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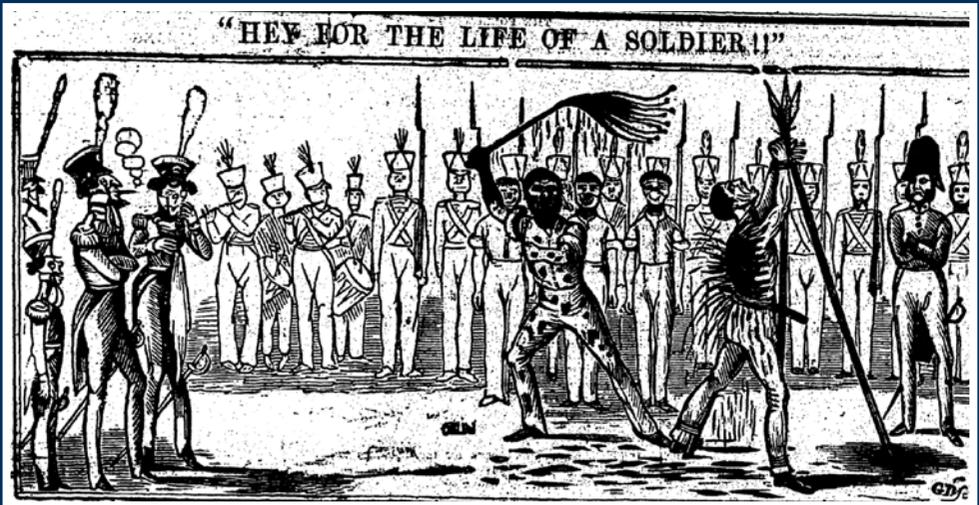
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a journal of the department of musicology  
of the georg august university göttingen



**Music and Torture |  
Music and Punishment**



**WVW**

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# the world of music (new series)

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Anti-flogging cartoon from the British newspaper *The Northern Star*, 17 February 1838.

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# **the world of music (new series)**

**vol. 2 (2013) 1**

## **Music and Torture | Music and Punishment**

**Birgit Abels**  
Editor

**Barbara Alge**  
Co-Editor

**M.J. Grant & Anna Papaeti**  
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Book Reviews Editor  
**Dan Bendrups**  
Recording Reviews Editor  
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Website Reviews Editor

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## **Music, Torture, Testimony: Reopening the Case of the Greek Junta (1967–1974)**

**Anna Papaeti**

### *Abstract*

*The use of music and sound during detention and interrogation is an issue that has emerged strongly in recent debates on the so-called War on Terror. However, music and sound have been used extensively in the past as a weapon against political prisoners. This article explores how the Greek military Junta that ruled Greece from 1967 to 1974 used music and sound during detention and interrogation in the detention centres of the civil Security Forces in Athens and Piraeus, and of the Greek Military Police and the Special Interrogation Unit (EAT/ESA), Athens. Documenting the infliction of traumatic violence under the dictatorship, the testimonies of survivors at the European Court of Human Rights, Strasbourg, as well as the transcripts of the 1975 Torturers Trials account in detail the brutality of the Greek Junta and its systematic use of torture. The use of music/sound as an instrument of terror is legible in these documents, but was not given any special recognition or emphasis. Drawing on new interviews with former political prisoners and soldiers, the article explores the ways in which the Greek Junta deployed music as an instrument of terror: Either heard continuously in high volume, or employed in the form of forced singing, music served as another way through which subjectivity was targeted and traumatized. The article also discusses the process of witnessing, while confronting research problems related to the interviewing of survivors of torture.*

On 21 April 1967 a military Junta seized power in Greece. The regime lasted seven years, falling in July 1974. To sustain itself in power, the Junta organized a brutal police state. Its opponents were intimidated, detained, sent into internal exile and systematically tortured. The main agencies carrying out this repression were the Security Forces (Asfalia) and Greek Military Police (ESA). The use of torture by the Junta has been a subject of great scrutiny and debate in Greece. Already during the dictatorship many testimonies circulated abroad, sparking international debate. Testimonies were also crucial to a complaint brought by Scandinavian countries and the Netherlands to the Council of Europe's Commission of Human Rights in October

1967, six months after the military coup. As a result, Greece left the Council in 1969 in order to avoid suspension. In the aftermath of the dictatorship, a series of trials took place to prosecute the crimes and abuses of the Junta. Those put to trial included the coup “instigators,” those involved in the bloody suppression of the Polytechnic University in Athens, and the Junta torturers. The latter were instigated by private lawsuits by survivors, bringing the perpetrators into court and public view.

Despite copious information available on torture under the Greek Junta, music has so far been conspicuously absent from the discourse. At the time of the Torturers’ Trials, non-physical torture was not a designated offence under Greek law; this fact is probably the main reason why the use of music was not clarified in the trials. The emphasis on physical contact continued in the ensuing decades. Moreover, in the Greek context music has consistently and emphatically been placed on the side of resistance. Opposition to the Junta is strongly associated with the music of left-wing composer Mikis Theodorakis; his music featured centrally in the accounts of all former political prisoners interviewed in the course of this research. Reconstructing the abuse of music by the regime requires brushing against the grain of coherently constructed narratives that have been relayed consistently for nearly 40 years. In addition to a careful re-reading of sources, the research process includes new interviews with survivors in order to ask direct questions with regard to music.<sup>1</sup> In this article I explore the ways in which music was used to terrorize, humiliate and “break” political prisoners. I examine these techniques in light of the most current torture methods of the time. These were developed by the USA and its allies, such as Canada and the UK, in the context of the Cold War and of the much-discussed Soviet “brainwashing” (McCoy 2006:21–59; Grant 2013; see also pages 80–81 below). In closing, I discuss issues related to the interviewing process, and to testimony and subjectivity.

### **Greece 1967–1974: A State of Terror**

In the aftermath of the coup of 21 April, the regime used terror systematically against its opponents. From the first day, communists and other left-wing individuals and groups were targeted. According to the 1977 report by Amnesty International, already in the first few months 6,000 people were held in prison camps on Greek islands. These numbers had decreased by January 1968; however, the report notes that there were still 2,777 people held without trial in prison camps on the islands of Yaros and Leros (Amnesty 1977:10). These numbers do not include those detained by the Military Police (ESA), by the civil Security Forces (Asfalia) in Athens and other urban centers, and by the gendarmerie (Chorofylaki) in the provinces. Nor does it include those imprisoned in facilities throughout Greece. The persecution, imprisonment and exile of the Left was an ongoing legacy from the Civil War (1946–1949). The Junta continued these practices, but also—and without precedent—expanded the range of those targeted. After 1967, the regime detained democratic and royalist

military and naval officers. Some of these were veterans of NATO forces in the Korean War and some had even fought against the Communists in the Civil War.

Internationally, the Junta was pressed to justify and defend its suspension of constitutional rights and civil liberties. Five days after the coup, on 26 April 1967, the Council of Europe had called on the Greek authorities to reinstate parliamentary democracy and the constitution (Hammarberg 2007; Nijboff 1972; Konstas 1976; Becket 1997:9–132; Amnesty 1977:79–84). A month later it invited member states to submit reports on constitutional change to the council. This action gave rise to the so-called Greek case, which focused not only on the suspension of the Greek constitution but also on numerous cases of brutal torture and serious violations of human rights. After two years of diplomatic pressure and reporting, Greece left the Council of Europe in December 1969 in order to avoid being expelled. The main case against Greece brought on 20 September 1967 by Denmark, Norway and Sweden, concerned violations of eight articles of the European Convention on Human Rights. A similar complaint by the Netherlands followed. These, however, did not include violations of Article 3, which prohibits torture. On 2 October 1967, the Human Rights Committee of the Council of Europe decided to investigate the above-mentioned complaints, asking the Greek government to submit a written explanation.

Torture under the Junta became a focus of public debate abroad through testimonies smuggled out of prisons and detention centers to the foreign press in November 1967. The UK newspaper *The Guardian* was the first to publish allegations of torture, opening Pandora's box and setting in motion an international debate that took place in the media, but also in parliaments (see Hansard 1968), governmental bodies and international organizations. *The Guardian's* correspondent in Greece was Cedric Thornberry, a renowned human rights attorney. His article "Greek Prisoners Speak of Police Torture," published on 24 November 1967, included forceful allegations of torture.<sup>2</sup> The debates provoked by Thornberry's article were followed up by the recently formed NGO Amnesty International, which sent two investigators to Athens. US and UK attorneys James Becket and Anthony Marecco<sup>3</sup> visited Athens at the end of December 1967 in an attempt to record as much information as possible on the issue of torture. Amnesty's first report was published in January 1968—ironically the Year of Human Rights. It concluded that contrary to Article 3 of the European Convention on Human Rights, torture and cruel treatment had been inflicted on numerous occasions, underlining that torture was a government policy and an administrative practice. A second report followed in April 1968. These reports, along with other evidence, led the complaining European countries to add violation of Article 3 to their case against Greece (Amnesty 1977:11; Becket 1997:15f.).

The January 1968 Amnesty report distinguishes between physical and non-physical torture. However, sound does not feature in it, apart from mention of the screams of others being tortured; this method crushed detainees, causing "a number of nervous breakdowns" (Amnesty 1968:4). It was also described as one of the worst tortures by all participants I interviewed. Sound, however, is mentioned in more detail in the statements by survivors made for the European Court of Human Rights

in Strasbourg (Nijhof 1972:589). According to the testimony of Kitty Arseni, detained and tortured at the notorious “terrace” at the Security Forces headquarters at Bouboulinas Street, a “motor” and a “gong” sounded continuously in order to cover her screams of torture:

They took me to the “terrace.” It is a room on the terrace, something like an old laundry room. It has two or three showers on the left side as you enter. Near the showers there must be a machine that makes a noise like that of the motorcycle to cover the screams. It [the room] is approximately 2.50 x 3.50 meters. There is a wide bench in the middle, a rope and on the right a big cauldron, which they hit with a metal, sounding like a gong to cover the screams. [...] He continuously asked for names, pulled my hair and hit my head on the bench. At the same time the cauldron was gonged to cover my screams—the motor of a motorcycle was already on. (Becket 1997:46f., my translation; see Nijhof:229; Giourgos, Kambylis and Becket 2009).

The “motor” at Bouboulinas has been mentioned by many former detainees and became probably the best-known example of the regime’s use of sound during torture. The assumption has been that this was done solely to drown out the sound of detainees, since the building was directly adjacent to houses and apartment buildings, in a densely populated area of central Athens. However, research mentioned in the CIA Interrogation Manual Kubark (1963)<sup>4</sup> notes that stress, anxiety, panic, physical discomfort, even loss of reality were caused by the continuous use of motorized sound (Anonymous 1963:89).

Another use of sound was noted by Major Angelos Pnevmatikos in his testimony in the Strasbourg trial. Pnevmatikos described the torturous use of sound during his detention at the Training Centre of Military Police (KESA) in Athens, where he was taken on 3 April 1968:

As soon as he brought me the food, which I found hard to swallow, the noise of a “Harley” motorcycle began outside the cell. For three hours I suffered from this damn noise. This was repeated many times. No one came to see me until the night, when a soldier brought food like before. All night long they were banging the metal doors and the rails, and at the same time the only light in my cell was shaky. I stayed under these conditions until the evening of Saturday, 6 April [...]. A dozen of them came outside the door of my cell and started making a terrible noise, banging metal canes and sticks on metal. They continued for a long time, with short breaks of three to five minutes during which an officer would come in and demand my confession; if I refused they would torture me. (Becket 1997:101, my translation)

In the transcripts of the Torturers’ Trials, and particularly in the first ESA trial, references to the use of sound, loud music and forced singing are more substantiated. At the time, Greek law did not define or specify torture as a criminal offence, even though all Greek constitutions condemned torture.<sup>5</sup> For this reason, the main charges included abuse of authority, bodily harm, insults, violence against a superior officer, and serious physical injury. Psychological torture and the combination of several techniques which amounted to torture were not given any consideration, and therefore, were not emphasized by the witnesses. Overall between 100 and 400 torture trials took place in Greece, according to Amnesty International.<sup>6</sup>

What is beginning to emerge from the trial testimonies, but also from numerous accounts given in interviews or in the form of autobiographical writings, is a complex and differentiated picture of the use of music, sound and silence during detention and/or interrogation. During this time there were numerous prisons, detention centers, and exile prison camps throughout Greece. Treatment of prisoners and methods varied, depending on facilities, staff training, and the personnel active at different times. It is, therefore, difficult to establish a unified or exhaustive picture of torture and interrogation techniques. However, a close look at some cases from across facilities and agencies can begin to illuminate the use of music during detention and interrogation. This use of music complements better-known techniques used to target detainees, highlighting the historical continuities in the use of sound and music during detention and interrogation which today have become synonymous with the so-called War on Terror. Moreover, investigation of the Junta's use of music underscores Greece's political alliance with the USA in the Cold War and hence ties it to other US-supported military regimes in Latin America and elsewhere.

In this article I briefly discuss a few cases of detainees at the Security Forces headquarters at Piraeus and Athens (Bouboulinas). I then focus on testimonies of prisoners detained at the notorious Special Interrogation Unit of Greek Military Police in central Athens, the so-called EAT/ESA. This unit was noted for its use of a combination of techniques of interrogation, which in certain periods included repeated music and forced singing. Pseudonyms are used to protect the identity and privacy of interviewees. All interviewees were presented with a detailed information sheet, a list of the questions and a consent form. The interviews consisted of open-ended questions so that survivors could tell their story at their own pace and have control over the information (see UN High Commissioner for Human Rights 1999; Giffard 2000).<sup>7</sup>

### **Security Forces Headquarters in Piraeus and Athens (Bouboulinas Street)**

Repeated sound was used by Security Forces at the Piraeus headquarters in the form of electric bells. The Strasbourg trial examined allegations of a "very large and deafening bell that was rung for hours on end," effectively depriving detainees of sleep (Nijboff 1972:313). According to the report of the European Commission of Human Rights, all witnesses described a bell inside their room of detention, in close proximity to the door, noting its loud sound and the fact that it kept them up at nights (Nijboff 1972:337). The use of the bell was also reported in *The Guardian* as early as April 1968 (Thornberry 1968a). This was followed up in another article on 8 December 1969, noting that the bell was "used to keep men awake," driving them "nearly out of their minds" (Thornberry 1969b). Although the Junta denied these allegations, the investigating commission on behalf of the complaining European countries "found unmistakable traces of a bell and its wiring having been removed

from the place where it was said to have been;” the Junta officials did not even try to plaster or paint the walls where this bell was torn away (Thornberry 1969b).

Interviewee C was subjected to this kind of torture in December 1967, during her 36 to 40-day detention in isolation at the Piraeus headquarters; being under 21 years old she was underage at the time. She was then moved to Averof prison in central Athens, where she was remanded in custody for nine months. A court martial convicted her to three years in prison with a five-year suspension. The isolation section at the Piraeus headquarters consisted of three tiny cells, she said. In this space, an electric bell rang day and night:

Yes, [it rang] continuously. In a tiny place that had three cells. Each one was as wide as the span of our out-stretched arms, and in length just enough for you to lie and sleep. Very few square meters. Continuously, it rang continuously. It rang all the time, depending on who was on shift. If it was someone softer, more humane who understood what this meant, he would stop. He pretended he forgot it, did not ring it [all the time] and you knew that this one was doing the shift and not the other one whose finger was stuck on it.

At first C found the repeated sound confusing and frightening. Soon though, she realized that she would have to resist it. Indeed she was able to do so due to her remarkable ability to fall asleep within minutes; this is something she always used as a defense mechanism during difficult times in her life, she noted. C would calculate the time needed between one push to the next and would fall asleep to the dismay of the man held next door, who was in despair and tried to wake her up in order to have company during this ordeal. For C, hearing the cries of other detainees, who were being tortured, was another intentional and tormenting use of sound:

I think this is worse for every detainee, to hear the other. When one suffers [torture], he observes what is happening and can see where things are going. But when one hears the other without knowing what’s happening, he panics because he fears for the worst. And this is a kind of torture. Terror for the other, but of course for what will possibly happen to you later when they take you in [for interrogation]. [...] There was no other sound apart from the bell and the torturing of others taking place in an office, which was of course a familiar sound.

Probably the most notorious torture centre was the Athens headquarters of the Security Forces at Bouboulinas Street. A four-storey building, it has gained a place in public memory for two of its spaces: the so-called terrace where brutal interrogations and systematic torture took place, and the infamous cells of its basement, the so-called well (*πηγάδα*), which one interviewee, E, described as a grave. The “well” consisted of 13 cells, each approximately two meters square. These were damp and full of vermin. There was only one lamp in the central space of the basement.<sup>8</sup> Detainees were held there in silence and semi-darkness, sometimes without even a blanket to lie on. After several days in isolation, they would be taken for interrogation up to the “terrace,” where brutal torture would be inflicted to the accompanying sound of the “motor.”

Interviewee E was part of the last council of the outlawed Youth Organization Rigas Ferraios, close to the Greek Communist Party of the Interior, a splinter party of the main Communist Party. He was arrested on 23 December 1970, and spent one month in the “well” at Bouboulinas. From there he was moved to Korydalos Prison where he stayed until his trial in August 1971. E was only tortured once at the “terrace” under the sound of a “motor;” he considers this lighter treatment due to the fact that his father was a lawyer, visiting the Security Forces on a daily basis during his detention.

It was not a real motorcycle, because in the past they [comrades] said that they did have a real one...It was something like a record player I think...The confusion was such...it seemed like the sound of the motorcycle. Some comrades said that there was a motorcycle outside. Now had they seen it? I didn't see one.

In discussing sleep deprivation, E noted that although he had not suffered this, he had heard from older comrades arrested in the early years of the dictatorship and held at Bouboulinas that they used repeated sound on those who had suffered brutal torture: “Older comrades said that to those who had had nails plucked out, to those who had haematuria, they played continuously some kind of music to break them at Bouboulinas.”<sup>9</sup>

### **Greek Military Police (ESA)<sup>10</sup>**

Torture was also practiced at the detention centers of the Military Police, ESA. ESA was established in the aftermath of World War II. Modeled on the British equivalent, ESA's founding charter assigned to it, according to Daraki-Mallet, the maintenance of order and discipline among troops (Daraki-Mallet 1976:11). Having played a crucial role during the coup, ESA's powers were significantly reinforced by the establishment of the Special Interrogation Branch (EAT/ESA) in autumn 1968. ESA members enjoyed a close proximity to the regime, and numerous privileges. Torture was a daily practice at the EAT/ESA,<sup>11</sup> conducted not only by officers but also by guards and other ESA soldiers; these were doing their obligatory two-year military service. They were carefully chosen and brutally trained at the ESA Training Centre, KESA, for three months; most of them came from poor, right-wing families from rural areas and were not highly educated. Essentially these soldiers were subjected in training to most of the torture they were later to inflict on others. This system of turning young soldiers into torturers emerged at the first ESA trial (1975), giving rise to many discussions, an Amnesty International film, and several academic publications (Daraki-Mallet 1976; Gibson and Haritos-Fatouros 1986; Haritos-Fatouros 2003a, 2003b; see McCoy 2006:49). In the first ESA trial, music was mentioned for the first time with regard to torture, used either as a repeated loud sound, or as forced singing. Even though the trial transcripts do not focus on music or other techniques understood as “psychological torture,” due to the above-mentioned legal restrictions, they do contain important information about how music and sounds were

used to mentally break and humiliate prisoners. Music from radio and loudspeakers, noise, songs, and forced singing recur in the testimonies of those detained at EAT-ESA, even though such references are mostly made in passing. Survivors trying to come to grips with non-physical torture often enough mention music. Significantly, these witnesses are often interrupted by the judge who calls for brevity and asks them to restrict their testimony to the charges in the bill of indictment. The instances discussed below mainly took place at the Special Interrogation Unit of the Military Police (EAT-ESA) headquarters in Athens.

Retired Chief of the Navy, Constantine Engolfopoulos, was arrested on 24 May 1973 and was detained for 60 days at EAT/ESA. Before his interrogation began, he was left for two days in total isolation. During that time he began hallucinating and lost all sense of reality. In his trial testimony he says: “The loudspeaker started playing loudly. The shouts began. This situation transformed me in two days from a human being to a corpse” (Rodakis 1976:128). Virginia Tsouderou was arrested on 28 March 1973 and was detained for 40 days at EAT-ESA. She was put in a cell and given paper to write her statement. She recalled:

Then the noises began. Part of the suffering was the noises. Noises caused by the guards’ raids, noises caused by technical means: you thought that you were surrounded by radios and televisions with many uncoordinated programmes. You’d go crazy. I have to repeat that what they wanted from me and my fellow-detainees was to exhaust us as human beings. (Rodakis 1976:167)

Similar was the testimony of an Air-Force Major, Nikolaos Stappas, arrested on 2 June 1973: “needless to say, I did not sleep all these nights, because they did not let you sleep. Banging the doors, noise, cursing. Like [the song] ... ‘Charon is on the prowl’ and other similar vulgarities. The cursing, noises, a radio at maximum volume, and the threats created a hellish atmosphere” (Rodakis 1976:225). The popular-song “Charon is on the prowl” (“Ο χάρος βγήκε παγανιά”) was released in 1972. It was not successful until 1973 after a newspaper described it as “a crime-provoking song” in relation to a highly publicized massacre of three people and the injuring of eight by Nikos Koemtzis in Athens in February 1973; although the song had nothing to do with the massacre, this association turned it into a hit (Che 2007).

The song that was singled out in detail in the trials was the so-called “Tarzan” (“Ο Ταρζάν”). Composed in 1972 by Yannis Markopoulos, it contained veiled anti-Junta lyrics, but had successfully managed to pass the regime’s censorship, becoming a popular hit of the time. The lyrics describe an urgent fantasy of insurgency and resistance:

Θα πάω στη ζούγκλα με τον Ταρζάν / θα την περάσω φίνα. / Θα πάω στη ζούγκλα με τον Ταρζάν / θα φύγω σ’ένα μήνα. / Κι αν θα με φάνε τα άγρια θηρία / θα με γράμουν και στην ιστορία / πως με φάγανε τα ζώα / κι όχι η μπόρα του αιώνα.

*I’ll go to the jungle with Tarzan / I’ll have a ball. / I’ll go to the jungle with Tarzan / I leave in a month. / And if the wild beasts eat me / It will also be written in history / that I was eaten by animals / and not by the century’s disaster.*

This song was singled out in the trial by pharmacy student A, arrested in May 1973. He says:

In the afternoon, somewhere outside, there were a lot of beatings, and I heard the torturers' shouts. They played a loudspeaker, so the voices wouldn't be heard. The motif of the time was [the song] "I will go to the jungle with Tarzan." It was the song we heard all the time until we left. The military policemen were shouting: "Wait for your turn." Waiting was worse than being beaten. (Rodakis 1976:408)

In his testimony A also remarked on being forced to sing: "a military policeman-candidate and future torturer made us sing and he sang too. He told us to dance. He did not harm us, though" (Rodakis 1976:408).

In 2010 I met A in Athens and discussed his time at EAT/ESA. Thirty-five years after the trials he did not remember being forced to sing; this, however, was not emphasized or marked as a traumatic instance in his testimony, but was simply mentioned in passing. He did recall, though, several occasions when fellow detainees were humiliated by forced singing. Most importantly, he spoke about other aspects of the terror of the "Tarzan" song. "In the evening," he told me, "the soldiers would return to the prisons drunk and they would sing the Tarzan song in order to terrorize us. They would enter the cells for the so-called 'tea party' or 'tea party with toast.'" "Tea party" here refers to guards surrounding a detainee, shouting and cursing. While beating him, they would throw him against the bed or the chair. "Tea party with toast" was a similar torture, but with even more brutal beatings. During this time, B remembers them singing the "Tarzan" song. He told me: "This was not music. This was terror. It was part of the system."

The repeated use of "Tarzan" was confirmed in interviews with four more former detainees, conducted in 2010 and 2012. All of them were held at EAT/ESA around May and June 1973. It has also been confirmed by an ESA soldier, X (see page 76 below). Lieutenant Commander B was arrested on 25 May 1973 for his participation in the Navy Movement, which intended to overthrow the Colonels. This was a big blow to the regime because this time resistance came from the ranks of the military and not civil society. B was mainly held at the General Navy headquarters (YEN), where he spent 89 days in isolation. He was taken to EAT/ESA around 16 June and was held there for a week. In his opinion, his short stay at EAT/ESA was due to the fact that many more had already been captured, brutally tortured and interrogated, and the authorities had already formed a clear picture of the mutiny. When asked about music or sound, he said:

What I remember is that they played day and night a song which I remember, I never forget it. It is "I will go to the jungle with Tarzan." Day and night, top volume... Repeatedly. It's like the [Chinese] drop. It grates on the nerves... Loud is of course relative. It depends where the loudspeaker is positioned and where the cell... And there were, of course, various sounds, screams, and some staged screams when they shouted between them... We were made to stand all the time. Standing up continuously, no bed, no nothing... "Tarzan" [was played] all the time. This has stayed in my memory. It has been imprinted. Now if there were any other [songs], maybe, though I

say this with caution... What is that song, the one that says “little boats in the Aegean” which was a bit ironic... Well, these ones. Now pushing my mind it came to me... [for this song] to be played to us was a bit ironic, do you understand?

The second song B is referring to here is called “White, Red, Yellow, Blue” (“Άσπρα, κόκκινα, κίτρινα, μπλε,” 1972) by Vicky Moscholiou, in which the narrator wants to board one of the little boats in the Aegean to take her to her beloved; the colors refer to the boats. In the context of the Navy Movement and the high-ranking officers detained at ESA and tortured by low-ranking soldiers, this song was ironic and humiliating. It was certainly perceived as such by B. However, for B, the use of music/songs, “a repetition that broke your head, it didn’t let you sleep,” was nevertheless not the worst torture taking place at EAT/ESA. However, this depends on one’s character, he was quick to add. When asked whether he had heard the music, and particularly “Tarzan” since then, B noted that he hadn’t, saying that these songs are not played anymore; had he heard it, he would have switched off the radio, he said. B also pointed out that he was aware of similar stories from friends held at KESA at the same time as him. A friend of his, who also wished to be interviewed but was unavailable at the time, confirmed to him that indeed there was music at KESA; they were playing similar songs such as “Tarzan,” “Maria in Yellow” (“Μαρία με τα κίτρινα,” 1972) and “White, Red, Yellow, Blue.” However, “EAT/ESA was wilder,” B noted: at KESA they did not play the music at night, something he attributes to the fact that KESA was also a barracks, and not solely a detention centre.

The use of music in the barracks of KESA, where prisoners were also detained, and at the headquarters of EAT/ESA is also confirmed by ESA soldier X, who served from November 1973 to 1976. He was not based at EAT/ESA but on visits there he had witnessed torture. X notes that at KESA loudspeakers played Greek popular music, hits of time, during the day.<sup>12</sup> Among those he recalled are “Tarzan” and the folksong “Gerakina” (“Γερακίνα”). He also noted that music was played at EAT/ESA repeatedly: “The music that people usually refer to, who were ‘raped’ [i. e. violated] by the regime, was played during their torture. [...] When logic and emotion are blinded by pain, they heard this music; some of them could trace it, perhaps others in their pain were not able to understand what it was.” When asked whether he had witnessed forced singing, he noted that he had a personal experience during his training at KESA. Being an actor and a dancer, he was forced to dance in order to be ridiculed. One had to obey to such orders, otherwise he would be tortured, he said. They would also make soldiers sing, he noted.

Forced singing and forced playing of musical instruments were also confirmed by Z, another ESA soldier who was at EAT/ESA from 1971 to April 1973. During his training at KESA, Z was forced to play the bouzouki, and to make satirical poems. He was then beaten by the person he was forced to satirize. He had also seen other soldiers being forced to perform the traditional dance Kalamatiano. With regard to his time at ESA, he was not very forthcoming, but noted that at night they would rev jeep engines and play the radio very loudly so that the shouts would not be heard. Such accounts also come up in the book *At the Wasp Nest of the Seven Years* by for-

mer ESA soldier Yiannis Maniateas. Maniateas mentions several instances where, for example, a doctor prisoner was made to dance rebetiko, or another man was asked either to sing, say the “Our Father,” or dance (Maniateas 1975:42, 96). His refusal led to torture. With regard to the training in KESA, he writes:

A corporal, who when looked at brought to mind a fox, has made the enlistees dance Kalamatiano. They sing and dance. You can’t have seen such sacrilege in a dance. They drag their feet slowly-slowly without spirit and sing by force. When the circle passes in front of the corporal, he kicks them hard on their backs. The song is interrupted for a moment, and then continues shaky. “When you go to Ka—lamata...” I look at one [soldier] who is limping after a kick and drags his feet, singing while weeping. (Maniateas 1975:21f., my translation)

Though forced singing seemed to be a forgotten experience for most interviewees, this was not the case with D, who was arrested on 18 November 1973, in the aftermath of the bloody repression of the Polytechnic uprising. He spent three and a half months between EAT/ESA and KESA; he was initially detained at ESA, and then moved to KESA, however all interrogations would take place at EAT/ESA. D recalled an incident when he was forced to sing, after the soldiers had found out that he was a conservatory student. After spending three to four days at EAT/ESA, D was moved to KESA. On his way there, he was told that they were going to execute him in a firing squad at Goudi barracks. While in the car, they told him to sing and dance (“now you will sing and dance to us”), and started singing and clapping. As he was about to start singing, he managed to stop himself:

At the beginning they started shouting, saying, “you are not obeying orders” etc. At this moment where you lose your mind, you develop an entirely flat logic, so I get the courage, no it wasn’t courage it was despair, the despair of logic, and I turn and with an intense expression I tell them: “but you are going to kill me anyway, either now or later at the firing squad.” They laughed, cursed me and stopped.

Just like A, D also recalls soldiers singing late at night, when they would return from their day off. Often drunk, they would enter the cells, beat up the detainees, and sing. “It was a kind of their own language, ... communication through song. In other words: You and I who torture this person share something at this moment. What we share is our common song, which we sing together.” He himself did not recall the use of repeated music, but he relayed the story of a friend of his late brother, also a known resistance fighter who was imprisoned and tortured. This friend, a law student, was subjected to a song played nonstop. B did not recall the title of the song. However, he remembered that upon his release, the friend bought about 15 LP records of this song and broke them on his knees.

Last but not least, an important testimony both in terms of the use of repeated music and forced singing is that of F. A Cavalry Captain, F was arrested on 31 May for his participation in the Movement of the Navy, organized by officers who planned to overthrow the Junta. Just like A and B, F singled out “Tarzan,” and identified an additional song “We will all live [“The guys, the guys”]” (“Όλοι θα ζήσουμε,” 1973) by Giorgos Kinousis.<sup>13</sup> These were played continuously during torture. A third song,

“Stephanos” (“Ο Στέφανος,” 1972) by Antonis Kalogiannis, was played right at the end of torture. It talks about the death of Stephanos the good man, who was mourned by his friends.<sup>14</sup> He told me: “My ears still buzz ‘The guys, the guys, the good buddies’ from 100 radios. I don’t know how many radios played this little song of the time by Kinousis. ‘The guys, the guys,’ and ‘I will go to the jungle with Tarzan.’” F remarked that these songs were repeated without any interludes from a radio presenter, leading him to suspect that it could have been an audio-recording. He said:

They were constantly the same songs. They played them during torture so that the screams would not be heard, and at night when the guards came back drunk... Imagine to be standing for days without water, to be hit with truncheons and then to hear this music, what kind of a situation that made. You felt like going crazy... In the end I had hallucinations. I thought the wall was a fridge and went to get a Coke. They hit me and their faces would transform. I thought that they were my friends and family. I’d tell them, Gianni why do you hit me? That’s how it was. And with all this, to hear this music “The guys, the guys, the good buddies” and “I will go to the jungle with Tarzan.” When the torture time was up, for it never occurred at fixed times, they would play the song, “Stefanos is dead, the good man.”

In the torture context, the songs’ lyrics and their order are mocking and demeaning. F does not consider the choice of songs a coincidence. In the case of “Tarzan” the analogy with the devouring wild beasts is clear. As for “The Guys,” the undertone, for him was, “confess, say everything and then you can go, everything will be ok between us.” Listening to this music now makes him melancholic.

Significantly, in his trial testimony F described how he was forced to sing while in a stress position in which he would have to hold his head back as far as possible for an extended amount of time. Suffering from drink deprivation, he would choke on his saliva: “The dry thick saliva would block my larynx and I thought that I was choking,” he said. During our meeting F did not recall being forced to sing, even though he mentioned it in his trial testimony. He stated that he was not asked to do so, probably, he told me, “because they knew my reaction to it.” I did not press the point and did not rephrase the question, given that these first meetings aimed more at establishing trust and familiarity.

Lapses of memory and other discrepancies from trial testimonies are an important issue and problem of such research. Survivors of torture on many occasions tend defensively to suppress memories of traumatic events they have not been able to sufficiently symbolize or deal with. F’s detailed description of forced singing in the trial was painful, though no more traumatic than his descriptions of hallucinations and physical torture. However, his phrase “they never asked me, because they knew my reaction” is puzzling. In EAT/ESA there was no sense of logic that would prevent his torturers from asking him to do anything. Any refusal would simply result in more torture; indeed there are many testimonies that corroborate this. F’s phrase here says more about himself and how he values dignity rather than about his torturers. As a Cavalry Captain, F perhaps viewed forced singing as more humiliating than any physical torture he was subjected to, a subject about which he was very forthcoming. In this sense, the memory lapse seems to be a defense mechanism, betraying his sen-

sitivity on the issue of humiliation and loss of dignity. It also shows how the use of music in torture, understood by some as “benign” or mild, can in fact scar the person subjected to it more than physical torture.

Overall, lapses of memory here may also be due to the fact that 36 years have passed since the trials. In the trials themselves the survivors were not encouraged to talk about so-called psychological torture, let alone music (Rodakis 1976:359f.). The trial’s focus on physical torture, which was reproduced in the ensuing public debate, probably contributed to the abuse of music slipping from the discussion, and gradually from memory. Consequently, the narratives of the victims were coherently structured and reiterated repeatedly during the public debates in the ensuing decades, in ways that excluded registering the use of music as a weapon of terror. On the contrary, music was firmly established in the discourse of survival and resistance.

### **“To be honest, there wasn’t any ‘scientific’ torture here”: the ESA and the CIA**

This research has had to resist the established notion that music is intrinsically benign or noble. At first several interviewed survivors did not tend to attribute the use of music to a systematic attempt to damage their subjectivity. Music as a tool of survival was more central to their discourse.<sup>15</sup> Although in their descriptions they acknowledged the damaging effect music and sound had on them, when first asked about its use, they viewed it mainly as a means to acoustically mask torture. However, as the interviews unfolded more instances of the use of music were recalled, including damaging effects. Interestingly, the headquarters of EAT/ESA in central Athens did not have any residences immediately adjacent to it. At one end was a park, and at the other the Navy Hospital and the Military Hospital 401. In contrast, the Asfalia at Bouboulinas was closely surrounded by residential buildings. Indeed, there were evidently differences in the methods of the Security Forces and ESA. The former relied on isolation (darkness, silence) in a damp basement, where beatings and other kinds of torture and harassment (particularly with regard to female detainees) also took place. These were interrupted by brutal sessions of interrogation and systematic torture on the “terrace,” which included beatings, *falanga* (foot whipping), nail pulling, electric shock, and sexual torture, with the constant sound of motorized machinery (and in some cases of a “gong”). Contrary to this, the EAT/ESA torture routine was different. Mock executions, plucking of hairs (for example, beards) which the detainees were forced to eat, *falanga*, brutal beatings by groups of people (euphemistically called *tea party* and *tea party with toast*) were reported, and in some cases, resulted in fatal conditions (for example, in the case of Major Spyros Moustaklis<sup>16</sup>). However, interrogation and torture were to a greater extent structured around the detainee’s isolation. The detainee was made to stand in an empty room, some times in a circle marked by chalk or in a stress position (for example, on one foot), for days, for as long as it would take, for as long as he could last. It is important at this point not to forget the complicity of medical doctors who oversaw these

sessions and decided when torture could no longer be physically endured. This ritual was accompanied by brutal beatings, humiliating insults, sleep deprivation, food and drink deprivation (or in some cases extremely salty food), and, at least in one period established here (March to November 1973), by repeated loud music. This combination led to hallucinations. Given the relatively isolated location of EAT/ESA, music was not needed to mask the screams. This difference in torture methods has given rise to the idea that there was no “scientific torture” at EAT/ESA (as for example, electroshock), but that it mainly consisted of beatings. Indicative is the following passage from Maniateas’ book: “To be honest, there wasn’t any ‘scientific’ torture here. There were no wires, sockets, wood planks with nails, like they write, and underground graves. We didn’t use to do burials. Whatever was accomplished was by the truncheon, the hands and the legs.” (Maniateas 1975:73, my translation)

And yet this combination of techniques practiced at EAT/ESA was on the cutting edge of interrogation techniques at the time. In fact, it closely matched methods devised by the CIA in the 1950s and codified in the Kubark manual (1963) in the early 1960s. As Alfred McCoy has shown, these methods included isolation, sensory deprivation, stress positions, sleep deprivation, repetition of sounds, and continuous standing leading to hallucinations (2006:21–59). Indeed McCoy notes the simplicity of this combination of techniques, to which some of the Greek torturers referred in the trials, trying to deny allegations of torture: “Refined through years of practice, the method *relies on simple, even banal procedures*—isolation, standing, heat and cold, light and dark, noise and silence—for a systematic attack on all human senses” (McCoy 2006:8, my emphasis). He also notes how these practices were disseminated by the CIA worldwide in allied countries often through aid programs (McCoy 2006:11). Similar techniques were also part of the so-called Survival, Evasion, Resistance, Escape (SERE) training program of the US military, introduced after the Korean War to develop soldiers’ resistance during enemy captivity (Worthington 2008). This combination of techniques became the main charges in the case of Ireland versus the UK at the European Court of Human Rights in the late 1970s. These charges included teaching the Royal Ulster Constabulary and authorizing five interrogation techniques against 14 prisoners suspected of being members of the IRA: wall-standing, hooding, subjection to loud and hissing noise, deprivation of sleep, and deprivation of food and drink. Even though the court adopted a restricted meaning of torture and the 1978 judgment held that they amounted “only” to inhuman and degrading treatment, there was one vote against the latter by a Greek Judge Dimitrios Evrigenis. Evrigenis emphasized the need for a definition that covered “various forms of technologically sophisticated torture,” rather than one that placed “the distinction between torture and inhuman treatment very high up on the scale of intensity of the suffering inflicted.”<sup>17</sup> This combination of techniques was condemned as torture in the mid 1990s, in the context of complaints about interrogation techniques, including loud music, used by Israel’s General Security Service (GSS) against Palestinian detainees. Although Israel’s High Court of Justice (HCJ) initially prohibited some or all of these measures in 1996 (Ginbar 2007), it later accepted

the State's justifications for their use, sparking intense reaction internationally. In 1997 the UN Committee Against Torture issued a statement in which such methods constituted "torture as defined in article 1 of the Convention [against Torture]" (UN Committee Against Torture 1997). In 1999, Israel's HCJ re-considered the methods in question and banned their further use by the GSS (BBC News 1999).

What emerges from the EAT/ESA torture routine is a consistent use of this combination of interrogation techniques, which together target both the physical and mental state of the subject, shattering subjectivity. Indeed research conducted in the 1950s and early 1960s by American, Canadian and British scholars, funded by the CIA, underlined that such techniques were much more efficient than the use of hallucinogenic substances, but also than more painful approaches, since pain often induced resistance (see McCoy 2006; Anonymous 1963:82–95). The ties between the CIA and the military and the Greece Security Forces go back to the aftermath of WWII. Around 1947 and during the catastrophic Civil War, Greece came under the sphere of influence of the USA. The Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan were landmarks of this transition from British to American support and influence. Aid poured into the country, accompanied by consultants of all kinds, many of whom were CIA agents in disguise (Becket 1997:35; Blum 1995:37). From this time on, the Greek military was equipped, trained and overseen by the USA (Blum 1995:37). In 1953 the Central Intelligence Service (KYP) was formed. It was modeled after the CIA, which funded it to a great extent.<sup>18</sup> KYP chiefs up to that time had been military officers, thus establishing strong relations with the military. Indeed Georgios Papadopoulos and other leading figures of the Junta were part of this world. According to Blum, among the hundreds of officers receiving training in the USA during the KYP's formative years was George Papadopoulos (1995:217). As Becket reports, James M. Potts, the CIA Chief-of-Station in Greece, used to boast in Athenian circles that "George, he's my boy" (1977:36).

Furthermore, in 1957 the CIA opened a military barracks outside Athens, near Agia Paraskevi, where they interrogated people rendered by communist countries; detainees were interrogated and tortured by Greek officers (Becket 1997:37). According to Becket, these barracks were also used by other NATO countries. Lieutenant Commander Marotis, an eyewitness who testified in Strasbourg, gave detailed information about what he called "NATO" barracks, noting that when he transported a detainee there, a KYP officer had told him "Don't worry, we will get to the truth here because we have all the scientific methods!" Last but not least, at Bouboulinas, torturers told detainees that a special white whip came from the Americans, while another former policeman told a detainee that American military aid included a number of "iron wreaths" which the ESA refused to share with the Security Forces (Becket 1997:39).

US support to the Junta is documented and uncontroversial; President Clinton's apology during his visit to Greece in 1999 was a formal corroboration of the financial, military and diplomatic support offered to the Colonels by the US government. Many Greek officers were trained in military schools in the United States, includ-

ing the director of the ESA (1970–1972), Theodoros Theofylogianakos. According to survivors' testimonies in the first ESA trial, several military officers boasted that they were "scientist interrogators," with studies on psychological interrogation in the United States. According to the trial testimony of Nikos Constantopoulos, Theofylogianakos had told him: "we studied in special schools, we renew our knowledge and in here we have the technical means... no one can escape us" (Rodakis 1976:249f.). Furthermore, Member of Parliament Virginia Tsouderou, who had mentioned the torturous use of sound in her testimony, stated in the trial that the torture methods used by ESA were taken from a NATO manual. She characteristically said: "This programme was not Greek. Science was put in the hands of torturers .... It was a deceptive and criminal system. It was a plan for which there was a manual. These are written. This manual is not written by Greeks. They took it and copied it here. [...] Yes it is a manual of how to resist torture. I saw a copy that clearly comes from a NATO school in Germany" (Rodakis 1976:170).<sup>19</sup>

### **Bearing Witness**

Despite the traumatic nature of their experiences, the interviewed survivors were able to recount their stories coherently, without any visible display of emotion. They were all proud of their experience and involvement in the resistance. Indicative is the case of C. When I mentioned that I was sorry to bring back such memories, she smiled and said that these were the best years of their lives, "difficult but the best, because we still had hope and we still dreamed."

In my research, methodological issues surrounding the interview process came to light. It must be said that the survivors I interviewed were evidently successful in processing their traumatic experiences. This was also confirmed by Dr Maria Piniou-Kalli,<sup>20</sup> former Medical Director of the Athens-based Medical Rehabilitation Centre for Torture Victims (MRCT). In the 1990s, Dr Piniou-Kalli led the study "The Long-Term Sequels of Torture," examining survivors of Junta torture. Despite concerns with issues of re-traumatization and Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder, or PTSD, the interviewees did not show any PTSD symptoms. The absence of PTSD symptoms during this process was attributed to the long time that had passed since the event, and to the specificities of the Greek case. Not only did the interviewees play a central role in the ongoing public debate in the post-dictatorship era, but they also led the political process, in numerous cases holding public offices. In the four decades that followed, many of them have spoken out repeatedly and exposed their experiences in great detail. Most of them are still active members of political parties. Most belong to the Association of Resistance Prisoners and Exiles 1967–1974, through which they try to keep alive the debate on torture and political exile.

Significantly, the only negative reaction I encountered in the interview process related to the four-page information sheet and consent form given to the interviewees beforehand. This material was approved by a local ethics committee, as required

contractually by the sponsoring body of my research. The document explained the nature of the research, legal terminology and signed consent. It guaranteed voluntary participation and anonymity, while giving the option of a PTSD expert to be present in the interview, or for consultations after the interview. All of the survivors I interviewed refused the offered consultations. Reading the document, most interviewees expressly rejected the idea of anonymity, mandated by standard ethical procedures and the law on personal data protection. They noted that they were not afraid to tell the dictator Papadopoulos their opinion during the Junta and they would, thus, not wish to hide behind anonymity now. Proud of their actions, they wished to have their testimonies recorded by name, as they had done in the past in newspaper interviews, documentaries and books. A few interviewees expressed an opinion that the scientific language of the information sheet/consent form was “cold” and impersonal. Only two people out of fifteen remarked positively on the document: a university professor familiar with such research and a lawyer who noted the adherence to data protection laws. It seems that for some, the scientific language of the information sheet and consent form may have raised associations with the bureaucratic language of the state. Political prisoners since the Civil War were faced with the pressure to sign a document declaring their loyalty to their government and their national sentiment and, where appropriate denouncing their communist ideals. Their signature was the only way out of prison. In the case of older interviewees who had been arrested and detained during and after the civil war and during the Junta, that is in the period from the late 1940s until 1974, I noticed that signing the consent form caused a concern. Most exhibited readiness and even enthusiasm, rather than hesitation, in speaking about their experiences. On one occasion, a leading figure of the Communist Party of the Interior, whom I approached for an interview, changed his mind after reading the consent document despite happily agreeing to the interview when I first contacted him; making an excuse, he said to try him again when I would be in town next time. I was later informed by a common acquaintance who had made the contact that such documents are off-putting, underlining the issue of anonymity. In this sense, it almost seems as if the information sheet and consent form, designed to protect potential interviewees, was in fact the main trigger of an association with their past experience as political prisoners.

It is obvious from the above that music was used as a part of the Junta’s system to terrorize, damage, break and humiliate political prisoners. Despite the traumatic nature of the testimonies, the survivors I interviewed were able to symbolize their experience in coherent narratives, indicating that they have worked through their traumas and successfully reintegrated into the social realm. I would argue that the process of bearing witness was central in these cases. The importance of testimony has been theorized by Dori Laub (Felman and Laub 1992), co-founder of the Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies at Yale University and a Holocaust survivor himself, and later by philosopher Kelly Oliver (Oliver 2001). Witnessing, Laub writes, is not a monologue but presupposes a listener, through whom the survivor can reconstitute the internal “thou,” an inner witness previously damaged by objectification and

subordination suffered through torture; in other words, through narration the survivor reclaims her position as a witness and a subject (Felman and Laub 1992:70f.). By re-establishing dialogue through which representation and meaning are possible, witnessing becomes a transformative process. Adding to Laub's theory, Oliver argues that witnessing entails a new subjectivity as an outcome of the "address-ability" and "response-ability" (2001:15f.). Subjectivity, according to Oliver, is the "result of a response to an address from another and the possibility of [the subject] addressing itself to another" (2001:105). It is this very process that is restored through witnessing. Taking as her starting point the ability to respond to the victim's testimony—to something that we cannot see but which lies beyond recognition—for Oliver, witnessing goes beyond any Hegelian master/slave dialectic premised on the seeking and granting of recognition. According to Oliver, our ethical obligation is "not only to respond but also respond in a way that opens up rather than closes off the possibility of response by others," thus creating the potential for a witnessing subjectivity beyond oppression (2001:15). In the above-mentioned cases, the process of witnessing began with the 1975 trials and continued in the form of a public debate through numerous interviews, newspaper articles, TV documentaries, books, and public office. This process has enabled survivors to successfully process the painful effects of their experience. Their example is, of course, by no means universal, as there are people who are still broken by the experience of living in the shadows of their traumas. Nevertheless, the dialectical process of witnessing emerges as an optimistic possibility that lies beyond the other's recognition and despite the abuse and violence of the past.

To conclude, the process of revisiting the existing sources on the Junta's torture, and of conducting new interviews with survivors, has shown that music and sound were indeed part of the torture regime in several detention centers, and certainly during specific periods of time. The electric bell at the Piraeus headquarters of the Security Forces, the motorized machinery and the "gong" at Bouboulinas, the banging on metal doors, forced singing and the repetition of loud music (of songs that often had a mocking character) at EAT/ESA are some examples which are by no means limited to Greece at the time. Indeed, they are encountered in several countries allied to the USA, such as Portugal, Argentina, and Chile. Connecting the dots between these cases in a national as well as an international level is crucial if one wishes to establish and understand the genealogy and continuity of the use of music and sound in detention, interrogation and torture. Such a discussion is vital given music's open institutionalization in interrogation techniques in the so-called War on Terror (Cusick 2006, 2008a, 2008b). It underlines the fact that revisiting and broadening the definition of torture is an urgent necessity.

## Notes

- 1 I would like to thank all the interviewees for revisiting this bleak time of their lives. It was a truly humbling experience. I am indebted to the friendship and generosity of Christina and Natalie Moustakli: without their help many of these interviews would not have been possible.
- 2 *The Guardian* covered on a regular basis the politics of the Greek Junta and its violations of human rights. It also published messages by Greek detainees (even a song, both lyrics and score, by Theodorakis written in detention), smuggled out of Greece. See Thornberry 1967a, 1967b, 1968a, 1968b.
- 3 Anthony Marecco had been a Junior Counsel at the Nuremberg Trials.
- 4 For more on Kubark (1963), see pages 80–81.
- 5 In its Epilogue the 1977 report by Amnesty International is critical of the Greek government for failing to pass a law that prohibited torture by 1976. Instead it had managed to pass a law that fixed “a time-limit on the period during which victims could bring the civil suits” against their torturers: “six months for high Junta officials and three months for other officials from the date of the enactment of the law” (Amnesty 1977:65).
- 6 The absence of central records accounts for the striking imprecision in Amnesty’s list (Amnesty 1977:75). Most of the accused, particularly those from Asfalia, were acquitted or penalized very lightly. These light (if any) sentences can be understood if one takes into account the fact that most of the plaintiffs against the Asfalia officers were communists. After many decades of institutionalized anticommunism, these survivors were considered solely on the basis of their ideology and were regarded with suspicion. It is not an exaggeration to suggest that their testimonies did not have the same status and gravity as the testimonies of officers from the Military, Air Force and the Navy, who testified against the ESA officers and soldiers. In this sense, the first ESA trial of 1975 was possibly the fairest trial/court martial in terms of sentences (see Amnesty 1977:12f.).
- 7 All interview translations are my own.
- 8 Testimony of interviewee K, who was detained at the “well” in Bouboulinas from 13 April until 26 August 1968.
- 9 I have not yet been able to confirm this statement with detainees held at Bouboulinas during this time. Further interviews with detainees of these early years are planned.
- 10 An abridged version of this section is forthcoming in a book chapter by M.J. Grant, Anna Papaeti and Stephanie Leder 2013.
- 11 ESA detention centers were also at the Training Centre of Military Police (KESA), as well as at Votanikos and Nea Philadelphia in Athens. Detainees held there were also brutally tortured.
- 12 In all places under ESA, according to X, there was always some kind of music being played.
- 13 A popular hit of the time by Giorgos Kinousis. According to D, his brother, also detained at KESA, had told him that he had seen Kinousis go there to sing for the ESA officers and soldiers. “He was the favorite of the ESA soldiers,” he told me. “When I see him now, I get goosebumps.”
- 14 The use of the song “Stephanos” as well as “Tarzan” was mentioned by another former political prisoner, L, who was a student at the time; he was arrested on 7 May 1973, and brutally tortured at EAT/ESA and at ESA in New Philadelphia.

- 15 The use of music within survival strategies is undoubtedly important but beyond the scope of the present article.
- 16 Major Spyros Moustaklis was permanently damaged from brutal beatings at EAT/ESA, during which he refused to name his contacts. After a blow to his carotid artery, he suffered a brain trauma. Initially in a vegetative condition, he managed to survive but was left paralyzed and unable to speak for the rest of his life. He became not only a symbol of resistance, but also a symbol of the torture that took place during the Junta. See Amnesty 1977:45f., 53f.; Rodakis 1976:264–274.
- 17 “We are now confronted,” Evrigenis noted, with “new forms of suffering that have little in common with the physical pain caused by conventional torture,” but which nevertheless aim “to bring about, even if only temporarily, the disintegration of an individual’s personality, the shattering of his mental and psychological equilibrium and the crushing of his will.” Judge Dimitrios Evrigenis cited in European Court of Human Rights 1978:124.
- 18 According to its founding laws, the KYP was to be involved with anti-espionage actions outside Greece, and not with domestic matters. It would report directly to the Prime Minister. However, from the very beginning both the KYP and the CIA were intensely involved in home politics in Greece. In 1964 the Papandreou government tried to tame the influence of the CIA revealing that KYP’s finances came directly from the CIA, and did not go through any Greek ministries (Becket 1997:34f.).
- 19 This kind of training seems to have solely involved ESA officials. ESA soldiers were mainly taught how to make arrests, to beat and bodily abuse the detainees without leaving marks. According to X, several of these teachings were made with American-style videos shown to the soldiers during their training.
- 20 I would like to thank Dr Maria Piniou-Kalli for all her help and for many invigorating discussions.

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