

# VASSILIS I. FILIAS

## THE UNFORGETTABLE AND THE FORGOTTEN

- **THE PATH TO THE DICTATORSHIP (1963-1967)**
- **DICTATORSHIP-RESISTANCE (1967-1974)**
- **RETURN TO DEMOCRACY (1974-1993)**

### Contents

Introduction	9
<b>I. From the foreign occupation to Iouliana–The elements of a personal evolution</b>	15
• The Big Resistance	15
• The Liberation	19
• The Army	21
• Germany	26
• In London	34
• Back to Athens	37
<b>II. 1963-1967</b>	39
• The Papanastasiou group and the “New Economy”	39
• From Iouliana until the 21 <sup>st</sup> April 1967	45
<b>III. The Dictatorship (from April ’67 until June ’68)</b>	55
• 21 <sup>st</sup> April 1967	55
• The military of Democracy	61
• Martin Pakart	67
• Expansion of Networks	72
• Deutsche Welle and the greek program of the Bavarian Radio	79
• Judges and Novelists	82
• Underground	84
• Temporary Directoire of the Democratic Defense	92
• December of 1967	93
• January of 1968	97
• The first networks of the foreign supporters of the resistance, that they were organized by the Democratic Defense	103
• The isolation of dictatorship	110
• “Rigas Feraios”. The autonomous groups of resistance in Crete. The efficiency of the resistance effort.	112
• The cooperation of the Democratic Defense and the Patriotik Front	116
• The Democratic Defense and Andreas Papandreou	120
• Contacts with the exiled king Constantinos	124
• The resistance groups of London, Paris, Amsterdam, Geneva, USA at the beginning of ’68	127
• The activity of the Democratic Defense the first semester of ’68	130
• The death of my father	135
• Arrests of officers of the Democratic Defense (April 1968)	137

• Recognitions in Epirus	138
<b>IV. My Arrest</b>	143
<b>V. From summer of '68 until the end of '69</b>	157
• Averof Prison	157
<b>VI. Since my arrest (June '68) until my trial (May '69)</b>	167
• The march of the resistance indoors and abroad	167
• The “Greek democratic Movement”	167
• PAK and the “armed struggle”	171
• Ch. Zaharakis and G. Georgiou–Diplomats of all weathers	176
• Continuation of trials and redundancies	179
<b>VII. From summer of '68 until the end of '69</b>	183
• The hit at Dover	186
• The European Council and the Democratic Defense	190
• Interventions of the D.D. in Syndicalism and Tourism abroad	192
<b>VIII. The fatal second semester of 1969</b>	195
• The Trial	195
• The “Averof” prisons and the summer of '69	199
• The “Black summer” of Democratic Defence	203
• Transfer to Korydallos prisons	208
• I. Zígdis and the case of the newspaper “Ethnos”	211
• The Fedayeen	214
• The trial of the 35 members of Democratic Defense	218
<b>IX. In the prisons of Crete</b>	225
• Transfer to the Kalami (Idjedin) prison in Crete	225
• Prison of Alikarnassos	234
<b>X. Minor resistance formations – A summary</b>	243
• “National movement of Democratic Resistance” (EKDA) and “Democratic National Movement of Resistance” (DEKA)	243
• “Greek Resistance” and Panagoulis brothers	244
• “Greek Democratic Movement” (EDK) and the Union of Foreign Center	253
• The “National-liberation Movement of Crete”	256
• The group of A. Minis and S. Pantelakis	256
• The PAK inside the country	259
<b>XI. From my transfer to the prisons of Corfu until the amnesty of '73</b>	269
• Arrests of members of the Democratic Defence in west Germany (1972)	280
• Students and University at 1972 and the first semester of '73	283
• The amnesty of 1973	287
<b>XII. The General G. Grivas and EOKA B'</b>	291

•The issue of “Free Greeks” and G. Karousos	295
•G. Grivas in Cyprus	296
•A walk to the abyss	308
<b>XIII. The Amnesty of 1973 and the Polytechnic School</b>	313
• The Polytechnic School	317
<b>XIV. The fall of dictatorship</b>	325
• the coup d’ état in Cyprus	325
• Crusial meeting of resitants in Athens	328
<b>XV. The Democratic Defence and PASOK</b>	333
• The co-foundation of PASOK	333
• The way to the break and the expulsions of 1975	339
• Pontius Pilate	345
<b>XVI. From 1975 to 1981</b>	349
• The scientific and professional facts	349
• PASOK’S way to power	353
<b>XVII. The rising of PASOK to power</b>	359
• The death of Sakis Karagiorgas	367
• Funeral oration for Sakis Karagiorgas	371
• Popular Fighting Unit and Socialist Union	376
• The “Proti” newspaper	379
<b>XVIII. The foundation of the Coalition and the events of 1989</b>	383
<b>XIX. The issue of “Olympic Airways”</b>	389
<b>XX. Instead of epilogue</b>	405
<b>Appendix:</b>	413
No 1. The A. Papanastasiou political club Founding Declaration	415
No 2. Cover of edition of the A. Papanastasiou club: The socio- political forces in Greece	421
No 3. Speech of V. Filias in the “Xatzihristou” theater	422
No 4. Democratic Defence, declaration to the greek people	431
No 5. Democratic Defense, Declaration of the fundamental resistance goals	435
No 6. Democratic Defense, Ten basic principles	443
No 7. The purge (March 1968)	446
No 8. Forged passport of V. Filias (1967/68)	452
No 9. The concept of 21 <sup>st</sup> April 1967	

	(February 1969)	453
No 10.	Defence of V. Filias before the Special Courtmartial of Athens (19 May 1969)	464
No 11.	The nature of the dictatorship I (January 1970)	481
No 12.	The nature of the dictatorship II (February 1970)	484
No 13.	Defence of the general G. Iordanidis before the Special Court-martial of Athens (6 April 1970)	487
No 14.	Defence of the professor D. Karagiorgas before the Special Court-martial of Athens (7 April 1970)	492
No 15.	The impasse of the dictatorship (September 1971)	499
No 16.	Defence of X. Peloponnisios before the Special Court-martial of Athens (22 March 1972)	508
No 17.	The exploitation of the idea of Nation by the Junta (April 1972)	513
No 18.	Regular and strategic problems of the Resistance (Summer 1972)	517
No 19.	Need of ideological reorientation of the Resistance (Spring 1973)	528
No 20.	Manuscript of a book of V.F. "Society and power in Greece", as it came out of Corfus' prison (1972/73)	537
No 21.	The real meaning of the students mobilization (February 1973)	538
No 22.	Common declaration A. Minis, V. Filias in "Vradini" (17 October 1975)	543
No 23.	Letter of L. Fillipatos to A. Papandreou (5 March 1975)	545
No 24.	Cover of the magazine "Economy and Society"	555
No 25.	Cover of the magazine "The Socialism of the Future"	556
No 26.	"Popular struggling Unity": Proposition on political and organizational Framework (20/9/85)	557
No 27.	Proclamation of "The Socialistic Union", Proposition on political and organizational issues	565
No 28.	V. Filias: from the 93's elections to the 96's elections. The chronicle of a preannounced convergence (October 1996)	576
	Bibliography	585
	Index of names	591