

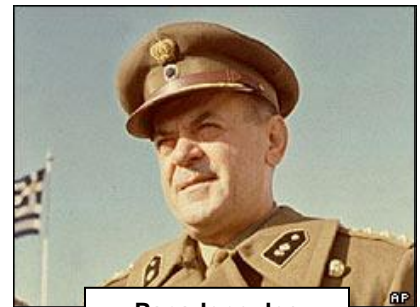
## CHAPTER 10: WAR, REVOLUTION AND THE AFTERMATH

### Democracy Returns To Greece - Cyprus Gets Partitioned

Soon after we arrived home from our trip to Italy the confrontation between the Greeks and Turks over the control Cyprus escalated into an actual but brief war, which was instigated by the ultra-conservative Greek military dictators, "the Junta" (aka, "The Colonels"), in an effort to bolster support for their increasingly unpopular right wing regime. The Colonels' strategy to maintain their grip on power by creating a diversion in Cyprus failed and in the end they fell victim to the law of unintended consequences.....not only did the Junta lose the war but their freedom as well. With the return of democracy in 1974 following a military coup, the Junta's archenemy, the Panhellenic Socialist Party, once again became the major force in Greek politics. Here is how the events unfolded.

#### The 1967 Greek Military Coup

Until 1967 Greece was a constitutional monarchy under King Constantine II. Similar in nature to the British monarchy, the Greek King's powers were pretty much limited to endorsing (or not endorsing) changes in the government. Due to the strong socialist/communist sympathies of a substantial portion of the population some ultra-conservative high-ranking officers in the Greek army feared that George Papandreou, the prime minister and head of the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK), would win re-election that year and attempt a communist take over of the government. So, on 21 April 1967 several army officers, most of them colonels led by George Papadopoulos, staged a military coup.



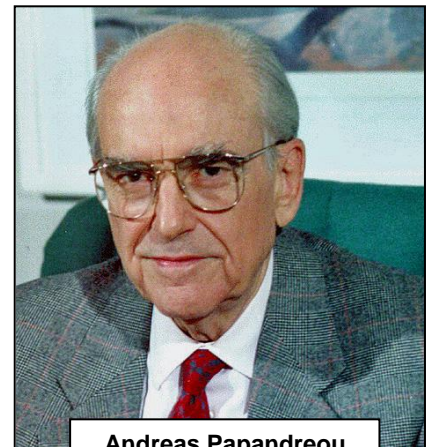
Papadopoulos



Constantine II

After locking up the enemies of the regime, which included left leaning politicians such as George Papandreou and his son Andreas, as well as intellectuals, union leaders, and anyone else who was known to have socialist sympathies, the perpetrators of the coup met with King Constantine to seek his blessing and recognition of their new government. After much discussion he did, but it would be a decision that he would later come to regret. My guess is that when the Colonels reminded

Constantine of what had happened to the Romanoffs when the communists had taken over in Russia in 1917 he probably decided to endorse the new right wing government rather than risk the possibility that his entire family might also end up at the bottom of a dry well.



Andreas Papandreou

#### Martial Law And Repression.....1967-1974

When we arrived in Greece in 1974 the country was still controlled by the Junta and was under a perpetual state of martial law. It was the military government that passed Law 89/1967, the law that provided the tax incentives that had brought HP to Greece. Also thanks to martial law the country was very safe for the average person, but there were several underground organizations, even some in the military, that were plotting to rid Greece of the repressive Colonels.

To me, conditions in Greece at that time were very similar to the conditions that had existed in Taiwan (aka, The Republic of China) when I lived there. Taiwan was also a conservative military dictatorship under General Chiang Kai Shek, who had been forced out of China, along with the remnants of his Nationalist (Kuomintang) Army, by Mao Zedong (aka, Mao Tse-tung) in 1949. If you didn't step out of line there would be nothing to fear. However, dissent of any kind would not be tolerated and would be immediately crushed. All media was censored. What could be shown on TV and printed in local newspapers was under the absolute control of the Chiang government. Foreign newspapers and periodicals such as the China Post and Time Magazine that occasionally contained articles critical of the regime would be missing those pages when they were delivered.....or not allowed into the country at all. The Chiang regime was so draconian that the government viewed men with long hair as non-conformist left leaning liberal degenerates who were potential troublemakers. While I was living there an international incident occurred when the police in Taipei forcibly cut the hair of several Swedish sailors.

Relative to Greece, in addition to long hair on men also being outlawed, the Junta had their own set of idiosyncratic paranoid policies that were supposed to keep the natives from getting restless. Even an outward expression of emotion as mundane as the Greek tradition of smashing a few plates in a restaurant to show appreciation for the entertainment was outlawed. Perhaps the Colonels expected that the emotions expressed by plate throwing citizens might erupt into a popular insurrection. Radio stations were forbidden to play music by Mikis Theodorakis and other composers known to have leftist sympathies. Even centrist politicians, like former Prime Minister Constantine Karamanlis, were forced into exile or went voluntarily to avoid persecution.

The extremes to which the Junta would go to silence their critics was the subject of the 1969 fact based movie entitled "Z". The following is brief write up about the film.



In another major event of 1969 Kosta-Gavras releases his film Z about the assassination of Grigoris Lambrakis. The movie has been filmed in Algeria since it obviously could not be filmed in Greece. It is nominated for a large number of top awards, including an Oscar for Best Picture, winning the Oscar for Best Foreign Film. It also wins the Golden Globe for Best Foreign Language Picture, and is named best picture by the New York Film Critics Circle Awards and National Society of Film Critics Awards. The film also is nominated for a Golden Palm award at the Cannes film festival. The soundtrack, by Mikis Theodorakis, who is under arrest at the time, becomes a hit record though of course like the film it is banned in Greece. The film ends with a list of things banned by the Junta which include the peace movement, strikes, labor unions, long hair on men, mini-skirts, the peace symbol, the Beatles, Sophocles, Tolstoy, Aeschylus, Socrates, Eugene Ionesco, Sartre, Chekhov, Mark Twain, Samuel Beckett, free press, new math and the letter Z, which means '*he lives*'.

By 1974 the ability of the Colonels, who were all army, to control the entire military was becoming questionable.....the army had not had the complete support of the other branches of the military during the 1967 takeover. Also, King Constantine eventually had second thoughts about his earlier decision and in an effort to remove the Colonels he launched a counter-coup with the help of the military branches that were still loyal to the monarchy. When this failed Constantine and his family went into exile in Britain, where they still live today. The on-going disagreement within and between the branches of the military relative to government policy, which brought new meaning to the expression "inter-service rivalry", remained and over time the Colonels began to slowly lose their supporters. This became very apparent during the conflict with Turkey over the Junta's support of Greek Cypriots who wanted to unify Greece and Cyprus.

## **The Crises in Cyprus**

The Island of Cyprus, which is populated by both ethnic Greeks (Christians) and ethnic Turks (Muslims) with Greeks representing the vast majority, was a British protectorate until its independence in 1960 following years of strife. Similar to the situation in which Britain had found itself in Palestine in the years prior to 1948, if there was anything that the indigenous population hated more than each other it was the British. When the British relinquished control of Cyprus the Greeks and Turks were free to have at it and they did as each resisted attempts by the other to gain more influence over the island nation's political affairs. Eventually the violence subsided and the political extremists went underground as Cyprus began to slowly and painfully evolve into an independent democratic state.

History has shown time and time again that dictatorial regimes all have at least one thing in common, they will go to any length, regardless of the possible consequences, to maintain their grip on power. When it becomes obvious that their days are numbered these regimes will usually create a crisis that is intended to deflect the heat directed at them and refocus the attention of their critics onto a third party or onto an issue that their critics are passionate about. In the case of the Greek military Junta, what better way to regain the support of the population than to revive their historical hatred of the Turks and their desire to unify Greece and Cyprus, where 80% of the population is Greek. This would buy the Junta some time..... and in the end, a whole lot of trouble.

The same tactic was used by the conservative Argentine military dictatorship in 1981 when they decided to refocus the attention of a very unhappy population by setting out to "retake" the Falkland Islands, which was and still is British territory. For more than a century Argentine school children had been taught that the Falklands, known to the Argentines as the Malvinas, had been taken from them by the British. The Argentines were just as passionate about the Malvinas as the Greeks were about Cyprus. What better way to distract the population than to start a war with Britain, which the Argentine generals were quite happy to do if that would get them a little more breathing room. So, they proceeded to invade the Falkland Islands, proving without any doubt that the expression "military intelligence" is an oxymoron. The generals were apparently unaware of what had happened to the Greek Colonels after the crisis in Cyprus was over. They were tried for crimes against humanity.

## **The Conflict With Turkey**

After Cyprus had been granted independence by Britain an organization comprised of Greek Cypriot Nationalists (EOKA) had attempted to unify Cyprus with Greece, but the Turkish government had stepped in to protect the rights of the ethnic Turks. In early 1974 another of these episodes began with the EOKA receiving (as planned) enthusiastic support from the Greek Junta. As we discovered on our return trip from Italy, by the beginning of the summer this conspiracy and the resulting escalating tension between Greece and Turkey prompted European tourists to cancel their plans to visit Greece.

On 15 July the EOKA tried to assassinate the President of Cyprus, the island's moderate patriarch, Archbishop Makarios, the spiritual and political leader of the Greek Cypriot community. At that point the Turks had had enough and invaded Cyprus in order to protect the Turkish minority population. They also mobilized their military forces and moved them to the border with Greece. However, there was little, if any, military action on the border. The fighting took place on Cyprus between the Greek Cypriot Nationalists and the Turkish Army. The whole business was extremely convoluted. Any rational thinker would assume that the minority Turkish population would be behind the assassination attempt, especially when considering that they were Muslims and the President of Cyprus was a Greek Orthodox Bishop, but that was not the case. It was the Greek Nationalists who were trying to assassinate the Greek Orthodox Archbishop because he was not Greek enough. Makarios did not support EOKA's plans to unify Cyprus with Greece.



**Archbishop Makarios**

## Fight or Flight.....What Would You Rather Have, An Unwinable War Or A New Government?

That was the question that Greek army officers were asking themselves after they arrived at the border separating Greece and Turkey. The relatively short land border between the two countries is located near Alexandroupolis, in the north-east corner of Greece, about 500 miles from Athens. When the Turkish military mobilized so did the Greeks. There was an endless line of military vehicles traveling up the National Road, which was located only a few blocks from our home. When the Greek army reached the border and took one look at the formidable Turkish force facing them the officers in charge decided that it would be much easier to go back to Athens and remove the Colonels than to meet the Turks head-on in battle. Taking the path of least resistance that is exactly what they did. With tanks surrounding the parliament and all of the government offices, the seven-year-old Junta collapsed.



Tanks In The Streets

### The Consequences

Other than watching the military vehicles roll by, the only difference that we noticed in our daily routine was how quiet things had become. It was especially quiet in Kifissia, 12 miles away from the action, which was all downtown at Syntagma Square. There were few cars on the road and no public transportation was operating. Everyone stayed home. The military coup was quick and bloodless and for the average person everything was back to normal within a couple of days.

A month or so after the coup we had a couple of officials from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs come to our home in Kastri. They didn't speak any English but made it clear that they wanted to come in and look around. So, we invited them in. They were very polite and departed after a few minutes. Afterward, our neighbor Daisy Dobbins, a Greek woman who was married to an Englishman, told us that the previous occupant of our home had worked at the U.S. Embassy and had a sophisticated short wave radio station. Being a licensed amateur radio operator myself, I had noticed the antenna on the roof before we had moved in. As the U.S. government had supported the Junta Daisy speculated that the last resident was probably with the CIA. She may have been correct, but the ministry must have been satisfied that our home was no longer the front for a clandestine radio station because nothing further came of it.

The consequences of the coup were all positive, unless you happened to be one of the Colonels.....or ENOKA.....or Rodger Davies, the American Ambassador to Cyprus, who was assassinated. ENOKA, angry that their efforts to

### Death of an Ambassador

At one time, the post of U.S. ambassador offered not only prestige but usually a genteel, comfortable way of life as well, with quiet diplomacy amid pomp and splendor. Today, in a world racked by guerrilla uprisings and civil wars, the American ambassador is often a target, a visible, vulnerable surrogate for his country and its policies. Last week's murder of U.S. Ambassador to Cyprus Rodger Davies—the third assassination of a U.S. ambassador since 1968\*—was a tragic reminder of the dangers that America's envoys now face.

A Middle Eastern expert who had been working as a Deputy Assistant Secretary of State in Washington, Davies, 53, presented his credentials in Nicosia just five days before the coup that ousted Archbishop Makarios, the Cyprus' President, and launched the island on its path to disaster. A quiet professional, he sought to convince both Greeks and Turks on the island that the U.S. was interested in a just settlement and had tried to douse the wildfire of bitter anti-Americanism among the Greek Cypriots. In the face of the passions unleashed by the fighting on the island, the odds against him were insurmountable.

The embassy received word of impending trouble on the morning of the day Davies was killed and alerted the Nicosia police, requesting protection against possible demonstrations. When the call went unheeded, the appeal was twice renewed, eventually bringing 30 to 40 policemen to the three-story embassy and ambassador's residence. Shortly after noon, the demonstrators, variously estimated at from 300 to 600, arrived, carrying placards and banners that read KISSINGER—HITLER and NATO—MURDERERS OF CYPRUS. They threw rocks at the building and, climbing over the eight-foot spiked iron fence surrounding it, tore down and burned the Stars and Stripes. They then set ten cars afire in the embassy parking lot and in the street outside.

Davies calmly moved the 38 non-security members of his staff away from the large blue-shuttered windows to the hallway of the second floor, mainly out of fear that one of the cars might explode and bombard them with debris. Eleven of the embassy's 14 Marines tried to disperse the crowd with tear gas, and everyone inside was issued a gas mask. The tear gas had little effect. Armed National Guard troops finally arrived to back up the police, and they began firing into the air to quiet the crowd, but to no avail.

Shortly before 1 p.m., the embassy building came under attack from automatic rifles firing armor-piercing

7.62-mm. bullets. The marksmen, stationed in a partially constructed apartment house 75 yds. away and at the base of a hill 100 yds. away, were obviously after the ambassador himself, and they carefully aimed at the two spots where he would most likely be, his office on the building's south side and his bedroom on the north side. Though the emergency plan in case of attack called for Davies to hide himself in his bathroom, the safest niche in the embassy, he remained with his staff. Gunfire raked both sides of the building. One high-velocity bullet ripped through the shutters of his office, went through three open doors, down a long hallway and struck him in the chest. He dropped to the floor with a groan, his gas mask half off his face, blood gushing from his wound. A Maronite Cypriot receptionist, Antoinette Varnava, rushed to his side. A second bullet blew off her head.

Assistant Public Affairs Officer David Grimland drove for help to Nicosia General Hospital 1½ miles away, but two ambulances dispatched to the embassy soon returned to the hospital, their drivers claiming that they could not get through the throng. Cyprus President Glafcos Clerides, who had broken off a news conference when he received word of the trouble, raced to the embassy and finally pushed through the rioters. He then followed a police car that had been commandeered to carry Davies to a nearby clinic, where the ambassador was pronounced dead. Clerides condemned the assassination as "an abominable crime" and ordered the police to find the killers, believed to be members of the EOKA-B organization, a group of fanatics who demand union of the island with Greece. At week's end, no one had been charged with the crime.

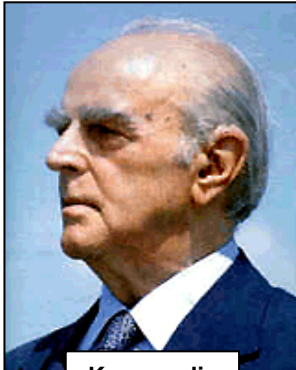
President Ford dispatched an Air Force 707 to bring the body back to the U.S. and pick up Davies' two children, Ann Dana, 20, and John, 15, who had been sent to Beirut for safety when the Cyprus fighting began on July 20. Their mother died of cancer only last year. Both Ford and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger were waiting at Andrews Air Force base when the plane landed, and five howitzers boomed a 19-gun salute. Ford hugged the children and said that their father had embodied the "best of time, effort and competence." Posthumously, Davies was given the Secretary of State Award, the department's highest honor.



DAVIES

\*The other two: Ambassador to Guatemala John Gordon Mein (1968) and Ambassador to the Sudan Cleo A. Noel (1973).

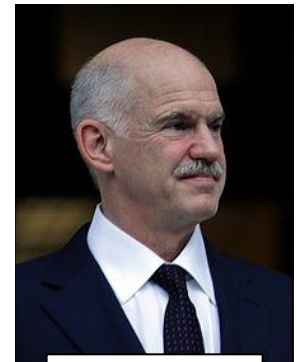
unify Cyprus and Greece had failed, had to blame someone. They believed that their plans had been stymied by the actions (actually, inactions) of the U.S. government. First, the U.S. had not supported the Junta, ENOKA's backers, and had allowed the regime to collapse. Secondly, the U.S. had not stepped in when NATO did nothing to prevent Turkey from invading Cyprus. In revenge, the more radical members of ENOKA plotted to murder Ambassador Davies. On 19 August 1974 they were successful.



**Karamanlis**

After the military coup the members of the Junta traded places with all of the political prisoners that had been locked up over the previous seven years. Thousand who were exiled returned home. The new military government was politically moderate and positioned itself as a caretaker while the population took some time to decide whether to return to a monarchy or establish a democratic form of government. Setting up a democracy was a novel idea. The Greeks had invented democracy but had not actually had one for about two thousand years. When the plebiscite was held a few months later the Greek population, remembering that the King had sold them out, voted for democracy rather than for the return of the monarchy. Constantine Karamanlis was recalled from exile to set up a transitional government. Hundreds of thousands of people greeted him at the airport when he returned from Paris. There were celebrations all over Greece. It was the beginning of a new era.

The political landscape came full circle after Greece became a democracy. The purpose of the military coup in 1967 was to keep George Papandreou from winning the general election. Following the coup George was imprisoned along with his son Andreas, where he died in 1967 at the hands of the Junta. After a few years Andreas was released and exiled, but when democracy returned to Greece so did Andreas and, following in his father's footsteps, eventually became prime minister. During his exile Andreas, who was a Harvard graduate, had been a professor of economics at U.C. Berkeley. Considering U.C. Berkeley's liberal reputation this should come as no big surprise to anyone. Upon his return to Greece Andreas became our neighbor in Kastri (although it was not possible to approach his house thanks to his security guards). Vitsi Street, where we lived, is now Andreas Papandreou Street. His son, who is named George, presumably after his grandfather, was the prime minister of Greece until he resigned during the recent Euro crisis. Ironically, after making life tough for the population for many years, the military Junta collapsed and was replaced by a democratically elected government that would eventually be headed by father and son socialists, Andreas and George Papandreou. The imprisoned Junta members must have found this to be a cruel twist of fate.



**Euro George**

When the war broke out several people from HP Athens were traveling and could not get home because the airport was closed. Two of the travelers, Peter Merkel and Simon Solomonidis, had an especially difficult time of it because they were in Turkey when the conflict began. Pete hired a car and driver in Istanbul and drove to the border hoping to get through even though all crossing points were closed. Dizzy Desi drove to the border and was able to get Pete across by bribing some immigration officials. Simon, our newest CPD sales engineer, had a much more difficult time. Not only was Simon Greek, his father was the Minister of Antiquities. Realizing that he might be in danger he opted to get on a bus that was traveling to the Syrian border, which had remained open. By not staying in any hotels he would only have to show his passport once, as he crossed into Syria. It was a long bus ride but his plan worked and he stayed in Syria until the Athens airport reopened. .

From an HP point of view nothing changed. Incenting foreign companies to move their operations to Greece was still a government priority no matter who was in charge. However, freedom brought major societal changes. The long-repressed population could now express itself. With free speech restored there were frequent demonstrations supporting the socialist's agenda and a lot of student marches that began at the University of Athens and, of course, finished in front of the U.S. Embassy (the home of those despised Junta supporters).

**Our Trip To Cyprus**



As our distributor development program (more on this later) got underway in 1976 I traveled to Cyprus to meet with Kostas Pandeis, the owner of Kypronics, a small one-man operation based in Nicosia. Following the 1974 war, in the midst of the chaos, Kostas had dropped out of site, but after the United Nations partitioned the island and the political situation stabilized he resurfaced. Unfortunately, his market was cut in half by the partitioning. My trip had two objectives. The first was to meet with Kostas to assess his business prospects and service capability. The second was personal. Understanding that this would probably be my only opportunity to visit Cyprus I wanted to see some of the many historical sites on the island. Joella accompanied me on this short trip.



**Cyprus After Partitioning**

Note: The forced (by the Turks) partitioning of Cyprus was viewed by all (except for the powerless U.N.) as a permanent situation. That being the case, in 1976 Eris Kalkan from EMA, our new Turkish distributor, would called me to see if he could begin pursuing customers on the northern half of the island, which is now known as the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus.

**A Brief History**

Cyprus (in addition to several other countries) claims to be the “crossroads of the Middle East” because of the many civilizations that had over the milleniums occupied and / or passed through the strategically located island. The history of modern Cyprus is a close parallel to that of Palestine. A British protectorate from 1878 and a crown colony (like Hong Kong) from 1925, the British spent most of their time trying to maintain peace between the Greek majority population and the Turkish minority. Having spent decades trying and failing to quell (harshly supress) the strong political influences on the island and the desire by each side to kill off the other, the British pulled out when they got tired of being caught in the crossfire. Periods of peace interspersed with periods of violence continued while the U.N. spent two decades trying to sort things out. The war in 1974 followed by the downfall of the right wing dictatorship in Greece and the partitioning of the Cyprus eventually brought some political stability to the island, but it took awhile.



**Ancient Kourion**

**Our Visit**



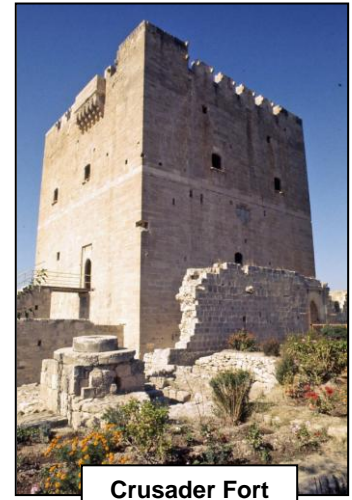
**Cyprus Hilton**

When Joella and I arrived on Cyprus everything was peaceful, but there were not many tourists. The Nicosia Hilton Hotel was practically empty. Although the invisible “green line” that separated the illegal “Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus” from the legal “Republic of Cyprus” passed through the middle of Nicosia



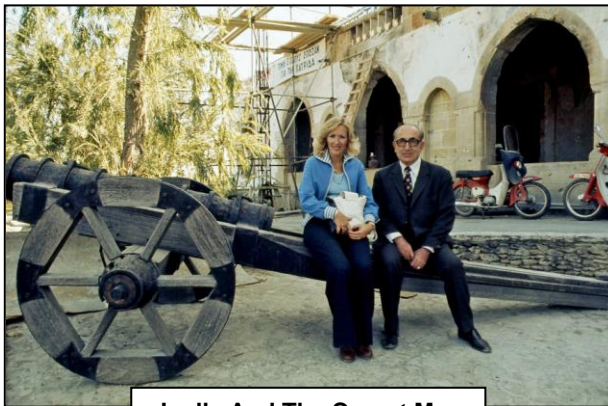
there were no overt signs of the partitioning. Everyone on the street was friendly and just going about their normal daily routines.

My meeting with Kostas required only a day and the results were as expected. Business was slow and likely to stay that way. Pocket calculators provided most of the sales volume and there was a small installed base of less sophisticated (no systems) HP products, such as basic instrumentation (voltmeters, etc.) and some stand alone medical devices (EKG's, etc.) that did not pose any service challenges for Kostas, who was also the service engineer. Following my day at Kyprionics Joella and I spent a long weekend on our own traveling about the Republic of Cyprus, the portion not controlled by Turkey, checking out many of the very well preserved historical sites.



**Crusader Fort**

While walking around Nicosia we happened across a small "Parsi" (Persian) carpet store. The proprietor was an older gentleman, probably in his 60's, who spoke perfect English, which was common due to eighty years of British occupation. All of the Cypriots of his generation attended British schools. British customs were also firmly in place. When we entered the store it was mid afternoon on a Saturday. After cordially welcoming us he said that he would be closing shortly to meet friends for tea and bridge.....like I said, the British were there for eighty years. After we had had a few minutes to look around the shop (and buy a carpet) he offered to give us a quick drive-by of some of the local historical sites and then drop us back at the hotel.



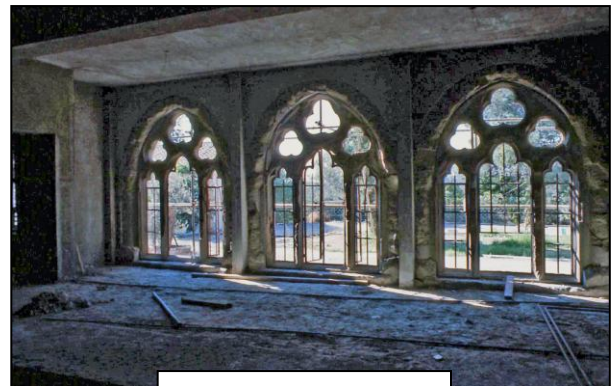
**Joella And The Carpet Man**

What a pleasure it was to spend time with this accommodating gentleman. As we drove through Nicosia he gave us a brief summary of Cyprus' history. The tour culminated with a visit to the residence ("palace") of Archbishop Makarios. The story we were told was that when the fighting had erupted in 1974 Makarios was in his study and had to flee out the back of his residence and through the garden to escape from pro-Greek (ENOKA) elements in the Cypriot National Guard. Their mission was to assassinate him in an effort to dispose of a major roadblock to their efforts to unify Cyprus and Greece. When we arrived at the palace that day two years later it was under

restoration and because it was unoccupied we were able to freely walk through the entire building. It was easy to see that Makarios was lucky to have escaped. The walls were pocked marked from all of the gunfire that had taken place and a portion of the building had been burned.



**Makarios's Palace With Bullet Holes**



**Makarios' Study**

ENOKA eventually made several unsuccessful attempts to assassinate Archbishop Makarios but he remained alive and well until his death from natural causes in 1977. He was 64. Just by a stroke of good fortune I met and briefly spoke with him on one of my return flights from London. It was also my good fortune that ENOKA had not managed to put a bomb on the plane that day. ■