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THE DEAFENING SILENCE OF THE UNBURIED DEAD:  
THE GREEK CIVIL WAR AND HISTORICAL TRAUMA

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*The Deafening Silence of the Unburied Dead:  
The Greek Civil War and Historical Trauma*

For Yiorgos Kasidakos and all those, known and unknown, who fought, resisted, and struggled against Italian and German (Nazi) Fascism, the collaborationist regime of the Kingdom of Bulgaria, British and U.S. Imperialism, and Greek fascist, royalist, rightist, and reactionary forces.

**ΘΑΝΑΤΟΣ ΣΤΟ ΦΑΣΙΣΜΟ**  
DEATH TO FASCISM

**ΘΑΝΑΤΟΣ ΣΤΟΝ ΙΜΠΕΡΙΑΛΙΣΜΟ**  
DEATH TO IMPERIALISM

**ΤΙΜΗ ΚΑΙ ΔΟΞΑ ΣΤΟΥΣ ΗΡΩΙΚΟΥΣ ΜΑΧΗΤΕΣ ΤΟΥ ΚΟΜΜΟΥΝΙΣΤΙΚΟΥ ΚΟΜΜΑΤΟΣ**  
**ΕΛΛΑΔΑΣ (ΚΚΕ) ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΕΑΜ · ΕΛΑΣ · ΕΠΟΝ · ΟΠΛΑ · ΔΣΕ**  
HONOR AND GLORY TO THE HEROIC FIGHTERS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREECE  
(ΚΚΕ) AND OF ΕΑΜ · ΕΛΑΣ · ΕΠΟΝ · ΟΠΛΑ · ΔΣΕ



**ΠΡΟΛΕΤΑΡΙΟΙ ΟΛΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΧΩΡΩΝ, ΕΝΩΘΕΙΤΕ!**  
WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

戴镣长街行，告别众乡亲。  
砍头不要紧，只要主义真。  
杀了我一个，自有后来人。  
东方红 (一九六五)

Taken down the street in fetters,  
I bid farewell to kith and kin.  
To be beheaded is nothing,  
As long as our cause is just.  
One may be killed,  
But millions will carry the revolution forward.  
*The East is Red* (1965)

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Şehîd Namirin! Devrim Şehitleri Ölümsüzdür! Martyrs are Immortal! Οι Μάρτυρες είναι Αθάνατοι!

Most importantly, this work is dedicated with infinite love to Sojourner Azadeh and Theodore Wren who are now part of this history. May you both continue the struggle for liberation.



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## ABSTRACT, KEY WORDS & SUBJECT

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### **ABSTRACT:**

While World War II was still raging in Europe and the Pacific, the onset of the Greek Civil War in December 1944 marked the beginning of the Cold War. For the people of Greece, the civil war would continue the devastation that the Italian, German, and Bulgarian occupations had initiated. The civil war's catastrophic cleavages in Greek society are still part of contemporary social and political life. For my family, the civil war's barbarity is manifest in the brutal execution of my great-uncle Yiorgos (George) Kasidakos, a partisan of ELAS who was imprisoned in Gytheio following the Treaty of Varkiza. On March 21<sup>st</sup>, 1947, George and 31 other political prisoners were brutally executed by a monarcho-fascist gang comprised of members of EAOK, X, and local paramilitaries under the leadership of Kostas Bathrellos. Following the formal ending of hostilities, my family experienced repression, harassment, and for some, exile. Most of the family would emigrate in the 1950s and 1960s to Canada and the United States. Theio Yiorgo and the war continued to haunt my grandparents for their entire lives. The unburied dead of that atrocity left no closure for our family, making for an ongoing struggle in our memory, lived existence, and interactions with both people and landscapes. This thesis investigates the historical events surrounding the execution of Yiorgos Kasidakos; historical trauma in both theory and practice; necropolitics, death, and memory in Greece; and lastly, how the unburied body of Theio Yiorgo shapes my political consciousness.

**KEY WORDS:** Greek Civil War, World War II, Historical Trauma, Mourning, Death, Necropolitics, Gytheio (Mani, Lakonia, Peloponnese), Communist Party of Greece (KKE)

**SUBJECT:** Cultural Anthropology / Autoethnography / History

## ABBREVIATIONS AND GLOSSARY OF TERMS

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### ABBREVIATIONS

AAP	Australian Associated Press
AP	Associated Press
BUP	British United Press
DSE	<i>Dimokratikos Stratos Elladas</i> Δημοκρατικός Στρατός Ελλάδας (ΔΣΕ) Democratic Army of Greece
DSP	<i>Dimokratikos Stratos Peloponnisou</i> Δημοκρατικός Στρατός Πελοποννήσου (ΔΣΠ) Democratic Army of Peloponnesus
EAM	<i>Ethniko Apeleftherotiko Metopo</i> Εθνικό Απελευθερωτικό Μέτωπο National Liberation Front
EAOK	<i>Ethnikes Antikommunistikes Omades Kynigon</i> Εθνικές Αντικομμουνιστικές Ομάδες Κυνηγών National Anti-communist Hunter Teams
ELAS	<i>Ethnikos Laïkos Apeleftherotikos Stratos</i> Εθνικός Λαϊκός Απελευθερωτικός Στρατός (ΕΛΑΣ) Greek People's Liberation Army <sup>1</sup>
EPON	<i>Eniaia Panelladiki Organosi Neon</i> Ενιαία Πανελλαδική Οργάνωση Νέων (ΕΠΟΝ) United Panhellenic Organization of Youth
INS	International News Service
KEP	<i>Kentro Exypiretisis Politon</i> Κέντρο Εξυπηρέτησης Πολιτών (ΚΕΠ) Citizens Service Center
KKE	<i>Kommounistiko Komma Ellados</i> Κομμουνιστικό Κόμμα Ελλάδας Communist Party of Greece
ONA	Overseas News Agency
OPLA	<i>Organosi Perifrourosis Laïkou Agona</i> Οργάνωση Περιφρούρησης Λαϊκού Αγώνα (ΟΠΛΑ) Organization for the Protection of the People's Struggle
PASOK	<i>Panellinio Sosialistiko Kinima</i> Πανελλήνιο Σοσιαλιστικό Κίνημα (ΠΑΣΟΚ) Panhellenic Socialist Movement
UP	United Press
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

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<sup>1</sup> Sometimes ELAS is referred to as the “National People's Liberation Army” or “National Popular Liberation Army.”

## GLOSSARY OF TERMS

- Andartis, Andartes (Αντάρτης, Αντάρτες): Guerrilla, rebel, insurgent (singular, plural).
- Aristeros, Aristeroi (Αριστερός, Αριστεροί): Leftist, Left-wing (singular, plural).
- Barbas (Μπάρμπας): Uncle or an older man.<sup>2</sup>
- Chites (Χίτες): Members of Organization X.
- Dekemvriana (Δεκεμβριανά): The “December Events.”<sup>3</sup>
- Deksios, Deksioi (Δεξιός, Δεξιοί): Rightist, Right-wing (singular, plural).
- Dimotiki (Δημοτική): Modern vernacular form of the Greek language.
- Dimotiko (Δημοτικό): Primary School.
- Emfilios (Εμφύλιος): Civil War.<sup>4</sup>
- Gymnasio (Γυμνάσιο): Middle School.
- Horio (Χωριό): Village.
- Kafeneio (Καφενείο): Traditional Greek café (can also serve Ouzo and Tsipouro) and social hub.
- Kakodelis (Κακοντελής): Localism for Κακομοίρης which means “poor thing” or “miserable.”<sup>5</sup>
- Katharevousa (Καθαρεύουσα): Form of the Greek language bridged Ancient and Demotic Greek.
- Katochi (Κατοχή): Occupation. Refers to the Axis Occupation of Greece from 1941-1944.
- Koukouloforoi (Κουκουλοφόροι): “Those who wear hoods.”<sup>6</sup>
- Pappous (Παππούς): Grandfather.
- Peina (Πείνα): Hunger.
- Plateia (Πλατεία): Town square.
- Polemos (Πόλεμος): War.
- Psychosavato (Ψυχοσάββατο): Saturday of the Souls.<sup>7</sup>
- Stratopedo (Στρατόπεδο): Army base.
- Symmoria (Συμμορία): Gang.
- Syntrofos, Syntrofisa (Σύντροφος, Συντρόφισσα): Comrade (male, female).
- Theia (Θεία): Aunt.
- Theios (Θείος): Uncle.
- Yiayia (Γιαγιά): Grandmother.

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2 Etymologically comes from the word, *barba*, which is used in the Venetian dialect of Italian to describe facial hair.

3 Refers to the fighting in Athens which took place between EAM-ELAS and KKE's OPLA and the Greek government, Right-wing (Organization X), and British forces from December 3rd, 1944 to January 11th, 1945.

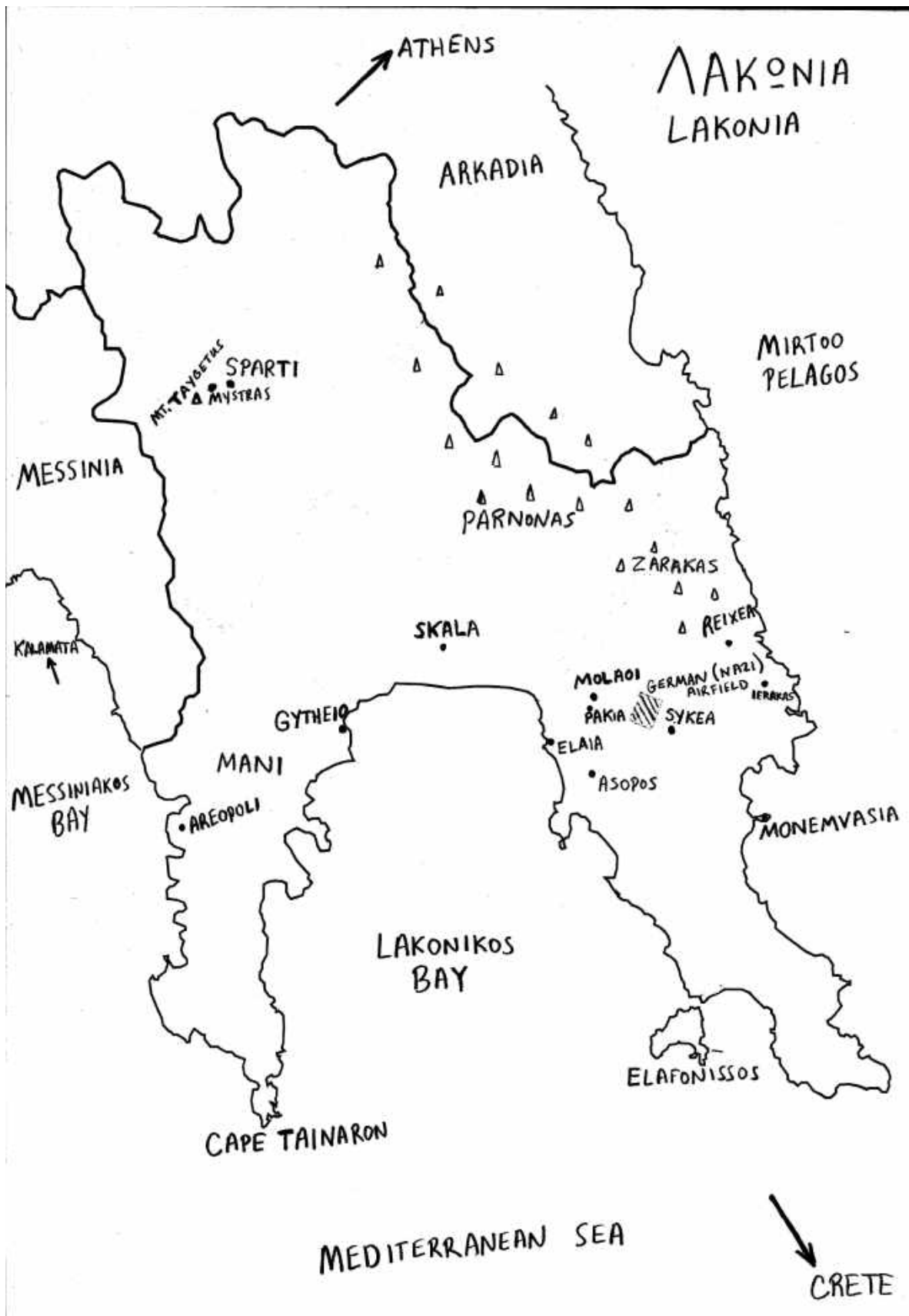
4 Refers to the Greek Civil War from 1946-1949. Some have argued that the Greek Civil War started in 1944.

5 S. Peloponnese (Lakonia, Messenia) and Kythira. Used affectionately to commiserate, express longing, or grief.

6 During World War II and the Greek Civil War, the *Koukouloforoi* were members of the various monarcho-fascist paramilitary formations who would terrorize the countryside. Oftentimes compared to the Ku Klux Klan.

7 Day for collectively commemorating the dead in Eastern Orthodox Christianity.

MAP OF LAKONIA (ΛΑΚΩΝΙΑ)



## PROLOGUE: AN ETERNAL NIGHTMARE

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Two killed, five killed, twelve—so very many.  
Each hour has its killing. Behind the windows  
stand those who are missing, and the jug full of water they didn't  
drink.

Yiannis Ritsos, *Afternoon*<sup>1</sup>

When we strike the match, she turns slowly and moves off  
with inexplicable concentration toward the kitchen. Her back  
is a bitterly sad hill loaded with many dead—  
the family's dead, her dead, your own death.

Yiannis Ritsos, *Women*<sup>2</sup>

Yiayia slipped outside still dressed in her nightgown. She was well known, and notorious I should add, for gardening in her nightgown at all hours of the day. We had just finished lunch, and the warm, partly cloudy weather embraced us after living through yet another cold New England winter. Stepping outside to join Yiayia in the garden, I exited the door, turning to look at her in the midst of all the vegetables, flowers, and occasional weeds coming up from that small patch of land behind our three-decker in Worcester, Massachusetts.<sup>3</sup> As I looked at her, I noticed something moving through the sky above her. In moments, its ominous form, reminiscent of Chernabog from the Night on Bald Mountain in Disney's *Fantasia*, hurtled towards us. Yiayia, who was bent over, instantly stood up, looking toward the sky. “Go inside!” she yelled. I ran for cover under the doorway. Quickly turning around, I put my head outside the door frame, peaking up. The plane roared over us, its massive wings menacingly outstretched.<sup>4</sup> It was a monster, an object whose only purpose was to sow destruction and

1 Excerpt from Yiannis Ritsos' poem *Afternoon* (Απόγευμα) found in, Edmund Keeley (trans.), *Ritsos in Parentheses* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), 22-23.

2 Excerpt from Yiannis Ritsos' poem *Women* (Γυναίκες) found in, *Ibid.*, 28-29.

3 Three-deckers or “triple-deckers” are multi-family homes that were built, mainly in the Northeast United States, in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries to house the millions of immigrants arriving to the U.S. Worcester, in particular, has beautiful three-deckers that are not only historic monuments but architectural gems. They were important aspects of immigrant life, especially for Greeks, who could have multiple generations living in the same house in different apartments. Our family three-decker was located at 1 Federal Place, Worcester, MA 01602. For more see, Marilyn W. Spear, *Worcester's Three-Deckers* (Worcester: Worcester Bicentennial Commission, 1977).

4 “Stealthy but Friendly,” *Telegram & Gazette* (Worcester, MA), June 02, 1993, A1.

instill fear in those who were unfortunate enough to behold it. Yiayia stood still as the bomber passed overhead, her hands by her sides shaking ever so slightly. With the F-117A Nighthawk stealth fighter having departed, I approached her as she slowly moved to continue where she had left off. Her eyes, filled with the images of ghosts and horror, looked down. Silently, she continued gardening, reaching her hands into the nourishing dirt.

Throughout my childhood, Yiayia and Pappou recounted countless stories of the *polemos* and *emfilios*. Entombed by the unending horror of nearly a decade of war, hunger, and poverty unleashed upon the people of Greece, they lived with the trauma of a time long since past. It was a permanent state of haunting, a war without end.<sup>5</sup> Planes overhead were reminders of the German airfield outside of Yiayia's village of Molaoi and Pappou's village of Sykia.<sup>6</sup> I remember when Theia Zozo upon hearing an airplane overhead would startle, immediately making motions to crawl under a nearby table. Both Yiayia and Pappou vividly remembered the sounds of the Ju 87 “Stuka” dive bombers. In Piraeus, Pappou recounted the buildings that were bombed and the desolate streets filled with screams, groans, and muffled cries. After one such bombing, Pappou, a teenager, emerged from a basement to find a man dying in the street. He cautiously approached the man who was burned and mortally wounded.

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5 I use the term haunting here in the Derridean sense of the term. The future so many had fought and died for in Greece, a vision of a society having overcome feudal and bourgeois social relations where the people were the rulers (λαοκρατία) ultimately failed. It is here that my Yiayia and Pappou along with so many others were unable to cope with the loss of paradise, a utopian project gone awry. To their horror, what replaced that possible future was its inverse; a monarcho-fascist regime and the rule of the ultra-right from the end of the Greek Civil War through the Military Junta (1967-1974). To only make matters worse, the family was hit by another loss, that of the collapse of the USSR in 1991. My Pappou's brother Theio Niko, like so many Communists, lamented the liquidationist policies of General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev. Theia Voula recounted her father's words at that time, “τώρα αρχίζει η καταστροφή του κομμουνισμού.” For those who struggled for a workers paradise, not only did they fail to realize a Communist future but their ideological headquarters, the home of the revolution that inspired all subsequent revolutions, was collapsing before their very eyes. It was in this context that *Rizospastis*, the daily of the Communist Party of Greece (KKE), in its 28 December 1991 issue (Αριθ. Φύλλου 5231) had a large red banner with the hammer and sickle emblazoned on it with the phrase “ΨΗΛΑ ΤΗ ΣΗΜΑΙΑ” or “high up with the flag” while the historic red banner came down from atop the Kremlin. For Derrida's hauntology see, Jacques Derrida, *Specters of Marx* (New York: Routledge, 1994).

6 Molaoi (Μολάοι) and Sykia (Katharevousa: Συκέα / Dimotiki: Συκιά), Lakonia, Peloponnese. For introductions to the history of modern Greece see, Christopher Montague Woodhouse, *Modern Greece: A Short History* (London: Faber & Faber, 1991); Richard Clogg, *A Concise History of Greece* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

Looking at Pappou, the man asked for something sweet. Pappou reached into his pocket and put his only piece of candy into the man's mouth. The man, shortly thereafter succumbing to his injuries, died alone on that street. Stories abound. Yiayia and Pappou brought the war home. It followed them everywhere they went. "Don't throw food away!" they would exclaim. "It's a sin!" Yiayia would wash all plastic containers and glass jars, hoarding and storing everything from buttons to seeds, always with the underlying logic that another war could break out at any time. The war became part of our lives.<sup>7</sup> One event in particular evoked all of the pain and horror of the war. It was an open wound, a void in Pappou's life, and one of the darkest mysteries for much of our lives.

While World War II was raging in Europe and the Pacific, the onset of the Greek Civil War in 1944 marked the beginning of what would become the Cold War. For the people of Greece, the Civil War would continue the barbarity that the Italian, German, and Bulgarian occupations had initiated. The Civil War and the catastrophic cleavages it created in society are still part of the socio-political life of modern Greece. Its destructive impact continues to haunt not only those who personally lived it, but also their descendants who experience the Civil War through their trauma. On March 21, 1947, my great-uncle Yiorgos (George) Kasidakos, a partisan of ELAS, was executed along with 31 other political prisoners in Gytheio.<sup>8</sup> His arrest had come just a few short weeks after his wedding. Incarcerated and eventually brutally executed in the *plateia* of Gytheio, his death was the most traumatic event for my family in the course of the war. Following the formal ending of hostilities, my family, communists and leftists who had supported both the anti-fascist struggle and the struggle against Anglo-American imperialism, experienced repression, harassment, imprisonment, and for some, exile. Most of the family would emigrate in the 1950s to Canada and then in the 1960s to the U.S.A.

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7 For another similar work, see: Irene Kacandes, *Daddy's War [Greek American Stories]* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009).

8 In Greek, Γύθειο and in Ancient Greek, Γύθειον. Alternative spellings in English include but are not limited to, Gythion, Ghthyion, Gythium, Gytheion, Gythio, and Yithion.

Theio Yiorgo and the war continued to haunt my grandparents throughout their entire lives. The unburied dead of that atrocity left no real closure for our family, making for an ongoing struggle in our collective memory, lived existence, and interactions with both people and landscape.

This thesis will begin by presenting a brief historical overview of World War II and the Civil War in Greece. Secondly, it will focus on the execution of 32 political prisoners in Gytheio and the events that followed. Thirdly, I will briefly describe theories of historical trauma, applying them to my family and presenting various instances where these hidden wounds of war were manifest in our daily life. Fourthly, I will address necropolitics, death rituals, and how the unburied body of Theio Yiorgo has remained the very center of my family's trauma. Concordantly, great emphasis will be placed on the importance of memory. Lastly, I will address how the specter of Theio Yiorgo and the memories of the war have profoundly shaped my political consciousness.

## GOLGOTHA: WAR IN GREECE

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Let noble wrath  
Boil over like a wave!  
This is the people's war,  
a Sacred war!

*The Sacred War*<sup>9</sup>

Ταῦγετο καὶ Πάρνωννα  
ἀντάρτες πολεμᾶνε  
τὸν αἰμοβόρο φασισμό  
ξανὰ τὸν κυνηγᾶνε.

*Ταῦγετος και Πάρωννας*<sup>10</sup>

Τὰ ντουφέκια σας στὸ χέρι,  
πάρτε τώρα νιοὶ καὶ γέροι.  
Τὰ ντουφέκια σας στὸ χέρι,  
πάρτε τώρα, καλογέροι.

*Ξύπνα Καῦμένη μου Μωριά*<sup>11</sup>

Pappou Panagiotis Kasidakos was born in Sykia, Lakonia in 1926.<sup>12</sup> His father, Leonidas

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- 9 One of the most famous songs of the Great Patriotic War, “The Sacred War” (Священная война) is a hymn to the struggle against fascism by the people of the Soviet Union. Its lyrics were written in 1941 by Vasily Lebedev-Kumach and the music is by Aleksandr Aleksandrov. For more see, Gabriela Welch, “Remembrance, Religion and Reconciliation after the Fall of the Soviet Union,” in *Aftermath: Legacies and Memories of War in Europe, 1918-1945-1989*, eds. Nicholas Martin, Tim Haughton, and Pierre Purseigle, (New York: Routledge, 2016), 175.
- 10 *Το Αντάρτικο και το Επαναστατικό Τραγούδι* (Αθήνα: Εκδόσεις Μνήμη, 1975), 78. This song and the following song cited are from the section of the book entitled “ΤΡΑΓΟΥΔΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΜΟΡΦΑ.”
- 11 *Ibid.*, 79.
- 12 The last name Kasidakos has been written in Greek as both Κασσιδάκος and Κασιδάκος and thus written in English as Kassidakos and Kasidakos respectively (in Canada, my Yiayia and Pappou had the last name spelled Cassidakos for a period of time.) The reason for the double versus single sigma, from what I have been told, was that there was no set rule on how to spell names that had a sigma within. Coupled with the transformations of the Greek language (katharevousa v. demotic) as well as the existence of dialects, including in Mani, there was no consistency in how our family, and the state, spelled the name. The patronymic suffix *-akos* is specific to Mani. The Greek prefix *kasid-* can etymologically be traced to (κάσσις) and (κασσίδιον), derived from the Latin *cassis*, which refer to the steel helmet of a Roman and later Byzantine infantryman. Source: Raffaele D'Amato, “A Sixth or Early Seventh Century Ad Iconography of Roman Military Equipment in Egypt: The Deir Abou Hennis Frescoes,” in *A Military History of the Mediterranean Sea: Aspects of War, Diplomacy, and Military Elites*, eds. Georgios Theotokis, Aysel Yıldız, (Boston: Brill, 2018), 114. Later on, the term κασίδα meant Favus (tinea favosa), a dermatophytic infection caused by *Trichophyton schoenleinii*. Pappou recounted how at the time of the *Turkokratia* (Τουρκοκρατία) or Ottoman Greece, a band of men approached our ancestral home to arrest and possibly kill one or more of our family members. An old woman of our family, or a yiayia of generations ago as my Pappou recounted, was on the balcony and told the men to not come in since our family had κασίδα. Fearing that they would contract the disease, the men left and so, as the story goes, the men of our family were saved. Thus, we were thereafter referred to as Kasidakos. This is the supposed origin of our family name. This story has been corroborated by other family members. For more on Maniot names see, Niki Didika, “A Study of Family Names Among the Maniates (Greece),” in Paul H. Stahl (ed.), *Name and Social Structure: Examples from Southeast Europe*, trans. Carvel de Bussy (Boulder: East European Monographs, 1998), 27-48. On

Kasidakos, had moved to Sykia from his ancestral home of Areopoli in Mani, Lakonia.<sup>13</sup> The circumstances of Pappou Leonidas's departure from Areopoli are still unknown. Some family members claim that a vendetta forced him to flee Areopoli, and Mani altogether, settling across the Lakonikos Bay in the village of Sykia.<sup>14</sup> Pappou never spoke of his father's brothers, but when asked who they were and if he had ever met them, he remained cryptic, insinuating they had been killed by vendettas. Only one sibling of Pappou Leonidas, Barba Petros (Μπάρμπα Πέτρος), was known to me with only one existing picture of him with Pappou Leonidas in our family archive.<sup>15</sup> Others claim he left because his first wife died (with competing claims that she died during childbirth or was killed because of a vendetta), leaving him alone to raise his first child, Stavroula. Pappou's mother, Yiayia Paraskevi Stappas, came from a large family in Sykia with many of her siblings and cousins eventually moving to the United States, particularly, Rhode Island. Like so many others from Sykia and the surrounding villages, many of them migrated to Pireaus to find work and have greater opportunities than they did in the horio.<sup>16</sup>

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Greek names overall see, Nick Nicholas, "Greek Family Names," in *Dictionary of American Family Names Volume 1: A-F*, ed. Patrick Hanks, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), lxxiii-lxxv. For Pappou's obituary see, "Panagiotis 'Peter' Kasidakos, 92," *Telegram & Gazette* (Worcester, MA), June 15, 2018.

- 13 The Maniates are historically well known for piracy, vendettas, and their warrior culture. Their houses, which are architecturally unique in Greece, are built like small castles in fortified villages. These "house-towers" were used to protect the locals from piracy, invasion, and vendettas. For more on the architecture of Mani see, Σαΐτας Γιάννης, *Ελληνική Παραδοσιακή Αρχιτεκτονική: Μάνη* (Αθήνα: Μέλισσα, 1992). On the history of Mani see, Κάσσης Δ. Κυριάκος, *Ιστορία της Μάνης* (Αθήνα, 1977). For anthropological sources see, Κάσσης Δ. Κυριάκος, *Λαογραφία της Μέσα Μάνης Τόμοι Α΄ - Β΄* (Αθήνα, 1980-1981); Constantina Nadia Seremataki, *The Last Word: Women, Death, and Divination in Inner Mani* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991). For the famous travelogue of Mani see, Patrick Leigh Fermor, *Mani: Travels in the Southern Peloponnese* (London: John Murray, 1958).
- 14 For a history of the village of Sykia in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century see, Σταύρος Αβδούλος, *Λαϊκές Παραδόσεις: Μνήμες και Βιώματα από τη Ζωή του Χωριού Συκιά Λακωνίας* (Αθήνα: Φιλίστωρ, 2001).
- 15 Barba Petros still lived in Areopoli even after Pappou Leonidas left. The photograph's date cannot be ascertained but it is hypothesized to have been taken sometime after the Greek Civil War. The circumstances surrounding the meeting in the photograph, which appears to have been a formal meal (τραπέζι), is unknown. What is known is that Petros Kasidakos had a son Elia (Ηλία) and a few other children. Elia fought in the Korean War in the Greek Army under United Nations Command (UNC). He has a son Yiorgos who owns the butcher shop (Κρεοπωλείο) "Η Στάνη" at the *plateia* of Areopoli. From what I have gathered from family, and from Pappou in particular, the family in Areopoli are all right-wing (δεξιοί) with some even openly supportive of the neo-Nazi party Golden Dawn (Χρυσή Αυγή).
- 16 According to field work done by John Nicholas Andromedas, "Mani reached its population peak about 1900 and began to decline after that. During and since World War II the pace has greatly accelerated. The direction of movement is to the Athens-Pireus area (over 90%)." John Nicholas Andromedas, "The Inner Maniat Community Type: A Study of the

Yiayia Angeliki Kasidakos was born in Molaioi, Lakonia in 1932.<sup>17</sup> Her father, Panagiotis Nikolinakos, also had family roots in Mani, though we are unsure under what circumstances he or his relatives left.<sup>18</sup> During the Greco-Turkish War (1919-1922), Pappou Panagiotis fought in the Greek Army of Asia Minor (Στρατιά Μικράς Ασίας) and witnessed firsthand the Asia Minor Catastrophe (Μικρασιατική Καταστροφή). Returning to Greece after the war, he quickly became involved in leftist politics.<sup>19</sup> A learned man who had completed *Gymnasio* (Γυμνάσιο), or “middle school,” at a time when most of the people in rural Greece were illiterate (αγράμματα), he dedicated his time to reading and writing. He married Yiayia Konstantina Kryptos from Pakia (Πάκια), an illiterate *agrotissa* (αγρότισσα) from a poor family. They lived in very poor conditions.<sup>20</sup> Pappou Panagiotis sold most of his inherited land, and Yiayia Konstantina worked extremely hard to cultivate what little land they had left in order to provide food and olive oil for the family.<sup>21</sup> Life was extremely hard for Greek peasants, whose world was about to be shattered by another war.<sup>22</sup> For Theia Maria, her hands trembling and

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Local Community's Changing Articulation with Society,” Ph.D. Dissertation, (Columbia University, 1962), 110.

- 17 For more on Molaioi and its history see, *Το Χαμένο Πρόσωπο του Τόπου μας – Μολάιοι* (Μολάιοι: Κέντρο Περιβαλλοντικής Εκπαίδευσης Μολάων, 2011). For Yiayia's obituary see, “Angeliki (Nikolinakos) Kasidakos, 73,” *Telegram & Gazette* (Worcester, MA), July 4, 2005, A5.
- 18 Locals have spoken to me about the arrival of Maniates in Pakia and the surrounding areas during the Greek War of Independence (the castle of Monemvasia was of strategic importance) and how many of them eventually settled in the area along with migrants from Crete.
- 19 The Nikolinakos family were mostly all *aristeroi*. One of Yiayia's cousins, whom she was close to in her youth, was Marios Nikolinakos, Professor of Economics at the Free University of Berlin. Active in leftist politics, he was renowned for his economic analysis of capitalism, particularly as it relates to migration, labor, and race. In 2010, he was featured in the documentary *Λόγος και Αντίσταση* by director Timon Koulmasis (Τίμων Κουλμάσης). For more see, Marios Nikolinakos, “Notes toward a General Theory of Migration in Late Capitalism,” *Race & Class* Vol. 17, No. 1 (1975), 5-17; Marios Nikolinakos, “Notes on an Economic Theory of Racism,” *Race & Class* Vol. 14, No. 4 (1973), 365-381.
- 20 The childhood house of my Yiayia Angeliki, what we in Greek call the πατρικό σπίτι (paternal house) was a small dark stone house with very little light. Part of the house was a stable where the donkey lived. The house is located at οδός Παναγίτσας 25 in Molaioi. My mom, who spent her childhood in Greece, always mentions how damp, dark, and depressing that home was.
- 21 Pappou Panagiotis is often criticized for not having worked hard enough for the family. The selling of most of the inherited land was, according to some family members, a political decision (against big landowners/feudal relations). Likewise, his relationship with Yiayia Konstantina was also difficult. For example, Yiayia Konstantina would burn his papers, letters, and pages from his books to start the φούρνος (oven) outside the house in order to make food. Yiayia Konstantina did not do it out of hate or anger, but out of a need to get the fire started. Since she was illiterate, she didn't understand why a resource, in this case his papers, needed to be saved.
- 22 An example of peasant suffering leading a revolt and a brutal crackdown is the uprising in Kileler (Κιλελέρ), Thessalia (Θεσσαλία) in March 1910. The story was the inspiration for the 1966 film, *Blood on the Land* (*Το Χώμα Βάφτηκε*

tears coming down her cheeks, this period of life was Golgotha.<sup>23</sup>

German territorial expansion (*lebensraum*), already well underway since the invasion of Poland in September 1939, was of concern to the Italian fascist regime of Benito Mussolini. Angered by what he perceived as German expansion into the Balkans following Hitler's move into Romania, he prepared to launch his own invasion of the Balkans.<sup>24</sup> On October 28, 1940, the Italian ambassador in Athens gave the dictator of Greece, Ioannis Metaxas, an ultimatum for the occupation of parts of Greece by Italian troops. Metaxas rejected the ultimatum, and Italy invaded, thus beginning the Greco-Italian War.<sup>25</sup> Greek forces mounted their defenses in the mountains of Epirus along the Albanian border. Theio Nikolaos Kasidakos, according to family members, was part of the campaign in the mountains against the Italian invasion. Italian forces, unable to defeat the Greek forces who used the mountains to their advantage, entertained the possibility of settling the conflict with a negotiated peace with Germany as mediator. Hitler, preparing for an invasion of the Soviet Union and fearing a counterattack on the Nazi right-flank by British forces in Greece, had no choice but to militarily occupy Greece. Nazi Germany launched Operation Marita on April 6, 1941, and within weeks had raised the swastika over the Acropolis in Athens.<sup>26</sup>

German troops quickly advanced into the Peloponnese and captured Lakonia in late April 1941. In between the villages of Molaoi and Sykia, the Nazis hastily constructed an airfield in preparations

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Κόκκινο). For more see, Γιώργος Δ. Καρανικόλας, *Κιλελέρ* (Αθήνα: Θουκυδίδης, 1983). Greece has suffered multiple wars, civil wars, and economic crises in its less than two hundred year history. For more see, Γιώργος Β. Δερτιλής, *Επτά Πόλεμοι, Τέσσερις Εμφύλιοι, Επτά Πτωχεύσεις, 1821 - 2016* (Αθήνα: Πόλις, 2016).

23 Theia Maria Katelani who resides in Elaia, always says “Η ζωή μου ήτανε ένας Γολγοθάς” when referencing the *katochi*, *emfilios*, and subsequent years.

24 Mark Mazower, *Inside Hitler's Greece: The Experience of Occupation, 1941-44* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 15.

25 Leften Stavros Stavrianos, *The Balkans since 1453* (New York: New York University Press, 2000), 750.

26 For more see, Gerhard Schrieber, Bernd Stegemann, and Detlef Vogel, *Germany and the Second World War: Volume III: The Mediterranean, South-East Europe, and North Africa 1939-1941* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995); Craig Stockings and Eleanor Hancock, *Swastika over the Acropolis: Re-interpreting the Nazi Invasion of Greece in World War II* (Boston: Brill, 2013).

for the airborne invasion of Crete.<sup>27</sup> Aircraft based at Molaoi included the Messerschmitt Bf 109 and the Junkers Ju 87 or Stuka.<sup>28</sup> By the beginning of June, German forces were victorious in the Battle of Crete, though having suffered heavy losses. The Nazi war machine pivoted east. Under the codename Operation Barbarossa, Nazi Germany launched a massive invasion of the USSR on June 22, 1941. With the Soviet Union now in the war and bearing the entire might of Nazi barbarity, partisan movements emerged throughout the Balkans and Eastern Europe, motivated by anti-fascism, nationalism, and in some cases, even religion.<sup>29</sup> Greece was divided into different zones of occupation, with the Germans mainly in the North and on some of the Islands, most notably Crete and Lesvos (Mytilene), the Italians in most of mainland Greece, including the Peloponnese as well as the Ionian and Cyclades islands, and the Bulgarians occupying parts of Macedonia and Thrace.<sup>30</sup>

The Communist Party of Greece (KKE), founded in 1918, had been severely persecuted under the Metaxas dictatorship with many imprisoned, tortured, and killed.<sup>31</sup> During the spring and summer of 1941, KKE founded organizations for resistance and aid, especially to provide relief for those suffering from the famine. In a short period of time, KKE was able to build large networks of

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27 For a history of the German airfield at Molaoi see, Τάσος Σ. Αναστασάκης, *Το Αεροδρόμιο των Μολάων: Χρονικό της Δράσης των Γερμανών στη Νοτιοανατολική Λακωνία 1941-1944* (Σπαρτη: ΙΔΙΟΜΟΡΦΗ, 2012).

28 Units (fighter-wings) that were stationed at the airfield at Molaoi from VIII. *Fliegerkorps* (8<sup>th</sup> Air Corps) included Stab JG 77 (*Gruppe Jagdgeschwader*), II./JG 77, III./JG 77, I.(J)/LG 2 (*Lehrgeschwader*) under Hpt (Haupt) Herbert Ihlefeld. Others included III./JG 52 and Stab, I./StG 2 (*Sturzkampfgeschwader – Immelmann*) which was commanded by Oberst Oskar Dinort at the time. Sources: Jerry Scutts, *Bf 109 Aces of North Africa and the Mediterranean* (London: Osprey, 1994), 81; Editors of Time-Life Books, *Conquest of the Balkans* (Alexandria: Time-Life Books, 1990), 147; John Weal, *Jagdgeschwader 52: The Experten* (Oxford: Osprey, 2004), 56; John Weal, *Junkers Ju 87: Stukageschwader of North Africa and the Mediterranean* (London: Osprey, 1998), 34-35; Christopher Shores, Brian Cull, and Nicola Malizia, *Air War for Yugoslavia, Greece and Crete 1940-41* (London: Grub Street, 1987), 337-338.

29 For a background on the anti-fascist movement and the Communist International see, George Dimitrov, *Against Fascism and War* (New York: International Publishers, 1986); Clara Zetkin, *Fighting Fascism: How to Struggle and How to Win* (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2017). For the struggle in the Soviet Union and how it relates to nationalism and religion, in particular Orthodox Christianity, see, Steven Merritt Miner, *Stalin's Holy War: Religion, Nationalism, and Alliance Politics, 1941-1945* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2003).

30 Mark Mazower, *Inside Hitler's Greece: The Experience of Occupation, 1941-44*, 20-22.

31 For a history of KKE (1918-1968) see, Γιώργης Δ. Κατσούλης, *Ιστορία του Κομμουνιστικού Κόμματος Ελλάδας Τόμοι Α'-Ζ'* (Αθήνα: Λιβάνης, 1976-1978). On Marxism and the KKE see, Ole L. Smith, "Marxism in Greece: The Case of the KKE," *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* Vol. 3, No. 1 (1985), 45-64.

resistance, eventually founding the largest resistance movement of World War II in Greece, the National Liberation Front (EAM).<sup>32</sup> While playing a leading role in the movement, KKE did not seek to place a singular leader (αρχηγός) for EAM but rather formed a committee. Mark Mazower writes, “[EAM's] anonymity was bound up with an essentially new form of political activity in Greece, a process of mass social mobilization.”<sup>33</sup> KKE opened EAM up to other leftist and liberal organizations in order not to make their role too visible and in following with the larger trend in the Communist International regarding the Popular Front policy announced by Nikos Zachariadis (General Secretary of the Communist Party of Greece, 1931-1956).<sup>34</sup>

By the spring of 1942, EAM organized its armed-wing, ELAS.<sup>35</sup> Under the command of Athanasios Klaras (Αθανάσιος Κλάρας), better known by his *nom de guerre* Aris Velouchiotis (Άρης Βελουχιώτης), ELAS intensified the armed struggle against occupation forces and their collaborators.<sup>36</sup> From our family, Theio Niko and Theio Yiorgo both joined ELAS. Theio Yiorgo *nom de guerre*

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32 In particular EA - National Solidarity (Εθνική Αλληλεγγύη) was founded in May 1941, eventually becoming a part of EAM. Afterwards, EEAM – National Workers' Liberation Front (Εργατικό Εθνικό Απελευθερωτικό Μέτωπο) was founded in July 1941. Source: C.M. Woodhouse, *The Struggle for Greece: 1941-1949* (London: C. Hurst & Col., 2002), 21. The Popular Front (sometimes substituted for United Front) was a policy adopted by the 7th World Congress of the Communist International (Comintern) [Third International] which was held in Moscow in 1935. Georgi (George) Dimitrov is most often known as the main advocate for the policy. For more see, *VII Congress of the Communist International: Abridged Stenographic Report of Proceedings* (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1939); Jane Degras (ed.), *The Communist International 1919–1943: Documents, Vol. III, 1929–1943* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965).

33 Mark Mazower, *Inside Hitler's Greece: The Experience of Occupation, 1941-44*, 96.

34 David H. Close, *The Origins of the Greek Civil War* (New York: Longman, 1995), 79.

35 See: Dominique Eudes, *The Kapetanios: Partisans and Civil War in Greece, 1943-1949* (New York: New Left Books, 1972); Spyros Tsoutsoumpis, *A History of the Greek Resistance in the Second World War: The People's Armies* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016). On the history of KKE's strategy during World War II and the Greek Civil War see, Haris Vlavianos, *Greece, 1941-49: From Resistance to Civil War: The Strategy of the Greek Communist Party* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1992).

36 Aris Velouchiotis has been likened to Che Guevara and is sometimes referred to by some as “the Greek Che.” “In some cases, anti-fascism could be combined with the anti-imperialist politics of the 1960s: thus Second World War resistance fighters were now placed alongside the anti-imperialist fighters of the decolonizing world in Africa, Asia and Latin America. For instance, the martyred Greek wartime partisan fighter Aris Velouchiotis became a 1960s icon alongside Che Guevara and Ho Chi Minh in clandestine magazines under the Colonels' regime.” James Mark, Nigel Townson and Polymeris Voglis, “Inspirations,” in *Europe's 1968: Voices of Revolt*, eds. Robert Gildea, James Mark, and Anette Warring, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 88. For further reading on Aris Velouchiotis see, Διονύσης Χαριτόπουλος, *Άρης ο Αρχηγός των Ατάκτων* (Αθήνα: Τόπος, 2009).

“Boulehani” (Μπουλεχάνι, Μπουλαχάνης) served in the 3<sup>rd</sup> Battalion, 8<sup>th</sup> Regiment of ELAS in the Parnona mountains of Lakonia.<sup>37</sup> While Theio Niko and Theio Yiorgo spent their time in the mountains in armed struggle, Pappou joined the United Panhellenic Organization of Youth (EPON) in Sykia in 1943.<sup>38</sup> According to written accounts, Theio Yiorgo was injured during a battle in the region with occupation forces (κατακτητές). Once recovered, he returned to the mountains with his unit, continuing in the resistance. Theio Niko, who was also injured from combat, returned to fight after his injuries healed.<sup>39</sup> From what I have been told, Theio Niko had either a bullet or fragments of metal (most likely shrapnel) inside of his body until his death in the 1990s.

Pappou, too young to head to the mountains, and with responsibilities for the family, transported messages, clothes, and food to the village of Richia (Ρηχία), turning them over at the village's school to the fighters of EAM. He also provided intelligence and information to the fighters of EAM. Stories Pappou recounted mention how often he and Pappou Leonidas were traveling with goods on the roads linking various villages in the region only to be caught by the approaching darkness of night. He spoke of the dangers of traveling at night during the occupation (κατοχή) and the civil war. In one such instance, Pappou was caught by German forces in Kokkinia (Κοκκινιά) while transporting shoes to sell in Asteri (Αστέρι) to buy bread for the family. He described how they were rough with him, evening

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37 Άγγελος Π. Αλεξάκης, *Ζάρακας: Αφιέρωμα στα Χωριά του, στην Ιστορία του, στους Ζαρακίτες* (Αθήνα, 1996), 270. For more on EAM-ELAS and the resistance in Lakonia see, Ηλίας Παπαστεργιόπουλος, *Ο Μωρηάς στα Όπλα (Εθνική Αντίσταση 1941-44) Τόμοι Α'-ΣΤ'* (Αθήνα: Έρευνα και Κριτική της Νεοελληνικής Ιστορίας, 1965); Βαγγέλης Π. Λάτσης, *Οι Αντάρτες του Πάρνωνα: Αναμνήσεις από τη Δράση του 8ου Συντάγματος του ΕΛΑΣ Κυνουρίας-Λακωνίας* (Αθήνα: Φόρμα, 1991); Χρήστος Νικ. Αντωνακάκης, *Το Αντάρτικο Στον Ταύγετο 1940-1944, Πρωτοπόρα η Αλαγονία* (Αθήνα, 1994); Χρήστος Νικ. Αντωνακάκης, *Η Εθνική Αντίσταση του ΕΑΜ-ΕΛΑΣ στον Ταύγετο και τον Πάρνωνα 1941-1944* (Αθήνα: Αλφειός, 2006); Παντελής Μούτουλας, *Πελοπόννησος 1940-1945: Η Περιπέτεια της Επιβίωσης, του Διχασμού και της Απελευθέρωσης* (Αθήνα: Βιβλιόραμα, 2004); Γιάννης Χ. Ρουμελιώτης, *Η Εθνική Αντίσταση στη Λακωνία 1941-1945* (Σπάρτη, 1984). For the Southern Peloponnese see, Γιάννης Καρακατσιάνης, *Νότια Πελοπόννησος 1935-1950* (Αθήνα: Αλφειός, 2009).

38 From Pappou's dictated statement as part of his application (αίτηση) to recognize his participation in the resistance that he completed in 1986. EPON is the precursor to the Communist Youth of Greece (KNE).

39 According to the statement, Pappou recounts that one of his brothers was injured in the Battle of Skala (Μάχη της Σκάλας) which took place in May 1944.

hitting him on the back with a rifle. He was taken to Elaia (Ελαία) where he spent the night.<sup>40</sup>

Partisans in the Peloponnese, especially in our area of Lakonia organized under the 8<sup>th</sup> Regiment (Lakonia) of ELAS, met with tough resistance not only from occupation forces but also from the Security Battalions (Τάγματα Ασφαλείας), which were organized by the Germans to attack anti-communist forces.<sup>41</sup> Mark Mazower writes,

In Greece, such coalitions of anti-communist forces – bringing together collaborators and resisters – were organized by the quisling government with German support. In fact, fomenting civil war there was something the Germans were deliberately trying to do. SS-Standartenführer Walter Blume, an educated lawyer and former Gestapo official, had progressed from killing Jews on the Eastern Front via killing partisans in Slovenia to becoming head of the Athens SiPo/SD. According to his so-called 'chaos thesis', the Germans ought to kill off Greece's leadership class and get the Greeks to fight one another so fiercely that they could withdraw undisturbed. Hence he armed thuggish anti-communists in security battalions and unofficial death squads and gave them carte blanche in the war with the 'communists' and 'bandits'. The final months of occupation were thus punctuated by a series of horrific massacres perpetrated by Greeks on Greeks in which the Germans themselves played little direct role. In the final months of occupation, the seeds of the Greek civil war were already being sown.<sup>42</sup>

The *andartes* (guerrillas) were successful in many engagements with enemy forces. In one of their most

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40 In the statement, it is written that the event occurred in 1945. That would be impossible since the Germans left Greece in October 1944. This might have been an error in typing. Chances are that it occurred between 1941 and early 1944. Elaia (Katharevousa: Ελαία / Dimotiki: Ελιά) is written Εληά in the statement. Elaia was also the site of resistance activity. As a young man, Andonis Koutsoyiannopoulos (Αντώνης Κουτσογιαννόπουλος) from Pakia, joined the resistance against Nazi occupation. One night he sabotaged a German vessel at the port of Elaia. For this action, he was executed by the Nazis on November 28, 1942. A statue of him is located in the *plateia* of Pakia today.

41 The Italians, having surrendered to the allies on 9 September 1943, were replaced (sometimes violently as in Kefalonia) by German forces in areas under their control, including the Peloponnese. Due to the shortage of German troops, the collaborationist government of Ioannis Rallis sought to form a “Greek nationalist free corps” to compensate for the shortage. Pressures on German forces along with increased activity from the resistance finally convinced Lt. Gen. Helmuth Felmy and Lt. Gen. Alexander Loehr of the necessity to form these Greek units. Adolf Hitler approved the plan on 13 November 1943. “Security Battalions” refers to any armed formation that was organized by the Germans with the expressed purpose of securing the occupation from the resistance. “In the Peloponnese the Germans raised four Security Battalions of volunteer Greek gendarmes with a total strength of 3,370 under the command of Colonel Dionysos Papadongonas. These units were deployed in Sparta, Gytheion, Kalamata, and Tripolis.” Source: John L. Hondros, “Greece and the German Occupation,” in *The Greek Civil War, 1943-1950: Studies of Polarization*, ed. David H. Close, (New York: Routledge, 1993), 50-51.

42 Mark Mazower, *Hitler's Empire: Nazi Rule in Occupied Europe* (London: Allen Lane, 2008), 505. SiPo/SD refers to *Sicherheitspolizei* or the “Security Police” (SiPo) and the *Sicherheitsdienst des Reichsführers-SS* or the “Security Service of the *Reichsführer-SS*” which was the intelligence agency of the SS (*Schutzstaffel* or “Protection Squadron”).

famous actions, a unit from the 8<sup>th</sup> Regiment of ELAS was able to ambush and kill German Major General (*Generalmajor*) Franz Kerch, Commander of the Peloponnese (*Kampfkommandant Peloponnes*), and three accompanying officers on April 27, 1944.<sup>43</sup> However, in retaliation for the killing of Major General Kerch, LXVIII Army Corps in the Peloponnese (Army Group E), under the leadership of Lieutenant General (*Generalleutnant*) Helmuth Felmy, “recommend[ed] the shooting of '200 communists' in Athens, another 100 'bandit suspects', as well as 'all the men whom the troops encounter in villages on the Molaos-Sparta road.’”<sup>44</sup> On May 1, 1944, the Nazis executed 200 communists at Kaisariani (Καισαριανή).<sup>45</sup> Pappou stated that he remembered very well the killing of a German commander of the Peloponnese (most likely General Krech) in Apidia (Απιδιά), which is close to Molaoi.<sup>46</sup> In retaliation for the killing of the commander, Pappou recalled that 118 Spartans were killed, many of whom had worked with our family in the resistance.

German and Bulgarian forces withdrew from Greece in October 1944.<sup>47</sup> With the axis occupation finally over, EAM praised the “unbreakable alliance” of the United States of America (USA), United Kingdom (UK), and Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) who, as allies, fought

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43 Evi Gkotsaridis, *Grigorios Lambrakis and Greece in the Long Shadow of Civil War* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2016), 157.

44 Mark Mazower, *Inside Hitler's Greece: The Experience of Occupation, 1941-44*, 178. Lieutenant General Helmuth Felmy was charged with having committed war crimes and tried at Nuremberg during the “Hostage Case” Military Tribunal V Case 7 *The United States of America v. Wilhelm List, et al.* Source: *Trials of War Criminals Before the Nuernberg Military Tribunals Under Control Council Law No. 10: Nuernberg October 1946-April 1949: Volume XI* (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1950), 763, 765, 779, 1231, 1305-1309, 1319. N.B. Helmuth is written Hellmuth in some sources.

45 Referred to as “The 200 of Kaisariani” (Οι 200 της Καισαριανής). The neighborhood of Kaisariani in Athens was described as a “Red” suburb and as “EAM's 'Little Stalingrad'” and there was fierce fighting in the neighborhood especially during the *Dekemvriana*. Mark Mazower, *Inside Hitler's Greece: The Experience of Occupation, 1941-44*, 226, 370.

46 The spelling Απιδιά was in the statement. The Greek name for the village is also written Απιδέα.

47 See: Klaus Schönher, “The Withdrawal of Greece,” in *Germany and the Second World War: Volume VIII: The Eastern Front 1943-1944: The War in the East and on the Neighbouring Fronts*, eds. Karl-Heinz Frieser, Klaus Schmider, Klaus Schönher, Gerhard Schreiber, Krisztián Ungváry, and Bernd Wegner, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 1089-1099. For the withdrawal from the Peloponnese see, Lars Bærentzen, 'The Liberation of the Peloponnese, September 1944' in *Greece in the 1940s: A Nation in Crisis*, ed. John O. Iatrides, (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1981), 131-141.

against fascism.<sup>48</sup> For his participation in the resistance during the *katochi* and in closing Pappou states,

Δώσαμε σώμα και ψυχή για τον αγώνα, ο καθένας με τον τρόπο του,  
κάναμε την ζωή μας μικροί και μεγάλοι έναν αγώνα καθημερινό, για την  
ελευθερία μας.

We gave our bodies and souls for the struggle, each person in their own  
way. We lived, both young and old, an everyday struggle, for our freedom.

Yet, the feelings of camaraderie, friendship, and freedom were to be short lived. Tensions were already apparent even during the *katochi* between EAM and other resistance groups, as well as with the allies.<sup>49</sup> On December 3, 1944, peaceful demonstrators of EAM were gunned down in Athens by the far right-wing paramilitary group Organization X (Οργάνωσις X) supported by Greek government forces and British troops.<sup>50</sup> This ushered in the *Dekemvriana* or “December events” where the forces of EAM-ELAS and KKE fought with Greek government forces, British troops under the command of General Ronald Scobie, and right-wing paramilitaries.<sup>51</sup> It ended in defeat for EAM-ELAS.<sup>52</sup> EAM eventually signed the Treaty of Varkiza (Συμφωνία της Βάρκιζας) on February 12, 1945, with the Greek government, disbanding ELAS and turning over their weapons to the government. Some, like Aris Velouchiotis, felt that this was a betrayal of the guerrillas and took to the mountains.<sup>53</sup> On June 16,

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48 For a history of the Greek resistance in World War II see, *Στ' Άρματα! Στ' Άρματα! Το Χρονικό του Αγώνα - Ιστορία της Εθνικής Αντίστασης 1940-1945 Τόμοι Α'- Δ'* (Αθήνα: Γιαννίκος, 1964).

49 Conflicts emerged over the creation of a unity government which would have included EAM. There was even a naval mutiny which took place at various ports on the Mediterranean in support of EAM by Greek sailors in 1944. See, Mark C. Jones, “Misunderstood and Forgotten: The Greek Naval Mutiny of April 1944,” *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* Vol. 20, No. 2 (2002), 367-397.

50 The members of Organization X are referred to as Chites (Χίτες). Neni Panourgiá writes, “X' was a notorious terrorist organization, involved in the relentless and brutal persecution of all nonmonarchists, especially the Left. It did not engage in any act of resistance against the Germans at all....Members of 'X' were so notorious, and their involvement in the White Terror so extensive, damaging, and lasting that Athenians still think about 'X' as a runaway, lawless, and fearfully criminal organization.” Neni Panourgiá, *Dangerous Citizens: The Greek Left and the Terror of the State* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2009), 58. Famous photographs from the day, taken by Dmitri Kessel were part of the article “Civil War Breaks Out In Greece,” *Life* Vol. 17, No. 26 (25 Dec 1944), 20-23. For Kessel's work see, Dmitri Kessel, *Ελλάδα 1944* (Αθήνα: Άμμος, 1997).

51 See, John O. Iatrides, *Revolt in Athens: The Greek Communist Second Round, 1944-1945* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972).

52 See: Panagiotis Delis, “The British Intervention in Greece: The Battle of Athens, December 1944,” *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* Vol. 35, No. 1 (2017), 211-237.

53 Theio Yiorgo turned over his weapons and returned home after the Treaty of Varkiza.

1945, surrounded on all sides by paramilitaries and government backed forces, Aris Velouchiotis took his life with his comrade Yiannis Anagnostis (Γιάννης Αγγελέτος), better known by his *nom de guerre* Tzavelas (Τζαβέλας).<sup>54</sup>

The “long night of barbarism” did not end for the people of Greece.<sup>55</sup> In a cruel twist of fate, it was the UK and the USA, once liberators and victors over fascism, that now supported and armed those who collaborated with the fascists during the axis occupation of Greece in the name of anti-communism. The seeds for the Greek Civil War were already sown during the *dekemvriana* in what was arguably the first conflict of the Cold War, beginning months before the Soviet Banner of Victory was flown atop the Reichstag in Berlin.<sup>56</sup> Brutal and barbaric, the Greek Civil War tore apart the fabric of society, splintering communities and families and leaving the population deeply traumatized.

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54 Afterwards, the paramilitaries severed both of their heads, riding down from the mountains through the village of Pigi (Πηγή) where they stopped at a *kafenio* (καφενείο) before heading to Trikala (Τρίκαλα), where they displayed the heads on a lamp post. Thanks to Yiannis Alexiou (Γιάννης Αλεξίου) of Pigi for this information. Source: David Brewer, *Greece, The Decade of War: Occupation, Resistance, and Civil War* (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2016), 211-212.

55 The phrase “the long night of barbarism” is taken from Prime Minister Winston Churchill’s speech entitled “Arm Yourself, and Be Ye Men of Valor!” which was delivered via radio in London to the British people on May 19, 1940. Source: *Never Give In!: The Best of Winston Churchill’s Speeches*, ed. Winston S. Churchill, (London: Pimlico, 2003), 206-209.

56 See: André Gerolymatos, *An International Civil War: Greece, 1943-1949* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016); André Gerolymatos, *Red Acropolis, Black Terror: The Greek Civil War and the Origins of Soviet-American Rivalry*. (New York: Basic Books, 2004). I find it extremely interesting, and helpful, to connect the Greek Civil War (1944-1949) with the Chinese Civil War (国共内战) which was fought between the Kuomintang (国民党) and the Communist Party of China (中国共产党) during roughly the same time period (1945-1949). Both civil wars had international dimensions to them pitting the United States against the Soviet Union. In the Greek case, KKE lost and the right-wing forces were victorious. Many of the communists were forced into exile with many raped, tortured, and killed. In China, the CCP was victorious and the right-wing forces left the mainland, setting up a nationalist government in Taiwan. *The Washington Post* ran an editorial on the comparison entitled “Greece and China,” on Friday, March 21<sup>st</sup>, 1947 in which the editors felt that the Chinese and Greek cases were very different in their understanding. The United States, they felt, should actively support the anti-communist effort underway in Greece while not worrying about the Chinese Communists who, to their understanding, did not receive support from the Soviet Union. The editorial did stress, however, that if the Chinese Communists were receiving aid from the Soviet Union like the Greek Communists were, then the United States should pursue a policy with China similar to that with Greece.

## HORROR IN GYTHEIO: THE EXECUTION OF YIORGOS KASIDAKOS

Γλύτωσες απ τους Γερμανούς  
Του χάρου το δρεπάνη  
Μα όχι απ τους δοσύλογους  
Που οι Αγγλοι είχαν βάλει  
Γιώργος Κόκκορης, *Γιώργος Κασσιδάκος*<sup>57</sup>

Κοπέλες απ' το Δίστομο, φέρτε νερό και ξύδι  
κι απάνω στη φοράδα σου δεμένος σταυρωτά  
σύρε για κείνο το στερνό στην Κόρδοβα ταξίδι  
μέσα απ' τα διψασμένα της χωράφια τα ανοιχτά  
Νίκος Καββαδίας, *Φεντερίκο Γκαρθία Λόρκα*<sup>58</sup>

The Peloponnese was devastated after the Second World War.<sup>59</sup> While people in villages fared better than those in the large cities, especially since they could grow their own food, daily life was extremely difficult. Throughout my life there has been one word that has been a permanent fixture, *peina* (πείνα) or “hunger.” This word was echoed by every family member who experienced the war. In the summer of 2014, I traveled with my family to Greece to visit our relatives. While we stayed with our cousins in Elaia, we went to Sykia to visit Pappou's first cousin, Theia Despina Bravaki (Δέσποινα Μπραβάκη) or, as we all affectionately call her, Theia Pinio (Πηνιώ). She came outside to greet us

57 Poem written by Yiorgos Kokkoris in memory of his comrade, Yiorgos Kasidakos. Γιώργος Κόκκορης “Κοκκοράκης,” *Πικρές Αλήθειες* (Αθήνα, 1989), 285. Other work by Yiorgos Kokkoris that memorialize those who resisted fascism from the area are *Γιατί* (Αθήνα, 1992) and *Γιατί Γίναμε Αντάρτες του ΕΛΛΑΣ* (Αθήνα, 2002).

58 This poem connects the massacres at Distomo and Kaisariani with the execution of the poet Federico García Lorca by the Franco regime. Stephanie Bird, Mary Fulbrook, Julia Wagner, and Christiane Wienand, “Introduction: Disturbing Pasts,” in *Reverberations of Nazi Violence in Germany and Beyond: Disturbing Pasts*, eds. Stephanie Bird, Mary Fulbrook, Julia Wagner, and Christiane Wienand, (New York: Bloomsbury, 2016), 1, 10-11.

59 Mark Mazower writes, “A few days after the Germans left, in late 1944, an American OSS agent drove across the Peloponnese, filming whatever he found. In contrast with the waving, jubilant crowds who greeted Allied troops in France, the people he met in Greece seemed tense and exhausted. The clothes hung off their bodies, and many were barefoot. Everywhere he found signs of malnutrition, disease and destruction. Because village schools had been burned to the ground, children attended lessons in the open air, using rocks for desks. Viewing his film today in the comfort of the National Archives in Washington, one sees women trying to prepare food in the ruins of a house, amid charred timbers and piles of rubble. In the coffee-shops, the camera pans unsteadily across rows of gaunt and expressionless faces. Perhaps the eeriest sequence shows a small town in the mountains. Although there is relatively little sign here of physical destruction, the streets seem oddly empty. A line of women, dressed in black, can be seen moving slowly down a road shaded by cypresses. From the cameraman's notes, we find that this was Kalavryta, in the northern Peloponnese, almost exactly one year after all the men of the town had been shot by Wehrmacht soldiers.” Mark Mazower, *Inside Hitler's Greece: The Experience of Occupation, 1941-44*, xiv-xv.

upon our arrival, slowly approaching us with the aid of her cane. Instantly, she had tears in her eyes, as did Pappou, as they warmly embraced one another. Once seated, we exchanged news and updates on the family. After a short while, Theia Pinio, looking at Pappou, started to speak about the past. She recounted the struggles of the *katochi*, growing up in dire conditions while plunged into a war all around them. Difficulties she recounted included poor clothing and shoes, the poor diets they had and limited food, and the enormous difficulty of working the land. Then, she turned to Pappou and they started to sing,

Εμείς ψωμί δεν έχουμε και τώρα τραγουδάμε  
και λέμε της μανούλας μας σήμερα τι θα φάμε  
μας λέει η μανούλα μας θα φάμε λαχανάκια  
μα δίχως λάδι και ψωμί τρέμουν τα ποδαράκια<sup>60</sup>

They were both emotional. Through their singing they were able to not only express their feelings but also, as in a ritual, create a sacred space in which to mourn. Though separated by an ocean, they were, in that moment and with tears in their eyes, reliving a shared traumatic history in a deeply transformative way. The war had returned home once more.

Following the Treaty of Varkiza that led to the disarmament of ELAS, right-wing paramilitary organizations began to sweep through the villages of the Peloponnese, hunting for those who had fought with EAM-ELAS-EPON, communists, those suspected of being *aristeroi*, as well as for their respective family members. The Peloponnese had always been a stronghold of the monarchy, especially in Lakonia province that held deeply royalist convictions.<sup>61</sup> Organization X had a large presence in

60 This song, according to Theia Pinio, was sung by her, Pappou, Theo Kosta, and Theia Pinio's brother, Tzimi (Τζίμυ).

61 The slogan "Ψωμί, Ελιά και Κώτσο Βασιλιά!" or "Bread, Olive and Kotso King (King Constantine I of Greece)" is oftentimes associated with the Peloponnese and, in particular with Lakonia. It is often quoted with contempt by family members. Leften Stavros Stavrianos, *The Balkans since 1453*, 661. Evangelos Averoff-Tossizza writes, "The Spartans were the most conservative Greeks and a majority always belonged, and still belong, to the nationalistic Right." He goes on to describe Katsareas, though not by name, as an "honorable man," and writes that on the night of March 22<sup>nd</sup>, "rightist groups entered the small town of Gythion, the port of Sparta, opened the prison and killed thirty detained communists." Evangelos Averoff-Tossizza, *By Fire and Axe: The Communist Party and the Civil War in Greece, 1944-*

Lakonia.<sup>62</sup> Most notorious of all was the National Anti-communist Hunter Teams (EAOK) of Panos Katsareas (Πάνος Κατσαρέας).<sup>63</sup> Throughout Greece, but most especially in the Peloponnese and specifically Lakonia, the White Terror (Λευκή Τρομοκρατία) was unleashed upon the local population as militias and armed bands settled scores, vendettas, and hunted for leftists.<sup>64</sup>

Theio Yiorgo had given back his weapons after the Treaty of Varkiza. Pappou recounted to me how, after seeing Theio Yiorgo outside Sykia upon his return from the mountains, he had failed to recognize him. After years of hardship in the mountains fighting a prolonged guerrilla war, in addition to having been injured in battle, Theio Yiorgo appeared like a stranger to the family. He moved to Richia where he married Eleni Alexaki. According to Pappou, they were married only a few weeks when *chites* arrested Theio Yiorgo.<sup>65</sup> Taken to Gytheio, he was imprisoned without any charges. From prison, Theio Yiorgo wrote letters to his wife. Incarcerated with him were dozens of comrades who had fought in the ranks of ELAS, served in the political wing of EAM, were student members of EPON, or members of KKE.

Back in Sykia, the family was fearful of further reprisals. Theia Pinio recounted how her side of

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1949 (New York: Caratzas Brothers, 1978), 218.

- 62 David H. Close emphasizes that “anti-communist bands” in the southern Peloponnese “outnumbered official security forces until the end of 1946 or later.” David H. Close, “The Reconstruction of a Right-Wing State,” in *The Greek Civil War, 1943-1950: Studies of Polarization*, ed. David H. Close, (New York: Routledge, 1993), 162.
- 63 Ioannis Karakatsianis, “A Clan-Based Society of South Greece and its Militarization After the Second World War: Some Characteristics of Violence and the Construction of Habitus in the South Peloponnese,” *History and Anthropology* Vol. 21, No. 2 (2010), 132. For more see, Γιάννης Α. Κούτσης, *Οι Λίρες της Υποταγής, Κατοχή-Αντίσταση-Απελευθέρωση Με βάση τη Λακωνία και τη Μεσσηνία* (Αθήνα: Κούτσης, 2003), 310-318. For an EOAK anti-communist source see, Σπύρος Τριανταφύλλου, *Οι Αετοί της Μάνης: Εθνικαί Αντικομμουνιστικά Ομάδες Κυνηγών* (Αθήνα, 1949).
- 64 “In the Peloponnese, violence by the Right predominated, being especially widespread in Messenia, Laconia, and Arcardia.” David H. Close and Thanos Veremis, “The Military Struggle, 1945-9” in *The Greek Civil War, 1943-1950: Studies of Polarization*, ed. David H. Close, (New York: Routledge, 1993), 99. Also see “The White Terror, February 1945-March 1946” in David H. Close, *The Origins of the Greek Civil War* as well as, Polymeris Voglis, *Becoming a Subject: Political Prisoners during the Greek Civil War, 1945-1950* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2002), 54-58. For the White Terror in Lakonia see, *Βάψαν Μ' Αίμα τα Χωριά: Λεύκωμα για τα θύματα της Αντίστασης στη Λακωνία το 1946* (Αθήνα: Εθνική Αλληλεγγύη Λακωνίας, 1946). On paramilitarism in the Greek Civil War see, Spyridon Tsoutsoumpis, “Paramilitarism, Politics and Organized Crime During the Greek Civil War,” *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* Vol. 43, No. 2 (2019), 262-286. For the civil war in the Peloponnese see, Αρίστος Καμαρινός, *Ο Εμφύλιος Πόλεμος στη Πελοπόννησο 1946-1949* (Αθήνα: Σύγχρονη Εποχή, 2008).
- 65 The place of Theio Yiorgo's arrest is unknown though most say that it was in Sykia where he was captured by *chites*. This is further corroborated by Yiayia Paraskevi's lament for her son at the end of this chapter.

the family were *deksioi*, forcing her to communicate with Pappou and Theio Kosta (Pappou's brother) in secret. One night, *koukouloforoi* or “the hooded ones,” used to refer to bands of *chites* and anti-communists who terrorized locals, banged on the door of the family house in Sykia. They shouted for Pappou Leonidas to come out.<sup>66</sup> Everyone in the house froze. Fearing what was to come, Pappou Leonidas calmly opened the door. Immediately he was grabbed, thrown down, and brutally beaten with sticks. His daughter, Theia Despina, was also taken by the men who promptly cut her hair, a visible sign that she was from a communist family.<sup>67</sup> Right-wing violence was widespread, alienating large sections of the population.<sup>68</sup> Throughout Greece, sporadic resistance was being organized once more by KKE who, in late 1946, founded the Democratic Army of Greece (DSE).

Clashes in Lakonia started to take place between anti-communist militias or *symmorites* (gangs) and the Democratic Army of the Peloponnese.<sup>69</sup> Guerrillas once more took to the Parnona and Taygetus

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66 Pappou Leonidas was a leftist and supporter of EAM-ELAS. After all, his sons had participated in the resistance.

67 Tassoula Vervenioti, “Left-Wing Women between Politics and Family,” in *After the War Was Over: Reconstructing the Family, Nation, and State in Greece, 1943-1960*, ed. Mark Mazower, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 113. Violence against women in the Greek Civil War was widespread and brutal. Rapes, torture, executions, as well as gendered violence including the aforementioned cutting of the hair occurred throughout the country. For more on violence against women in the Greek Civil War see, Katherine Stefatos, “The Victimisation of the Body and the Body Politic during the Greek Civil War, 1946-49,” in *Rape in Wartime*, eds. Raphaëlle Branche and Fabrice Virgili, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 47-66; Katherine Stefatos, “Engendering the Nation: Women, State Oppression and Political Violence in Post-War Greece (1946-1974),” D.Phil. Dissertation, (University of London, 2012).

68 A depressing account is given by Mando Dalianis and Mark Mazower who write, “The case of Heleni is indicative: she and her husband Kostas farmed land near Mt. Taygetos and had three very young children when Liberation came. Kostas had been arrested by the Germans for partisan involvement and was repeatedly attacked by local right-wing gangs in 1946–1947; this continued even after the family moved to the town of Gytheion and opened a shop. Kostas’s brother was killed, and Heleni and Kostas were eventually forced to close their shop. In 1947, Kostas decided to join the Democratic Army for self-protection, and his wife and children joined him early in 1948. They lived together in the wild for about a year. When the Democratic Army began its retreat, women and children were not allowed to join the partisans lest their crying give away their positions. Heleni and the children hid in a cave while the fighting raged around them. When found by army soldiers, the children were emaciated, covered with urine and feces, and ridden with lice, and they could neither see nor walk.” Mando Dalianis and Mark Mazower, “Children in Turmoil during the Civil War: Today’s Adults,” in *After the War Was Over: Reconstructing the Family, Nation, and State in Greece, 1943-1960*, ed. Mark Mazower, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 94.

69 “However, the most spectacular success of the ΔΣΕ occurred in the Peloponnese. A stout royalist stronghold, this southernmost province had witnessed only sporadic clashes and the regime stationed units of low quality in the area.” Spyridon Plakoudas, *The Greek Civil War: Strategy, Counterinsurgency and the Monarchy* (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2017), 100. Also see, Thanasis D. Sfikas, “War and Peace in the Strategy of the Communist Party of Greece, 1945-1949,” *Journal of Cold War Studies* Vol. 3, No. 3 (2001), 5-30.

mountains to fight the right-wing government and its gangs along with British and U.S. imperialism. The British supplied and aided the Greek government after Varkiza but soon after U.S. support was needed to secure victory through what eventually manifested into the Truman Doctrine in 1947.<sup>70</sup> KKE was aided at various points and to various degrees by Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia.<sup>71</sup> Relations between the USSR were more complex, given preexisting issues that went back to the original partitioning of Europe at the end of World War II, the emerging issues of the Cold War, and international power dynamics.<sup>72</sup> Fighting in the country prompted Greece to request assistance from the United Nations. In turn, the UN General Assembly created the United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans (UNSCOB).<sup>73</sup> Analysts and observers drew comparisons between the Greek Civil War and the Spanish Civil War of a decade earlier. There were even claims that a new International Brigade would be formed.<sup>74</sup> As fighting intensified throughout the country, Theo Yiorgo remained imprisoned in Gytheio.

On March 20, 1947, *andartes* of the Democratic Army of the Peloponnese (DSP) ambushed and

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70 For British involvement see, Heinz Richter, *British Intervention in Greece: From Varkiza to Civil War, February 1945 to August 1946* (London: Merlin Press, 1985). On the development by the US and UK of the “monolith” of international communism see, Marc J. Selverstone, *Constructing the Monolith: The United States, Great Britain, and International Communism, 1945-1950* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009). Some scholars like Gerolymatos have even drawn links to US involvement in the Greek Civil War to Vietnam. For more see, Howard Jones, “Mistaken Prelude to Vietnam: The Truman Doctrine and 'A New Kind of War' in Greece,” *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* Vol. 10, No. 1 (1992), 121-143.

71 For more see, Nikos Marantzidis, “The Greek Civil War (1944-1949) and the International Communist System,” *Journal of Cold War Studies* Vol. 15, No. 4 (2013), 25-54. For Enver Hoxha's perspective see, Enver Hoxha, *Two Friendly Peoples: Excerpts from the Political Diary and Other Documents on Albanian-Greek Relations, 1941-1984* (Tirana: "8 Nëntori" Pub. House, 1985).

72 See, Peter J. Stavrakis, *Moscow and Greek Communism, 1944-1949* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989). On the topic of percentages and the Stalin-Churchill meeting see, Albert Resis, “The Churchill-Stalin Secret 'Percentages' Agreement on the Balkans, Moscow, October 1944,” *The American Historical Review* Vol. 83, No. 2 (1978), 368-387.

73 See, Amikam Nachmani, *International Intervention in the Greek Civil War: The United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans, 1947-1952* (New York: Praeger, 1990).

74 See, “A Second Spain?,” *The Spectator* (U.K.) No. 6195 (21 March 1947), 290; “Greece---Second Spain?,” *Council Bluffs Nonpareil* (Council Bluffs, Iowa) Vol. 90, No. 67, March 08, 1947, 6; Peter Calvocoressi, “Issues in Greece,” *The Spectator* (U.K.) No. 6212 (18 July 1947), 70-71; Stathis N. Kalyvas, “How Not to Compare Civil Wars: Greece and Spain,” in “*If You Tolerate This...*”: *The Spanish Civil War in the Age of Total War*, eds. Martin Baumeister and Stefanie Schüler-Springorum, (New York: Campus Verlag, 2008), 247-263. On the subject of an International Brigade in the Greek Civil War see, Thanasis D. Skifas, “Spanish Echoes in Greece, 1946-1949: The Myth of the Participation of an 'International Brigade' in the Greek Civil War,” *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* Vol. 15, No. 1 (1997), 87-101.

killed EAOK's leader, Panos Katsareas.<sup>75</sup> Upon hearing of his death in Mani, right-wing monarcho-fascist paramilitaries (members of EAOK, *chites*, and locals) gathered in Gytheion, Katsareas's hometown.<sup>76</sup> Under the leadership of Kostas Bathrellos (Κώστας Μπαθρέλος), a band of EAOK members went to the prison of Gytheio on March 21 in the late morning.<sup>77</sup> The prison guards, numbering no more than a few dozen, turned over the keys to Bathrellos without any resistance. According to *Rizospastis*, upon hearing that Katsareas had been killed, the prisoners had requested that the prison be made more secure, fearing retaliation.<sup>78</sup> Opening the cells, the anti-communist paramilitaries loaded up the political prisoners onto a military vehicle (most likely a military truck) and transported them to the *plateia* of Gytheio.<sup>79</sup> Once there, the EAOK members opened fire on the truck, killing Theio Yiorgo and the 31 other political prisoners.<sup>80</sup> According to Pappou, the bodies were

75 The date is somewhat contested (March 20, 21, and 22) and information about the events of these days seems to be muddled. What is known for certain is the brutal reality of these few days in late March 1947. For example, an article from *Rizospastis* dated June 3, 1947 states that both the killing of Katsareas and subsequent slaughter at Gytheio took place on the same day (March 21, 1947). Another text lists two competing dates (March 21 and March 22). *Η Τρίχρονη Εποποιία του Δημοκρατικού Στρατού Ελλάδας 1946-1949* (Αθήνα: Ριζοσπάστης – Σύγχρονη Εποχή, 2011), 343, 345. *Σύντομη ιστορία του ΚΚΕ Μέρος Α 1918-1949* (Αθήνα: Έκδοση της ΚΕ του ΚΚΕ, 1988), 258-259. Yiannis Karakatsianis also acknowledges that there is disagreement over details of the events surrounding the death of Katsareas. Ιωάννης Δ. Καρακατσιάνης, “Η Μάνη στον Πόλεμο: Κατοχή, Αντίσταση και Εμφύλιος,” Ph.D. Dissertation, (University of Athens, 2010), 303.

76 Throughout the Greek Civil War, ΚΚΕ referred to the right-wing paramilitary gangs as monarcho-fascist (μοναρχοφασίστες). *Pravda*, the newspaper of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) described these forces in the same way throughout the Greek Civil War (Russian: монархическо-фашистского).

77 “March 21. – The Ministry of Public Order stated that 40 people were killed when a right-wing armed band attacked the prison at Gythion, a port in the northern Peloponnesus.” *Chronology of International Events and Documents*, Vol. 3, No. 6 (March 10-23, 1947), 163. N.B. Μπαθρέλος is also Μπαθρέλλος in some sources. Some reports put the number of paramilitaries at as low as a few dozen while others say it was as high as 200.

78 “Η Τραγωδία των Φυλακών του Γυθείου,” *Ριζοσπάστης* (Αριθ. Φύλλου 10,082), June 3, 1947, 3.

79 The political prisoners were described as “Leftists,” “Reds,” and “Communists” by the press.

80 Ιωάννης Δ. Καρακατσιάνης, “Η Μάνη στον Πόλεμο: Κατοχή, Αντίσταση και Εμφύλιος,” 309-310. The agreed upon number is 32 prisoners who were killed. Other numbers ranging from 30-35 have also been put forward. Polymeris Voglis, *Becoming a Subject: Political Prisoners during the Greek Civil War, 1945-1950* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2002), 150. For a complete list of those executed see, *Έπεσαν για τη ζωή: Ήρωες – Μάρτυρες Λαϊκών, Απελευθερωτικών Αγώνων Τόμος Έβδομος Β'* (Αθήνα: Έκδοση της Κεντρικής Επιτροπής του Κομμουνιστικού Κόμματος Ελλάδας, 2009), 16-18. Theio Yiorgo is recorded in the following books: [ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΣ ΚΑΣΣΙΔΑΚΟΣ (ΜΠΟΥΛΑΧΑΝΗΣ)]: Γιώργος Κόκκορης “Κοκκοράκης,” *Πικρές Αλήθειες* (Αθήνα, 1989), 284-285; *Έπεσαν για τη ζωή: Ήρωες – Μάρτυρες Λαϊκών, Απελευθερωτικών Αγώνων Τόμος Έβδομος Γ'* (Αθήνα: Έκδοση της Κεντρικής Επιτροπής του Κομμουνιστικού Κόμματος Ελλάδας, 2010), 362-363; [Incorrect names: Ιω. Λεων. Κασιδάκος, Ι. Κασιδάκος, Ιω. Κασιδάκος [Συκιά], Κασιδάκος Γιάννης]: Γιάννης Λεων. Λέφας, *Χιλιάδες Τέσσερις Σταυροί στο Μαρτυρικό Μωριά* (Αθήνα: Αλφειός, 2007), 281; Κωνσταντίνος Μπρούσαλης, *Οι Ανυποτακτοι: Το Δευτερο Ανταρτικο στην Πελοποννησο* (Αθήνα: Παρασκήνιο, 2008), 182; *Έπεσαν για τη ζωή: Ήρωες – Μάρτυρες Λαϊκών,*

dumped in a mass grave on or near the *stratopedo* (στρατόπεδο) or “military base” in Gytheio.<sup>81</sup> That same day, another seven were also executed, including women in a separate prison. One of the killers in the team of Yiannis Pavlakos (Γιάννης Παυλάκος), a virulent anti-communist leader of the *chites* and EAOK, speaking to his aunt about the massacre said,

Χοροπηδούσαν, Θεία, οι φυλακισμένοι, σαν σφαγμένα κοτόπουλα!<sup>82</sup>

They were jumping, auntie, the prisoners, like slaughtered chickens!

The world reaction was immediate. Newspapers all over the world from *The New York Times* and *Manchester Guardian* to *The Palestine Post* and *Nippon Times* (Japan) carried the story of the mass execution of political prisoners in Gytheio.<sup>83</sup> In the United States Congress, while debating the \$400 million in military and economic aid to Greece and Turkey as part of Truman's request, Senator Ralph Edward Flanders (Republican) of Vermont and Senator Edwin Carl Johnson (Democrat) of Colorado both referenced the killings at Gytheio. Senator Flanders cited the killings on the Senate floor, reading from an article written by Raymond Daniell on page six of *The New York Times* on April 8, 1947.<sup>84</sup> Senator Johnson stated,

Mr. President, a few days ago the newspapers carried reports of the murder of 32 political prisoners being held in the prison of the city of Gythion in Southern Peloponesos by Royalist terrorists. The Government declared martial law in that section and General Zervas rushed to the spot personally to take care of the situation. Three weeks elapsed and not one of the murderers had been arrested. Instead, General Zervas used the forces under him to fight the Leftist guerriallas (sic) of the region. Does our State Department really expect the guerrillas to hand over their guns to General

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*Απελευθερωτικών Αγώνων Τόμος Έβδομος Β'* (Αθήνα: Έκδοση της Κεντρικής Επιτροπής του Κομμουνιστικού Κόμματος Ελλάδας, 2009), 17; Γιάννης Λεων. Λέφας, *Ο Δημοκρατικός Στρατός Πελοποννήσου: Δημιουργία – Ανάπτυξη – Ήττα* (Αθήνα: Αλφειός, 1998), 116. Under Συκιά there is no mention of Yiorgos Kasidakos in, Κώστας Βουγιουκλάκης, *Οι Πρωτοπόροι του Αγώνα: Η Εθνική Αντίσταση στη Λακωνία* (Αθήνα: Καστανιώτης, 1987), 291.

81 It is interesting to note here that Pappou in his statement said that his brother Yiorgos has died as a political prisoner of the Germans. Could it be that he saw the *chites* and *koukouloforoi* as indistinguishable from the Germans?

82 Ιωάννης Δ. Καρακασιάνης, “Η Μάνη στον Πόλεμο: Κατοχή, Αντίσταση και Εμφύλιος,” 310.

83 See Appendix for news sources.

84 *United States of America Congressional Record Proceedings and Debates of the 80<sup>th</sup> Congress: First Session Vol. 93, Part 3* (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1947), 3339.

Zervas? Do we hope to spread American democracy and ideals through such a man?<sup>85</sup>

Just the day before on March 20, 1947, Yiannis Zevgos (Γιάννης Ζέβγος), an important figure in KKE and EAM, was killed in Thessaloniki. Writing on behalf of the Central Committee of the Political Coalition of the Parties of EAM, Nikos Zachariadis and Alkiviadis Loulis addressed the executions in Gytheio, writing,

Σήμερα εγνώσθη νέο φρικτό έγκλημα. Συμμορίες κυβερνητικές απήγαγαν από τις φυλακές Γυθείου 32 κρατούμενους δημοκρατικούς, τους οποίους κατέσφαξαν μαζί με άλλους 7 πολίτες δημοκρατικούς.<sup>86</sup>

Martial law was declared throughout Lakonia, and the Ministers of War, George Stratos; Public Order, Napoleon Zervas; and Interior, George Papandreou were dispatched to Gytheio to assess and control the situation. Zervas was personally tasked with securing the region and curbing all paramilitary violence. Yet, I could find no evidence the perpetrators of the mass execution were ever charged or arrested. British official sources spoke of “savage Right-wing reprisals in Gytheion” and the “massacre of thirty-two Left-wing prisoners.”<sup>87</sup> Worst of all, this horrific event is only one of the countless that tore Greece apart, village by village, family by family. The Greek Civil War left a lasting mark on all the people who experienced it.

News of the execution of Theio Yiorgo quickly reached both Sykia and Richia. Eleni burned all of the letters she had received from Theio Yiorgo, fearing for her safety in an increasing atmosphere of

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85 *Ibid.*, 3510. Senator Johnson was against military assistance to the Greek government. He stated, “ In effect, the pending measure puts the military forces of America in charge of the warfare of the present Greek government against the rebel guerrilla fighters in the mountains of Greece, many of whom are fighting for the same precious principles we fought for in 1776.” *Ibid.*, 3761.

86 Νίκος Ζαχαριάδης, *Υπέρ Βωμών και Εστιών: Απαντα τα Δημοσιευμένα, 1946-1947* (Αθήνα: Καστανιώτης, 2011), 461-466.

87 “Greece: Security Situation in the Peloponnese” and “Greece: Present State of Law and Order,” in *British Documents on Foreign Affairs: Reports and Papers from the Foreign Office Confidential Print: Part IV From 1946 through 1950: Series F Europe 1947: Volume 12: Bulgaria, Greece and Roumania, January 1947-December 1947*, eds. Denis Smyth and Andre Gerolymatos, (University Publications of America, 2001), 200-201, 208.

paranoia and terror.<sup>88</sup> Pappou Leonidas, Yiayia Paraskevi, and the family were never able to bury Theio Yiorgo. His body was never returned, and its current location remains a mystery, though many have speculated on its whereabouts. Now a widow, Eleni, having conceived no child with Theio Yiorgo, after remarried after a period of mourning. The family lived in a constant state of fear. By the end of the Greek Civil War, they had left Sykia, building a new life in Pireaus. Pappou Leonidas would open a small *kafeneio* (coffee shop) and worked at a local school in the Kallipoli (Καλλιπολι) neighborhood of Pireaus. Writing in his book *Μνήμες* (Memories), Panagiotis Manitaras writes,

Πώς να ξεχάσω και τον μπάρμπα Λεωνίδα Κασιδάκο από το χωριό Συκιά, που είχα την τύχη να τον γνωρίσω και να τον έχω γύρω στα 18 χρόνια γείτονα στο μαγαζί μου και να ζω μαζί το δράμα του από το αδικοχαμένο παλικάρι του, μαχητή του ΕΛΑΣ, που βρέθηκε στη φυλακή του Γυθείου μετά την απελευθέρωση και σφάχτηκε με άλλα είκοσι σχεδόν παλικάρια από τους συνεργάτες του εχθρού, τότε εκτέλεσαν οι ορδές αυτές και τον υπεύθυνο και στέλεχος του ΕΑΜ τον Καμουλάκο του χωριού Βλαχιώτη.<sup>89</sup>

The family experienced countless difficulties. Pappou admitted to having signed a statement recanting his communist views. Ashamed, he told me this was the only way he could return to Sykia.<sup>90</sup> Other family members signed similar statements. Trauma gave way to pain and sorrow. In an official document attained at the KEP in Pireaus dated 1949, the living children of Pappou Leonidas and Yiayia Paraskevi were listed without any mention of their now deceased son, Yiorgo. It was as if he had never existed. In a matter of years, he was nowhere to be found, not even in the records of the state. He

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88 “On the night of Thursday, September 13<sup>th</sup> 2018, I called my Theia Evie, and she had told me that Theio Yiorgo's wife, Eleni, had died but that her daughter, Βάνα was alive and lived in Pireaus. My Theia Voula called and after explaining who we were, the phone was passed to me. It was as if I had passed into another dimension. History collided with me and I heard stories over the phone that I had only imagined in my mind. After the agreement at Varkiza, my uncle was captured from Sykia by *chites* and imprisoned in Gytheio having only committed the crime of serving in ELAS. He, from what I was told by Vana, corresponded with his wife, Vana's mother, and letters were exchanged. Yiorgos was executed along with all of the prisoners in Gytheio in March of 1947. All of the letters that Eleni had received from Yiorgos were burned. Eleni feared that she too would be imprisoned and the letters were evidence to be used against her. Thus, his memory passed into history.” From my notes dated September 14<sup>th</sup>, 2018. While speaking with Vana, she was overcome with emotion, speaking about how we would have been family.

89 Παναγιώτης Μανιτάρας (Λοχαγός ε.α. Αντιστασιακός), *Μνήμες* (Πειραιάς, 1991), 108.

90 On the declaration of repentance (*dilosí metanoias*) see, Polymeris Voglis, *Becoming a Subject*, 74-86.

remained unburied, and yet, the silence of his unjust death was deafening. What could the family do? His existence became intertwined with a familial code of silence. This silence remained a deep part of our family life until now. When asked if Pappou remembered a funeral dirge (μοιρολόι) that Yiayia Paraskevi sung for Theio Yiorgo, he was able to recall the following lament,<sup>91</sup>

Αγόρι μου καλό ταξίδι εκεί που πάς  
και εγώ πάντα θα σε περιμένω να μου χτυπήσεις τη πόρτα  
φτερά και πούπουλα έχει η μαύρη κότα  
τόσες φορές θα καρτερώ να μου χτυπήσει η πόρτα

παιδιά σας δίνω συμβουλή  
να μη ζητήσετε εκδίκηση  
θα βάλω πέτρα στη καρδιά  
να μη πάτε πίσω στη Συκιά  
και ο Θεός ας τους κρίνει

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91 I know for sure Yiayia Konstantina was a μοιρολογίστρα and performed laments in the traditional style. I am unsure if Yiayia Paraskevi was. For more see, Δημήτρης Θ. Κατσουλάκος, “Η Κατοχή και ο Εμφύλιος Πόλεμος μέσα από το Λακωνικό Μοιρολόι,” *Νέα Εστία* 1845 (2011), 1079-1092.

## HISTORICAL TRAUMA: THE HIDDEN WOUNDS OF WAR

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Σ' έστησαν σε μια γωνιά κι ήσουνά νέο παλληκάρι  
σ' έστησαν σε μια γωνιά κι ήτανε τέσσεροι φαντάροι  
σ' έστησαν σε μια γωνιά και σημαδεύαν την καρδιά σου  
σ' έστησαν σε μια γωνιά κι ήταν πρωί και παγωνιά

Σε καρτερούσε η ζωή και μια παραδουλεύτρα μάνα  
κι έγινες κείνο το πρωί κόκκινο κρίνο στην αλάνα  
Στην Αλάνα

As the music started playing, the melody all too familiar, Pappou took a deep breath. Slowly rising to his feet, he spread out his arms, moving to the music as if performing a ritual. His eyes quickly filled with tears. Rhythmically he moved in circles, bending down as he swayed his arms only to get up again and move back, holding his *komboloi* (κομπολόι), or “worry beads,” in his hand. Those of us around him gathered at his feet, clapping to the beat of the song. This was Pappou's tribute to Theio Yiorgo. *Stin Alana* or “In the Vacant Lot,” sung by Georgios Dalaras, was the song that would always bring my Pappou to tears as he remembered the execution of his brother.<sup>92</sup>

The study of historical trauma is a rapidly expanding field, rich with the narratives of communities that have experienced, through time, multi-layered forms of oppression and violence, most notably indigenous communities in settler-colonial contexts and communities of color. The study of historical trauma began by looking at how Holocaust trauma was passed from parents to children.<sup>93</sup> Since then, it has expanded to include colonized indigenous peoples, African-Americans, and even survivors of the 1948 *Nakba* in Palestine. Given all the challenges in trying to define historical trauma, I would like to provide the schema put forward by Mohatt et al.:

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92 While the song actually refers to the execution of Aristidis Pagkratidis (Αριστείδης Παγκρατίδης) in 1968, the beauty of this song is its ability to be multivocal, that is, to provide different meanings to people simultaneously. Thus, while not a song about the *katochi* or *emfilios*, it is often read and interpreted that way by those listening.

93 See, Natan P. F. Kellermann, “Transmission of Holocaust Trauma – An Integrative View,” *Psychiatry: Interpersonal and Biological Processes* Vol. 64 (2001), 256-267.

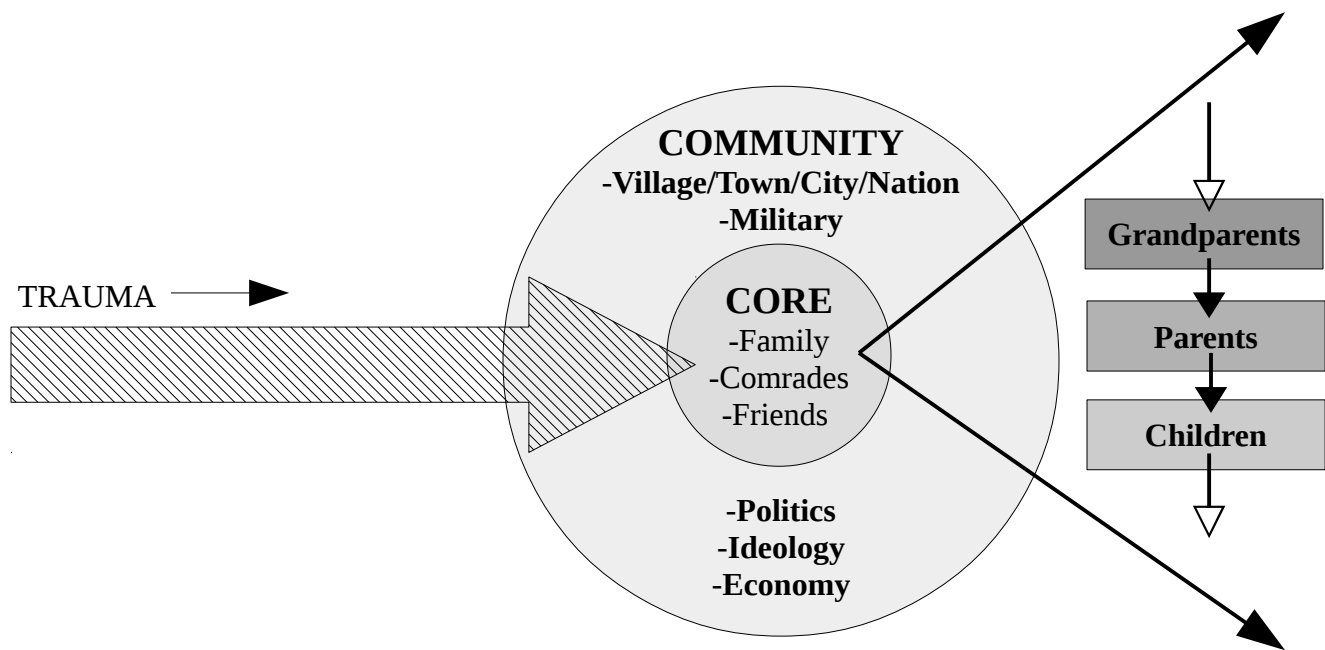
### Historical Trauma - Three Primary Elements:<sup>94</sup>

1. A “trauma” or wounding.
2. Trauma is shared by a group of people, rather than individually experienced.
3. Trauma spans multiple generations, such that contemporary members of the affected group may experience trauma-related symptoms without having been present for the past traumatizing event(s).

Certainly, we can apply historical trauma to those who experienced nearly a decade of war in Greece. The execution of Theio Yiorgo, coupled with the other traumatic events witnessed and experienced, whether physically and/or psychologically, meet the first criterion for the family. Secondly, the trauma of these events were shared by a group of people. At the core of that group of people are those who had an intimate relationship with the person(s) who were victims. These include family (extended family in some cases and depending on proximity, etc.), comrades (comrades-in-arms, EAM-ELAS), and friends. Beyond that core group of people, and not necessarily less impacted than the core, is the larger community that can be the village or neighborhood, a military unit, a political party, or one's workplace. In the diagram on the next page, I seek to outline this schema in a general way to help grasp not only how trauma impacts groups but also to show the intersectional way in which trauma disrupts entire communities. I include three generations (Grandparents – Parents – Children) to indicate how trauma is passed down from generation to generation or how trauma can be intergenerational, should the multiple generations experience it in the same way and within a larger group. How would we define groups in a civil war?

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94 Nathaniel Vincent Mohatt, Azure B. Thompson, Nghi D. Thai, and Jacob Kraemer Tebes, “Historical Trauma as Public Narrative: A Conceptual Review of How History Impacts Present-Day Health,” *Social Science & Medicine* Vol. 106 (2014), 128.



The case of the Greek Civil War is unique since the grouping is by political affiliation more so than ethnic or religious. While there were ethnic conflicts within the Greek Civil War, for example with the Slavic-speaking population (some of whom identified as Macedonians), for many, the conflict tore apart communities that were relatively homogeneous in terms of language, culture, and religion. Thus, the main identities that differentiated people were political; are you a leftist or are you a rightist? Growing up in the Greek diaspora in the United States, the entire Greek community was divided into those who were collaborators, fascists, and royalists, versus those who were communists, socialists (PASOK), or some variation therein.<sup>95</sup> Families were stigmatized by their political affiliations during

<sup>95</sup> On the left, identity has been marked by music, art, culture, literature, in addition to organized political organizations. For us, it was marked by music, *ta andartika* and Pappou's VHS tape of the Soviet Red Army Choir. Additionally, Christianity was also politicized in our family, with family members claiming that Christianity was in and of itself communist, and that Christ was the first communist. This was of course not unheard of and even ELAS had clerics like Germanos Dimakos (Papa Anypomonos). Theia Maria always invokes the scriptural passage Ο ἔχων δύο χιτῶνας μεταδώτω τῷ μὴ ἔχοντι or “Whoever has two tunics should share with him who has none” (Luke 3:11) to say that Christ was a communist (John the Baptist actually said those words). It was in a way a type of liberation theology without having had contact with it. Yiayia had a classic story which she would tell us all the time. It was, I might add, politicized in the way mentioned above. It went like this: One night, a rich man prayed to the Lord asking him to join him for a banquet to celebrate a feastday. The Lord responded to the man's prayers and told him that he would come. The following evening, the man had prepared an amazing banquet for the Lord, setting out his finest china, crystal, and

the war, which impacted communities for decades thereafter.<sup>96</sup> Pappou would recount to me who in our church were royalists, or those who had been with “the Germans.” Many of them Pappou simply referred to as fascists, especially those who held racist and chauvinist beliefs, even if they considered themselves Democrats in the United States.

One of the most striking aspects of thinking about my family's trauma is their silence. Family members were rarely open about the past. When they were, the atmosphere was one of almost ritual mourning like the song Theia Pinio and Pappou sung. Yet, in thinking about how trauma is passed on, it doesn't necessarily require that we hear the stories of the war or see the horrific images in order to be impacted. People change in profound ways as a result of war. Common instances of loud noises or a plane flying overhead can trigger flashbacks. Everything from their melancholic states and anger, their hoarding and saving of everything, as well as their constant dreaming of the past, is deeply connected with their traumatic experiences. Was it possible that my grandparents suffered from war trauma or even Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD)? While this question will remain forever unanswered, one thing I am certain of is that they suffered in silence.

Years after Yiayia passed away, I was told that while in Montreal, Yiayia had attempted to commit suicide by jumping off a balcony. Why? Could it be from those experiences, of which I only heard fragments of throughout my youth? On one occasion, Yiayia spoke of bearing witness to a public

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silverware. He heard a knock at the door. Rushing to the door he opened it up only to find that it was a hungry old man. “Go away!” he exclaimed! “I am waiting for a very important guest,” and slammed the door on the old man. A little while later, he hears a knock on the door once more and rushes to the door. Upon opening it he finds a shivering woman, holding an infant. “Go away!” he exclaimed! “I am busy right now!” and he slammed the door on the woman and child. A little later on, the man hears a knock on the door once more and rushes to the door. Upon opening the door he finds a very sick man who is in need of urgent care. “Get out of here!” he screams and slams the door shut. As the night progressed, there was still no sign of the Lord. Now very late, the man prayed to the Lord asking why he did not come as promised. The Lord appeared and responded, “I came three times but you didn't recognize me and each time you turned me away.”

96 While conducting fieldwork in Richia, Laurie Kain Hart describes how deeply divided the village was over political affiliation and the reluctance and silence to speak about the war. She also writes about the German airstrip at Molaio. See, Laurie Kain Hart, *Time, Religion, and Social Experience in Rural Greece* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 1992), 78-80.

execution in Molaoi, which, after the person was killed, ended in decapitation. To make matters worse, the soldiers (unknown but from what I gathered, *deksioi*) then started to kick the severed head to each other as if they were playing football (soccer).<sup>97</sup> War does horrific things not only to a person's body but also to their mind, to their very being. But what does it do to the generations that come after the traumatic events took place?

While working with survivors and descendants of the Armenian Genocide (1914-1918), researchers discovered that even into the second-generation “almost a century later, the negative consequences along with forms of positive elaboration of the same traumatic experience though fading from generation to generation are still present, active and widespread.”<sup>98</sup> Alexander Etkind, using the “Fifty-Year Effect” theories presented by Stephen Greenblatt and Dmitry Bykov, writes,

I would speculate that the historical processes of catastrophic scale traumatize the first generation of descendants, and it is their daughters and sons – the grandchildren of the victims, perpetrators, and onlookers – who produce the work of mourning for their grandparents: mass graves for the generation of terror, trauma for the first postcatastrophic generation, and mourning for the second.<sup>99</sup>

This differentiation between trauma and mourning is of critical importance for Etkind. Using Sigmund Freud's classical definitions for mourning and melancholia, Etkind writes that “trauma is a response to a condition that had been experienced by the self; mourning is a response to a condition of the other.”<sup>100</sup>

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97 The cutting of heads occurred with horrific frequency during the occupation and the Greek Civil War (ex. Velouchiotis and Tzavelas). For example, “In November 1947, it was alleged that the Greek Government was encouraging 'head hunting', and photographs were published in foreign newspapers of members of the Greek Government forces carrying or exhibiting human heads. On November 13<sup>th</sup>, Rentis, the Minister of Public Order, explained to foreign journalists that the insurgents were 'criminals', with a price on their heads, and that it was an old Greek custom to 'produce the head' when demanding payment. However, he said he had ordered the custom to stop.” Edgar O'Ballance, *The Greek Civil War 1944-1949* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1966), 150. Also Laurie Kain Hart mentions how locals remember severed heads hanging from trees in the village of Richia near Molaoi. Laurie Kain Hart, *Time, Religion, and Social Experience in Rural Greece*, 80.

98 Hatsantour Karenian, Miltos Livaditis, Sirpouhi Karenian, Kyriakos Zafiriadis, Valentini Bochtsou, and Kiriakos Xenitidis, “Collective Trauma Transmission and Traumatic Reactions Among Descendants of Armenian Refugees,” *International Journal of Social Psychiatry* Vol. 57, No. 4 (2010), 335.

99 Alexander Etkind, *Warped Mourning: Stories of the Undead in the Land of the Unburied* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013), 3.

100 *Ibid.*, 14.

Thus, it is an individual's "representational inability" to "represent the traumatic situation" that makes it trauma. Moreover, Michael S. Roth theorizes that trauma ceases to be trauma once it is brought into the realm of the narrative and turned into a part of everyday life.<sup>101</sup> For Roth, "in facing a genuine historical trauma, only silence appears, at least to some, an honorable response because it does not trivialize the event."<sup>102</sup>

Silence was very much a part of the "Stone Years" (Πέτρινα Χρόνια) in post-Civil War Greece. The family remained silent about Theio Yiorgo and their experiences during the war. Fighters in the DSE, members of KKE, children, and many others were either internally displaced or became political refugees in Hungary or the USSR.<sup>103</sup> At some point during these years, family members have said that Theio Niko spent time in internal exile on the island of Ikaria for being a communist and fighter in ELAS.<sup>104</sup> Pappou was always paranoid about people hearing that we were leftists and supportive of the communists. In order to purify the Greek body-politic, all impurities, namely communist and leftist thinking, needed to be excised.<sup>105</sup> Thus a regime of surveillance and intelligence gathering (creation of the *fakeloi*), loyalty oaths, repentance certificates, and civic-mindedness certificates became

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101 Michael S. Roth, *Memory, Trauma, and History: Essays on Living with the Past* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012), 82-83.

102 *Ibid.*, 84.

103 See, Kostis Karpozilos, "The Defeated of the Greek Civil War: From Fighters to Political Refugees in the Cold War," *Journal of Cold War Studies* Vol. 16, No. 3 (2014), 62-87.

104 Here is an interesting note connecting the situation of internally exiled prisoners in Ikaria to the slaughter in Gytheio. "The worst fear was to be sent to Makronisos, and the final determination for that punishment was made not by Louras but rather by an official in Evdilos. There, a certain gendarme, a man who allegedly executed thirty-two prisoners in Gytheion, southern Greece, would conduct the interrogation. If the 'Butcher of Gytheion' could not persuade the accused to reform his ways and renounce Communism and sign a *dilosia*, he dispatched them to Makronisos. Rumor had it that the ships transporting the prisoners were equipped with torture chambers." Anthony J. Papalás, *Rebels and Radicals: Icaria 1600-2000* (Wauconda: Bolchazy-Carducci Publishers, 2005), 278.

105 The Greek government sought to unify the nation-state through the use of right-wing nationalism and, in particular, the church and the Greek language. Loring Danforth and Riki Van Boeschoten write, "The defining characteristics of the Greek nation, according to the particular version of Greek nationalist ideology that dominated Greek society in the decades after the Civil War, were first and foremost Orthodox Christianity and the Greek language. That is why communism, associated as it was with atheism and Slavic-speaking peoples to the north, has been perceived by Greek nationalists as such a serious threat to both the sovereignty of the Greek state and the purity of the Greek nation. Other important values in traditional Greek national ideology include xenophobia, a commitment to the nuclear family, and support for the military and the monarchy." Loring M. Danforth and Riki Van Boeschoten, *Children of the Greek Civil War: Refugees and the Politics of Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), 106.

prerequisites to be a “healthy” Greek citizen.<sup>106</sup> Those communists and leftists who survived the war were forced on many occasions to sign renunciation statements rejecting communism or risk not being allowed into their village, not having access to certain government services, or not finding employment. The recognition of the resistance, of the heroic EAM-ELAS, was forbidden, banished from public memory.<sup>107</sup>

In the 1950s Yiayia and Pappou emigrated to Canada. They were married in Montreal and had my mom and uncle shortly thereafter. Mom grew up in Greece, having been sent there when she was an infant, and returned to Canada as a small girl. Flipping through photo albums in my childhood, I stumbled upon Pappou's pictures of Expo 67 in Montreal. Pappou is seen posing outside of the USSR's pavilion wearing a *sombrero*. The hammer and sickle were imposing in the background. Most of their beloved crystal glasses came from socialist Czechoslovakia. Yet, Yiayia and Pappou reminded me of chameleons, blending in with our Greek diaspora community in Worcester, MA. They never uttered a word about their families' political affiliations to EAM-ELAS and KKE. How could they? Nicholas Gage, the writer of *Eleni*, was a member of our community of St. Spyridon. Others had been children taken from Greece to Hungary and other socialist republics after the Greek Civil War. When I confronted Pappou about this some years ago, he seemed perturbed and agitated by my criticism. “You don't know what we went through,” he would say. Staying alive, pushing on, and burying the past behind them was all they could do.

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106 Minas Samatas, “A Brief History of the Anticommunist Surveillance in Greece and its Lasting Impact,” in *Histories of State Surveillance in Europe and Beyond*, eds. Kees Boersma, Rosamunde Van Brakel, Chiara Fonio, and Pieter Wagenaar, (New York: Routledge, 2014), 55. For a comparison with McCarthyism and Greek anti-communism see, Minas Samatas, “Greek McCarthyism: A Comparative Assessment of Greek Post-Civil War Repressive Anticommunism and the U.S. Truman-McCarthy Era,” *Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora* Vol.13, No. 3-4 (1986), 5-75.

107 Jenny Edkins writes, “As far as memory is concerned, how we remember a war, for example, and the way in which we acknowledge and describe what we call trauma can be very much influenced by dominant views, that is, by the state. However, it is not determined by them: their influence, and the state structure itself, can be contested and challenged. Forms of statehood in contemporary society, as forms of political community, are themselves produced and reproduced through social practices, including practices of trauma and memory.” Jenny Edkins, *Trauma and the Memory of Politics* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 11.

## NECROPOLITICS: WAR, DEATH & MEMORY

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Men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly found, given and transmitted from the past. The tradition of all the dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the brain of the living.

Karl Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire*<sup>108</sup>

That we *are* heirs does not mean that we *have* or that we *receive* this or that, some inheritance that enriches us one day with this or that, but that the *being* of what we are is first of all inheritance, whether we like it or know it or not.

Jacques Derrida, *Specters of Marx*<sup>109</sup>

Haunting is a constituent element of modern social life. It is neither pre-modern superstition nor individual psychosis; it is a generalizable social phenomenon of great import. To study social life one must confront the ghostly aspects of it.

Avery Gordon, *Ghostly Matters*<sup>110</sup>

Yiayia would always take us to Church. She was a deeply religious woman with a profound love for the Orthodox Church. It was a type of rural piety that is rapidly vanishing today. One of the most important days to attend church was on a *Psichosavato* (Ψυχοσάββατο) or “Saturday of the Souls.”<sup>111</sup> In the morning, my brother and I would wake up at Yiayia and Pappou's house, where we usually spent our weekends. Taking the *koliva* “boiled wheat,” which was completely covered with powdered sugar and Jordan almonds, we headed off to Church. With us were the names of our deceased for the priest to read during the service. During the memorial, the priest might read anywhere from a

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108 Karl Marx, “The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte,” in *The Marx-Engels Reader*, ed. Robert C. Tucker, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1978), 595.

109 Jacques Derrida, *Specters of Marx* (New York, Routledge, 1994), 68.

110 Avery F. Gordon, *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 7.

111 Yiayia said the most important *Psichosavato* was *ton Ierousalim* or “of Jerusalem.” What Yiayia was probably referring to was the Saturday of the Souls before Pentecost.

couple to a few hundred names on pieces of paper of all shapes, colors, and sizes. It is fascinating to identify the families in one's community based on their names since Greek culture follows certain naming patterns based on region and circumstances. Always on our list of names was Yiorgos (George). From early on, I noticed that my mom's brother was named George, Theio Niko had a son named George, Theio Kosta had a son named George, and even Theia Dina's son was named George. There were Georges all around me yet Theio Yiorgo remained a mystery. My inquiries were brushed aside. For years, the family remained fairly mute about it, giving only sparse information. He had died in the war. Move on. Well, if he had died in the war, where was he buried? Silence.

Michael Herzfeld writes that “a baptismal name is a link with past generations.”<sup>112</sup> Greek naming customs were rigid depending on the region, though exceptions would be made for those who died “childless or at an early age.”<sup>113</sup> Thus, Yiorgos having died in his twenties, a newly wed with no children, meant that one of the subsequent males born to his siblings would be named Yiorgos. With no knowledge of the aforementioned information, I was standing before a wall. The silence was overwhelming. Where was Theio Yiorgo? Who was he? We had no pictures, no records, absolutely nothing save for the name Yiorgos itself. As I got older, more politically involved, and interested in the struggles in Greece, Pappou slowly started to give me further clues about our past.<sup>114</sup>

In the Spring of 2014, Pappou finally revealed that Theio Yiorgo had been killed sometime in the spring of 1947 in Gytheio. The family had never received the body. Instantly, I felt as if a bomb had hit the room. Pappou, grief having swept over him, told me that his body was most likely buried in the *stratopedo* of Gytheio. How could we bury the war behind us when Theio Yiorgo was still unburied,

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112 Michael Herzfeld, “When Exceptions Define the Rules: Greek Baptismal Names and the Negotiation of Identity,” *Journal of Anthropological Research* Vol. 38, No. 3 (1982), 292.

113 *Ibid.*, 294.

114 I was one of those teenagers in high school who instead of having posters of bands, cars, or motorcycles, I had my walls adorned with a poster of Chairman Mao Zedong, a poster of Lenin, and the Red Banner.

dumped in a mass grave in an unknown location, without anyone to commemorate him or light a candle for him? I wondered how much pain it must have caused the family, particularly Yiayia Paraskevi and Pappou Leonidas, to be unable to complete the customary funeral rituals of the Greek Orthodox Church. There had been no closure. Like an infected wound, time and silence had merely hidden what was a permanent pain for the family, especially Pappou. A funeral would have allowed for at least some closure, providing the family with the opportunity to perform the rituals, pass through the period of mourning (liminal state), and move forward with life. There was no moving forward when the Greek state, having viewed the communists as the main enemy for decades, politicized the corpse, and now bones, of Theio Yiorgo and thousands of others. Mass graves throughout Greece have become politically charged sites, where bodies remain unexhumed.

One of the best examples of necropolitics in Greece is the island of Lesbos, known as the “red island,” for KKE's historic and current presence there. After the Greek Civil War, locals took the initiative to exhume their loved ones, comrades, friends, and/or neighbors in a depoliticized manner. According to Katerina Stefatos and Iosif Kovras, this depoliticized manner by which they went about recovering their loved one's remains was “perceived as an instrument deployed by local communities and relatives to protect their children from traumatic truths, thus breaking the cycle of trauma and violence.”<sup>115</sup> There is tremendous importance placed on knowing the fate of the dead, the preservation of their memory through annual commemorations as well as the “symbolic capital of the bones.”<sup>116</sup> Thus, while Greece failed to exhume the dead and maintained a policy of silence, “the exhumations in Lesbos show that local communities can resist hegemonic silence...the experience of Lesbos illustrates

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115 Katerina Stefatos and Iosif Kovras, “Buried Silences of the Greek Civil War,” in *Necropolitics: Mass Graves and Exhumations in the Age of Human Rights*, eds. Francisco Ferrándiz and Antonius Robben, (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), 175.

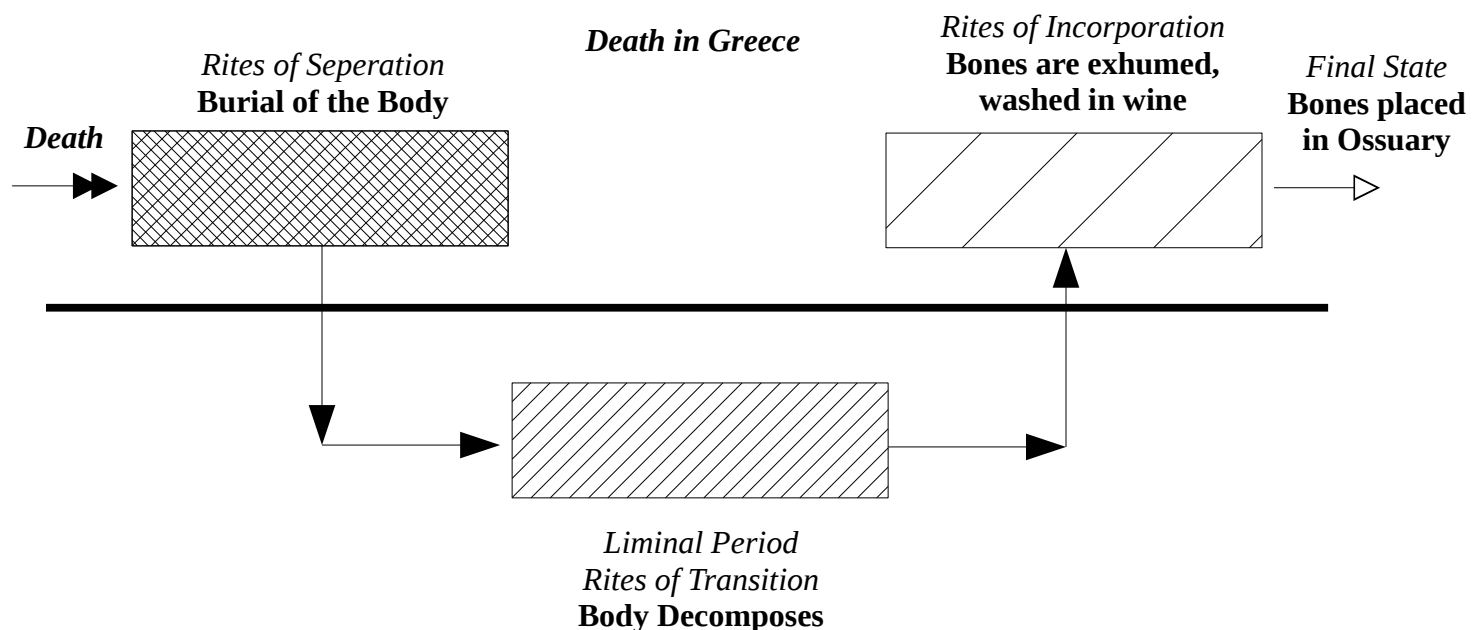
116 *Ibid.*

that people do not forget...in fact, in Lesvos exhumations were subtle acts of resistance.”<sup>117</sup> While exhumations have been successful on Lesvos, there is little to no chance of this happening in Lakonia. One may ask why there is so much invested in the body and in needing to bury it properly?

Death is a major topic in anthropology, and given the limited space, we will not delve into all of its complexity. Of particular import is Arnold Van Gennep's *The Rites of Passage*, where rituals, primarily life events, including birth and death, follow multiple periods of change or transition. Gennep writes,

Mourning, which I formerly saw simply as an aggregate of taboos and negative practices marking an isolation from society of those whom death, in its physical reality, had placed in a sacred, impure state, now appears to me to be a more complex phenomenon. It is a transitional period for the survivors, and they enter it through rites of separation and emerge from it through rites of reintegration into society (rites of the lifting of mourning).<sup>118</sup>

Thus, a tripartite structure outlining the transformations in the states of being becomes apparent. Using the model from Loring Danforth's book, I have constructed a tripartite model for death in Greece.<sup>119</sup>



117 *Ibid.*, 176.

118 Arnold van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), 146-147.

119 Loring M. Danforth, *The Death Rituals of Rural Greece*. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1982), 36.

This tripartite structure of changed states is a simple, visual way to illustrate what is, as Danforth writes, “a smooth passage, a successful transition, from one state to another”<sup>120</sup> In the Greek Orthodox tradition, the dead are washed by their families and prepared for immediate burial.<sup>121</sup> Burial is accompanied with cultural rules and taboos like the wearing of black and singing laments, especially in Mani. In the case of Theio Yiorgio, since he was executed as a young man without any children of his own, custom would dictate that his mother would wear black for an extended period of time, even for the rest of her life.<sup>122</sup> “The restrictions imposed on mourners,” writes Danforth, “are an expression of the fact that they have been separated from society as a whole because they continue to participate in a relationship with the deceased. During the liminal period of mourning they too live in a marginal state midway between the world of the living and the world of the dead.”<sup>123</sup> Burial is followed by a period of mourning lasting forty days. The Greek Orthodox Church places great emphasis on memorials and commemorations that follow a particular temporal formula. Ultimately, the refrain *Αιωνία η μνήμη* or “memory eternal” is the very core of the memorial service for the dead.

*Μη με ξεχάσεις* “don't forget me,” my Pappou would say, with deep emotions and tears welling up in his eyes. Throughout my life, since my earliest childhood recollections, this was the phrase Pappou would most often say to us. Always quick to reassure him, I emphasized that I would never forget him and that he was the most important person to me. “Remember me, “ he would say, “and light a candle for me and visit me when you can, that's all I ask for.”

The importance of memory is pivotal to Greeks and Orthodox Christians. It can be summarized by Manolis Glezos, famed communist resistance fighter, who was one of the two men who tore down

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120 Loring Danforth, *The Death Rituals of Rural Greece*, 37.

121 For more see, Michael Herzfeld, “In Defiance of Destiny: The Management of Time and Gender at a Cretan Funeral,” *American Ethnologist*, Vol. 20, no. 2 (1993), 241-255; Juliet du Boulay, *Cosmos, Life, and Liturgy in a Greek Orthodox Village*. (Limni, Evia: Denise Harvey, 2009).

122 Loring Danforth, *The Death Rituals of Rural Greece*, 54.

123 *Ibid.*

the Nazi flag from the Acropolis. While serving as a SYRIZA member of the European Parliament from 2014-2015, he was asked why he continues to fight even in his 90s. He responded,

You think the man sitting opposite you is Manolis but you are wrong. I am not him. And I am not him because I have not forgotten that every time someone was about to be executed, they said: 'Don't forget me. When you say good morning, think of me. When you raise a glass, say my name.' And that is what I am doing talking to you, or doing any of this. The man you see before you is all those people. And all this is about not forgetting them.<sup>124</sup>

Mourning and commemorating the victims of the right-wing regime remains a deeply political act in Greece.<sup>125</sup>

The liminal period lasts from the completion of the burial rites to the exhumation of the body. The exhumation of the body concludes the family's mourning, thus reintegrating them back into the community. This is mirrored by the fact that the bones are exhumed, washed with wine, and then taken and deposited in the village ossuary, "itself a powerful symbol of the ultimate unity of the village dead."<sup>126</sup> Jill Dubisch writes,

Exhumation marks the transition from individual to collective commemoration, and the fleshless bones have lost all semblance of connection to the living person and have become anonymous. Those who have been bereaved may continue to commune with the dead, but this private grief does not provide the on-going public commemoration of permanent monuments, nor the visible continuous and indestructible "message" from the dead offered by inscriptions...<sup>127</sup>

This movement of the bones from individual grave to ossuary is mirrored by the move from individual memorial service to the collective memorializations done on the *Psihosavata*.

For Orthodox Christians, a burial according to the traditions and beliefs of the Church is part of the healing process, allowing for the full expression of grieving, thereby helping to alleviate traumatic

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124 Ed Vulliamy and Helena Smith, "Athens 1944: Britain's Dirty Secret," *The Guardian*, November 30<sup>th</sup>, 2014, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/nov/30/athens-1944-britains-dirty-secret>.

125 After the collapse of the Junta in the era of the *Metapolitefsi* (Μεταπολίτευση) people were finally able to begin to come to terms with the Greek Civil War as well as commemorate EAM-ELAS for their struggle.

126 Loring Danforth, *The Death Rituals of Rural Greece*, 56, 61.

127 Jill Dubisch, "Death and Social Change in Greece," *Anthropological Quarterly* Vol. 62, No. 4 (1989), 192.

memories. This liminal transition and new state is necessary for closure. Since Theio Yiorgo's body was not recovered, there was a traumatic event that remained unresolved. Our family was not alone in this. In fact, the search for the dead has been an important part of communities around Greece. In situations of mass killing, there is often no opportunity to complete the rites of passage; therefore, the relatives of the deceased are left without closure.

In recent years, I have finally come to understand why Pappou, in his later years of life, was shaken every time he returned from his trips to Lakonia.<sup>128</sup> The land itself had become a haunted place, populated with the ghosts of the past.<sup>129</sup> When I would ask him to join me on a trip to Greece, he would get emotional. Time, it seems, had not healed the wounds of war. My increasing activism and political work didn't help matters between us. Pappou remained extremely worried about my safety and wellbeing, especially being so open about my political convictions.<sup>130</sup> When I was leaving for Rojava to fight in the International Freedom Battalion (IFB) under the People's Protection Units (YPG), Pappou looked at me. He could see Theio Yiorgo in me. "Please don't go," he said. "I don't want to lose you like I lost my brother." While remaining firm in my conviction to go, Pappou said, clearly upset and distraught, "I hope you never live through war. You don't know what we went through. I pray that you never see war and hunger." Pappou entreated me not to go fight for a lost cause. "For thousands of years people have been dying for what you believe in. Has anything changed?" he asked. "Of course!" I replied. "No! You won't change anything. You will die for nothing." Upon returning home from Syria, the first person I saw was Pappou. We embraced each other. There was no need to speak about the war. We could see it in each other's eyes. Fire. Death. Destruction. We chose silence.

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128 Pappou's final trip to Greece was in the summer of 2014 when we traveled there together, staying with Theia Maria and Theia Grigoria in Elaia. He loss has been very hard for Theia Maria who still affectionately calls Pappou *kakodelis*.

129 Oftentimes, Pappou had vivid dreams, recounting them to us when we would see each other. He would see Yiayia, his parents, and of course, his brother Theio Yiorgo.

130 Pappou, who had not even finished *dimotiko*, just a few months earlier had told some of my comrades that reading Marx had changed his life.

## EPILOGUE: THE SPECTER OF YIORGOS KASIDAKOS

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Μάνα μη στενάζεις  
μάννα μη θρηνείς  
τώρα πέφτουν οι θρόνοι  
και τραντάζει η γης.  
*Της Εξορίας (Θάλασσες μας ζώνουν)*<sup>131</sup>

Only the dead have seen the end of war.  
George Santayana, *Tipperary*<sup>132</sup>

After the Unite the Right Rally in Charlottesville (2017), Pappou was in disbelief to see the Swastika flying once more. “I can’t believe it,” he repeated to himself. “We have come this far only to be back at the beginning.” The rise of the far-right has been a shock to many. Central to this is an ongoing struggle over the very history and memory of the anti-fascist struggles of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century. In Molaoi, fascists defaced a monument of EAM-ELAS writing, “Το ΚΚΕ δεν έχει ιστορία, έχει ποινικό μητρώο” or “ΚΚΕ does not have history, it has only criminal records.” More than 70 years after the massacre of the 32 political prisoners in Gytheio, the struggle against fascism continues. While I was living at the squatted community of *Prosfygika* on Leoforos Alexandras, Athens from 2016-2017, the spirit of the *Dekemvriana* was alive.<sup>133</sup> Those buildings, still bearing the bullet holes and wounds of war, were a place of resistance and solidarity. One of the slogans we wrote was “Τότε στα βουνά, τώρα στα στενά, τσακίζουμε φασίστες και στα Προσφυγικά,” or “Then in the mountains, now in the alleys, we are also crushing fascists at *Prosfygika*.”

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131 This song was written and composed by Mikis Theodorakis (Μίκης Θεοδωράκης). An important figure on the left, Theodorakis had a long history of struggle, having been a member of ELAS, he was exiled, imprisoned, and tortured during the Civil War. He struggled against the Junta, having been exiled once more. He was an MP for KKE for nearly a decade and was awarded the Lenin Peace Prize in 1983.

132 George Santayana, *Soliloquies in England and Later Soliloquies* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1922), 102.

133 The memory of the *Dekemvriana* also was incorporated by activists and rioters in the December 2008 riots following the killing of 15 year old Alexandros (Alexis) Grigoropoulos. Kostis Kornetis, “No More Heroes? Rejection and Reverberation of the Past in the 2008 Events in Greece,” *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, Vol. 28, No. 2 (2010), 178-180.

“I am not sure I know when mourning is successful, or when one has fully mourned another human being,” writes Judith Butler.<sup>134</sup> When I think about Theio Yiorgo, I can't help but feel tremendous isolation and pain. Somewhere, maybe amongst the olives trees or under the rocks upon the dry land, Theio Yiorgo's bones call out. Though I never met him when he was alive, I have met him countless times through the memories of Pappou. We have spoken in my dreams. I mourn for him as if I had known him. This is why dead bodies and bones have such tremendous meaning and power. Katherine Verdery writes that dead bodies have the property of “ambiguity, multivocality, or polysemy.”<sup>135</sup> For me, the bones of Theio Yiorgo are the very foundation of my activism, the inspiration for struggling to build a better world.<sup>136</sup> For the Greek state, the bones belong to a criminal and traitor. What would his bones say if they could speak? Silence. This deafening silence of his unburied body in a mass grave calls to us, not only to provide closure but also to continue the struggle.

Γλυκέ μου, ἐσὺ δὲ χάθηκες, μέσα στὶς φλέβες μου εἶσαι.

Γιέ μου, στὶς φλέβες ὀλουνῶν, ἔμπα βαθιά καὶ ζῆσε.

You are not gone, my dear. You are right here inside my veins.

Go deep inside the veins, my boy, of everyone and live.<sup>137</sup>

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134 Judith Butler, *Prearious Life: The Powers of Mourning and Violence* (New York: Verso, 2004), 20.

135 Katherine Verdery, *The Political Lives of Dead Bodies: Reburial and Postsocialist Change* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 28.

136 A few months ago I inquired about any details regarding Theio Yiorgo's death from the Gytheio KEP. I was told nothing existed. Those who were murdered in a mass execution (ομαδική εκτέλεση) not only had no records, but family members must go to court (εισαγγελέας) to have a death certificate (*pistopitiko thanatou*) drawn up and made official. The search continues for me. It remains something that I will not give up on until I find his bones and properly bury him and his comrades. I believe it would bring closure to our family and heal this open wound.

137 Yiannis Ritsos, *Epitaphios*, trans. Rick M. Newton (Middlesbrough: Smokestack Books, 2014), 64-65. Pappou told me that he once met the poet Yiannis Ritsos in Monemvasia. Monemvasia is not so far from Molaoi-Sykia and Barba Thanasi, Theia Stavroula's husband, was from there.



*Figure 1:* This photo from the early–mid 1940s is the only known photograph of Yiorgos Kasidakos (right). On the left is Angelos Alexakis (Άγγελος Π. Αλεξιάκης). Both were members of EAM-ELAS and fought in the Parnona mountains and throughout the region. Photo courtesy of Eleni Alexakis.

ΑΝΤΑΡΤΕΣ ΤΟΥ 3ου ΤΑΓΜΑΤΟΣ 8ου ΣΥΝΤΑΓΜΑΤΟΣ  
ΤΟΥ ΕΛΑΣ ΣΤΟ ΠΑΡΝΩΝΑ



Χρήστος Βλαχάκης



Ομάδα ανταρτών στον Πάρνωνα



Καθιστοί: στο κέντρο ο Κωνστ. Τρίφας, με τα  
πολιτικά ο Παν. Μισθός, Δικηγόρος, ο όρθιος  
αριστερά Ανκούργος



Αντάρτες του 1ου λόχου του 3ου τάγματος



Με το Γιώργο Κασιδάκο (Μπουλεχάνι)



Χρήστος Μανίσης (Πετρομανίσης),  
Κωνστ. Κάκορης (Κοτσαρίδης),  
Γιάννης Φριτζήλας (Ντερομάνης)

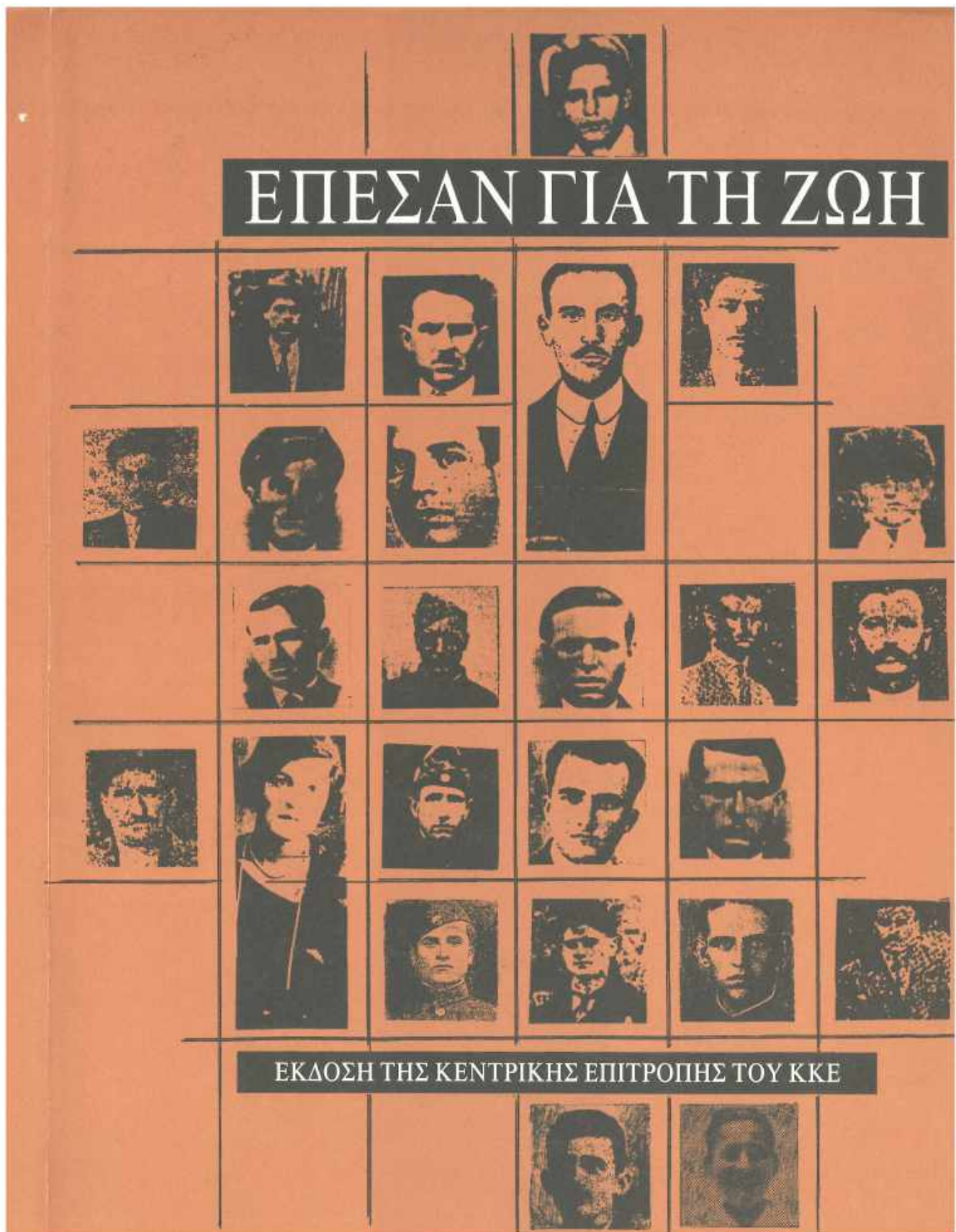


Figure 3: Front cover of *Επεσαν για τη ζωή: Ήρωες – Μάρτυρες Λαϊκών, Απελευθερωτικών Αγώνων Τόμος Εβδομος Γ'* (Αθήνα: Έκδοση της Κεντρικής Επιτροπής του Κομμουνιστικού Κόμματος Ελλάδας, 2010).

#### ΚΑΣΜΕΑΣ ΓΙΩΡΓΟΣ

Από το χωριό Διάκος Γρεβενών. Μαχητής στο Τάγμα Παπαδημητρίου της VIII Μεραρχίας του ΔΣΕ. Σκοτώθηκε στις 12 Σεπτέμβρη 1948 στην Αγία Μαρίνα Μουργκάνας.

#### ΚΑΣΜΕΡΙΔΗΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ

Γεννήθηκε στον Καύκασο της ΕΣΣΔ. Κάτοικος του χωριού Αμάραντος Κιλίκις. Αγωνιστής της Εθνικής Αντίστασης. Μαχητής του ΔΣΕ. Σκοτώθηκε στη διάρκεια του Εμφυλίου Πολέμου.

#### ΚΑΣΜΕΡΙΔΗΣ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΣ

του Αλέξανδρου και της Κυριακής

Από το χωριό Αμάραντα Κιλίκις. Αγωνιστής της Εθνικής Αντίστασης. Μαχητής του ΔΣΕ. Υπηρετούσε στο 632 Τάγμα της 20ής Ταξιαρχίας. Σκοτώθηκε στις 15 Οκτώβρη 1948 στο Σοχό Λαγκαδά.

#### ΚΑΣΜΕΡΙΔΗΣ ΑΧΙΛΛΕΑΣ

του Αλέξανδρου

Από το χωριό Αμάραντα Κιλίκις. Αγωνιστής της Εθνικής Αντίστασης. Μαχητής του ΔΣΕ. Σκοτώθηκε στη διάρκεια του Εμφυλίου Πολέμου.

#### ΚΑΣΜΕΡΙΔΗΣ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ

του Γιώργου

Από το χωριό Αμάραντα Κιλίκις. Αγωνιστής της Εθνικής Αντίστασης. Μαχητής του ΔΣΕ. Σκοτώθηκε στη διάρκεια του Εμφυλίου Πολέμου.

#### ΚΑΣΜΕΡΙΔΗΣ ΝΙΚΟΣ

του Θανάση και της Κατίνας

Γεννήθηκε το 1913 στην Προύσα της Μ. Ασίας. Κάτοικος Δράμας, Κουρέας. Το 1928 οργανώθηκε στην ΟΚΝΕ και το 1942 στο ΚΚΕ. Αγωνιστής της Εθνικής Αντίστασης. Στις 18-11-47 κατατάχτηκε στο ΔΣΕ. Υπηρετούσε στην 102 Ταξιαρχία. Σκοτώθηκε στις 27 Ιούλη 1948 στη μεγάλη σαρανταήμερη μάχη στο ύψωμα Κλέφτης του Σμόλικα. Επιλογίας τιμημένος νεκρός.

#### ΚΑΣΜΕΡΙΔΗΣ ΤΑΚΗΣ

Λοχίας του ΔΣΕ. Υπηρετούσε στα τμήματα της Χ Μεραρχίας. Σκοτώθηκε στις 12 Φλεβάρη 1949 στη μάχη της Φλώρινας.

#### ΚΑΣΜΕΡΙΔΗΣ ΧΑΡΑΛΑΜΠΟΣ

του Γιώργου

Από το Σπαροχώρι Κιλίκις. Μαχητής της VI Μεραρχίας του ΔΣΕ. Σκοτώθηκε στις 7 Μάρτη 1949 στην Κορωνούδα Κιλίκις.

#### ΚΑΣΜΕΡΙΔΗΣ ΧΡΗΣΤΟΣ

του Αλέξανδρου

Από το χωριό Αμάραντα Κιλίκις. Αγωνιστής της Εθνικής Αντίστασης. Μαχητής του ΔΣΕ. Σκοτώθηκε στη διάρκεια του Εμφυλίου Πολέμου.

#### ΚΑΣΜΕΡΙΔΟΥ ΚΑΡΤΕΡΗ

του Αλέξανδρου.

Από το χωριό Αμάραντα Κιλίκις. ΕΠΟΝίστρια. Μαχήτρια του ΔΣΕ. Σκοτώθηκε στη διάρκεια του Εμφυλίου Πολέμου.

#### ΚΑΣΝΕΦΕΡΙΔΗΣ ΣΠΥΡΟΣ

του Ανδρέα

Γεννήθηκε το 1918 στο Καρς Καυκάσου. Κάτοικος Νέου Καυκάσου Φλώρινας. Πήρε μέρος στην Εθνική Αντίσταση από τις γραμμές της ΕΠΟΝ και του ΕΛΑΣ. Μαχητής του ΔΣΕ. Τον Οκτώβρη του 1947, στις μάχες του Μετσόβου, πιάστηκε αιχμάλωτος από τον κυβερνητικό στρατό. Στα τέλη του ίδιου χρόνου καταδικάστηκε σε θάνατο και εκτελέστηκε.

#### ΚΑΣΣΙΔΑΚΟΣ (ΜΠΟΥΛΑΧΑΝΗΣ) ΓΙΩΡΓΟΣ

Από τη Σουκιά Ασωπού Λακωνίας. Κάτοικος του χωριού Ρηχιά Λακωνίας. Πήρε μέρος στην Εθνική Αντίστα-

ση από τις γραμμές του ΕΛΑΣ και τραυματίστηκε σε μάχη με τους κατακτητές. Για την αντιστασιακή δράση του φυλακίστηκε από το μεταβαρικιζανό καθεστώς στις φυλακές Γυθείου. Δολοφονήθηκε άγρια το 1947 από μοναρχοφασίστες παρακρατικούς, μαζί με άλλους αγωνιστές, με τη γνωστή επίδρομή τους στις φυλακές Γυθείου.

#### ΚΑΣΣΟΣ ΧΡΗΣΤΟΣ

του Φίλιππα

Από το Κηπουριό Γρεβενών. Μαχητής του ΔΣΕ. Σκοτώθηκε στη διάρκεια του Εμφυλίου Πολέμου.

#### ΚΑΤΣΑΜΠΟΥΛΙΩΤΗΣ ΜΠΙΝΙΤΗΣ

Από το Γιαννοχώρι Καστοριάς. Αγωνιστής της Εθνικής Αντίστασης και του ΔΣΕ. Σκοτώθηκε το Μάη 1947.

#### ΚΑΣΤΑΝΑΣ ΒΑΓΓΕΛΗΣ

του Δημ.

Δεκαπεντάχρονο καλλιηκάρι από την Εύβοια. Μαχητής μαζί με τον πατέρα του στο ΔΣΕ Ευβοίας. Σκοτώθηκε το Φλεβάρη 1948 σε μια συμπλοκή με τους κυβερνητικούς και τους ένοπλους τρομοκράτες. Έκοψαν το κεφάλι του και το περιέφεραν στη Χαλκίδα.

#### ΚΑΣΤΑΝΑΣ ΓΙΑΝΝΗΣ – ΝΙΚΟΣ

του Βαγγέλη και της Χρυσούλας

Από την Κορομηλιά Δομοκού Φθιώτιδας. Μαχητής της Διλοχίας Σαμποτέρ του ΓΑ του ΔΣΕ. Σκοτώθηκε στις 12 Φλεβάρη 1949 στη μάχη της Φλώρινας.

#### ΚΑΣΤΑΝΑΣ ή ΚΑΣΤΑΝΙΑΣ ΣΑΡΑΝΤΗΣ

του Γιάννη και της Ολυμπίας

Γεννήθηκε στις Ράχες Ικαρίας το 1915. Ναυτικός. Μέλος του ΚΚΕ. Στο ΔΣΕ κατατάχτηκε στις 26-8-48. Στις 21-5-49 ονομάστηκε ανθυπολοχαγός πεζικού. Υπηρετούσε στα τμήματα της 107 Ταξιαρχίας. Σκοτώθηκε την 1η Αυγούστου 1949 στη μάχη στο ύψωμα Λέιτσι, στο Βίτσι. Υπολοχαγός πεζικού τιμημένος νεκρός (Δ/γμα 2-8-49).

#### ΚΑΣΤΑΝΗΣ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΣ

Από χωριό του νομού Εβρου. Μαχητής της II Μαραρχίας του ΔΣΕ. Σκοτώθηκε στο ύψωμα Καράβι Ευρυτανίας.

#### ΚΑΣΤΑΝΙΩΤΗΣ ΓΙΩΡΓΟΣ

του Βαγγέλη (ψευδ. Ανδρούτσος)

Γεννήθηκε το 1920 στο χωριό θρωμερή Πιερίας. Μέλος του ΚΚΕ. Αγωνιστής της Εθνικής Αντίστασης. Στο ΔΣΕ στις 20-7-46. Φοίτησε στην Γ' Σειρά της ΣΑΓΑ και στις 25-3-48 ονομάστηκε ανθυπολοχαγός πεζικού. Τοποθετήθηκε στη Διλοχία Σαμποτέρ του ΓΑ. Σκοτώθηκε το 1949. Υπολοχαγός μηχανικού τιμημένος νεκρός (Δ/γμα 2-8-49).

#### ΚΑΣΤΑΝΙΩΤΗΣ ΤΑΣΗΣ

Τον απήγαγαν ένοπλοι μοναρχικοί τρομοκράτες από τον Πύργο Ηλείας και τον εκτέλεσαν μετά το δημοψήφισμα, το Σεπτέμβρη 1946.

#### ΚΑΣΤΑΡΑΚΗΣ ΠΑΝ.

Από το Δάρα Μεσσηνίας. Αγωνιστής της Εθνικής Αντίστασης και του ΔΣΕ. Σκοτώθηκε στη διάρκεια του Εμφυλίου Πολέμου.

#### ΚΑΣΤΕΡΗΣ ΓΙΑΝΝΗΣ

του Σπύρου

Από την Καλλιτεύκη Λάρισας. Γεννήθηκε το 1924. Αγωνιστής της Εθνικής Αντίστασης και του ΔΣΕ. Σκοτώθηκε στις 25 Αυγούστου 1947 στη μάχη της Μεσσαίας Μηλιάς Πιερίας.

#### ΚΑΣΤΗΣ ΘΩΜΑΣ

του Ηλία και της Τασίας

Από το Αηδονοχώρι (Χωτιάνα) Καρδίτσας. Μαχητής της 192 Ταξιαρχίας του ΔΣΕ. Σκοτώθηκε στις 16 Απριλίου 1948 στα Φάρσαλα Λάρισας.

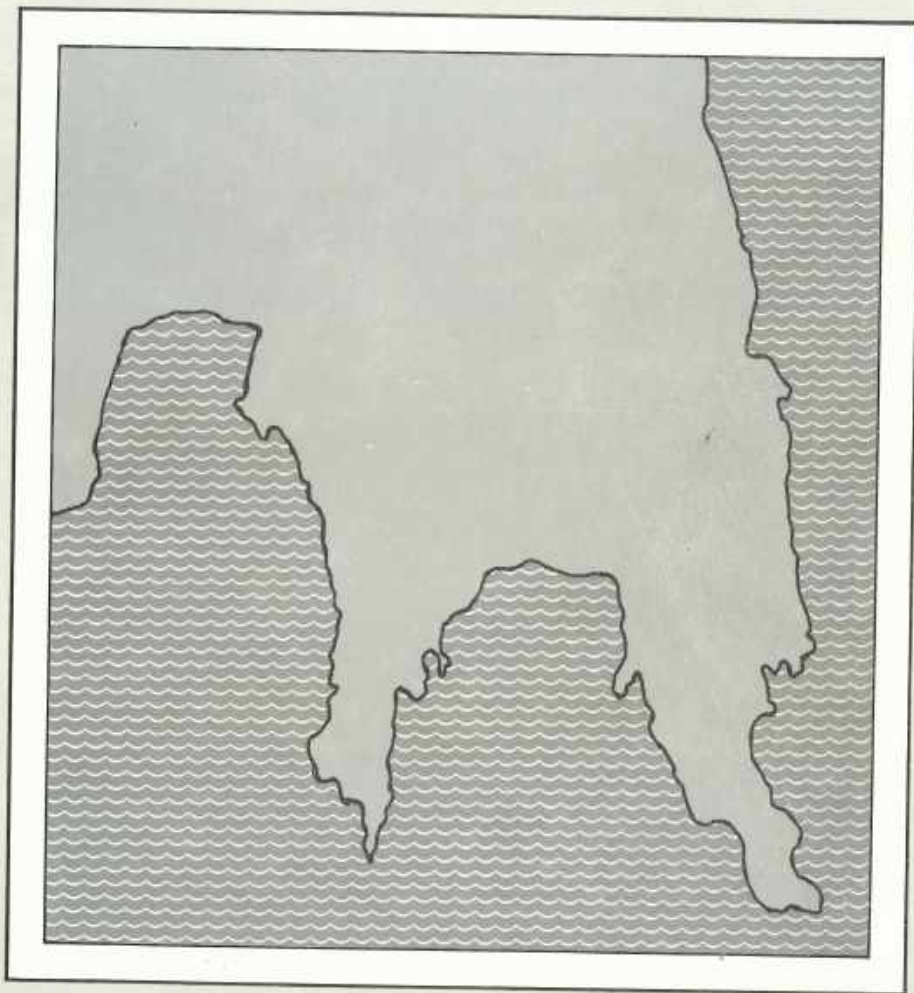
-363-

Figure 5: This is the continued part of the entry for Yiorgos Kasidakos (Boulahanis) in *Έπεσαν για τη ζωή: Ήρωες – Μάρτυρες Λαϊκών, Απελευθερωτικών Αγώνων Τόμος Έβδομος Γ'* (Αθήνα: Έκδοση της Κεντρικής Επιτροπής του Κομμουνιστικού Κόμματος Ελλάδας, 2010), 363.

# ΠΙΚΡΕΣ ΑΛΗΘΕΙΕΣ

του Γιώργου Κόκκορη

«ΚΟΚΚΟΡΑΚΗΣ»



ΑΘΗΝΑ 1989

Figure 6: This is the cover of Γιώργος Κόκκορης “Κοκκοράκης,” *Πικρές Αλήθειες* (Αθήνα, 1989).

## ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΣ ΚΑΣΣΙΔΑΚΟΣ (ή Μπουλαχάνης)

Ήταν από το χωριό Συκιά Ασώπου Λακωνίας, και σκοπευτής οπλοπολυβόλου στον ΕΛΑΣ της περιοχής μας. Σε μάχη με τους κατακτητές τραυματίστηκε και μόλις έγινε σχεδόν καλά, ξαναγύρισε στην θέση του, συνεχίζοντας παλληκαρία τον αγώνα μέχρι που παράδωσε τον οπλισμό του όπως όλοι μας. Γυρίζοντας στο χωριό του, παντρεύτηκε την Ελένη Μιχ. Αλεξάκη, από το χωριό Ρηχιά Ζάρακα. Με τον ερχομό της δεύτερης κατοχής των Αγγλων, τον συνέλαβαν οι εντολοδόχοι τους, οι χίτες που είχαν αναλάβει την περιοχή μας και βρέθηκε από τους πρώτους τότε στις φυλακές του Γυθείου, κλεισμένος χωρίς συγκεκριμένη κατηγορία.

Αρκούσε το γεγονός του ότι ήταν στον ΕΛΑΣ, και όχι στην υπερεσία των κατακτητών όπως οι διώκτες του. Με την γνωστή εισβολή των παρακρατικών τότε στις φυλακές του Γυθείου τον δολοφόνησαν αγρίως μαζί με πολλούς άλλους αγωνιστές της κατοχής.

Γλύτωσης απ τους Γερμανούς  
Του χάρου το δρεπάνη  
Μα όχι απ τους δοσύλογους  
Που οι Αγγλοι είχαν βάλει

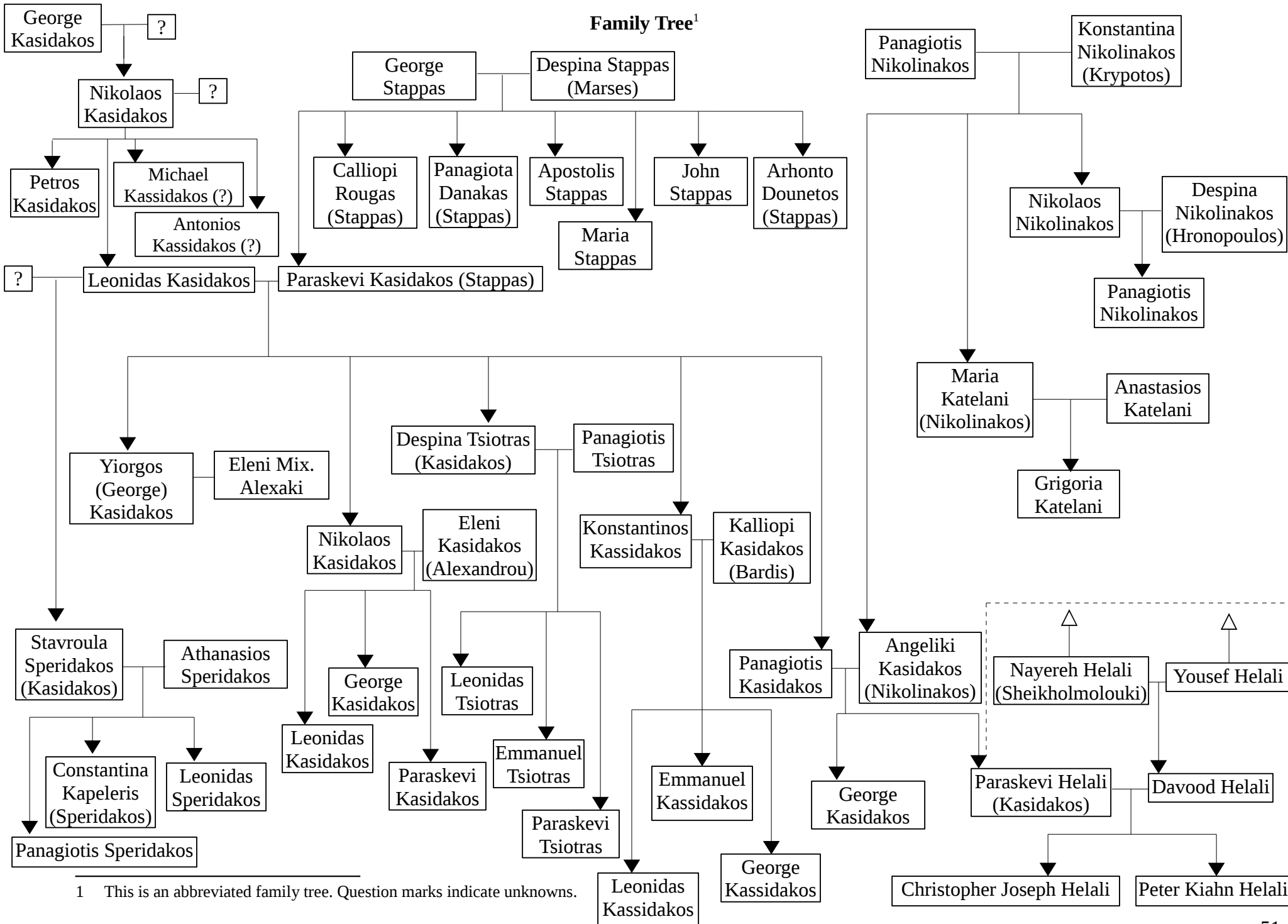


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*Figure 8:* This is the image of Yiorgos Kasidakos from the preceding page. Γιώργος Κόκκορης “Κοκκοράκης,” *Πικρές Αλήθειες* (Αθήνα, 1989), 284.



*Figure 9: Photograph of the Prison of Gytheio (Φωτογραφία των Φυλακών Γυθείου) taken on March 2017. Source: Αρχείο Αυτόνομη Πρωτοβουλία Ενάντια στη Λήθη (ΑΠΕΛ) [αυτόνομος κομμουνιστικός πύργος στη Σκάλα Λακωνίας].*



<sup>1</sup> This is an abbreviated family tree. Question marks indicate unknowns.



*Figure 10: Nikolaos Kasidakos in uniform. Source: Leonidas “Theio Louis” Kasidakos. Picture: Author.*



Figure 11: Nikolaos Kasidakos' membership card in the Panhellenic Union of EAM Fighters of the National Resistance or Πανελλαδικός Σύνδεσμος Αγωνιστών ΕΑΜικής Εθνικής Αντίστασης (ΠΣΑΕΕΑ). Source: Family archive–Louis Kasidakos. Picture: Author.

Α ΤΑΥΤΟΤΗΤΑΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΩΝΙΣΤΗ

ΟΝΟΜΑ ..... ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΣ  
 ΝΟΜ .....  
 ΕΠΩΝΥΜΟ ..... ΚΑΣΙΔΑΚΟΣ  
 PRENOMS .....  
 ΠΑΤΕΡΑ ..... ΛΕΩΝΙΔΑΣ  
 PERE .....  
 ΧΡΟΝΟΣ ΓΕΝΝΗΣΗΣ ..... 1922  
 DATE DE NAISSANCE .....  
 ΤΟΠΟΣ ΓΕΝΝΗΣΗΣ ..... ΣΥΚΙΑ ΛΑΚΟΝΙΑΣ  
 LIEU DE NAISSANCE .....  
 ΑΝΤΙΣΤΑΣΙΑΚΗ ΟΡΓΑΝΩΣΗ ..... ΕΑΜ ΕΛΑΣ  
 ORGANISATION DE RESISTANCE .....  
 ΤΟΠΟΣ ΑΝΤΙΣΤΑΣΙΑΚΗΣ ΔΡΑΣΗΣ ..... ΛΑΚΟΝΙΑ  
 LIEU D' ACTIVITE DE RESISTANCE .....  
 ΔΙΕΥΘΥΝΣΗ ..... 1<sup>ο</sup> ΘΑΛΥΡΟΥ ΒΕΡΓΗ 4  
 ADRESSE ..... ΑΘΗΝΑ  
 ΑΡ. ΑΣΤΥΝΟΜΙΚΗΣ ΤΑΥΤΟΤΗΤΑΣ ..... Α 609627  
 No DE CARTE D' IDENTITE .....  
 ΑΡΙΘΜΟΣ Γ. ΜΗΤΡΩΟΥ ..... 9464  
 No DE REGISTRE .....  
 ΑΘΗΝΑ ..... 22 / 7 / 1986  
 Ο ΠΡΟΕΔΡΟΣ ..... Ο Γ. ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΑΣ .....  
 ΜΙΧΑΛΗΣ ΟΥΛΑΣ




Figure 12: Backside of Nikolaos Kasidakos' membership card in ΠΣΑΕΕΑ.  
 Source: Family archive–Louis Kasidakos. Picture: Author.



Figure 13: Poster for EAM. Source: Αγώνας της Κρήτης.



Figure 14: EAM poster welcoming the “unbreakable alliance” of the US, UK, and USSR after the liberation of Greece. Source: Σπύρος Καραχρήστος, *Ελληνικές Αφίσες* (Αθήνα: Κέδρος, 1984), 99.

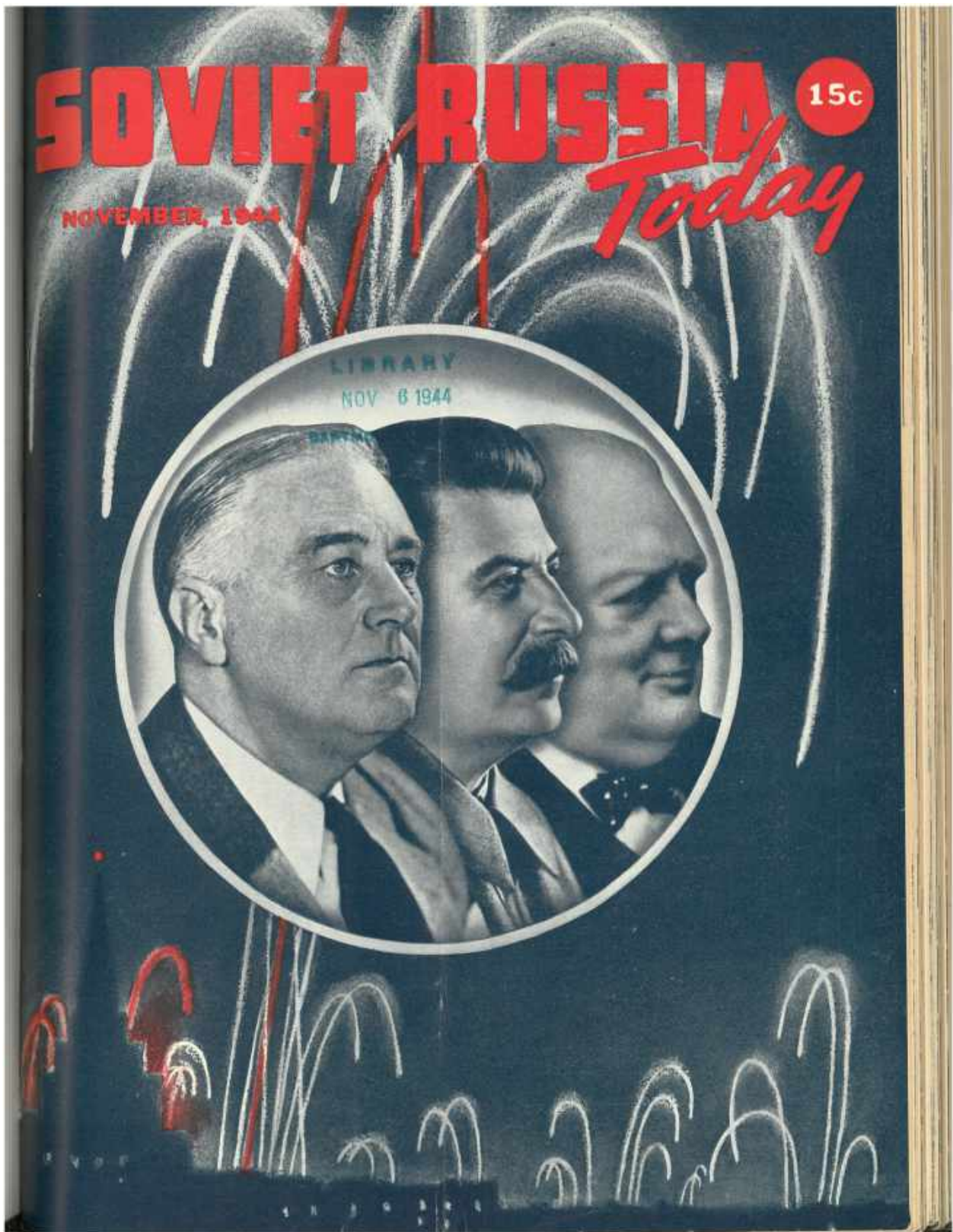


Figure 15: Cover of *Soviet Russia Today* from November 1944 which portrays (from left to right) Franklin Delano Roosevelt, President of the United States of America; Joseph Stalin, Marshal and Premier of the Soviet Union and General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union; and Winston Churchill, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom. Source: Author.



Figure 16: Cover of *Soviet Russia Today* from February 1945 which shows the victorious flags of the US, USSR, and UK over a defeated Germany with Hitler cowering in fear. Source: Author.



### LEADING THE RED ARMIES

Under the direction of Marshal Stalin, Supreme Commander-in-Chief, and a staff of generals who rank among the most brilliant in history, the Red Army is speeding on the day of victory.

On the cover is General Ivan D. Cherniakhovsky, commanding the Army now (August 14) on the borders of East Prussia.

*Extreme Left Hand Column, reading down:* Marshal Alexander Novikov, head of the Soviet Air Forces; Marshal Pavel Batistov, head of Soviet tank forces; General Georgi Zakharov, commander of the troops between the armies of Cherniakhovsky and Rokossovsky, on the front between Byelostok and Warsaw.

*Center Column. Left, reading down:* Marshal Ivan S. Konev, Commander on the Vistula front, southwest of Rokossovsky's forces and reaching toward the Carpathians; Marshal Georgi K. Zhukov, First Vice-Commissioner of Defense and Chief of Operations, General Staff; General Ivan Bogdanov, commanding the troops advancing on Riga.

*Left, Above:* Marshal Alexander M. Vassilovsky, Chief of General Staff.

*Left, Below:* Marshal Konstantin Rokossovsky, commander of the forces advancing on Warsaw.

Figure 17: "Leading the Red Armies" from *Soviet Russia Today*. Source: Author.



*Figure 18: Nikos Zachariadis, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Greece (KKE) giving a speech to DSE fighters. Source: The State Archives of the Republic of Macedonia (DARM).*

## NAZI GERMAN LUFTWAFFE AIRFIELD AT MOLAOI (ΜΟΛΑΟΙ)

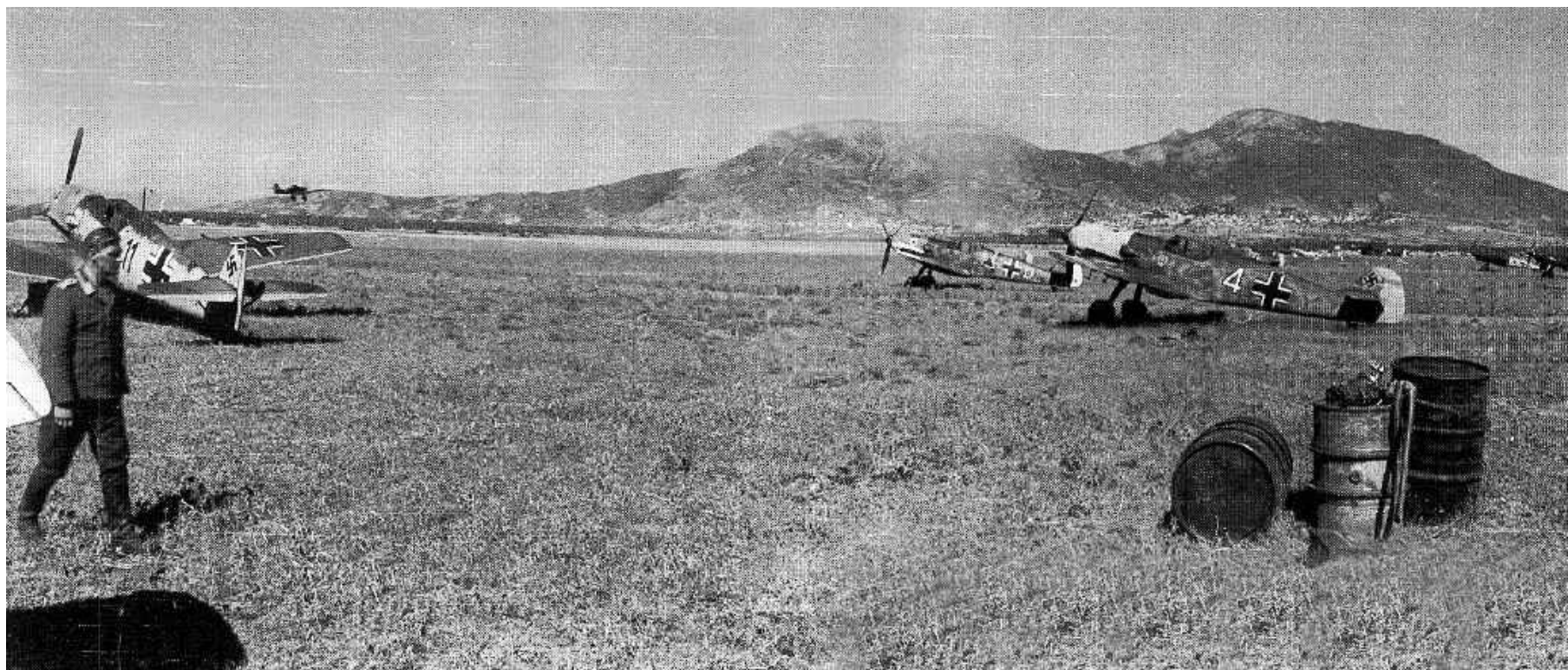
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*Figure 19: German Messerschmitt Bf 109's, bombs and petrol drums located at the German airfield (Molaoi). The village of Skyia is in the distance. Source: Günther Rall, *Mein Flugbuch: Erinnerungen 1938 – 2004* (Moosburg: NeunundzwanzigSechs-Verlag, 2004). Photo courtesy of Tasos Anastasakis.*



*Figure 20: Two Greek Orthodox clergymen look at a German plane at the airfield. Molaoi is in the distance. Source: Private Collection of Jean Louis Roba. Photo courtesy of Tasos Anastasakis.*



*Figure 21:* This photo of the German airfield at Molaoi shows Messerschmitt Bf 109's on the field. In the distance are the towns of Molaoi and Pakia. This image is a composite image of two separate pictures from Jochen Prien, *Die Jagdfliegerverbände Der Deutschen Luftwaffe 1934 Bis 1945 Teil 5*. This particular image was provided to me by Tasos Anastasakis.

SLAUGHTER AT GYTHEIO



Figure 22: Cover of Rizospastis, the daily of the Communist Party of Greece (KKE) for March 22, 1947. The news of the massacre is under the title “ΣΦΑΓΗ ΣΤΟ ΓΥΘΕΙΟ” or “Slaughter at Gytheio.” Source: Library of the Hellenic Parliament.



## MOLAOI (ΜΟΛΑΟΙ)

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Figure 24: The village of Molaoi (1950s – early 1960s). Source: Author.



Figure 25: The village of Molaoi (1950s – early 1960s). Source: Author.

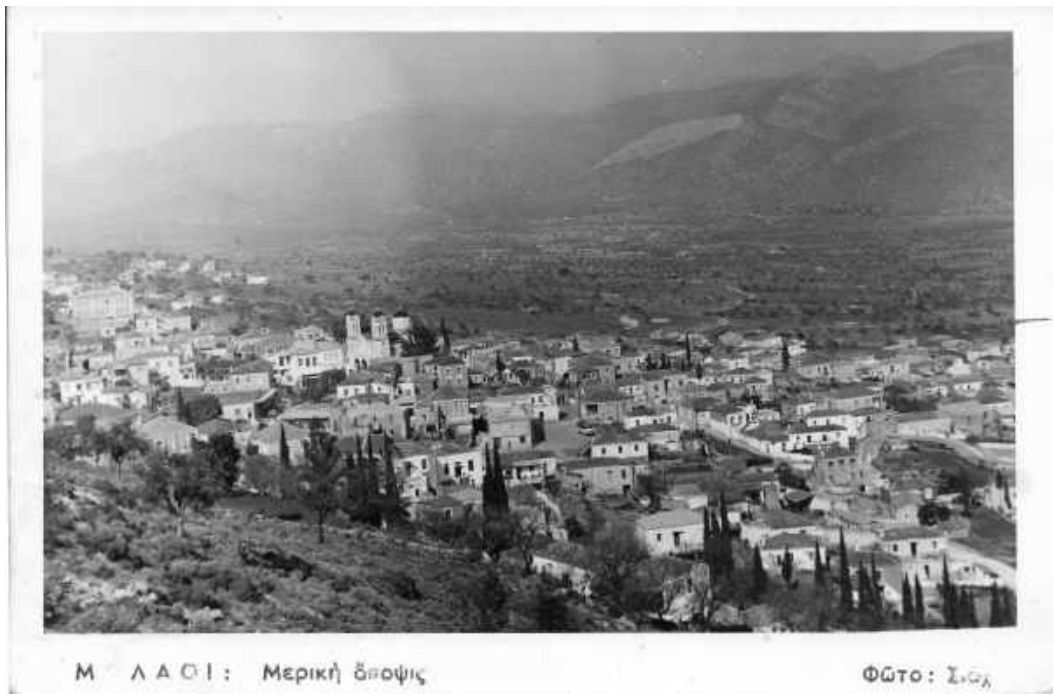


Figure 26: The village of Molaoi (1950s – early 1960s). Source: Author.



Figure 27: The village of Molaoi (1950s – early 1960s) as seen from the plain of Molaoi (κάμπος των Μολάων). Source: Author.

FAMILY DOCUMENTS & PHOTOGRAPHS

Α Ι Τ Η Σ Η

ΠΡΟΣ ΤΗΝ  
Πρωτοβάθμια Επιτροπή Κρίσης  
(άρθρου 9, Π. Δ. 379/1983)

Νομαρχίας ΛΑΚΩΝΙΑΣ

ΕΠΩΝΥΜΟ ΚΑΣΙΔΑΚΟΣ  
 ΟΝΟΜΑ ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΗΣ  
 ΟΝΟΜΑ ΠΑΤΕΡΑ ΛΕΩΝΙΔΑΣ  
 ΟΝΟΜΑ ΜΗΤΕΡΑΣ ΠΑΡΑΣΚΕΥΗ  
 ή ΣΥΖΥΓΟΥ ΑΓΓΕΛΙΚΗ  
 ΤΟΠΟΣ ΓΕΝΝΗΣΗΣ ΣΥΚΕΑ  
 ΝΟΜΟΣ ΛΑΚΩΝΙΑΣ  
 ΧΡΟΝΟΣ ΓΕΝΝΗΣΗΣ 1926  
 ΚΑΤΟΙΚΟΥ ΚΑΝΑΔΑ  
 οδός 7971 BIRNAM  
 αριθμός MONTREAL QUEBEC CANADA  
 Τηλέφ. 293-1986 Η3N 2TG

ΕΠΟΝ  
1943-1944

Ζητώ όπως μου αναγνωρισθῆ ἡ ιδιότητα του αγωνιστῆ τῆς Εθνικῆς Αντίστασης 1941-1944. Επειδὴ κατὰ τὸ χρόνο τῆς κατοχῆς τῆς πατρίδας ἀπὸ τὰ εχθρικά στρατεύματα τῶν Γερμανῶν-Ἰταλῶν καὶ Βουλγάρων, πήρα ενεργὸ μέρος στὴν Αντίσταση κατὰ τῶν κατακτητῶν.

ΘΕΜΑ: Αίτηση αναγνώρισης τῆς ἀντιστασιακῆς ιδιότητος.

4-7-1986 Ο ΑΙΤΩΝ:  
Παναγιώτης Κασιδάκης

ΔΙΑ ΤΟ ΓΝΗΣΙΟΝ ΤΗΣ ΥΠΟΓΡΑΦΗΣ:  
Ε. ΣΙΓΟΥΝΗ  
αρ. αδείας 91-507  
ΩΡΙΚΕΤΗ ΕΝΤΕΤΑΛΜΕΝΗ






Figure 28: Page 1 of Pappou's application for recognition of EPON service. Source: Author.

Μόντρεαλ,

ΗΜΕΡΟΜΗΝΙΑ: 4-7-86

ΕΞΟΥΣΙΟΔΟΤΗΣΗ

Ο κάτωθι υπογεγραμμένος ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΗΣ ΚΑΣΣΙΔΑΚΟΣ, του Λεωνίδα και της Παρασκευής, το γένος Στάππα, γεννηθείς στη Συκέα Λακωνίας το 1926, και νυν κάτοικος Μόντρεαλ, Καναδά,

ΕΞΟΥΣΙΟΔΟΤΩ

τον κ. ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΗΝ ΚΟΝΤΑΚΟΝ, καθηγητήν και κάτοικον Σπάρτης και επί της οδού Καπετάν Ζαχαριά αριθμός 13, Τ.Κ. 231 00,

για να φροντίσει για λογαριασμό μου και υποβάλει στην Πρωτοβάθμια Επιτροπή Κρίσης ΛΑΚΩΝΙΑΣ δικαιολογητικά, για την αναγνώρισή μου ως αγωνιστής της Εθνικής Αντίστασης.

Για τον ίδιο λόγο, να υπογράψω αιτήσεις, δηλώσεις και άλλα έγγραφα και παραλαμβάνει πιστοποιητικά και γενικά ενεργεί κάθε τι νόμιμο και απαραίτητο για την εκτέλεση των ανωτέρω.

Επίσης να φροντίσει για λογαριασμό μου, όπως μου εκδόση Πιστοποιητικό Στρατού Τύπου Α' από το Γραφείο της Στρατολογίας, για την αναγνώρισή μου.

Ο ΕΞΟΥΣΙΟΔΟΤΩΝ:

*Παναγιώτης Κασσιδάκος*

ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΗΣ ΚΑΣΣΙΔΑΚΟΣ

ΔΙΑ ΤΟ ΓΝΗΣΙΟΝ ΤΗΣ ΥΠΟΓΡΑΦΗΣ:

*Ειθιρά Σίγουνη*

ΟΡΚΩΤΗ ΕΝΤΕΤΑΛΜΕΝΗ

Αρ. αδείας 91-507

4-7-86



Figure 29: Page 2 of Pappou's application for recognition of EPON service. Source: Author.

ΠΡΟΣ ΤΗΝ ΠΡΩΤΟΒΑΘΜΙΑ ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΗ ΚΡΙΣΗΣ

ΝΟΜΑΡΧΙΑΣ Λ Α Κ Ω Ν Ι Α Σ

---

ΕΚΘΕΣΗ ΤΗΣ ΔΡΑΣΗΣ ΜΟΥ

ΣΤΗΝ ΕΘΝΙΚΗ ΑΝΤΙΣΤΑΣΗ

---

Ονομάζομαι ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΗΣ ΚΑΣΙΔΑΚΟΣ, και είμαι γιος του Λεωνίδα και της Παρασκευής, το γένος Στάππα, και γεννήθηκα στη Συκέα Λακωνίας, το 1 9 2 6.

Οργανώθηκα στην Ε Π Ο Ν από το 1943, στη Συκέα Λακωνίας.

Διαταγές έπερνα από την τοπική διοίκηση της Συκέας.

Οι αγωνιστές Ηλίας Αυδούλος, Δημήτρης Καλκούνης, Ανδρέας Φιλιππίτος και Θεοδ. Μπραβάκης, πολλές φορές με έστελναν με μηνύματα σε διάφορες περιοχές.

Σχεδόν όλη η οικογένειά μας ήταν μέλη ενεργά στην Εθνική Αντίσταση. Από τα αδέρφια μου, ο Γεώργιος, σκοτώθηκε σαν πολιτικός κρατούμενος των Γερμανών, και ο Νικόλαος ήταν τραυματίας στην Εθνική Αντίσταση.

Ήμουν σύνδεσμος της ΕΠΟΝ Συκέας.

Μετέφερα έγγραφα, ρουχισμό και τρόφιμα στην Ρηχιά.

Τα παρέδιδα όλα στο σχολείο της Ρηχιάς σε αγωνιστές του Ε Α Μ.

Έδινα επίσης και πληροφορίες προσωρικές στους αγωνιστές του Ε Α Μ.

Κάποτε με έπιασαν και με ανάγκασαν να εργασθώ σε καταναγκαστική εργασία στο αεροδρόμιο στον Κάμπο Μονεμβασίας.

Figure 30: Page 3 of Pappou's application for recognition of EPON service. Source: Author.

Το 1945 οι Γερμανοί με σταμάτησαν και με πήραν για μια νύκτα στην Εληά (με σταμάτησαν στην Κοκκινιά Λακωνίας), διότι με έπιασαν να κουβαλώ παπούτσια και νόμισαν ότι τα πήγαινα στους αγωνιστές μας, ενώ εγώ τα πήγαινα για να τα πουλήσω στο Αστέρι, για να αγοράσω ψωμί για να φάμε στο σπίτι.

-ο πατέρας μου ήταν τσαγκάρης και έφτιαχνε παπούτσια για να τα πουλάμε και να ζούμε-.

Θυμάμαι τη Μάχη της Σκάλας και τον τραυματισμό του αδελφού μου στη μάχη αυτή.

Επίσης θυμάμαι πολύ καλά ότι στην Απιδιά είχε σκοτωθεί ένας Γερμανός διοικητής της Πελοποννήσου. Μετά για αντίποινα σκότωσαν δυστυχώς 118 Σπαρτιάτες, μεταξύ των οποίων πολλοί συνεργάτες της οικογένειάς μας.

Αυτή είναι η δράση μου τότε στα κατοχικά χρόνια. Δώσαμε σώμα και ψυχή για τον αγώνα, ο καθένας με τον τρόπο του, κάναμε την ζωή μας μικροί και μεγάλοι έναν αγώνα καθημερινό, για την ελευθερία μας.

Σας ευχαριστώ και διατελώ.

Μετά τιμής,  
Παναγιώτης Κασιδάριος

Figure 31: Page 4 of Pappou's application for recognition of EPON service. Source: Author.

Π Ρ Ο Σ

Ν Ο Μ Α Ρ Χ Ι Α

Λ Α Κ Ο Ν Ι Α Σ

**Α Ι Τ Η Σ Η**

Επώνυμο ΚΑΣΙΔΑΚΟΣ

Όνομα ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΗΣ

» πατέρα ΔΕΘΝΙΑΣ

» μητέρα ΠΑΡΑΣΚΕΥΗ

Γένος ΣΤΑΠΠΑ

Έτος γεννήσεως 1926

Τόπος διαμονής ΚΑΝΑΔΑΣ

Αριθ. ταυτότητας 36284

Εκδούσα Αρχή Α.Σ.Τ. ΔΙΕΥΘ. ΠΕΡΑΙΑΣ

4-7 1986

Παρακαλώ να μου χορηγήσετε

Πιστοποίηση ή  
Βεβαίωση

ως αναγνώστη ή  
ως έθνικι ανήκευ.

για να χρησιμοποιήσω αυτό

για  
σωταξιοδότηση

Ο αιτών

Παναγιώτης Καβιδάκης

№ 1241

Figure 32: Page 5 of Pappou's application for recognition of EPON service. Source: Author.

ΠΡΟΣ  
Γεν. Γραφείο Εφορίας  
ΕΝΤΑΥΘΑ

### ΑΙΤΗΣΗ

Παρακαλώ όπως μου χορηγήσετε:

Προσδοκώ  
Σεραϊ Τίσα Α'  
για την αναγνώ-  
ρισή της στην  
Εθνική Αντίσταση.

Επώνυμο ΚΑΣΙΔΑΚΟΣ  
Όνομα ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΗΣ  
» πατέρα ΛΕΩΝΙΔΑΣ  
» συζύγου —  
» μητέρας ΠΑΡΑΣΚΕΥΗ  
Το γένος ΣΤΑΠΠΑ  
Τόπος γεννήσεως ΣΥΚΕΑ  
Επαρχία ΛΑΚΩΝΙΑΣ  
Χρόνος γεννήσεως 1926  
Κλάσεως 1947  
Επάγγελμα ΡΑΠΤΗΣ  
Κατοικία ΚΑΝΑΔΑΣ  
Οδός 7971 BIRNAM  
148. 28.  
CANADA

7-7-1986

Μετά τιμής  
Ο Αιτών

Παναγιώτης Κασιδάκος

Figure 33: Page 6 of Pappou's application for recognition of EPON service. Source: Author.

ΕΠΕΧΕΙΡΗΣΙΩΝ ΑΠΟΛΥΤΗΡΙΟΥ

ΑΕΔΑΝ. ΣΩΜΑ ΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ  
109, ΣΤΡΑΤΟΛΟΓΙΚΩΝ ΓΡΑΦΕΙΩΝ

№ 27189



## ΠΙΣΤΟΠΟΙΗΤΙΚΟΝ

ΤΥΠΟΥ Β

Στρατολογικής Κατάστασέως

Το 109 Στρατολογικόν Γραφείον *Φωάρτης*

Πιστοποιεί ότι

Ο **ΚΑΣΙΔΑΚΟΣ ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΗΣ** του **ΛΕΩΝΙΔΟΥ**  
(Κεφαλαία) (Κεφαλαία)

καί της *Καρακευής* κλάσεως *1947* Α.Σ.Μ. *36998*

έκ του ~~Διπλου~~ ή Κοινότητος *Συκίας*

της Έπαρχίας *Επιδόκρου/Μυρῶς* του Νομού *Λακωνίας*

ὡς ἐξάγεται ἐκ τοῦ παρ' ἡμῖν Στρατολογικοῦ Μητρώου, ἐξηγήρασε ἢ δὲ ἐξελήθησαν

τὰς στρατιωτικὰς του ὑποχρεώσεις ὡς *στρατιωτὴν μετὰ ἀπολύσεως* καὶ δὲν

ὑπέχει σήμερον οὐδεμίαν στρατιωτικὴν ἢ χρηματικὴν ὀφειλὴν ἢ ἄλλαι στρατιωτικὴν

*ὀφειλόμενα.*

Τὸ παρὸν χορηγεῖται τῇ αἰτήσει τρυ, ἵνα τῷ χρησιμεύῃ, πρὸς ἐνδεικνύσαν

στρατολογικῆς καὶ κατάστασέως.

Ἐν *Σ.Τ.Γ. 928* τῇ *29* *μαρτίου* 195*Γ*

Ο ΔΙΕΥΘΥΝΤΗΣ



(Ὁνοματεπώνυμον)  
Βασιλείου

Ο ΤΙΜΜΑΤΑΡΧΗΣ



(Ὁνοματεπώνυμον)  
Βασιλείου  
ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΣ ΣΟΥΠΟΣ  
ΥΠΟΛΟΧΟΣ

*ὄρα ὅτι ἐπὶ ἐπιπέδῳ ἐπιμεύουσιν.*

*Κασιδάκης*

Figure 34: Page 7 of Pappou's application for recognition of EPON service. Source: Author.

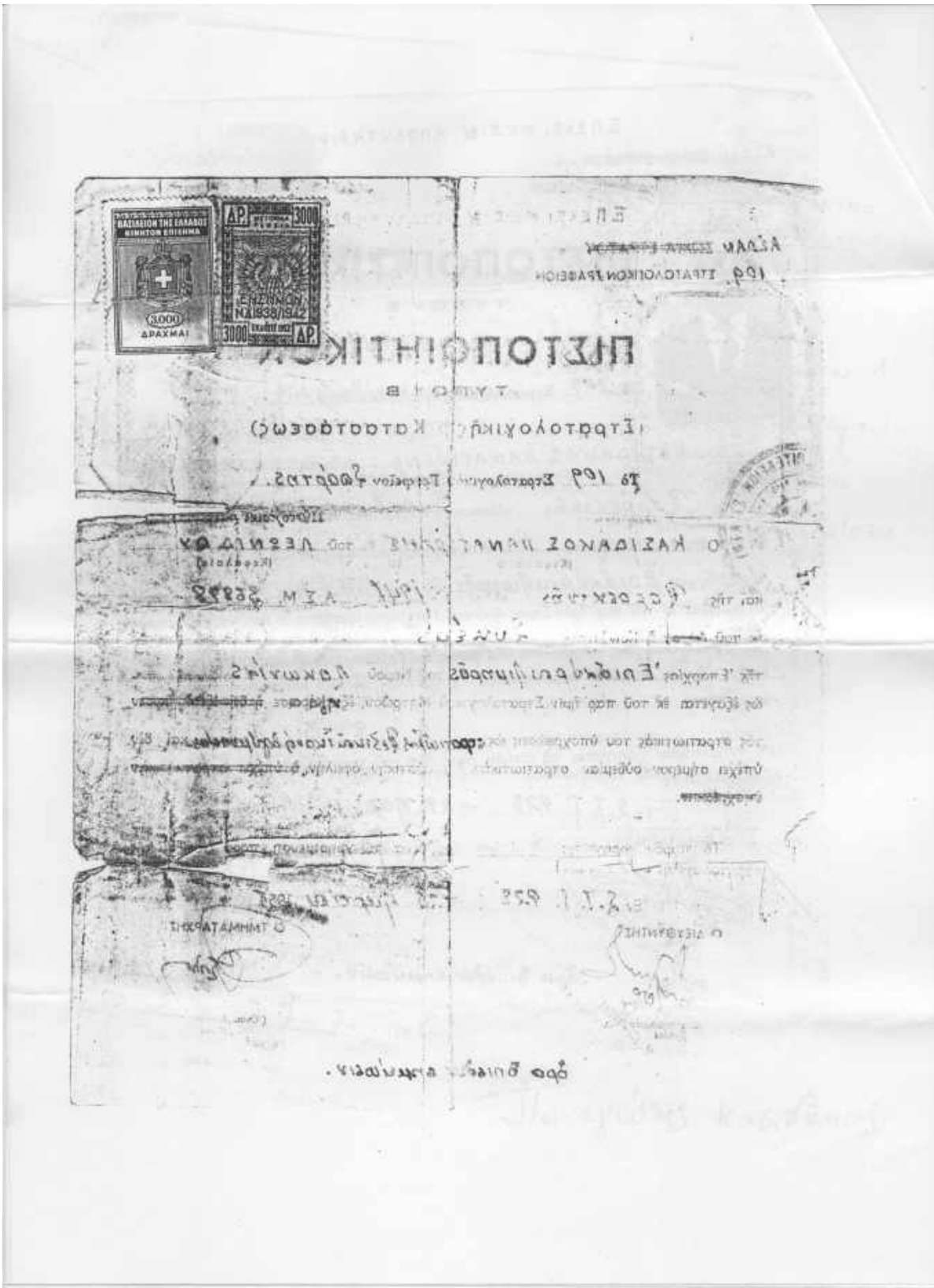


Figure 35: Page 8 of Pappou's application for recognition of EPON service. Source: Author.



Γ 636171

Αριθ 294

Βασιλευς της Ελλάδος

Υπουργος της Εθνικής Γενικής

Τιμωρίας

Ο Αποστολικός Πρωτοεπίσκοπος

Κωνσταντίνος Κωνσταντίνου  
Κωνσταντίνος Κωνσταντίνου  
Γενικός Γραμματέας  
της Εθνικής Γενικής  
Τιμωρίας  
1940  
1941  
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1946  
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1949

1940  
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1949

Figure 36: Page 1 of an official document from 1949 detailing Leonidas Kasidakos, his wife, and living children. Source: Author.

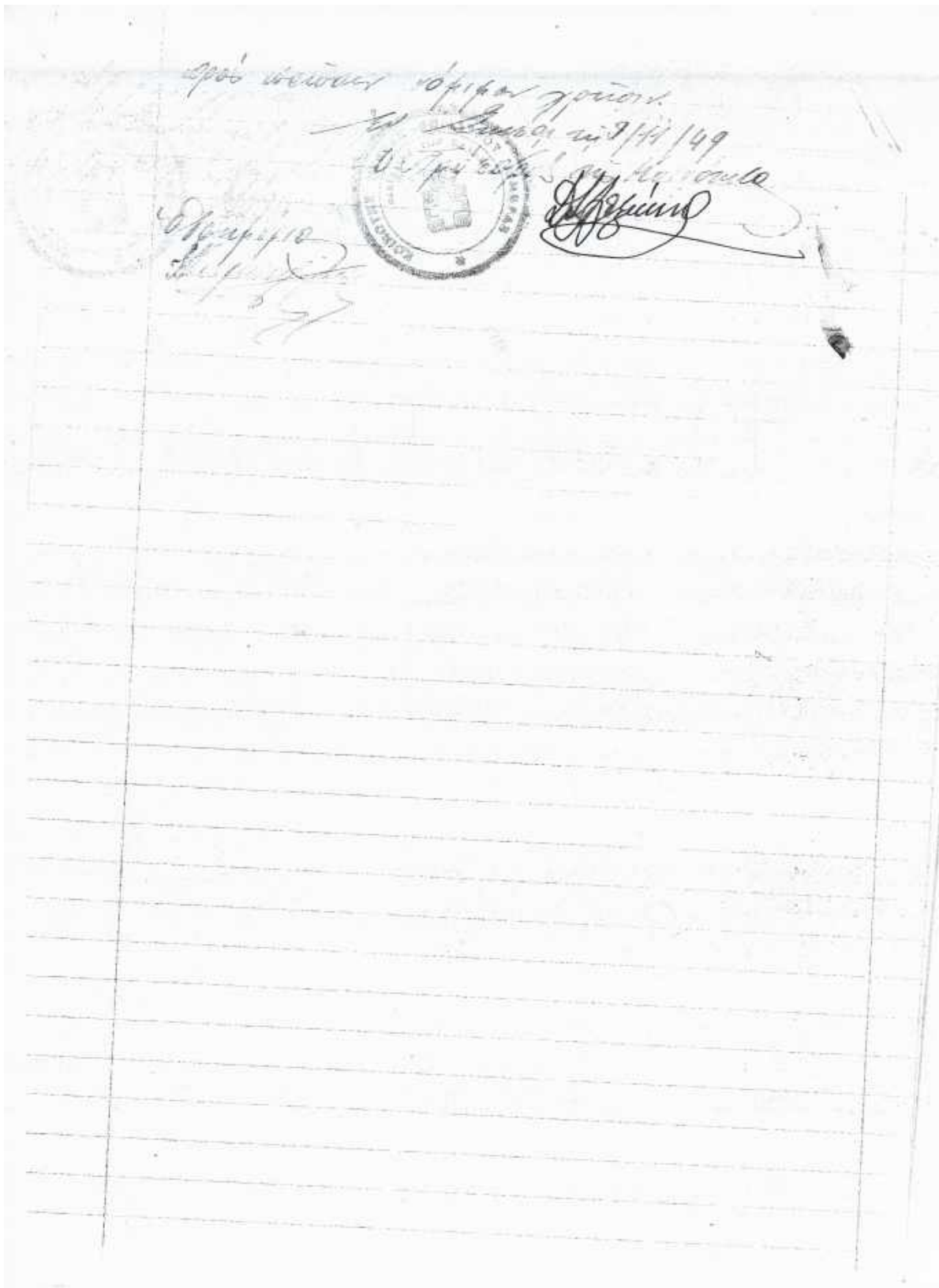


Figure 37: Page 2 of an official document from 1949 detailing Leonidas Kasidakos, his wife, and living children. Source: Author.

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Παναγιώτης  
Αγγελική  
Παρασκευή  
Λεωνίδας  
Κωνσταντίνα  
Παναγιώτης  
Γιώργος  
Νικόλαος  
Ελένη  
Δέσποινα  
Παναγιώτης  
Εμμανουήλ  
Λεωνίδας  
Στασούλα  
Αθανάσιος  
Καλλιόπη  
Αναστάσιος

Figure 38: Family names for the Psihosavato service. Source: Paraskevi Helali.



*Figure 39: Kasidakos family picture from early 1950s. Standing (left to right): Despina, Panagiotis, Nikolaos, Konstantinos, Athanasios. Seated adults (left to right): Paraskevi, Leonidas, Stavroula. Children (left to right): Panagiotis, Konstantina (Constantina). Source: Author.*



*Figure 40: Family at the Propylaia, the entrance to the Acropolis (1950s). In the middle from left to right: Paraskevi, Leonidas, Calliopi, Konstantina (Constantina). Standing above everyone and looking at the camera is Panagiotis. Source: Author.*



*Figure 41: Family at the Propylaia, the entrance to the Acropolis (2000). In the middle from left to right: Christopher, Paraskevi, Peter, and Panagiotis. Source: Author.*



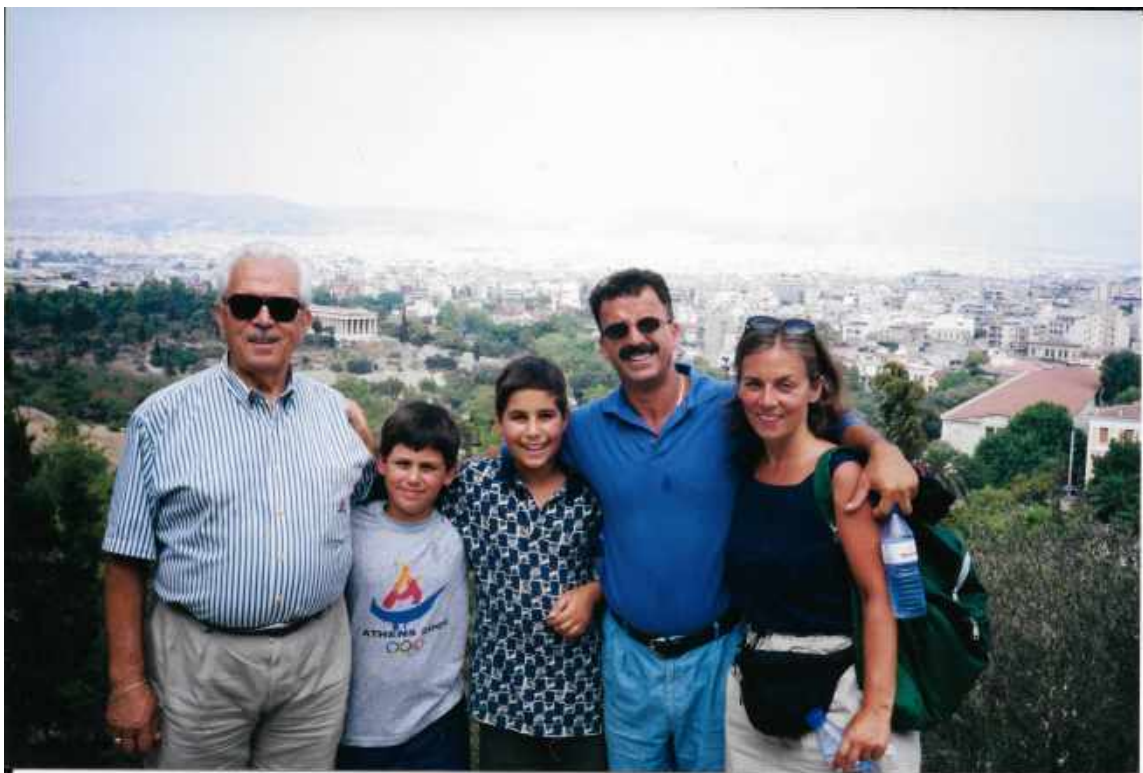
*Figure 42: Family gathered at Yiayia and Pappou's house in Worcester (1980s). Standing (left to right): Angeliki, Panagiotis, Konstantinos, Athanasios. Seated (left to right): Despina "Tina" Leasca (née Rougas), Nikolaos, Calliopi, Stavroula. Source: Author.*



*Figure 43: Family gathered at Yiayia and Pappou's house in Worcester (1980s). Standing: Konstantinos. Seated (left to right): Despina, Nikolaos, Calliopi, Panagiotis. Source: Author.*



*Figure 44: Family gathered at Yiayia and Pappou's house in Worcester (1980s). Standing (left to right): Panagiotis, Angeliki. Seated (left to right): Peter Leasca, Despina, Nikolaos, Calliopi, Stavroula, George Chopas, Kay Chopas (née Rougas). Source: Author.*



*Figure 45: Family overlooking the Ancient Agora of Athens (2000). Standing (left to right): Panagiotis, Peter, Christopher, Davood, Paraskevi. Source: Author.*



*Figure 46:* Photo of Angeliki Nikolinakou (1950s). Angeliki is on the far right standing up with her hand on her hip and her hair in two braids with bows. Source: Author.

## PANAGIOTIS KASIDAKOS

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*Figure 47:* Photo of Panagiotis (1950s). Pappou was a lifelong tailor and was always dressed exceptionally well. He made clothes for both men and women. Source: Author.



*Figure 48:* Photo of Angeliki and Panagiotis (late 1950s – early 1960s). Picture was taken in Montreal, Canada. Source: Author.



Figure 49: Panagiotis, wearing a dark suit and dark glasses with cigarette in hand, aboard the SS *Queen Frederica* on a transatlantic crossing (late 1950s – mid 1960s). Seated to his right is Mary Kourkoulis (née Speridakos), the sister of Athanasios Speridakos. Source: Author.



*Figure 50: Panagiotis, wearing a sombrero with glasses, next to Nikolaos Nikolinakos with the USSR pavilion behind them at Expo 67 in Montreal (1967). Source: Author.*



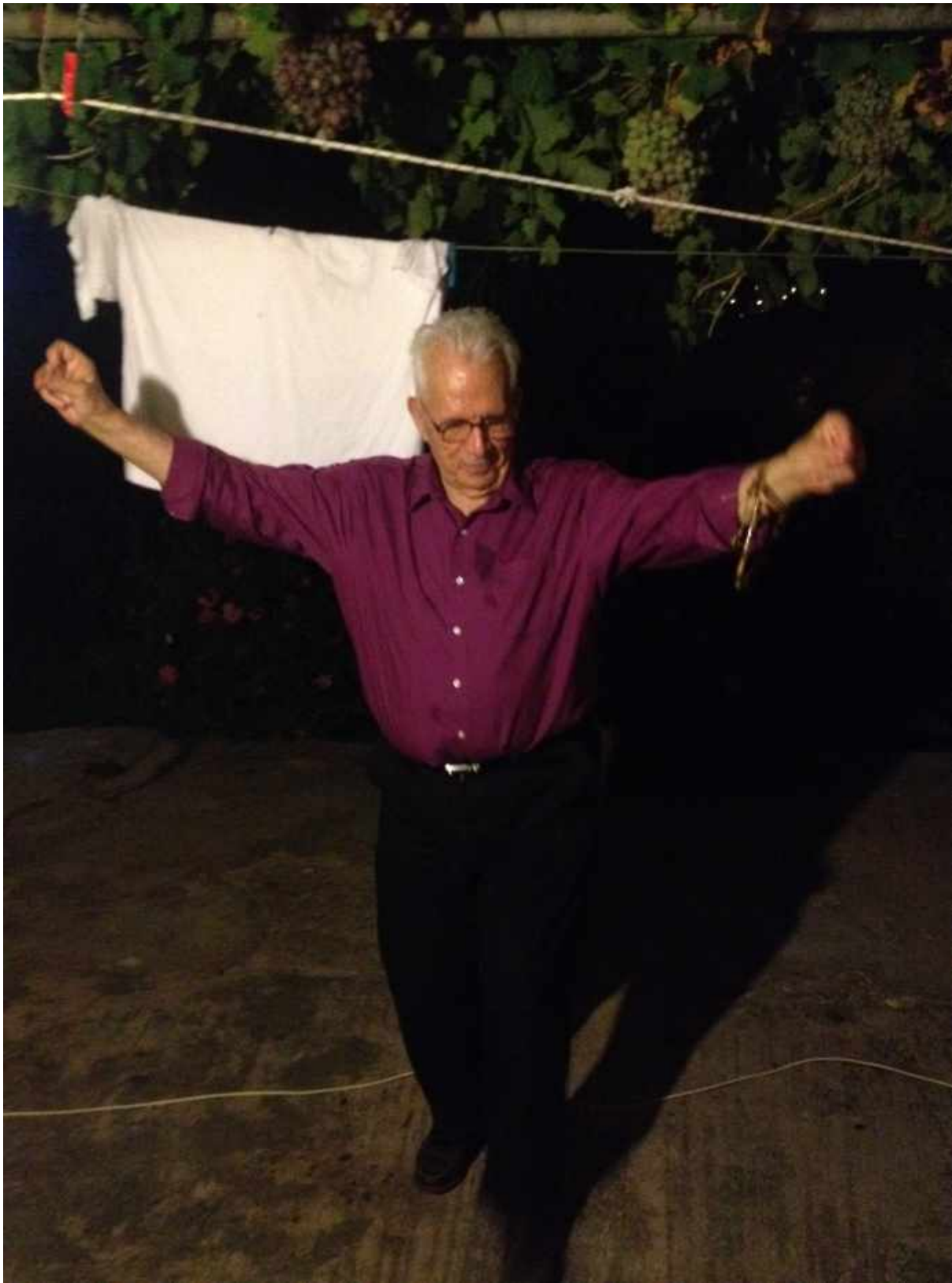
*Figure 51: USSR pavilion at Expo 67 Montreal (1967). Source: Author.*



*Figure 52: Panagiotis speaks with Despina Bravaki outside her home in Sykia (August 19<sup>th</sup>, 2014). This was taken after they had sung the song about hunger. Source: Author.*



*Figure 53: Pappou speaks with Theia Pinio outside her home in Sykia (August 19<sup>th</sup>, 2014). Source: Author.*



*Figure 54:* Pappou, with *komboloi* around his arm, dances a *Zeibekiko* as we celebrate his name day (Dormition of the Theotokos) in Elaia (August 15<sup>th</sup>, 2014). Source: Author.



*Figure 55:* Pappou at the Monastery of Panagia Elona in the Parnona mountains (August 20<sup>th</sup>, 2014). May his memory be eternal. Source: Author.



Figure 56: Comrades gather to defend against fascists at the squatted community of *Prosfygika* on Leoforos Alexandras in Athens. Symbols include the black star, the anarchist (A), the symbol for squatting, and the hammer and sickle. The phrase on the wall says, “Τότε στα βουνά, τώρα στα στενά, τσακίζουμε φασίστες και στα Προσφυγικά” “Then in the mountains, now in the alleys, we are also crushing fascists at Prosfygika.” The buildings still bear the scars (bullet holes, shrapnel, damage from artillery) of the *Dekemvriana*. This photo was taken by me on September 13<sup>th</sup>, 2016. Source: Author.

**NEWS SOURCES - GREECE<sup>1</sup>**

<b>NAME (VOL. &amp; NO.)</b>	<b>TYPE</b>	<b>LOCATION</b>	<b>DATE</b>	<b>HEADLINE</b>	<b>PAGE</b>
<b>ΑΚΡΟΠΟΛΙΣ</b> (ΙΔΡΥΘΗ ΤΩ 1881 ΠΕΡΙΟΔΟΣ Γ' ΕΤΟΣ ΙΘ' ΑΡΙΘ. ΦΥΛΛΟΥ 6112)	Newspaper	Athens	ΣΑΒΒΑΤΟΝ 22 ΜΑΡΤΙΟΥ 1947	Ἐξ ἀφορμῆς τῆς δολοφονίας τοῦ λοχαγοῦ Κατσαρέα  ΑΙΜΑΤΗΡΑ ΓΕΓΟΝΟΤΑ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΛΑΚΩΝΙΑΝ  ΑΓΑΝΑΚΤΙΣΜΕΝΟΙ ΕΘΝΙΚΟΦΡΟΝΕΣ ΕΦΟΝΕΥΣΑΝ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΠΕΝΗΝΤΑ ΚΡΑΤΟΥΜΕΝΟΥΣ ΚΟΜΜΟΥΝΙΣΤΑΣ  ΜΙΑ ΜΑΚΑΒΡΙΟΣ ΣΕΙΡΑ ΑΝΤΙΠΟΙΝΩΝ.-ΔΙΕΣΑΛΕΥΘΗ Η ΤΑΞΙΣ ΕΙΣ ΓΥΘΕΙΟΝ, ΜΟΛΛΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΣΠΑΡΤΗΝ	1-2
<b>ΑΚΡΟΠΟΛΙΣ</b> (ΙΔΡΥΘΗ ΤΩ 1881 ΠΕΡΙΟΔΟΣ Γ' ΕΤΟΣ ΙΘ' ΑΡΙΘ. ΦΥΛΛΟΥ 6113)	Newspaper	Athens	ΚΥΡΙΑΚΗ 23 ΜΑΡΤΙΟΥ 1947	Η ΑΝΑΣΤΑΤΩΘΕΙΣΑ ΠΕΡΙΦΕΡΕΙΑ  ΕΚΗΡΥΧΘΗ Ο ΣΤΡΑΤΙΩΤΙΚΟΣ ΝΟΜΟΣ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΛΑΚΩΝΙΑΝ  ΕΞΕΤΕΛΕΣΘΗΣΑΝ ΑΛΛΟΙ ΟΚΤΩ ΚΟΜΜΟΥΝΙΣΤΑΙ ΕΙΣ ΜΟΛΛΟΥΣ  ΤΑ ΜΕΤΡΑ ΤΩΝ ΑΡΧΩΝ.-ΜΕΓΑΛΑΙ ΣΤΡΑΤΙΩΤΙΚΑΙ ΔΥΝΑΜΕΙΣ ΑΠΕΣΤΑΛΗΣΑΝ ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΤΟΠΟΝ ΤΩΝ ΓΕΓΟΝΟΤΩΝ	1-2
<b>ΑΚΡΟΠΟΛΙΣ</b> (ΙΔΡΥΘΗ ΤΩ 1881 ΠΕΡΙΟΔΟΣ Γ' ΕΤΟΣ ΙΘ' ΑΡΙΘ. ΦΥΛΛΟΥ 6114)	Newspaper	Athens	ΤΡΙΤΗ 25 ΜΑΡΤΙΟΥ 1947	ΕΚΤΑΚΤΑ ΜΕΤΡΑ ΠΡΟΣ ΑΠΟΚΑΤΑΣΤΑΣΙΝ ΤΗΣ ΔΗΜΟΣΙΑΣ ΤΑΞΕΩΣ ΕΙΣ ΠΕΛΟΠΟΝΝΗΣΟΝ  ΟΙ Κ.Κ. ΠΑΠΑΝΔΡΕΟΥ, ΖΕΡΒΑΣ, ΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ ΕΠΙ ΤΟΠΟΥ	2
<b>ΑΚΡΟΠΟΛΙΣ</b> (ΙΔΡΥΘΗ ΤΩ 1881 ΠΕΡΙΟΔΟΣ Γ' ΕΤΟΣ ΙΘ' ΑΡΙΘ. ΦΥΛΛΟΥ 6115)	Newspaper	Athens	ΤΕΤΑΡΤΗ 26 ΜΑΡΤΙΟΥ 1947	ΜΕ ΤΟΥΣ ΥΠΟΥΡΓΟΥΣ ΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΓΥΘΕΙΟΝ  ΠΩΣ ΕΙΔΑ ΤΗΝ ΗΡΩΙΚΗ ΜΑΝΗ  ΟΙ ΜΑΝΙΑΤΕΣ ΑΞΙΟΥΝ ΝΑ ΤΟΥΣ ΔΟΘΟΥΝ ΟΠΛΑ.- ΠΩΣ ΕΞΕΤΥΛΙΧΘΗΣΑΝ ΤΑ ΑΙΜΑΤΗΡΑ ΓΕΓΟΝΟΤΑ.-ΜΙΑ ΓΕΝΙΚΗ ΕΝΤΥΠΩΣΙΣ ΔΙΑ ΤΗΝ ΚΑΤΑΣΤΑΣΙΝ, Η ΟΠΟΙΑ ΕΠΙΚΡΑΤΕΙ ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΝΟΜΟΝ ΤΗΣ ΛΑΚΩΝΙΑΣ	1-2

<sup>1</sup> Note that this list is not exhaustive.

<b>ΑΚΡΟΠΟΛΙΣ</b> (ΙΔΡΥΘΗ ΤΩ 1881 ΠΕΡΙΟΔΟΣ Γ' ΕΤΟΣ ΙΘ' ΑΡΙΘ. ΦΥΛΛΟΥ 6115)	Newspaper	Athens	ΤΕΤΑΡΤΗ 26 ΜΑΡΤΙΟΥ 1947	ΑΠΟ ΕΗΜΕΡΟΝ ΘΑ ΕΞΑΠΟΛΥΘΟΥΝ ΕΠΙΧΕΙΡΗΣΕΙΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΕΚΚΑΘΑΡΙΣΙΝ ΤΩΝ ΣΥΜΜΟΡΙΩΝ ΠΑΡΝΩΝΟΣ  ΘΑ ΤΑΣ ΔΙΕΥΙΘΥΝΗ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΙΚΩΣ Ο Κ. ΝΑΠ. ΖΕΡΒΑΣ  Ο ΛΑΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΠΕΛΟΠΟΝΝΗΣΟΥ ΑΦΩΣΙΩΜΕΝΟΣ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΚΥΒΕΡΝΗΣΙΝ	2
<b>ΑΚΡΟΠΟΛΙΣ</b> (ΙΔΡΥΘΗ ΤΩ 1881 ΠΕΡΙΟΔΟΣ Γ' ΕΤΟΣ ΙΘ' ΑΡΙΘ. ΦΥΛΛΟΥ 6116)	Newspaper	Athens	ΠΕΜΠΤΗ 27 ΜΑΡΤΙΟΥ 1947	ΕΣΗΜΑΝΕ ΤΟ ΤΕΡΜΑ ΤΩΝ ΔΕΙΝΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΚΑΤΟΙΚΩΝ ΠΕΛΟΠΟΝΝΗΣΟΥ  ΑΠΟΛΥΤΩΣ ΒΕΒΑΙΑ Η ΔΙΑΛΥΣΙΣ ΤΩΝ ΚΟΜΜΟΥΝΙΣΤΙΚΩΝ ΣΥΜΜΟΡΙΩΝ  ΑΠΟΦΑΣΕΙΣ ΤΟΥ ΧΘΕΣΙΝΟΥ ΠΟΛ. ΣΥΜΒΟΥΛΙΟΥ.-ΚΥΡΩΣΕΙΣ ΔΙΑ ΤΑ ΓΕΓΟΝΟΤΑ ΤΟΥ ΓΥΘΕΙΟΥ	2
<b>ΑΚΡΟΠΟΛΙΣ</b> (ΙΔΡΥΘΗ ΤΩ 1881 ΠΕΡΙΟΔΟΣ Γ' ΕΤΟΣ ΙΘ' ΑΡΙΘ. ΦΥΛΛΟΥ 6117)	Newspaper	Athens	ΠΑΡΑΣΚΕΥΗ 28 ΜΑΡΤΙΟΥ 1947	Ο Κ. ΖΕΡΒΑΣ ΚΑΛΕΙ ΤΟΝ ΛΑΟΝ ΤΗΣ ΛΑΚΩΝΙΑΣ ΝΑ ΕΝΙΣΧΥΣΗ ΤΟ ΕΡΓΟΝ ΤΟΥ  ΠΡΟΣ ΠΛΗΡΗ ΣΥΝΤΡΙΒΗΝ ΤΟΥ ΣΥΜΜΟΡΙΤΙΣΜΟΥ	1
<b>ΑΚΡΟΠΟΛΙΣ</b> (ΙΔΡΥΘΗ ΤΩ 1881 ΠΕΡΙΟΔΟΣ Γ' ΕΤΟΣ ΙΘ' ΑΡΙΘ. ΦΥΛΛΟΥ 6117)	Newspaper	Athens	ΠΑΡΑΣΚΕΥΗ 28 ΜΑΡΤΙΟΥ 1947	ΑΠΕΦΑΣΙΣΘΗ ΑΝΤΙΚΑΤΑΣΤΑΣΙΣ ΤΟΥ ΝΟΜΑΡΧΟΥ, ΕΙΣΑΓΓΕΛΕΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΣΤΡΑΤ.ΔΙΟΙΚΗΤΟΥ ΓΥΘΕΙΟΥ  ΑΙ ΕΥΘΥΝΑΙ ΔΙΑ ΤΑ ΓΕΓΟΝΟΤΑ	2
<b>Η ΒΡΑΔΥΝΗ</b> (ΑΡ ΦΥΛΛΟΥ 653 (8196))	Newspaper	Athens	ΣΑΒΒΑΤΟΝ 22 ΜΑΡΤΙΟΥ 1947	ΤΑ ΓΕΓΟΝΟΤΑ ΤΟΥ ΓΥΘΕΙΟΥ	1
<b>Η ΒΡΑΔΥΝΗ</b> (ΑΡ ΦΥΛΛΟΥ 653 (8196))	Newspaper	Athens	ΣΑΒΒΑΤΟΝ 22 ΜΑΡΤΙΟΥ 1947	ΛΗΨΙΣ ΣΚΛΗΡΩΝ ΜΕΤΡΩΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΔΙΑΣΑΛΕΥΟΝΤΩΝ ΤΗΝ ΤΑΞΙΝ Ο Κ. ΖΕΡΒΑΣ ΘΑ ΜΕΤΑΒΗ ΕΙΣ ΠΕΛΟΠΟΝΝΗΣΟΝ ΕΠΙ ΤΟΠΟΥ ΕΥΡΙΣΚΕΤΑΙ Ο Κ. ΚΕΤΣΕΑΣ	2

<b>Η ΒΡΑΔΥΝΗ</b> (ΑΡ ΦΥΛΛΟΥ 654 (8197))	Newspaper	Athens	ΔΕΥΤΕΡΑ 24 ΜΑΡΤΙΟΥ 1947	ΕΦΘΑΣΑΝ ΕΙΣ ΓΥΘΕΙΟΝ ΟΙ Κ.Κ. ΠΑΠΑΝΔΡΕΟΥ, ΖΕΡΒΑΣ, ΚΑΙ ΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ Η ΕΜΠΕΔΩΣΙΣ ΤΗΣ ΔΗΜΟΣΙΑΣ ΤΑΞΕΩΣ ΘΑ ΕΚΚΑΘΑΡΙΣΘΗ ΤΕΛΕΙΩΣ Η ΠΕΛΟΠΟΝΝΗΣΟΣ ΑΠΟ ΤΑΣ ΚΟΜΜΟΥΝΙΣΤΙΚΑΣ ΣΥΜΜΟΡΙΑΣ	2
<b>Η ΒΡΑΔΥΝΗ</b> (ΑΡ ΦΥΛΛΟΥ 655 (8198))	Newspaper	Athens	ΤΡΙΤΗ 25 ΜΑΡΤΙΟΥ 1947	ΗΡΧΙΣΑΝ ΣΗΜΕΡΟΝ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΛΑΚΩΝΙΑΝ ΕΥΡΕΙΑΙ ΕΚΚΑΘΑΡΙΣΤΙΚΑΙ ΕΠΙΧΕΙΡΗΣΕΙΣ ΑΓΟΝΟΕΙΤΑΙ ΤΥΧΗ ΤΩΝ 24 ΑΠΑΧΘΕΝΤΩΝ ΕΠΕΣΤΡΕΨΑΝ ΣΗΜΕΡΟΝ ΟΙ ΥΠΟΥΡΓΟΙ	2
<b>ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΗ ΕΛΛΑΔΑ</b> (ΑΡ ΦΥΛΛΟΥ 771)	Newspaper	Athens	ΣΑΒΒΑΤΟ 22 ΜΑΡΤΙΟΥ 1947	Η ΑΝΑΤΡΙΧΙΑΣΤΙΚΗ ΣΦΑΓΗ ΤΟΥ ΓΥΘΕΙΟΥ	1-2
<b>ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΗ ΕΛΛΑΔΑ</b> (ΑΡ ΦΥΛΛΟΥ 772)	Newspaper	Athens	ΔΕΥΤΕΡΑ 24 ΜΑΡΤΙΟΥ 1947	ΠΩΣ ΕΓΙΝΕ Η ΟΜΑΔΙΚΗ ΣΦΑΓΗ ΣΤΗΝ ΠΛΑΤΕΙΑ ΓΥΘΕΙΟΥ	2
<b>ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΗ ΕΛΛΑΔΑ</b> (ΑΡ ΦΥΛΛΟΥ 772)	Newspaper	Athens	ΔΕΥΤΕΡΑ 24 ΜΑΡΤΙΟΥ 1947	ΤΟ ΒΗΜΑ ΤΟΥ ΛΑΟΥ Οι υπεύθυνοι των σφαγών	Flap
<b>ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΗ ΕΛΛΑΔΑ</b> (ΑΡ ΦΥΛΛΟΥ 773)	Newspaper	Athens	ΤΡΙΤΗ 25 ΜΑΡΤΙΟΥ 1947	ΟΙ ΣΦΑΓΕΣ ΤΗΣ ΛΑΚΩΝΙΑΣ ΕΧΟΥΝ ΕΥΡΥΤΕΡΗ ΕΚΤΑΣΗ	2
<b>ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΗ ΕΛΛΑΔΑ</b> (ΑΡ ΦΥΛΛΟΥ 774)	Newspaper	Athens	ΤΕΤΑΡΤΗ 26 ΜΑΡΤΙΟΥ 1947	Η ΚΥΒΕΡΝΗΣΗ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΛΟΓΕΙ ΤΗ ΣΦΑΓΗ ΤΟΥ ΓΥΘΕΙΟΥ	1
<b>ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΗ ΕΛΛΑΔΑ</b> (ΑΡ ΦΥΛΛΟΥ 774)	Newspaper	Athens	ΤΕΤΑΡΤΗ 26 ΜΑΡΤΙΟΥ 1947	ΟΙ ΣΦΑΓΕΙΣ ΤΟΥ ΓΥΘΕΙΟΥ ΔΕΝ ΘΑ ΤΙΜΩΡΗΘΟΥΝ	2
<b>ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΗ ΕΛΛΑΔΑ</b> (ΑΡ ΦΥΛΛΟΥ 775)	Newspaper	Athens	ΠΕΜΠΤΗ 27 ΜΑΡΤΙΟΥ 1947	ΟΙ ΣΥΜΜΟΡΙΕΣ ΤΩΝ ΣΦΑΓΕΩΝ ΔΕΝ ΔΙΑΛΥΟΝΤΑΙ	1

<b>ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΗ ΕΛΛΑΔΑ</b> (ΑΡ ΦΥΛΛΟΥ 775)	Newspaper	Athens	ΠΕΜΠΤΗ 27 ΜΑΡΤΙΟΥ 1947	ΜΕΤΑ ΤΙΣ ΑΠΕΙΛΕΣ ΤΟΥ ΖΕΡΒΑ	2
<b>ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΗ ΕΛΛΑΔΑ</b> (ΑΡ ΦΥΛΛΟΥ 776)	Newspaper	Athens	ΠΑΡΑΣΚΕΥΗ 28 ΜΑΡΤΙΟΥ 1947	ΤΑΓΜΑΤΑ ΑΣΦΑΛΕΙΑΣ ΚΑΤΑΡΤΙΖΟΝΤΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΣΤΕΛΛΟΝΤΑΙ ΕΝΑΝΤΙΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΚΟΥ ΛΑΟΥ ΤΗΣ ΛΑΚΩΝΙΑΣ	1-2
<b>ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΗ ΕΛΛΑΔΑ</b> (ΑΡ ΦΥΛΛΟΥ 777)	Newspaper	Athens	ΣΑΒΒΑΤΟ 29 ΜΑΡΤΙΟΥ 1947	Ο ΚΑΤΣΑΡΕΑΣ	1-2
<b>ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑ</b> (ΠΕΡΙΟΔΟΣ Α. (ΚΑΤΟΧΗΣ) ΦΥΛ. 1- 44 ΠΕΡΙΟΔΟΣ Β. ΑΡΙΘ. 781)	Newspaper	Athens	ΣΑΒΒΑΤΟΝ 22 ΜΑΡΤΙΟΥ 1947	Ο ΕΜΦΥΛΙΟΣ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΣ ΜΑΙΝΕΤΑΙ <b>ΣΦΑΓΑΙ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΠΕΛΟΠΟΝΝΗΣΟΝ</b> ΕΝΟΠΛΟΙ ΤΗΣ ΔΕΞΙΑΣ ΕΞΕΤΕΛΕΣΑΝ 32 ΚΡΑΤΟΥΜΕΝΟΥΣ ΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΓΥΘΕΙΟΝ. - ΑΡΙΣΤΕΡΟΙ ΣΥΜΜΟΡΙΤΑΙ ΕΦΟΝΕΥΣΑΝ ΤΟΝ ΚΑΤΣΑΡΕΑΝ	1
<b>ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑ</b> (ΠΕΡΙΟΔΟΣ Α. (ΚΑΤΟΧΗΣ) ΦΥΛ. 1- 44 ΠΕΡΙΟΔΟΣ Β. ΑΡΙΘ. 782)	Newspaper	Athens	ΚΥΡΙΑΚΗ 23 ΜΑΡΤΙΟΥ 1947	<b>ΑΙΜΟΣΤΑΓΕΙΣ</b> ----- <b>ΚΑΙ ΝΕΑΙ ΣΦΑΓΑΙ</b>  ΕΙΣ ΜΟΛΛΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡΑ ΤΑ ΓΡΕΒΕΝΑ	1-2
<b>ΕΦΗΜΕΡΙΣ ΤΗΣ ΚΥΒΕΡΝΗΣΕΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΟΥ ΤΗΣ ΕΛΛΑΔΟΣ</b> (ΤΕΥΧΟΣ ΠΡΩΤΟΝ ΑΡ ΦΥΛΛΟΥ 48)	Journal	Athens	22 ΜΑΡΤΙΟΥ 1947	<b>ΔΙΑΤΑΓΜΑΤΑ (1)</b>  Περὶ ἀναστολῆς ἄρθρον τινῶν τοῦ Συντάγματος διὰ τὴν περιφέρειαν τοῦ Νομοῦ Λακωνίας	267
<b>ΕΦΗΜΕΡΙΣ ΤΗΣ ΚΥΒΕΡΝΗΣΕΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΟΥ ΤΗΣ ΕΛΛΑΔΟΣ</b> (ΤΕΥΧΟΣ ΠΡΩΤΟΝ ΑΡ ΦΥΛΛΟΥ 49)	Journal	Athens	25 ΜΑΡΤΙΟΥ 1947	<b>(3)</b>  Περὶ συστάσεως ἐκτάκιων τοπικῶν Στρατοδικείων	269-270

<b>ΡΙΖΟΣΠΑΣΤΗΣ</b> (ΑΡ ΦΥΛΛΟΥ 10,022)	Newspaper	Athens	ΣΑΒΒΑΤΟ 22 ΜΑΡΤΙΟΥ 1947	ΣΦΑΓΗ ΣΤΟ ΓΥΘΕΙΟ	1-2
<b>ΡΙΖΟΣΠΑΣΤΗΣ</b> (ΑΡ ΦΥΛΛΟΥ 10,023)	Newspaper	Athens	ΚΥΡΙΑΚΗ 23 ΜΑΡΤΙΟΥ 1947	ΔΡΑΜΑΤΙΚΗ ΚΑΤΑΣΤΑΣΗ ΣΤΗ Ν. ΠΕΛΟΠΟΝΝΗΣΟ	1-2
<b>ΡΙΖΟΣΠΑΣΤΗΣ</b> (ΑΡ ΦΥΛΛΟΥ 10,023)	Newspaper	Athens	ΚΥΡΙΑΚΗ 23 ΜΑΡΤΙΟΥ 1947	Η ΚΥΒΕΡΝΗΣΗ ΑΠΕΦΑΣΙΣΕ ΧΘΕΣ ΝΑ ΚΗΡΥΞΕΙ ΣΤΟ ΝΟΜΟ ΛΑΚΩΝΙΑΣ ΤΟ ΣΤΡΑΤΙΩΤΙΚΟ ΝΟΜΟ	2
<b>ΡΙΖΟΣΠΑΣΤΗΣ</b> (ΑΡ ΦΥΛΛΟΥ 10,023)	Newspaper	Athens	ΚΥΡΙΑΚΗ 23 ΜΑΡΤΙΟΥ 1947	ΓΥΘΕΙΟ	3
<b>ΡΙΖΟΣΠΑΣΤΗΣ</b> (ΑΡ ΦΥΛΛΟΥ 10,024)	Newspaper	Athens	ΤΡΙΤΗ 25 ΜΑΡΤΙΟΥ 1947	61 ΤΑ ΘΥΜΑΤΑ ΤΗΣ ΛΑΚΩΝΙΑΣ!	1-2
<b>ΡΙΖΟΣΠΑΣΤΗΣ</b> (ΑΡ ΦΥΛΛΟΥ 10,025)	Newspaper	Athens	ΤΕΤΑΡΤΗ 26 ΜΑΡΤΙΟΥ 1947	ΚΑΛΩΣ ΕΣΦΑΓΗΣΑΝ!	1-2
<b>ΡΙΖΟΣΠΑΣΤΗΣ</b> (ΑΡ ΦΥΛΛΟΥ 10,026)	Newspaper	Athens	ΠΕΜΠΤΗ 27 ΜΑΡΤΙΟΥ 1947	Η ΛΑΚΩΝΙΑ	1
<b>ΡΙΖΟΣΠΑΣΤΗΣ</b> (ΑΡ ΦΥΛΛΟΥ 10,026)	Newspaper	Athens	ΠΕΜΠΤΗ 27 ΜΑΡΤΙΟΥ 1947	ΟΙ ΟΜΑΔΙΚΕΣ ΣΦΑΓΕΣ ΤΗΣ ΛΑΚΩΝΙΑΣ “ΦΥΣΙΚΟΝ ΕΠΑΚΟΛΟΥΘΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΕΓΚΛΗΜΑΤΟΣ ΠΟΥ ΔΙΕΡΑΞΑΝ ΟΙ ΑΝΤΑΡΤΑΙ ΕΞΟΝΤΩΣΑΝΤΕΣ ΤΟΝ ΚΑΤΣΑΡΕΑΝ!”!!	2
<b>ΡΙΖΟΣΠΑΣΤΗΣ</b> (ΑΡ ΦΥΛΛΟΥ 10,027)	Newspaper	Athens	ΠΑΡΑΣΚΕΥΗ 28 ΜΑΡΤΙΟΥ 1947	ΑΠΙΣΤΕΥΤΟ! ΘΕΛΟΥΝ ΝΑ ΜΕΤΑΦΕΡΟΥΝ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΟΥΣ ΚΡΑΤΟΥΜΕΝΟΥΣ ΑΠΟ ΤΟΝ ΠΕΙΡΑΙΑ ΣΤΟ ΓΥΘΕΙΟ	1
<b>ΡΙΖΟΣΠΑΣΤΗΣ</b> (ΑΡ ΦΥΛΛΟΥ 10,094)	Newspaper	Athens	ΤΡΙΤΗ 3 ΙΟΥΝΙΟΥ 1947	Η ΤΡΑΓΩΔΙΑ ΤΩΝ ΦΥΛΑΚΩΝ ΤΟΥ ΓΥΘΕΙΟΥ ΑΓΝΩΣΤΕΣ ΛΕΠΤΟΜΕΡΕΙΕΣ	2

**NEWS SOURCES - INTERNATIONAL<sup>2</sup>**

<b>NAME (VOL. &amp; NO.)</b>	<b>LANGUAGE</b>	<b>TYPE</b>	<b>LOCATION</b>	<b>DATE</b>	<b>HEADLINE</b>	<b>PAGE</b>	<b>EXTRACT<sup>3</sup></b>
Daily Worker <sup>4</sup> (No. 4837)	English	Newspaper	London, England, United Kingdom	22 March 1947	Greek Fascists Kill 40	1	<p>Reports in Athens last night said that a Royalist armed band seized 33 Left-Wing prisoners at a jail at Gythion and murdered them on the spot, with seven other Left-Wing supporters.</p> <p>The armed band overcame a military force and then occupied the prison.</p>
Nippon Times (No. 17,249)	English	Newspaper	Tokyo, Japan	25 March 1947	S. Greece Is Placed Under Martial Law	1	<p>Government Moves to Stop Rightist Reprisal Raids; Murder of Leftists</p> <p>International News Service</p> <p>ATHENS, Mar. 24—Martial law was clamped on the southern tip of Greece Sunday to stop rightist reprisal raids and murder of leftist sympathizers.</p> <p>After a full five-hour session the Greek Cabinet proclaimed military rule for the Laconia district of Southern Pelopponesus where 13 persons, reportedly leftists, were killed by rightists mobsters.</p> <p>The attack occurred in the village of Molai, 15 miles northeast of Gythion. The two dead were reportedly women.</p> <p>The Government threatened court martial for those participating in attacks.</p> <p>General Ventris, Commander-in-Chief of the Greek General Staff, attended the Cabinet emergency session Sunday.</p> <p>The Leftist National Liberation Front</p>

<sup>2</sup> Note that this list is not exhaustive.

<sup>3</sup> Note that errors in spelling, word choice, and information have been reproduced exactly as they are found in the source material.

<sup>4</sup> Paper of the Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB).

							reported the incident to the Big Four Foreign Ministers Council at Moscow and appealed to them to “put and end to Greece's tragedy.” ...
The Age (No. 28,677)	English	Newspaper	Melbourne, Australia	24 March 1947	POLES AND RUSSIANS - Hostility in Greece	1	ATHENS. March 23 (A.A.P). ...The Greek Cabinet, following the Right Wing occupation of the prison of Gytheion, on the Gulf of Laconia, has proclaimed martial law in the Laconia district of South Peleponnesus. The E.A.M. (a Left Wing organisation) has sent a message to the Foreign Ministers' meeting in Moscow asking them “to end Greece's tragedy by common action.”
The Daily Gleaner (Vol. 113, No. 7?)	English	Newspaper	Kingston, Jamaica	24 March 1947	Greeks Proclaim Martial Law	1	ATHENS. March 23–The Greek government proclaimed martial law Saturday in the Laconia district at the extreme southern tip of the Greek mainland. The district contains the town of Ghythion, where 32 Communist convicts were killed Friday in an attack on a prison. The attack was staged by neighbouring villagers as reprisal for the murder of a Rightist band chieftain, P. Katsareas, the Greek ministry of public order said.
The Daily Mercury (Vol. 81, No. 71)	English	Newspaper	Mackay, Australia	24 March 1947	Greek Prisoners Slain	2	LONDON Sunday – A Greek right-wing armed band on Friday stormed and occupied the prison at Gythion (southern Greece) and executed 33 left-wing prisoners, according to Athens Press

							reports says the British United Press Athens correspondent.
The Illustrated London News (Vol. 210, No. 5633)	English	Newspaper	London, England, United Kingdom	5 April 1947	The U.N. Inquiry in N.W. Greece	349	While the United Nations Inquiry Commission's team was travelling through Macedonia, endeavouring to get in contact with General Marcos, the guerrilla leader, two further grave incidents took place. On March 20 John Zevgos, one of the chief instigators of the E.L.A.S. Left-Wing rebellion in 1944, was murdered in Salonika by three gunmen. A former Communist, later arrested, is said to have confessed to killing Zevgos "because he is responsible for my detention for six months in Boulkes Camp in Yugoslavia, and because of the harm which Communist tactics are doing to my country." A day or two later in Laconia, in Southern Greece, following the murder by guerrillas of the anti-Communist Captain Katsareas, mobs raided the prisons at Gythion and killed a number of Left-Wing prisoners. On March 23 the U.N. Commission left Greece for Bulgaria, learning, just before their departure, of a new raid in Thrace, said to have originated in Bulgaria.
The Manchester Guardian (No. 31,341)	English	Newspaper	Manchester, England, U.K.	24 March 1947	Greek Murders	5	<b>Wholesale "Executions" by Partisans of the Right</b> From Our Special Correspondent ATHENS, March 23. In the feud-ridden Southern Peloponese, where individual and political vendetta has for a century

							<p>accounted for a fantastic death-toll, a most alarming situation has developed as the result of the death of Captain Katsareas and a number of other officers and soldiers who were killed on Friday by a Communist band, when their vehicles were ambushed.</p> <p>Katsareas has assumed wide popularity among members of the Right as the head of a number of anti-Left organisations. In revenge for his death 200 Right-wing elements, fully armed, descended from the villages on the town of Gythion, where, overpowering the guard, they entered the prison and “executed” 32 detained members of the Left parties. Other armed persons, taking advantage of the absence of police forces, entered the village of Molaous and “executed” eight Left-wing members. The same crowd descended on the village of Apidea, carrying off four persons, whose fate is unknown.</p> <p>One report says that members of the Right have sailed from the Peloponnese to take reprisals on members of the Left exiled on the island of Kythira. After a Cabinet meeting last night martial law was proclaimed throughout the Laconia department. The Government also expressed condemnation of the incidents.</p> <p>...</p>
The Ottawa Evening Journal (Vol. 62, No. 87)	English	Newspaper	Ottawa, Canada	22 March 1947	33 Leftists Slain	17	<p>ATHENS, March 22 – (BUP) Thirty-three Leftist prisoners were hauled from jail at Gythion in the Peloponnese</p>

							by a group of Rightists and killed, press reports said today. The attackers overcame a small military garrison.
The Palestine Post (Vol. 22, No. 6362)	English	Newspaper	Mandatory Palestine	23 March 1947	Guerrilla Activity Scores Dead in Greece	1	<p>ATHENS, Saturday (Reuter). ... General Napoleon Zervas, the Minister of Public Order, is expected back from Salonika tonight and will go at once to Gythion and Sparta, the Greek News Agency reported.</p> <p>The Greek Ministry of Public Order announced last night that 33 inmates of a prison at Gythion Port in northern Peloponnesus were killed with seven other persons described as left-wing supporters, when a right-wing band raided the prison yesterday. The raid is regarded as a reprisal.</p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>(Reuter. AFP.)</i></p>
The Palestine Post (Vol. 22, No. 6363)	English	Newspaper	Mandatory Palestine	24 March 1947	Greek Civil War Martial Law in South	1	<p>ATHENS, Sunday (Reuter). – ...The Cabinet, after a five hour meeting last night, decided to impose martial law on the Laconia district of the Southern Peloponnese. Thirty-three inmates of a prison in the area had been killed when an armed band raided the compound on Friday.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Sanctions</b></p> <p>At the same meeting the Cabinet decided to adopt sanctions against military and civil officials in the district if their complicity in the recent events was established.</p>
The Palestine Post (Vol. 22, No. 6365)	English	Newspaper	Mandatory Palestine	26 March 1947	Greek Civil War Communists	1	ATHENS, Tuesday (Reuter) – One officer and 23 soldiers were reported

					Murdered		<p>killed, five miles outside Sparta in the Laconia district of the South Peloponnese, when guerrillas ambushed an army detachment yesterday, the Greek Ministry of Public Order announced last night.</p> <p>Fourteen Communists were murdered by Right-wing armed villagers at Kaghios Dimitrios, near Gythion, the same statement said.</p> <p>The Ministers of Public Order, Interior and War, who arrived in Gythion on Sunday night, decided on immediate military operations in the Laconia district to mop up the guerrilla bands.</p> <p>The Greek Liberal leader, M. Sophoulis, last night appealed to the Government to grant a full amnesty and ask Left-wingers to lay down their arms, warning that if the present situation is not dealt with in time, it will lead to civil war.</p>
The Scotsman (No. 32,392)	English	Newspaper	Edinburgh, Scotland, U.K.	24 March 1947	Martial Law In South Peloponnesus	5	<p><b>Wave of Violence</b></p> <p>“Daily Telegraph” and “The Scotsman” Correspondent</p> <p>ATHENS, Sunday.—M. Maximos, the Prime Minister, to-day conferred with three Cabinet Ministers who afterwards left for the South Peloponnesus to supervise measures for restoration of order there. Martial law has been proclaimed in the area following a five-hour Cabinet meeting.</p> <p>The Ministers bound for the trouble area are: M. Papandreou (Interior), Gen.</p>

							<p>Zervas (Public Order), and M. Stratos (War).</p> <p>Disturbances broke out on Friday in the Laconia district following the murder by guerrillas of Capt. Katsareas, leader of an anti-Communist armed corps. In an outburst of indignation 200 villagers went to Molao, 15 miles north-east of Gythion, and killed 13 Communists. Next they raided prisons at Gythion, overpowering the guards and killing 33 Left-Wing prisoners.</p> <p>Latest reports from the area stated that all was quiet again. Before leaving Verria, West Macedonia, yesterday, General Zervas stated in an address: "Greece once again is confronting waves of violence. But very soon the anarcho-Communist beasts will have to change their mind, because Slavism will undergo the same fate as Nazism." ...</p>
The Socialist Leader <sup>5</sup> (Vol. 39, No. 25)	English	Newspaper	United Kingdom	5 July 1947	Thousands Arrested, Exiled ... Greece Becomes a Huge Prison	3	<p><i>From Our Own Correspondent</i> Salonika.</p> <p>... <b>No Validity</b></p> <p>In the streets of the towns the murder of left-wing citizens by members of the terrorist organisations supported by the State is a common occurrence. Acts of such a character coupled with an orgy of profiteering by the individual members of the governing-class and the appropriation of the national debt and the U.N.R.R.A. stores make up the whole internal policy</p>

5 Formerly titled the "New Leader." Weekly paper of the Independent Labour Party.

							<p>of the Government and precisely for this reason such a Government has no moral validity in the eyes of the Greek people.</p> <p>Whilst in relation to its foreign policy in any case a single act would destroy its validity as, for instance, the murder of 33 left-wing prisoners in the town of Gytheion by the right-wing bands officially armed by the state or the mass murder of the printers of a left-wing paper in Salonika without the authorities making any attempt to arrest or punish the criminals.</p> <p><b>Notwithstanding all this the Government continues to be recognised by the most democratic capitalist countries like Britain and America for the reasons stated above.</b></p> <p>Greece is, indeed, a testing ground in the battle of world politics.</p>
The Sydney Morning Herald (No. 34,087)	English	Newspaper	Sydney, Australia	24 March 1947	Lynching In Greece: Martial Law	3	<p>LONDON, March 23 (A.A.P.). –The Greek cabinet has proclaimed martial law in the Laconia district, southern Greece, following the lynching of 33 Left-wing prisoners, says Reuters' correspondent at Athens.</p> <p>The Greek National Liberation Front (EAM) has asked the Foreign Ministers, now meeting at Moscow, to “end Greece's tragedy by common action.”</p> <p>The correspondent of the British United Press at Athens said yesterday that reports in Athens Press stated that a Right-wing armed band on Friday stormed and occupied a prison at</p>

							Gytheion, on the Gulf of Leconia, and executed 33 Left-wing prisoners...
The Times (No. 50,717)	English	Newspaper	London, England, U.K.	24 March 1947	Martial Law in Laconia	5	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Fear of Blood Feud</b> From Our Correspondent ATHENS, March 23</p> <p>After a Cabinet meeting last night, martial law was proclaimed throughout the Laconia department, where a dangerous situation has developed as a result of the death of Captain Katsareas and several officers and soldiers who were killed on Friday by a Communist band when their vehicles were ambushed. The Government has also expressed its indignation at the incidents and has promised strict punishment.</p> <p>Captain Katsareas had earned wide popularity among followers of the right as head of a number of anti-Communist organizations. In revenge for his death 200 right-wing adherents, fully armed, descended from villages on the town of Gythion, where, overpowering the guard, they entered the prison and executed 32 detained men of the left. Other armed persons, taking advantage of the absence of police forces, entered the village of Molaous and executed eight left-wing followers. The same crowd descended on the village of Apidea and carried off four persons, whose fate is unknown. Though reinforcements were sent to the area of the disturbances, fears are expressed by the authorities that, owing to the blood-feud traditions of the district, further</p>

							bloodshed and lawlessness may be attempted. One report said that armed men had sailed from Peloponnesos to take reprisals on adherents of the left exiled on the island of Kythera. ...
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**NEWS SOURCES - UNITED STATES OF AMERICA<sup>6</sup>**

<b>NAME (VOL. &amp; NO.)</b>	<b>TYPE</b>	<b>LOCATION</b>	<b>DATE</b>	<b>HEADLINE</b>	<b>PAGE</b>	<b>EXTRACT<sup>7</sup></b>
Akron Beacon Journal (108 <sup>th</sup> Year, No. 107)	Newspaper	Akron, Ohio	23 March 1947	\$26,666 On Each Greek Outlaw's Head	15A	<p align="center">By George Weller Chicago Daily News Foreign Service</p> <p>NEW YORK – ...The guerrillas lost 100 of their numbers Friday in a battle at Epirus near Albania with the Eighth Greek division. At Gytheon, in extreme southern Greece, 32 unarmed “Communist” convicts were slaughtered when rightists stormed a prison since Truman's plea.</p>
Akron Beacon Journal (108 <sup>th</sup> Year, No. 107)	Newspaper	Akron, Ohio	23 March 1947	Martial Law For Laconia	1	<p>ATHENS, Greece (U.P.)–The Greek government Saturday proclaimed martial law for a guerrilla-infested region of Laconia province in southernmost Greece where both rightwing and leftwing followers have indulged in recent mass slayings.</p> <p>...Two of the cities clapped under martial law were Gytheion, provincial capital, where rightist bands murdered 39 persons Friday, and Mallaoi, to the southwest, where 13 leftist supporters, including two women were slain.</p> <p>Proclamation of martial law followed an emergency cabinet meeting at which Premier Demetrios Maximos said “all steps will be taken to restore order.”</p> <p>A government statement said the ministers of public order and war will fly to Laconia, in the southeast Peloponnesus, to supervise the application of martial law. Responsible military and civil authorities will be punished by special courts-martial.</p>

<sup>6</sup> Note that this list is not exhaustive.

<sup>7</sup> Note that errors in spelling, word choice, and information have been reproduced exactly as they are found in the source material.

Asheville Citizen-Times (Vol. 17, No. 29)	Newspaper	Asheville, North Carolina	23 March 1947	Martial Law Ordered To Curb Greek Rebels	1	<p>ATHENS, Greece. March 22. (UP) The Greek government today proclaimed martial law for a guerrilla-infested region of Laconia province in southernmost Greece where both rightwing and leftwing followers have indulged in recent mass slayings.</p> <p>...Two of the cities clapped under martial law were Gytheion, provincial capital, where rightist bands murdered 39 persons Friday and Mallaioi, to the southwest, where 13 leftist supporters, including two women, were slain.</p> <p>Proclamation of martial law followed an emergency cabinet meeting at which Premier Demetrios Maximos said "all steps will be taken to restore order."</p> <p>A government statement said the ministers of public order and war will fly to Laconia, in the southeast Peloponnesus, to supervise the application of martial law. Responsible military and civil authorities will be punished by special courts martial...</p>
Chicago Sunday Tribune (Vol. 106, No. 12 C)	Newspaper	Chicago, Illinois	23 March 1947	Greece Clamps Martial Law On Southern Area	5	<p>ATHENS, Greece, March 22 (AP) – The Greek cabinet imposed martial law thruout the prefecture of Laconia at the southern tip of the Greek mainland tonight as a result of the tense situation created by the massacre of 32 communist convicts Friday in a prison at Gythion.</p> <p>The cabinet decided also to take measures against civil and military authorities in the area where the mass slaying occurred, to hold military trials for those responsible for the massacre, and to have the prefecture cleared of armed bands.</p>

						<p>The attack on the prison was made by neighboring villagers in reprisal for the murder of the leader of a rightist band, the ministry of public order said.</p>
Chicago Sunday Tribune (Vol. 106, No. 14 C)	Newspaper	Chicago, Illinois	6 April 1947	Greek Civil War Waged On Famed Terrain Of Past	10	<p><b>Rugged Country Blocks Modern Methods</b> By Seymour Korman (Chicago Tribune Press Service) SPARTA, Greece, April 3 [Delayed] – ...Sparta, an historic synonym for Grecian valor and discipline, is the headquarters of Gen. Napoleon Zervas, minister of public security and one of the most controversial figures in Greek politics. He has 2,500 police troops in action against the guerrillas and martial law is in effect thru the Laconian province. That step was ordered when a rightist bandit leader was killed last month, allegedly by a communist, and 32 communists were then killed by a mob after being taken from prison in Gytheion on the southern coast of Peloponnesus. ...On the other side of the picture, Zervas has promised to arrest and court martial those responsible for the lynchings at Gytheion. But he has not yet done that.</p>
Council Bluffs Nonpareil (Vol. 90, No. 81)	Newspaper	Council Bluffs, Iowa	22 March 1947	Greek Army Opens Drive on Guerrillas	1	<p><b>Spring Offensive in North Reported as Under Way</b> ATHENS, AP – ... <b>Communist Convicts Killed.</b> In Greece's southern peninsula of the Peloponnesus, inhabitants of nearby villages broke into a prison at Ghythion and killed 32 communist convicts to avenge the leftists killing of P. Katsareas, right-wing band</p>

						<p>chieftan.</p> <p>The ministry of public order, which announced the lynching, said it was carried off by some 200 armed villagers who overcame 25 prison guards.</p> <p>The government voicing “indignant disapproval,” promised stern penalties and ordered the minister of public order, lately on tour in eastern Macedonia, to go to Ghythion to investigate.</p>
Dayton Daily News (Vol. 70, No. 243)	Newspaper	Dayton, Ohio	23 March 1947	Martial Law Put On Greek Region	3	<p>ATHENS, Greece, March 22.– (UP–The Greek government today proclaimed martial law for a guerrilla-infested region of Laconia province in southernmost Greece where both rightwing and leftwing followers have indulged in recent mass slayings.</p> <p>Violence in the last 36 hours which precipitated martial law included the murders of two rightwing leaders, 52 leftists and one Communist. Officials feared rightwing guerrillas in the south would develop as strongly as leftwing bands in the north, it was said, and decided to mee the rightist threat with equal vigor.</p> <p>...Two of the cities clapped under martial law were Gytheion, provincial capital, where rightist bands murdered 39 persons Friday, and Mallaoi, to the southwest, where 13 leftist supporters, including two women, were slain.</p> <p>Proclamation of martial law followed an emergency cabinet meeting at which Premier Demetrios Maximos said “all steps will be taken to restore order.”</p>
Dayton Daily News	Newspaper	Dayton, Ohio	8 April 1947	War Between Right,	6	By Raymond Daniell

(Vol. 70, No. 259)				Left Rages in Greece, Writer Says		<p><i>Special From New York Times</i></p> <p>ATHENS, April 8. -</p> <p>...However, the fires of civil strife are being fanned by excesses of both sides, including the extreme right wing, which seems to have immunity from punishment even when it resorts to murder, as it did recently in Gythion.</p> <p>There, a rightist band, as a reprisal for the killing of a rightist leader, raided a jail and slaughtered 32 prisoners who were suspected of being Communists.</p>
Edwardsville Intelligencer (84 <sup>th</sup> Year, No. 108)	Newspaper	Edwardsville, Illinois	22 March 1947	Greek Leftists Slain	8	<p>Athens, March 22 (UP) – Thirty-three Leftist prisoners were hauled from jail at Gythion in the Peloponnesus by a group of rightists and killed, press reports said today. The attackers overcame a small military garrison.</p>
Eugene Register-Guard (Vol. 108, No. 82)	Newspaper	Eugene, Oregon	23 March 1947	Guerrilla Action In Greek Lands Brings Martial Law Proclamation	8	<p>ATHENS, Greece –(U.P.)– The Greek government Saturday proclaimed martial law for a guerrilla-infested region of Laconia province in southernmost Greece where both rightwing and leftwing followers have indulged in recent mass slayings....</p> <p><b>Two of the cities clapped under martial law were Gytheion, provincial capital, where rightist bands murdered 39 persons Friday, and Mallaoui, to the southwest, where 13 leftist supporters, including two women, were slain.</b></p> <p>Proclamation of martial law followed an emergency cabinet meeting at which Premier Demetrios Maximos said “all steps will be taken to restore order.”</p> <p>A government statement said the ministers</p>

						of public order and war will fly to Laconia, in the southeast peloponnesus, to supervise the application of martial law. Responsible military and civil authorities will be punished by special courts martial....
Freeport Journal-Standard (100 <sup>th</sup> Year)	Newspaper	Freeport, Illinois	22 March 1947	33 Leftist Prisoners Hauled From Jail In Greece And Killed	1	Athens, March 22. -(UP)- Thirty-three leftist prisoners were hauled from jail at Gythion in the Peloponnesus by a group of rightists and killed, press reports said today. The attackers overcame a small military garrison.
Gazette and Bulletin (146 <sup>th</sup> Year, No. 69)	Newspaper	Williamsport, Pennsylvania	22 March 1947	32 Red Convicts Killed in Greece	3	<p>ATHENS (AP) – Thirty-two Communist convicts were killed in an attack on a prison at Ghythion in the southern Peloponnesus which was staged by neighboring villagers as reprisal for the murder of a rightist band chieftain, P. Katsareas, the Ministry of Public Order reported last night.</p> <p>The report was followed by a government statement expressing “indignant disapproval” of the Ghythion slayings and declaring that severe punishment would be imposed on the attackers.</p> <p>The minister of public order now touring Eastern Macedonia, has been instructed to make a personal investigation and to go to Ghythion today.</p> <p>The ministry announcement said the prison's 25 guards were over-powered by approximately 200 armed residents of nearby villages.</p>
Hanford Morning Journal (54 <sup>th</sup> Year, No. 49)	Newspaper	Hanford, Kings County, California	23 March 1947	Greek Killings	3	ATHENS, March 22. -(UP)- Thirty-three Leftist prisoners were hauled from jail at Gythion in the Peloponnesus by a group of Rightists and killed, press reports said today.

						The attackers overcame a small military garrison.
Hanford Sentinel (60 <sup>th</sup> Year, No. 7)	Newspaper	Hanford, Kings County, California	22 March 1947	Greek Killings	3	ATHENS, March 22 - (UP) - Thirty-three Leftist prisoners were hauled from jail at Gythion in the Peloponnesus by a group of Rightists and killed, press reports said today. The attackers overcame a small military garrison.
Medford Mail Tribune (42 <sup>nd</sup> Year, No. 1)	Newspaper	Medford, Oregon	23 March 1947	Greeks Proclaim Martial Law in Battered Region	1	<p><b>Violence in 36 Hours Claims Lives of 55 Leaders; Military Attacks Bands</b></p> <p>Athens, Greece, March 22 – (U.P.) – The Greek government today proclaimed martial law for a guerrilla-infested region of Laconia province in Southernmost Greece where both rightwing and leftwing followers have indulged in recent mass slayings.</p> <p>Violence in the last 36 hours which precipitated martial law included the murders of two rightwing leaders, 52 leftists and one communist...</p> <p><b>Guerrillas Pursued</b></p> <p>...Two of the cities clapped under martial law were Gytheion, provincial capital, where rightist bands murdered 39 persons Friday, and Mallaoui, to the southwest, where 13 leftist supporters, including two women, were slain.</p> <p><b>Cabinet Meets</b></p> <p>Proclamation of martial law followed an emergency cabinet meeting at which Premier Demetrios Mavimos said “all steps will be taken to restore order.”</p> <p>A government statement said the ministers of public order and war will fly to Laconia, in the southeast Peloponnesus, to supervise the</p>

						application of martial law. Responsible military and civil authorities will be punished by special courts martial.
Miami Daily News (Vol. 52, No. 95)	Newspaper	Miami, Florida	23 March 1947	2 Greek Towns Get Martial Law	1	Athens, Greece, March 22. -(UP.). The Greek government today proclaimed martial law for a guerrilla-infested region of Laconia province in southernmost Greece where both rightwing and leftwing followers have indulged in recent mass slayings. ...Two of the cities clamped under martial law were Gytheion, provincial capital, where rightist bands murdered 39 persons Friday, and Mallaoui, to the southwest, where 13 leftist supporters, including two women, were slain.
Minneapolis Sunday Tribune (Vol. 80, No. 303)	Newspaper	Minneapolis, Minnesota	23 March 1947	Martial Law Placed on Greek Rebel Area	12	<b>From Late Dispatches</b> ATHENS, GREECE – The Greek government Saturday proclaimed martial law for a guerrilla-infested region of Laconia province in southernmost Greece, where both right and left-wing followers have indulged in recent mass slayings. ...Two of the cities clapped under martial law were Gytheion, provincial capital, where rightist bands murdered 39 persons Friday, and Mallaoui, to the southwest, where 13 leftist supporters, including two women, were slain. Proclamation of martial law followed an emergency cabinet meeting at which Premier Demetrios Maximos said “all steps will be taken to restore order.”
Nevada State Journal (77 <sup>th</sup> Year, No. 104)	Newspaper	Reno, Nevada	23 March 1947	Martial Law Order Follows Slayings	1	ATHENS, Greece, March 22. (UP.) The Greek government today proclaimed martial law for a guerrilla-infested region of Laconia Province in southernmost Greece where both

						<p>rightwing and leftwing followers have indulged in recent mass slayings.</p> <p>...Two of the cities clamped under martial law were Gytheion, provincial capital, where rightist bands murdered 39 persons Friday, and Mallaai, to the southwest, where 13 leftist supporters, including two women, were slain.</p>
Oshkosh Daily Northwestern (80 <sup>th</sup> Year)	Newspaper	Oshkosh, Wisconsin	22 March 1947	33 Leftists Slain	1	<p>ATHENS -(U.P.)- Thirty-three leftist prisoners were hauled from jail at Gythion in the Peloponnesus by a group of rightists and killed, press reports said today. The attackers overcame a small military garrison.</p>
San Francisco Examiner (Vol. 186, No. 81)	Newspaper	San Francisco, California	22 March 1947	Greeks Slay 32 Reds in Reprisal	1	<p>ATHENS, March 21.--(AP)-- Thirty-two Communist convicts were killed in an attack on a prison at Ghythion in the southern Peloponnesus which was staged by neighboring villagers as reprisal for the murder of a rightist band chieftain, P. Katsareas, the Ministry of Public Order reported tonight.</p> <p>The report was followed by a government statement expressing "indignant disapproval" of the Ghythion slayings and declaring that severe punishment would be imposed on the attackers. The ministry announcement said the prison's twenty-five guards were overpowered by approximately 200 armed residents of nearby villages.</p>
Soviet Russia Today (Vol. 16, No. 1)	Magazine	New York, New York	May 1947	The Real Situation in Greece	30	<p>According to Daniell, right wing elements have complete immunity even when they resort to murder, as they did recently in Gythion where a rightist band raided a jail and slaughtered thirty-two prisoners who were suspected of being Communists.</p>

						From this situation, Daniell concludes that “in investing dollars in a crusade against bolshevism, the United States may be financing a military dictatorship in Greece.” <b>J.S.</b>
The Arizona Republic (57 <sup>th</sup> Year, No. 308)	Newspaper	Phoenix, Arizona	22 March 1947	Greek Fighting Takes 40 Lives	4	LONDON, Mar. 21 -(INS)- Reuters reported from Athens today that 40 persons were killed when an armed Rightist band raided the prison at Gythion, a port in the Northern Peloponnesus section of Greece. Among the dead were 33 prisoners and seven persons identified as left-wing supporters. The dispatch quoted a government source as saying the raid apparently was in reprisal for the murder of Capt. Katsareas, head of the anti-Communist volunteer corps in the Sparta area.
The Arizona Republic (57 <sup>th</sup> Year, No. 309)	Newspaper	Phoenix, Arizona	23 March 1947	Greeks Order Martial Law	1 Sec. 2	ATHENS, Greece, Mar. 22 – (UP) – The Greek government today proclaimed martial law for a guerrilla-infested region of Laconia province in Southern Greece where both right wing and left wing followers have indulged in recent mass slayings. ...Two of the cities clapped under martial law were Gytheion, provincial capital, where rightist bands murdered 39 persons Friday, and Mallaoi, to the southwest, where 13 leftist supporters, including two women, were slain. Proclamation of martial law followed an emergency cabinet meeting at which Premier Demetrios Maximos said “all steps will be taken to restore order.”
The Boston Sunday Globe	Newspaper	Boston,	23 March 1947	Martial Law	2	ATHENS, March 22 (AP)–The Greek cabinet

(Vol. 151, No. 82)		Massachusetts		Imposed in Greek Massacre		<p>imposed martial law throughout the prefecture of Laconia at the southern tip of the Greek mainland tonight as a result of the tense situation created by the massacre of 32 Communist convicts Friday in a prison at Ghythion.</p> <p>The cabinet decided also to take measures against civil and military authorities in the area where the mass slaying occurred, to hold military trials for those responsible for the massacre and to have the prefecture cleared of armed bands.</p>
The Brooklyn Eagle (106 <sup>th</sup> Year, No. 80)	Newspaper	Brooklyn, New York City, New York	22 March 1947	33 Greek Leftists Taken From Jail, Slain	1	Athens, March 22 (U.P.)- Thirty-three leftist prisoners were hauled from jail at Gythion in the Peloponnesus by a group of rightists and killed, press reports said today. The attackers overcame a small military garrison.
The Burlington Free Press (Vol. 112, No. 71)	Newspaper	Burlington, Vermont	24 March 1947	Weekend News	3	<b>THE GREEK</b> Government imposed martial law in the Laconia district of southern Greece, where thirty-two Communist convicts were killed Friday in an attack on a prison in the town of Ghythion.
The Cedar Rapids Gazette (Vol. 65, No. 72)	Newspaper	Cedar Rapids, Iowa	22 March 1947	Kill Greek Leftists.	1	ATHENS (UP) - Thirty-three leftist prisoners were hauled from jail at Gythion in the Peloponnesus by a group of Rightists and killed, press reports said Saturday. The attackers overcame a small military garrison.
The Courier-Journal (Vol. 185, No. 82)	Newspaper	Louisville, Kentucky	23 March 1947	Slaying of 32 Communists In Prison Brings Martial Law to Laconia, Greece	8	<p><b>Cabinet Blames Reprisal Raid From Overseas Dispatches.</b></p> <p>Athens, March 22.—The Greek Cabinet imposed martial law law throughout the prefecture of Laconia at the southern tip of the Greek mainland tonight as a result of the tense situation created by the massacre of 32</p>

						<p>Communist convicts yesterday in a prison at Ghythion.</p> <p>The Cabinet decided also to take measures against civil and military authorities in the area where the mass slaying occurred, to hold military trials for those responsible for the massacre, and to have the prefecture cleared of armed bands.</p> <p>The attack on the prison was made by neighboring villagers in reprisal for the murder of the leader of a rightist band, the Ministry of Public Order said...</p>
The Daily Herald (61 <sup>st</sup> Year, No. 210)	Newspaper	Provo, Utah County, Utah	24 March 1947	Around the World	5	<p>ATHENS (U.P.) - Thirty-three leftist prisoners were hauled from jail at Gythion in the Peloponnesus by a group of rightists and killed, press reports said today. The attackers overcame a small military garrison.</p>
The Gazette and Daily (Vol. 119, No. 19,304)	Newspaper	York, Pennsylvania	27 March 1947	416 Slain In Greece; Liberals Blame US	2	<p>By Constantine Poulos Athens, March 26 (ONA) – Over the week-end 416 men and women were killed in Greece, according to a rough tabulation of official newspaper accounts in the main centers only. As most of those killed were anti-Royalists, Greek Liberal and Leftist circles put the blame on the United States.</p> <p>It began with the bloody massacre last Friday at the seaside town of Gytheion in the Peloponnesus, where an armed mob dragged 34 or more prisoners, presumably Leftists, out of the local jail and murdered them in the town square. This followed by one day the assassination of a Communist leader on a downtown street in Salonika.</p> <p>These outbreaks have aroused fears inside</p>

					<p>and out of the Government that a widespread wave of blood-letting may be in the offing.</p> <p>Members of the Government, with one eye on Washington, are bickering among themselves as to who is responsible for encouraging the Right Wingers to “take the law into their own hands.”</p> <p>Recriminations over the “dynamic no-compromise” policy of Minister of the Interior Georges Papandreou were so bitter at the Ministerial Council meeting Saturday night, it has been learned, that Papandreou walked out. The Minister of Public Order, Gen. Napoleon Zervas, who also favors the extermination of the Left by violent means, was in Macedonia at the time.</p> <p>Much disturbed by last week's events, Liberal and Socialist leaders insist that the United States announcement of economic and military assistance for this Government encouraged the protagonists of the “dynamic policy” to start their long-threatened all-out attack on the non-Royalist Centrists and Leftists.</p> <p>These circles point to the strong statement made by the Minister of Public Order at Veroia in Macedonia on Saturday. Gen. Zervas said:</p> <p>“The Greek ruling class has at last awakened and our great Allies have been moved by our sacrifices. Thus Greece, standing in opposition to the Slav masses, now has with it the Anglo-Saxon mass. Very soon the moment will come which the beasts of Anarcho-Communism will bitterly repent</p>
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						<p>and Slavism will suffer the fate of Nazism.</p> <p>“You should know that terrorism will be answered by more vicious terrorism and havoc with slaughter. I inform you that the first part of our attacks have started and it will be followed in a short time by our complete deliverance.”</p>
The Gazette and Daily (Vol. 119, No. 19,307)	Newspaper	York, Pennsylvania	31 March 1947	<u><i>The Greek Scene</i></u> Killing of Unarmed Civilians By Rightist Bands Continues	3	<p>By Constantine Poulos Athens, March 30 (ONA) – While hearings continue in Washington on President Truman's plan of assistance for Greece, the killing of unarmed civilians also continues throughout this country.</p> <p>With at least the passive aid of the Government, rightist bands are still running riot all over the Peloponnesus, firing at unarmed villagers. The total number killed in the southeastern section in the past week now exceeds 100.</p> <p>Either unwilling or unable to keep the situation under control, the Government now attempts to justify these deaths by explaining that they are in retaliation for the death of a Greek who was killed recently in the course of a battle with a leftist partisan band. This correspondent can testify that the dead man was a collaborationist and a monarchist bandit leader, who had been denounced by preceding governments and who had a price on his head.</p> <p>Although it is now a week since 37 persons were killed at Gytheion, near the tip of the Peloponnesus, 32 of whom were dragged out of a strongly guarded prison and shot down in the local square, the Government has confirmed that it has not made a single arrest.</p>

					<p>The cowardly execution of those prisoners was followed by the killing of men, women and children in villages, and a few days ago in Athens a man, who had been arrested by the gendarmerie, was beaten to death in a precinct police station by a group of nationalist monarchists. In its communique dealing with that event, the Ministry of Public Order calmly denied that the man had been beaten inside the police station but said that he had been assaulted while being taken to the station “where he succumbed.”</p> <p>When Themistokles Sophoulis, Liberal party leader and former premier, protested the killing, the pro-Government press blasted him with sarcasm. One royalist newspaper observed that “Mr. Sophoulis has now gone into mourning and, according to reliable information, Mr. Stalin is also in mourning.”</p> <p>At the same time, the Government now reverses its previous stand, and announces that it does not intend to disarm what it calls “para-State bands” of monarchists and rightwingers which are made up largely of men who collaborated with the Germans.</p> <p>The Liberal and Centrist newspaper Eleftheria characterizes that statement as government justification, toleration and encouragement of the murder of unarmed civilians. It also charges the Government with misreading Mr. Truman's proposal for United States aid to Greece, and with interpreting it to mean that Washington has selected Greece to act as a “mercenary” in the cause of world reaction.</p>
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<p>The Hartford Courant (Est. 1764, Vol. 111)</p>	<p>Newspaper</p>	<p>Hartford 1, Connecticut</p>	<p>24 March 1947</p>	<p>Greek Probe to Follow Slaying of Prisoners</p>	<p>2</p>	<p>Athens, March 23. – (AP.) – Three cabinet ministers left today for Ghythion in the southern Peloponnesus to investigate circumstances in which 32 Communist prisoners were killed in the storming of a prison last Friday and to supervise imposition of martial law in the area.</p> <p>The ministers making the trip were George Papandreou, interior; Napoleon Zervas, public order, and George Stratos, war.</p> <p>The Communist prisoners reportedly were executed when a band of villagers from the area surrounding Ghythion stormed the prison in reprisal for the slaying of the leader of a right-wing band.</p>
<p>The Honolulu Advertiser (90<sup>th</sup> Year, No. 21,224)</p>	<p>Newspaper</p>	<p>Honolulu, Hawaii<sup>8</sup></p>	<p>23 March 1947</p>	<p>Martial Law in Greece</p>	<p>1, 10</p>	<p><b>Army Driving Rebel Bands To Bulgaria Laconia Province Put Under Military Rule After Murder Of 55 And Other Violence</b></p> <p>ATHENS, Greece, March 22 (UP) – The Greek government today proclaimed martial law for a guerrilla-infested region of Laconia province in southernmost Greece where both rightwing and leftwing followers have indulged in recent mass slayings.</p> <p>Violence in the last 36 hours which precipitated martial law included the murders of two fightwing leaders, 52 leftists and one communist...</p> <p><b>Rebels Driven Back</b></p> <p>...Two of the cities clapped under martial law were Gytheion, provincial capital, where rightist bands murdered 39 persons Friday, and Mallaoui, to the southwest, where 13 leftist supporters, including two women, were slain.</p>

8 Note that Hawaii was occupied by the U.S.A. in 1898, formally annexed by the U.S.A. in 1900, and incorporated as the 50<sup>th</sup> state in 1959.

					<p>Proclamation of martial law followed an emergency cabinet meeting at which Premier Demetrios Maximos said “all steps will be taken to restore order.”</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Ministers to Scene</b></p> <p>A government statement said the ministers of public order and war will fly to Laconia, in the southeast Peloponnesus, to supervise the application of martial law. Responsible military and civil authorities will be punished by special courts martial...</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Martial Law in Greece; 55 Slain</b> (Continued from Page 1)</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Emergency Session</b></p> <p>Newspapers quoted Gen. Napoleon Zervas, minister of public order, as saying at Salonika that present operations against guerrillas were not a “cleanup,” but an “offensive which the Greek government intends to continue until the bands are totally defeated.”</p> <p>Premier Demetrios Maximos, aroused by reports of new mass killings by both Leftist and Rightist bands, ordered Zervas to fly back to Athens from Salonika for consultation. Maximos summoned his cabinet into emergency session and announced that “all steps will be taken to restore order.”</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Massacres Reported</b></p> <p>Reinforced troop units were ordered to Gythecion, were yesterday guerrilla bands were reported to have executed 32 political prisoners and seven civilians.</p> <p>The executions were described as a reprisal for the killing of a Leftist leader, Catsareas</p>
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						<p>Papadakos, the day before.</p> <p>A government spokesman reported that a band of armed persons entered the town of Mallaoui, Southwest of Gytherion, and executed 13 persons including two women....</p>
<p>The Indianapolis News (Vol. 78, No. 108, Whole No. 24,176)</p>	Newspaper	Indianapolis, Indiana	11 April 1947	Civil Liberties Fade in Greece Under Rigid Security Decrees	5	<p>By Raymond Daniell <i>Special to The Indianapolis News and The New York Times</i> ATHENS, April 11. -</p> <p>...However, the fires of civil strife are being fanned by excesses of both sides, including the extreme Right wing, which seems to have immunity from punishment even when it resorts to murder, as it did recently in Gythion, where a rightist band, as a reprisal for the killing of a Rightist leader, raided a jail and slaughtered 32 prisoners who were suspected of being Communists.</p>
<p>The Montana Standard (Vol. 84, No. 145)</p>	Newspaper	Butte, Montana	23 March 1947	Greeks Proclaim Martial Law	3	<p><b>Guerrilla Region Is Involved</b> ATHENS, Greece, March 22.--(U.P.) The Greek government Saturday proclaimed martial law for a guerrilla-infested region of Laconia province in southernmost Greece, where both rightwing and leftwing followers have indulged in recent mass slayings.</p> <p>...Two of the cities clapped under martial law were Gytheion, provincial capital, where rightist bands murdered 39 persons Friday, and Mallaoui, to the southwest, where 13 leftist supporters, including two women, were slain.</p> <p>Proclamation of martial law followed an emergency cabinet meeting at which Premier Demetrios Maximos said "all steps will be taken to restore order."</p>

						<p>A government statement said the ministers of public order and war will fly to Laconia, in the southeast Peloponnesus, to supervise the application of martial law. Responsible military and civil authorities will be punished by special courts martial.</p>
The New York Times (Vol. 96, No. 32,564)	Newspaper	New York, New York	22 March 1947	Drive on Guerrillas Pushed, Athens Says	6	<p>ATHENS, March 21 (U.P.)—Reports tonight said an armed right-wing group overcame the the small Greek Army garrison at Gythion, in the Peloponnesus, broke into the town prison and killed thirty-three left-wing prisoners.</p>
The New York Times (Vol. 96, No. 32,565)	Newspaper	New York, New York	23 March 1947	Martial Law Put Over South Greece	2	<p><b>Athens Acts to Control Rightists in Laconia – Fighting Spreads in North Toward Bulgaria</b></p> <p>ATHENS, March 22 (AP) –The Greek Government imposed martial law tonight throughout the Prefecture of Laconia in the Peloponnesus at the southern tip of the Greek mainland. The Cabinet acted as a result of the tense situation created by the massacre by Rightists of thirty-nine Leftist prisoners yesterday in a jail at Gythium.</p> <p>The Cabinet headed by Premier Demetrios Maximos decided also to take measures against civil and military authorities in the area where the mass slaying occurred, to hold military trials for those responsible for the massacre and to have the Prefecture cleared of the armed bands.</p> <p>The attack on the prison was made by neighboring villagers in reprisal for the murder of the leader of a Rightist band, Papadakos Katsareas, the Ministry of Public</p>

						<p>Order said.</p> <p>Last night the Ministry of Public Order, in reporting the Gythium killing, said it was carried off by some 200 armed villagers who overcame twenty-five prison guards.</p> <p>The Government, voicing “indignant disapproval,” promised stern penalties and ordered the Minister of Public Order, Gen. Napoleon Zervas, who had been on tour in Eastern Macedonia, to go to Gythium to investigate.</p> <p>[Besides General Zervas, the War Minister Andreas Stratos, and Minister of the Interior George Papandreou were flying to Laconia, to supervise the clean-up campaign, Reuters reported. The Chief of the Greek General Staff, Gen. L. Vendiras, attended the Cabinet meeting]</p> <p>....</p>
The New York Times (Vol. 96, No. 32,565)	Newspaper	New York, New York	23 March 1947	Liberals Demand Broad Action	2	<p>ATHENS, March 22 (U.P.)—With the Cabinet declaration of martial law in the southern Peloponnesus, Premier Maximos announced that “all steps will be taken to restore order.”</p> <p>“At the point we have reached only Providence can save us,” the liberal opposition leader, Themistocles Sophoulis, said in a statement repeating his demand that efforts be made to come to terms with the Leftists.</p> <p>It was reliably reported that Navy Minister Panayotis Kainellopoulos and Vice Premier Sophocles Venizelos had announced in the Cabinet meeting that they would resign unless the Government took equally severe action</p>

						<p>against both Leftists and Rightists.</p> <p>Two cities are under martial law – Gythium, the provincial capital, and Mallaoi, to the southwest, where thirteen Leftist supporters, including two women, were slain in other Rightist outbreaks yesterday.</p> <p>The violence in the Peloponnesus the last two days that precipitated the martial law, included the murders of two Right-Wing leaders, fifty-two Leftists and one Communist. Officials feared Right-Wing guerrillas in the south would develop as strongly as Left-Wing bands in the north, it was said, and decided to meet the Rightist threat with equal vigor.</p> <p>The information from Gythium listed the persons slain in the jail as “thirty-two political prisoners and seven civilians.”</p>
The New York Times (Vol. 96, No. 32,566)	Newspaper	New York, New York	24 March 1947	Cabinet Chiefs Go to Laconia	3	<p>ATHENS, March 23 (Reuters) – Three Greek Cabinet Ministers left here this afternoon for Laconia, South Peloponnesus, to supervise the application there of the martial law order, decided upon by the Greek Cabinet last night. The Ministers are George Papandreou, Interior; Gen. Napoleon Zervas, Public Order and Andreas Stratos, War.</p>
The New York Times (Vol. 96, No. 32,567)	Newspaper	New York, New York	25 March 1947	Laconia Killings Continue	13	<p>ATHENS, March 24 (AP) – The slayings of 119 Communists and guerrillas, some at a prison and others in battle, were reported today by Greek Government and newspaper sources.</p> <p>The Royalist newspaper Hestia said armed villagers killed thirteen Communists, who were about to be released from prison, at</p>

						<p>Aghios Demetrios, in the Molaoi district of Laconia. The same villagers killed five more Leftists the district between Apidea and Prostami, Hestia said.</p> <p>[The Molaoi district is in the area of southern Peloponnesus where the Athens Government late Saturday ordered martial law to be applied after Rightists had broken into the jail at Gythium and killed thirty-nine prisoners.]</p> <p>The Ministry of Public Order said that, in the North, a Leftist band had been wiped out in a three-day battle east of Salonika on Mount Kerdyllia. The Ministry said forty-six guerrillas were killed, nineteen wounded and six captured.</p>
The New York Times (Vol. 96, No. 32,578)	Newspaper	New York, New York	5 April 1947	Greeks Cool to Firm U.S. Control Over Economy Sapped by Abuses	1, 5	<p>By Raymond Daniell Special to The New York Times ATHENS, April 4 – ....</p> <p><b>Rightist Murders Unpunished</b></p> <p>Right-Wing bands recently turned machine guns on the office of the Communist newspaper in Salonika, killing several employees, at least two of whom were anti-Communists. No one has been punished for this, nor has there been punitive action against the Rightists who raided the jail in Laconia, killing more than thirty prisoners in cold blood.</p> <p>Following their own excesses, it is open season on Communists in Greece. Mr. Tsaldaris and other government officials more or less admit this, arguing that it is an unavoidable situation because the Rightists are fighting not the government but, they say,</p>

						<p>the enemies of the state.</p> <p>Greece is beginning to take on some aspects of a police state, although that is not surprising in view of the circumstances. There is a security law that enables the police to deport, without trial, persons suspected of subversive action. Recently in Athens, 560 persons were routed from bed by security police at night and whisked to Aegean islands in Gestapo style.</p> <p>In most of the country apart from Athens and Salonika there is a reign of terror. Villagers live in fear and trembling of the extremist bands, who descend on them in the night and loot and burn their homes and seize hostages or recruits....</p>
The New York Times (Vol. 96, No. 32,581)	Newspaper	New York, New York	8 April 1947	Void in Democracy Fans Greek Strife	6	<p>Government Observes Forms of Liberties but Defends Excesses as Necessity By Raymond Daniell Special to The New York Times ATHENS, April 7 –</p> <p>...</p> <p><b>Basic Liberties Flouted</b></p> <p>... However, the fires of civil strife are being fanned by excesses of both sides, including the extreme Right Wing, which seems to have immunity from punishment even when it resorts to murder, as it did recently in Gythion, where a rightist band, as a reprisal for the killing of a rightist leader, raided a jail and slaughtered thirty-two prisoners who were suspected of being Communists. ...</p>
The New York Times	Newspaper	New York,	28 April 1947	Athens Minimizes	4	Their Existence as Outlaws a 'Myth,' Says

(Vol. 96, No. 32,601)		New York		Right-Wing Bands	<p>Papandreou – 'Struggle' Is With Reds  By A. C. Sedgwick  Special to The New York Times  ATHENS, April 27—George Papandreou, head of the Republican Socialist party and Minister of the Interior in the Government of Premier Demetrios Maximos, stated last night that he had requested the Governors of Greece's forty-six Departments concerning Right-Wing bands in their areas.</p> <p>The replies he received, he said, show that such organizations exist only in Laconia in the Peloponnesus and on Cephalonia in the Ioanian Islands. He acknowledged there were "certain remnants active in two or three other areas," but these he held were in the process of liquidation.</p> <p>"The myth is exploded of the existence of extralegal organizations," said Mr. Papandreou. "In fairness it should be recognized both here and abroad that in Greece the struggle is not between two extremes, as some try to describe it, but it is the struggle of a democratic state against Communist bands to defend the liberty of the fatherland and the freedom of the Hellenic people."</p> <p>Concerning the organization known as MAY—the Monathes Asphaleias Ypaethrou, or Units of Rural Security—Mr. Papandreou said it could not be considered an extralegal body. Its sole purpose is to protect villages, he said, and its personnel is under the command of Regular Army officers.</p> <p>MAY has frequently been identified as an</p>
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						exclusively Right-Wing organization, and some of its groups have been accused of acting as marauding bands from political motives.
The News-Herald (70 <sup>th</sup> Year, No. 20,227)	Newspaper	Franklin and Oil City, Pennsylvania	22 March 1947	Report Greek Lynching.	2	ATHENS -UP- Thirty-three leftist prisoners were hauled from jail at Gythion in the Peloponnesus by a group and rightists and killed, press reports said today. The attackers overcame a small military garrison.
The Palm Beach Post (Vol. 39, No. 34)	Newspaper	West Palm Beach, Florida	22 March 1947	32 Red Convicts Killed In Attack On Prison	1	<p>ATHENS, (AP)—Thirty-two Communist convicts were killed in an attack on a prison at Ghythion in the Southern Peloponnesus which was staged by neighboring villagers as reprisal for the murder of a rightist band chieftain, P. Katsareas, the ministry of public order reported last night.</p> <p>The report was followed by a government statement expressing indignant disapproval” of the Ghythion slayings and declaring that severe punishment would be imposed on the attackers.</p> <p>The minister of public order, now touring Eastern Macedonia, has been instructed to make a personal investigation and to go to Ghythion today.</p> <p>The ministry announcement said the prison's 25 guards were over-powered by approximately 200 armed residents of nearby villages.</p>
The Philadelphia Inquirer (118 <sup>th</sup> Year, Vol. 236, No. 81)	Newspaper	Philadelphia, Pennsylvania	22 March 1947	40 Greeks Slain By Rightist Raiders	1	LONDON, March 21 (INS).- Reuters reported from Athens today that 40 persons were killed when an armed rightist band raided the prison at Gythion, a port in the Northern Peloponnesus section of Greece.

						<p>Among the dead were 33 prisoners and seven persons identified as left-wing supporters.</p> <p>The dispatch quoted a government source as saying the raid apparently was in reprisal for the murder of Captain Katsareas, head of the anti-Communist volunteer corps in the Sparta area.</p>
The Pittsburgh Press (Vol. 63, No. 269)	Newspaper	Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania	22 March 1947	33 Prisoners Killed	1	<p>ATHENS, March 22 - Thirty-three leftist prisoners were hauled from jail at Gythion in the Peloponnesus by a group of rightists and killed, press reports said today.</p>
The Pittsburgh Press (Vol. 63, No. 270)	Newspaper	Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania	23 March 1947	Martial Law Decreed In Part of Greece	7	<p>ATHENS, March 22 (UP)—The Greek Government today proclaimed martial law for a guerrilla-infested region of Laconia Province in Southern Greece where both right wing and left wing followers have indulged in recent mass slayings....</p> <p>Violence in the last 36 hours which precipitated martial law included the murders of two right wing leaders, 52 leftists and one communist.</p>
The Press Democrat (91 <sup>st</sup> Year, No. 71)	Newspaper	Santa Rosa, California	23 March 1947	Greeks Place Martial Law Over Laconia	6	<p>ATHENS, Greece, March 22.—(UP)— The Greek government today proclaimed martial law for a guerrilla-infested region of Laconia province in southernmost Greece where both rightwing and leftwing followers have indulged in recent mass slayings.</p> <p>...Two of the cities clapped under martial law were Gytheion, provincial capital, where rightist bands murdered 39 persons Friday, and Mallaoi, to the southwest, where 13 leftist supporters, including two women, were slain.</p> <p>Proclamation of martial law followed an</p>

						<p>emergency cabinet meeting at which Premier Demetrio Maximos said “all steps will be taken to restore order.”</p> <p>A government statement said the ministers of public order and war will fly to Laconia, in the southeast Peloponnesus, to supervise the application of martial law. Responsible military and civil authorities will be punished by special courts-martial.</p>
The Racine Journal-Times (Vol. 91, No. 69)	Newspaper	Racine, Wisconsin	22 March 1947	33 Leftists Slain	1	<p>ATHENS -(U.P.) - Thirty-three leftist prisoners were hauled from jail at Gythion in the Peloponnesus by a group of rightists and killed, press reports said. The attackers overcame a small military garrison.</p>
The Sun (Vol. 220, No. 107)	Newspaper	Baltimore, Maryland	22 March 1947	<p>Major Greek Army Drive Against Guerrillas Reported</p> <p>Air Group, Artillery Kill Many</p>		<p><b>Foes of Athens Strafed And Machine-Gunned; Band of 100 Slain</b></p> <p>Athens, March 21 (AP)— ...</p> <p><b>32 Reported Dead At Prison</b></p> <p>Meanwhile, 32 Communist convicts were killed in an attack on a prison at Ghythion in the southern Peloponnesus which was staged by neighboring villagers as reprisal for the murder of a rightist band chieftain, P. Katsareas, the Ministry of Public Order reported tonight.</p> <p>The report was followed by a Government statement expressing “indignant disapproval” of the Ghythion slayings and declaring that severe punishment would be imposed on the attackers.</p> <p>The Minister of Public Order, now touring eastern Macedonia, has been instructed to</p>

						<p>make a personal investigation and to go to Ghythion today.</p> <p>The ministry announcement said the prison's 25 guards were over-powered by approximately 200 armed residents of near-by villages.</p>
The Sunday Pantagraph (101 <sup>st</sup> Year, No. 82)	Newspaper	Bloomington, Illinois	23 March 1947	Martial Law In Southern Greece Area	1	<p>ATHENS.--(AP)--Te Greek government proclaimed martial law Saturday in the Laconia district at the extreme southern tip of the Greek mainland.</p> <p>Although the government did not state immediately the reason for the declaration of military rule, the Laconia district contains the town of Ghythion where 32 Communist convicts were killed Friday in an attack on a prison.</p> <p>The attack was staged by neighboring villagers as reprisal for the murder of a rightist band chieftain, P. Katshareas, the Greek minister of public order said.</p>
The Wisconsin State Journal (108 <sup>th</sup> Year, Vol. 169, No. 170)	Newspaper	Madison, Wisconsin	22 March 1947	33 Greek Prisoners Die in Political Lynching	2	<p>ATHENS -(U.P.)- Thirty-three Leftist prisoners were hauled from jail at Gythion in the Peloponnesus by a group of Rightists and killed, press reports said today. The attackers overcame a small military garrison.</p>

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