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Citation:

Ikoniadou, M (2022) Greece in the Third World Solidarity through metonymy in a refugee magazine from the GDR. In: Transnational Solidarity: Anticolonialism in the Global Sixties. Racism, Resistance and Social Change . Manchester University Press, Manchester, pp. 307-331. ISBN 9781526161567, 1526161567 DOI: <https://doi.org/10.7765/9781526161574.00022>

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Document Version:

Book Section (Accepted Version)

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# Greece in the Third World: Solidarity Through Metonymy in a Refugee Magazine from the GDR

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**Keywords:** Third World; Greek Left; visual solidarity; metonymy; political publishing; 1960s

## Abstract

This chapter examines *Pyrros*, a Greek illustrated magazine published by political refugees in East Germany, as a case study on the aesthetic articulation of solidarity with the so-called Third World in the 1960s by emigres situated in-between the West and the socialist states. It argues that the magazine's complex political and aesthetic discourse on solidarity was intellectually and aesthetically entangled with notions of identification and metonymy that 'inserted' the Greek case within an anti-imperialist, anti-American Third Worldist struggle and, as such, were loaded with desires for the liberation and democratisation of Greece. The analysis examines how aesthetic and political articulations of solidarity were rendered visible in the magazine's visuality and intertextuality, focusing on its discourse on the Vietnam war. The chapter discusses the specific cultural histories and highlights the hidden accounts that unfolded from the margins during the Cold War. Beyond de-centring established, primarily Western-centric, paradigms of solidarity in the 1960s, its contribution speaks to the role of political publishing and to the distinctions between state and grassroots solidarity in the Eastern Bloc. By examining the emigres' magazine as a case study, this chapter aims to tease out existing definitions of solidarity in the 1960s whilst contributing to the study of its visual and aesthetic dimensions.

## Introduction

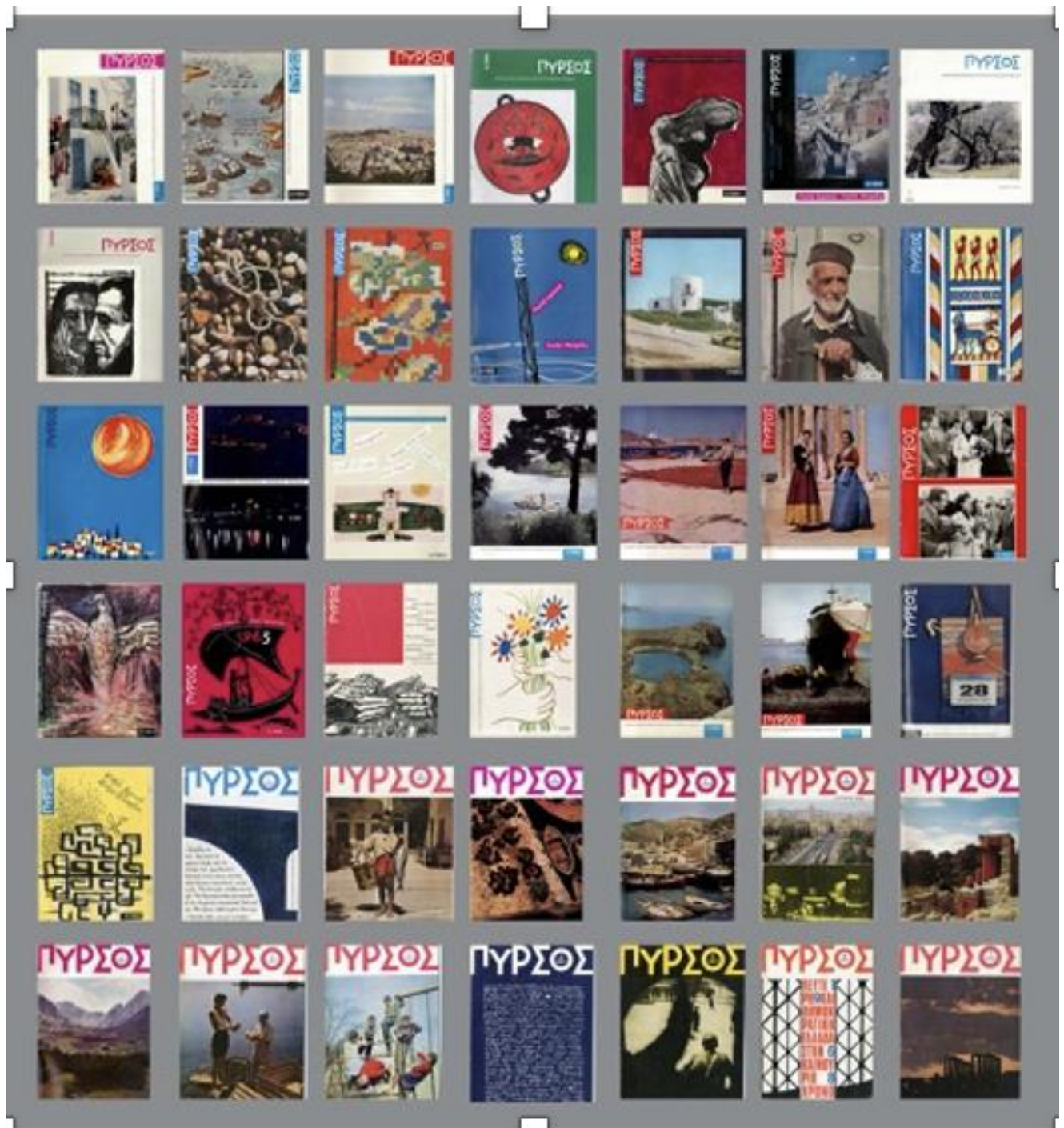


Fig 1. *Pyrros* magazine, front covers #1961-1968.

Soon after the Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962, the Greek author and translator Thomas Nicolaou met with Cuban revolutionary Miguel Marticorena at the International Students House on Lumumba street in Leipzig, German Democratic Republic. His account of the meeting was published in *Pyrros*, an illustrated magazine published by Greek political refugees in East Germany:

The Americans interfere in Cuba because they fear the light of the Cuban revolution. But the socialist camp will always be on Cuba's side. Still, a war might break out...With these thoughts, I arrived at the International Students House on Lumumba street [...] where I met 26-years-old Miguel. Miguel was very young when he joined the revolution and fought alongside Fidel Castro in Sierra Maestra. He was heavily injured, and he now receives medical treatment in the German Democratic Republic. [...] Goodbye, Miguel, our people understand the consequence of war, that's why we will always be by your side.

*Pyrros* #1, 1963 pp. 28-29.

In the text, 'our people' refers to the Greeks and, more specifically, the Greek political refugees in the GDR, who 'understood' the Cubans and what they had gone through, namely, the violent impact of US imperialism. Similar articles appeared regularly in *Pyrros* magazine, often interweaving the lives and achievements of the Greek political refugees with reports from life in Greece and the Greek diaspora in the West, reports on international struggles, and declarations of solidarity with the 'people who have liberated themselves' as well as with those who were 'fighting for their freedom, for democracy and national independence, for peace.'<sup>1</sup> As *Pyrros* characteristically writes in 1964:

The history of the Greek peoples' liberation struggles is filled with hardship, tyranny, foreign plots, struggles and blood. In our time, it is edifying to see people around the world going through the same struggles, making similar sacrifices against the same tyrants, to abolish the shackles of foreign colonial domination.

*Pyrros* #1, 1964, p.4

*Pyrros* (translated in English as *Torch*) was a Greek-language illustrated magazine initiated by the exiled Communist Party of Greece and published bimonthly from 1961 to 1968 in the GDR. The magazine's high-quality production was supported by the GDR's Department of International Relations, 'in the spirit of solidarity'.<sup>2</sup> *Pyrros* was distributed to Greek political refugees in the Soviet Union and the Peoples' Democratic Republics in Eastern and Central Europe (with the exemption of Yugoslavia), as well as to individuals and organisations of Greek economic migrants and students in the West (including most of Western Europe as well as Canada and Australia).<sup>3</sup> The magazine's distribution across both sides of the Cold War does not only differentiate it from other Greek refugee publications but also discloses its editorial strategy and political aims: ultimately, to construct a collective national cultural subjectivity for its diverse readership of Greek émigrés in the 1960s.

This chapter examines *Pyrros* illustrated magazine as a case study of the aesthetic and political articulations of solidarity with the so-called Third World in the 1960s.<sup>4</sup> It draws on the specific cultural histories, the analysis of the magazine's corpus alongside that of comparable periodicals as well as unpublished archival material and interviews.<sup>5</sup> The visual analysis pays particular attention to the relationship of images and texts in the design of the magazine and investigates the discourses produced out of their juxtaposition. As such, it involves what is stated, and that which is left unsaid. To this end, Bertolt Brecht's renderings of Marxist dialectics, his aesthetic theories and writings on the re-structuring of juxtapositions as dissonances will constitute a central hermeneutic approach.<sup>6</sup> It is in the productive relationship of the juxtaposition — in

the magazine that of text and images — that I determine the specific ways it constructs solidarity for its readership through metonymy. Such analysis of *Pyrros* can speak to the distinctions between state and grassroots solidarity against the silenced and largely ignored history of socialist solidarity in the Eastern Bloc in the 1960s. In addition, *Pyrros*' conditions of production by Greek political refugees and its circulation across Cold War borders unearths hidden histories from the margins. It highlights unusual affective and political connections during the Cold War and contributes to the de-centering of established, primarily Western, paradigms of solidarity in the 1960s.

In what follows, I initially examine the term Third World as a project in the 1960s. I then turn to the specific events that marked the political strategy of the Greek Left since the 1940s and, subsequently, the editorial and visual strategy of the magazine. Having established the concept of solidarity in *Pyrros* and in state socialism, I focus on its manifestations in the GDR and address political publishing as a layer on the state's official solidarity discourse. The discussion of *Pyrros*' complex editorial strategy leads to the analysis of spreads from the magazine that depict the Vietnam war. I conclude by suggesting that the magazine's articulations of solidarity through identification with Third World struggles derived from the desire for the restitution of the Greek Left and the democratisation of the country in the 1960s.

### **Third World solidarity**

Political geographer David Featherstone defines solidarity as a relation produced through political struggle seeking to challenge forms of oppression.<sup>7</sup> Yet, forms of oppression are never alike or equal. Shared political spaces, connections and alliances are formed through multiple processes of exchange in the articulation and challenge of inequalities and injustices. Solidarity can also be construed and expressed through identification processes and by drawing parallels between politically, historically, and aesthetically diverse struggles. As I argue, the political plea for the national liberation, sovereignty and democratisation of Greece in *Pyrros* magazine, drew parallels to the

plea for the liberation and self-determination of the anticolonial, anti-imperialist and national liberation struggles in the so-called Third World.

Following Vijay Prashad, I do not construe the notion of the Third World as a place, but as a project; a project that in the 1960s comprised of hopes, dreams and desires for political equality on the world stage.<sup>8</sup> Moreover, as Cynthia Young convincingly argues, the term Third World stood 'as a placeholder, a contradictory edifice of ideas and concepts that expressed [...] an "imagined relation".<sup>9</sup> Indeed, the term provided national minorities and oppressed people worldwide, such as the Greek political refugees as well as the violently suppressed Left in Greece — in Young's words, those who 'were not juridically colonised' — with a language and a motivation to 'challenge their own forms of oppression'.<sup>10</sup> Young's study of the U.S. Left's cultural, material, and ideological links to the Third World is especially useful to my analysis since it enables the incorporation of Third World terminology as a model for the various distinctive 1960s struggles. Albeit radically, and primarily racially, different to the experience of the U.S. Third World Left in the 1960s, the Greek political refugees, who had similarly been denied their citizenship rights,<sup>11</sup> perceived the USA's imperial cultural and economic interventions in Greece, as identical to the structures underpinning colonialism.<sup>12</sup> Comparable to Young's subject of study, the Greek Left, in exile and in Greece alike, articulated its affiliation with the Third World, and as such identified with a shared international consciousness and mode of transnational solidarity.<sup>13</sup>

In the wake of post-war decolonisation processes, European social movements became increasingly global in terms of scope, networks and ideas. Historian Kostis Kornetis claims that the 1960s witnessed the collapse of national identities into international ones whereby various social and political movements of different origins and trajectories 'linked' through cultural transfers and shared common references.<sup>14</sup> The circulation of radical ideas and practices informed by the liberation of the Third World' provided a revolutionary guide' and it is significant to note here, the chance to consider



anew the use of 'violence as a liberating force'.<sup>15</sup>

Print culture and periodicals in particular were very much the medium of the moment in the 1960s, critical in the dissemination of cultural and political ideas across transnational channels. The circulation of political publishing was further reinforced by the increased mobility of young people who were looking to work or study abroad, or both, and who acted 'as transmitters of local stimuli' carrying with them ideas and materials back to their home countries.<sup>16</sup> Yet, the role of political publishing in this period has been largely unexplored in scholarship, especially with regards to the ways that illustrated magazines (re)produced particular effects on their readers. As my analysis of *Pyrros* in this chapter demonstrates, articulations of solidarity between movements and struggles were also expressed through aesthetics, rendered visible in the visuality and intertextuality of magazines.

### **Greeks between the First and the Second World**

By the time *Pyrros* magazine launched its first issue in 1961, the Greek political refugees had been living in what was meant to be a temporary exile for twelve years. Following the defeat of the Communist-led Democratic Army of Greece in the Civil War (1946-1949), the refugees were granted 'temporary' political asylum in the USSR and the peoples' republics until the political conditions would allow for their return to Greece. When the refugees fled the country, the Greek government issued a series of resolutions, confiscated their properties, and stripped them of their citizenship rights, effectively depriving them of the prospect of repatriation, officially until 1982.<sup>17</sup>

Greece emerged from the Civil War completely transformed in every aspect of social and political life. Since the end of the Civil War, and until the dictatorship of the Colonels in 1967, the country experienced a long succession of right-wing, anti-communist governments that operated according to the doctrine of *ethnikofrosyni*



[national-mindedness]. *Ethnikofrosyni* was the official state doctrine of the victors of the Civil War, which, under the motto 'homeland - religion - and family,' had infiltrated all aspects of social and political culture in Greece. The Greek state incorporated Western values and market capitalism promoted a nationalist ideology and constructed an enemy that was both internal and external — along the lines of the United States' anti-communist Cold War ideology.<sup>18</sup> Additionally, it accused the Greek Left of the disastrous consequences of the Civil War and denied its participation in the 1940s resistance against the Axis occupation of Greece (1941-1944).<sup>19</sup> The Greek state closely monitored the beliefs of all its citizens, excluded the Left from the ranks of public administration to keep it 'permanently out of the circle of power'.<sup>20</sup> The objective was to gradually shift the ideological conviction of the population away from the democratic ideas and revolutionary practices of the 1940s.<sup>21</sup> The Greek state continued to persecute its 'enemies', keeping many of them in prisons and exile islands until after the fall of the dictatorship of the Colonels.<sup>22</sup>

By the beginning of the 1960s, Greek public opinion was equating the USA's continuous involvement in the country's domestic politics to the Nazi occupation. In like manner, it was perceiving US foreign policy as that of a coloniser.<sup>23</sup> This was primarily a consequence of the United States' interference in the Cyprus issue against the country's right to self-determination. Hostility towards the US intensified when NATO military bases were installed on Greek soil at the beginning of the 1960s.<sup>24</sup>

The US administration's involvement in Greece had begun during the Greek Civil War following the withdrawal of British Troops and the subsequent transfer of power.<sup>25</sup> In March of 1947, the implementation of the Truman Doctrine in Greece marked the country's position as a terrain where a conflict of powerful international interests played out. This was the first time that the United States interfered in the domestic politics of a foreign country in the context of the Cold War.<sup>26</sup> The result of the Greek Civil War was determined by US intelligence, military and financial aid to the Greek National

Army, which ultimately overpowered the communist-led Democratic Army of Greece — a partisan army that, to a large extent, consisted of former resistance fighters.<sup>27</sup> The defeat of the Democratic Army in 1949 was secured by the U.S.-supplied napalm bombs, the first ever use of napalm in warfare.<sup>28</sup>

The 1960s witnessed an increase of European human rights campaigns that demanded amnesty for the political prisoners and exiles in Greece, often going hand in hand with contemporaneous anti-American, anti-imperialist and nuclear disarmament movements. Historian Kim Christiaens claims that the published material used by Western European campaigners that 'stimulated' an 'anticolonial reading' of the situation in Greece, were provided by groups of Greek political refugees, in addition to promoting the demands for amnesty and the pledge for their repatriation.<sup>29</sup> Such campaigns drew parallels between Greece and the Third World in terms of 'backwardness and underdevelopment' and 'spoke of colonisation in Greece by referring to the involvement of the US government and [its] multinationals'.<sup>30</sup> The 1960s humanist, anticolonial and anti-imperialist rhetoric presented the Greek Left with the opportunity to align its cause with international movements. More importantly, it offered the possibility to rehabilitate its marginalised position in Greece and attempt to de-legitimise the Greek state's ideology.

The decision to publish *Pyrros* magazine was inspired by the broader 1960s climate; it was in response to the political conditions in Greece and was encouraged by the resilience of the Left in the country, despite its violent repression by the state. Besides, it was in accordance with Khrushchev's de-Stalinization and 'peaceful coexistence' rhetoric. At the end of the 1950s, the exiled Communist Party of Greece had radically shifted its political and cultural strategy from 'guns at the ready' to a collaboration with the Greek parliamentary Left (EDA) under a common strategy that aimed for: the legitimisation and legalisation of the Left in Greece; the recognition of its 1940s' National Resistance'; amnesty to political prisoners; and the repatriation of the political

refugees.<sup>31</sup>

### **Solidarity in *Pyrsons* and in state socialism**

*Pyrsons*' rhetoric on solidarity with the people' whose lives and struggles were dedicated to freedom, democracy, national independence and peace' aligned to its expressions in state socialism, and more specifically, to its particular version in the GDR. Since the 1940s, the concept of solidarity in state socialism had evolved into an established official policy. Solidarity was orchestrated and supported by the regimes rather than led 'from below', as was usually the case with grassroots activists in the West.<sup>32</sup> Although the implementation of solidarity varied in each socialist state, its manifestations were 'inseparable' from the 'political, ideological, material and financial interests' of the state.<sup>33</sup>

Broadly speaking, histories of socialist solidarity have been at best ignored and largely erased. Recent scholarship, however, such as the work of ethnographer and postcolonial gender studies scholar Kristen Ghodsee and anthropologist Christina Schwenkel demonstrate that socialist solidarity was not empty of meaningful political content.<sup>34</sup> For one, as Ghodsee demonstrates, solidarity between the Second and the Third Worlds provided the citizens of the Global South with strategic alliances that allowed them to amplify their collective voices on the international stage.<sup>35</sup>

The experiences of thousands of Eastern Europeans who engaged in transnational solidarity work were not merely distanced, sympathetic identifications but actually helped them form deeply political, optimistic, and future-oriented affective attachments.<sup>36</sup> Solidarity provided a process of politicisation by providing a progressive political space; a language of critique, which at times was employed to articulate their own domestic frustrations.<sup>37</sup> Expressions of solidarity often resonated as a requirement in the formation of links between citizens in the Eastern Bloc and countries in the Global

South to resist what was perceived as American warmongering and imperialism.<sup>38</sup> Solidarity carried educational value, was regularly targeted at youth, as well as directed westwards, asserting 'the moral higher ground of socialism' over 'capitalist, imperialist countries' that could not claim a similar commitment 'to peace and humanity'.<sup>39</sup> This was of particular importance in the GDR following the Hallstein doctrine and towards the state's efforts to achieve international recognition.<sup>40</sup>

In the GDR, international solidarity with those opposing imperialism was clearly articulated in the constitution, and as such, it was ingrained in the state's foreign policy and integral to its 'political identity and self-understanding'.<sup>41</sup> In his analysis of the GDR's manifestations of solidarity to the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO), Toni Weis argues that solidarity put forward a clear identity in the state's anticolonial imaginary; it constituted a way to oppose the West's concept of 'development' and its 'neo-colonial' perspective; it helped promote a positive image at home and abroad, and to distinguish that image from the Federal Republic of Germany.<sup>42</sup>

GDR citizens engaged with the concept of solidarity in different ways. For the older generation of German communist resistance fighters who had fought national socialism, lived in exile, served in the Spanish Civil War, or often, most, or all of the above, solidarity was a meaningful concept.<sup>43</sup> Such a conception of solidarity was not only encouraged and promoted by the state but was also shared with a large number of state functionaries with similar experiences. Likewise, for the older generation of Greek political refugees who had fought in the Second World War and the Greek Civil War in the 1940s, practices of everyday solidarity drew on memory and lived experience. Children and youth in the GDR, however, were educated into actively participating in the political life of the country. As such, especially those who belonged to political organisations, support for solidarity movements was a requirement that regularly manifested 'through fund-raising campaigns and youth projects [that intended] to

provide aid for Third World countries'.<sup>44</sup>

Solidarity initiatives generated high levels of enthusiasm in the GDR whilst solidarity events and bazaars were attended by tens of thousands.<sup>45</sup> Committees and associations were centralist structures with more-often-than-not underlying agendas, some of which I discussed above such as: seeking diplomatic recognition; advocating state socialism; demonstrating 'socialist friendship'; and in some instances, promoting trade, since solidarity work also aimed to expand further the GDR's cultural, political and economic influence in the Global South. Cultural work that encompassed solidarity and anti-imperialism manifested through committees and friendship associations based in the GDR as well as in Western, Non-Aligned and so-called Third-World countries. Since the early 1950s, such organisations were set up in 'friendship' with/for the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America and expanded beyond, from the 1960s onwards. For instance, the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee (AASK) had developed over the years as an anti-imperialist solidarity organisation while the fundamental task of the German-Latin American Society established in the 1960s was to expand the GDR's relations with movements in the continent, outside, or 'underneath' the level of government.<sup>46</sup> Besides, these associations were also expected to contribute to the state's efforts towards diplomatic recognition.

The case of the Greek refugees was distinctive in the GDR's official solidarity discourse. To begin with, the committee for the support of the Greek refugees was founded as early as 1948, a year before the establishment of the GDR. Some scholars claim that this policy was directly linked to the efforts of building a new nation-state and, as such, a new socio-political foundation within a unique cultural and national social frame.<sup>47</sup> By 1949, the East German state had received refugees — primarily unaccompanied children — under the responsibility of the People's Solidarity organisation and the Committee for a 'Free Greece'.<sup>48</sup> German scholar Stefan Troebst writes that the Greek Civil War was highly publicised in the Soviet-controlled German media and for that reason, had

gained considerable support from the East German public.<sup>49</sup> Moreover, it is worth mentioning that the series of successful campaigns organised had not only mobilised acclaimed political and cultural personalities such as the painter Willi Sitte but also raised a considerable amount of money for the provision of houses, education and sustenance for the Greek refugee children in the GDR.<sup>50</sup>

### **Political publishing as a layer in the discourse of state solidarity in the GDR**

*Pyrros* was produced at the *Verlag Zeit im Bild* publishing house that specialised in the publication of foreign-language magazines and propaganda, aimed for distribution abroad.<sup>51</sup> The *Verlag Zeit im Bild* was part of the GDR's foreign relations efforts and, as such, beyond promoting the state's agenda towards diplomatic recognition, it also advocated the export of East German goods and services to newly founded nations and their developing market economies. Initially, the periodicals published at the *Verlag* were intended for distribution to African and Arab countries, 'to strengthen [...] ties of friendship and solidarity and provide 'valuable experiences so to support the building of these nations' in their decolonisation struggles.<sup>52</sup> By 1965, the *Verlag Zeit im Bild* in collaboration with the GDR's main organisation of International Friendship (LIGA) had produced four million copies of foreign-language titles that circulated in fifteen languages and were distributed to ninety-eight countries.<sup>53</sup> However, unlike the production of other foreign-language publications, *Pyrros* was the only magazine edited by non-German staff. I argue that the magazine's distinctive visual language, modernist approach to design and progressive cultural politics was the outcome of a series of factors and most importantly *Pyrros'* editorial board which comprised exclusively of Greek intellectuals.

The German technical staff and editors at the *Verlag Zeit im Bild* were not only ideologically supportive 'in the spirit of internationalist solidarity'; they encouraged the production of the magazine and had enabled its 'unhindered publication' by stepping in to cover rent and running costs when, because of its expenses, it was threatened with closure.<sup>54</sup> *Pyrros'* high production values, large format, good-quality paper with several

pages printed in full-colour (including glossy full-colour covers), and an 8-page full-colour supplement dedicated to children, were exceptional among the refugees' publications and when compared with similar East German illustrated magazines in the 1960s.

### **Images and Texts; *Pyrsos*' editorial strategy as a political project**





Fig. 2. Cover compositions by artist and *Pyrros*' art director Nikos Manoussis.

*Pyrros* was a political project with multiple aims and a multifaceted, often ambivalent,

editorial strategy. Over its pages, past and contemporary depictions of struggles in Greece were juxtaposed with the accomplishments of the young Greek political refugees; the technological advancements of socialism, the 1960s political mobilisation of youth, and, as I examine here, anticolonial and liberation struggles in the Global South.<sup>55</sup> As I argue elsewhere, *Pyrros* propagated the Greek Left's political plea for the sovereignty and democratisation of Greece and endeavoured to (re)imagine the nation, (re)claim its history and (re)position its role in the national narrative from which it had been violently excluded.<sup>56</sup> The magazine, as a political project, strove to construct a collective cultural subjectivity and communicate its aims through its editorial strategy.

*Pyrros*' editorial strategy and consequently its expression of solidarity, was constituted out of the juxtaposition of images and texts and from the complex relationship between form and content. More specifically, *Pyrros*' layout employed the double-page spread as the primary unit for its design. In its design, visual and textual elements were not merely placed but carefully and consciously assembled as to form productive relationships: for example, different types of images, processes and genres, visual and textual fragments, depictions of different temporalities alongside divergent geopolitical or historical contexts, were juxtaposed as to conceptually complement and, or, antagonise each other. Each image or text needed to be read independently, yet their placement on the page and their juxtaposition across a double-page spread invited particular readings.

*Pyrros*' producers expected the magazine's readership to closely examine the textual, visual, conceptual and material elements to recognise the different voices and layers of signification and, in so doing, to decipher their often-metonymical substitutions in order to produce meaning. Inspired by the demands that Bertolt Brecht's aesthetics expected from audiences, *Pyrros*' editorial strategy utilised the productive and often dissonant character of juxtaposition in order to evoke particular impressions on readers and to produce specific ideological effects. In like manner, the magazine's Greek émigré readership was encouraged to actively participate in the production of meaning by

learning to synthesise the 'images of history' and the images of solidarity it was presented with, across the pages of the magazine.<sup>57</sup> Art historian Jérôme Bazin eloquently argues, images are well disposed to deal with the sense of 'distance and proximity which is as much a geographical and geopolitical question as a visual one'.<sup>58</sup> In that sense, as he continues, 'imagining someone as close or distant, is both intrinsic to images, and to the feeling of solidarity'.<sup>59</sup> To return to the GDR in the 1960s, Brechtian aesthetics had 'laid the foundations of the shift to a more subjectivist and expressionist forms,' particularly influential amongst intellectuals and artists such as *Pyrros*' editors and, namely, the magazine's art director, Nikos Manousis.<sup>60</sup> Manousis was an established and widely exhibited artist in the GDR prior to his art director post in *Pyrros*.<sup>61</sup> A student of the acclaimed Weimar artist Lea Grundig at the HfBK, he was also a member of the Deutsche Akademie der Künste and had represented the GDR in the 1957 *All-Union Art Exhibition* in Moscow.<sup>62</sup> Notably, Manousis' most profound engagement with publishing models was his co-editorship of the *Junge Kunst* magazine, alongside prominent GDR intellectuals such as the painter Walter Womacka and the author, playwright and director Heiner Müller.<sup>63</sup> *Junge Kunst*'s design had been likened to that of the *AIZ* magazine because of its affective-laden ideological layout.<sup>64</sup>

I will now turn to analyse examples from *Pyrros* in its coverage of the war in Vietnam that demonstrate its particular editorial strategy. As I will argue, these offer substantive models of solidarity through metonymy in the magazine, that inform understanding of complex visual articulations of solidarity.

### **A Greek Third Worldist struggle in Vietnam**

Vietnam was a symbol for all anti-colonial, anti-imperialist and youth movements around the world. Vietnam inspired and mobilised political and youth groups, independent of the positions they supported. In Greece, demands for democratisation, amnesty for political prisoners and opposition to the Cyprus issue 'paved the way' for further identification with Vietnam.<sup>65</sup> Needless to say that solidarity with the struggles of the Vietnamese was widespread across the Eastern Bloc. As historians James Mark et

al demonstrate, solidarity with Vietnam helped legitimise official political projects at the same time as generated dissent cultures and forms of political expressions, especially amongst the youth who were nonetheless reminded by authorities to express 'a tempered solidarity'.<sup>66</sup> For *Pyrsos*' readers, a deep-rooted affective connection with the Vietnamese augmented the sense of a shared experience against the same oppressor. I suggest that the violent conflict in Vietnam brought the disastrous and traumatic defeat of the Greek Civil War to the forefront, and as a consequence managed to problematise the Greek Left's official political strategy of 'peaceful coexistence'.



Fig. 3. Vietnam, The 'Humanists' Chemical War, *Pyrsos* #3, 1965, pp.6-7.

Captions, anti-clockwise from the Left: 'Two worlds in the same country. The People's Army of Vietnam helping a villager to transport his hut'; 'Resting before the struggle for the freedom of the country'; 'The foreign invader inspects his lethal weapons'; 'The 'humanist' interrogates'.





by bestowing additional layers of signification and in so doing propose a complex reading.

In another spread from 1966 (Fig. 4), the magazine's regular column 'for you women' is dedicated to Vietnamese female guerillas. It is juxtaposed with a portrait of Din, a female Viet Cong combatant, pictured carrying an AK-47. As the title indicates, for '*Din and her guerrillas*' the use of arms is a legitimate means to oppose the United States' chemical warfare in Vietnam. Although there isn't sufficient space here for any expansive engagement on the interchangeable uses of the terms 'guerilla' and 'partisan', it is important to note that the original in Greek, 'αντάρτες', is a leftist term that specifically stands for the Nazi resistance partisans and the Democratic Army of Greece fighters in the Greek Civil War in the 1940s. In this context, it is not overstated to suggest that *Pyrros*' use of the term did not only demonstrate 'a shared international consciousness and mode of transnational solidarity' but also drew direct parallels between the Vietnam War and the Greek Left's 1940s resistance; in some ways it inserted the Greek case within a Third-Worldist struggle.<sup>69</sup>

As indicated previously, since the 1956 Krutchev's discourse on 'peaceful coexistence', the exiled Communist Left had abandoned its earlier rhetoric of an armed return to Greece and instead pursued a political strategy-cum political identity that steered towards parliamentary representation. In this context, direct references to the Greek Civil War, its violence, or trauma of defeat, were mostly withdrawn from the official discourse of the Communist Left. Instead, the focus was directed to the 1940s resistance and, as such, to a heroic past that provided a positive model of struggle that could inspire and unite. The silence around the Greek Civil War was a painful reality that was difficult to reconcile, especially for the older generation of the Greek political refugees who had fought that war.<sup>70</sup>

In light of the above, the analysis of *Pyrros*' spreads that depict the war in Vietnam

represent a particular discourse on solidarity beyond the era's anti-American sentiments. In the first instance, *Pyrrosos'* representations amplify a sense of struggle against a common enemy: US imperialism. Yet, a close reading of *Pyrrosos'* aesthetic articulation of solidarity with the Vietnamese Communists' armed resistance, is infused with metonymy, revealing a more complex picture. Eelco Runia puts it aptly when he defines metonymy as a "'presence in absence", not just in the sense that it presents something that *is* there, the thing that isn't there, is still present'.<sup>71</sup> In *Pyrrosos'* visual manifestation of solidarity with the struggle of the Vietnamese Communists who fought a guerrilla war against a powerful enemy equipped with chemical weapons, is (re)presented to the magazine's readers as an affective bond of cross identification.

*Pyrrosos'* layouts propose that it is the same enemy, US imperialism, in a similar manner, employing the same weapons that justifies an armed resistance in Vietnam; in the same way it was experienced by *Pyrrosos'* older readers when napalm bombs were dropped in north-western Greece effectively sealing the Democratic Army's defeat in the Civil War.<sup>72</sup> It alludes to the fact that it is the same enemy which has since the 1940s treated Greece as its private estate; as an 'internal colony'.<sup>73</sup> This was not far from the truth since the US administration had viewed Greece as a model for action in Vietnam – a widespread view across political sides that included presidents Kennedy and Johnson who characteristically assured American citizens that they would win the war against communist aggression in Southeast Asia as they had won the war in Greece.<sup>74</sup> In the specific layouts discussed here, typical of the magazine's editorial and political discourse manifested across several identical examples, Vietnam becomes a plane on which to break the silence and reconstitute the trauma while strive for resilience and potentially, unity. By inserting the Greek Left's political struggles in the 1960s within a Third Worldist struggle for liberation, *Pyrrosos'* solidarity discourse offers a positive model and hope for the future.

## **Conclusion**

Political solidarities can be imagined, symbolic or affective; transnational or



international. Shared political spaces, connections and alliances are formed through multiple exchange processes in the articulation and challenge of inequalities and injustices. Solidarity can also be articulated through identification processes and by drawing parallels that at times converge with politically, historically, and culturally diverse struggles.

Through its editorial strategy, *Pyrros* magazine constructed a complex articulation of solidarity that endeavoured to transcend its position beyond the expectations of state socialism and party politics in the 1960s and, as such, created a space from which to perform solidarity through metonymy for its readership. The magazine's solidarity discourse was produced out of the juxtaposition of images and texts, rendered visible through a close reading across the pages of the magazine. Solidarity with Vietnam, Cuba and the African liberation movements in *Pyrros* speaks to the desire to deal with the past of the Greek Civil War by identifying with Third worldist revolutionary anti-imperialism. To that end, what is rendered visible as presence in absence — what it is not there in the discourse on solidarity with the Third World, is a way to deal with the trauma of defeat and exile; the uncertainties of life in exile and the desire for repatriation; the violence against the Greek Left in the post-Civil War climate in Greece and the struggle for democratisation. As such, the magazine's design constructs a specific approach to history and a restorative access to truth for its readers.

## NOTES

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<sup>1</sup>*Pyrsos* #1, 1961, p.1. Unless stated otherwise, all translations from Greek and German and possible inaccuracies, are the responsibility of the author.

<sup>2</sup>The Socialist Unity Party of Germany [Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands, SED]. Besides the income from its sales and subscriptions, *Pyrsos* received funding that amounted to 25% of its production costs. The department of Internationale Verbindungen [International Relations] was part of Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the GDR. *Pyrsos*: four-year report, 12 Feb 1965, in ASKI (B291 F13/53/90); N. Akritidis to KE, 8 Dec 1961, in ASKI (B254, F13/16/74).

<sup>3</sup> See A. Matthaïou and P. Polemi, *I Ekdotiki Peripeteia ton Ellinon Kommouniston, apo to Vouno stin Yperoria 1947-1968* [The Publishing Adventure of the Greek Communists, from the Mountains to Overtime 1947-1968] (Athens: Vivliorama-ASKI, 2003); Also see Contemporary Social History Archives, ASKI, Athens, Greece (B279; F13/41/21: 6).

<sup>4</sup> B. Gillham, *Case Study Research Methods* (London and New York: Continuum, 2000).

<sup>5</sup> My study of archival material ranged from information on the magazine's production and circulation to readers' letters and Communist Party meetings amongst many others. I have visited archives and studied a plethora of comparable magazines as well as collected oral history and conducted interviews in Greece, Germany and Hungary.

<sup>6</sup> K. Imbrigotta, 'History and the Challenge of Photography in Bertolt Brecht's *Kriegsfibel*', *Radical History Review*, 2010(106) (2010). 27-45, p.33. Also see, W. Benjamin, *Understanding Brecht* (London: Verso, 2003). J. Fredric, *Brecht and Method* (London; New York: Verso, 2000), pp.79-80. S. E. James, *Common Ground: German Photographic Cultures Across the Iron Curtain* (Yale: Yale University Press, 2013); R. Gillett and G. Weiss-Sussex, ed., "*Verwisch Die Spuren!*": *Bertolt Brecht's Work and Legacy: A Reassessment* (Amsterdam; New York: BRILL, 2008).

<sup>7</sup> D. Featherstone, *Solidarity: Hidden Histories and Geographies of Internationalism* (London: Zed Books, 2012), p.5.

<sup>8</sup> V. Prashad, *The Darker Nations* (New York: The New Press, 2007).

<sup>9</sup> Young here draws on Althusser (2001), see C.A. Young, *Soul Power; Culture, Radicalism and the Making of a U.S. Third World Left* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), p.15.

<sup>10</sup> Young, *Soul Power*, p.150.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p.14.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p.150.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*,

<sup>14</sup> K. Kornetis, "'Everything Links'?: Temporality, Territoriality and Cultural Transfer in the '68 Protest Movements', *HISTOREIN*, 9 (2012), 34-45, p.42; p.39.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p.38.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p.41.

<sup>17</sup> For more on the Greek political refugees see, T. Dritsios, *Apo ton Grammo stin Politiki Prosfygia [From Grammos to Political Refuge]* (Athens: Dorikos, 1983); M. Ikoniadou, "We Are and We Remain Greeks". The Radically Patriotic Discourse in *Pyrsos* Magazine, GDR, 1961-1968', In L. Karakatsanis and N. Papadogiannis (eds), *The Politics Of Culture in Turkey, Greece & Cyprus: Performing The Left Since The 1960s* (London and New York: Routledge, 2017), pp. 184-207; K. Karpozilos, 'The Defeated of the Greek

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Civil War: From Fighters to Political Refugees in the Cold War', *Journal of Cold War Studies*, 16 (2014), 62-87; K. Tsekou, *Ellines Politikoi Prosfyges stin Anatoliki Evropi, 1945-1989 [Greek Political Refugees in Eastern Europe, 1945-1989]* (Athens: Alexandria, 2013).

<sup>18</sup> K. Kornetis, *Children of the Dictatorship: Student Resistance, Cultural Politics, and the "long 1960s" in Greece* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2013), p. 10. Z. Lialiouti, 'Contesting the Anti-Totalitarian Consensus: The Concept of National Independence, the Memory of the Second World War and the Ideological Cleavages in Post-War Greece', *National Identities* (2015), 105-123; I. D. Stefanidis, *Stirring the Greek Nation: Political Culture, Irredentism and Anti-Americanism in Post-War Greece* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).

<sup>19</sup> D. Papadimitriou, *Apo ton Lao ton Nomimofronon sto Ethnos ton Ethnikofronon. I Syntiritiki Skepsi stin Ellada, 1922-1967 [From the Law-Abiding People to the Nationalists' Nation. Conservative Thinking in Greece, 1922-1967]* (Athens: Savvalas, 2006).

<sup>20</sup> N. Papadogiannis, *Militant Around the Clock? Left-Wing Youth Politics, Leisure, and Sexuality in Post-Dictatorship Greece, 1974-1981* (New York; Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2015). p. 32.

<sup>21</sup> N. Christofis, 'Collective and Counter Memory: The 'Invention of Resistance' in the Rhetoric of the Greek and Turkish Left, 1951-1971', In L. Karakatsanis and N. Papadogiannis (eds), *The Politics of Culture in Turkey, Greece & Cyprus: Performing the Left Since The 1960s* (London and New York: Routledge, 2017).

<sup>22</sup> By the end of the Civil War, the Greek government held 18,000 political prisoners and 31,000 detainees in concentration camps, while an estimated 8,000 leftists had been sentenced to death and executed. Until 1963, people needed to obtain so-called 'certificates of loyalty' to enter universities, work in the civil sector or be issued passports. For more on the subject see, M. Mazower, *After the War Was Over: Reconstructing the Family, Nation, and State in Greece, 1943-1960*. (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2000); I. Nikolakopoulos, A. Rigos and G. Psallidas (eds), *O Emfyllos Polemos: apo ti Varkiza sto Grammo [The Civil War: From Varkiza to Grammos]* (Athens: Themelio, 2002); N. Panourgia *Dangerous Citizens the Greek Left and the Terror of the State* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2009); P. Voglis, *Becoming a Subject: Political Prisoners During the Greek Civil War* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2002).

<sup>23</sup> See Z. Lialiouti, 'Contesting the Anti-Totalitarian Consensus: The Concept of National Independence, the Memory of the Second World War and the Ideological Cleavages in Post-War Greece', *National Identities*, 18(2) (2016), 105-123; Z. Lialiouti, 'Greek Cold War Anti-Americanism in Perspective, 1947-1989', *Journal of Transatlantic Studies*, 13 (2015), 40-55; D. H. Close, *Greece Since 1945: Politics, Economy and Society: A History* (London: Pearson Education, 2002).

<sup>24</sup> K. Christiaens, "Communists Are No Beasts': European Solidarity Campaigns on Behalf of Democracy and Human Rights in Greece and East-West Détente in the 1960s and Early 1970s', *Contemporary European History*, 26 (2017), 621-646, p. 628.

<sup>25</sup> The British Troops had to withdraw primarily because of economic restraints and to deal with the anti-colonial conflicts that had emerged across the British Empire.

<sup>26</sup> During the Civil War thousands of people were displaced, imprisoned or exiled to Greek islands by the US-supported Greek National Army. See M. Mazower, *Inside Hitler's Greece: The Experience of Occupation, 1941-44* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993).

<sup>27</sup> See, P. Olkhovsky, 'The Greek Civil War: An Examination of America's First Cold War Victory', *Comparative Strategy*, 10(3), (1991), 287-296; H. Jones, 'Mistaken Prelude to Vietnam: The Truman Doctrine and a "New Kind of War" in Greece', *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, Volume 10, Number 1 (May 1992), 121-143.

<sup>28</sup> *ibid.*

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<sup>29</sup> K. Christiaens, “Communists Are No Beasts’: European Solidarity Campaigns on Behalf of Democracy and Human Rights in Greece and East-West Détente in the 1960s and Early 1970s’, *Contemporary European History*, 26 (2017), 621-646.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid*, p.629.

<sup>31</sup> See, M. Ikoniadou, “We Are and We Remain Greeks” (2017); M. Ikoniadou, ‘Re-Claiming Greek National History in the 1960s. The Case of Pyrsos Illustrated Magazine in the GDR.’, In M. Hillemann and M. Pechlivanos (eds), *Deutsch-griechische Beziehungen im ostdeutschen Staatssozialismus (1949-1989). Politische Migration, Realpolitik und interkulturelle Begegnung* (Berlin: Edition Romiosini/CeMoG, Freie Universität Berlin, 2017), pp. 123 - 133.

<sup>32</sup> J. Mark etc al, “We are with you, Vietnam’: Transnational Solidarities in Socialist Hungary, Poland and Yugoslavia’, *Journal of Contemporary History*, 50(3) (2015). 439-464, p.440.

<sup>33</sup> See Mark, *Vietnam*; J. Bazin, ‘Seeing Near, Seeing Far: What Do Images Tell Us About Solidarity in Popular Democracies?’, In K. Khouri and R. Salti (eds), *Past Disquiet: Artists, International Solidarity and Museums in Exile*, (Warsaw: Museum of Modern Art in Warsaw, 2018), pp. 221-236, p.222; p.228.

<sup>34</sup> See, K. Ghodsee, *Second World, Second Sex: Socialist Women’s Activism and Global Solidarity During the Cold War* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2019).

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p.4.

<sup>36</sup> Mark, *Vietnam*

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p.457.

<sup>38</sup> Ghodsee, *Second World, Second Sex*, p. 157.

<sup>39</sup> Mark, *Vietnam*, p.447

<sup>40</sup> The Hallstein Doctrine which was named after the general secretary of the Foreign Ministry of FRG, Walter Hallstein lasted from 1955 to 1970. According to the doctrine, West Germany claimed to be the only legitimate German state threatening to cut off diplomatic relations with any Western government that recognised the GDR.

<sup>41</sup> A. Saunders, *Honecker’s Children Youth and Patriotism in East(ern) Germany, 1979-2002* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), p.7; P.G. Poutrus and J.C. Behrends, ‘Xenophobia in the Former GDR - Explorations and Explanation from a Historical Perspective In W. Burszta and S. Wojciechowski (eds), *Nationalisms Across the Globe. An Overview of Nationalisms in State-Endowed and Stateless Nations* (Poznań, Poland: Wyższa Szkoła Nauk Humanistycznych i Dziennikarstwa, 2005), pp. 155-170 (p. 162). See also P. G Poutrus, ‘Asylum in Postwar Germany: Refugee Admission Policies and Their Practical Implementation in the Federal Republic and the GDR Between the Late 1940s and the Mid-1970s’, *Journal of Contemporary History Journal of Contemporary History*, 49(1) (2014), 115-133.

<sup>42</sup> T. Weis, “The Politics Machine: On the Concept of ‘Solidarity’ in East German Support for SWAPO.” *Journal of Southern African Studies* 37 (2011): 351 – 367, p.357.

<sup>43</sup> Toni Weis frames a similar argument in *The Politics Machine* p.357. My hypothesis draws on archival research and the testimonies of Weimar resistance fighters who returned to the GDR following long periods of exile.

<sup>44</sup> Saunders, *Honecker’s Children*, p.11.

<sup>45</sup> Bazin, ‘Seeing Near, Seeing Far’, p.227.

<sup>46</sup> M. Minholz, and U. Stirnberg, *Der Allgemeine Deutsche Nachrichtendienst (ADN): Gute Nachrichten Für Die Sed* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1995), p.10.

<sup>47</sup> See, A. Stergiou, ‘Anatoliki Germania [East Germany]’, In E. Ampazi and I.O. Katsiardi-Hering, K. Pasiotis (eds), *Oi Ellines stin Diaspora 150s-210s Aionas [Greeks in Diaspora 15th Century - 21st Century]’,*

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(Rethymno: University of Crete, 2006), p. 147. It must be remembered that in its founding, the GDR was already experiencing a high influx of ethnic displaced Germans of the Second World War.

<sup>48</sup> *Komitee 'Freies Griechenland'*.

<sup>49</sup> S. Troebst, 'Evacuation to a Cold Country: Child Refugees from the Greek Civil War in the German Democratic Republic, 1949/1989\*', *Nationalities Papers Nationalities Papers*, 32 (2004), 675-691, p. 676.

<sup>50</sup> SED in collaboration with the Greek-run EVOP, Committee for Child Support, See ASKI, B365, F20/14/61-90. Also see, Hilfskomitee für das demokratische Griechenland [German Support Committee for Democratic Greece]. See Troebst, 'Evacuation', p. 676.

<sup>51</sup> N. Abraham, *Die Politische Auslandsarbeit Der DDR in Schweden : Zur Public Diplomacy Der DDR Gegenüber Schweden Nach Der Diplomatischen Anerkennung (1972-1989)* (Berlin: Lit, 2007).

<sup>52</sup> *Verlag Zeit im Bild*, The development of the publishing house Zeit im Bild Dresden, Timeline (draft), Personal archive of Prof. Siegfried Lokatis, Leipzig.

<sup>53</sup> Rofouzou, *Oi Politistikis*, pp. 129, 130.

<sup>54</sup> ASKI, B254, F3/16/21.

<sup>55</sup> The magazine's breadth of content included articles and extracts of literature and poetry, essays on history and culture as well as cartoons, architecture, interiors, fashion and food recipes amongst others, reports on politics and travelogues from Greece, the socialist states, and the West.

<sup>56</sup> Ikoniadou, *We are* (2017), p.187; Ikoniadou, *Re-Claiming* p.126.

<sup>57</sup> K. Imbrigotta, 'History and the Challenge of Photography in Bertolt Brecht's *Kriegsfilmbild*', *Radical History Review*, 2010(106) (2010). 27-45, p.33.

<sup>58</sup> Bazin, 'Seeing Near, Seeing Far', p.235.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*,

<sup>60</sup> J. Aulich and M. Sylvestrová, *Political Posters in Central and Eastern Europe, 1945-1995: Signs of the Times* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), p.26.

<sup>61</sup> Nikos Manousis was credited as *Pyrros'* art director until the fourth issue of 1967, the first following the establishment of the dictatorship of the Colonels in Greece. There were only three issues released after that, but it is unclear if Manousis was still working for the magazine until it ceased publication in February 1968. He appears as Nikolaus Manoussis in the German archives and printed publications.

<sup>62</sup> Archives of the Akademie der Künste, AdK, Berlin, Germany (AdK-O 0144; AdK-O 4016; AdK-O 0151; AdK-O 0171; VBK-Fotos 7749).

<sup>63</sup> *Junge Kunst's* affective-laden ideological layout was likened to the German illustrated magazine *Arbeiter-Illustrierte-Zeitung*, *AIZ* [ *The Workers Pictorial Newspaper*], famous for John Heartfield's montages, published between 1924 and March 1933 in Berlin. See Ikoniadou, *Re-Claiming*, p.127.

<sup>64</sup> *Arbeiter-Illustrierte-Zeitung* or *AIZ* [The Workers Pictorial Newspaper] German illustrated magazine published between 1924 and March 1933 in Berlin notably included it published the radical photomontages of John Heartfield. For *Junge Kunst* see P. Sabine, 'Irgendwie Rothen Alle, Dass Da Frische Luft Ist' – Das Kurze Leben Der Zeitschrift „junge Kunst“, (Berlin: Zeitschrift des Forschungsverbundes SED-Staat, Freie Universität Berlin, 2009), pp. 70-92.

<sup>65</sup> A.Makris, 'The Greek Peace Movement and the Vietnam War, 1964-1967', *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, 38 (2020), 159-183, p.166. In *Pyrros* magazine, Cyprus was the subject of two special editions (1964/3; 1966/5) that featured articles on the country's socio-political, cultural and everyday life.

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<sup>66</sup> On the role of the socialist states' solidarity with Vietnam see J. Mark et al, "We Are With You, Vietnam': Transnational Solidarities in Socialist Hungary, Poland and Yugoslavia', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 50(3) (2015). 439-464. p. 451.

<sup>67</sup> *Pyrsons* #3, 1965, pp.6-7.

<sup>68</sup> W. Benjamin, *Understanding Brecht* (London: Verso, 2003), p.95.

<sup>69</sup> Young, *Soul Power.*,

<sup>70</sup> This discourse was not accepted without opposition amongst Stalin supporters, a fact that resulted in violent clashes amongst Communist Party members in Tashkent, Uzbekistan. The events led to the purge of KKE's leader, Nikos Zahariadis, and his sentence to a Siberian gulag. Other Stalinists and Zahariadis' followers were also expelled and, or, silenced.

<sup>71</sup> Italics in the original. E. Runia "Presence." *History and Theory* 45, no. 1 (2006): pp. 1-29.

<sup>72</sup> P. Olkhovsky, 'The Greek Civil War: An Examination of America's First Cold War Victory', *Comparative Strategy*, 10(3), (1991), 287-296; H. Jones, 'Mistaken Prelude to Vietnam: The Truman Doctrine and a "New Kind of War" in Greece', *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, Volume 10, Number 1 (May 1992), 121-143.

<sup>73</sup> The concept of the internal colony merits further research that is beyond the scope of this chapter.

<sup>74</sup> H. Jones, 'Mistaken Prelude to Vietnam: The Truman Doctrine and a "New Kind of War" in Greece', *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, Volume 10, Number 1 (May 1992), 121-143.