



## **Brother Kills Brother**

# **The Greek Civil War 1946-1949 and the American Intervention: a Greek Drama without Deus ex Machina**

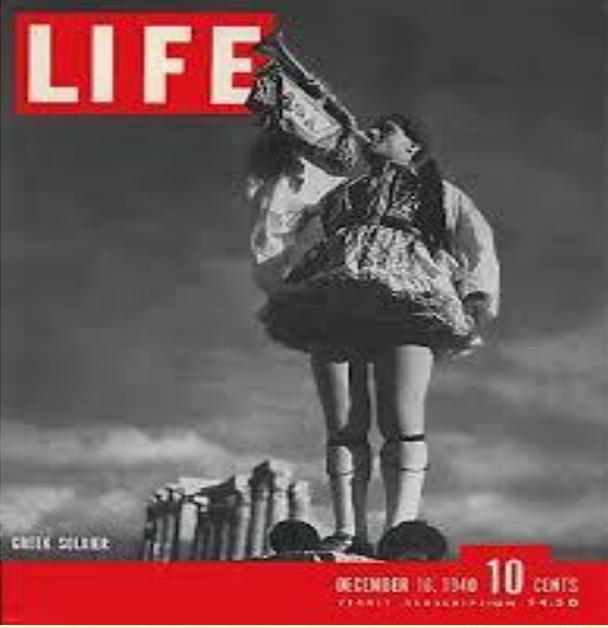
**Dr. Chrysanthi Koutsiviti**

**October 2017**

# 4<sup>th</sup> of August 1936



# October 1940



**ΩΡΑ 1 μ.μ. 'Ασύρματος**

ΤΗΝ 5.15' ΠΡΩΤΗΝΗΝ ΣΗΜΕΡΟΝ  
Η ΕΛΛΑΣ ΥΠΕΣΤΗ ΔΠΡΟΚΑΛΗΤΟΝ ΕΠΙΘΕΣΙΝ  
ΥΠΟ ΤΗΣ ΧΙΤΛΕΡΙΚΗΣ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΑΣ  
ΤΑ ΗΡΩΪΚΑ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ ΣΤΡΑΤΕΥΜΑΤΑ  
ΔΜΥΝΟΝΤΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΤΡΙΟΥ ΕΔΔΦΟΥΣ  
ΟΙ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΟΙ ΕΠΕΤΕΘΗΣΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΗΣ ΓΙΟΥΓΚΟΣΛΑΥΙΑΣ  
προσβάλλοντες ήδη αυτήν εκ πέντε σημείων

**ΘΑ ΝΙΚΗΣΩΜΕΝ  
και θα ζήσωμεν  
ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΟΙ !**



# April 1941 German Occupation

- 13,936 Greek soldiers killed in the battlefields
- Collaborationist Government in Athens
- King George II and his government escape to Egypt
- Three resistance movements emerge in Greece



# The Greeks organize the Resistance

- **EAM:** (1941) National Liberation Front, founded by representatives of four left wing parties. By the end of 1944 EAM counts 1 million members.
- **ELAS:** founded in 1942, Greek People's Liberation Army, was the military part of EAM. Its leader was Aris Velouchiotis, a member of KKE's central committee.
- **EDES:** National Republican Greek League, led by republican former army officer Colonel Napoleon Zervas, counting 2,000 ex-army officers.
- **EKKA:** National and Social Liberation, which was very small, consisted by soldiers with more conservative political ideas.

# The three leaders



# 1943

**ELAS** could call on nearly **25,000** men under arms, with another **80,000** working as reserves or logistical support, **EDES** roughly **10,000** men, and **EKKA** under **10,000** men.

People in cities suffer from **famine**



# Security Battalions

Ioannis Rallis, the Prime Minister of the collaborationist government, authorized the creation of paramilitary forces numbering 20,000 “volunteers” operated under German command in anti-partisan operations. G. Papadopoulos, the future dictator (1967), had joined them.



# 1944

- **February 1944 the Plaka Agreement**
- **10th March 1944: EAM established the Political Committee of National Liberation (Politiki Epitropi Ethnikis Apeleftherosis, or PEEA)**
- **31st March 1944, Army movement in Egypt**
- **17th April 1944, Dimitrios Psarros, the leader of EKKA was murdered by ELAS**
- **17-20th May 1944, the Lebanon Conference**
- **End of summer: the Germans start leaving the country**
- **September 1944, Caserta Agreement**
- **October 1944, the day of liberation**
- **The December Events, Decembriana 1944**
- **25th December 1944, Churchill in Athens**

**The government of National Unity, G. Papandreou as Prime Minister and six Ministers from the side of EAM/ELAS in Caserta Italy**



**October 1944: The Day of Liberation**  
**No one could predict the new bloody war**



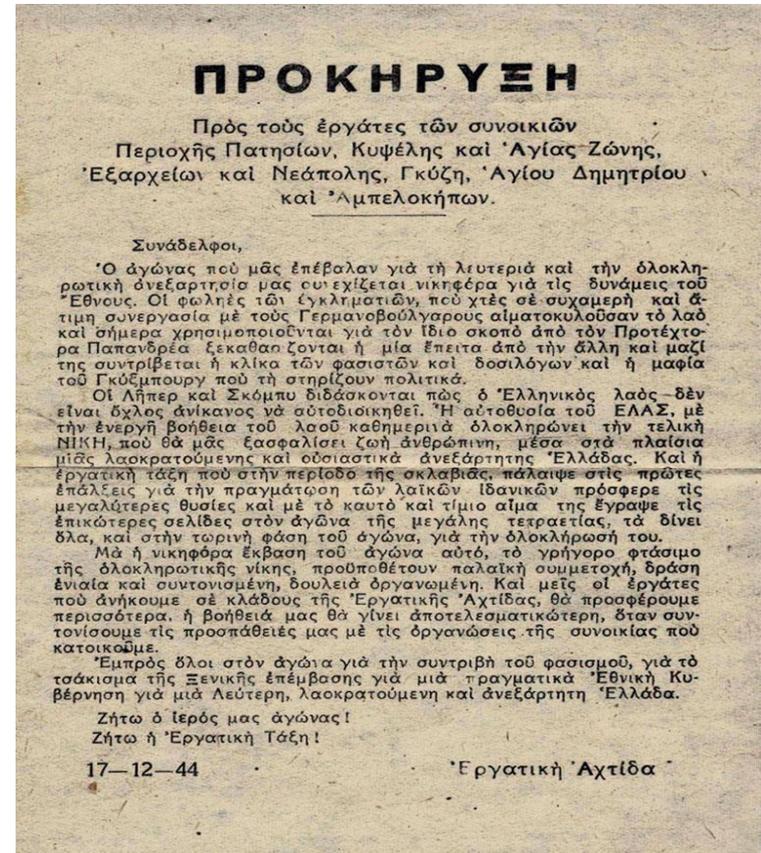
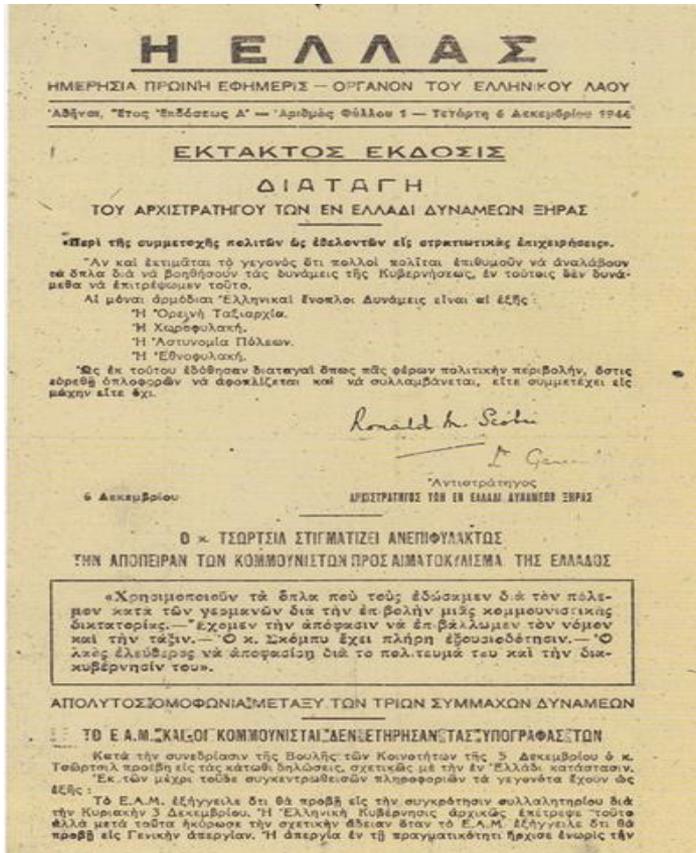
**December 2d 1944**

Papandreou calls EAM/ELAS for disarmament. The 3rd Greek Mountain Brigade and the Sacred Squadron are excluded. EAM calls for a general disarmament and removal of all collaborationists with the Nazi from position of power. Papandreou insists. **The six EAM ministers resign from the government of Unity.**



The 3d Greek Mountain Brigade. EAM feared that they would fight against them after ELAS would accept to be disarmed.

# The ultimatum for disarmament signed by Scobie and EAM's call for strike



On **December 3d, 200,000** people are on strike marching in the streets of Athens after a call by EAM. Papandreou declared the march illegal. It was a quiet march until it approached the Syntagma Square. Then English soldiers and Greek police officers started shooting against the unarmed marchers after an order given by Angelos Evert.

**28 dead and 148 injured**





**Killed  
demonstrators**

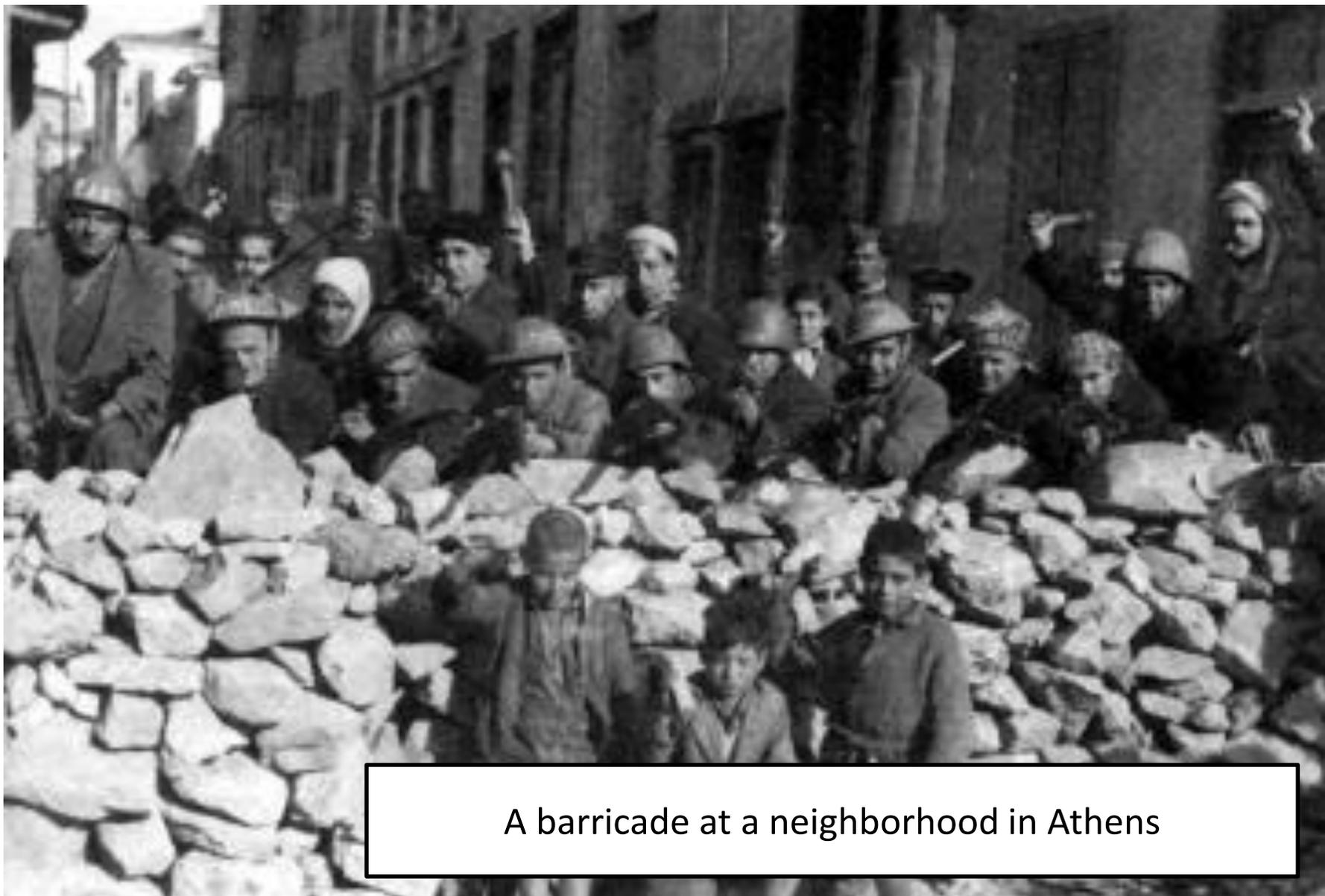
Next day a new march was called to carry the dead and bury them. When the march ended the paramilitary organization X started shooting at the demonstrators.

**30 dead and many injured**



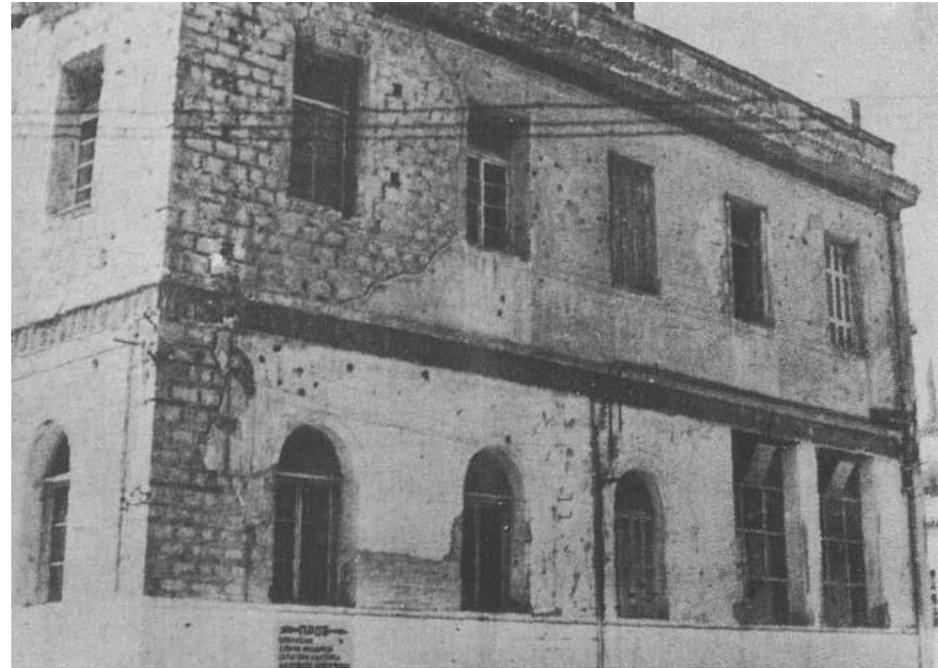
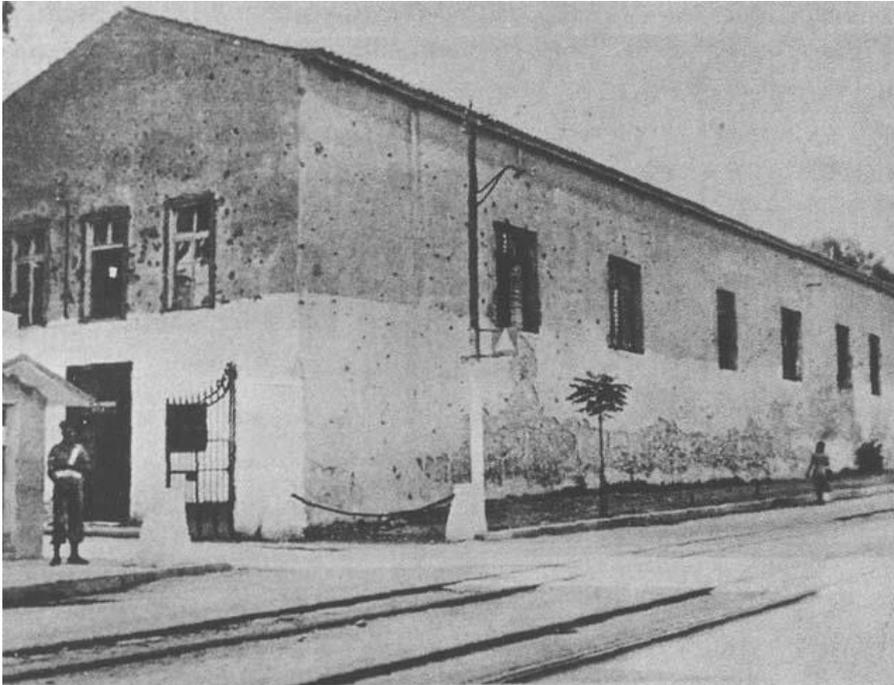
**For 37 days a part of ELAS (ELAS was sent outside Athens) fought with the British soldiers, the Security Battalions and the paramilitary groups. ELAS had occupied most of Athens except Kolonaki. The British fly in the 4th Indian Infantry Division from Italy as emergency reinforcements. 15,000 British soldiers are in Athens now.**





A barricade at a neighborhood in Athens

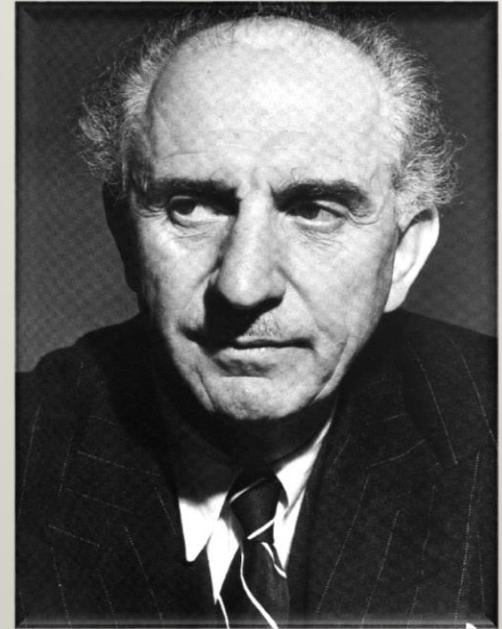
**Makryyianni Camp, next to the Akropolis Museum today, was the location for one of the bloodiest battles which ended in defeat of ELAS.**





**British soldiers  
are passing by  
corpses of  
fugitives from  
Chaidari prison**

December 4<sup>th</sup> Papandreou submitted his resignation to Scobie, who did not accept it.  
December 25<sup>th</sup> Churchill in Athens. Papandreou finally resigns and N. Plastiras takes on.



# 1945

- **February, The Treaty of Varkiza**
- **May, Nikos Zachariadis returns from Dachau**
- **Aris Velouchiotis's death**
- **White terrorism**

The Treaty of Varkiza was signed by the government and representatives of EAM/ELAS.

It provided for the complete demobilization of the ELAS and all other paramilitary groups, amnesty for only political offenses, a referendum on the monarchy and a general election to be held as soon as possible.



Η συμφωνία της Βάρκιζας





**The disarmament of ELAS  
The soldiers of Aris  
Velouchiotis are crying.**



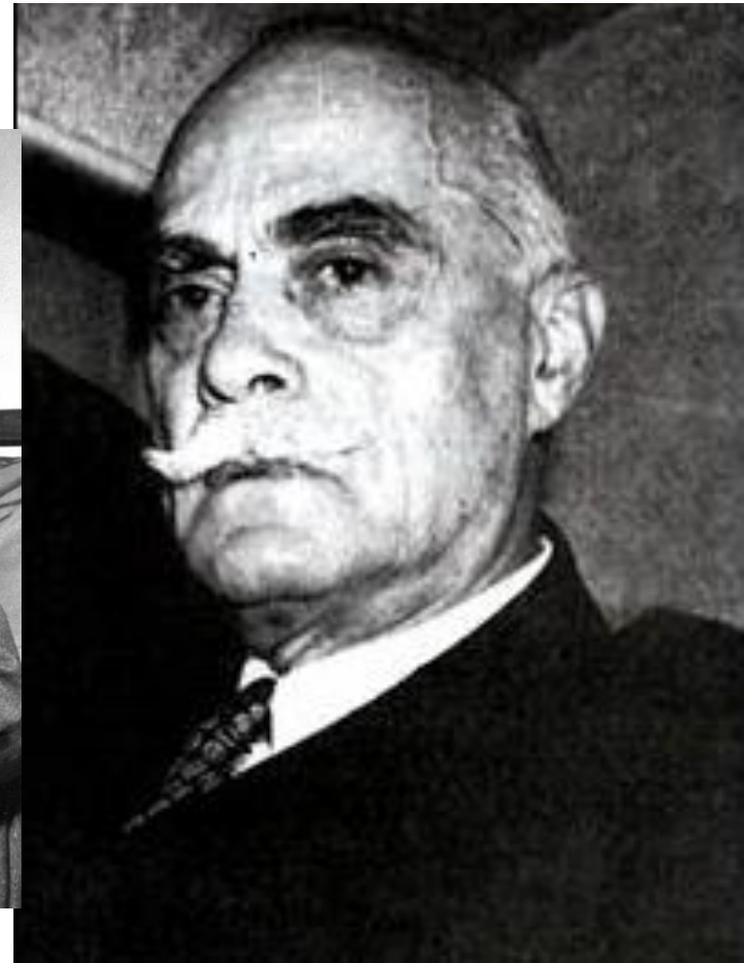
**Aris Velouchiotis disobeys and denies to surrender his guns. He forms a troop and leaves to the mountain of Epirus, where, after Zachariadis rejects his suggestion to reform ELAS, commits suicide surrounded by the National Guards.**



**Velouchiotis's and Tzavellas's heads hung at Tricala's central square**



**From January 1945 until the elections of 1946 several Prime Ministers change. Panagiotis Kanellopoulos, Themistoklis Sofoulis and Nikolaos Plastiras**





The period of White Terrorism, in which the paramilitary groups, which had been collaborating with the Nazi were now persecuting not only the unarmed communists, but also the antiroyalists. Entire villages that had helped ELAS were attacked by the gangs.

Απόκομμα από τον «Ριζοσπάστη» της 19<sup>ης</sup> Φεβρουαρίου 1946. Στη φωτογραφία ο εργάτης Φρ. Κορδογιάννης, στο μέτωπο του οποίου οι «Χίτες» είχαν χαράξει το σήμα της οργάνωσής τους.

# The travelling Players by Theodor Angelopoulos – New Year' s Eve 1946

[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v= BsiDkHPcDM](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BsiDkHPcDM)



**The new government after the elections. Konstantinos Tsaldaris is the prime minister**



March 1946, one day before the elections of 31<sup>st</sup>, the war starts with the attack at Litochoro. A group of 30 ex-ELAS members attacked a police station in the village of Litochoro, killing 13 policemen.

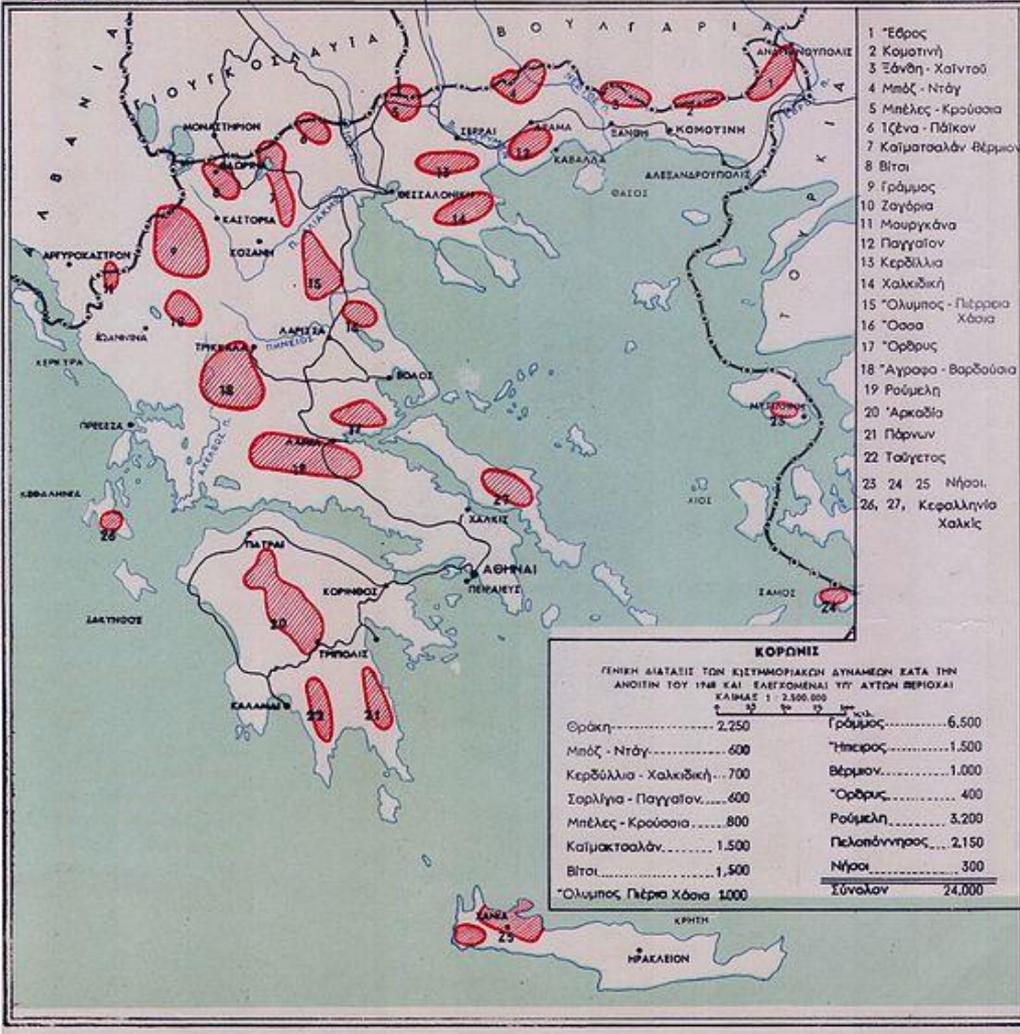
## ΚΟΜΜΟΥΝΙΣΤΙΚΗ ΣΥΜΜΟΡΙΑ ΕΠΥΡΠΟΛΗΣΕ ΤΟΝ ΣΤΑΘΜΟΝ ΧΩΡΟΦΥΛΑΚΗΣ ΛΙΤΟΧΩΡΙΟΥ

Τὸ ἐπισημασθὲν Δημοσίως Τάδε·  
ἐξέτελε χθες τὸ ἀπόγευμα τὸ ἀπο-  
λοιδον ἀνασκόπων:

«Κατὰ τηλεγράφημα τοῦ διοικητοῦ  
χωροφυλακῆς Κατερίνης, τὴν 23.30  
ὥραν τῆς 30 ἰσχυρῆς συμμορίας ἐξ  
100 καὶ πλέον κομμουνιστῶν ἀπείλησε  
ναυτὸν αὐτομάτων ὄπλων καὶ δόμων  
προσέταξε βολωφενικῶς τοὺς εἰς τὸν  
ἀστυνομικὸν σταθμὸν χωροφυλακῆς  
Λιτοχωρίου Κατερίνης στρατιωτικῶ-  
ν καὶ ἀξιωματικῶν τῆς χωροφυλακῆς καὶ ἐ-  
πισκοπικῆς, οἵτινες ἀρνήσαντο εἰς  
τῆς τήρησιν τῆς πίστεως ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκ-  
λογάς. Ἐπικολούθησε συμπλοκὴ δι-  
αρκήσασα πλέον τῆς ὄρας, καθ' ἣν  
τὰ οἰκίσματα τοῦ σταθμοῦ ἀνεσάλγη ἐκ  
τοῦ ἐλκυστῶν τῶν ὄπλων. Κατὰ νε-  
ωτέρως ἀνακοινῶν κληρονομίας ἐκ κα-  
τερίνης τὰ θύματα φέρωνται εἰς 6  
χωροφυλακῆς, 1 λοχίας καὶ 1 στρα-  
τιωτὴν νεκρούς, 1 χωροφυλακῆ καὶ

1 στρατὸν ὄπλων τραυματίας. Ἐπίσης ἔ-  
κείθεν 3 χωροφυλακῆς φηγουμένως,  
1 λοχίας καὶ 2 στρατιῶται. Ἐπιπέ-  
ται ὅτι οἱ ἀρνήσαντες εὐρίσκονται ὁ-  
πὸ τὰ ἐπίμαχα τοῦ καταστραφέντος ἀ-  
στυνομικοῦ καταστήματος, ὅπου ἐπὶ  
πλήθυναν οἱ κομμουνισταὶ ἐπιδραμεῖς,  
γρηγοροποιήσαντες ἐκρηκτικὰ χεῖρο-  
βομβίδια. Ἡ συμμορία ἐπέστη πρὸς  
τὸν Ὀλυμπικὸν Τμήματα στρατοῦ καὶ  
χωροφυλακῆς ἐξήλθεν πρὸς διώξιν  
τῆς.

Κατὰ τηλεγράφημα ἐκ Βερενίας  
πρὸς τὸ ἐπισημασθὲν Δημοσίως Τάδε·  
ὡς τὸ Σάββατον 30ῆν Μαρτίου καὶ  
ὥραν 20.30 ἀνεκράθη ὁλοκαύρον, ἀ-  
νεξαρτήτως ἀριστερῶν, ἐφθόνησάν δι'  
αὐτομάτων ὄπλων ἐπὶ τῆς κατοικί-  
ας τοῦ τῶν Γεώργιον Καλακίου, γραμ-  
ματίου τῆς κοινότητος καὶ κάτοικον  
Ἀγγελοχωρίου καὶ τὸν Συμεὼν Μι-  
χαηλίδην. Οἱ φονεθέντες ἀήκον  
εἰς τὴν δεξιάν.



This map shows the fights, which expanded all over the country almost at once

The Yugoslav and Albanian communist governments supported the DSE fighters, but Soviet Union remained ambivalent. DSE bases were at their territory and the passages through the borders were kept open.



The Democratic army (DSE) was a partisan army guided by the KKE. It counted 25,000 soldiers recruited mostly from the villages, because KKE had ordered its members at the cities to fight at the worker's movement and the unions recovering at the time.



The National Army consisted of Greeks called to serve. The military was always mandatory for every male Greek. But members of the Security Battalions and paramilitary groups participated in the National Army forces. In 1947 all the soldiers called to serve that were left would serve at MAKRONISOS, a concentration camp.



Young soldiers lift Queen Freideriki. After the referendum in 1946 the King returned with 68%.

**A big part of the soldiers at the North were Slavic Macedonian. Zachariadis and KKE had promised a national restoration to the Macedonians within a united Greek state.**



The government allowed and created new paramilitary forces that acted mostly at the villages. Everyone considered a communist would be executed and beheaded. Ex EAM members were persecuted without mercy.



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# The Truman Doctrine



"Democrats work to help people who need help. That other party, they work for people who don't need help. That's all there is to it."

- Harry S. Truman



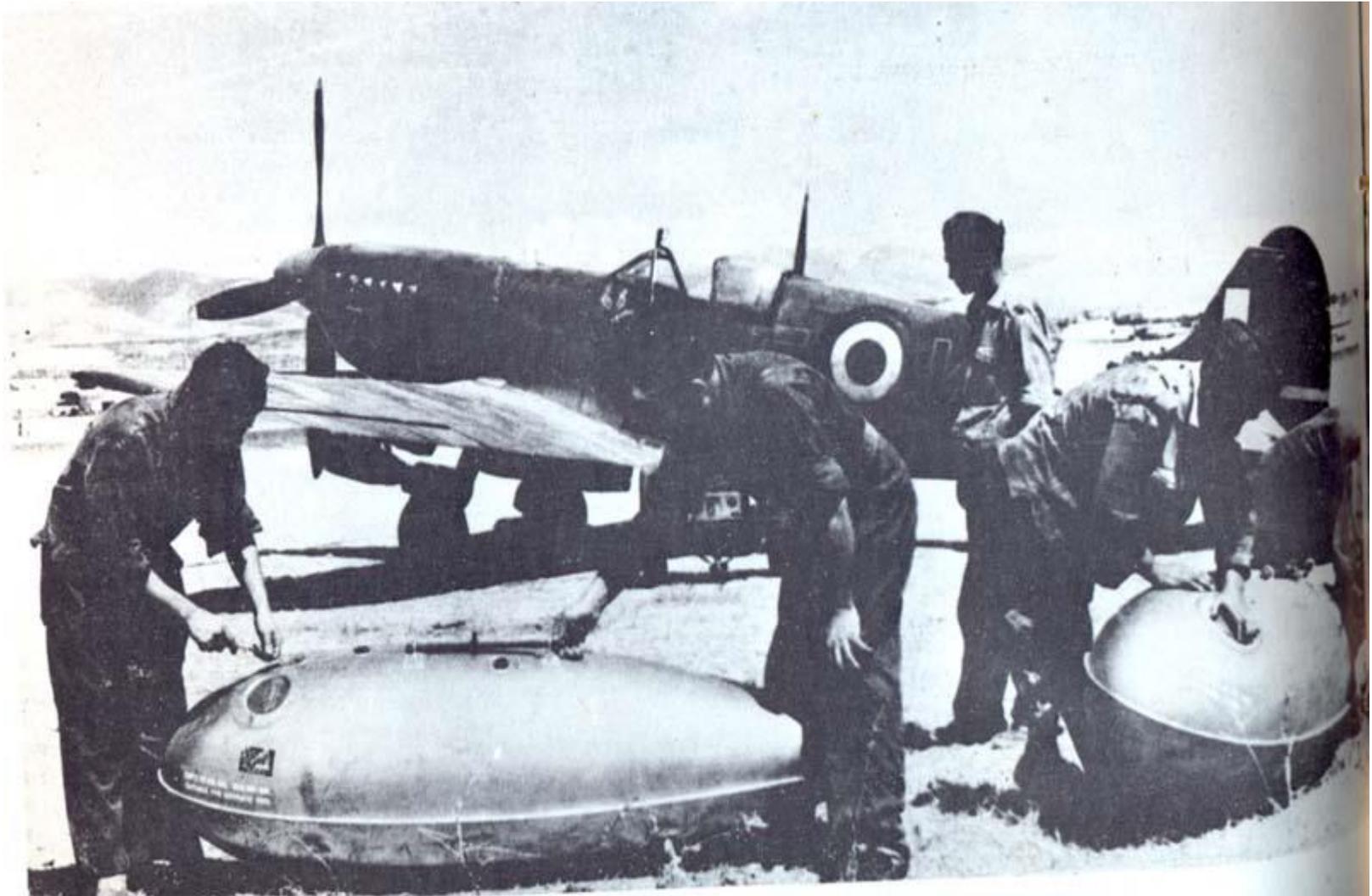
**“At the present moment in world history nearly every nation must choose between alternative ways of life ... One way of life is based upon the will of the majority, and is distinguished by free institutions, representative government, free elections, guarantees of individual liberty, freedom of speech and religion, and freedom from political oppression. The second way of life is based upon the will of a minority forcibly imposed upon the majority. It relies upon terror and oppression, a controlled press and radio, fixed elections, and the suppression of personal freedoms. I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures.”**

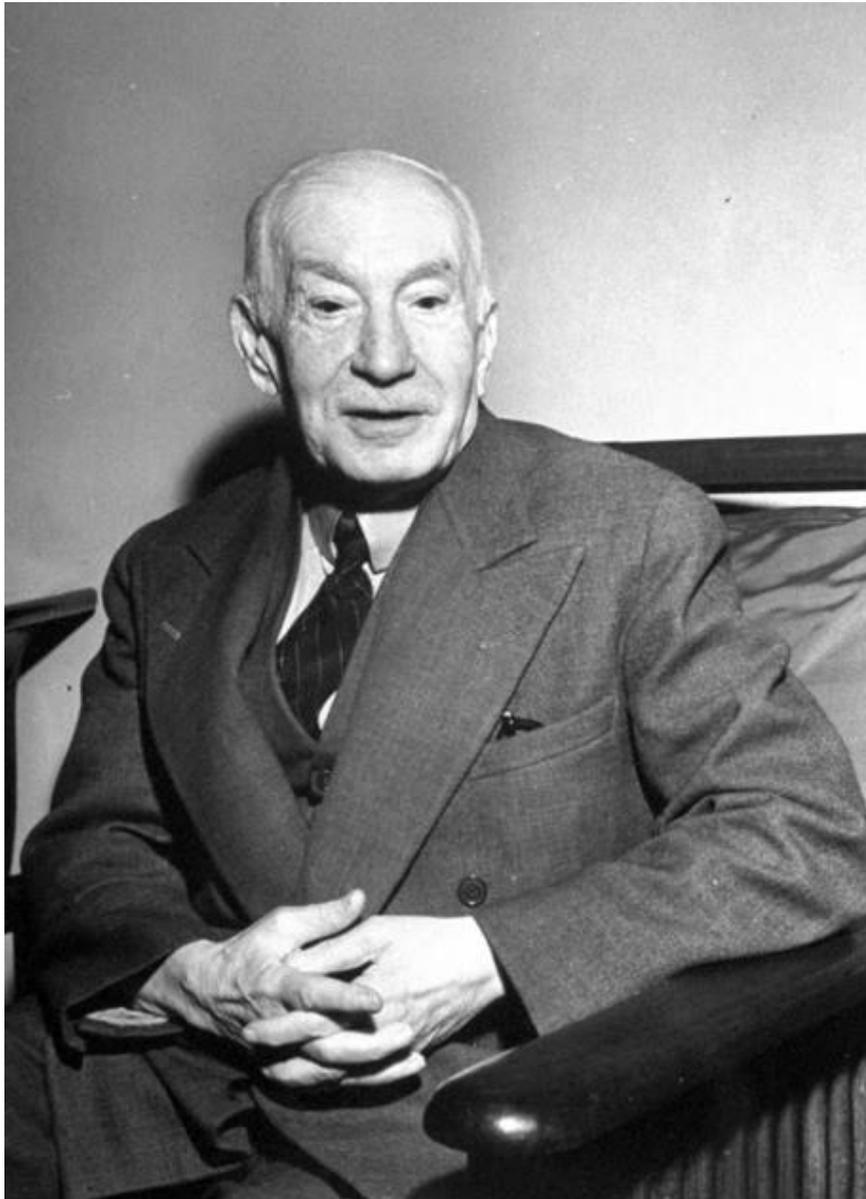
**Harry S. Truman**

## General Van Fleet oversees Greek Military Troops



**U.S.A. drops napalm bombs for first time against the DSE; after the successful experiment Korea and Vietnam will follow.**





**The leadership of Greece from 1947 until his death June 1949 will be handed to Themistoklis Sophoulis, a centrist republican, who tried to propose an agreement to KKE without result.**

**In December, KKE announced the formation of a Provisional Democratic Government, with Vafiadis as prime minister; that led the Athens government to ban the KKE. KKE was illegal until 1974!**



The national army was evacuating the villages and abducting children from their communist parents. 25,000 children were sent to 30 reform camps. Many of them were given for adoption mostly to American couples.



Children marching towards an indoctrination camp

**20,000 children were removed from their parents by DSE as well and sent to communist countries. KKE announced that they wanted to save them from death and hunger as their parents sometimes both of them were DSE fighters.**



**Many young boys from 14-18 years old were fighting in the DSE forces without training at all. In the end also younger boys were recruited.**

- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AVltcqzQIMU>
- A Soul so Deep by Pantelis Voulgaris

**From the very beginning the DSE was internationally isolated. Stalin loyal to the Percentage Agreement did not send any help. Only Tito sent a lot of help to the DSE until 1948 when he broke up with KKE, since it remained loyal to Stalin, when he denounced Tito and Yugoslavian communist party. Then Tito closed the borders. The same happened with Albania and Bulgaria. There was no way for the partisans to approach their military bases.**



**Tito closed the Yugoslav borders in July 1949. The prelude to a total defeat of DSE.**



**Dead partisans after a battle at Florina, 1949**



**Partisans of DSE speak to the soldiers of National Army with a megaphone called "the funnel", calling them to join the DSE.**



# The Aftermath

**Out of 7.000.000 inhabitants 38,986 Greeks were dead, 55,000 children were removed from their parents, 684,607 refugees escaped to the communist countries. (according to a memorandum about the Greek refugee crisis that the Greek government sent to the American Office of Foreign Affairs) and 600,000 or 7% immigrated mostly to U.S.A. and Australia, encouraged by the rightist governments that followed. These were mostly young people and specialized workers.**

Exile, reform concentration camps, even official executions were the destiny of those who were judged as communists or relatives of communists until 1974.



A map of exile locations of civil prisoners



**Makronisos**



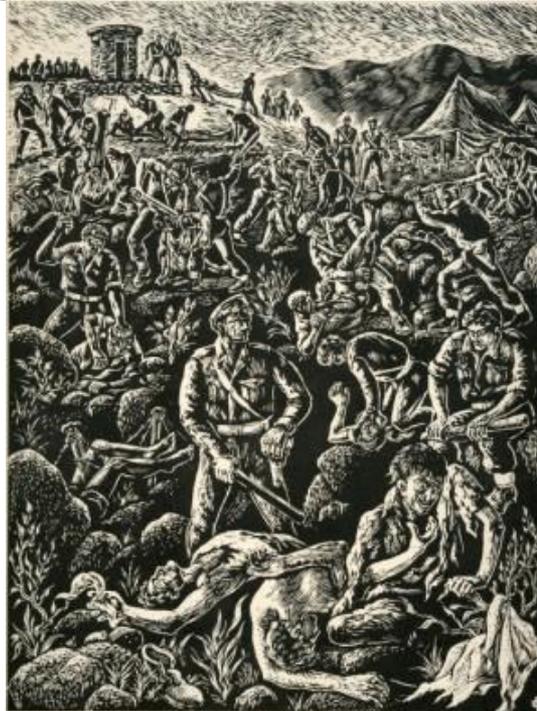
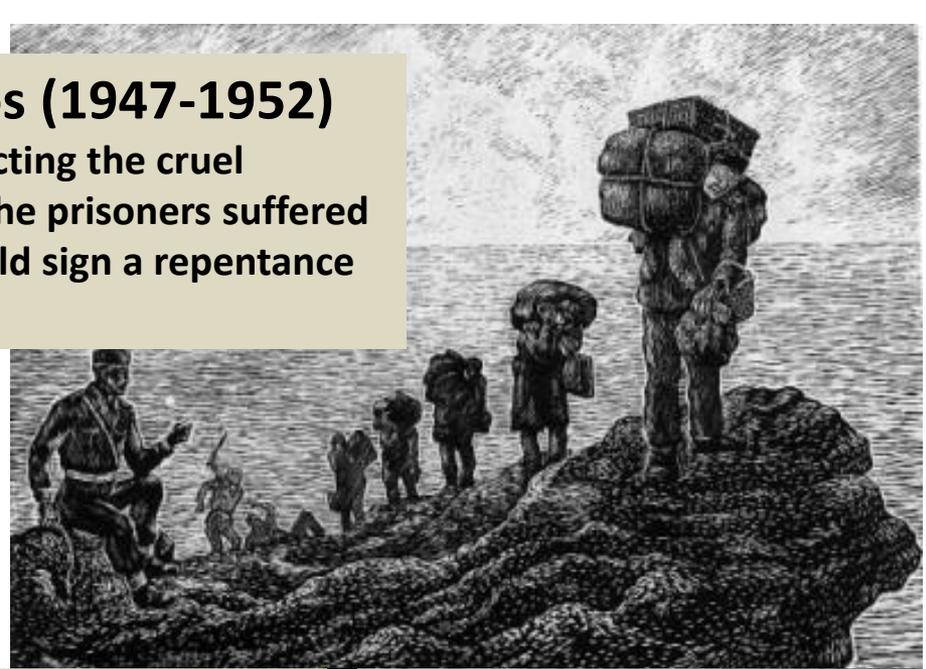
**Dead from a thunderbolt at an exile island**



**Anaphi**

## Makronisos (1947-1952)

Paintings depicting the cruel tortures that the prisoners suffered until they would sign a repentance statement.



# April 1967 – July 1974 a dictatorship



# Konstantinos Karamanlis and Andreas Papandreou



# Today



# Δυο γιους είχες μανούλα μου

- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TlaSCvm2B30>

# **The Dream, 1962**

## **Lyrics and Music Mikis Theodorakis**

**Two sons you had my mother**

**Two trees, two rivers,**

**Two Venetian castles,**

**Two mints, two aches.**

**One for the east**

**And the other for the west**

**And alone you in the middle**

**You talk, you ask, you talk, you ask the sun.**

**Sun, that the mountains overlook,  
That you see the rivers  
that you see our passions  
And poor mothers**

**If you see Paul call me  
If you see Andreas tell me.  
With a lot of trouble I raised them  
With one sob I gave them birth.**

**But they get the mountains  
They cross the rivers  
One another are looking for  
To slaughter each other.**

## The last station by George Seferis

ένα παρθένο δάσος σκοτωμένων φίλων το μυαλό μας.

Κι α σου μιλώ με παραμύθια και παραβολές

είναι γιατί τ' ακούς γλυκότερα, κι η φρίκη

δεν κουβεντιάζεται γιατί είναι ζωντανή

γιατί είναι αμίλητη και προχωράει

στάζει τη μέρα, στάζει στον ύπνο

Μνησιπήμων πόνος.

A pure forest of killed friends is our mind

And if I speak to you with parables and fables

This is that you may listen to them with greater sweetness, and the horror

Cannot be talked about because it is alive

Because it is speechless and continues to advance

And drips during day, drips into sleep

Μνησιπήμων πόνος. (Aischylos, Agamemnon: the pain that reminds the miseries)

**Thankful for your presence!**

