

There are today in Athens about twenty journals with relatively frequent publication and literature as their main focus. The principally literary journals, which publish original and translated literary works, essays, reviews, and related commentaries, are the following, in alphabetical order (in Greek): *Aiolika Grammata*, *Anakyklese*, *Grammata kai Technes*, *To Dentro*, *To Doma*, *Hekevolos*, *Euthyne*, *Kainourgia Epoche*, *He Lexe*, *Nea Estia*, *Nees Tomes*, *Hodos Panos*, *Ombrella*, *Periodiko*, *Planodion*, *Poliorkia*, *Semeioseis*, *Speira*, and *Hartis*. There is a separate category consisting of *Vivliophilia*, *Diavazo*, *Inheutes*, and *To Tetarto* with an emphasis on informational aspects. There are also a few political reviews, like *Anti*, *Scholiastes*, and, especially *Politis*, which often devote their pages to literary and related subjects.

Outside Athens, the largest number of literary journals is published in the following cities, in descending order: Thessaloniki, Ioannina, (*Endohora*), Zakynthos (*Periplous*), Kerkyra (*Porphyras*), and Patra (*Hydria*). Outside Greece, there was a large number of journals in earlier decades, especially in Alexandria, as there are today in Cyprus and elsewhere. There are several English-language journals which deal with the Greek literature. Well-known among them in the United States are *The Charioteer*, *The Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora*, *The Coffeehouse*, and the *Aegean Review*.

The total number of periodicals of all types in Greece today exceeds seven hundred. Among popular magazines those considered to have a large circulation average weekly sales of about 30,000 issues in the Greater Attiki area, which has a total population of nearly four million people.

Therefore, in comparative terms, the circulation of literary journals is not out of proportion. The conditions of cultural intervention through a literary journal have, however, been degraded, following the adoption of the tabloid format by most newspapers and the appearance of pages with "cultural news" in newspapers and in popular magazines even when they only involve the publication of relevant press releases. There is no way literary journals can compete in terms of commentaries on current issues. They can only publish creative works and broader overviews of issues of interest.

The Futuristics of Greek America

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FOR THE LAST FEW YEARS A NUMBER OF CONFERENCES, SYMPOSIA, and other scholarly activities and publications have been undertaken by different professional groups and organizations on the general theme of the "Greek American Experience." I have been asked by my good friend and colleague, Aristotle Michopoulos, the Delphic dreamer and dynamic director of Greek Studies at the Hellenic College, and, of course, the organizer of this conference, to present to you "The State of the Union," so to speak, of the Greek American Community. This is not an easy task. It is an honor that I take very seriously, and I hope not to disappoint you. Let me hasten to add that the Greek American Experience for the most part is still in the making. I have been part of this experience as a teacher, scholar, and active participant for the last thirty years. Yet still I do not profess to even know all the questions that confront us as Greek Americans. I *do* know that what we do or fail to do as individuals or as a community in this process of ethnic renewal will have an impact on the future of the Greek American Community in the 21st century.

There are basically two major approaches to looking at the nature of migrant and ethnic groups. The first is the so called cultural and psychological perspective which stresses social, psychological, and cultural characteristics such as perceptions, attitudes, values, conflicts, and motivations. The second is the "social structural" approach in which ethnic and migrant groups are examined from a wider vantage point, stressing the socio-historical, socio-economic, and political forces that shape migrant and ethnic communities.

From its inception as a new nation state, the United States has been a "nation of nations." Ethnic and cultural diversity has always existed. What is new now is the re-discovery of this diversity. More specifically, since the Civil Rights Movement in the 1960s, and 1970s, there has been

a revitalization and renewed interest in ethnic diversity of American society. No longer can we speak of one ethnic or racial stock in the United States. In a way we are all ethnics and members of social, religious, racial, and cultural groups. We can identify four broad ethnic or racial groups which will emerge as the predominant groups in the next century. The *Euro-Americans*, the *Afro-Americans*, the *Latin-Americans* or *Hispanics*, and the *Asian-Americans*.

The Greek American Experience must be understood within the larger socio-historical and economic context of European immigration. The Greek pioneer immigrants along with other Southern, Eastern, and Central Europeans represent the "new" immigrants vis-à-vis the "old" immigrants from Northwestern Europe who preceded them, the British, Irish, Germans, Scandinavians, etc. Those who came prior to the 1880s were primarily Protestant and have become known by the acronym as *WASP*. Those who came at the turn of the century, the late immigrants, were predominantly Catholic, Jewish, Eastern Orthodox. They were Poles, Italians, Greeks, Slavs, etc. Some Asian groups began immigrating as well.

Every new generation of immigrants experienced social and economic hardships, and discrimination at the hands of the groups that preceded it. Thus the Greeks and other Southern and Eastern European immigrants faced discrimination from earlier generations of European immigrants. Likewise the post WWII and most recent immigrants have been the targets of discrimination similar to that endured by those who came before them. While most Euro-Americans within two or three generations achieved mobility and demanded equality and respect, those of African, Latin American, and Native Indian backgrounds are still feeling the scourge of "discrimination" and "exclusion" from the economic, political, and social resources of American society. Despite a number of incidents of racial bigotry and hatred, which have taken place in the last few years across the United States, one can argue that the overall nature of intergroup relations has improved in the last quarter of the century. Needless to say the resurgence of ethnicity and civil rights movements contributed to ethnic empowerment and benefited most ethnic and racial groups including the Greek Americans. The nomination of Michael Dukakis, a second generation Greek American as the Presidential candidate of the Democratic Party, would have been unthinkable a generation or so ago.

Conceptual Frameworks

Before we discuss the Greek American experience, we must look at the conceptual frameworks which guide the policies of the United States in its ethnic and racial intergroup relations. Since its inception

as a nation state, two broad perspectives have guided those policies. The first stresses "order" and "consensus" along the assimilation path; the second views intergroup relations along a "power-conflict" model in which various ethnic and racial groups find themselves in perpetual conflict in an effort to maintain their ethnic identity and ethnic subcultures.

Order or consensus theories stress the systemic integrative functions of ethnic groups. Ethnic groups in this instance are conceptualized as social subsystems performing many complementary functions for the entire social system. It is a functionalist view according to which ethnic groups are viewed as social subsystems. Through the process of class mobility these ethnic groups lose their distinct ethnic identities and merge into the more universalistic American culture by adopting and internalizing the values and norms of the dominant core culture. The core dominant culture is the so called Anglo-Saxon or WASP culture. The key element in this perspective is "order" or commonly shared values or consensus. The consensus advocates argue that, because of social and economic mobility, the majority of European immigrants surrendered most of their ethnic subcultures and ethnic identities in a period of three generations and adopted the Anglo-Saxon core culture. While European ethnic groups maintained some of their in-group ethnic ties and identities, particularly those pertaining to family, religion, and the "Dionysian" aspects of their ethnic subculture (those pertaining to food, dance, and other external material aspects of their subcultures), they gave up most of their ethnic traditions, language, literature, and music beyond the third and subsequent generations in exchange for social mobility and accommodations in the larger dominant culture.

The power-conflict perspective sees each ethnic group in an embattled position, fighting for its survival and ethnic identity as a culturally distinct group. In this struggle, an ethnic group is subject to a perpetual conflict between its own ethnic survival and its absorption into the dominant culture. Greek Americans, like other ethnic groups, are caught between the "conflict and consensus" perspectives. Greek Americans find themselves between the Scylla and Charybdis. They want to be part of the dominant culture and the political economy of the U.S., but at the same time they would like to maintain their ethnic and religious identity.

The majority of European immigrants and their progenies strove for equality with the dominant groups by conforming to their values. Their experience is known as "assimilation" outcomes along a continuum of cultural, civic, structural, attitudinal, and behavioral dimensions of assimilation.¹ The assimilationist or "straight line" model

¹ Milton Gordon. *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion and*

posits a decline in ethnic diversity for successive generations as a determinant of identity, behavior, and group life. The assimilationist model is a fusionist or "MacDonalization" model which works against the maintenance of distinct ethnic identities. In many ways the structure of American society does not favor ethnic diversity beyond the second or third generations. Ethnic identity or ethnic identification is an aspect of group identification, the linking of oneself to an in-group or ethnic subculture through religious, national, cultural, racial or other characteristics. From the beginning the immigrant and ethnic group identity was not considered to be of high social status in the over-all systems of American social stratification. It was for this reason that the immigrant and his children sacrificed their ethnic identity in a quest for "respectability," or economic and social mobility. The assimilationist perspective and its variants, "Americanization," "Anglo-conformity," and the "melting pot" perspective, were, and to some extent still are, the explicit and implicit policies of the United States' social institutions. The "assimilationist" model has elicited considerable criticism in recent years. Some of these criticisms include the following: a) it is a one way street; b) it has a built bias in favor of the Anglo-Saxonic dominant culture; c) it applies mostly to European immigrants; d) it is a conservative perspective; e) it does not allow for diversity and change; f) it does not explain the persistence of ethnicity.

In response to assimilationist model, alternative approaches have been suggested by a number of social scientists, including advocates of cultural pluralism, in which ethnic groups maintain ethnic characteristics. For example, in their book *Beyond the Melting Pot*, Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan² argued that European immigrant groups remained culturally distinct in terms of name, values, religion, and other cultural traits. The loss of the language, customs, and traditions by the third generation does not always mean the decline of ethnicity. Ethnicity becomes transformed to something else. Gordon³ argued that it is possible to have "acculturation" without assimilation. For example immigrants and their progenies absorb a great many cultural traits from the "host culture," and in return the "host culture" adopts a few traits from the immigrant culture, especially the Dionysian aspects of the ethnic culture. An extension of the acculturation without assimilation is what sociologist Father Greeley⁴ calls the "ethno-genesis" model. Ethnicity in this sense follows a natural

¹ *National Origin* (New York, 1964), p. 71.

² Cambridge, 1963.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Andrew Greeley, *Ethnicity in the United States* (New York, 1974), pp. 308-09.

development. It posits an adaptation process of the ethnic group which implies more than a one way, straight line, or assimilationist experience.

Greek Americans, like other Euro-Americans, share American cultural traits and experiences (the English language, public education, American holidays, etc.), just as their forebearers did when they came to the U.S.A. At the same time, Greek Americans share a broader view of Greek cultural ethnic identity. Concepts like ethnic identification, ethnic heritage, and ethnic culture are part of ethno-genesis. By ethnic identification is meant that one identifies oneself as a member of an ethnic group. By ethnic heritage is meant that one acknowledges explicitly and consciously a recollection of one's past history in the old country or in the U.S. By ethnic culture is meant material and non-material lifestyles, behaviors, and attitudes which correlate with ethnic identification. The ethno-genesis perspective is mostly defined by "nationality" and "religion." Greek Americans perceive themselves as an ethnic group but at the same time feel very much American. They have a dual hyphenated identity.

The Nature of Greek American Experience

So far I have tried to lay out a general framework as a conceptual prolegomenon to an analysis of the Greek American experience. The same framework applies to Greeks of the diaspora, especially those who reside in Anglo-Saxonic countries such as Canada and Australia. Indeed by the 21st century, most Greeks of the diaspora will be found in Anglo-Saxonic countries. While we are talking about ethnic diversity and experience, we must also keep in mind that the Greek American experience is in itself diverse. While most Greek Americans share similar experiences as members of ethno-religious communities, we cannot speak of a homogeneous Greek American community. Indeed we can speak of a generational Greek American subculture by looking at the first, second, third, and subsequent generations and the class dynamics of these generations. Similar experiences and processes can be observed among Italian Americans, Jewish Americans, Serbian Americans, etc. In this part of the analysis, I will try to give some glimpse of various trends and processes among Greek Americans which are only in part unique to the Greek American experience.

In order to be within the general theme of this conference on the Greek American experience I will briefly look at the present nature of Greek American community and then I will talk about the future. I will not stress the past because if we want to read the history of Greeks in the U.S., there are a number of works including those by Saloutos, Moskos, Scourby, Canoutas, Xenides, Burgess, Dendias, Fairchild, Malafouris, Rozakos, Ziogas, Zotos, and other general works.

One way to assess the present state and nature of the Greek American community is to look at its various dimensions, its demographic, institutional/organizational, stratificational/mobility, and attitudinal or social psychological aspects. Before we make any future predictions and suggestions about Greek American ethnicity in the next century, it is imperative to take stock of our present achievements and failures in order to plan or suggest various strategies for our future survival as a Greek American community. Moskos⁵ identifies four major stages of historical development of the Greek American experience: 1) the era of mass migration (1890-1920); 2) the era of Greek American formal organizations and ethnic institution building (1920-1940); 3) the period of consolidation (1940-1965); 4) and the period of diversity (1965-present).

Demographic Profile. We are not going to engage in the number game to describe the present size of Greek Americana. Estimates vary from a high of 3,000,000 according to the Archdiocese, to a low of 1,250,000.⁶ The U.S. census does not go beyond the second generation. The 1970 U.S. census reported 177,275 Greek born Americans (first generation) and 257,296 native born Americans of Greek or mixed parentage (second generation), or a total of some 434,000 persons of Greek American stock in the U.S. Needless to say, this number is low. One can never know the exact number of Greek Americans. However, we do know that since the mid 1970s, few Greek immigrants have been coming to the U.S. This means that as the early immigrant generations are aging, repatriating or dying out, Greek American ethnicity more and more will be defined by native Americans of Greek or mixed extraction, namely second, third, and subsequent generations of Greek Americans. The question is when do Greek Americans begin to lose their ethnic identity, if at all? This question will pre-occupy throughout the paper.

One thing we can say for sure, however, is that as we move from first generation to second, third, and subsequent generations, one can observe a gradual attenuation and re-alignment of Greek American ethnic identity. We move from an inner-directed ethnic Greek identity most strongly represented by the immigrant or first generation, to an other-directed identity more characteristic of the second, third, and subsequent generations of Greeks in the diaspora. More and more we have to re-define our ethnic identity as a process or ethno-genesis, namely as an ongoing adaptation and dynamic, and not something as a static product or unchanged over the generations.

⁵ Charles Moskos, Jr. "Greek Americans." Paper presented at the Illinois Sociological Association, Chicago, IL. October 27-28, 1978, p. 2.
⁶ Charles Moskos, Jr. *Greeks in America: Struggle and Success* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1978), p. 12.

Concomitant to this transformation, one can observe parallel changes in the correlates of Greek American ethnic identity; a decline in knowledge of Greek language; fewer observances of Greek family and kinship traditions, holidays, and customs; and the virtual disappearance of Greek nationalism after the first generation. A shift in loyalty from Greece, the country of origin of the first generation, to the U.S., the country of American born Greeks, has been taking place. More and more we are a second, third, and subsequent generations Greek American Community. For purposes of clarity let us define first generation as all those who are born in Greece, second generation as those American born of Greek or mixed parenthood, and third generation as the children of the second generation, or the grandchildren or the first generation and so forth.

It has been documented that early pioneer mass Greek immigration (1890s-1920s) was made up mostly of young males (14-44 years of age) who came from Southern parts of Greece, as economic immigrants. Most were unskilled laborers, and had little education. A large number of them became small entrepreneurs, owned and operated shoe shine stores, grocery stores, ice cream parlors, candy stores, fruit stores, and restaurants. As laborers they worked in the mines, railroads, factories, etc. A few of them were professionals who became doctors, lawyers, chemists, teachers, etc. Early Greeks did not plan to settle in the U.S. They were "birds of passage" so to speak. Most Greek women did not work outside the home. It was not accepted in the immigrant community.⁷

In contrast, the late Greek immigrants, those who came since the 1940s, but mostly during the 1950s and 1960s, were a more diverse group. While the majority came from villages like the earlier ones, a substantial number came from small towns and cities. A large number came as students and professionals.⁸ Unlike the early Greek immigrants, the late ones came in families. According to the U.S. immigration reports, 81,000 of 150,000 Greeks admitted to the U.S. were housewives and children. In addition, while the majority of newcomers followed similar patterns of service oriented occupations as the early immigrants, a large number of newcomers came as students, professionals, and craftsmen, and followed different lines of work, becoming real estate agents, technicians, managers, stock brokers, etc.

⁷ Theodore Saloutos, *The Greeks in the United States* (Cambridge, 1964), p. 6; George Kourvetaris, *First and Second Generation Greeks in Chicago* (Athens, 1971), p. 43; Charles Moskos, *Greeks in America*, p. 12; Alice Scourby, *The Greek Americans* (Boston, 1984), p. 26.

⁸ George Kourvetaris, "Brain Drain and International Migration of Scientists," *Greek Review of Social Research*, 15-16 (January-June, 1973), 2-13.

Thousands of newcomers became grillmen, cooks, waiters, restaurant proprietors, tailor shop owners, taxi cab drivers, vendors, and so on, especially in large cities like New York, Chicago, Detroit, and other cities with large Greek American populations.

Institutional/organizational. My working hypothesis is that as we move from first generation to second, third, and subsequent generations, the institutional/organizational dimension of ethnicity is changing. For the first generation and to a large extent the second generation "nationality" and "religion" were the most important dimensions of Greek ethnicity. Both Greek school and Greek church were the most important ethnic institutions. However, as we move away from these two generations, Greek customs, Greek traditions, Greek endogamous marriages, and Greek benevolent societies organized by village or regional decline or change, the Greek language gives way to English, and nationality to religious affiliation. The Greek school is far less preferable in the subsequent generations. The church as an institution is also changing; from an immigrant church it is becoming more and more a homegrown Greek American or mixed church.

Leadership in these ethnic organizations is also changing. As the old generation of priests is dying out, and few Greek priests are coming to the U.S., the majority of our parish priests are American born, second and some third generations. Our bishops are still first generation, but they are aging eventually will be replaced by American born clerics. We find similar changes in the leadership of secular and lay organizations affiliated with the church such as AHEPA, the Hellenic American Congress, the Laity Congress, the Orthodox Forum, and other secular and supportive Greek Orthodox organizations. The ethnic press, at one time a most robust ethnic institution and predominantly Greek language press, gradually has adopted English for its Greek American newspapers such as *The Greek American*, the *Hellenic Chronicle* etc. There is some effort to counter this trend by publishing some newspapers in Greek, most notably, *The National Herald*, *The Proini*.

We all know that these changes are taking place but this does not mean the end of Greek American ethnicity. Although the Greek language is an important component of our Greek national identity, its loss does not automatically lead to the loss of Greek American ethnicity. Our children and grandchildren speak English yet they still internalize the broader dimensions of Greek American ethnic and cultural forms and values. The problem here is that our emphasis is too much of the Dionysian and culinary aspects of our Greek American culture and not enough on the Apollonian or more esoteric dimensions of Greek culture. Things such as Greek literature, Greek American

studies, the Greek language, Greek American scholarship and the like are not stressed. In a sense this anti-intellectual trend reflects a more general tenor of a hedonistic and pleasure oriented American society. The notion of instant gratification, of the here and now without some future goals and ideals, is an American and indeed universal trend.

We cannot maintain our ethnic identity and ethnic subculture beyond the second generation on the culinary and Dionysian aspects of Greek culture only. The "gyros," like other ethnic foods before, eventually will be Americanized. To build our ethnic identity on the "gyros" syndrome or other culinary and Dionysian aspects is indeed a shallow foundation which, it seems to me, will not carry us into the twenty-first century and beyond as a viable Greek American community. Our children and grandchildren must be exposed to the richness of Greek culture, including our rich Greek Orthodox tradition which is in many ways the foundation of Euro-American Western civilization. Teaching and learning more about our Greek Orthodox heritage and culture strengthens our Greek and American identities. One reinforces the other.

Stratificational and mobility profile. We talked briefly about the demographic and organizational components of our ethnic experience and ethnic existence. Another important dimension is what is known as the stratificational and mobility aspects of Greek American experience. A number of studies have documented the arrival of Greek Americans as a solid middle and upper middle class in the American society. Indeed, there is enough empirical evidence to suggest that Greek Americans have reached a middle class status in American society. However, the middle class status is not unique to Greek Americans only—other Euro-Americans such as Italian Americans, German Americans, Jewish Americans, Irish Americans, Japanese Americans, and other ethnic groups have reached similar, and in some instances, higher status.⁹

It must be stressed that the very affluence and social mobility of Greek American is precisely one of the major factors of assimilation and, therefore, bespeaks a decline of Greek American ethnic identity. Ethnicity is sacrificed at the altar of economic success. Greek American

⁹ George Kourvetaris, *First and Second Generation Greeks in Chicago* (Athens, 1971), p. 67-87; Kourvetaris, "Greek American Professionals: 1820s-1970s," *Balkan Studies*, 18/2 (1977), 285-323; "Greek American Professionals and Entrepreneurs," *Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora* Nos. 1-4, (1989) 105-28; "The Greek American Family," in *Ethnic Families in America*, by Charles H. Mindel and Robert W. Habenstein (New York, 1988); Andrew Greeley, *Ethnicity in the United States* (New York, 1974), pp. 308-09; Bernard Rosen, "Race, Ethnicity and the Achievement Syndrome," *American Sociological Review*, 24 (1959) 47-60; Saloutos, *The Greeks in the United States*. Scourby, *The Greek Americans*, p. 26.

ethnicity becomes symbolic rather than genuine and substantive. Greek Americans are no different than all those *nouveau rich*, the *neoploutoi* whose newly acquired wealth is spent in endeavors of conspicuous consumption on Mercedes, minks, mansions, and elaborate weddings and social gatherings. Meanwhile, Greek Americans spend peanuts on things intellectual and cultural, or what I call Apollonian. The latter would not only enhance our status but strengthen our cultural and intellectual presence and power in America. We desperately need more emphasis on Greek American studies, Greek American foundations, Greek American cultural centers (like the Maliotis Cultural Center), Greek American scholarships, and Greek American exchange programs with Greece and other Greek communities of the diaspora. We have built beautiful and expensive Greek churches but we need more libraries, more academic chairs, including Orthodox theology taught in American institutions. Our children and grandchildren have a limited picture of our ethnoreligious identity. We must concentrate on the substantive not the external, superficial, or the ritual.

Greek American Attitudinal and Survey Studies

Another way to look at the nature of the Greek American community is to examine a sample of attitudinal and survey studies by Greek American and American scholars concerning the Greek American experience. Since the 1960s and 1970s there has been a growing interest in ethnic studies including Greek American studies. There is a growing number of Greek American scholars who, as Charlie Moskos says, have "toiled in the vineyards of Greek American scholarship." Due to time constraints and for parsimonious reasons only a few such studies can be summarized here, especially those which have a bearing on the issue of Greek ethnicity, assimilation, mobility, and Greek Orthodox identity which we are concerned with here.

Greek American ethnicity and assimilation. Vlachos, in his study of the assimilation of 125 members of three generations of Greek Americans at Anderson, Indiana in 1968, found that: 1) factionalism and internal conflict within the Greek American community leads to rapid assimilation; 2) high structural assimilation of all three generations of Greeks occurs in the institutional area of economy; and 3) the *first generation* was seen as adapting to a new American culture and trying to perpetuate the Greek way of life, while the *second generation* was found to be the most confused, alienated, and marginal, trying to bridge the internal (Greek ethnic subculture) and the external (American) pressures and demands placed upon them. The *third generation*, while found to be more secure psychologically in its identification with American culture, tried to find certain elements of se-

identification and social location within the ethnic setting. This Greek American ethnic identity of the third generation is a new composite of Greek American culture which encompasses certain traditional and often idealized Greek cultural patterns. Vlachos found no third generation Greek Americans who spoke Greek, which is an indication of assimilation and the decline of Greek national identity. In addition, Vlachos found three basic types of Greek American family structures. First generation families were basically patriarchal. Second were less patriarchal and showed increased mobility and weakened solidarity within the Greek American community and less religiosity. By the third generation, although families continued to identify with the Greek American community, only certain ethnic aspects of the Greek culture were maintained.

Another study of Greek and voting by Humphrey and Louis¹⁰ found that the Greeks had not reached full assimilation in American society even by the third generation. Despite the fact that by the third generation the Greek American identity decreases, one can argue by and large that Greek Americans voted for both Agnew and Dukakis as fellow ethnics.

In another study on Greek American ethnicity, of 160 individuals of Greek descent in the New York metropolitan area surveyed in 1967, Scourby¹¹ found that both American born and foreign born Greek Americans showed a strong attachment to their ethnic identity. According to the author, social mobility did not result in abandonment of ethnicity and the Greek American community. Somewhat similar findings were reported by Taruchis in his study of the Greek American family in 1971. Mobility of the second generation did not result in severing the relations with the first generation. In addition, as one would expect, Scourby found that the first generation was strongly identified with the ethnoreligious dimension; for example, 75% of the first generation respondents expressed an ethnoreligious identity as compared with 58% of the second generation, and 42% of the third generation. However, when the author asked questions that measured the larger ethnocultural dimension of Greek ethnicity she found the reverse; 25% of the first, 42% of the second, and 58% of the third generation identified with the broader aspects of ethnocultural values.

In another study¹² a Greek American community in Akron, Ohio in 1985, the authors found a two-dimensional structure underlying

¹⁰Craig R. Humphrey and Helen Brock Louis, "Assimilation and Voting Behavior: A Study of Greek Americans," *International Migration Review* 7/1 (1973) 34-35.

¹¹Scourby, *The Greek Americans*, p. 26.

¹²Stavros Constantinou and Milton E. Harvey, "Basic Dimensional Structure and Intergenerational Differences in Greek American Ethnicity," *Sociology and Social Research*, 69/2 (1985) 234-54.

Greek American ethnicity. One they called *externalities* (that which pulls the Greek Americans toward their place of origin), and the other they termed *internalities* (that which binds Greek Americans together as a community). While the authors found a variation across generations, knowledge of the Greek language always decreased. More specifically, the authors found the first generation to be the most cohesive in its ethnic identity in preserving the Greek language. The second generation was found to be the least cohesive of the three due to its transitional nature. The third generation was found to be less cohesive than the first but showed signs of ethnic revival. The authors concluded no single factor was adequate to define ethnic identity. They examined a number of ethnically related factors, including Greek language, Greek cooking, church membership, family, Greek press, and endogamy, and they found all of these taken together to be the most important dimensions of Greek ethnic identity.

Greek American ethnicity and Greek identity. In a study of Greek ethnicity of two Orthodox parishes, one in Baltimore, Maryland and the other in Minneapolis, Minnesota, on the basis of an analysis of 553 returned questionnaires in the Spring of 1989, Demos¹³ found that all of the respondents thought of themselves as Greek ethnics. She also reported that most members of the two churches expressed a positive attitude towards both the Greek language and the Greek church. She also concluded that Greek ethnicity in both its religious and national dimensions gradually became attenuated as one moves from the first to the second, and third generations.

More recently, in a somewhat similar study of Greek American ethnicity and Greek American Orthodox identity, I surveyed a recently formed Chicago based Orthodox singles group of 248 members.¹⁴ Approximately 90 questionnaires were returned. The majority or 55% perceived themselves as Orthodox or Orthodox ethnic Americans, while 44% perceived themselves as American. When asked what was most important about their Orthodox identity, the majority ranked highest the more *internal* aspects of Orthodoxy such as theological or doctrinal beliefs, Orthodox faith, and spirituality, with less emphasis on the more *external* manifestations of the Greek Orthodox faith such as icons, Byzantine music, and Byzantine architecture. When asked how important the Orthodox faith was, 95% replied important and very important. In response to a question asking them to choose between Orthodox or Greek ethnic identity, 33% preferred Orthodox, 22% Greek ethnicity,

¹³Vasilikie Demos, "Maintenance and Loss of Traditional Gender: Boundaries in two Greek Orthodox Communities," *Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora*, 16/1-4 (1989) 77-93.

¹⁴George Kourvetaris, "Orthodox Ethnic Identity and the Greek American Experience," paper under consideration, pp. 1-12.

and 43% both. In choosing a marriage partner "Orthodox faith" was more important than "Greek ethnicity," for 33% over 44% respectively, but the majority, or 40.7% would prefer both, and 20.7% neither. In questions concerning Greek ethnicity, the respondents considered the most important dimensions to be Greek family (44%), Greek culture (28%), Greek history (22%), and Greek traditions (17%). To my question whether or not they favored panorthodox unity, the majority responded in the affirmative.

Greek language, Greek subculture and Greek ethnicity. In her study of "ethnic language and subcultural continuity," Costantakos¹⁵ questioned 211 Greek Americans and found that Greek language was a significant dimension of subcultural continuity. The Greek language, she found, holds symbolic meaning in ethnic identification, and represents the desire for maintenance and continuity. Paradoxically, she concluded that ethnic language maintenance is a progressively weakened process of subcultural continuity.

Greek American professionalism and mobility. My own study of Greek American professionals which covered the period of 1820-1970,¹⁶ and then 1970-1989¹⁷ attests to the professional and business mobility of Greek Americans, especially following WWII. However, while Greek Americans have entered the professional and business world by the thousands, one finds few highly distinguished representatives in different professional and business occupations. We have many doctors but few outstanding medical scientists, many academic professionals, but few outstanding scholars in top elite universities or research foundations, many small business entrepreneurs but few top executives or presidents of major corporations. In politics we have half a dozen or so Congressmen and one senator, but no cabinet members or Greek Americans occupying top positions in the government. Over-all, the Greek American professionals are also concentrated in fewer occupations such as law, medicine, education and business — we find fewer in the arts, mass media, and the sciences.

The Future of the Greek American Community

In the first part of my presentation, an effort was made to place the Greek American experience within a historical, conceptual, and empirical framework. In this last section, I will try to address myself to some of the issues which I believe might contribute to the growth and revitalization, and indeed the continuity, of Greek American ethnicity

¹⁵Chryssie M. Costantakos, "Ethnic Language as a Variable in Subcultural Continuity," in *The Greek American Community in Transition*, ed. Harry J. Psomiades and Alice Scourby (New York, 1982), pp. 137-70.

¹⁶Kourvetaris, "Greek American Professionals," pp. 285-323.

¹⁷Ibid. pp. 105-28.

in the 21st century. This is what I call the futuristics of Greek American ethnicity. On the basis of certain factors and my overall analysis, I will then try to suggest a number of possible scenarios of an emerging Greek American identity in the next century. Needless to say, without an assessment of our past and present, we cannot make valid predictions of our future course as a viable Greek American community. In view of our previous analyses we can pose the following questions: What are some positive and negative consequences of Greek-American community conflicts? Finally, what is the emerging model or models of the Greek American community in the future?

Elements of Continuity and Discontinuity

Factors of continuity. I believe we need a new crusade of Greek American renewal and revitalization that goes beyond the Dionysian and culinary aspects of Greek American culture. In practical terms this means that we need a deeper understanding of our ethnic heritage that goes beyond the "gyros" and "opa" syndrome of Greek American ethnicity. We spend millions of dollars on colorful parades and other external elements of our Greek American culture, but we are short on the more esoteric and substantive elements of our Greek American cultural heritage. We build beautiful edifices but our young people have a shallow understanding of the spiritual, theological, and philosophical aspects of our Orthodox tradition. We have few libraries and cultural centers. We have practically no Greek American studies centers at universities, or courses that teach to younger generations the Greek American experience. It is only in the last ten years or so that an effort to correct this has begun. There are about thirty or so universities that offer Greek studies (but most of these deal with Greece and give little time to Greek American studies). In addition, there are few chairs of modern Greek culture in American institutions of higher learning.

Our Greek American identity must be measured in terms of the extent to which we are willing to spend time, money, and energy to learn and internalize the values, traditions, and ideas of our Greek American heritage and culture, and the extent to which we live by them. Most Americans, and indeed Greek Americans, have very little awareness and knowledge of Greek American artists, scientists, academicians, other professional Greek Americans and Orthodox theologians. When I and other Greek American professors ask the question in our introductory courses in sociology, what comes to your mind when you hear the word "Greeks," the majority respond "gyros" and "restaurants." There is, of course, a truth to the stereotype that most Greek Americans of first generation own restaurants.

The Greeks of 1821 survived the long and repressive Turkish rule

through the mobilization of all the intellectual, business, spiritual, and military forces both inside and outside Greece. We need, perhaps, more than ever before, philhellenes for our survival the same way the Greek nation needed them during its revolutionary period of nation building and national identity. Our forefathers managed to survive because they had a deep understanding and belief in their just cause, their historical legacy, their religious faith, and their national identity as a distinct cultural and ethnoreligious group. Today we are conversely being assimilated and swallowed up by the banners of the Anglo-Saxon dominant culture. In the name of "economic success" Greek Americans give up easily their ethnic identity and subculture. Once we lose it, it is difficult to regain it. How do we maintain our ethnic identity? It seems to me that we must mobilize all our economic, spiritual, and intellectual forces and talents in our Greek American communities. We need both the "cultural conservatives" and the more "liberal elements" in our Greek American communities. We need to forge what Dan Georgakas has called an alliance between the two.¹⁸ Dan Georgakas makes a number of useful suggestions: Greek American studies, Greek language dailies, support for the feminist movement within the Greek church. We must use the broader framework of Greek culture and Hellenism and develop not only the Dionysian but the Apollonian aspects or a balance of the two. We must make available the contributions of modern Greece and Greek Americans to our succeeding Greek American generations and to the larger American culture and society.

Factors of discontinuity. What are some factors which are inimical to the growth and maintenance of Greek American ethnicity? There are many such factors which I cannot detail here, but I would like to mention a few major ones which, in my judgment, operate as assimilative agents and contribute to the decline of Greek American ethnicity. These are *mixed marriages*, *social mobility* and *affluence*, *the decline of the Greek language*, *factionalism*, and *ethnic conflict* among Greek American communities. Inter-marriage or mixed marriage has been called "the final test of assimilation"¹⁹ and the attenuation of ethnic identity. It has been documented that the fusion of ethnic subcultures and ethnic identities into an Anglo-Saxon dominant monoculture is in large part accomplished through the process or processes of assimilation. With a few exceptions there is a dearth of Greek

¹⁸Dan Georgakas, "Greek America in the Nineties," in the *Greek American*, Dec. 23-30, 1989, pp. 15-16.

¹⁹Ruby Kennedy, "Single or Triple Melting Pot: Inter-marriage Trends in New Haven, 1870-1940," *American Journal of Sociology*, 49 (1944) 331-39; Will Herberg, *Protestant-Catholic Jew* (Garden City, 1960), pp. 33-34; Joseph Lopreato, *Italian Americans* (New York, 1970), pp. 141-65.

American studies on the frequency of generational mixed marriages. In general, the picture as it emerges throughout the Greek American communities is one of rampant frequency of mixed marriages. If we look at the 1990 Handbook of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese, for example, that keeps vital statistics of Greek Orthodox and mixed marriages, in the last 17 years, we find mixed marriages run almost 50-50 up to 1980, and later they run 2 to 1 and higher over Greek-to-Greek marriages.

GREEK AMERICAN WEDDINGS

1972-1988

TYPE OF WEDDINGS

GREEK YEAR	ORTHODOX	MIXED	TOTAL
1972	3,252	2,401	5,653
1973	2,633	2,476	5,109
1974	2,638	2,451	5,089
1975	2,910	2,568	5,478
1976	2,537	2,201	4,738
1977	2,521	2,438	4,959
1978	2,295	2,445	4,740
1979	2,512	2,412	4,924
1980	2,009	2,660	4,669
1981	1,781	3,104	4,885
1982	1,936	3,175	5,111
1983	1,960	3,287	5,247
1984	1,821	3,322	5,143
1985	2,200	3,387	5,587
1986	1,900	3,253	5,153
1987	1,850	3,673	5,523
1988	2,001	3,710	5,711

Source: 1990 *Archdiocese Handbook of North and South America* p. 92.

These statistics, of course, show only those who marry within the Greek Orthodox Church and do not tell us anything about those Greek Americans who marry outside the Greek Orthodox Church or simply marry by civil ceremonies only. In fact, in a study I did a few years ago I found the rate of intermarriages in small towns (as measured through three Midwestern Greek American communities to be close

to 80-90%.²⁰ There is, however, some evidence to suggest that in these intermarriages the non-Greek spouse is brought to the Greek American community especially if the non-Greek spouse is male.

It is ironic that social mobility and affluence is operating as a depressant of Greek American ethnicity. Greek Americans have embraced the Protestant ethic and the capitalist ideology. In the past, to move up on the social economic ladder in America you had to give up your ethnic roots and become Americanized, or you suffered social discrimination and exclusion from the economic, political, and educational resources of American society. Greeks, along with other ethnic groups who immigrated around the turn of the century, experienced intense discrimination and they had to conceal their identity. Saloutos argued for a period of respectability for Greek Americans in the 1940s, and Moskos 20 years later titled his book *Struggle and Success*.²¹ The ideas of respect, status, success have a socioeconomic ring to them, and indicate the struggle for Greek Americans to make it economically in the U.S. and be accepted as equal American citizens with other old (WASP) type Americans. In the 1990s, Greek Americans, like other hyphenated Americans do not, and I insist, do not have to give up their ethnic identity to be successful. It is a fallacy to assume that by imitating WASPs, Greek Americans will be embraced and accepted by other Americans. Greek Americans need no charity or handouts. We can be Greek and proud of it and at the same time successful Americans or Greek Americans. We don't have to conceal our identity. Our Greekness is an asset to our over-all Greek American experience. Our Greekness strengthens and indeed re-enforces our American identity. We no longer live in the 1920s and 1930s of the KKK and ethnic bigotry. We do not know and appreciate what we have until we lose it. The resurgence of ethnic identity and the civil rights movement of the 1960s gave a new respect for ethnicity. Americans began to rediscover their ethnic roots and everybody wanted to be an ethnic. However, the 1980's with the onset of "Reaganism" and "Bushism," ethnicity has suffered. There has been a "reactionism" and "nativism" against ethnicity. American nationalism and racism have been on the rise, and fed by neo-conservatism. As Greek Americans we are caught between our ethnicity and our American core values of affluence, cultural conservatism, and the business ethic. Dukakis was the personification of a split personality. On one hand, he tried to be proud of his Greek American ethnicity to appeal to his ethnic constituencies (all the hyphenated ethnic

²⁰George Kourvetaris, "Patterns of Generational Subculture and Intermarriage of the Greeks in the United States," in *International Journal of Sociology of the Family*, 1 (May 1970) 34-48.

²¹Saloutos, *The Greeks in the United States*, p. 6; Moskos, *Struggle and Success*, p. 14.

Americans), but at the same time, he wanted to be seen as an American. Bush and the WASP establishment succeeded in portraying him as neither. In fact, many Southern Americans thought of him as an unpatriotic American or foreigner. Dukakis was branded a liberal/radical by the other side. The fact that he was a successful Greek American who embodied the American dream and spoke for the less fortunate Americans did not matter. Neither his "Americanism" nor his "ethnicity" helped him to win the White House.

The teaching of the Greek language has a cultural symbolic meaning for Greek American ethnicity. In the U.S. we have about 18 or so Greek parochial schools serving roughly 5,000 Greek American students, and about 400 Greek afternoon language schools serving about 29,000 students.²² Over all there are about 550 churches, 1000 priests, and 1000 school teachers, and about thirty programs of Greek studies at various American Universities. Despite all this panoply of Greek Americans one can argue that the Greek language is declining in the U.S. Bardis,²³ for example, lists twenty main causes for such a decline. He includes such obstacles as: the limited education of Greek immigrants; the American Depression of the 1930s; Immigration laws of 1921, 1924; the limited impact of Greek schools; the decline of nationality; political factions; organizations such as AHEPA; American policy of Americanization classes; American public schools; social mobility; mixed marriages; the complexity of Greek language; and the Hellenization of English (boss-boshis, banker-bangathoros, basement-beshimo). The Greek language has been recognized as the single most important factor of ethnic identity — yet as one moves from the first generation to the second, third, and subsequent generations, there is a consistent decline in each generation's command of Greek. For example, when registration of Greek classes begin in early September at the afternoon Greek schools, parents who register their children are by and large first generation Greek immigrants. Sunday School registration of children is by far larger and almost universal and includes children of first, second, and third generations.

Convergence vs. Divergence

In the first two generations, Greekness and orthodoxy converge but by the third generation a differentiation and divergence emerges. "Greekness" (nationality) gives way to "Americanness" and "religiosi-

²²Kopan, *Greek Education in the U. S.*

²³Panos Bardis, "The Future of the Hellenic Language in the U S A: Causes and Solutions," Paper presented at the International Seminar, Athens, Greece, July 28, 1977. Also see his book on the future of *The Greek Language in the United States*, San Francisco: R and E Research Associates.

ty" as aspects of Greek ethnic identity. As one moves from the first generation to the second, to the third, and subsequent generations there is also a gradual shift of our ethnic identity and realignment. We move from an inner-directed ethnic Greek identity, most strongly represented by the immigrant's first generation, to an other-directed one followed by second, third, and subsequent generations of Greeks in the diaspora. Concomitant to this transformation are the correlates of Greek ethnic identity, a decline of Greek traditions, Greek nationality, family/kinship relations, shift in loyalties, and decline of the Greek language. This is not unique to the Greeks. This pattern also characterizes other ethnic groups. When nationality declines as an index of ethnic identity, religion takes its place. In turn when religion declines, race takes its place, and if race declines, then social class becomes the major differentiating factor in American society.

Intra-Ethnic Greek American Community Conflicts

What are some of the sources of intra-ethnic Greek American conflict and identity crisis? Some of them are: (1) a power struggle between clergy and laymen for the administration of the Greek-American community; (2) conflicts between the new and the old immigrants, or generational conflict between first, second, third, and fourth generations; (3) conflicts and struggles between the old and new wealth among the Greeks, especially if acceptance or recognition is denied in the larger American society; (4) secular vs. religious identity conflicts; (5) politics of home country vs. politics of adopted country which may raise questions of loyalty or conflicts of dual identity; (6) and conflicts between nationality vs. religiosity (Greekness vs. Americanness). What are the positive and negative consequences of intra-Greek American conflicts? We can identify both positive and negative consequences without further elaboration.

Positive: (1) Greater democratization and liberalization of the community.

(2) Bringing the issues in the open facilitates more changes within the church structure and ethnic communities in general.

(3) More tolerance of other ethnic groups and minorities.

(4) Improvement in intra-ethnic and inter-ethnic communication.

(5) Development of a more critical political posture.

(6) Recognizing differences and working out a "modus operandi" among various groups and social classes within the Greek-American community.

Negative: (1) Decrease in ethnic identification of subsequent generations.

(2) Ethnic identity crisis.

- (3) A shift in loyalty
- (4) Decline of the Greek language and replacement of Greek by English in all major Greek ethnic institutions — AHEPA, church, professional organizations, etc.
- (5) Political crises and an asymmetry in Greek-American relations — lack of interest in Greek political issues by the second and subsequent generations of Greeks (i.e. Cyprus and the Aegean questions, for example).
- (6) Alienation of Greek-Americans from the Greek-American community, especially the more progressive elements.
- (7) Stagnation of Greek-American communities and conservatism.
- (8) Assimilation through intermarriage.²⁴

What are the future prospects of the Greek American community into the 21st century? It is a mixed bag. The pessimists are apocalyptic and define their gloomy predictions in terms of an assimilationist model. The optimists and ethnic pluralists, on the other hand, acknowledge the forces of assimilation, but they argue that we can do more to unnerve the erosion of our ethnic identity. We must struggle not as individuals but as community and as an ethnic group to maintain our dual or hyphenated identity, one Greek and one American, or Greek American. This Greek American identity is going to be a metamorphosed or transformed identity of an American vintage. We cannot maintain our ethnic identity by relying only on Dionysian aspects of our Greek American subculture. We must strive for a Dionysian-Apollonian Greek American identity. We must nourish and develop a Greek American identity and subculture which links the past with the present, creating bridges of our Greek cultural roots. The Greeks as inheritors of such a magnificent culture only give lip service to that culture. The vehicles or institutions of Greek American ethnicity must be broadened and reach out beyond the Greek American ethnic community, which is basically a religious community. We must have our proportionate voice, or affirmative action so to speak, in American society. We must try to penetrate the power structure of the U. S. without losing our ethnic identity.

What is the future like? I believe that, more and more, Greek ethnicity will be defined as a homegrown phenomenon, or as sociologists term it, "ethnogenesis." Those who understand and know the dynamics of this process or ethnogenesis must assist in shaping that type of Greek American who is proud of his Greek heritage, and knows enough to

²⁴George Kourvetaris, "Will the Greek American Community Survive into the 21st Century?" *KRIKOS: An American Quarterly*, 1/1 (1989) 26-28; idem, "Conflict and Ethnic Identity Crisis Among the Greeks in the Diaspora with Emphasis in the United States," *Journal of Contemporary Sociology* 27/3-4 (1990) 137-53.

transmit to the next generation, and the next to the next, and so forth. We must guard against self-depreciation of our Greekness. Our ethnic identity is more and more a process rather than a product beyond the immigrant first generation. Immigration from Greece of late has more or less stopped. For the first time in many decades more Greeks are repatriating than leaving Greece. Since the 1920s Hellenism has been shrinking. By the end of this century we will speak of Americans, Australians, and Canadians of Greek extraction in Anglo-Saxon countries only. More and more the hyphenated-Greek identity will be an Anglo-Saxon phenomenon (with some exceptions, of course, in Europe and Latin America).

Our ethnic identity in the Anglo-Saxon world will survive if Greeks have something unique to offer beyond the souvlaki, gyros, and syrtaki dance in these societies. We have to internalize the Apollonian aspects of Greek *Paedeia* even in translations — i.e. Greek literature, Greek myths, Greek holidays, Greek family traditions, Greek music, etc. We must not take our Greekness for granted. We must spend more time in trying to learn for ourselves the essentials of our Greek identity.

We must ask this critical question. Do we really care to maintain our Greek identity within a pluralistic society or do we want to be absorbed totally by the dominant Anglo-American culture? If we are serious about our ethnic identity, then we have to invest more time and resources in learning more about our Greek heritage. First we must start with ourselves and then show to others how proud we are of our illustrious past. But to be proud of something is not enough. We must avoid the disease of *ancestoritis*. We must be educated in Hellenic matters. We must take a conscious effort to share Hellenism with others. We, the Greeks, have to do the Hellenizing! In this respect, I would like to suggest a Hellenistic model for the modern Greek diaspora, not so very different from what Alexander the Great and his heirs espoused as they set out to Hellenize Asia and parts of Africa. Why not broaden our Greek American *polis* to encompass the greater American community? We must allow our Greek American Hellenistic culture to Hellenize, so to speak, the non-Greeks, and not be Americanized by them only. It must be mutual. After all Greek culture is the language of the New Testament — the *Koine* — which is the basis of Christianity, just as classical Greece is the basis of Euro-American secular civilization. In the words of Shelley, we are all Greeks, our culture has its roots in Greek *paideia*. Parallel to the Hellenistic model, I believe the emerging model of Greek American ethnicity will be understood more and more within a religious dimension of Greek American or Eastern Orthodoxy which will be elaborated on in perhaps another lecture.

I believe that without the Greek cultural component in our ethnic

identity we will not survive in the Anglo American world as a dynamic and vibrant community in the twenty-first century and beyond. Greek culture and civilization are the basis of our Western and American culture. By being Western and American we are also Greek. We must strive to maintain our Greek heritage and culture as much as we can. In order to accomplish that we must develop bridges between Greece and the Greek communities in the diaspora, between the *autochones* and *heterothones*. We must develop within our Greek American communities (and outside) cultural and educational institutions including institutes of modern Greek studies at American universities. We must go beyond the Greek school, the annual festivals (*panygyria*), and the colorful parades. We must look at the substance and the Apollonian aspects of our heritage more than the Dionysian and external materialistic aspects of Greek American ethnicity . . . or, at least, maintain a balance of the two. We must stress modern Greece and modern Greek culture and avoid a sterile total subservience to the glory that was Greece. Americans know more about the classical part of our history than the Byzantine and modern components of our Greek civilization. Very few Americans know the struggles and tribulations of Greece as a new emerging nation in the middle of the nineteenth century. If we do what we must do as Greek Americans, then I am optimistic for the future of our Greek American community in the twenty-first century.

Blackened Clay Pot by Yannis Ritsos

GEORGE PILITSIS

LIKE MANY OF RITSOS' NARRATIVE COMPOSITIONS OF THE early period (1930-1951), the *Blackened Clay Pot* is a long poem of some three hundred lines written in free verse and narrated in the first person singular. The poem, as the date of the composition at the end of the poem indicates, was written in February 1949 in the Kontopouli prison camp on the island of Lemnos where Ritsos had been incarcerated along with other political prisoners. The reason for this as well as other subsequent incarcerations in various concentration camps, was the poet's affiliation with the resistance forces of the EAM/ELAS who fought against the Germans in World War II and later in the Greek Civil War.

Like the *Epitafios* (1946) and *Romiosini* (1945-1947), the *Blackened Clay Pot* is one of Ritsos' better known and well loved poems, especially after some of the verses were set to music. The popularity the poem enjoyed in Greece after its publication is also due to the poet's ability to articulate with great compassion not only the hardship and suffering he and his fellow prisoners experienced within the prison walls, but also their heroic endurance and determination to survive the harsh conditions of the time and place. In spite of those conditions, however, the poet never allows bitterness or resignation to cloud his verses.

Although political in its dramatic context and approach, the poem should not be viewed as raw political propaganda for communism, as it has been suggested. Rather, in its quiet assertiveness, the poem is an expression of hope and belief in the indomitable nature of the human spirit, and in the human spirit's ability to endure without surrendering to adverse and oppressive forces. Thus, the *Blackened Clay Pot* is not a poem of theory but a work of experience; one that not only documents conditions of a certain historical period in Greece, but one which also documents the physical abuse and mental anguish in the life of political prisoners.

There is another aspect to the poem, however, that requires a brief