death but after the strongly-worded protest of the international community his death penalty was cancelled and he remained in jail.¹⁰⁵ The action of Alekos Panagoulis revealed the oppressed abhorrence of the people but Greeks were not yet ready to resist openly. However, the death of Georgios Papandreou in November 1968 made the public express for the first time, massively, its hate for the dictatorial regime. His funeral, on November 3rd 1968, was made into a manifestation against junta.¹⁰⁶

⁹⁹ Katris Giannis, "op.cit", 303.

¹⁰⁰ Diamantopoulos Thanasis, Avramopoulos Dimitris, Pagalos Theodoros, Andrianopoulos Andreas, "op.cit", 242.

¹⁰¹ Minuzzo Nerio, "op.cit", 193.

¹⁰² Psyroukis Nikos, "op.cit", 106.

¹⁰³ Minuzzo Nerio, "op.cit", 86-92.

¹⁰⁴ Psyroukis Nikos, "op.cit", 180.

¹⁰⁵ Katris Giannis, "op.cit", 330-332.

¹⁰⁶ Kritikos Panagiotis, Lagadinis Nikos, *Resistance Against the Dictatorship 1967-1974*, Athens: Kalentis Publications, 1996, 239-241.

On December 10th 1969 Greece left the European Council. The international community had rose up against Greece due to three reasons: a) The revelation of the effort of Panagiotis Pipinelis – minister of foreign affairs – to mislead Europe concerning the intentions of junta to restore democracy in Greece, b) the confirmation by the European Commission for Human Rights that the junta had tortured harshly many citizens and c) the disclosure of the plan of the colonels to “export” dictatorship to Italy made the European Union decide the ousting of Greece.¹⁰⁷ But Greece managed to leave the European Union first, before being expelled.¹⁰⁸ Nevertheless, the European countries kept their economical and mercantile relations with Greece proving that the reaction of the European Union was not virtual but simulated.¹⁰⁹

However, the actions against the dictatorial regime continued and in May 1973 the revolt of the Navy broke out. The officers of the Navy, coming from the middle-class, had never accepted the junta and tried to abolish the regime. Papadopoulos, who believed that the movement of the Navy had been organized under the “blessing” of the King, exploited the opportunity to shake off Constantine, at last.¹¹⁰ G. Papadopoulos abolished monarchy and became President of the Democracy. A plebiscite took place in July 29th 1973 but it was a typical procedure. People voted in favor of Presidential Democracy and G. Papadopoulos became officially its President.¹¹¹ However, the leader of the junta had started, since 1972, to gather the powers of the state around him.¹¹² In March 1972 he had been self-appointed Regent, while he was also Prime-Minister and responsible for several ministries. G. Papadopoulos had been fascinated by power and had fall in trap of the personal

¹⁰⁷ Giannopoulos George – Clogg Richard, “op.cit”, 124-127.

¹⁰⁸ Zaousis Alexander, “op.cit”, 468.

¹⁰⁹ USA used to consider Greece as its belonging. On the other side, European countries had not openly recognized the regime but had, in reality, accepted the junta and maintained their mercantile relations during the whole period. Only Italy, Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Holland had expressed their contradiction in order to present a more democratic face. Finally, the dictatorship attempted to create friendly relations with neutral countries. Katris Giannis, “op.cit”, 337-345.

¹¹⁰ Meletopoulos Meletis, “op.cit”, 318-319.

¹¹¹ Psyroukis Nikos, 284.

¹¹² The gathering of over-powers around G Papadopoulos can be attributed to two reasons; to the dictator’s insecurity and to the necessity to present a collective power. Minuzzo Nerio, “op.cit”, 256.

government of the country. In the end, the gathering of over-powers cost Papadopoulos his administration.¹¹³

Moreover, 1973 was, economically, a very bad year for Greece. The international economic crisis of the period 1971-1973 was an extra blow for the dictatorial regime. The fight of inflation became the government's first priority but it could not use consumerism to gain the tolerance of people, any more. Meanwhile, the students' movement kept becoming stronger and on November 14th students' associations assembled in the Polytechnical School of Athens and the next day citizens were added to the students' power. The revolt of the Polytechnical School ended with the entrance of tanks in the university and the death of several students. The use of force by junta proved the weakness of the regime.¹¹⁴ The uprising of the Polytechnical School was the beginning of the end for G. Papadopoulos and his dictatorship. Georgios Papadopoulos in his panic to save his "kingdom" declared the military law and gave the Chief of the Armed Forces the ability to play his own game; and D. Ioannidis grasped the chance he was given immediately.¹¹⁵

Meanwhile, the efforts of G. Papadopoulos to save his "kingdom" went up in smoke. The dictator had announced in 1970 the junta's first measures for the liberalization of the regime and in 1973 made another effort towards that goal. He worked out a new Constitution, he granted amnesty to all political offences and made Spyros Markezinis, a supporter of the center-left, the new Prime Minister.¹¹⁶ Nevertheless, the regime never really believed in or desired liberalization. And as a result it never managed to "win" the Greek people. The regime lacked of popular base.¹¹⁷

The junta tried to neutralize the Greek public opinion and to create a popular base but never succeeded. The dictators presented themselves as saviors of the country. With their liberalization measures they attempted to make the regime look more democratic and tried to gain the favor of the people but failed.¹¹⁸ Consequently,

¹¹³ Meletopoulos Meletis, "op.cit", 39-43.

¹¹⁴ Minuzzo Nerio, "op.cit", 270-271.

¹¹⁵ Meletopoulos Meletis, "op.cit", 45.

¹¹⁶ Diamantopoulos Thanasis, Avramopoulos Dimitris, Pagalos Theodoros, Andrianopoulos Andreas, "op.cit", 248.

¹¹⁷ Mouzelis Nikos, "op.cit", 289.

¹¹⁸ Psyroukis Nikos, "op.cit", 208, 243-246.

the lack of popular base, the events of the Polytechnical School and the conflicts inside the Armed Forces composed the main reasons for the fall of G. Papadopoulos and its seven years old dictatorship.¹¹⁹

3. 1973-1974 the dictatorship of D.Ioannidis

i) The dictatorship of Ioannidis and its “confused” ideology

On Sunday November 25th 1973 at 3.30 am tanks appeared in Athens for one more time. The dictatorship remained but Dimitris Ioannidis replaced Georgios Papadopoulos, who was under house arrest. Fedon Gkizikis was the new President of Democracy while Adamantios Androutsopoulos was the new Prime Minister.¹²⁰ The new dictatorship had followed the steps of the previous one but was imposed without a gunfire. It arrested the politicians and overpowered those personalities that were connected with the previous regime.¹²¹

Dimitris Ioannidis, the leader of the dictatorship, was born in a small village in Epirus and was the son of a farmer. He became a second lieutenant when he was twenty-two years old and a colonel after twenty-four years. During the dictatorship he was promoted to brigadier and was responsible for the mechanisms of the political and military security of the state. He was an Orthodox Christian, a nationalist and an enemy of the royalty. He had a passion, poker, and was not interested in women.¹²² Finally, Ioannidis, who was the commander of ESA (Greek Military Police), was an expert in tortures and terrorism and enjoyed his position. He considered brutal force the best way to solve problems. As a result, the initial moderation of the regime– the press was not strictly censored - lasted for a small period and violence was soon

¹¹⁹ Mouzelis Nikos, “op.cit”, 291.

¹²⁰ Xatzisokratis Dimitris, *Polytechnical School 1973, Re-meditation of a reality*, Athens: Polis Publications, 2004, 183.

¹²¹ Minuzzo Nerio, “op.cit”, 274-277.

¹²² Psyroukis Nikos, “op.cit”, 285-286.

restored.¹²³ Most participants of the second junta were members of the lower middle-class whilst few came from the upper middle-class.¹²⁴

The regime was against democratization and abolished the powers that G. Papadopoulos had given the President.¹²⁵ Moreover, the legalization of the regime was never the aim of the new dictatorship. On the contrary the group of Ioannidis chose coercion as its mean to impose junta. Besides, the internal conflicts of the group gave away the lack of unity concerning the long-term planning. The faction of D. Ioannidis wanted to continue the regime of 21st April and voted for violence in contrast to the faction of Davos that considered the smooth transition to democracy and to the right the only solution, taking under consideration the isolation of the regime that was already obvious. However, junta abolished the most important institutions and never cared for the ideological and institutional legalization of the regime.¹²⁶

The junta of Ioannidis did not have an ideology. Improvisation and off-handedness were the only things “planned” and as a result confusion and disintegration, basically, characterized the regime’s policy.¹²⁷ However, the central feature of its ideology was its “unseen” dictator. D. Ioannidis, during his dictatorship, never entered upon office. He never appeared in public and used to give orders in his simple office that had only a table and two chairs.¹²⁸

The regime used the system of rumors to keep the public in suspense and that caused fear and agony. Furthermore, the regime was promoting an anti-Turkish feeling and was cultivating an environment in favor of national preparedness to fight.¹²⁹ Nevertheless, the regime did not have a popular base and thus the distance between the civil society and the army continuously expanded. Consequently, the political developments revealed the structural instability of the regime and made that gap insuperable.¹³⁰

¹²³ Arrests, exile, tormenting, abolition of the freedoms of press and military law were some of the ways Ioannidis used to overpass every obstacle. Xatzisokratis Dimitris, “op.cit”, 184-185.

¹²⁴ This explains the fact that the interests of the middle-class were not promoted by the regime. Meletopoulos Meletis, “op.cit”, 70-73.

¹²⁵ Meletopoulos Meletis, “ibid”, 45.

¹²⁶ Xatzisokratis Dimitris, “op.cit”, 185-186.

¹²⁷ Psyroukis Nikos, “op.cit”, 311.

¹²⁸ Meletopoulos Meletis, “op.cit”, 328.

¹²⁹ Psyroukis Nikos, “op.cit”, 347, 353.

¹³⁰ Mouzelis Nikos, “op.cit”, 291.

ii) The path to the end

Despite the structural problems and the ideological absence the junta had also to face the difficult international conditions of 1974. The economical crisis, the stagflation and the currency uproar plus the energy crisis contributed to the aggravation of the Greek standards of living. The regime followed the policy of chaos according to which junta was fighting to clean up the country from the miasma of the past. For that reason it brought to light the illegal actions of the regime of Papadopoulos but was, in reality, hoping to eliminate the possibility of the restoration of the previous regime. It tried through propaganda to ameliorate the situation but the fall was uncontrollable. Serafim became the new archbishop and junta in its effort to restrain the negative developments announced for a new “Constitution”. However, the regime never managed to convince the Greek people of its fake intentions.¹³¹ The Cypriote tragedy was the last straw. The government of Androutsopoulos concluded a truce with the Turks but the partition of Cyprus could not be easily forgotten. The dictatorship fell on July 23rd 1974 and C. Karamanlis was asked to restore democracy in Greece.¹³²

4. 1974-1976 the return of C. Karamanlis and the restoration of democracy

The political change occurred instantaneously and the name of Constantinos Karamanlis was since that moment indissolubly connected with the restoration of democracy.¹³³ The leadership of the Armed Forces of the junta had decided that between C Karamanlis and P. Kanellopoulos the first one would not harm but support the position that the army held during the dictatorship.¹³⁴ Thus, Karamanlis returned to Greece the night from 23rd to 24th of July and was immediately sworn Prime Minister.¹³⁵ A large number of Greeks assembled to the airport to welcome the right

¹³¹ Psyroukis Nikos, “op.cit”, 350-355.

¹³² Xatzisokratis Dimitris, “op.cit”, 198.

¹³³ Voulgaris Giannis, *The political change in Greece 1974-1990, Stable democracy marked by the postwar history*, Athens: Themelio Publications, 2002, 2nd edition, 25.

¹³⁴ Mouzelis Nikos, “op.cit”, 292.

¹³⁵ Diamantopoulos Thanasis, Avramopoulos Dimitris, Pagalos Theodoros, Andrianopoulos Andreas, “op.cit”, 255. As Aggelos Elefantis argues “the exodus from dictatorship was by the right door because

politician.¹³⁶ The Greek people were celebrating the abolition of junta and church bells rang continuously. People were laughing, embracing and crying because of joy. Democracy had been restored.¹³⁷

i) The government of National Unity and the elections of November 1974

The new government of “national unity”¹³⁸ put the Constitution of 1952 into force and called an election for November 17th 1974. The government of “national unity” consisted, mostly, of supporters of the right. However, it also included personalities that had cooperated or were in dialogue with the dictatorship to ensure a smooth transition to the parliamentary system. Moreover, the new government embodied some representatives of the centre and some conservative social democrats in order to give the government a democratic foundation.

The government of “national unity” wanted to display a character beyond parties and classes in order to preserve the dominance of the oligarchy until the elections. Furthermore, C. Karamanlis presented himself as a changed person that had regretted for the mistakes of the past, had become liberal and was ready to overpass the “sick” side of the right and govern the country with competence. Besides, the renaming of the sinning ERE to Nea Dimokratia reflected the message of renewal and change. Nevertheless, the new government did not radically purged the army and used its de facto power - as it had not been legalized by the people with elections - as pretexts to justify its reluctance to liquidate justice, education and all public mechanisms from the anti-democratic personnel. The government of “national unity” also “utilized” the possibility of an attack from abroad – an intimidating ideology - so as to force people’s decision as regards the governing of the country. The transitional government’s goal was to lull people and overpass the conflict of classes and the problems of foreign policy; and it succeeded. In conclusion, it has to

the others were either not open or nobody was ready to open them”. Elefantis Aggelos, *In the Constellation of Populism*, Athens: Politis Publications, 1991, 84.

¹³⁶ The people had already forgotten the electoral fraud of 1961 and saw Karamanlis as their savior.

¹³⁷ Psyroukis Nikos, “op.cit”, 413-416.

¹³⁸ Diamantopoulos Thanasis, Avramopoulos Dimitris, Pagalos Theodoros, Andrianopoulos Andreas, “op.cit”, 263.

be underlined that during the period between the abolition of dictatorship and the elections of November the right followed the policy of ideological disorientation in order to withhold that the junta preserved and strengthened the domination of the same oligarchy.¹³⁹

The system of reinforced proportional representation led Nea Dimokratia to victory in the elections of November 1974.¹⁴⁰ Besides, the electoral victory of Nea Dimokratia was greatly grounded on the concealment of the fact that there was a continuance from the power of the right before 1967 to the power of the junta and then to the power of Nea Dimokratia from 1974. Nevertheless, the result of the election - according to which C. Karamanlis collected 53% of the voters, thus 70% of the seats (220 seats) - verified that Greeks did not, really, have another political choice at that period, given the circumstances.¹⁴¹

ii) C. Karamanlis and the ideological base of Nea Demokratia

C. Karamanlis and many personalities from the old political middle class composed the New Power, as Nea Dimokratia had changed its goals, its character and its beliefs. The supporters of the new government were not only the middle class¹⁴² but also the masses, meaning the agrarians and the lower middle and middle classes of the towns. C. Karamanlis had managed to remove the stigma of the past and was transformed to the savior of the country. He had become the charismatic leader chosen by the people.

The basic goals of the new government were the modernization of the country, the regime and the political system. Nea Dimokratia liberalized the regime, restored the rights of individuals and political freedoms and the anti-communism of the past was abandoned.¹⁴³ Moreover, all political parties were legalized¹⁴⁴ and the regime,

¹³⁹ Kautantzoglou Ioanna, "op.cit", 35, 59-63, 102.

¹⁴⁰ Diamantopoulos Thanasis, Avramopoulos Dimitris, Pagalos Theodoros, Andrianopoulos Andreas, "op.cit", 263.

¹⁴¹ Kautantzoglou Ioanna, "op.cit", 35, 119.

¹⁴² The middle class consisted of the monopolistic capital, the ship-owners' capital, the higher officer of the state mechanism, the Greek officers and the security services. Elefantis Aggelos, "op.cit", 85.

¹⁴³ Elefantis Aggelos, "ibid", 85-86.

radically, liquidated the army and the sector of justice. On December 8th 1974, the new government held a plebiscite and 69,2% was in favor of a republic Democracy and monarchy was, definitely, abolished.¹⁴⁵ One of the first things that C Karamanlis, also, did was to reform the Constitution.¹⁴⁶ Furthermore, the Prime Minister was in favour of a release policy and operated according to an international-European framework. He veered the orientation of Greece from the United States towards West Europe and his basic intention was the entrance of the country in the European Community. He aimed at reducing the interference of USA in the Greek reality, at modernizing the Greek capitalism and was after the harmonization of the country with the countries of West Europe that were working to create an international subsystem.¹⁴⁷ According to Thanasis Diamantopoulos the basic ideological characteristics of ERE that was renamed Nea Dimokratia (ND) were: nationalism, non-mediatory relation between the people and the leader, political control of the party based on the state mechanism, disbelief towards the anarchic market, social coherence imposed by the highest level and capitalist completion and progress through the state. Besides, conservatism was synonymous with ND.¹⁴⁸ Moreover, Nea Dimokratia and its leader set up a political system with reinforced presidential powers and centripetal party dynamics.

C. Karamanlis and his new government desired the formation of a moderate, conservative and liberal democracy. They aimed at a confined number of parties, at a rational attitude, a politically mild situation and at a well-disciplined participation of the biggest parties. C. Karamanlis argued, as well, that it was the nation's

¹⁴⁴ *Sixty Years of Struggles and Sacrifices, Chronicle of KKE, 1945-1978*, Vol. 2nd, Athens: Modern Times Publications, 1979, 423.

¹⁴⁵ Xatzopoulos Axilleas, *The Chronicle of a Reporter, 1974-1975*, 40. In relevance with the plebiscite the government of Karamanlis chose to follow a neutral position and the result was not connected with none political power. Voulgaris Giannis, "op.cit", 36.

¹⁴⁶ Kautantzoglou Ioanna, "op.cit", 119.

¹⁴⁷ Tsaousis Dimitris, Leontaritis George, Tsoukalas Constantine, Maurogordatos George, Alivizatos Nikos, Fatouros Argyris, Kitromilidis Pascal, Mousouros L., Maronitis D., Argyriou Alexander, Dragoumis Markos, Georgousopoulos Costas, Kokkinidis Damianos, Filippidis D., Veltsos George, Dimaras A., Giannaras C., Nesoros A., Nikiforos P., Rozakis Chris, "op.cit", 114.

¹⁴⁸ Diamantopoulos Thanasis, *The Greek Conservative Party: Historical Approach and Political Characteristics, From the party of Nationalists of Gounaris to the Nea Dimokratia of Evert*, Athens: Papazisis Publications, 1994, 40-41.

responsibility to educate its people in a paternalistic way. Thus, both institutions and political procedures had to adapt to the special characteristics of people and then contribute to their political education.¹⁴⁹

Nevertheless, the new government was taking measures in that way that they would promote its own interests. Both the Constitution and the laws ensured that the new democratic, parliamentary system would be able to control possible contradictions. Thus, what replaced the dictatorship was a despotic state of capitalism and of consensus democracy. Its basic characteristics were: a) the weakening of the representative bodies, b) the function of invisible centers of decision-making inside the state mechanism, c) the complementary existence of parties and state mechanisms and d) the over-stress of the executive powers. Moreover, the disadvantages of the capitalist system such as the undermining of the representative system contributed to the widening of the gap between the state and society.¹⁵⁰

iii) The other political powers

In 1974, the abolition of dictatorship caused the rise of new or reformed political powers. A new system of political parties had been born and was based on three main necessities. First of all, it asked for the consolidation of democracy. Secondly, it expressed the demand of a society that needed to be represented and ruled and finally, it had to be oriented towards an international and economical environment that kept changing.¹⁵¹

PASOK (Pan-Hellenic Socialist Party) was a centralistic, populist, socialist and radical party. It was founded on September 3rd 1974. His leader was Andreas Papandreou.¹⁵² The supporters of PASOK came from the center and the center-left political base of the dictatorial period, while the middle class and the small bourgeoisie played a very important role. He was, therefore, the expresser of the lower middle-class ideology.¹⁵³ The party presented itself as a radical socialist power

¹⁴⁹ Voulgaris Giannis, "op.cit", 39-43.

¹⁵⁰ Elefantis Aggelos, "op.cit", 86-88.

¹⁵¹ Voulgaris Giannis, "op.cit", 50.

¹⁵² A. Papandreou was a leader very popular to the masses, whose radiance was enchanting. Elefantis Aggelos, "op.cit", 124.

¹⁵³ Elefantis Aggelos, "ibid" 123-124, 129.

whose aim was the formation of a socialist self-managed society. Its main goal was national independence and was followed by peoples' domination, social liberalization and democratic procedures. It was in favor of the redistribution of the income in order to fight inequalities and of the development of a social state.¹⁵⁴ Since 1974, PASOK was the only party that called into question the ruling ideology of the right and ideologically differentiated itself. It supported the contradiction of the classes, the independent existence of the country, the socialist self-management and denounced the right for the ideological abuse of foreign danger.¹⁵⁵ In the elections of 1974 PASOK gathered 13,6% of the votes.

EKND (Enosis Kentrou - Nees Dunamis) gained a little bit more than 20% of the preference of the people.¹⁵⁶ Enosis Kentrou had reappeared in September 1974 under Georgios Mavros and was united with the Kinisi Neon Politikon Dynameon on October 8th 1974. However, after the death of Georgios Papandreou EKND never managed to restore its image as a coherent party and was stuck with the ideology of the past.¹⁵⁷ EKND had agreed to participate in the government of "national unity" as its differences with Nea Dimocratia were few but changed its positions just before the elections in order to justify their existence.

Finally, the left coalition that consisted of KKE (Communist Party of Greece), internal KKE and EDA won 10% of the voters. KKE and internal KKE had a reformist character but both lacked the determination to counter the dominating ideology. Internal KKE's ideology differentiated from the ideology of the right by claiming a limited redistribution of national income. It asked for moderation and maturity in regard with social and economical requests of the people and was generally characterized by a silenced acquiescence. KKE was less reconcilable but became harsh and critical whenever it fought internal KKE. When fought ND and EKND it became much more moderate. Consecutively, its theoretical declarations did not go with its mild social practice.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁴ Voulgaris Giannis, "op.cit", 69-77.

¹⁵⁵ Kautantzoglou Ioanna, "op.cit", 50,54.

¹⁵⁶ Diamantopoulos Thanasis, Avramopoulos Dimitris, Pagalos Theodoros, Andrianopoulos Andreas, "op.cit", 266.

¹⁵⁷ Voulgaris Giannis, "op.cit", 65-66.

¹⁵⁸ Kautantzoglou Ioanna, "op.cit", 50, 52-53.

iv) From the dictatorship to the republic democracy and finally to the two-party system

The absence of a popular base was the main cause for the fall of the junta. Moreover, the resistance of the people expressed with the Polytechnical revolt and the conflicts between the middle-class and the political powers signed the abolition of dictatorship in Greece. The velvet restoration of the democracy inaugurated a new period for the Greek history. Between the political change and the dictatorship there was a deep section. Moreover, the fall of the junta gave the old personnel of the bourgeoisie the advantage to impose a new power. As a result, Nea Dimokratia was regenerated and was based on modernization and the center under the guidance of PASOK and A. Papandreou was reformed to a socialist and radical party.¹⁵⁹

During the political change the army lost its political role and the new regime chose to follow a populist ideology.¹⁶⁰ Its radical character dissolved the old base of legalization, that supported ideological elements such as anti-communism and ultra-nationalism, and the Greek political system laid its foundations to a new base. USA gave its place to Europe and anti-Americanism characterized the country for many years. The political and social conservatism was replaced by the liberating culture. Thus, the new legalization base was an open democratic system, anti-fascist and non anti-totalitarian, whose ideological domination was the progressive-democratic culture and consisted of the social criticism of the left and populist beliefs. Besides, the collapse of the post civil system had led the populist ideology to flush.¹⁶¹ The fall of the junta gave birth to an autocephalous and auto-relative political system and those responsible for the dictatorship were led to justice.¹⁶²

¹⁵⁹ Elefantis Aggelos, "op.cit", 81-84.

¹⁶⁰ Mappa Sofia, *Orthodoxy and Power in the Greek Society*, Athens: Exantas Publications, 1997, 93.

¹⁶¹ Elefantis Aggelos, "op.cit", 17.

¹⁶² On January 14th 1974 D. Ioannidis was arrested and imprisoned in Korydallos and on January 20th the arbitrators of the junta of Papadopoulos were arrested in Tzia and were, too, imprisoned in Korydallos. Xatzopoulos Axilleas, "op.cit", 40, 53.

To conclude, the political change opened a new path in relevance with the Greek political system. The formation of the two-party system started,¹⁶³ in reality, after the restoration of democracy. Besides, it is undisputable that the Greek case is characterized by a spectacular change of its political ideologies.¹⁶⁴

III. The Greek society between 1966 and 1976

D. Tsaousis defines society as a reality in which man participates and in which he is in a relation of experience and creation. Thus, society is a universal, self-sufficient and organized entity of men that has its own identity and continuance in time.¹⁶⁵

1. Demographic trends

Population is one of the most important factors for the progress of society. The enormity of population and its composition in relevance with age and sex affect and determine the productively active population of the country, its productive potentials and its consumption model. In 1961 the Greek population was 8.388.553 men, while in 1971 the population increased to 8.768.641 men.¹⁶⁶ Thus, the average rate of increase was 0,95% in 1961 and 0,44% in 1971. Finally, in 1981 the Greek population was 8.768.641 and the average rate of increase 1,06%. Therefore, during the '60s the Greek population's average of increase fell due to the immigration of its people to European countries, whilst in the 70's that percentage went up basically because of

¹⁶³ The illegitimate two-party system of the pro-dictatorial period was a two-party system of shape/pattern and not of substance. Diamantopoulos Thanasis, Avramopoulos Dimitris, Pagalos Theodoros, Andrianopoulos Andreas, "op.cit", 213-215.

¹⁶⁴ Elefantis Aggelos, "op.cit", 17.

¹⁶⁵ Tsaousis Dimitris, *The Man's Society, Introduction to sociology*, Athens: Gutenberg Publications, 1996, 79-81.

¹⁶⁶ In 1971 the economically active population was 3.732.468 men, of which 52,4% were agrarians, 35,1% were workers in industry, in services or public administration. Finally, 12,5% were industrialists, tradesmen, shopkeepers, merchants, executive personnel and professionals. Giannopoulos George – Clogg Richard, "op.cit", 182-183.

the repatriation of many Greeks.¹⁶⁷ After 1971 the Greek population was characterized as a population of slow progress, with low birthrate¹⁶⁸, low death-rate – due to the progress of medicine – and a population that was not affected from internal and external immigration as in the previous years.¹⁶⁹

2. The Greek economy

i) The Greek economy until 1967

Greece was a traditionally retailed and dependent economy. Until 1967 the efforts to transform the Greek economy into an economy of the middle-class, in reality, assisted a small number of people to make a fortune, while the economical structures that were created were unstable and not suitable for the Greek society. Greece had started to obtain the morphology of the European model. The country was industrializing under the shield of the foreign capital, whose inflow continuously rose. Therefore, the dependent industrialization became one of the most important economic characteristics of that period and its most significant consequence was external immigration.¹⁷⁰ The basic characteristics of the Greek industrialization of that period were: its short-term character, an effort to enrich in chargeable to the production, the lack of specialized technical knowledge, the favoritism character of

¹⁶⁷ Papadakis M., Siabos G., “Demographical Trends and Perspectives of the Greek Population” in Tapinos G., Kontogiorgis G. eds. *The Greek Society in the End of the 20th Century*, Athens: Papazisis Publications, 1995, 29-31

¹⁶⁸ The low birth-rate was the result of internal and external immigration, of urbanization, of the seize of the household and the progress of women regarding their educational level. Balourdos Dionysis, *Demographical Transition and Demographical Problem in Greece: Theoretical and methodological speculations*, Vol. 94, Athens: Inspection of Social Researches, Publications of the National Center of Social Researches, 1997, 21.

¹⁶⁹ Balourdos Dionysis, “ibid”, 20.

¹⁷⁰ Further consequences were: industry’s dependence on foreign technology, limited absorption of the labor, the increase of external immigration, regional inequalities and a division according to which the domestic capital was oriented towards consumption goods, whilst the foreign capital towards top industries. Elefantis Aggelos, “op.cit”, 20.

those that had taken a loan, the important duty of the state as a distributor of loans and offers, the corruption and the lack of political personnel of the right.¹⁷¹

In general, in the pro-dictatorial period the GNP (Gross National Product) presented a continuous increase. However, the unfair distribution of the national income was an undisputable reality and the unequal distribution was further worsened due to the indirect taxes that were higher than the direct ones. Moreover, the lack of forms of the welfare state made life difficult, especially for the lower economical classes of Greece. The number of the farmers had been decreased and the capitalist way of production had favored the industrial production over the agrarian. The outcome was the disproportionate development of the Greek economic sector.¹⁷²

Particularly, in the year 1966 the national income was increased and the influx of public and private capitals also augmented. As a result, the balance of payments had a small surplus and the internal and external balance equalized. The national product raised and so did consumption.¹⁷³ Nevertheless, the Greek economy still faced some problems such as the dependence of industrialization by the state, the transmission of capitals into defective productive directions, the slow increase of industrial credits and other social and political insufficiencies.¹⁷⁴

ii) The economic policy of the dictatorship and the five year plan

As a matter of fact the dictators had neither an economic programme nor particular intentions.¹⁷⁵ However, the dictatorial regime formed a five-year plan (1968-1972) but, in reality, it was a plan that had been worked out by previous governments.¹⁷⁶ According to the “Five-year Program” the economical policy of junta was oriented towards a neo-liberal direction and its main ideals were the assistance of the private initiatives and the more effective function of the free economic institutions. Actually, the program sided with modernization and facilitated capital,

¹⁷¹ Meletopoulos Meletis, “op.cit”, 351-355.

¹⁷² Sakellaropoulos Spyros, “op.cit”, 169-187.

¹⁷³ The consumption increased because of the increase of salaries during the previous years, the increase of income and finally due to the tax policy. Meletopoulos Meletis, “op.cit”, 357.

¹⁷⁴ Meletopoulos Meletis, “ibid”, 356-357.

¹⁷⁵ Meletopoulos Meletis, “ibid”, 378.

¹⁷⁶ Giannopoulos George – Clogg Richard, “op.cit”, 139.

whilst it underlined the necessity to attract foreign investments.¹⁷⁷ The regime supported greatly the foreign capital in order to make public relations and gain the international political support.

Due to the fact that junta lacked a popular base the dictators tried to create a popular basis by promoting the interests of the lower economic groups. The agrarian debts were written off,¹⁷⁸ workers were given the privilege of lower cost for their residence and students took their books for free. Nevertheless, the regime revealed its real intentions in relevance with its cooperation with businessmen. It followed the ideal of laissez-faire and granted uncontrollable benefits to private investments such as tax exemptions. But in its effort to “enlarge” its popular base the regime also promoted the use of political anesthetics such as the consumption of goods and sports in order to wean the people away from the national, political and social problems. The Greek society was turned into a consuming society. The junta chose to promote the political apathy of Greeks and caused the social stagnation. Besides, the regime never considered of revising its economic policy in regard with the changes of the Greek society¹⁷⁹ and the expenses for social security were of the lowest of Europe.¹⁸⁰

However, the progress that the regime experienced during the first five years came as a result of the currency stability of the previous period. Yet, factors such as the retardation of the industrial development, the worsening of the balance of payments and the abolition of democracy and of freedoms undermined the international position of the country.¹⁸¹ In conclusion, the dictators followed the policy of superficial development, taking advantage of the favorable international economic conditions. Nevertheless, that kind of policy could not offer the Greek economy those structural transitions that could cause a real progress with long-term results.¹⁸²

¹⁷⁷ Meletopoulos Meletis, “op.cit”, 383-388.

¹⁷⁸ It was a populist measure that G. Papadopoulos announced in order to, actually, benefit the big producers and the big agricultural co-operatives and gain their political support. Giannopoulos George – Clogg Richard, “op.cit”, 166, 204.

¹⁷⁹ Giannopoulos George – Clogg Richard, “ibid”, 136-141.

¹⁸⁰ Karabelias George, *State and Society in the Political Change (1974-1988)*, Athens: Exantas Publications, 1989, 93.

¹⁸¹ Giannopoulos George – Clogg Richard, “op.cit”, 136-138.

¹⁸² Meletopoulos Meletis, “op.cit”, 412.

iii) The Greek economy from 1967 to 1976

Initially, the imposition of the dictatorship froze the market but in the end of 1967 the economic life returned to normality, basically, because of the credit policy of the regime and the clearing up of the junta's intentions.

Construction became one of most significant economic sectors during the dictatorial period and in 1969 Greece came first in regard with new constructions. Thus, there was an orientation and reproduction towards small ownership. Moreover, the sector of construction was further developed because of the investment of the international Hellenism in apartments and country houses. Tourism played an important role for its development, as the demand for hotels and apartments grew enormously.¹⁸³

The second important economical sector was the agrarian sector. Until 1973 the agrarian production and the investments on land greatly rose. Nevertheless, land had been cut into small pieces and their enormous number composed the greatest structural problem of the agrarian sector. In addition, the use of means of production such as the mechanical equipment, the fertilizers and the irrigation system was also problematic. Moreover, the Greek agrarian sector was characterized by a difficulty to adjust to the demand of the internal market. Finally, the value of the production did not increase. This can be explained by the fact that the regime was mostly interested in the progress of the industrial sector and not the agrarian. They considered that farming was an internal sector that owed to cater the country.¹⁸⁴ Besides, industrialization and capitalist progress were the basis for the agricultural sector, according to the junta. Despite the agrarian origin of the colonels and officers of the 21st April, their policy was, simply, populist as the regime was, basically, interested in the capital.

However, the goals of the five-year program were not achieved.¹⁸⁵ The regime kept the state subsidies at a low level, the gap of prices widened and farmers were continuously taking loans from the Agricultural Bank of Greece. On the contrary the

¹⁸³ Karabelias George, "op.cit", 66-69.

¹⁸⁴ Moisidis Antonis, *The Agricultural Society in Modern Greece: Productive and social structure in Greek agriculture (1950-1980)*, Athens: Institution of Mediterranean Studies, 1986, 57-61

¹⁸⁵ Meletopoulos Meletis, "op.cit", 414-416.

state's social liberalities were extremely low.¹⁸⁶ Furthermore, junta's interference in the farmers' co-operatives and the strengthening of the intermediates' role caused the economical and social decay of the agricultural sector.¹⁸⁷ As a consequence, the agrarian population declined and internal and external immigration became the best solution for underemployment and economic poverty.¹⁸⁸ What the farmers won, during the dictatorship, was a small share of the national income and a more developed system of social security. As G. Papadopoulos used to say: "The Greek people must eat less, work more and demand less".¹⁸⁹

The agrarian modernization, the investments on constructions, the invisible resources and the import of capital were the economic background for the development of industries. The intermediate and heavy industries were the first forms of industrialization that were developed. The industrial exports augmented, big enterprises increased and industrial investments rose.¹⁹⁰ The dictatorial regime viewed working class as persons that could come up with subversive ideas that could harm the regime and in order to avoid that possibility junta gave them rises and silenced the labour force. The regime abolished the right of strike, of protest and of entering into partnership. It changed the policy of dismissals and compensation and allowed shops to have free work-hours. Moreover, the regime fought trade unions and solved the problem of unemployment with external immigration.

In general, the period until 1971 was characterized by the serious loss of income and the weakening of Greek economy. The economical situation of the country superficially progressed but the economic decline of the following years proved that the development was temporary.¹⁹¹ According to Meletopoulos Meletis the social policy of the dictatorship was characterized as conservative, reactionary, incorporated and populist. Conservative because the junta held and reproduced the economic and social policy of the previous regimes; reactionary because during the dictatorship the artistic and cultural development entered a caveat; incorporated because the

¹⁸⁶ Moisis Antonis, "op.cit", 60-61.

¹⁸⁷ Meletopoulos Meletis, "op.cit", 419.

¹⁸⁸ Moisis Antonis, "op.cit", 61.

¹⁸⁹ Giannopoulos George – Clogg Richard, "op.cit", 205-206.

¹⁹⁰ The capitalist organization of the urban sectors of the state operated positively and reproduced the small-owners. Karabelias George, "op.cit", 70-75.

¹⁹¹ Giannopoulos George – Clogg Richard, "op.cit", 177, 186-188.

dictatorship tried to surpass the dissatisfaction of groups and classes with different measures; and populist because the dictators used populist measures to hide, provisionally, the social contradictions among people.¹⁹²

The political change and the new government of 1974 adopted the economic and social policy of the preceding period. Urban modernization became the adequate policy for everything, whilst consumer capitalism started consolidating. The number of small industries increased and direct and indirect cost of the salaries augmented. Furthermore, the agricultural population obtained more political power and became the power of transition.¹⁹³

From 1974 socioeconomic modernization was prompt. Private consumption dominated, while social services and the welfare state were left behind. The standards of living had changed and consumption goods occupied the most important position in the Greek society. Urbanization, appearance of new social requests, social movement, the expansion of the public sector, increase of the middle-classes and progress of the heavy industry and the ford working class were some of the characteristics of the new era. The political change experienced the radical social and anthropological transition of the Greek society. The restoration of democracy and of freedoms caused the multiplication of the expectations and the Greek society turned into a demanding one.

What was also noted was the radical restructure of the lower middle-classes basically due to immigration, maritime currency and tourism. Moreover, the temporal proletarianization of the petite bourgeoisie also contributed greatly. Higher education became very important as mental labor developed and the number of the state servants rose significantly. The states expenses augmented and the clientele relations became the basic characteristic of the political change's ideology. Thus, Greece in the 70's was converted into a contemporary capitalist social formation.¹⁹⁴

The new regime had to face very difficult international economic conditions; the collapse of the system of Breton Woods and the economic decline of 1974 and 1975. Furthermore, stagflation characterized the world's economy. The rate of progress remained low, while inflation was extremely high. The government of C. Karamanlis also had to face the open economy, the international competition and had to

¹⁹² Meletopoulos Meletis, "op.cit", 444-445.

¹⁹³ Karabelias George, "op.cit", 119-120, 127, 133, 143-144, 148.

¹⁹⁴ Elefantis Aggelos, "op.cit", 26-41.

ameliorate in order to approach the European perspective. The government followed the Keynesian model and gave a significant rise to the salaries but did not win the political support that desired. In addition, the political change was characterized by intense state interventionism and redistribution elements and tried to reduce the social inequalities. Indeed, it attempted to reduce poverty and increase the economical level of the Greek population, but remained, in the end, tied to the policies and orientations of the past.¹⁹⁵

3. City versus countryside

The differentiation of life between the city and the countryside was “inaugurated” when the advanced form of the division of labour and industrialization appeared. The number of the non-agrarian activities, significantly, rose and as a result the number of cities increased and so did their population. On the contrary, the periphery entered a period of downgrading and suffered economically, socially and culturally. As expected, the city ruled over countryside. Some basic characteristics of the industrialized city were the division and specialization of labour, the progress of technology, particularization, high capital investment, the increase of income, the social movement and individualization and, eventually, the appearance of new ways of organization and new rhythms of life.¹⁹⁶

In Greece the development of the secondary productive sector caused the alteration of productive structure and thus, of the anthropography of the country. Greeks working in the primary productive sector reduced from 53,8% in 1961 to 40,6% in 1971. On the other side, the number of workers in the secondary sector rose from 26,8% in 1961 to 32,9% in 1971. Furthermore, the division of population changed due to external and, most importantly, internal immigration. Athens and Thessalonica developed astonishingly and the urban population continuously rose. Meanwhile, the standards of living had changed and Greece had become a consumption society. Moreover, after the end of the dictatorship the level of life in the countryside had ameliorated and the differences between cities and villages had began

¹⁹⁵ Voulgaris Giannis, “op.cit”, 123-141.

¹⁹⁶ Louloudis Leonidas, Kasimis Chris, *Countryside: The Greek Agrarian Society in the End of the 20th Century*, Athens: Plethron Publications, 1999, 152-153.

to minimize. Goods, attitudes and patterns were exported from cities and imported by the Greek periphery, promoting in this way the national homogenization of the population.¹⁹⁷

However, it is undisputable that the life in cities dominated in the Greek reality and the feeling of marginalization made the farmers abandon their homes for bigger towns and cities. Relatives and fellow-villagers became the sources of information for those that had not decided where to move and this bond became a channel of communication between the city and the countryside. Those that came back, subconsciously, promoted the life of the city when they returned to their villages and the youth that had left to study praised the superiority of the standards of living in the cities and diffused in this way the city's consumption habits. The result was the ageing of the agricultural population.¹⁹⁸

Nevertheless, the modernization and the improvement of the standards of living became the basic goal for both the city and the countryside. The electrification of the urban households were completed in 1974, while 97,6% of semi-urban regions had electricity (58,4% in 1964) and 95,8% of the agricultural areas (19,7% in 1964). Moreover, the gas had in most cases already replaced the firewood.¹⁹⁹ But once a consumption good is obtained, more needs come to the surface and new products come to fulfill the gap created by the first ones. Of the most important electrical apparatus were the television and the fridge. Besides, television during its first steps was the motive for the family to gather at home. It worked as a conjunctive tissue and occupied the best position in the house. The most fanatic viewers were the older people and those of a low economical level.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁷ Voulgaris Giannis, "op.cit", 123-124.

¹⁹⁸ Karapostolis Vasilis, *Models of Consumption in the Greek Countryside – comparisons with the urban models 1964-1974*, Athens: Agrarian Bank of Greece – Management of Researches and Planning, 1979, 39-49.

¹⁹⁹ Voulgaris Giannis, "op.cit", 126. Whilst in 1964 the 80,3% of the agrarian household used firewood and only 3,8% gas and in 1974 8,5% used firewood and 86,4% gas. Karapostolis Vasilis, "op.cit", 62-63.

²⁰⁰ Leventakos Diamantis, *Television and Greek Society*, Athens: Ikon Publications, 2004, 160-162.

Year	Total number of television receivers (thousands)
1966	3
1967	15
1968	40
1969	86
1970	183
1971	280
1972	520
1973	950
1974	950
1975	1140
1976	1165

Source: *Statistic on radio and television 1960-1970*, Statistical reports and studies, Unesco, N.23

It is also true that the agrarian population preferred television more than any other consuming product as the agricultural population lacked basic services of entertainment.²⁰¹ But the number of telephone connections and cars increased as well.

The number of vehicles in Greece

Year	Passenger car	Buses	Trucks	Motorbikes	Total
1970	226.893	10.546	107.361	69.245	414.045
1971	264.026	10.979	118.284	72.394	465.685
1972	303.109	11.511	131.019	75.877	521.516
1973	346.733	12.400	150.349	80.028	589.510
1974	377.180	12.817	170.396	82.952	643.345
1975	438.550	13.352	198.148	87.176	737.229
1976	509.334	14.139	226.573	91.034	841.080

Source: Armos – Sector of advertising means, January 1982, Vo. 36, 84

Possession of electrical apparatus

Electrical apparatus	Total	Higher class	Middle class	Lower class
Dish-washer	2%	6%	3%	0%
Kitchen	61%	87%	69%	44%
Fridge	95%	97%	94%	95%

²⁰¹ Karapostolis Vasilis, “op.cit”, 64.

Washing-machine	55%	91%	62%	39%
Vacuum cleaner	23%	50%	27%	9%

Source: Source: Armos – Sector of advertising means, January 1982, Vo. 36, 36

However, differentiation was observed between the countryside and cities regarding sectors such as water supply and the main reason for that was not limited demand but the services' tight of the public institutions. Besides, the agrarian areas lacked of quantity and quality in regard with the system of hospitalization while at the same time in Thessalonica and, basically, in Athens, the services excelled. Furthermore, the low level of education and culture led the farmers leave for Athens. The low cultural level drove farmers to entertainments such as amusement centers and a new market of substitutes was created (ex. alcoholic drinks). Agrarians were hitched on material goods. Moreover, industry could not absorb all those that had left and as a result commerce and services were the other occupations of the agrarians.²⁰² Thus, concerning the fight city won and consumption became the driving force of the Greek society.

4. External, internal immigration and repatriation

In Greece immigration played a very important role in relevance with the demographic movement of the Greek people and the formation of the society. Until 1960 the external immigration was considered to be high and was basically provoked by the economic devastation and poverty that Greece faced after two World wars and a civil one. The overseas countries such as USA, Canada and Australia were the most popular. But from 1961 until 1970 the external immigration was even higher. Nevertheless, during that period the destination of immigrants was Europe²⁰³ and most of the immigrants chose West Germany. Temporariness was the main characteristic of the period's immigration. The reception countries were looking for workers – preferably unskilled – and immigrants wanted to stay abroad for a short and profitable period of time. However, until 1974 immigration was higher than

²⁰² Karapostolis Vasilis, "ibid", 57-80.

²⁰³ Papadakis M., Siabos G., "op.cit", 37-39.

repatriation but in 1975 things changed and those Greeks that returned to the homeland were more than those that left the country. Moreover, those that repatriated came, basically, from Europe and with their coming back the number of the active and productive population increased.²⁰⁴

Despite the increase of the external immigration, internal immigration also stepped up. Economical, political, cultural and social factors strengthened the phenomenon of urbanization in Greece. The main reasons for its increase were the lack of satisfactory standards of living and unemployment. Furthermore, the low nursing system, the downgrading of the educational system and the absence of cultural events led many Greeks leave their villages for urban centers and especially Athens.²⁰⁵ External immigration was higher during the 60's while it was replaced by internal, especially, from 1974.²⁰⁶

Internal Immigration between 1965 and 1974

	Urban regions	Periphery of Athens and Thessalonica	Semi-urban regions	Agrarian regions
Settled population (in thousands)	521,9	341,0	98,3	144,3
Population that took off	258,3	88,8	113,4	392,8
Decrease/reduction	+236,6	+252,2	-15,1	-248,5

Source: Karapostolis Vasilis, "op.cit", 39

Until 1970 immigration was seen as a mean to face unemployment and was part of the general economic policy of the state. Moreover, those who left offered their country extra incomes. Nevertheless, from 1975 the immigration policy started differentiating. Greece was at that time promoting repatriation and wanted to support the Greeks that lived abroad in order to feel citizens of the recipient country and at the same time to preserve their Greek character.²⁰⁷ That change of policy was the

²⁰⁴ Papadakis M., Siabos G., "op.cit", 40.

²⁰⁵ Sakellaropoulos Spyros, 188-189.

²⁰⁶ Moisis Antonis, "op.cit", 62.

²⁰⁷ Tsaousis Dimitris, Leontaritis George, Tsoukalas Constantine, Maurogordatos George, Alivizatos Nikos, Fatouros Argyris, Kitromilidis Pascal, Mousouros L., Maronitis D., Argyriou Alexander,

consequence of a series of factors. Most of the recipient countries had changed their policy and the differences between the overseas and the endo-European immigration were minimal. Moreover, the restoration of democracy in Greece had created an optimism regarding the future and the Greek state realized the political power of the lobby of Greeks in the foreign countries – especially in USA- and experienced the insecurity of the oncoming entrance in the European Community.²⁰⁸ It must be also noted that between 1971 and 1975 the number of repatriants that preferred to settle in agrarian and not urban regions kept growing.²⁰⁹ Finally in the 70's, in many cases permanent immigration became impermanent and temporary immigration became lasting²¹⁰.

5. Education and illiteracy

As it has been previously pointed out²¹¹ education was a much afflicted sector of the Greek social life. Traditionally, the educational system was more interested in the medium and higher education and underestimated the importance of the basic and technical education and of the exact sciences. However, the imposition of dictatorship ruined the principles of a normal educational system. The junta wanted to offer higher education, mainly, to those that supported their regime and the basic goal of education became the indoctrination of the youth. Furthermore, the transition from vernacular to purist Greek harmed even more the system. As a result, private schools attracted many Greek students and many also left in order to study abroad. Besides, the public expenditure regarding education was 1,61% in 1962-1963. The expenses increased in 1966 and reached 1,95% and then fell to 1,74% in 1970 and 1971.²¹²

Dragoumis Markos, Georgousopoulos Costas, Kokkinidis Damianos, Filippidis D., Veltos George, Dimaras A., Giannaras C., Nesoros A., Nikiforos P., Rozakis Chris, “op.cit”, 174-175.

²⁰⁸ Mousourou Loukia, *Immigration and Immigration Policy in Greece and Europe*, Athens: Gutenberg Publications, 1991, 176-177.

²⁰⁹ Karapostolis Vasilis, “op.cit”, 38.

²¹⁰ Tsaousis Dimitris, Leontaritis George, Tsoukalas Constantine, Maurogordatos George, Alivizatos Nikos, Fatouros Argyris, Kitromilidis Pascal, Mousouros L., Maronitis D., Argyriou Alexander, Dragoumis Markos, Georgousopoulos Costas, Kokkinidis Damianos, Filippidis D., Veltos George, Dimaras A., Giannaras C., Nesoros A., Nikiforos P., Rozakis Chris, “op.cit”, 170-171.

²¹¹ See Chapter 2, iii).

²¹² Karabelias George, “op.cit”, 86-87.

Thus, the importance given to education was, in reality, inexistent. As for illiteracy, the agrarian population showed the highest percentages. In 1961 24% were illiterates while in 1971 the percentage declined to 21, 3%. Nevertheless, if we add those farmers that had not even finished primary school the proportion hurls at 46,3%, revealing the severe problems that the educational system suffered from.²¹³

6. The role of women

The Greek society was traditionally particularly oppressive for women.²¹⁴ Indeed, from 1966 to 1976 the number of women that were engaged in domestic tasks was 40% in 1961 and 44% in 1971. Moreover, women that worked²¹⁵ in the primary production and were not paid were 19% in 1961 but 11% in 1971. In the industrial sector and in small industry the rate of women that helped and were not paid was around 4% in 1961 and 1971. Finally in the tertiary sector the proportion was 5,2% in 1961, increased in 6,2% in 1971 and reached 11,3% in 1981.²¹⁶ However, since the dictatorial period women in Greece started asking for more. They fought for their right in education and employment and called for meritocracy and equality. Besides, that was the period that the feminist revolution took place. Thus, women contended for a higher position in the Greek society.

All the above aspects of society were highly dependent on the impact and dominant role of mass media. Television, radio and press conveyed messages that affected peoples' way of thinking, attitudes and decisions and this justifies their primordial role.

²¹³ Moisisdis Antonis, "op.cit", 63.

²¹⁴ Igglesi Xrysi, *Womens' Faces - Pretences of Consciousness: Formation of the womens' identity in the Greek society*, Athens: Odysseas Publications, 1990, 10.

²¹⁵ Actually, they offered their help.

²¹⁶ Mousourou Loukia, *Womens' Employment and Family in Greece and Elsewhere*, Athens: Estia Publications, 1985, 65-68.

IV. The Greek Mass Media

1. The Greek mass media and their “gagging”

The evolution of the mass media in Greece follows a peculiar path. In our days the press, the magazines, the radio, the cinema and the television, thus the mass media are considered to be one of most important aspects of the modern life. Having the ability to inform, entertain, educate, keep company, advertise products or promote ideas, the mass media are now regarded as the fourth power behind the legislative, the judicial and the executive power or even above all. However, during the ‘60s and the ‘70 the mass media were either quite young or malfunctioning and the political turmoil of that period is the main reason for their problematic substance.

The mass media faced in 1967 an obstacle regarding their progress; the dictatorial regime. For seven years the precautionary censorship of the regime silenced every liberal voice.²¹⁷ After the morning of April 22nd 1967 the radio was the first to experience that nothing would be the same. The style of the Greek radiostations shifted into a harsh military rule.²¹⁸ The dictators defined the standards of the intellectual and artistic life and were determined to implement those standards on the Greek mass media. Obviously the regime had chosen to build a “stable construction of subculture”. The radio and television were cataclysmed with broadcasts that aimed at praising the armed forces, the police and the gendarmerie. When those programs ended, light music, songs and shows of low quality filled the rest of the programme of the radio and television stations.²¹⁹ However, the low quality of the programme caused the seduction of the working – lower classes due to the

²¹⁷Indeed G. Papadopoulos had said during a press conference: “Like a surgeon, I am obligated to overwhelm your shakes. You are asking for more freedom of speech while you are still tied on the surgical table. On the contrary, you should recognize the seriousness of the operation and help us.” Minuzzo Nerio, “op.cit”, 92.

²¹⁸ Giannopoulos George – Clogg Richard, “op.cit”, 113.

²¹⁹ The dictators immediately took control of the television and radio, knowing its power and its effect on the public. As Umberto Eco has mentioned “Today only stupid make dictatorships with tanks when we have televisions”. Sifonios Manos, “op.cit”, 98.

degrading and banal programme.²²⁰ Besides, the vernacular was considered inadmissible and was replaced by purist Greek.²²¹

The Greek theatre and cinema also faced oppression. Classical authors were excluded and plays were suppressed or modified. Every reference to the left and everything that could undermine the Greek morals and customs could cause the cancellation of a play.²²² Music also got their anger. The colonels had prepared a list of all the songs that were prohibited. The most far-fetched case was that of Mikis Theodorakis, a famous left-wing composer, whose songs were all forbidden even those without political or social connotations. The rage of the dictators was such that they ordered the destruction of all the stock of the composer; 70.000 discs.²²³

But on April 22nd 1967 censorship was also imposed on the press. The Ministry of Press sent every newspaper instructions regarding the way they should work. Initially, some journalists agreed to supervise their proper running but soon officers took on that duty.²²⁴ The Ministry of Press had created a committee for the press, the television, the radio, the book, the music, the cinema and the theatre so as to deal with the control of information.²²⁵ The press fully yielded to the regime. “Akropolis”, “Apogevmatini”, “Vradini”, “Athinaiki”, “Vima”, “Ethnos” and “Nea”, despite their previous political lines, followed the orders of the dictatorship. Only “Eleftheros Kosmos” and “Estia”, who were both newspapers of the extreme right, voluntarily cooperated with the regime. Moreover, on September 16th 1968 a new one, “Nea Politeia” was created by supporters of the regime. On the contrary, the two newspapers of the extreme left “Avgi” and “Dimokratiki Allagi” and a liberal one, “Eleftheria”, were banned. Finally, two conservative ones “Kathimerini” and “Mesimvrini” stopped printing.²²⁶ The outcome was that all newspapers were exactly the same; the same articles, the same stories, the same official announcements, the

²²⁰ Komninou Maria, *From Market to Spectacle*, Athens: Papazisis Publications, 138-139.

²²¹ Dabasis George, *The Epoch of Television*, Athens: Kastaniotis Publications, 2002, 76-77.

²²² Papadopoulos sent a circular to all theatres according to which “Propagate subversive theories are defamatory of our country as a nation and are harmful to tourism, cast a slur on the Christian religion, insult the King, the royal family or the government, exercise a bad influence on youth or are capable of wrapping the aesthetic development of the people.” Richard Clogg, “op.cit”, 96-97.

²²³ Richard Clogg, “ibid”, 96.

²²⁴ Zaousis Alexander, “op.cit”, 460.

²²⁵ Vournas Tasos, *The History of Modern Greece: Junta*, Athens: Tolidi Publications, 1986, 77.

²²⁶ Giannopoulos George – Clogg Richard, “op.cit”, 116-117.

same front pages, the same pictures. They were obliged to rigidly comply with everything that the Ministry of Press wanted to publicize.²²⁷ The result was that the circulation of the press fell dramatically, but the reaction of the public was also strange. Greeks kept buying their newspaper by recalling their pre-dictatoric orientation. As a consequence, “Estia” and “Apogevmatini” continued to have the least readership.²²⁸ On the other hand, the Greek women magazines riddled high since nor fashion nor gossip nor beauty tips could harm the interests of the regime.

The winner was the radio that regained some of the glory of the past and became the most important of the mass media during the junta. The reason was that the only uncontrollable information came from abroad. Families that owned a radio set used to gather every night at home at 21.00 so as to listen to the BBC of London and the Deutsche Welle of Germany at 21.40.²²⁹ The effect of the international Greek-speaking broadcasts was significant because BBC, Deutsche Welle, the radiostation of Paris, Mosque and Italy offered the Greek people the information that no other mass media could give. Besides, not all Greeks could read the foreign press.²³⁰

Even though foreign press hosted anecdotes for the colonels,²³¹ it was allowed to circulate freely in Greece. The regime had decided not to ban foreign books or press because of three reasons. Firstly, it could harm the tourism of the country and thus deprive the regime of important foreign exchange sources. Furthermore, those that were capable of reading the foreign press were a few thousand people, the intellectuals, and finally, junta did not want to provoke directly the international community. The only papers that were forbidden were the communist ones and the Cypriot newspapers.²³² This form of censorship lasted until November 1969 when the regime passed a new law for the press in order to create expectations of liberalization. Nevertheless, the change was minimal as censorship was crucial for the dictatorial

²²⁷ Most news came from the Athenian News Agency (A.P.E.) whose teletexts were also censored. Letsa Matina, Katsanevas Theodoros, *Working Struggles during the Period of Dictatorship*, Athens: Tolidi Publications, 25.

²²⁸ Giannopoulos George – Clogg Richard, “op.cit”, 134,139.

²²⁹ Minuzzo Nerio, “op.cit”, 98-99.

²³⁰ Letsa Matina, Katsanevas Theodoros, “op.cit”, 32. However the journalists of “Ethnos” adopted an anti-dictatorial spirit and columns like “If I was a dictator” or “Who must be the real governor” appeared. Moreover some caricatures were also printed. Kominou Maria, “op.cit”, 120.

²³¹ Giannopoulos George – Clogg Richard, “op.cit”, 121.

²³² Clogg Richard, “op.cit”, 102-103.

regime.²³³ Besides, even the slightest freedom given by Papadopoulos to the media faded away when D. Ioannidis came to power.²³⁴

Censorship disappeared when democracy was restored in Greece and the recall of the freedom of press was one of the first actions of the new government. The night C. Karamanlis returned “Vradini” circulated with no restrictions. It was followed by “Athinaiki”, “Avgi” and a new one “Rizospastis – a newspaper of the left - and quite soon by “Kathimerini” and “Mesimvrini”. The electronic media regained their informative status and typically the political gatherings, debates and dialogues were freely presented. Besides, according to article 15 of the 1975 Constitution, the electronic media were obliged to inform objectively and on equal conditions the public and present all ideas and artistic streams.²³⁵ However, the government’s effort to promote its own positions undermined once more the freedom of the radio and television. The mass media were not totally free yet.

2. The electronic media

i) Radio

a) The Greek radio: from its appearance to 1976

The Greek radio was born on March 25th 1938, when the Greek audience heard the “Here Athens” and the music signal of the “Young Shepherd” (“Tsopanakos”) for the first time.²³⁶ After the end of the war the studios of the Radio Station of Athens were renewed with the help of USA and as a result the radio managed to captivate the Greek audience. The Greek radio through E.I.R. (Greek Radiobroadcasting Institution) and its four Programs (the National, the Second, the Third and the Short

²³³ However, the journalists of “Ethnos” adopted an anti-dictatorial spirit and columns such as “If I was a dictator” or “Who must be the real governor?” appeared. Letsa Matina, Katsanevas Theodoros, “op.cit”, 36.

²³⁴ Komninou Maria, “op.cit”, 134.

²³⁵ *The meaning of change: 24th July 1974 – 25th July 1975*

²³⁶ According to George Karter, the signal was the melody of a flute and Magkos - a famous Greek flautist – the artist performed that performed it. Karter George, *Greek Radio – Television: History and Stories*, Athens: Kastaniotis Publications, 2004, 98.

Waves) welcomed important personalities of that time,²³⁷ artists²³⁸ and intellectuals.²³⁹ Moreover, its program was of great quality and from 1962 it offered radio documentaries and theatrical plays.²⁴⁰

Meanwhile in 1947, the leadership of the Armed Forces created the K.R.S.E.D.E (Central Radiostation of Armed Forces in Greece) and from 1948 with the assistance of studios and transmitters the radio network of the army undertook the responsibility of entertaining, educating and informing the military men. However the sector of amusement and of sports of K.R.S.E.D.E. stimulated the interest of the Greek audience that was looking for something more light in relevance with the radio program.²⁴¹

In 1951 the military station was renamed Y.E.N.E.D. (Service of Information of the Armed Forces) and in 1966 the arrival of the television changed the name of EIR to EIRT (National Institution of Radio and Television)²⁴² regarding the ratings and the use of the mean. Besides, the Greek audience had been astonished by television that offered voice, image and motion at the same time. “The gum of the masses” as Frank Loid Rait has characterized it²⁴³ succeeded in few seconds to make the Greek people from listeners to viewers.

The radio was further injured in 1967 when the dictatorship was established. The status quo of the precautionary censorship damaged irreparably the offered program of the radio since every single word of the songs, the broadcasters and the

²³⁷ Such as Skalkotas, Mitropoulos, Kalogeropoulou, Vempo, Attik and Giannidis. Kiskilas Panagiotis, *Days of radio, A world of communication*, Museum of Radio Athens 9.84, Technopolis of the Municipality of Athens, Athens: Agyra Publications, 2002, 8.

²³⁸ Such as Katrakis, Mirat, Lampeti, Xorn, Kostopoulos, Merkouri and Kuriakou. Kiskilas Panagiotis, “*ibid*”, 8.

²³⁹ Such as Terzakis, Karagatsis, Venezis, Apostolopoulos, Karantonis, Theotokas and Seferis. Kiskilas Panagiotis, “*ibid*”, 8.

²⁴⁰ One of the most important and famous broadcasts was that of Antigoni Metaxa “The stories of Aunt Lena” as quite soon the Greek radio cared for the kids that were part of their audience. Karter George, “*op.cit*”, 98.

²⁴¹ Kiskilas Panagiotis, “*op.cit*”, 9.

²⁴² Karter George, “*op.cit*”, 128.

²⁴³ Sifonios Manos, “*op.cit*”, 51.

newscasters had been previously “checked” by the regime.²⁴⁴ Nevertheless, amateurish radiostations appeared and multiplied during the decades of the '60s and the '70s as students of the radiotechnical schools were trying to create their own experimental radiostations.²⁴⁵ The fall of the dictatorship did not mean maximal freedom for the radio. On the contrary from 1975 the Greek Radiobroadcast (ERT) had to face a new form of control, that of the government in power. The dismissal of Manos Xatzidakis is considered to be a representative example of the polemic atmosphere that “ruled” the Greek radio. Xatzidakis had been appointed by C. Karamanlis as a director for the Third Program and planned to “rejuvenate” the Greek radio. But Xatzidakis faced the disinclination of the director of ERT and of his conservative left allies that did not want the radio to be modernized.²⁴⁶ Nevertheless, M. Xatzidakis managed to upgrade the quality of the Greek radio and had opened a new potential. Thus, under the proper guidance and administration the radio could achieve great things.

ii) Television

a) The first steps of the Greek Television

The first and only television set that appeared in Greece – and whose label was “Cossor” - came from England in 1951. The next attempts for the creation of a televisionary network took place in 1951, 1955 and 1959 when international contests were organized but their cancellation led back to zero. Nevertheless, some technicians had improvised their own signals and viewed foreign television programs. Thereby, citizens of Corfu watched Italian programs, the Salonicans that of Yugoslavia and the Cretans, especially the habitants of Irakleio, had the privilege to view the American program of the Souda's military base.²⁴⁷

²⁴⁴ Xeretakis Manolis, *Television and Advertisement: the Greek case*, Athens – Kommotini: Sakkoulas Publications, 1997, 76-77.

²⁴⁵ One of the most famous was George Kirkalis – known as the Easy Rider – who was also the creator of the radiostation of the Polytechnic in 1973. Kiskilas Panagiotis, “op.cit”, 13.

²⁴⁶ Dabasis George, “op.cit”, 114-118.

²⁴⁷ Karter George, “op.cit”, 13-14.

In September 1960 the Public Service of Electricity (DEI) created the first Greek experimental station in the framework of the International Exhibition of Thessalonica. The station had been located at a small loft in the lodge of the exhibition and the program consisted of some live emissions, one serial and some special newscasts. However, during its limited life of 22 days a great number of personalities appeared live, musicians, artists, athletes and politicians.²⁴⁸ The Greek people that had never experienced the “miracle” of television used to gather at the streets where the television sets had been placed to view the program. Nevertheless the closure of the Exhibition signaled the end of the first station that was registered in the Greek televisual reality.

In 1964, on the 18th of September the wedding of the Prince Constantinos to Danish Princess Anna-Maria became the reason for the first complete transmission that ever occurred in Greece. The event was broadcasted live throughout Eurovision to all Europe under the responsibility of the Italian and the Danish television.²⁴⁹ Moreover, DEI, owning a small studio at Halkokondyli Street, tested in 1961 and 1965 the emission of signals and attempted to create a broadcast but both times its efforts were stopped for only EIR and the Armed Forces were entitled to set up a television broadcast. Besides, the political evolutions of 1965 and 1966, the continuous change of governments and the lack of the appropriate space and accoutrement contributed to the belated development of the Greek television program. Apart from that, during its infantile steps the Greek television had also to counter the reservation of the intellectuals, the indifference of the cinematographers and most of all to face the hostility of the Greek press that feared that the advent of television could harm their economic interests.²⁵⁰

On September 21st 1965 the first experimental television broadcast was transmitted at the third studio located in Zappeio and on 27 October 1965, the program went on air at noontime – from 11.30 to 13.00 - by using one floor of the building of OTE at September 3rd Street. The speaker was Fredi Germanos. Meanwhile, the demand for television sets continuously grew in 1966 and as a result

²⁴⁸ Dabasis George, “op.cit”, 26.

²⁴⁹ Valoukos Stathis, *The Greek Television: 1967-1988*, Athens: Aigokeros Publications, 1998, 13-14

²⁵⁰ Dabasis George, “op.cit”, 27, 41.

the offered programs improved. A new television magazine for women was set up – named “Hello My Lady”- and the Greek Television tended to be consolidated.²⁵¹

b) We are on air

On February 23rd 1966 the official beginning of the programme of EIR became a reality. The sign of the station was two cyanic steles of the Ionic time with a gable that formed the letters EIR and a big T in the middle and the musical accompaniment was the hymn of Pindaros under the sound of a harp. At 18.30 the first presenter of the Greek television, Helen Kypraiou, announced to the Greek public the programme of the first clear transmission of EIR. The programme was:²⁵²

18.30: The world today

18.45: Hello my lady

19.00: Australia (traveling documentary)

19.25: The English sculpture Henri Moore (documentary)

19.55: The orchestra plays Anri Leka

20.15: The thief (Brazilian movie)

20.30: The end of the program

On the other side, the Geographic Service of the Army, had grew enthusiastic concerning the new project and decided that a station of their own could promote their own interests, taking under consideration the power of propaganda. As a result the Armed Forces had already started their testing since the end of 1965 but its official date of transmission came four days after the start of EIR. As a result, on Sunday 27 February 1966 the program of the television of the Armed Forces came on air. The program that was transmitted from the terrace of the building of the Geographic Service of the Army consisted of:²⁵³

19.00: Opening – sign of the station

19.03: Corfu (documentary)

19.15: Knowledge’s crop

19.45: Break

²⁵¹ Valoukos Stathis, “op.cit”, 14.

²⁵² Karter George, “op.cit”, 25-26, 50.

²⁵³ Dabasis George, “op.cit”, 48-49.

19.55: The discovery of pencilium

20.10: Meet Canada

21.10: End of the programme – the National hymn

The basis for both stations consisted of news, songs and documentaries. However, EIR produced a number of programs that included: a) “The echo of the facts” - presented by Fredi Germanos - an informative broadcast concerning international events that were made public from the big news agencies such as the VISNEWS, the UPI, the ITN, the DPA and the CBS and greek news,²⁵⁴ b) “From the big screen to the small one”, a cinematographic broadcast, c) an athletic broadcast with Giannis Diakogiannis that had great success due to the transmission of the Universal Cup of Football,²⁵⁵ d) “Hasten slowly”, a motor broadcast, e) theatrical monologues, f) musical shows,²⁵⁶ g) broadcasts for children²⁵⁷ and h) serials like “The Saint”, “The Baron”, “The Dike Powel Show”, “The History of the Second World War” etc.²⁵⁸

On the other side, TED (Television of Armed Forces) used to broadcast every Monday, Wednesday, Friday and Sunday and short of copied EIR’s program. Some of its broadcasts were: a) “Health, fashion, beauty”, b) “The world of spirit and art”, c) the foreign serial “Mission Impossible”, d) a broadcast with reportages concerning NATO called “From all over the world”, e) “At the meeting of rhythm and melody” with Nikos Mastorakis, f) “Interview with the top”, g) “We and the car” etc. This enchanting program, given the Greek circumstances, contributed to the dramatic increase of the sales of television sets during the winter of 1967. Nevertheless, that promising path was soon to be forestalled by the dictatorship.

²⁵⁴ For example the eclipse of sun in Karustos, the Rally Acropolis, the contest of beauty etc. Dabasis George, “ibid”, 57.

²⁵⁵ People used to gather in front of the stores that owned a television set to view the games. Some of them knew that the game was recorded but wanted to watch it, even though they knew the score and others believed that it was a live transmission. Dabasis George, “ibid”, 52.

²⁵⁶ The first one was called “Songs without barriers” and Giovana, a famous Greek singer was its first guest. Valoukos Stathis, “op.cit”, 15.

²⁵⁷ Such as the “Loan Reinger”, “Lassie”, “The Shadow Play” with Eugenios Spatharis. Dabasis George, “op.cit”, 65.

²⁵⁸ Karter George, “op.cit”, 77.

c) Junta's first actions concerning television

Indeed, on April 21st 1967 the hymn of Pindaros was not to be listened again for a long time. A military march took its place, while on the screen the cyanic steles gave their place to the new sign of the dictatorship, the bird with the soldier. Moreover, the dictatorship imposed a regime of precautionary censorship that “gagged” every liberal voice and thought.²⁵⁹ The interest of the junta for television was, yet, justifiable as television could be transformed to the greatest ally of the dictatorship, by offering its propagandistic power. And the dictators immediately took advantage of its influence.

The first forethought of the junta was to separate the jobs of the two stations. YENED took over the responsibility to offer entertainment to the Greek people and to propagate the political positions of the dictators and on the other hand, EIR had to prepare everything for the 9th PanEuropean Track Events that would take place in 1969. Besides, YENED undertook the task to enlighten ethically and socially the personnel of the Armed Forces and secure their education and entertainment; their second target was the public. Besides, YENED was under the jurisdiction of the Minister of National Defense.²⁶⁰ The model that the regime chose for the television had many similarities with those of the Eastern Europe, where television had to deify the dictators. Nevertheless, their daily exposure misquoted the image of power that they were trying to impose on the public.²⁶¹

d) The evolution of the censored program of the two stations

In 1968 EIR turned to the foreign market, mostly that of USA, and obtained a great variety of television productions such as westerns, detective stories, programs for children and comedies. Furthermore, the French national television (ORTF) provided EIR cinematographic material, music shows and many serials for free. As a consequence, the number of Greek productions was limited to a minimum and the channel of EIR overflowed with foreign programs such as: a) “Theatre Dejilou”, b)

²⁵⁹ Karter George, “ibid”, 32.

²⁶⁰ Valoukos Stathis, “op.cit”, 15-16.

²⁶¹ Komninou Maria, “op.cit”, 139.

“Bonatsa”, c) “Gransmoouk”, d) “The advocates”, e) “Dr. Klintair”, f) “Lousy Show”, g) “The witch”, h) “Agent Smart”, etc.²⁶²

But YENED, that could not be left behind, followed EIR’s initiative and presented a number of foreign series that were a success. The most important of them were: a) “Playton Place”, b) “The runaway”, and c) “The uncorrupted” and d) “Mission Impossible” that continued due to its major hit.²⁶³ Besides, it was during this popular broadcast that the first commercial appeared. Thus, on 27th September 1967 YENED²⁶⁴ advertised the products of the trade GENKA; the vermouth Gandtsia, the gin Melrose and the vodka Samovar. The same enterprise in October 1968 financed the first advertisements; that of the detergent Tide, the mineral oils Shell and the shampoo Famar, leading the way of the new reality, that of the Greek television advertising sector.²⁶⁵

Moreover, the American model gave the Greek industrial and commercial market the possibility to advertise their products throughout the offered programmes. The first offered programme was “Bouat Leakril”, a music show with the aim of promoting acrylic fibbers. The second offered programme was “L’oreal tele” presented by Nikos Mastorakis²⁶⁶ for YENED. But, in reality, the ratings took off in 1969. On the 20th of May EIR was connected to the Eurovision – the European television network - giving Greeks the possibility to watch live the moonlanding of “Apollo 11” with Nil Armstrong and Edwin Oldrin. Almost every television set was open that day for the transmission, that started at 7.25 in the morning and finished at 23.00, and many people that did not own a TV viewed the broadcast in the houses of friends that did. On September 16th 1969, when the 9th European Track Championship begun, EIR sent a clear and stable image to the other countries. However, the important athletic events continued and the Greek television offered its viewers the

²⁶² Dabasis George, “op.cit”, 79-80.

²⁶³ Valoukos Stathis, “op.cit”, 16.

²⁶⁴ At that period around 30.000 Greeks were watching television.

²⁶⁵ Dabasis George, “op.cit”, 80.

²⁶⁶ Nikos Masrorakis was a peculiar figure in the Greek televisionary reality. After having worked for the radio and the newspaper “Mesimvrini”, Mastorakis, that had studied the American television, used his musical knowledge, his ambition to climb higher and his interfering and managed to offer a number of broadcasts such as “Bingo” and “Candid Camera”- his most famous shows-, “Colgeit”, “Disco for juvenile” and “Today”. He left Greece in 1973 after a irrecoverable mistake during the outbreak of Polytechnical revolt. Dabasis George, “ibid”, 84-88.

live broadcasts of football games such as the match between Greece and Romania and the match between Milan and Ajax that stimulated the interest of the Greek audience and especially of men.

In 1970 with the law 722 the regime instituted the Service of Information of the Armed Forces (YENED) that would be responsible for the inauguration and the appropriate running of the radiotelevision stations. Also with the law 745 EIR was renamed EIRT (National Foundation of Radio and Television) and became a public legal person.²⁶⁷ Meanwhile, the transmitter in Parnitha was ready and the Greek grid was considered to be finally technologically complete. Nevertheless, those in office of the Channel of EIR were observing an obvious decline of the programs they offered in contrast with the channel of the Armed Forces where recreational broadcasts kept multiplying. The reason was the hostile attitude of dictators that regarded EIR as an enemy, being the official political voice of television.

However, 1970 is considered to be the turning point for Greek series and the opener was “The house with the palm”, a social serial, that came on air on April 2nd for the channel of YENED but without fascinating the public. The first big success came with “Mr. Advocate” in May 1970. This comical serial consisted of stories that were based on the protagonist – Dimosthenis Parlato – an advocate of medium possibilities whose dream was to declaim at the criminal court and never hesitated to convert an address of a simple case to an uncontrollable speech. This was the first time that television revealed its ability to shape idols. Giannis Mixalopoulos (the protagonist) became so famous that people used to stop him at the street and asked for his advice concerning their legal issues. Moreover, during that year EIRT decided to cinematize four premium plays testifying once more the qualitative difference between the two stations.²⁶⁸

In 1970 YENED managed to leave EIRT far behind concerning the ratings because of its foreign programs and some new live ones²⁶⁹ But on October 9th 1970 EIRT decided to let the commercials break in and the results regarding the quality of

²⁶⁷ Valoukos Stathis, “op.cit”, 16-18.

²⁶⁸ The plays were: a) “Thermopiles”, b) “Papaflessas”, c) “Sullenness in Epaxto” and d) “The Christmas of the dawdler”. Dabasis George, “op.cit”, 96, 100-103.

²⁶⁹ “The invisible camera”, “One in two wins”, “Wonderful bangers”, Dabasis George, “ibid”, 106.

the programs were quite disappointing.²⁷⁰ However, three events allowed EIRT to regain some of its previous glory. The transmission of the Universal Championship of Football in Mexico, the Eurovision Song Contest from Netherlands and the landing of “Apollo 13” allowed EIRT to reach for a while the peak. As a result, the competition between EIRT and YENED crested. Both stations decided to produce an oversupply of music broadcasts. Twelve music shows went on air, in total, and singers became pop idols.²⁷¹ But a review from the newspaper “Apoveumatini” in August 1970 made both stations crack dawn every action that could cause further negative critique. Artists that had long hair, burnsides and whiskers were excluded from television programs. Furthermore, in YENED the control became more severe and every program had to be checked by those responsible for the expressions used, for its guise and its Christian values and finally for the exclusion of foreign words.

In 1971 two comical series were presented; one for YENED, “The feather-brained”, and “The niggard” for EIRT, who also produced a police story “The thirteenth interrogatory office”. But the most important serial of 1971 was a spying serial: “The Unknown War”. The success of that program was unbelievable. Its maker, Nikos Foskolos, had created the perfect hero: the colonel Vartanis, who was working for the counterespionage office during the Second World War. That program managed to get 76% ratings and became the reason for people to stay at home, as even G. Papadopoulos watched the show. The interest of the people was that much that colonel Vartanis gave his name to a street, a sign of a dry cleaner’s and a frontispiece at a truck.²⁷² Nikos Foskolos had managed to please the dictators, as well, because he had created a figure of a solid character and a promising appearance. In fact, Colonel Vartanis was trying to ameliorate the dictators’ image in the eyes of the Greek people.

²⁷⁰ Some of the programs were “Innocent or guilty?” – sponsored by the publisher Fitrakis, “Traveling” – sponsored by Panamerikan, “Football” – sponsored by the shaves Astor, “Say Flour” – by Alatini, “The woman, the child and our time” – sponsored by Urania, etc. Dabasis George, “ibid”, 109.

²⁷¹ Some of them were Marinella, Viki Mosxoliou, Stamatis Kokkotas, Giannis Pouloupoulos, Giannis Parios, Litsa Diamanti, Giorgos Ntalaras, etc. Dabasis George, “ibid”, 110.

²⁷² Dabasis George, “ibid”, 106-112, 117-119.

The number and the type of serials multiplied in 1972. Thereby, the Greek television presented one spying serial,²⁷³ one adventurous serial,²⁷⁴ two detective stories,²⁷⁵ ten comedies²⁷⁶ and ten social serials.²⁷⁷ The most important satiric program of that year was “Him and him” – in Greek “Ekeinos and Ekeinos”. It was a legendary comedy of that season because it was the first broadcast that had managed to criticize the regime indirectly. The two protagonists, Solon and Loukas, two persons free of the consumer mania of the era, symbolised by their ribbons the moral depression of the civilization. As one of the protagonists, George Mixalopoulos, has said during an interview: “Through the remarks of the program the social satyr of the time came to surface. And many times it was working with a unique code that those who were responsible for the censorship could not pick out anything suspicious...”²⁷⁸ Of the social series the most famous was the “Our neighbourhood”, a social ethnography with a naturalistic touch for YENED but on the other hand the one called “Balsoi Ivan and Bing John” managed to subtly satirize the cold war and the totalitarian regimes.²⁷⁹

Moreover, that same year two broadcasts concerning the theatre appeared in the Greek program²⁸⁰ and many foreign translated series filled the screen among with the first vertebrate broadcast, named “The invitation”. However, in its effort to fake a liberal profile, the dictatorship allowed for some governmental criticism but meant in reality, some sketches written by the General Secretariat of the Press and Information.

²⁷³ “In the cobweb of a spider” (EIRT) All the elements concerning the name and the date of serials can be found in Valoukos Stathis, *The Greek Television: 1967-1988*, Athens: Aigokeros Publications, 1998.

²⁷⁴ “The treasures of Vermont” in Valoukos Stathis.

²⁷⁵ “Classified folder 27” and the “38th Police Department” (YENED) in Valoukos Stathis.

²⁷⁶ “The homunculus” (YENED), “Ntinios in the world of miracles” (YENED), “Officer of the day” (EIRT), “Stories of the night” (EIRT), “Madame Sousou”, “The sleep and the non-sleep” (YENED), “The 24-hours of a scrap dealer” (EIRT), “Him and him” (EIRT), “Because and so” (EIRT) and the show “Candid Camera” (YENED) in Valoukos Stathis.

²⁷⁷ “The man without face” (EIRT), “Our neighbourhood” (YENED), “Somewhere there is my love” (YENED), “The girl of Sunday” (EIRT), “Balsoi Ivan and Bing John” (YENED), “Hotel the seventh sky” (EIRT), “Peculiar traveller” (EIRT), “The house of strangers” (EIRT), “Stisixorou 73” (YENED), “Tavern” (YENED) in Valoukos Stathis.

²⁷⁸ Dabasis George, “op.cit”, 120.

²⁷⁹ Valoukos Stathis, “op.cit”, 77, 147.

²⁸⁰ “The lights of the ramp” and “The small theatre”. Dabasis George, “op.cit”, 122.

Nevertheless, the Olympic games of Munich in 1972 were an interesting break in the storm of extemporaneous television programs and the political, social and cultural propaganda of the regime.

In 1973, commercialization “contaminated” the whole programme of the Greek television in full sense. Quizzes, music shows, entertaining programs and serials, lots of serials. One spying,²⁸¹ one adventurous serial of the occupational period,²⁸² one serial for children,²⁸³ sixteen social series,²⁸⁴ nine comedies,²⁸⁵ four detective stories²⁸⁶ and two historical serials²⁸⁷.

Through all those the regime tried to pass some underground messages. An example was the social serial “The path without return” that dealt with the love story between the son of a big landlord, who had returned in Greece after having studied abroad and a poor young girl who did not respond to his love.²⁸⁸ The protagonist decided to work as a doctor at poor villages so as to win his love. This serial is one of the attempts of the station of Armed Forces to bring forth the Greek countryside, hoping for some forbearance from the peasants, and to promote indirectly actions like the one of the protagonist. On the other side, “The dreamer” presented the life of a pensioner, a man from the petite bourgeoisie who lived a lonely life but whose life was full of dreams and feelings. With this serial the regime tried, also, to sugar the pill for petite bourgeoisie class and to lull them temporally. Finally, in that heap of the serials of low quality the appearance of the two historical ones was considered to be

²⁸¹ “Isidora” (EIRT) in Valoukos Stathis..

²⁸² “The Occupation” (YENED) in Valoukos Stathis.

²⁸³ “The small hero” (YENED) in Valoukos Stathis.

²⁸⁴ “The wildings” (YENED), “Worried youth” (EIRT), “Human Stories” (YENED), “From the other shore” (EIRT), “The suns of Kain” (EIRT), “The path without return” (YENED), “Dangerous steps” (YENED), “Nightmare” (EIRT), “New world” (YENED), “The cruiser” (EIRT), “Marina Augeri” (EIRT), “The children of Zevedaios”, “Conspiracy of silence” (EIRT), “The last spring” (YENED), “Without breath” (EIRT), “Ten-cent store the world” (EIRT) in Valoukos Stathis.

²⁸⁵ “George in the world of miracles” (YENED), “A farfetched detective” (YENED), “Mr., Mrs. and the mother...” (YENED), “A wonderful couple” (EIRT), “Thomas and Xatzithomas” (EIRT), “The criminal record of Athina”, “The defected” (YENED), “Mr. General” (YENED), “The pensive” (YENED) in Valoukos Stathis.

²⁸⁶ “Detective stories” (YENED), “The black key” (YENED), “Who is the guilty?” (YENED) and “The protectors of the law” (YENED) in Valoukos Stathis.

²⁸⁷ “The merchant of the nations” and “En touto nika” (YENED) in Valoukos Stathis.

²⁸⁸ Valoukos Stathis, “ibid”, 90

an oasis in the commercialized program of that year. The two serials, rewritings of remarkable works of literature, introduced television in the beauty of Greek literature and gave a new air in the television field.²⁸⁹ That year closed with an interview that everyone remembers; the interview that Nikos Mastorakis took on November 15th 1973 from the students arrested after the revolt at the Polytechnical School from the detention room of ESA. It was a hard slap on the face concerning the role and the duties of television and an awakening from the social coma of the Greek people.²⁹⁰

The dictatorship of D. Ioannidis, once in power, changed the rules of operation of the television stations. Each channel had to buy the programs that wanted to exploit and offered broadcasts were abolished. As a result, the two stations offered one polemic serial²⁹¹, five social serials²⁹², one detective story²⁹³ and one historical serial²⁹⁴ making 1974 one the most poor years of the Greek television in terms of television product. Furthermore, the extensive and exhaustive censorship of the new dictatorship contributed to the limitation of broadcasts that year. However, in 1974 Greece participated for the first time in the song contest of Eurovision with Marinella and the song “A little bit of wine, a little bit of sea and my boy”²⁹⁵ and on January 12th 1974 the new studios in Agia Paraskevi were inaugurated but the period of censorship ended on July 23rd 1974 with the fall of the dictatorship of D. Ioannidis.

e) 1974-1976: Back to normal or not?

C. Karamanlis’s arrival at the airport was the first event that the Greek television covered after seven years of censorship. The restoration of democracy signaled changes at the administration of the station of EIRT. Personalities such as Dimitris Horn, Paulos Bakogiannis and Odysseas Elytis²⁹⁶ raised hopes regarding the

²⁸⁹ Valoukos Stathis, “*ibid*” , 149, 19.

²⁹⁰ Dabasis George, “*op.cit*”, 130-131.

²⁹¹ “War stories” (YENED) in Valoukos Stathis.

²⁹² “True stories” (EIRT), “The asterism of wolves” (YENED), “The border station” (YENED), “The old one hundred drachmas coin” (YENED), “Louna Park” in Valoukos Stathis.

²⁹³ “The fairs” (YENED) in Valoukos Stathis.

²⁹⁴ “The gipsy girl” (YENED) in Valoukos Stathis.

²⁹⁵ Dabasis George, “*op.cit*”, 130-131.

²⁹⁶ Dabasis George, “*ibid*”, 141.

opening of a new era in the Greek television. However, the new administration of EIRT had soon to face the “war” of the old traditional rightists and those left from the administrations of the junta that had found a snug berth and were not willing to leave their places.²⁹⁷ The elections of November of 1974 were the first time that the televiewer had ever watched political gatherings and messages coming not only by those on power but by the oppositional parties.²⁹⁸ However, when Nea Dimokratia won, all the promises for the liberalization of television were forgotten and conservatism became the main axis for the running of television. Moreover, no effort was made to approach the style and the content of the occidental model.²⁹⁹

On December 13th 1974 EIRT was renamed ERT (Greek Television and Radio) and was to be a Joint-Stock Company of private law and YENED would be placed among it until 1977.³⁰⁰ Meanwhile, the new administration resigned and was soon followed by the next administration. As Paulos Bakogiannis has said: “We could not continue in a surrounding where the other thought that EIRT was owned by the party on power and that was a medium for the personal appearance of its leader”.³⁰¹ As a result, on December 13th 1975 Roviros Manthoulis becomes deputy General Director and Giannis Lampsas the Director; a new time had began.

In regard with the programme, 1975 was considered to be a important year as creators were not silenced by the dictators anymore. However, the low quality can not be surpassed in a day and as a result the adaptation of literacy works on the small screen had its honorary. It was much more easy for television producers to rely upon recognized literacy works because in this way they could ensure the higher quality of

²⁹⁷ As Maria Komninou and Christos Lirintzis underline “radio and television have more obvious marks of their dependence from the state. That is due to the fact that since their first steps both passed under the control of the state, without ever being able like the press to ensure their constitutional independence. From the middle-war until today firstly the Greek radio and then television observe the transit from the clientele system to populism without substantial democratization”. Lyrintzis Chris, Komninou Maria, *Society, Power and Mass Media, Theory and Practice*, Athens: Papazisis Publications, 1989, 2nd edition, 363.

²⁹⁸ Valoukos Stathis, “op.cit”, 22.

²⁹⁹ Komninou Maria, “op.cit”, 158.

³⁰⁰ Karter George, “op.cit”, 34.

³⁰¹ Dabasis George, “op.cit”, 146.

the offered television program. Four comedies were presented,³⁰² five social serials³⁰³ and three historical serials.³⁰⁴

Nevertheless, during the administration of Giannis Lamsas a new controversy begun between those that wished for the modernization of the electronic media and were in favor of meritocracy and those conservative leftists and ex-followers of the junta that had no intention of liberalizing the media and none desire to let YENED enter the unified conveyor. As a result, a chaotic situation characterized the Greek media the second year after the dictatorship's abolition. Nevertheless, Roviros Manthoulis wanted to improve the quality of the television programme but his resignation proved that the supporters of conservatism were much more powerful.³⁰⁵

In consequence, serials of low quality "flourished". Eleven social serials were presented,³⁰⁶ five comedies – satires,³⁰⁷ and one detective story.³⁰⁸ During those two years of political change the most successful serials were "Jesus is recrusified", which with its great team managed to touch the Greek audience with its humanitarian messages, and "Giougerman". To the contrary, the news was not considered reliable at all, as the sector was under the control of the government and the voice of the opposition was hardly ever listened. Music shows were characterized as cheap and

³⁰² "Themis... is in good mood" (EIRT), "Themis...is in a bad mood" (EIRT), "Our man" (YENED), "Let people laugh" (YENED) in Valoukos Stathis.

³⁰³ "Difficult years" (YENED), "One Pygmalion" (YENED), "Violet polity" – an adaptation -, "Tereza Varma Dakosta" (EIRT) – an adaptation -, "Jesus is recrusified" (EIRT) – an adaptation- in Valoukos Stathis.

³⁰⁴ "Queen Amalia" (EIRT), "Circumnavigation" (YENED) – an adaptation – and "Foteini Zarkou" (YENED) in Valoukos Stathis.

³⁰⁵ According to the report of Hugh Green the Greek television suffered from: a) bureaucracy, b) the full control of administrative structure and organization chart, c) the lack of specialized personnel, d) the bad mentality of the public servant and e) the full unsuitability of the building of EIRT in Valoykos Stathis, "ibid", 22-24.

³⁰⁶ "The atslides" (YENED), "Peacefullness" (EIRT) –an adaptation-, "Gouogerman" (YENED) –an adaptation-, "In Athens" (EIRT), "One knight between us" (YENED), "The big adventure", (EIRT), "Small heroes" (EIRT), "The green ears" (YENED), "Dark powers" (EIRT), "At the steps of hope" (YENED) –an adaptation-, "Travel" (YENED), "The lighthouse" (YENED) in Valoukos Stathis.

³⁰⁷ "An Athenian in Athens" (EIRT), "From the keyhole" (YENED), "Them and I" (YENED), "I swear to tell the truth" –an adaptation- and "Without fear and passion" (EIRT) –an adaptation in Valoukos Stathis.

³⁰⁸ "The mystery club" (EIRT) in Valoukos Sthathis.

shallowly prepared, while cultural broadcasts were in a standstill. Thus, the Greek program was once more “stuffed” with Greek movies and foreign series.³⁰⁹ However, democracy “obliged” the new administration to ensure a satisfactory level of modernization and one of the first measures taken was the restoration of *dimotiki*.

To conclude, in Greece, the path of the mass media was full of obstacles that delayed their progress and dictatorship played the most important role, as it subverted their development. Mass media, and especially television, were seen as a mean for the governing power to impose its beliefs and ideas and were the best vehicle for propaganda. However, the abolition of the dictatorial regime signaled a new era for communications, but until 1976 the mass media had not been totally liberalized, yet, and the habits of the past kept harassing their functioning. Therefore, the hopes that political change would transform the unhealthy Greek mass media were shortly disconfirmed. The late arrival of the Greek television and seven years of gagging were enough to traumatize irrepealably the Greek media. And despite what everyone expected, democracy had not done wonders...

V. Conclusion

During the 60's the political condition in Greece was in turmoil. C. Karamanlis had left Greece in 1963 and after a conflict with the King, G. Papandreou resigned in 1965. Governments kept changing and the political crisis of the period had disappointed the Greek people. That crisis gave the Armed Forces the opportunity to fill in the political and social gap and their leaders the ability to grasp power.

G. Papadopoulos, the instigator of the Greek junta, administered an oppressive regime and a tyrannical era was inaugurated. The dictatorial regime lacked a clear ideology. Thus, the junta exploited the ideological policies of the previous regimes and added pseudo-ideological elements of its own to overpass that absence. Besides, the inferiority complex of the instigators and officers explained many of the regime's decisions and actions. The people, in the beginning, tolerated the new political reality because they were hoping that someone could save them from the political stagnation of the previous years. However, soon enough, the dictatorship revealed that had neither political nor socio-economic programme. As a result, the initial tolerance was

³⁰⁹ Valoukos Stathis, “*ibid*”, 23-29.

replaced by hate and junta never managed to “win” a popular base. On the contrary, resistance movements started to multiply and the Polytechnical revolt in 1973 signalled the end of Papadopoulos’s dictatorship.

Nevertheless, after the fall of G. Papadopoulos, a new dictator took his place, D. Ioannidis. The junta of the “unseen” dictator did not have an ideology either. Confusion and disintegration were its main ideological characteristics and absolute coercion gave the regime less than a year of life. Moreover, the economical aggravation and the degradation of the lower classes of the Greek society never secured a political base for the new dictatorship. Finally, the puzzle was completed with the Cypriot tragedy and the leaders of the Armed Forces asked politicians to save the situation.

C. Karamanlis returned in Greece in July 24th 1973 and Nea Dimokratia won the elections of November 1974. Democracy was restored but conservatism was the basic ideological feature of the new government. Nea Dimokratia followed a moderate policy, while C. Karamanlis oriented towards West Europe and envisaged the entrance of the country in the European Communities. However, it has to be underlined that domination of the right was continuous during the period under examination. The right governed before 1967, it participated in the governing during the dictatorship and it, finally, undertook the duty of the restoration of democracy. As a result, the fact that ideology never presented prominent differences can be easily explained.

These political conditions plus the regime’s changes affected significantly the sector of communications. The Greek press and radio had appeared long before 1966, while Greek television made its first shy steps during those years. Nevertheless, the abolition of democracy in 1967 signalled the beginning of a “gagged” period for all mass media. The dictatorial regime had imposed precautionary censorship and journalism became a very dangerous profession for those that reacted. As a consequence, communications experienced seven years of severe control and the freedom of speech became a memory. Thus, the junta was responsible for the degradation of the mass media and low quality characterized both Greek television and radio for many years. However, the restoration of democracy abolished the status of the past and mass media were free again. The political change inaugurated a new period for the Greek communications but the sins and habits of the previous regime could not be easily forgotten.

Nevertheless, a new day was just dawning and democracy filled Greeks with hopes in regard with their future. All freedoms and rights had been restored and a new political era had risen. The political crisis of the 60's and the dictatorship had caused a lot of pain for the Greek people but democracy had come to heal the wounds of the past. Besides, after a storm, the sun always shines...

Greek Bibliography

1. Balourdos Dionysis, *Demographical Transition and Demographical Problem in Greece: Theoretical and methodological speculations*, Vol. 94, Athens: Inspection of Social Researches, Publications of the National Center of Social Researches, 1997
2. Giannopoulos George – Clogg Richard, *Greece Under the Military Rank*, Athens: Papazisis Publications, 1976
3. Grigoriadis Solon, *The History of Dictatorship, Vo. 1st: imposition and prosperity*, Athens: K.Kapopoulos Publications, 1975
4. Dabasis George, *The Epoch of Television*, Athens: Kastaniotis Publications, 2002
5. Diamantopoulos Thanasis, *The Greek Conservative Party: Historical Approach and Political Characteristics, From the party of Nationalists of Gounaris to the Nea Dimokratia of Evert*, Athens: Papazisis Publications, 1994
6. Diamantopoulos Thanasis, Avramopoulos Dimitris, Pagalos Theodoros, Andrianopoulos Andreas, *The Greek Political Life: 20th century, From the pro-venizelic to post-papandreiki period. With an addendum for G. Papandreou*, Athens: Papazisis Publications, 1997
7. Doxiadis Kyrkos, *Subjectivity and Power, For the theory of ideology*, Athens: Plethron Publications, 1992
8. Elefantis Aggelos, *In the Constellation of Populism*, Athens: Politis Publications, 1991
9. Igglesi Xrysi, *Womens' Faces - Pretences of Consciousness: Formation of the womens' identity in the Greek society*, Athens: Odysseas Publications, 1990
10. Iliou Ilias, *Political Texts 1974-1976*, Athens: Diogenis Publications, 1977
11. Karabelias George, *State and Society in the Political Change (1974-1988)*, Athens: Exantas Publications, 1989
12. Karapostolis Vasilis, *Models of Consumption in the Greek Countryside – comparisons with the urban models 1964-1974*, Athens: Agrarian Bank of Greece – Management of Researches and Planning, 1979

13. Karter George, *Greek Radio – Television: History and Stories*, Athens: Kastaniotis Publications, 2004
14. Kastoras Stavros, *Audiovisual Mass Media*, Athens: Papazisis Publications, 1990
15. Katiforis George, *The Legislation of the Barbarians*, Athens: Themelio, 1975
16. Katris Giannis, *The Birth of Neo-fascism: Greece 1960-1974*, Athens: Papazisis Publications, 1974
17. Katsoulis George, *The History of the Communist Party of Greece*, Vol. 7th 1950-1968, Athens: Livanis Publications, 1976
18. Kautantzoglou Ioanna, *Political Speech and Ideology – The elections of the political change*, Athens: Exantas Publications, 1979
19. Kiskilas Panagiotis, *Days of radio, A world of communication*, Museum of Radio Athens 9.84, Technopolis of the Municipality of Athens, Athens: Agyra Publications, 2002
20. Komninou Maria, *From Market to Spectacle*, Athens: Papazisis Publications
21. Kontogiannidis Tasos, *The Unknown Night of April 21st 1967*, Athens: Risos Publications, 1997
22. Kritikos Panagiotis, Lagadinos Nikos, *Resistance Against the Dictatorship 1967-1974*, Athens: Kalentis Publications, 1996
23. Letsa Matina, Katsanevas Theodoros, *Working Struggles during the Period of Dictatorship*, Athens: Tolidi Publications
24. Leventakos Diamantis, *Television and Greek Society*, Athens: Ikon Publications, 2004
25. Louloudis Leonidas, Kasimis Chris, *Countryside: The Greek Agrarian Society in the End of the 20th Century*, Athens: Plethron Publications, 1999
26. Lyrintzis Chris, Komninou Maria, *Society, Power and Mass Media, Theory and Practice*, Athens: Papazisis Publications, 1989, 2nd edition
27. Magliveras Dionysis, *Social Communication*, Athens: Papazisis Publications, 1990, 8th edition
28. Mappa Sofia, *Orthodoxy and Power in the Greek Society*, Athens: Exantas Publications, 1997
29. Meletopoulos Meletis, *The Colonels' Dictatorship, Society – Ideology – Economy*, Athens: Papazisis Publications, 1996

30. Michaleas Rennos, *Direct Participating Democracy and the Rights of Man*, Athens: Thersitis Publications, 1992
31. Minuzzo Nerio, *7 Years, 3 Months, 2 Days*, Thessalonica: Poseidon Publications, 1974
32. Moisisdis Antonis, *The Agricultural Society in Modern Greece: Productive and social structure in Greek agriculture (1950-1980)*, Athens: Institution of Mediterranean Studies, 1986
33. Mousourou Loukia, *Immigration and Immigration Policy in Greece and Europe*, Athens: Gutenberg Publications, 1991
34. Moysoyroy Loykia, *Womens' Employment and Family in Greece and Elsewhere*, Athens: Estia Publications, 1985
35. Mouzelis Nikos, *Modern Greek Society: Aspects of Underdevelopment*, Athens: Exantas Publications, 1978
36. Papadakis M., Siabos G., "Demographical Trends and Perspectives of the Greek Population" in Tapinos G., Kontogiorgis G. eds. *The Greek Society in the End of the 20th Century*, Athens: Papazisis Publications, 1995
37. Papathanasopoulos Stelios, *The Power of Television, The logic of the media and the market*, Athens: Kastaniotis Publications, 1997
38. Psyroukis Nikos, *The History of the Modern Greece (1967-1974), The regime of the April 21st 1967, Vol. 4th*, Athens: Epikerotita Publications, 1983
39. Sakellaropoulos Spyros, *The causes of the Coup of April, 1949-1967: the social frame of the path to dictatorship*, Athens: Livanis Publications, 1998
40. Sifonios Manos, *What does MME mean?*, Athens: Livanis Publications, 1999
41. Tsaousis Dimitris, *The Man's Society, Introduction to sociology*, Athens: Gutenberg Publications, 1996
42. Tsaousis Dimitris, Leontaritis George, Tsoukalas Constantine, Maurogordatos George, Alivizatos Nikos, Fatouros Argyris, Kitromilidis Pascal, Mousouros L., Maronitis D., Argyriou Alexander, Dragoumis Markos, Georgousopoulos Costas, Kokkinidis Damianos, Filippidis D., Veltsos George, Dimaras A., Giannaras C., Nesoros A., Nikiforos P., Rozakis Chris, *Hellenism – the Greek Character: Ideological and Experienced Axis of the Modern Greek Society*, Athens: Estia Publications, 1983
43. Xaralampis Dimitris, *Clientele relations and populism – the extra statutory acquiescence at the Greek political system*, Athens: Exantas, 1989

44. Xatzisokratis Dimitris, *Polytechnical School 1973, Re-meditation of a reality*, Athens: Polis Publications, 2004
45. Xatzopoulos Axilleas, *The Chronicle of a Reporter, 1974-1975*
46. Xeretakis Manolis, *Television and Advertisement: the Greek case*, Athens – Kommotini: Sakkoulas Publications, 1997
47. Xondrokoukis Dimitris, *The Calvary of the Greek Democracy*, Athens: Boukoumanis Publications, 1974
48. Valoukos Stathis, *The Greek Television: 1967-1988*, Athens: Aigokeros Publications, 1998
49. Voulgaris Giannis, *The political change in Greece 1974-1990, Stable democracy marked by the postwar history*, Athens: Themelio Publications, 2002, 2nd edition
50. Vournas Tasos, *The History of Modern Greece: From the first postwar years until the day of the colonels' coup (21 April 1967)*, Athens: Tolidi Publications, 1986
51. Vournas Tasos, *The History of Modern Greece: Junta*, Athens: Tolidi Publications, 1986
52. Zaousis Alexander, *The Deception, April 21st 1967 – July 24th 1974*, Vol.1st, Athens: Papazisis Publications, 1997
53. Center of Philosophical Researches, Seminars, *Ideology*, Athens: Dodoni Publications
54. *Sixty Years of Struggles and Sacrifices, Chronicle of KKE, 1945-1978*, Vol. 2nd, Athens: Modern Times Publications, 1979
55. *The Meaning of Change, 24th July 1974 – 25th July 1975*

Foreign Bibliography

56. Richard Clogg, *Inside the Colonels' Greece*, London: Chatto & Windus Publications, 1972
57. *Armos*, Sector of Advertising Means, January 1982, Vo. 36
58. *Statistics on radio and television 1960-1970*, Statistical reports and studies, Unesco, No.23