

➔ ANDREAS PAPANDREOU

By MIKE BLUMENTHAL

Andreas Papandreou is considered to be one of the top 10 economists in the world. He now heads York's graduate department in economics and is chairman of the co-ordinating council of PAK (Pan-Hellenic Liberation Movement).

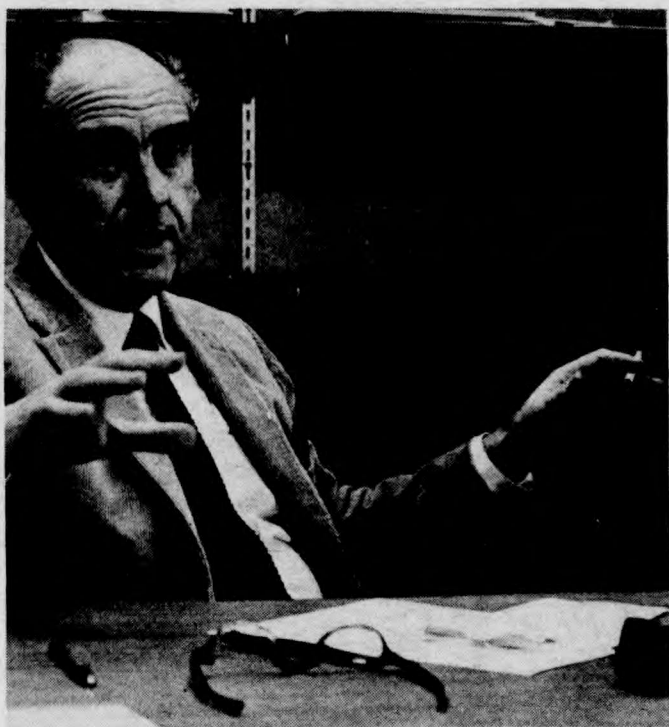
In 1943, Papandreou received his PhD from Harvard. After serving in the U.S. Navy for two years, he returned to Harvard to fill a teaching position.

During this period, a resistance movement developed in Greece which was instrumental in defeating the Nazis. After the British take-over, the resistance movement was the base of one side of the Greek Civil War, which lasted until 1949.

Papandreou says about his country: "The main reason that Greece has been troubled for centuries, of course, is its importance geo-politically. It is very important for all large powers for it is at the very tip of Europe. It is the meeting ground of East and West and at the same time it is at a critical position for the control of the eastern Mediterranean basin and it is where Europe meets Africa too. In other words, it's in a terribly important location."

"The confrontation started in December '44 and in one way or another, lasted till '49 through a very devastating civil war which ended in fact with American intervention. It was the first Vietnam, The Truman Doctrine was initiated with respect to Greece."

"The British gave up in '47 and passed on their responsibility to America. When the civil war broke out, the administration in Washington and the press in America were attacking the British and not EAM (the Greek National Lib-



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eration Front, in that period). This changed radically in '47 when America undertook to bolster the Greek regime against the left on the altar of protecting democratic institutions."

Papandreou advanced in his teaching career, taking up positions at Harvard, Northwestern and the University of California. By 1963, he was chairman of the economics department at Berkeley.

Over the past two weeks, EXCALIBUR reporter Mike Blumenthal has carried on a wide-ranging interview with Papandreou. The following represents only a fraction of their discussions.

EXCALIBUR: What economic problems are dominant in the Greek political economy of the 50s and 60s?

PAPANDREOU: Greece is a poor, underdeveloped country, but on the top of the list of underdeveloped countries. It has a per capita income of \$500. It has experienced a rather rapid rate of economic growth since the end of the civil war, and it was on its way to solving many of its problems.

As a small country, Greece is heavily dependent on the sale of its products abroad for financing its imports, and it has had a very adverse balance of trade over the years, selling abroad about a third of what it buys abroad, the difference having been made up usually by invisibles like tourism, immigrants, remittances, shipping income, and of course capital movements borrowing from abroad. That reflects its backward agricultural and industrial structure.

The interesting and puzzling thing about the Greek economy is that while we had a rapid rate of growth in the 50s and early 60s, there were few basic structural changes that would guarantee a potential of continued success. Agriculture had remained non-mechanized and non-intensive. Industry was quite primitive, with the exception of a few large foreign firms. Also, education had been extremely backward and unreformed. Administration was old-fashioned and ossified.

We have a spectacularly bad distribution of income. We have a middleman class — a merchant-speculator class —

in Greece that is terribly well off, and beyond taxation, while you have standards of living in the mountain communities that remind one of African or Indian villages; with an average that reminds you of Southern Italy.

In 1964, Papandreou returned to Greece, exchanging his academic role for that of a prominent politician. He was elected to the Greek parliament and served as Minister of State and as Minister of Economic Co-ordination.

EXCALIBUR: Walt Rostow has characterized Communists as being "the scavengers of the modernization process". Do you agree?

PAPANDREOU: While communism is a very fundamental problem to Greece of the 40s, it is absolutely non-existent in the 60s, and it is absolutely fake to say that in Greece there was some kind of popular Communist movement that challenged the establishment. In Greece, there developed a very progressive, democratic, nationalistic movement which our party, the Center Union Party represented and which had a fantastic majority by Greek standards — we had 53 per cent in the elections of 1964.

But I would like to say a few words about Walt Rostow. It was Mr. W. W. Rostow, who, in February 1967, sitting at a sub-committee of the Security Council of the United States, with representatives of the CIA, the State Department and the Pentagon, decided that a dictatorship was mandatory in Greece.

EXCALIBUR: Have you got proof of that?

PAPANDREOU: Oh yes, indeed that is proveable. All you have to do is read Marcus Childs . . . Not only did Marcus Childs write this up, but it has been lost; of course no one has picked this up. But second, I did see Marcus Childs specifically to validate this bit of information and it is validated. No question about it.

Walt Rostow finished the meeting with the phrase: "Gentlemen, what we failed to conclude about Greece makes the course of events in Greece inevitable." This was the classic phrase of Mr. Rostow at the time.

In April 1967, one month before the popular elections were to take place in Greece, a military coup took place. The clique of colonels now in control of Greece is commonly referred to as the junta.

Immediately after the coup, Papandreou was placed in prison, where he was held incommunicado and repeatedly beaten. It was only after the U.S. academic community put forth concerted pressure on Lyndon Johnson, that Papandreou was allowed to leave the country.

EXCALIBUR: You have stated: "What very few people realize is that every NATO country has a plan which would replace civilian government with a military government if there is thought to be a threat of a Communist take-over. In Greece it was called 'Prometheus'. In France it is called 'Plan Z'." Does Canada have such a plan?

PAPANDREOU: I don't know. At the same time, without referring to any particular country, I think I can make two generalizations that are of some importance. The first one related to the fact that when we were in government neither the prime minister nor I — and I was the senior minister in the government — knew about the existence of the plan for Greece. The fact that the military did not put before us information of this type is very telling.

I should add that the Greek plan provided for implementation on the signature of the Army Chief of Staff. It did not require the approval of the prime minister or the King. This type of power is inconsistent with the constitution of Greece, in contravention of the principle of democratic government and of popular sovereignty.

I have myself no doubt that this type of thinking is general for the military in all the countries which are associated in the alliance. I think that for every country, things are tailor-made depending on its problems, its geo-political importance, its intended role. In the case of France, for instance, Plan Z was written differently. It required the signature of the president of the republic.

EXCALIBUR: How strong is Greek support for the junta?

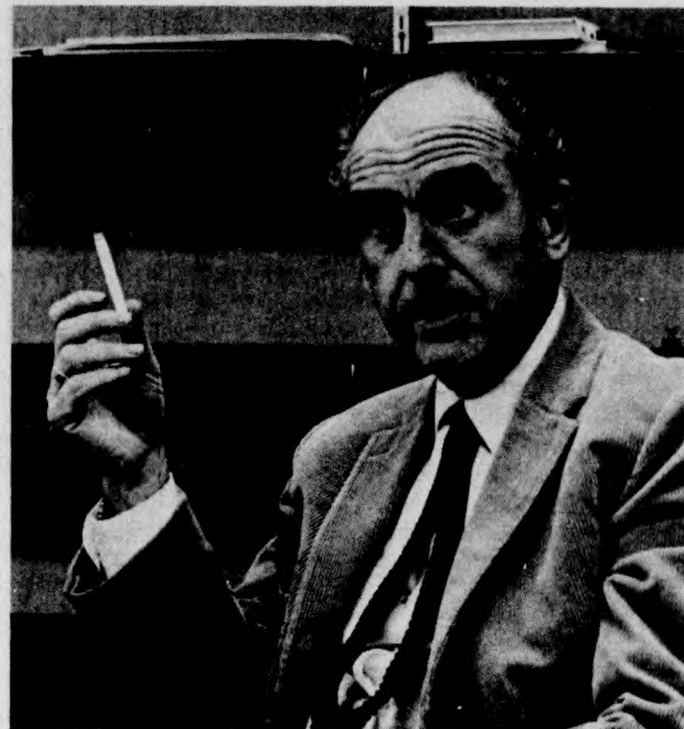
PAPANDREOU: Even in Latin America, where the Pentagon has been setting up dictatorships overnight, there is at least some support for the military regimes on the part of the land-owning class and some business interests. The colonels of Greece, however, are very much by themselves. They do not even command the loyalties of the Greek officers. Our guess is that they probably have no more than 300 truly loyal officers out of 10,000.

However, the officers who are not loyal to the junta are not likely to move against the junta en masse. The Greek officers expect to get their signal from the Pentagon and from their colleagues in other allied armies. They look to the officers, not the politicians, to give them guidance.

As long as the western countries continue to send military aid, especially of the pipeline variety, to the Greek army, this is the signal that counts. The moment Washington — the moment NATO command — were to give a different signal through action, this would immediately lead to an army action against the colonels; for the colonels would no longer represent the symbol of NATO, the chosen instrument of NATO.

EXCALIBUR: Can you tell us about the activities of PAK (Pan-Hellenic Liberation Movement)?

PAPANDREOU: All matters involving resistance are under the National Council inside Greece. Abroad, there is a council of PAK which is concerned with the mobilization of international public opinion and with the provision of



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"Greece can be thought of as the first banana republic experiment in Europe under the umbrella and auspices of the military-industrial complex."

financial resources. There is a much smaller coordinating council which is supposed to relate what happens to Greece to what happens abroad in terms of general strategy and general policy, of which I am chairman. There is also a development abroad of an organization we call the Friends of PAK, intended to assist us in mobilization and provision of financial resources.

EXCALIBUR: How much of a base does PAK have?

PAPANDREOU: One has to make a distinction between organized membership and political support for the movement. There are 10 organized groups of resistance in Greece, each with different names. PAK is an umbrella for a number of regionally and functionally-different groups. There may be a labour group, a student group, a group in Athens, a group in Macedonia. Each has its own rules of operation, but they all accept the values and orientation of PAK and they are represented in the national council in Greece. Their activities are coordinated up to a point. This is a difficult task and it is not always carried out satisfactorily, but this is the stage we are in now.

It is difficult to say how many people belong to each group. It can be as large as 500, or as small as 10. What is formally organized is small, but what holds for our organization holds for all forms of organized resistance in Greece. Our pattern of resistance is not guerrilla warfare. Our mode of resistance is related to the spirit of the population at large, which has been very effective in passive resistance.

My guess is that PAK represents at least half of the unorganized population in Greece. My claim is based on the fact that PAK is derived primarily from the population which voted Center Union in the last election. The tendency has been in Greece for the Left to have its own umbrella called the Patriotic Front; and for the right to have no umbrella, but its own resistance organization based on the army.

Democratic Defence is another broadly based resistance movement in Greece, which occupies the same ideological space as PAK. We are cooperating and coordinating with Democratic Defence and the Patriotic Front. On specific issues, PAK has cooperated with rightist officer groups.



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"Walt Rostow is a man whose lack of vision and lack of understanding lies behind the tragedy of Vietnam, as it lies behind the tragedy in Greece. He really has been a calamity — not only for the U.S., but for the world at large."