For the most part the intelligence gathered by the SOE networks in Greece was passed on to the Cairo headquarters, which in turn forwarded the information to the relevant services such as ISLD (MI6s cover name in the Middle East) and SIME[47] as well as to Headquarters Middle East. Accordingly until the SOE sponsored guerrilla war actually took place, information gathering and arranging for the repatriation of British troops were the primary contributions of the SOE toward the subversive war against the Axis in Greece and the justification for the organization's existence.

However, intelligence gathering for the SOE remained a side-line and despite the success of its networks in Greece it did not expand or provide additional resources to espionage activity. At the same time by continuing to participate in information gathering, the SOE inadvertently deprived the use of these groups and individuals by other British intelligence organizations that were in the process of developing their own networks in 1941-42.

The development of British espionage in Greece during the first year of occupation did not reflect a concerted intelligence strategy but was determined by the priorities and contacts of each service. In addition, the competition among the intelligence services for resources and skilled manpower further dissipated and delayed the organization of effective espionage networks. The consequences for the developing Greek underground, particularly in Athens, in some cases was devastating. The first efforts of many Greeks in the subversive and espionage struggle against the Axis ended in death or imprisonment partly as a result of their own inexperience and partly from failure of the British intelligence services to establish a coherent and well-coordinated policy toward occupied Greece.

[47]Security Intelligence Middle East. The British service responsible for counterintelligence and security in the Middle East.

The Making of Modern Urban Identity: The Transformation of Greek Towns in the Nineteenth Century

V. HASTAOGLOU-MARTINIDIS, K. KAFKOULA, N. PAPAMIHOS

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MODERN GREEK STATE IN THE nineteenth century went hand in hand with intensive activity in the sphere of town planning. In what had until recently been the provinces of the Ottoman Empire an endeavor was under way to set up a unified national domain orientated towards the developed West, realm of rationalism and industry. The chief aim endeavor was to create new urban areas capable of receiving, supporting, and expressing the new circumstances. These new circumstances demanded a network of settlements with a new structure and hierarchy, a unified domestic market instead of the self-sufficient, closed, agrarian economy, a central administrative organization to replace the semi-autonomy of the local communities, new production activities attuned to international division of labor and, lastly, the transition from a primitive form of industrial society to a fully industrialized one.

These necessary changes, whose full achievement was long and slow, upset the region's historical structure. The population was redistributed. The region's economic functioning altered, as production, exchange, and the size and manner of allocation of the surplus changed. Traditional centers stagnated or lost their importance completely, and new ones emerged. New polarities appeared and shifted the center of gravity of economic and social activity. At the same time, society itself was transformed. New agents of social, economic, and political authority came to the fore.

It was in this context of profound and all-embracing change that, from 1828 onwards, dozens of town plans were produced at a rapidly

increasing rate. New settlements were planned. Old ones were to be restored, redesigned, and expanded. New legislation covered the use and appropriation of space, and was constantly enriched with further regulations. The administrative machinery set up to prepare, organize, and carry out this complex activity quickly superceded the special services of the French military mission and President Kapodistrias and King Othon's personal advisers.

Space was prepared either in advance or in retrospect to receive, facilitate, and sometimes induce the appearance of an urban way of life which became daily more complex: and also to proclaim the existence of a central state and a society which had to be brought up to date by casting off its "oriental" image. From the Central European neoclassicism of the ambitious early designs (1828-42) to the indifferent grid plans of the official designs produced after 1880 for dozens of small and large, old and new towns, one can trace insistent dedication to these aims, whether explicitly acknowledged or not.

The Program's Range

One of the prime concerns of Kapodistrias, the new State's first President, was to produce urban plans and street plans, establish the legislative framework, and set up the relevant state services. This activity continued throughout the nineteenth century and was a fundamental feature of the development of the urban state, for it was carried out with the utmost regularity, clearly legislated for, and given its own special machinery, administrative framework, officials, and rules. As the process evolved, it developed the network of settlements and introduced a specific organization and form for urban space, which it bequeathed to the twentieth century.

This long-term process was structured around three more or less distinct axes: Firstly, great importance was attached to providing the prerequisites for the organized relocation of the population and creating centers of economic activity. Secondly, general intervention in the traditional, social, and cultural structures was supported by establishing and reinforcing the state's new central authority and public administration. Thirdly, the administration's preferences and priorities facilitated the reorganization of space according to the new demands of national/international forces. The efforts which followed the Greek state's subsequent annexation of new territory (the Ionian Islands, Thessaly, and later Macedonia, Epiros, and Thrake) revolved around the same axes, which allows us to suppose that, far from being incidental, the policy evident in the long-term process of spatial and urban reorganization was a cornerstone of the development of the new national state. It was a policy which did not merely regulate or settle

existing conflicts, but tried to impose a particular model on society: specifically, the planned town instead of the spontaneous, historical settlement.

The divergence of the end result from the original intentions in respect of the location and grouping of the settlements, the eventual form of the developed town, and the multitude of "unrealized" and constantly modified designs precisely indicates not merely technical inadequacy or political weakness, but the vast gap between what the State wanted to impose and what society could (or would) do. The distribution and structure of the crops, the historical axes of communication, the distribution of the population, production and exchange, private ownership, all the factors of inertia, and, of course, social relations and ideology all perpetuated the old within the new and modified, often radically, the State's intentions.

The Towns which Planned

The modern Greek state's activity in the sphere of city planning and building in the nineteenth century was not uneventful. Events connected chiefly with politics and war sometimes broke its rhythm. Other circumstances, however, such as the successive expansion of the national frontiers, reinforced it. It is characteristic that whenever new territory was brought into the Greek domain, plans were always drawn up for the area's larger towns immediately, and the smaller settlements were dealt with soon afterwards.

This activity is chiefly explained by the need to consolidate national sovereignty and, naturally, to rebuild as quickly as possible the ruined, burnt-out settlements which the modern Greek state usually inherited in the liberated regions. There were other reasons too, however. A significant one was the importance of the towns concerned. Those towns with a large population and considerable economic importance were planned first, usually as soon as they incorporated into Greek territory, and became central points in its network of settlements. By 1845, all the country's important centers had been redesigned, and from 1850 onwards an ever-increasing number of smaller towns were given a plan.

The state also turned its attention to coastal towns at an early stage, owing to the importance of maritime transport throughout the period under discussion. Both large and small ports, irrespective of population or economic range, acquired a town plan. Consequently, a considerable proportion of the plans which were drawn up related to important transit-trade centers, ports of local importance, and coastal towns.

Another reason which seems to have influenced the decision whether or not to plan a town was its position in the developing administrative

hierarchy. By Othon's time, for instance, all the capitals of the various prefectures had been designed, while the planning of Athens was a major national event. By the end of the nineteenth century, plans had been produced for over a third of those towns which were the seat of a municipality.

Particular mention should be made, however, on certain categories of cities and towns whose planning was characterized by foresight and concern for certain sections of the population. The planning of these urban centers was basically intended to cover special needs.

The first category chiefly comprises agrarian and suburban settlements which were established specifically for Greeks from areas still under foreign domination. The creation of these new settlements (such as Piraeus and Kyllini, for instance) was connected with a general endeavor to reinforce the concentration of urban development and activities in the areas designated to receive the new developments. In some cases this endeavor was also connected with a broader trend towards developing national consciousness and led to the foundation of new towns on the sites of famous towns of antiquity. Sparta, Heretria, and, naturally, Athens are typical examples. There were also isolated proposals and attempts by foreigners to establish colonies (in connection with specific production processes and development programs of the time) which, however, did not materialize.

The second category includes those cities and towns which were designed after the most severe earthquakes of the period (Corinth is one example). In these cases, a city plan was rapidly approved to serve as a framework for the new development. Land was subdivided and given free to the future inhabitants aided in several ways to build and settle.

Industrial activity and works connected with the country's technical and communications infrastructure seem to have had very little influence on town planning. With the exception of Hermoupolis first, followed by Piraeus, only three towns owed their existence to these factors. Lavrio, Isthmia, and Poseidonia may rightfully claim to be "company towns." The arrival of the railway led to the planning of small settlements, but did not have any particular effect on them.

To sum up, by the end of this period (1912), 174 settlements had been planned on the Greek mainland (Athens and Piraeus not included). This accounts for all towns with more than 5,000 inhabitants (42), half of those with between 2,000 and 5,000 inhabitants (40 out of 77), and a considerable number of smaller towns (102).

Urban Institutions and Form

As has already been mentioned, the State assumed responsibility for the organization of space right from the start — as also for other

sectors deemed to concern the public interest — and this had a decisive effect on the nature of town planning. It inseparably linked the desired constitution of modern Greek society to an innovative organization of space, which was based much more on urbanity than was proper for a country in which the agrarian element was clearly in the majority. In this sense, space was not viewed merely as a foundation for change, but as an element without which the new society could not materialize.

By the beginning of the 1830s, a complete and unified system had been worked out. It comprised: central control over town planning through the formation of a specialized administrative machinery and public technical services, all this being associated with the general reform of municipal administration; a technical school for training engineers; special legislation for urban planning, which introduced the concept of urban reform based on the principles of sanitation, regularity, geometry, and aesthetics. The planning and design of the city, the monitoring of the plan's implementation, the financing of the production of the built environment — in short, the building of the city and the training of the technicians who would carry it out — was decided, undertaken, and supervised by the central machinery, assisted for a long time by civil and military engineers.

The basic aim of the whole endeavor was to homogenize urban space and modernize the structure of the traditional town in accordance with the most advanced concepts of the time. The central purpose was to promote urban functions across the whole spectrum of social life, by providing space for the new economic, political, cultural, social, and other activities.

One of the most crucial aspects of the innovations introduced at that time was the physical form of the town, in which these ideas were concretized in a comprehensive and coherent manner. It was a form which was outlined in the planning and building regulations and depicted in a host of plans, though chiefly those which were drawn up in the early years. The new morphology of the town was identifiable in: the adoption of a new urban fabric, which consisted in the chessboard street pattern, the layout of individual lots, and the architecture of residential buildings, and was based on regularity, repetition, and alignment; the accommodation of traffic in accordance with functional precepts, which simultaneously served the town's sanitation; the basic allocation of urban land uses; the creation of large public spaces, buildings, squares, and public amenities; and finally, the enforcement of building regulations and control of their implementation.

We may say with certainty that these morphological models were inspired by the European romantic movement, particularly its neoclassical aspect, and were brought to Greece by the foreign technicians and

architects who worked in the country, chiefly up until 1843. The choice seems to have served a threefold purpose for Greece at this time: 1) it ensured a link with the West; 2) it underlined the break with the immediate Ottoman past by consolidating the modernization and rationalization of urban structure; and 3) it restored the nation's historical continuity by reconnecting the ancient world and the modern kingdom.

The ownership of urban property was regularized by law and in practice at this time. It is a particularly important subject and was of crucial significance in modern Greek town planning. At first there was a general policy of support for private ownership, a policy which found expression in the relevant provisions of the first Greek constitutions and took practical shape in, amongst other things, the concession of building plots to private individuals in order to establish settlements. At the same time, a clear distinction was drawn between private and public space, and legislation was drawn up to monitor this and to cover state intervention in private ownership to urban land. Ownership was completely protected by the constitution and could be infringed only in specific circumstances and only if full compensation were given in advance. As a result of this strict protection, various techniques, such as exchange of property and compulsory purchase of land in order to widen roads or even up individual plots, were devised and used to facilitate state intervention in private ownership. It was in this, at the time novel, way that the financial cost of urbanization was spread out, for it determined the private and public contribution to the town's construction.

Lastly, an important factor in the building of the town was the provisions for infrastructure and community facilities. Apart from the development of the street network, which was almost always lined up by blocks of buildings, specific public amenities were also systematically planned. Generally speaking, every town plan, in accordance, of course, with the town's importance, included a central square, surrounded by the public and municipal offices, and the commercial center.

Where there was a waterfront, special care was devoted to its design. At the same time, the process of implementing the plan was anticipated by allocating ground-plots, ensuring revenue by the sale of urban land, and imposing special taxes. By the end of the nineteenth century, the relevant regulations had been enriched and supplemented by the experience gained from so many plans and interventions.

Adapting the Model

It was only to be expected that in practice these principles should vary to a certain extent and in differing degrees; and this is reflected in the plans drawn up throughout the period. An examination of the available data makes it possible to pinpoint fairly accurately some of

the reasons for these variations.

The centralization of the administrative machinery for town planning, the perpetual lack of specialized technical personnel particularly following the departure of the foreign engineers and architects in 1842, and the likewise perpetual lack of lower technical staff at local administration level were undoubtedly one category of reasons. Another, possibly less significant, category was the inadequate training of the majority of Greek technicians, the low standard of all architectural teaching for a long period of time, and the guarded, military attitude which characterized technical training.

The most important reasons, however, seem to have been the economic and social restraints, the scanty financial means available to the State for building towns, the inhabitants' reactions to the way the cost of urbanization was distributed, and the compromise reached between the public services and the public itself while the plans were being implemented. All these factors seem to have played an important part in the successive modifications of the original plans. Finally, if one considers that the model of the "neoclassical town" adopted by the state was based on emphasizing public space and involved considerable financial outlay of the part of the state in terms of public building and amenities, then it is clear that the regulations laid down by the legislation and observed in the plans were inadequate from the very start, and were implemented even more inadequately. One might say that, in general terms, the modern Greek town which developed in the nineteenth century was planned on a national level and brought into being on an individual level, with the public aspect being considerably played down in the final result.

As far as the variations themselves are concerned, they may be sought in certain features of the plans. All the same, even in the most impoverished versions of the original model, certain basic principles persist: the existing urban fabric is considerably opened up; the center is linked to the outskirts; individual plots were shaped up and the urban tissue rationalized through alignment and new constructions; central urban areas, projects of embellishment, public buildings, and monuments are all provided for. A correlation of the date a town's plan was drawn up, its population, the most important town planning laws, the organization of the public administration, and the principal political events of the time reveals that the planned models tended to be drawn up and elaborated upon in certain distinct periods.

In the Kapodistrian period (1828-32), the principles of European town planning were introduced and implemented in a spirit of pragmatism, which nonetheless embraced distinct morphological elements of late eighteenth century classicism. In the early Othonian period

(1833-42), the model was legislated for and designed in its most complete and idealized form, culminating in the revival of some of the ancient towns. After 1865, the model was implemented rather more realistically, adapted and scaled down to Greek capabilities; while it was the last decades of the century which produced the most elementary and impoverished version of the original model.

To sum up, the modern Greek town which emerged after the end of Ottoman domination may be seen as the result of two prime causes: firstly, a general process of urbanization, which throughout the nineteenth century was not accompanied by analogous industrial development; and secondly, the measures adopted to ensure the development of urban centers along the desired axes simultaneously with the evolution of the modern Greek state itself. The first cause is connected with the establishment of the new national frontiers, new economic, political and cultural relations with other countries, and new models of economic activity in Greece itself. The second has to do with the modern Greek state's centralized structure in this early period, which supplanted the existing semi-autonomy of the local communities and imposed an inevitable uniformity of urban development.

The ideological basis of the state's intervention in urban affairs, as in other matters was that urban development clearly had to move away from its "oriental" past in a more European direction. This was considered to be the "nec plus ultra" of modernization. It was the full extent of Greek society's realization of the yawning gulf which separated it from the developed European countries.

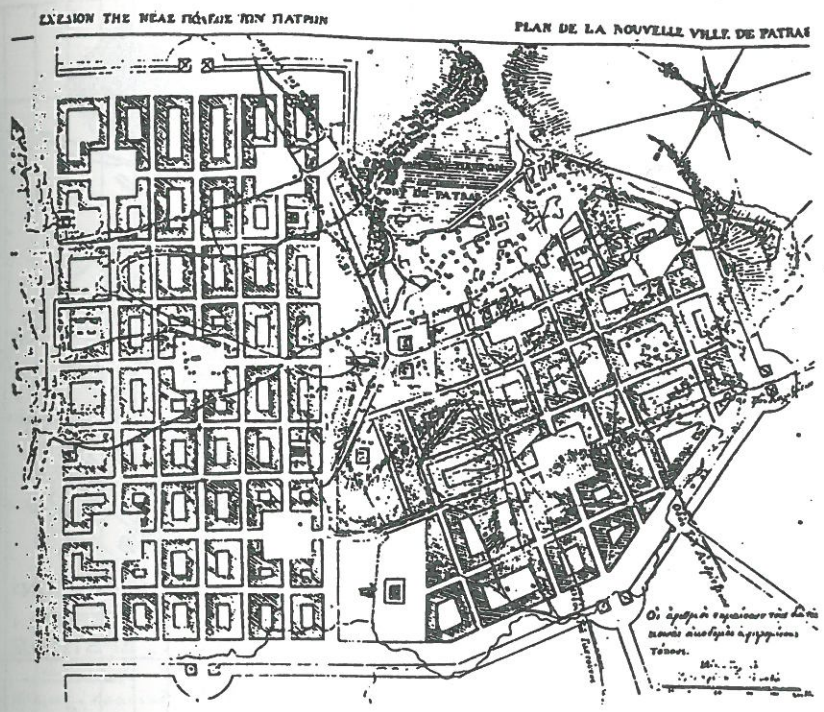
* This paper is entirely based on primary archival material collected for the research project "City Plans and their Implementation in 19th Century Greece" from the following sources:

Archives of legislative decrees and plans, Ministry of Town Planning, Housing and Environment.

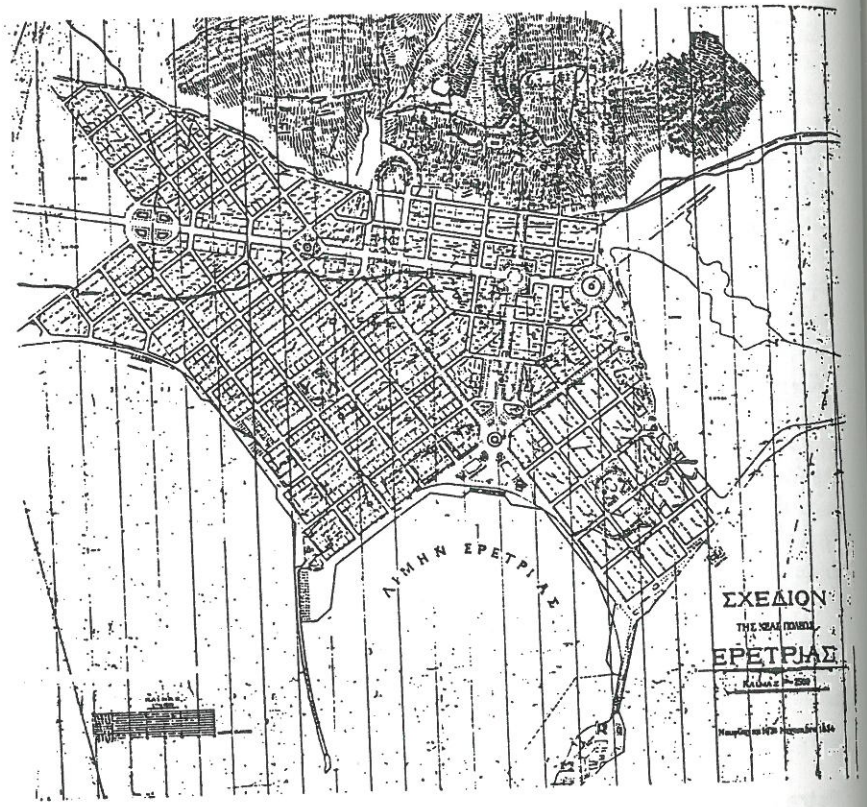
Archives of local Town Planning offices.

General Archives of the State. Ministry of the Interior: Kapodistrian, King Othon, and King George I archives.

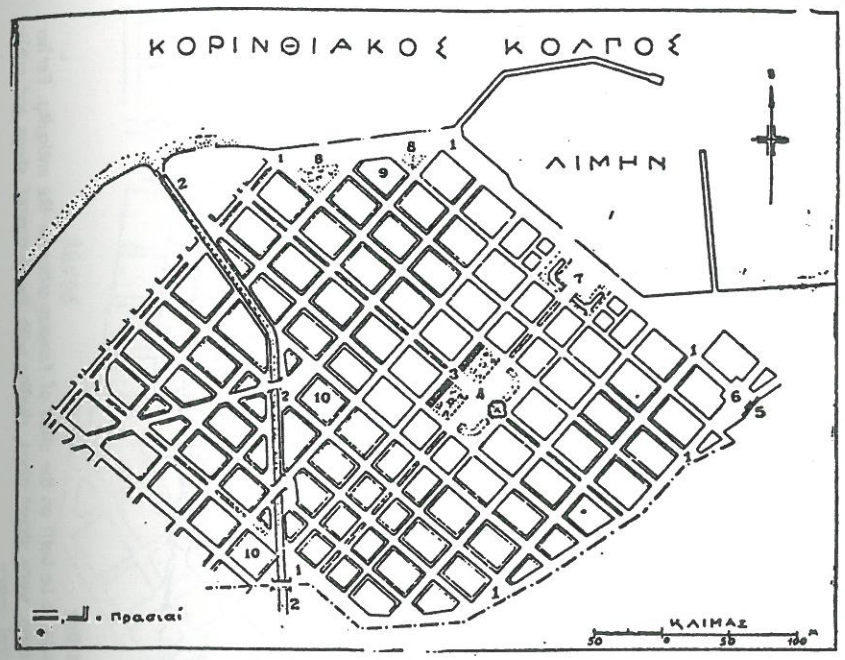
The project was commissioned by the Greek Ministry of Research, Industry, and Technology was carried out between 1985 and 1988.



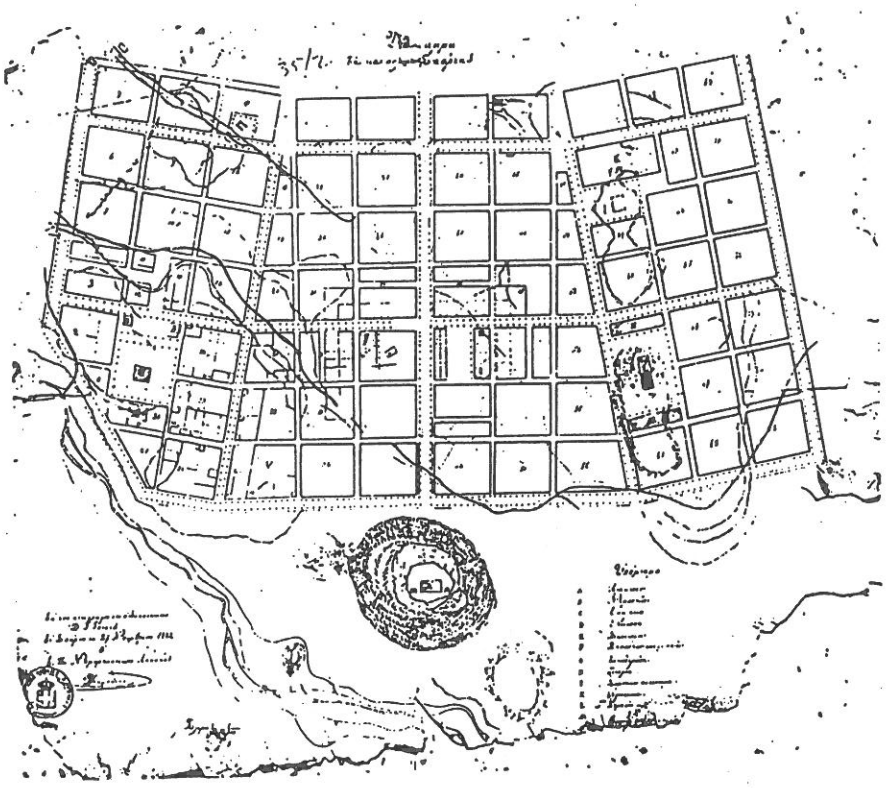
Patra (Peloponnese) **1829**
One of the first plans made for the cities, which were burnt-out during the liberation war. It was drawn by the greek engineer Stamatis Bulgaris, serving in the french military mission. The city was designed on the site of the existing settlement up the hill, also expanding towards the port on the northern coast. The land for the new road network in the old part had to be compulsorily purchased, from the people holding individual properties (usually of small size). To avoid compensation costs, the government introduced a system of "exchanging properties". The property holders of the old town, could get a new plot of land in the expansion area, designated to be subsequently developed.



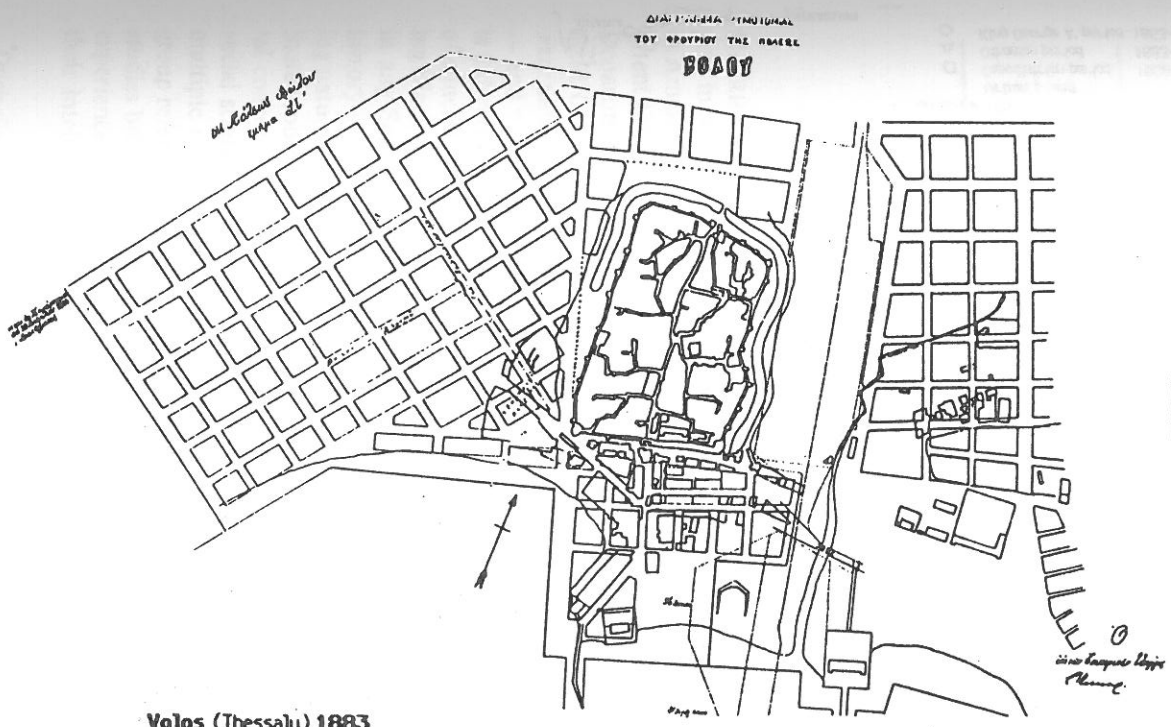
Heretria (Euboea) **1834**
Typical example of the first era of Greek planning, in terms of the designing style. Heretria was a new town, meant to accomodate the people of Psara island, after its total destruction during the liberation war. Certain incentives were legislated for the colonization of the town, among which free land to the future inhabitants. However, due mainly to the unhealthy site, a viable community failed to be established till the first world war.



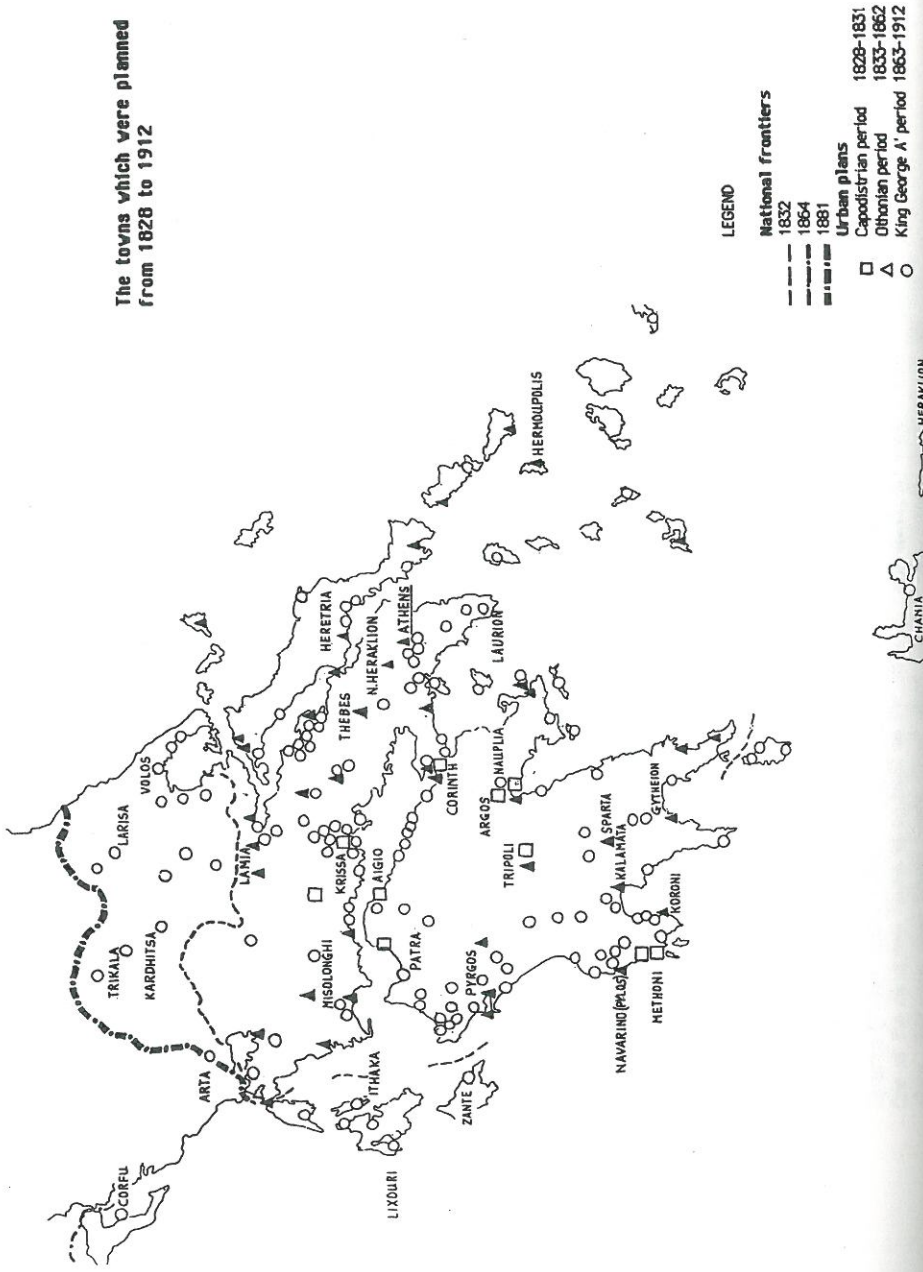
Corinth (Peloponnese) **1858**
The plan was made for the replanning of the town after the earthquakes of 1858. A more realistic approach is evident in the mode of design; grand manner had to be scaled down.



Sparta (Peloponnese) **1882**
One of the first new towns to be built on the sites of famous cities of the antiquity. Earlier plans, that have been found, were street plans, dealing with the design of shops and public buildings around the central square.



Volos (Thessaly) **1883**
The plan was made after the annexation of Thessaly in 1881. It is typical of the unispired manner, in which urban design was carried out from the early eighties onwards. The plan shows the urban area considerably expanded. In fact, it meant to facilitate the future growth of the town, which was expected to develop as the major port of Thessaly.



Was Athena Really Black?*
The Current Attack on the Western Tradition

JOHN E. REXINE

THERE IS A CRISIS OF IDENTITY AND A RELATED CRISIS OF PURpose in American education that reflects a greater and even deeper crisis in American society that is reflected in American politics. To a great extent that crisis is reflected in the recent New York State Education Department's Report of Social Studies Syllabus Review and Development Committee[1] which was reported nationally and to which there were national reactions and repercussions — both negative and positive — and which reflected the need to respond to the claims that America is a diverse nation whose diversity needs to be reflected at every level of education. Narrowly interpreted, this means that minorities, meaning Blacks, Asians, and Native Americans, should duly be represented in any Social Studies program, which really means the rewriting of history — but the question is whose history? Whose culture? Following naturally upon multilingualism is multiculturalism. The New York State report declares that "The position is taken that a few fundamental concepts should be the focus of the teaching and learning of the social studies, with applications, contexts and examples drawn from multiple cultural sources, differing perspectives and diverse identity group referents. Multicultural Knowledge in this conception of the social studies becomes a vehicle and not the goal. Multicultural content and experience become instruments by which we enable persons to develop their intelligence and to function as human and humane persons."[2]

*Originally delivered as the First Annual Greek Studies Lecture at Hellenic College, Brookline, Massachusetts on October 17, 1991.

[1]Albany, New York: The State Education Department/The University of the State of New York, June 13, 1991.

[2]Ibid., p. ix.