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Dear Peter,

Had you been in Athens on Tuesday, the 1st of October, you might have plunked down fifty drachmas to purchase a copy of the new English-language daily The Athens Star. I doubt, though, that you would have taken much notice of the four-paragraph article located in the middle of the rightmost column on the front page. Though the headline--"Court says man guilty of libel charge"--might upon reflection be thought to cast doubts on the court's infallibility, it was hardly designed to grab attention. The lead was less interesting still: "Ilios Yannakis, a French university professor, was convicted on charges of libel against George Bobolas, publisher of the Greek daily Ethnos, in an Athens court of misdemeanors Monday." In truth, you could have read the rest of the story without being lead to suppose that anything of importance was involved:

Yannakis, who was convicted in absentia, was convicted of repeating libel in an article he wrote quoting excerpts from Take Ethnos (the nation) in Your Hands, written by Athens Star Managing Editor Paul Anastasi.

The article, titled "Papandreou's Greece," was published in the French magazine L'Express on April 13, 1984. Yannakis, who lives in France, was fined 15,000 drachmas and sentenced to one year in jail.

The magazine's publisher, Yves Cuau, was to have stood trial with Yannakis but his case was separated on grounds that he was not properly summoned by the court.

After wading through the piece, you might have yawned, wondered vaguely what

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Anastasi and Yannakis had done to get Bobolas' back up, and left it at that. At the most, you might have paused momentarily to shudder at the thought that, in Greece, a man can be sent to prison for libel. Still, it is not very likely that you would have cut out the article and saved it or that, a week later, you would have even remembered having read it at all--unless, of course, you already knew something about Paul Anastasi's book and the furor to which it has given rise.

I

I called Anastasi late in September shortly after returning to Athens from a brief sojourn in the Peloponnesus. He was happy to meet with me but suggested that I first peruse some of what had been published regarding his own trial for libel and a variety of other, related court cases. Along with this material, he sent me the page proofs of an extremely detailed article of his own that is expected to appear in the December issue of The Atlantic. I read everything he dispatched. Soon thereafter, we met at the office of his newspaper. He gave me a copy of Take the Nation in Your Hands; and, over the course of a couple of hours, he told me the story of his book and of the trouble it has caused. What follows here is for the most part based on that conversation and on the masses of written material he provided me with. Unfortunately, no one from Ethnos was prepared to discuss the dispute.

The author of Take the Nation in Your Hands is thirty-five years old, relatively short, dark-haired, and extremely quick. He is almost as British as he is Greek. His mother is English; his father, Greek Cypriot. He was educated in Nicosia at the English School and later in England at the Universities of Southampton and London. For some years now, he has made a living as a journalist--initially, with the Associated Press; and, more recently, as the Athens correspondent of The Daily Telegraph of London and as the local stringer of The New York Times. Anastasi's latest venture, The Athens Star, began as a weekly and became a daily this past July. It is dull and understaffed, but it may be the most sober and objective publication in Hellas. To bring that home to its readers, it prints no editorials.

Paul Anastasi is a man of the moderate left. Like most Greeks of his generation, he welcomed the dramatic electoral victory of Andreas Papandreou and his Panhellenic Socialist Union (PASOK) in 1981. Papandreou ran for office that year on the slogan Allaghi (Change). After living under conservative and rightwing governments for virtually all but two or three of the previous thirty-five years, many of his compatriots longed for a breath of fresh air.

Anastasi is now convinced that, in some ways, they got more of a change than they bargained for and that the fresh air promised has turned out to be stale. Symptomatic of the character of the "change" Papandreou has ushered in has been the establishment of the Athens daily Ethnos shortly before the PASOK leader came to power, and its rapid emergence thereafter as the leading newspaper in Greece. At the moment, Ethnos has a circulation of roughly 180,000 copies a day. It is the only profit-making daily in a country that

boasts a multitude of competing publications.

George Bobolas, the owner of Ethnos, made his fortune back in the days when the Colonels ruled Greece. His sister was married to a junior minister in the junta; and, perhaps not coincidentally, Bobolas himself won many a contract for the building of sewers. Before the late 1970s, he was, by all accounts, a man of the Greek right.



PAUL ANASTASI AT THE ATHENS STAR¹

1. This photograph I took. For those that follow, I am indebted to Paul Anastasi.

The same can be said even more emphatically of Bobolas' chief editor Alexander Filippopoulos. At a time when Paul Anastasi was being called in on the carpet by the Press Minister for writing "Communist" articles for the Associated Press, the Greek junta singled out Filippopoulos and gave him the "Golden Pen Award" for his distinguished contributions to Greek journalism. This was no mean honor: Filippopoulos was, in fact, the only Greek newspaper man so rewarded by the military dictatorship.

The success of Bobolas' latest enterprise is relatively easy to explain. With the help of Filippopoulos, he introduced the tabloid and color photographs to Greece; revolutionized lay-out; and bought up the country's best sportswriters, gossip columnists, and fashion reporters. In September, 1981, he began publishing a daily that boasted the best writing and the slickest format ever seen in Hellas; technically, it was and still is far superior to the competition. Bobolas took no chances. To promote his new product, he spent a considerable sum on an advertising blitz, urging his countrymen to "Take To Ethnos in Your Hands." This they have done.

From the start, Ethnos has been viciously anti-American and vigorously pro-Soviet. From it, you would discover that the Berlin Wall was built to protect East Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and the USSR against a planned NATO attack. According to its reports, the CIA arranged the assassination of Indira Gandhi and is breeding mosquitoes to infect entire populations with a poison developed from crocodile feces. The Greek daily claims that Ronald Reagan is "a paranoid monster"; that the Soviet Union is "a genuine democracy" and the "world's first peace bloc"; that Poland's Solidarity is a CIA front; that the Pope is a Mafia gangster; and that the flight of Korean Airlines 007 into Soviet airspace was "a prepared provocation by the CIA and definite espionage." Ethnos depicts the Afghan rebels as "bandits, paid murderers ... who commit horrendous crimes against the unarmed Afghan people, crimes which even the Nazis at the Auschwitz concentration camp would envy." In its view, the entire Afghan problem has been manufactured by the US as a part of "its strategy of preparation for nuclear war."

In Ethnos, there is something for everyone. Advocates of women's liberation will be pleased learn that

The Soviet Woman is not a Feminist--she has no reason to struggle since all her problems are solved.... She has no reason to struggle for equality with the other sex since this problem has been solved for her by the state. The men there help with the housework. They sweep, they wash dishes, and take the children to school. They also do the shopping and take the clothes to the laundry. The Soviet woman marries only out of love, never through economic interests.

Libertarians will shudder at the report that "the US is sinking into a unique type of totalitarianism which American sociologists describe as fascism with a human face."

Ethnos reprints many of these reports from journals like the Soviet Literary Gazette. To generate others, the paper employs a stable of foreign commentators--many of them known communists. Carl Aldo Marzani, who writes

from the US, once served in the OSS and the State Department; he spent three years in prison in the 1940s after it was learned that he had violated his loyalty oath and had failed to report his membership in the US Communist Party. Until 1981, Stanley Harrison was chief sub-editor of London's Morning Star, a publication of the British Communist Party. Akis Fantis edits Haravgi, the official daily of AKEL, the Greek Cypriot Communist Party. His father Andreas is the alternate secretary-general of AKEL.

Closer to home, Ethnos employs Dinos Tsakotelis as its foreign editor. From 1947 to 1949, he worked in Czechoslovakia for Telepress, a news agency founded to export communist propaganda to the West. The columnist who writes under the name Vassos Nikolaou is the notorious Greek Stalinist Vassos Georgiou, an enthusiastic admirer of the Albanian regime who also writes for Rizopastis, the official publication of the Moscow-line Greek Communist Party (KKE). The chief assistant to the publisher and editor is Maria Beikou, who was hired at the insistence of KKE leader Harilaos Florakis. After fleeing Greece at the end of the civil war, she worked for Radio Moscow. There is reason to suspect that she now oversees the paper on behalf of the KKE Politburo.

It should not be surprising that Ethnos has been willing, at key moments, to publish forged documents to influence political developments--as it did, for example, on the 11th February, 1983, just before the elections in Greek Cyprus, when it claimed to have proof that conservative Presidential candidate and former RAF pilot Glafkos Klerides had been trained as a Nazi agent during the Second World War after his plane had been shot down over the continent of Europe and he had himself been captured. Nor is there anything particularly shocking about the fact that the paper ignores the rare instances of PASOK criticism of the KKE and the nations of the Soviet bloc. When asked in court to explain Ethnos' failure to report Papandreou's call for a release of political prisoners in Poland, Alexander Filippopoulos remarked, "We know that the Prime Minister sometimes has to make statements for domestic or international consumption purely for political reasons. We consider it our duty to protect our readers from such misleading news."

Paul Anastasi incurred Bobolas' wrath because he dared to argue that the KGB had funded Ethnos from the outset and that Bobolas and Filippopoulos were "agents of influence" deliberately spreading disinformation on behalf of the Soviet Union. It was, he suggested, all part of a plot by the Soviets to take the nation (ethnos) into their hands. The paper would be owned and edited by former rightists; it would have no visible connection with the communist party; it could claim to be an independent journal favorable to Papandreou; and, if it gained a sufficient hold on the Greek public, it could influence opinion in a fashion deeply hostile to the United States, to the EEC, and to NATO, and favorable to the radical leftwing element within PASOK. With any luck, Ethnos would dramatically increase within Hellas the legions of those whom the Lenin had once so aptly termed "useful idiots."

I remember the appearance of Anastasi's book very well. It came out two summers ago at the end of June or the beginning of July on the day before I ended a visit to Greece and left for the United States. My friend Bruce Clark, who works for Reuters in Athens, bought the book and read it immediately, as did every other journalist in the city. He was impressed with

the evidence presented, and so were many others.

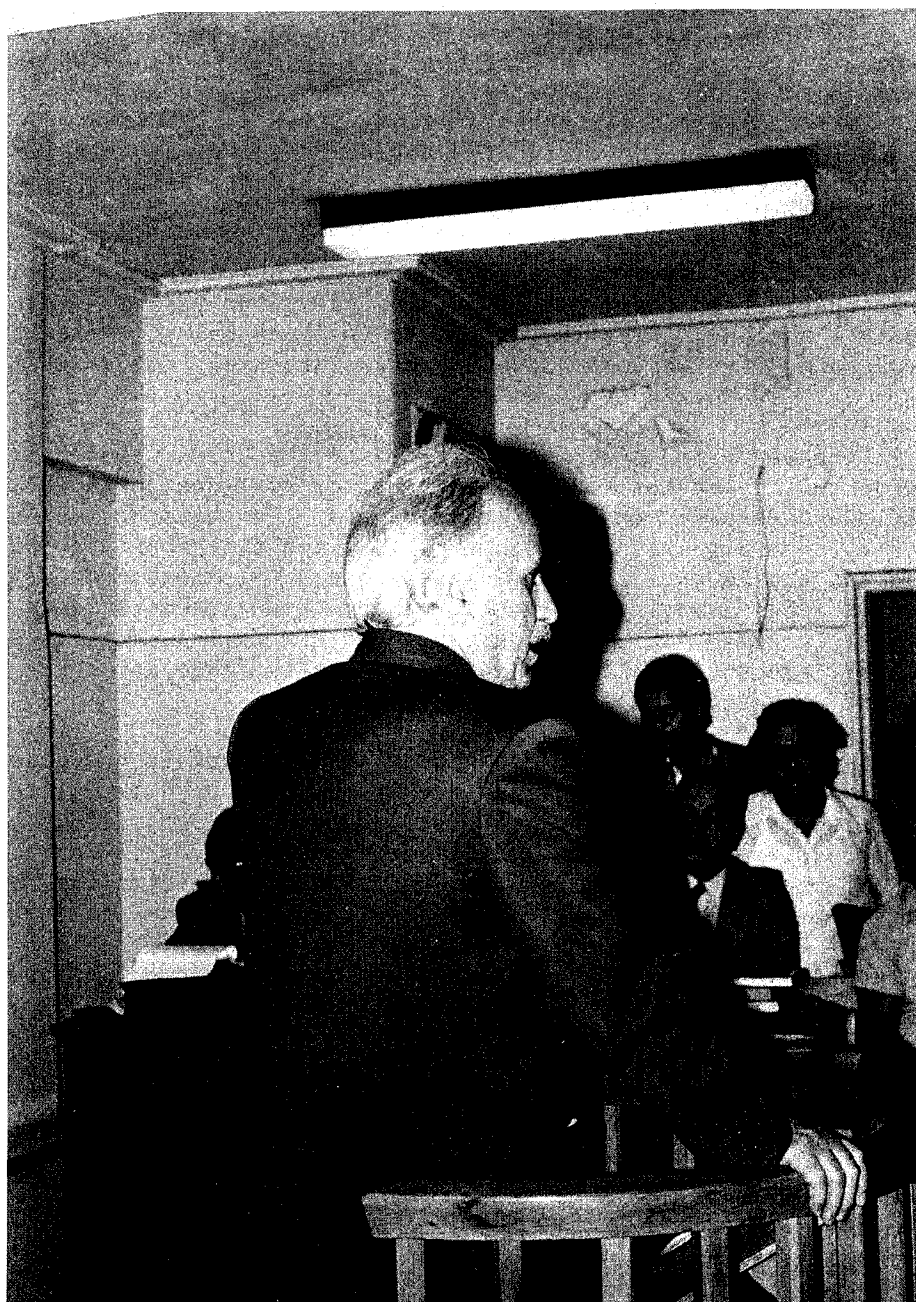
Anastasi was not the first to light upon the story. That honor goes to The Economist's Foreign Report. In April, 1982, more than a year before the Greek Cypriot journalist published his book, the British publication advanced two claims--that the Soviets had provided Bobolas and Filippopoulos with nearly two million dollars as start-up money the year before, and that the Russians were continuing to cover Ethnos' losses.

Anastasi was not even the first to be sued for libel in this connection. Shortly after The Economist issued its report, the conservative Greek newspaper Mesimvrini had the article translated into Greek and reprinted it. Bobolas and Filippopoulos lost no time in taking the matter to court, and a compromise was soon negotiated: Mesimvrini beat a hasty retreat and issued a disclaimer.

Paul Anastasi's involvement in the dispute is of importance for three reasons. He managed to secure documentation demonstrating the economic ties linking Bobolas and Filippopoulos with the Soviets; he has been absolutely unwilling to back down in the face of Ethnos' counter-assault; and somebody--quite conceivably, the KGB--eventually retaliated by tapping his home phone and the telephones at the Athens office of The New York Times. Bobolas and Filippopoulos deny that they did the wiretapping themselves. They claim to have received an anonymous telephone call announcing the existence of tapes recording Anastasi's conversations; these were then purportedly delivered to Ethnos. Soon thereafter, the newspaper published the transcript of one conversation, charging that Anastasi and a lawyer he was working with were CIA agents about to launch a violent assault on the publisher and editor of Ethnos aimed ultimately at destabilizing the democracy in Greece. Anastasi and his friend were, in fact, discussing "the heavy artillery" they hoped to deploy in order to prove KGB penetration of the Greek press. This was reasonably obvious from the conversation. As it happens, one can be consigned to prison in Greece for up to five years for phone-tapping or for making public any information secured in that fashion. Bobolas and Filippopoulos had made a great blunder. Not long thereafter, the Public Prosecutor brought in an indictment against the two men.

II

If Paul Anastasi was able to document his claim that Ethnos is a KGB operation, it was in large part because Yannis Yannikos, a former partner of George Bobolas, was out to get revenge. Yannikos is a proud member of the Soviet-line Greek Communist Party. He fought in the Greek Civil War in the mid-1940s, was captured by the Nationalists, and was condemned to death on ten counts. Eventually, Yannikos' sentence was commuted; and, instead of suffering execution, he served ten years in prison. Since his release, he has run a modest publishing house that specializes in translating and reprinting Soviet publications.



YANNIS YANNIKOS GIVING TESTIMONY

In the late 1970s, Yannikos was approached by Colonel Vassili Romanovich Sitnikov, the Deputy Chairman of the Soviet Copyright Agency. Sitnikov, who has been identified by Soviet defectors as the deputy director of the KGB's Disinformation Department, urged the Greek publisher to find a partner, someone prominent within the Greek business community, so that his company

could undertake projects on a far grander scale than ever before. He suggested that, to start with, the Great Soviet Encyclopedia be translated and presented to the Greek people, and he indicated that he had other publishing ventures in mind as well. At Sitnikov's suggestion, Yannikos sought out a Greek journalist not associated with the left to do a "feasibility study" for the Soviets on the establishment of a new Greek daily; the report presented to the Russians in 1979 argued for the establishment of a new daily virtually indistinguishable in character from the tabloid George Bobolas set up two years thereafter.

Yannikos initiated negotiations with various Greek businessmen--including Christos Lambrakis, the publisher of the newspaper Ta Nea ("The News")--but these fell through. Finally, he hit on George Bobolas, who quickly won the confidence of Sitnikov and his emissaries. By March, 1978, everything was in order.

In the meantime, after the collapse of the Greek Colonels' regime, Alexander Filippopoulos found that he was persona non grata among the conservative supporters of Constantine Karamanlis. Exhibiting fast footwork, he then abandoned his associates on the right and aligned himself with Andreas Papandreou and PASOK. In 1977, he prepared an eighteen-page memorandum for the PASOK leader, urging the establishment in Greece of a "genuinely socialist" press. Filippopoulos denounced his colleagues within the press community, contending that the majority of them cared for money alone. In his view, radical reform was needed.

Not surprisingly, then, Filippopoulos was quick to grasp the opportunity when Bobolas and Yannikos invited him to become the chief editor of the Greek translation of The Great Soviet Encyclopedia. In June, 1978, the three men flew to Moscow in the company of KKE representative Maria Beikou. Among those they met were Vassili Sitnikov and Boris Pankin, Minister for Publishing and President of the USSR Copyright Agency. Pankin is now the Soviet ambassador to Sweden; at the time, he was reportedly Director of the KGB Disinformation Department. In the course of their stay, Bobolas and Filippopoulos, but not Yannikos, were given the privilege of a meeting with no less a man than Konstantin Chernenko. Brezhnev was then still in power, and Chernenko was a member of the Politburo and was generally considered to be the Soviet leader's righthand man. Paul Anastasi claims that, up to June, 1978, the only Greek known to have been given the red-carpet treatment in this fashion was Constantine Karamanlis, then Prime Minister of Greece.

Yannikos' exclusion from the meeting with Chernenko was a sign of trouble to come. Two months later, Bobolas began pressing his partner to hand over half of his holding in the corporation they had established. For this demand, Yannikos soon learned, the former rightist had firm Soviet support. Eventually, under pressure from KGB operatives, the onetime communist guerrilla capitulated--but not for long.

Yannis Yannikos may have been a communist, but he was first a Greek. He was also virtually bankrupt. The Soviets had promised him a villa and a considerable sum of money for handing over his shares, but he had never, in fact, been paid more than a pittance. With considerable justification, he felt betrayed. As a young man, he had fought for the Revolution, and he had

spent the best years of his life in prison for acts undertaken in pursuit of the cause. The Soviets had used him; now, they spurned him. The rulers of the Socialist Motherland preferred to work with former associates of the Greek Colonels. In the process, they would further enrich George Bobolas, a capitalist already dripping with wealth. The prospect was more than the aging former guerrilla could bring himself to bear.



KGB DISINFORMATION SPECIALISTS BORIS PANKIN AND VASSILI SITNIKOV

In December, 1979, Yannikos turned to the courts and initiated a struggle that would last for four years. In the process, a good many interesting documents entered the public record. Among these was one revealing that Bobolas and Yannikos had formed their partnership in part with an eye to publishing a daily newspaper.

Yannikos lost his battle in the courts. But, in the end, he managed to wring a settlement of \$650,000 from George Bobolas and his KGB associates.

That settlement was foreshadowed by events that took place in May, 1982, when Mesemvrini reprinted the article from The Economist's Foreign Report claiming that the KGB was funding Ethnos. Alarmed by the disclosures, Colonel Sitnikov flew to Athens and spent eight days shifting back and forth between Yannikos and Bobolas in a vain attempt to mediate their dispute. At one meeting, attended by Yannikos' son Christos, Sitnikov appealed to Yannikos' devotion to the cause. According to his son, the old guerrilla retorted, "You speak of principles and ideology, but how can you take in preference a capitalist instead of me, who has served the cause for so long?" To this, Sitnikov reportedly responded, "I don't doubt any of the things you say, Yanni. And I can assure you that there will be more publishing work for you. But Bobolas now owns Ethnos, and you know how important that paper is to us."



FROM THE RIGHT: GEORGE BOBOLAS, BORIS PANKIN, AND ALEXANDER FILIPPOPOULOS

Athens: March, 1980

Yannikos was perfectly capable of seeing why, in Greece, a former rightist could be of real use to the Soviet Union in circumstances where a longtime communist might prove an embarrassment, but he nonetheless remained unhappy with the distribution of plums. Sitnikov's appeal had an unanticipated effect: it gave the embittered, old veteran an idea. After the negotiations broke down, he decided to test whether Ethnos was of sufficient importance to Moscow for the Soviets to see that he received proper recompense for the services he had done them. As a consequence, he bestowed on Paul Anastasi a treasure trove of documents and photographs and a plethora of information concerning Soviet Union's involvement in the establishment of Ethnos.

"He gradually presented me [with] more and more evidence," Anastasi explained this past spring to The Washington Times. "He would tell me something and I would say, 'Yes, but how can you prove it?' He'd hand me a copy of a document. I'd say, 'This is a photocopy; this won't do.' So out comes the original... He had everything. Stacks of things. I don't think anyone will ever get the chance again to get so many documents, photographs and telexes to document a KGB operation."

Today, as a consequence of having blackmailed Bobolas, Filippopoulos, and the KGB, Yannis Yannikos is a wealthy man. He lives in the most exclusive neighborhood in Athens--in a villa directly opposite the mansion in which George Bobolas resides. The Greek in him got revenge for the dishonor inflicted on the Communist.

III

Yannikos got his \$650,000 by selling Paul Anastasi down the river. In May and again in November, 1982, the centre-left, Athens newspaper Eleftherotypia launched an assault on Bobolas. The owner of Ethnos responded by suing the owners; and, in July, 1983, Yannikos testified on their behalf. Largely as a consequence of his testimony, the court decided in favor of Eleftherotypia. Bobolas and his associates soon saw the light. By the time that Anastasi case came to trial on the 13th of November, Yannikos had received his money and was no longer willing to testify. His son Christos appeared on Anastasi's behalf, but the judge considered the young man's testimony insufficient to justify the claims that Anastasi had made in his book. In mid-December, the Greek Cypriot journalist was sentenced to serve two years in prison; further sales of his book were banned.

The government made its hostility to Anastasi clear from the outset. When Take the Nation in Your Hands first appeared in the bookstores, Papandreou's press spokesman, a former political editor of Ethnos, denounced the book (which, he later admitted, he had not read) as "a thriller appropriate for holiday reading." When Bobolas filed his suit, another minister announced that the government would see to it that Anastasi was dealt with quickly by the courts. One prominent PASOK deputy, Papandreou's former justice and future merchant marine minister, served as Bobolas' lawyer.



GEORGE BOBOLAS TESTIFYING AS PAUL ANASTASI LISTENS

There is, in fact, good reason to suspect the PASOK government of having rigged the trial. The Anastasi case was originally slated to be heard on the 27th of July, a mere eleven days after Eleftherotypia was cleared of all charges. On the grounds that it would undercut Ethnos' claim that Anastasi was working for the CIA, the beleaguered journalist's chief lawyer had talked his client into hiring as a second lawyer a man named Takis Pappas, who was a member of Greece's Eurocommunist Party. Pappas agreed to take on the case if a number of conditions were met; one of these was that he secure the permission of his principal client the PASOK Minister of Youth (recently named press spokesman for the government). When his superior agreed, Pappas signed on. On the evening of the 26th of July, however, he called Anastasi to withdraw from the case. At the last minute, the Minister had reversed his decision. That forced Anastasi to request a postponement, which in turn gave Bobolas the time he needed to reach a settlement with Yannikos.

The judge assigned the case took little care to hide his prejudice. From the beginning, he was clearly in Bobolas' camp. He interrupted the proceedings thrice to urge Anastasi to imitate the example set by Mesemvrini, reach a compromise with Bobolas, and withdraw the assertions made in his book. Privately, in his chambers, the judge reiterated the suggestion; and, when he gave Anastasi a surprisingly stiff prison sentence and learned that he would appeal the decision, he remarked that this would give the young journalist "lots of time to compromise."

To forestall the necessity for the sort of compromise that would leave him permanently compromised, Anastasi filed a countersuit against Ethnos for describing him as "a tramp" and "a foreign agent." This was brusquely dismissed on the grounds that Ethnos' charges were "justified reaction" to his book. For a time, it looked as if the young Greek Cypriot's career as a journalist would soon come to an end.

Even within the ranks of the conservative New Democracy Party (ND), he attracted few supporters. Initially, when his book came out, seven ND deputies requested that parliament debate Soviet penetration of the Greek press. The furor soon died down. The man who had served as Minister of Economic Coordination for both Constantine Karamanlis and his immediate successor George Rallis had been closely associated with George Bobolas and intervened on his behalf. To this day, Constantine Mitsotakis, the current leader of ND, remains on good terms with Ethnos' publisher. In November, 1984, when the newspaper celebrated its third birthday, Mitsotakis was in attendance along with virtually every minister in the PASOK government.

IV

In the six months that followed Anastasi's conviction, the tide turned. Christos Yannikos and his mother persuaded Yannis Yannikos that he was honor-bound to come to Anastasi's rescue; and The New York Times asserted its authority. Initially, Anastasi told me, the Times was "useless" to him and even "suspicious." After his conviction, his employers found themselves in a quandary. They had to decide whether to fire their stringer as an embarrassment or to back him up. Fortunately, Anastasi had originally intended to publish Take the Nation in Your Hands in English as well as in Greek, and he had a more or less completed English manuscript in hand. This the Times requested. His employers also studied the transcript of the trial. They found the argument and the mass of photographs and documents presented as evidence in the book impressive; they were angered when they learned that the telephones in their Athens offices had been bugged; and they regarded the conduct of the judge, in consistently urging Anastasi to reach a compromise with Bobolas, as disgraceful. For Bobolas' lawyer, the editors of the Times had even less respect. Anastasi had called a number of foreign correspondents as character witnesses; among these was Marvine Howe of The New York Times, a reporter with impeccable leftwing credentials. In the course of the trial, Papandreou's former justice minister had rained abuse on Ms. Howe and her colleagues in the foreign press corps and had denounced them all as spies.



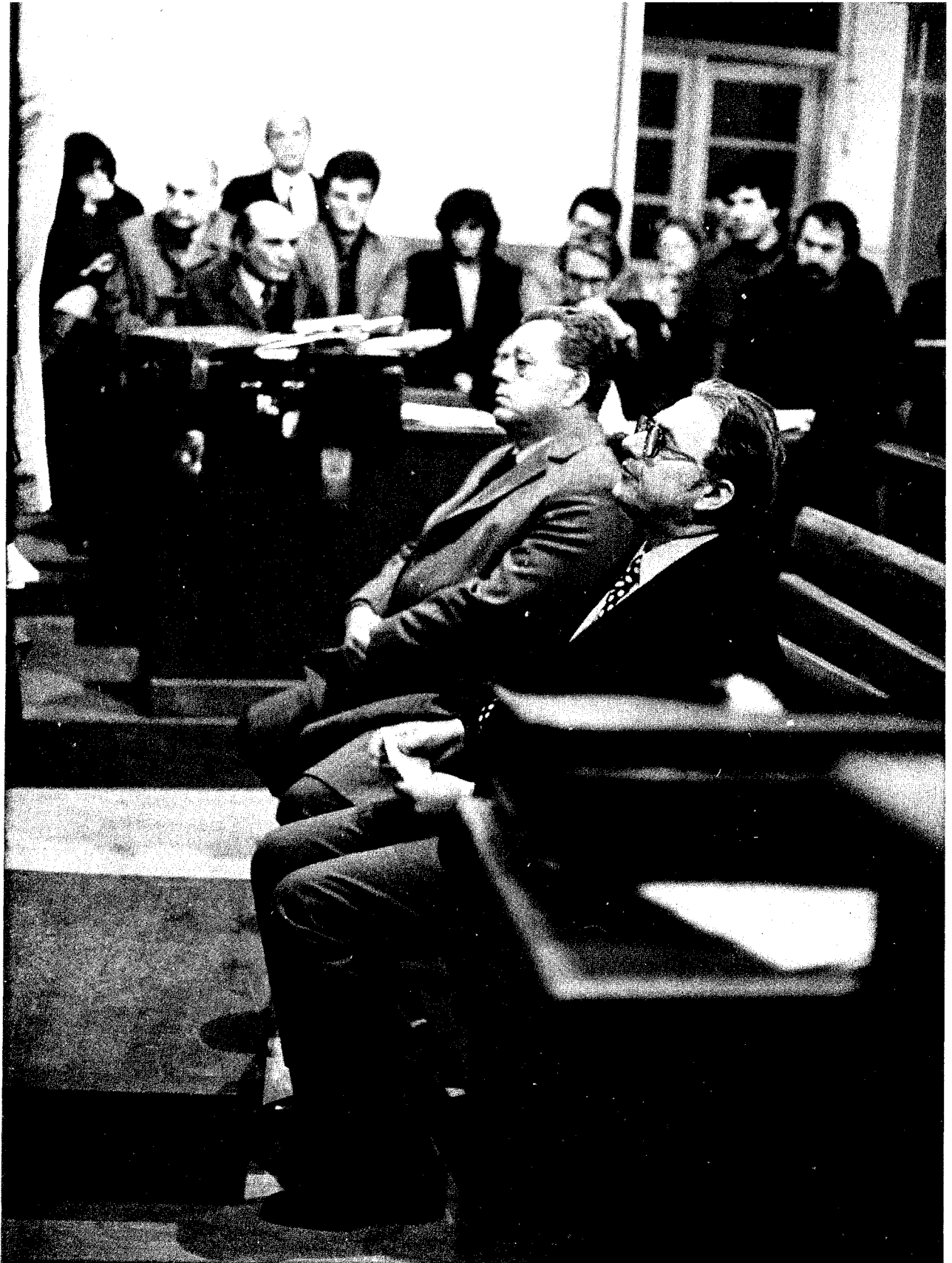
ANASTASI WATCHED BY FILIPPOPOULOS WHILE BOBOLAS STARES BLANKLY STRAIGHT AHEAD

Eventually, the Times published an editorial on the Anastasi case, defending their stringer and denouncing Greece's conduct of the trial. As it happened, Margaret Papandreou, the American-born wife of the Greek Prime Minister, was in the United States at the time. Before returning to Greece, she had a meeting with the editorial board of the Times. In Athens, word has it that the editors were anything but gentle, that she heard rather more about Paul Anastasi and his trial than she had ever thought possible, and that on her return home she advised her husband that the Anastasi affair should be concluded quickly in the manner least likely to further embarrass the PASOK regime.

Andreas Papandreou walks a tightrope. For aid and comfort, his government depends on the Moscow-line Greek Communist Party; and, as Anastasi puts it in his Atlantic article, "there is little doubt that [the party's] support for the Papandreou administration is conditional on a Greek foreign policy which benefits and lends credibility to the Soviet Union and its bloc of satellite states." But Papandreou needs the US as well. The strident anti-Americanism of the rhetoric employed by Papandreou and his minions cannot hide the fact that they remain critically dependent on left-liberal support in the United States--both in Congress and in the press.

Not long after Margaret Papandreou's return from her American trip, Anastasi's appeal was heard. The elder Yannikos emerged to testify on his behalf. His testimony was self-contradictory, and his memory failed him at key points; but Christos Yannikos intervened to fill in the details. Nonetheless, on most counts, the judge upheld the ruling of the lower court. He did acknowledge that Filippopoulos and Bobolas had dealt with KGB agents or other USSR officials responsible for propaganda. He even admitted that Ethnos was "evidently pro-Soviet" and published "raw Soviet propaganda." But he judged unproven Anastasi's claims that Filippopoulos and Bobolas knew they were dealing with the KGB and were consciously acting on its instructions, and he declared that it was therefore defamatory to call them "agents of influence." With all this in mind, he reduced Anastasi's prison sentence to one year.

Under Greek law, it is possible to pay a modest fine of about \$100 a month in lieu of any sentence that short. Anastasi might have coughed up \$1200 and let the matter drop. This he chose not to do. Eventually, on further appeal, the Supreme Court of Greece ruled the young journalist's conviction technically invalid. In the meantime, Bobolas and Filippopoulos were found guilty of criminal libel and sentenced to four months in prison; this past April, the two men were convicted in the wiretapping case--not for wiretapping per se but for having published material illicitly obtained--and were sentenced to an additional five months in prison. Though they are appealing both verdicts, Bobolas and Filippopoulos can hardly be happy; they have the dubious honor of being the first Greeks ever convicted of breaching the guarantee of privacy of communication that was introduced into the Greek Constitution in the wake of the collapse of the Greek junta in 1974. Nor can Andreas and Margaret Papandreou be fully satisfied. In the course of their trial, the publisher and chief editor of Ethnos severely embarrassed the PASOK government by testifying that, in July, 1983, they had obtained prior approval from Papandreou's press spokesman and from his Minister for Public Order for publishing Paul Anastasi's telephone conversations.



V

If events have not transpired quite as George Bobolas and Alexander Filippopoulos hoped, they can at least take some consolation in Ilios Yannakis' conviction for libel earlier this month. His background made it particularly difficult to impugn his motives. Yannakis is a Greek born in Egypt. While in his teens, he joined the Greek Communist Party. In 1949, near the end of the Greek Civil War, when the Nationalists were on the verge of defeating the Communists, the seventeen-year-old Yannakis was dispatched to join the Communist guerrillas. Resistance collapsed shortly after his arrival at the front, and he joined the 100,000 communists who fled to eastern Europe. There, he became a member of the Czech Communist Party; and, when Alexander Dubcek came to power in the 1960s and introduced a program of reform, Yannakis gave it enthusiastic support. At the time of the Soviet invasion in 1968, he fled once again--this time to the West. Ultimately, he ended up in France, where he is assistant professor of modern history at the University of Lille. The article he wrote for L'Express was an attempt to make sense of Papandreou's government in light of the history of Greece since 1944. In drawing on Anastasi's research, he laid particular emphasis on the Soviet Union's eagerness to destabilize Greece's fragile democracy and on the attempts made through the KKE and through KGB infiltration to promote the "ideological Finlandization" of the country. Yannakis' analysis makes one thing clear: in the struggle now going on in Greece and within PASOK, nothing less is at stake than control of the noncommunist left.

The Yannakis case may be the last libel suit that Bobolas and Filippopoulos win. In London, Ethnos is suing The Economist, and The Economist has reciprocated. The case is expected to come to trial there later this year. It promises to be most interesting: Anastasi tells me that a number of Soviet defectors will testify on The Economist's behalf. Before leaving, I posed a query to the managing editor of The Athens Star about Sergei Bokhane, a Soviet spy fluent in Greek, who served seven years in Athens before defecting to the United States late this past May. Bokhane has reportedly identified for the CIA some eighteen to twenty-five Soviet spies and agents of influence working in Greece. "To the best of your knowledge," I asked, "has Bokhane named George Bobolas?" He grinned. "Yes," he said, "yes, indeed, yes."

Sincerely,



Paul A. Rahe

Received in Hanover 11/1/85