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"The Mountain Education" -A Special Page in the Educational History of Greece

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Abstract

"The Mountain Education" relates to the special educational activities that took place in the territories of "Free Greece" and constitutes a special page in the educational history of Greece. In the territories of "Free Greece" were implemented innovative forms of education, which were mainly introduced by the National Liberation Front (EAM). The overall activity and the idea of this educational system that it tried to be established during the occupation of Greece was associated with the basic social needs, according to the priorities set by the left-wing political powers: resistance against the foreign occupant and organization of forms of local authority and justice. In this context we can identify the operation of two pedagogical schools in Tyrna and Karpenisi, aiming at coaching temporary teachers for primary schools. Moreover two schoolbooks were authored: "Ta aetopoula" ("The eaglets") and "Eleftheri Ellada" ("Free Greece"). The work of left-wing pedagogues and educational reformers during the occupation of Greece form a chapter of Greek educational history that was not continued, since the final defeat of the Left in the civil war will lead to a conservative education after the postwar period and to the elimination of any progressive features from the state apparatus.

Key – Words: "The Mountain Education", Work School, Free Greece, National Liberation Front (EAM).

1. Historical Background

The German invasion in April 1941 and the collapse of the country's defense will lead to the triple occupation by Italian, Bulgarian and German Troops. They and the collaborationist government will form armed forces that will serve the occupying powers. Very soon the nutritional and social problems in the occupied Greece led the population to forms of self-organization, so as to confront with the emergency needs in their lives. At the same time emerges the resistance group, which will be largely and mainly expressed by EAM and its military component, the Greek people's Liberation Army (ELAS).

The vast majority of those taking part in the resistance will be organized in EAM². Among its other activities, EAM will try to organize life in the territories under its control, confront the occupying forces and their collaborators and organize the political, social, and cultural aspect of its activity. Important was also the activity of the United Panhellenic Organization of Youth (EPON) with approximately 600.000 members. EPON took part in the resistance, as an assistant force, but also on the front lines. Its activity in the domain of culture in particularly was expressed through the foundation of multiple clubs and the general spiritual and artistic flourishing throughout the Occupation of Greece (Varon-Vasar, 2009: 451 – 477). Our interest in this period focuses of course on the activity of EAM in the field of education and on the organization of various types of schools.

²There will also be other resistant groups of various political hues that will emerge throughout the period of occupation, which although they lack the dynamics of the National Liberation Front, they had a key role in the historical developments of the time. It's worth mentioning the National Republican Greek League/ National Hellenic Democratic League (EDES) led by N. Zerva and EKKA led by D. Psarrou (Tsoukalas, 1981: 49. Vournas, 2002: 99, 132 – 143).

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2. The educational reality throughout the period of Occupation and "The Mountain Education"

The German Invasion and the Occupation deteriorated sharply the living standards of Greek people and caused major shortcomings in food and other commodities. This also had a determining impact on education. Under these circumstances the educational system was poorly functioning. Many schools are either destructed or commandeered by the occupying forces. The school year 1940-1941 lasted only 3 months, whereas the school year 1941-1942 only 20 days. It has been estimated that between 1940 and 1945 approximately 600.000 had not attended the primary school (Sakellariou, 1984: 27• Bouzakis, 2000: 90).

Under the conditions imposed by the occupation, the Communist Party of Greece (KKE) along with other progressive powers establish the National Liberation Front (EAM) and the Greek people's Liberation Army (ELAS) aiming at liberating the country and the establishment of a new democratic regime. In March 1944 EAM will establish the Political Committee of National Liberation (PEEA) in the territories under its control, and more specifically at the village Viviani in Evritania, as a central political instrument which would undertake the administration of the liberated areas. On the 14nth of May 1944, the National Board of PEEA will meet at Koryschades, with the participation of representatives, who had been selected on the 23rd of April of the same year (Bouzakis, 2000: 92). EAM implements new institutions and carries out works in the territories under its control (Katsikas & Therianos, 2007: 181).

During the period of occupation the National Board of PEEA develops the "Plan for a Folk Education" (Greek: Σχεδιο για μια Λαϊκή Παιδεία). This plan was inspired by the intellectuals, educators of EAM and of EPON. The pioneers of this plan were Kostas Sotiriou, Michalis Papamavros and Roza Imvrioti. According to the "Plan for a Folk Education" the educational systems developed in four periods equivalent to the children's age and it includes: a) nursery schools and kindergartens for children between 0-6 years old, b) the primary school and school-related institutions for children between 7-14 years old, c) the high school, and the technical and art schools for children between 15-18 years old, d) the universities, the technical universities, and the schools of higher education for children between 19-22 years old. There is also provision for the education of people with special needs on every level of education. Primary education involves the use of the common demotic language, as the only language used by the Greek people, the monotonic system and the abolishment of historical dictation. The two higher classes of high school involve the instruction of literary texts, with samples from every historical period of the Greek language, as well as literary texts written in "katharevousa" Greek language. Secondary education was planned to last four years, including various types of schools (rural, industrial, artisanal and classic). The Plan also involved co-education, scholarships and the exchange of students both inside the country and abroad at the expense of the state (Katsikas & Therianos, 2007: 181 – 183).

Moreover through the Act 45, PEEA will abolish the "special act" introduced by Eleftherios Venizelos and every other measure that restricted individual and trade union freedoms (Bouzakis, 2000: 92). It will reconstitute the Teachers' Federation and will organize the 1st educational conference in Laspi, just outside Karpenisi. The conference was held with the participation of 100 representatives from 20 unions. In additions, PEEA will take all appropriate steps to open the nursery schools, the teachers' federations will introduce school meals and there will be fight illiteracy. The diet held in Koryschades, will determine the demotic language as the official language of the whole population (Imvrioti, 1978: 15 – 22). The lack of teachers and school books will be confronted with the establishment of pedagogical schools (Greek: Παιδαγωγικά Φροντιστήρια) and the publication of school books, within this framework.

Moreover on a practical level, the resistant group proceeds to the reopening of the schools that were closed, establishes schools for illiterate and public libraries, as well as pedagogical schools for coaching teachers. PEEA moves on to the foundation of two pedagogical schools one in Tyrna and the other in Karpenisi³. Upon the request of the secretary of education of PEEA, the pedagogical school of Tyrna proceeds to the authorship of the school book "Ta aetopoula" ("The eaglets"), which is assigned to Roza Imvrioti for the children of the 3rd and 4rth grade of the Primary School, whereas the school book "Eleftheri Ellada" ("Free Greece") was printed under the directions of M. Papamavros at the pedagogical school of Karpenisi for the children of the 5th and the 6th grade.

³Apart from these two schools there are other pedagogical schools for the coaching of teachers introduced by local resistance groups: the pedagogical school of Thebes, the school of Grevena, the school of Pieria, the school of Lagadia, in Arcadia and the rural school of Fthiotida (Sakellariou, 1984: 87-99).

The two school books were printed in 100.000 copies and distributed for free to the children of the respective age groups in the territories controlled by EAM (Katsikas & Therianos, 2007: 183-184).

3. The pedagogical schools and the school books

In the summer of 1944, PEEA was the only political leadership in the free territories of the country. Indicatively the pedagogue Roza Imvrioti mentions that PEEA "slowly builds the foundations of popular sovereignty" (Imvrioti, 26/9/1965). Its main goal was to form an educational system that would assist the vivid ideals of freedom, popular sovereignty and peace. With the signature of the secretary of Education, P. Kokkali, PEEA undertakes the foundation of two pedagogical institutions, aiming at the quick preparation of teachers, who would staff the schools of Free Greece. One of these schools is founded in Karpenisi, under the direction of K. Sotiriou and the assistant direction of M. Papamavros and the second in Tyrna, the direction of which was assigned to the pedagogue R. Imvrioti (Papamavros, 22/2/1976: 7• Charitos, 1984: 103 – 106). The students at the schools would be assigned the role of surrogates, until the liberation of the nation. According to the founding decision of PEEA, in order to have tenure they ought to follow postgraduate studies (Charitos, 1984: 107).

The opening of the pedagogical school of Karpenisi took place early in July of 1944. The main speaker was M. Papamavros. Ch. Sakelarriou, who was then a student at the school, describes his speech: "...he talks, talks with enthusiasm, with passion, with the passion of the scientist who has become one with his work, deeply upsetting and touching our hearts. In a moment he turns towards us, the prospective students at the Pedagogical school and stretching his hands towards us, we hear him say: - Come to build a new country!" (Sakellariou, 1985: 116-117).

The pedagogical school operated in Karpenisi until the 6th of August 1944, when they had to move to Trovato due to an attack of the German troops. The courses were also open to many visitors, locals and mostly women who were free to attend. In relation to the lessons taught at the school, M. Papamavros writes: "*Teaching had taken the form of a ritual. It was not only the profound silence among the students, but also the massive gathering of the people living in the village which created a festive atmosphere throughout this process...*" (Martinou – Kanaki, 2009: 239). All the students of the pedagogical schools were appointed to the public schools.

The village Tyrna were the second pedagogical school was situated was built on the Western slopes of the Mountain Koziakas, part of mountain range of Pindos. This region, just like the whole Thessaly, belonged to the territories of Free Greece. On the 2nd of November 1943, the Germans invaded and burned down the village. Roza Imvrioti reports that she found the village in this condition. A typical example of this is what she herself states in her report: "In June 1944, I was assigned the direction of the pedagogical school of Tyrna. I stood still... In this small village with 671 residents, at an altitude of about 1200 m., in the arms of Koziaka, I had to pull together a Pedagogical school. No classrooms, no teachers, no teaching material, no aids, no libraries, no lodgings, no..., no..." (Imvrioti, 22/2/1976: 7• Charitos, 1984: 107 – 108).

The courses were starting early in the morning and finishing on seven o' clock in the afternoon with a break around noon. On 7.30 there was meal, discussions, lectures and entertainment. They were starting with a sketch or songs followed by the announcements of PEEA, narrations from the life of children during the liberation fight, speeches with different topics—inspired from various fields from art up to hygiene. There were also satirical poems and Puppet Theater lessons (Varon-Vasar, 2009: 511). In the nights the school was transformed into a cultural center, where the residents of the village were coming to attend and participate by discussing and talking about their experiences.

The pedagogical school had duration of approximately 3 months (15 July – 10 October). According to one of the educators of school, Aliki Xenou – Venardou, "the general Stefanos Sarafis and Kostas Karagiorgis arrived by bike to honor them with their presence on the occasion of the commencement of the school. 1.500 men, women and children, who had gathered from the near villages, welcomed them with songs. The celebration took the form of a festival..." (Xenou - Venardou, 12/12/1999). At the closing ceremony, Roza Imvrioti addressed her students with the following words: "I admire you, I am proud of you and I wish good luck to you, the children of Greece. Together I am sure we will build a free country, happy, democratic..." (Charitos, 1984: 120). The same decision of PEEA regarding the founding of pedagogical schools included the authoring of school book. For PEEA the need to author school books was now obvious, since the children of the occupied and Free Greece had no other books apart from those of the 4^{rth} of August, with the relative propaganda.

This new effort resulted from the evaluation of the armed resistance that the children were experiencing and it was deemed necessary to be expressed in their school books (Sakellariou, 1983: 56). In this context the following two school books were authored: "Eleftheri Ellada" ["Free Greece"] in Karpenisi and "T' aetopoula" ["The eaglets"] in Tyrna. For the smaller classes, they would print the alphabet book of 2nd Class of the year '32 – '34, which had been authored by D. Delipetros, D. Douka and R. Imvrioti (Katsantonis, 1981: 131). As R. Imvrioti reports, the very limited time in which they were authored, illustrated and printed, remains a miracle. As M. Papamavros informs us, his inability to supervise the printing of the school book "Eleftheri Ellada" resulted to several typographical errors, whereas the need for its distribution as soon as possible, led to the lack of illustration (Papamavros, 1983: 120). R. Imvrioti reports in a distinctive way: "you will author the school book for the 3rd and the 4rth grade of the primary school, says the secretary of education, P. Kokkalis. In a month from it must be printed ... It must adhere to the pedagogical principles governing the authoring of school books, but with a specific difference: the current (former) reality of the children... Nine and ten years' old students back then, were not usual children. They were children participating into a war, being heroic... "See, my fellow fighter", I said, "the books that I have written up to now have nothing in common with what I have to do now... In the morning the decision was taken: these are the kind of books we need" (Imvrioti, 1962: 472). "Everything happened within a month and a half, in the haze of the departure of the German troops while intoxicated by this national victory, on peaceful villages, without any aid..." (Charitos, 1984: 121 – 122).

4. The content and the language of the school books

The school book "Ta aetopoula" includes two topics. The first one refers to the national fights (*Ta aetopoula: school book of the 3rd and the 4rth grade*, 1944: 13 – 77) and the second refers to the sectors of the human activity and social life (*Ta aetopoula...*, 1944: 81-123). The first includes the adventures of the occupying Greece and the contribution of EAM. The achievements of EAM – ELAS are extensively praised highlighting some of the social contribution milestones (foundation of social solidarity institutions, protection of the crop of the rural population by the occupants, foundation of schools for illiterate) (*Ta aetopoula...*, 1944: 48, 32, 51). It's worth mentioning that these books also refer to the people's support to the liberating work of EAM, with the participation of the clergy (*Ta aetopoula...*, 1944: 58). The second issue refers to topics related to the family and social life. They are derived from the peaceful daily life and they "*emit a sense of longing for something that is not possible, in the hard times they all go through, to be realized*" (Sakellariou, 1983: 59). Images from the countryside (*Ta aetopoula...*, 1944: 90, 114, 119, 120), from the four seasons of the year (*Ta aetopoula...*, 1944: 123), from people's labor (*Ta aetopoula...*, 1944: 91), such as the rural labor (*Ta aetopoula...*, 1944: 95) enrich the pages of this school book.

The school book "Free Greece" addressed to the children of the 5th and the 6th grade. It was written by M. Papamavros in collaboration with the educators G. Myrsioti and Ch. Sakellariou (Papamavros, 1983: 119). The preface of the school book, which is undersigned by PEEA, stresses the intention of the Political Committee to redevelop public education and renew it on the basis of the ideals "of freedom, popular sovereignty, solidarity, humanity, and the creation of a better life". Apart from the preface, the school book includes 50 texts, 31 of which are prose and 19 poems. The texts express the spirit of Resistance and refer to the rioting of the occupant forces and their collaborators, the struggles of EAM organizations, in particular the sacrifices and the achievements of ELAS, EPON and of small eaglets and the institutions that EAM developed in the country's guerilla zone. Simultaneously, they underline the sense of patriotism, the participation in the liberating activities and the fights against the occupying forces and their Greek collaborators, whereas the acts of war are often described in a cruel –it is true- way. They also refer, even though indirectly, to the key role of the Communist Party of Greece (KKE), N. Zachariadis and A. Velouchiotis, whereas they point out the fascistic and suppressive nature of the regime of the 4th of August (Papamavros, 1983: 10, 82).

Both school books are written in the demotic language and it's worth mentioning that they also use a jargon (typical in the rural areas of Free Greece), as well as words that became popular in these conditions, such as: megaphone, roadblock, Germans collaborators (germanotsolias), link, motorized etc., as well as words derived from the spoken language: shepherd (tsopanis), petrol (benzina), grandmother (gria-vavo) and place names taken from the folk-dialect (Ta aetopoula..., 1944: 26-27).

5. The pedagogical importance of the school books- An interpretive approach

An important aspect of the school books is the turnaround of the value system that emerges represented by their authors, who tried, as we can assume, to present these ideological principles in the school books. The supporters of demotic language in the interwar period, who are inspired by the principles of Work School, adopt the pedagogical views of their German counterparts as well as the principles of pacifist education, as they are expressed throughout the Weimar Republic period. The commitment to the Left and the conjuncture of war will signal the adoption and the use of the pedagogical principles of Work School, not only by the theoretical principles of socialism but also by the ideology of EAM for the national liberation fight.

An overall evaluation of the school books is possible by taking under consideration the other two important aspects of the educational reality: the teacher and the student. Some of the typical features of this period and of the territories controlled by the guerillas include: the existence of family structures, the school drop-out, which was rather increased throughout the previous period, not only in the countryside, but also in the urban centers, the rural community with the tight social bonds and the specific production activities (autoconsumption economy, small size parcels, animal thieve, not industrialized production, work in the family business).

An important factor for the evaluation of every educational reality is the educational stuff, throughout the whole interwar period. The teachers and their trade union instrument DOE, are since the beginning of the interwar period in close relationship with the progressive and left-wing ideas, whereas the educators in general, who are left without a task in the occupation period, will turn to EAM and will develop a collective activity in the context of broader organizations. In the countryside, the teachers and the professors will have the privilege of participating in comparison to other categories of workers to the Resistance. It must also be noted that in the cities the educators will participate in the Central Clerical Committee, which will try to address the nutritional demands and the needs of civil servants. On the other side, since the fall of 1943 teachers associations will be established in the countryside, in order to participate in the liberation fight. The weak occupied state, which in the eyes of the clerks consists of nothing else than a collaborationist regime, that is unable to meet the basic needs of civil servants, will be delegitimized in the eyes of them (Margaritis, 1993: 30 – 45), whereas A. Elefantis (1999: 60) estimates that 32% of the captains of ELAS were teachers.

In relation to the student, who is acknowledged by the pedagogic science as an important factor of the educational reality, it must be noted that the educational work of EAM took place primarily in rural and farming areas. As it is known, the said Free Greece included that mountainous part of the country, where economic backwardness and underdevelopment were most evident. The agricultural and farming sectors suffer from small size parcels, autoconsumption, lack of industrialization, and backwardness. Under these circumstances education even before war was confronted with increased school-dropout rate and the prevalence of random pedagogical communities rather than an official educational system (Xochelis, 2002: 11 - 12). School books depicted the reality of the children in the occupation period.

Complementary to those previously mentioned, we ought to refer to the Communist Party of Greece (KKE) (as a factor that contributed to the coordination and development of a new political reality in the territories that were controlled by the guerilla groups) and its declared goal to organize and guide the activity of the masses. Within this general framework, it will be beneficial to the development of a large organizational basis throughout the occupation period that will number approximately 500.000 members. Youth organizations will be of similar extend through the recruitment of young people and students and the active participation in forms of social and liberal fights, cultural events, and publishing efforts (Varon-Vasar, 1987).

At this point we must take under consideration some observations. First the development of the EAM bloc was mainly based on the social networks that searched for and ensured the essential nutrients, which was associated with the broad organization of the people in various groups, professional, solidarity, youthful, child etc. (Tsoukalas, 1981: 49 – 50). Second, the areas under the control of EAM mainly included remote villages where the traditional structure of the community and the family as well as the tight social relationships were dominant factors, resulting to the broad participation of children to the production activities of the family as well as to the social life. In this sense the school books do not describe mainly an ideal and desired situation for the leadership of EAM, but rather a reality imposed by the needs of everyday life and survival in the occupation period.

We can of course not ignore that a scientific approach of this period can overlook the declared or silent mechanisms and the effort of ideological manipulation and material violence that the venture of EAM entailed. Many references on that can be found indicatively in the way that the armed guerilla groups organized their exchanges with the villages: they received part of the production of the village in return for protection and in the context of development of self-government institutions, which definitely creates conflicts and pressure (Margaritis, 2000: 544).

Complementary to those above mentioned, it must also be underlined that the left-wing communists as well as the right-wing radicals in the interwar period, will attempt new coalitions and bonds between the political forces and the masses, in favor or against the state, through mass organizations and large political parties. Within this framework and limiting our reference to the case of Greece, the regime of the 4rth of August and the left-wing communist party in the interwar period, both being factors of modernization of the Greek society, as well as the forces of EAM in the occupation period, will establish institutions and organizations that outreach the educational goals expressed through liberal education. The roles of "citizen–soldier" and "mother–wife" are now enriched to include the active participation of the masses in the political fights through organizational schemes that extend from a local or strictly professional level to a nationwide network and central escalation. Especially the role of woman, limited in the role of mother and wife, as expressed within the framework of a successful biopolitics, has now gained new aspects in the public sphere, as women participate in organizations such as EON or EPON or just like the occupation period even join the armed forces. Ever since the 4rth of August Regime (dictatorship of Metaxas), EON will see to the "addiction" of the Greek society from the presence of young girls in the public sphere in the context of a politically oriented institution (Vervenioti, 1994: 83 – 92).

Both school books have been considered as propaganda texts or communist propaganda even in contemporary works regarding the History of Education in Modern Greece. Nevertheless, the evaluation of the two school books has to entail the study of the developments and the turnarounds reflected in the way of thinking and in the political orientation of the pedagogues who authored the books and outline the development of left-wing pedagogue thinking from the interwar period up to the end of the occupation. The two school books play a particular role in the attempt of implementing the pedagogic principles of Work School that the Greek supporters of the demotic language and other progressive pedagogues had already accepted since the interwar period (Papamavros, 1930).

We must also clarify the ideological texture of EAM, so as to better understand the value system and the proposals adopted by its members, as well as the goals of its educational proposals. The historical approach of EAM as a social phenomenon and a coalition of power that was developed in the occupation period manifests that EAM is far from being able to be determined as a purely communist bloc, since it was mainly expressed through a jargon more closely related to national and popular liberation than to social division and to working class (proletariat). Moreover, EAM constituted a coalition of powers that included parties and organizations which were not referred to as communist, for which special care had been taken, as it appears in the writings of the communists of that time, before the danger of leaving the coalition of EAM (Chatzis, 1982: 265 – 278). On the other side, the communists of that time already refer to the role of that part of the bourgeois that does not relate to imperialistic interests and the ties with the foreign capital regarding national economy, which according to the leadership of EAM will continue to be an ally even after the liberation. It must also not be forgotten, that the heavy jargon of that time referring to a new type of national revolution like the one in 1821, was nationally rather than ideologically oriented (without forgetting to say that the Marxist approach of 1821 had already taken place a long time before). Besides we can trace the classic ternary scheme of Greek nationalism in the poem "To Minima tis" ("Her Message"), which is included in the school book "Free Greece". A typical example lies in the verses: "It was that sacred hand/ of the eternally free Greece/ the hand that fought in Thermopiles / in Marathon and Salamina / in Plataies and at the Castles of Vosporos/ at the bare mountains of 1821..." (Papamavros, 1983: 49).

It's also worth mentioning that in the same period, Soviet Union will attempt a reproach and reconsideration of its historical past which is also political expressed in the official jargon used by the Communist Party, speaking of heroes and presenting the facts related to tsarist past (Merritt Miner, 2003), whereas in the case of Greece, the Greek Communist Party attempts to influence the clergy that participated in the Resistance and now it had to be regarded as "an instrument to the service of the public interest, as a worthy successor of the traditions of 1821" (Noutsos, 1990: 93).

Moreover, despite the strict and powerful control and guiding mechanisms used by the members of the communist parties, it is hard to argue that the pedagogues who participated in the authoring of the school books especially those noted since the interwar period, such as R. Imvrioti and M. Papamavros, undertook a pedagogical venture with a purely propagandistic content.

Conclusions

The left educational approach is a part of the broader educational reform movement in Greece. Since the early 20's the educational reform in Greece will be based on the principles of the pioneering Work School and the demand for a linguistic reform. The advance of Venizelism will become the political vehicle, through which it will realize the goal of linguistic reform, by incorporating all the progressive demands of the Greek society. The Asia Minor Disaster, the inability of the political powers in the interwar period to offer a stable political environment, the general turn towards authoritarian political solutions and the inability of the Venizelic political powers and the ones originating from them to promote the educational reform, will allow a part of the supporters of the linguistic educational reform to turn towards the Left and adopt new theoretical and practical schemes derived from the educational reality of the Soviet Union.

The demand for a linguistic reform and introduction of the demotic language in the educational system, as well as the demand for the adoption of the principles of Work School, will now be linked to the demand for radical social change and the establishment of socialism. In other words left reformers and primarily D. Glinos will consider that only the change in the productive relationships of the country and the establishment of a socialist regime can make possible an actual realization of the educational reform. The previously mentioned approach of the left intellectual reformers will lead to the division of the Educational Group (Greek: Εκπαιδευτικός Όμιλος) and their removal from the liberal education reformers.

The occupation period will constitute a high note for the left education reformers, who will have the ability, given the social framework and the opportunities, to organize and set the basis for the operation of a new educational system. The study of "The Mountain Education" can't oversee three factors: a) the overall reality shaped by EAM on a social, economic and political level, motivating masses and developing new massive structures of social expression, b) the particular social circumstances, according to which the powers of EAM tried to restore the school network by taking under consideration the basic factor relating to the existence of an underdeveloped rural community. Let's not forget that the mountainous rural areas of Greece formed the basis upon which the institutions of the "Mountain Government" were established. c) The overall cultural and artistic activity of EAM, which fueled education and walked along with it and which is primarily addressed to children, since it includes theater, poetry, and music, as they were expressed by creators such as V. Rota, N. Akiloglou etc.

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