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 (KKE) AND OF EAM · ELAS · EPON · OPLA · DSE

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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To my martyred comrades: Nubar Ozanyan (Orhan Bakırcıyan) of TKP/ML-TIKKO, Görkem Tuğal (Nurhak Cem) of DKP-BÖG, Ulaş Bayraktaroğlu (Mehmet Kurnaz) of DKP-BÖG, Gökhan Taşyakan (Ulaş Adali) of DKP-BÖG, Barış Mustafa Kalağa (Mehmet Ali Kasırga) of DKP-BÖG/HDBH, Ayşe Deniz Karacagil (Destan Temmuz) of MLKP-KKÖ, Robert Grot (Demhat Goldman) of YPG-International, Sedat Akyüz (Zeynel Seyid Rıza) of MLKP, Haukur Hilmarsson (Sahin Hosseini) of IFB-MLKP/RUIS, Şevin Söğüt (Sarin Awaz) of MLKP/FESK-KKÖ, and Bayram Namaz (Baran Serhat) of MLKP.

Şehîd Namirin! Devrim Şehitleri Ölümüzdür! 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:

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 21st, 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

ABBREVIATIONS

AAP         Australian Associated Press
AP          Associated Press
BUP         British United Press
DSE         Dimokratikos Stratos Elladas
           Δημοκρατικός Στρατός Ελλάδας (ΔΣΕ)
           Democratic Army of Greece
DSP         Dimokratikos Stratos Peloponnisou
           Δημοκρατικός Στράτος Πελοπονήσου (ΔΣΠ)
           Democratic Army of Peloponnesus
EAM         Ethniko Apeleftherotiko Metopo
           Εθνικό Απελευθερωτικό Μέτωπο
           National Liberation Front
EAOK        Ethnikes Antikommnunistikes Omades Kynigon
           Εθνικές Αντικομμουνιστικές Ομάδες Κυνηγών
           National Anti-communist Hunter Teams
ELAS        Ethnikos Laikos Apeleftherotikos Stratos
           Εθνικός Λαϊκός Απελευθερωτικός Στρατός (ΕΛΑΣ)
           Greek People's Liberation Army
           Sometimes ELAS is referred to as the “National People's Liberation Army” or “National Popular Liberation Army.”
EPON        Eniaia Panelladiki Organosi Neon
           Ενιαία Πανελλαδική Οργάνωση Νέων (ΕΠΟΝ)
           United Panhellenic Organization of Youth
INS         International News Service
KEP         Kentro Exypiretisis Politon
           Κέντρο Εξυπηρέτησης Πολιτών (ΚΕΠ)
           Citizens Service Center
KKE         Kommounistiko Komma Ellados
           Κομμουνιστικό Κόμμα Ελλάδας
           Communist Party of Greece
ONA         Overseas News Agency
OPLA        Organosi Perifrourisis Laikou Agona
           Οργάνωση Περιφρούρησης Λαϊκού Αγώνα (ΟΠΛΑ)
           Organization for the Protection of the People's Struggle
PASOK       Panellinio Sosialistiko Kinima
           Πανελλήνιο Σοσιαλιστικό Κίνημα (ΠΑΣΟΚ)
           Panhellenic Socialist Movement
UP          United Press
USSR        Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
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.³
Chites (Χίτες): Members of Organization X.
Dekemvriana (Δεκεμβριανά): The “December Events.”³
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.⁴
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.”⁵
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.”⁶
Pappous (Παππούς): Grandfather.
Peina (Πείνα): Hunger.
Plateia (Πλατεία): Town square.
Polemos (Πόλεμος): War.
Psichosavato (Ψυχοσάββατο): Saturday of the Souls.⁷
Stratopedo (Στρατόπεδο): Army base.
Symmoria (Συμμορία): Gang.
Syntrofos, Syntrofisa (Σύντροφος, Συντρόφισσα): Comrade (male, female).
Theia (Θεία): Aunt.
Theios (Θείος): Uncle.
Yiayia (Γιαγιά): Grandmother.

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

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

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

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. 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. It was a monster, an object whose only purpose was to sow destruction and

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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 19th and early 20th 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).
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. Planes overhead were reminders of the German airfield outside of Yiayia’s village of Molaoi and Pappou’s village of Sykia. 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 fathers 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).

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.°

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

*The Sacred War*¹⁰

Ταύγετο καὶ Πάρνωνα
Ἄντάρτες πολεμάνες
τὸν ἄμυβόδορο φασισμὸ
ζανὰ τὸν κυνηγάνε.

Ταύγετο και Πάρνωνας

Τὰ ντουφέκια σας στὸ χέρι,
pάρτε τώρα νυστι καὶ γέροι.
Τὰ ντουφέκια σας στὸ χέρι,
pάρτε τώρα, καλογέροι.

Ξύπνα Καυμένε μου Μωριά

Pappou Panagiotis Kasidakos was born in Sykia, Lakonia in 1926.¹² His father, Leonidas

1 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 ΜΟΡΗΑ.”

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 Yildiz, (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 women 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. 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. 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. 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 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.

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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 Γιάνης, 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 Serematakis, 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 Peloponnesse (London: John Murray, 1958).


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 Molaoi, Lakonia in 1932. Her father, Panagiotis Nikolinakos, also had family roots in Mani, though we are unsure under what circumstances he or his relatives left. 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. A learned man who had completed Gymnasio (Γυμνάσιο), or “middle school,” at a time when most of the people in rural Greece were illiterate (αγράμματη), he dedicated his time to reading and writing. He married Yiayia Konstantina Krypotos from Pakia (Πάκια), an illiterate agrotissa (αγρότισσα) from a poor family. They lived in very poor conditions. 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. Life was extremely hard for Greek peasants, whose world was about to be shattered by another war. For Theia Maria, her hands trembling and

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 aristoi. 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 Molaoi. 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.\textsuperscript{23}

    German territorial expansion (\textit{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.\textsuperscript{24} 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.\textsuperscript{25} 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.\textsuperscript{26}

    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

\textsuperscript{23} Theia Maria Katelani who resides in Elaia, always says "Η ζωή μου ήταν ένας Γολγοθάς" when referencing the katochi, emfilios, and subsequent years.


\textsuperscript{26} For more see, Gerhard Schrieber, Bernd Stegemann, and Detlef Vogel, \textit{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, \textit{Swastika over the Acropolis: Re-interpreting the Nazi Invasion of Greece in World War II} (Boston: Brill, 2013).
for the airborne invasion of Crete. Aircraft based at Molaoi included the Messerschmitt Bf 109 and the Junkers Ju 87 or Stuka. 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. 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 Peloponnesse as well as the Ioanian and Cyclades islands, and the Bulgarians occupying parts of Macedonia and Thrace.

The Communist Party of Greece (KKE), founded in 1918, had been severely persecuted under the Metaxas dictatorship with many imprisoned, tortured, and killed. 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 Αεροδρόμι των Μολάων: Χρονικό της Δράσης των Γερμανών στη Νοτιοανατολική Λακωνία 1941-1944 (Σπάρτη: ΙΔΙΟΜΟΡΦή, 2012).
28 Units (fighter-wings) that were stationed at the airfield at Molaoi from VIII. Fliegerkorps (8th 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.
resistance, eventually founding the largest resistance movement of World War II in Greece, the National Liberation Front (EAM). 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.” 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).

By the spring of 1942, EAM organized its armed-wing, ELAS. 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.

From our family, Theio Niko and Theio Yiorgo both joined ELAS. Theio Yiorgo nom de guerre


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 3rd Battalion, 8th Regiment of ELAS in the Parnona mountains of Lakonia.\(^{37}\) 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.\(^{38}\) 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.\(^{39}\) 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 (καταχθή) 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, even


\(^{38}\) 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.\textsuperscript{40}

Partisans in the Peloponnese, especially in our area of Lakonia organized under the 8\textsuperscript{th} 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.\textsuperscript{41} 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.\textsuperscript{42}

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

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{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 8th 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.\textsuperscript{43} 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.'”\textsuperscript{44} On May 1, 1944, the Nazis executed 200 communists at Kaisariani (Καισαριανή).\textsuperscript{45} Pappou stated that he remembered very well the killing of a German commander of the Peloponnese (most likely General Krech) in Apidia (Απιδία), which is close to Molaoi.\textsuperscript{46} 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.\textsuperscript{47} 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

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{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 \textit{Dekemvriana}. Mark Mazower, \textit{Inside Hitler’s Greece: The Experience of Occupation, 1941-44}, 226, 370.
\item \textsuperscript{46} The spelling Απιδία was in the statement. The Greek name for the village is also written Απιδέα.
\end{itemize}
against fascism. 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. On December 3, 1944, peaceful demonstrators of EAM were gunned down in Athens by the far right-wing paramilitary group Organization X (Οργάνωσις Χ) supported by Greek government forces and British troops. 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. It ended in defeat for EAM-ELAS. EAM eventually signed the Treaty of Varkiza (Συμφωνία της Βάρκιζα) 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. 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 Panourgía writes, “Χ’ 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 Panourgía, 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).
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 Angeletos (Γιάννης Αγγελέτος), better known by his nom de guerre Tzavelas (Τζαβέλας).\textsuperscript{54}

The “long night of barbarism” did not end for the people of Greece.\textsuperscript{55} 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 \textit{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.\textsuperscript{56} Brutal and barbaric, the Greek Civil War tore apart the fabric of society, splintering communities and families and leaving the population deeply traumatized.

\textsuperscript{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, \textit{Greece, The Decade of War: Occupation, Resistance, and Civil War} (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2016), 211-212.

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

\textsuperscript{56} See: André Gerolymatos, \textit{An International Civil War: Greece, 1943-1949} (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016); André Gerolymatos, \textit{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. \textit{The Washington Post} ran an editorial on the comparison entitled “Greece and China,” on Friday, March 21\textsuperscript{st}, 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.
The Peloponnese was devastated after the Second World War. 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.

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**HORROR IN GYTHEIO: THE EXECUTION OF YIORGOS KASIDAKOS**

Γλύτωσες απ’ τους Γερμανούς
Του χάρου το δρεπάνη
Μα όχι απ’ τους δοσύλογους
Που οι Αγγλοί είχαν βάλει
Γιώργος Κόκκορης, Γιώργος Κασιδάκος

Κοπέλες απ’ το Δίστομο, φέρτε νερό και ξύδι
κι απάνω στη φοράδα σου δεμένο σταυρωτά
σύρε για κείνο το στερνό στην Κόρδοβα ταξίδι
μέσα απ’ τα διψασμένα της χωράφια τα ανοιχτά
Νίκος Καββαδίας, Φεντερίκο Γκαρθία Λόρκα

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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

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. Organization X had a large presence in

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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 Κότσο 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 22nd, “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. Most notorious of all was the National Anti-communist Hunter Teams (EAOK) of Panos Katsareas (Πάνος Κατσαρέας). 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.

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


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, koukoulforoi 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. 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. Right-wing violence was widespread, alienating large sections of the population. 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. 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.


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.

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. KKE was aided at various points and to various degrees by Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia. 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. 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). 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. As fighting intensified throughout the country, Theio Yiorgo remained imprisoned in Gytheio.

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

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killed EAOK's leader, Panos Katsareas. Upon hearing of his death in Mani, right-wing monarcho-fascist paramilitaries (members of EAOK, chites, and locals) gathered in Gytheion, Katsareas's hometown. Under the leadership of Kostas Bathrelos (Κώστας Μπαθρέλος), a band of EAOK members went to the prison of Gytheio on March 21 in the late morning. The prison guards, numbering no more than a few dozen, turned over the keys to Bathrelos 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. 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. Once there, the EAOK members opened fire on the truck, killing Theio Yiorgo and the 31 other political prisoners. According to Pappou, the bodies were

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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, KKE 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, Η Τραγωδία των Φυλακών του Γυθείου,” Rizospastis (Αριθ. Φύλλου 10,082), June 3, 1947, 3. The political prisoners were described as “Leftists,” “Reds,” and “Communists” by the press.

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

79 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,” 309-310.

80 According to Pappou, the bodies were
dumped in a mass grave on or near the *stratopedo* (στρατόπεδο) or “military base” in Gytheio. 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!82

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. 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, 1947.34

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 guerrillas (sic) of the region. Does our State Department really expect the guerrillas to hand over their guns to General

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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 *koukoulaforoi* as indistinguishable from the Germans?

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

83 See Appendix for news sources.

Zervas? Do we hope to spread American democracy and ideals through such a man?\(^{85}\)

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 κρατουμένους δημοκρατικούς, τους οποίους κατέσφαξαν μαζί με άλλους 7 πολίτες δημοκρατικούς.\(^{86}\)

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.”\(^{87}\) 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.


paranoia and terror. 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 (Καλλιπόλη) 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 απελευθέρωσή 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. 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. 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

88 “On the night of Thursday, September 13th 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 14th, 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 (dilosi 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,91

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

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.
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* (κομπολοί), 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.92

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.93 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.

Historical Trauma - Three Primary Elements:34

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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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. Families were stigmatized by their political affiliations during

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95 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, τα 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 Aynnmonos). Thea Maria always invokes the scriptural passage Ο ἔχων δύο χιτώνας μεταδότω τῷ μη 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
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 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.”

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 Molaoi. 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).\textsuperscript{97} 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.”\textsuperscript{98} Alexander Etkind, using the “Fifty-Year Effect” theories presented by Stephen Greenblatt and Dmitry Bykov, writes,

\begin{quote}
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.\textsuperscript{99}
\end{quote}

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.”\textsuperscript{100}

\textsuperscript{97} The cutting of heads occurred with horrific frequency during the occupation and the Greek Civil War (ex. Velouchiotis and Tzavellas). 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\textsuperscript{th}, 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, \textit{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, \textit{Time, Religion, and Social Experience in Rural Greece}, 80.


\textsuperscript{100} \textit{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.\textsuperscript{101} 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.”\textsuperscript{102}

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.\textsuperscript{103} 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.\textsuperscript{104} 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.\textsuperscript{105} Thus a regime of surveillance and intelligence gathering (creation of the \textit{fakeloi}), loyalty oaths, repentance certificates, and civic-mindedness certificates became

\begin{itemize}
  \item[102] Ibid., 84.
  \item[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 \textit{dilosis}, he dispatched them to Makronisos. Rumor had it that the ships transporting the prisoners were equipped with torture chambers.” Anthony J. Papalas, \textit{Rebels and Radicals: Icaria 1600-2000} (Wauconda: Bolchazy-Carducci Publishers, 2005), 278.
  \item[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, \textit{Children of the Greek Civil War: Refugees and the Politics of Memory} (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), 106.
\end{itemize}
prerequisites to be a “healthy” Greek citizen. 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.

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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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.
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* ¹⁰⁸

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* ¹⁰⁹

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* ¹¹⁰

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 *Psihosavato* (Ψυχοσάββατο) or “Saturday of the Souls.”¹¹¹ 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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¹¹¹ Yiayia said the most important *Psihosavato* was *ton Ierousalin* 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.”[112] Greek naming customs were rigid depending on the region, though exceptions would be made for those who died “childless or at an early age.”[113] 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.[114]

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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[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 Lesvos, 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.”

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.” Thus, while Greece failed to exhume the dead and maintained a policy of silence, “the exhumations in Lesvos show that local communities can resist hegemonic silence...the experience of Lesvos illustrates

116 Ibid.
that people do not forget...in fact, in Lesvos exhumations were subtle acts of resistance.”

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).

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.

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117 Ibid., 176.
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.” In the Greek Orthodox tradition, the dead are washed by their families and prepared for immediate burial. 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. “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.” 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

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

Mourning and commemorating the victims of the right-wing regime remains a deeply political act in Greece.  

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.” 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...  

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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125 After the collapse of the Junta in the era of the Metapolitefsi (Μεταπολίτευση) people were finally able to beging 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.
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. The land itself had become a haunted place, populated with the ghosts of the past. 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. 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 eachother. 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.
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 20th Century. In Molaoi, fascists defaced a monument of EAM-ELAS writing, “Το ΚΚΕ δεν έχει ιστορία, έχει ποινικό μητρώο” or “KKE 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.133 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.”

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.


“I am not sure I know when mourning is successful, or when one has fully mourned another human being,” writes Judith Butler.134 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.”135 For me, the bones of Theio Yiorgo are the very foundation of my activism, the inspiration for struggling to build a better world.136 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, ἐσού δέ χάθηκες, μέσα στις φλέβες μου ἐλεσαι.

Γιέ μου, στις φλέβες ὅλουνών, ἔμπια βαθιά καὶ ἔξησε.

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

Go deep inside the veins, my boy, of everyone and live.137

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 (εισαγγελεία) to have a death certificate (pistopitikó thanató) 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. Αλεξάκης). Both were members of EAM-ELAS and fought in the Parnona mountains and throughout the region. Photo courtesy of Eleni Alexakis.
ΑΝΤΑΡΤΕΣ ΤΟΥ 30 ΤΑΓΜΑΤΟΣ 8ου ΣΥΝΤΑΓΜΑΤΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΕΛΑΣ ΣΤΟ ΠΑΡΝΩΝΑ

Χρήστος Βλεχάκης

Ομάδα ανταρτών στον Πάρνωνα

Κοιμητής: στο κέντρο ο Κων. Τρίκας, με τα πολυτέλεια ο Παπ. Μίδης. Διαπυργώσεις τον έφεσον αρακοτζής Λυκωνήγος

Αντάρτες του Ι. Λάχου του 8ου τάγματος

Με το Γιάφο Καπάκιο (Μπαλεχάνι)

Χρήστος Μανάς (Πυρομαχός), Κων. Κάνος (Καύσογλος), Γιάννης Φιλίτζος (Ντουμάχης)

Figure 2: Guerrilla's of the 3rd Battalion 8th Regiment of ELAS in Parnona. “With Yiorgo Kasidako (Boulehania)” from Άγγελος Π. Αλεξάκης, Ζάρακας: Αφιέρωμα στα χωριά του, στην ιστορία του, στους Ζαρακίτες. Αθήνα, 1996, 270.
ΕΠΕΣΑΝ ΓΙΑ ΤΗ ΖΩΗ

Έπεσαν για τη ζωή: 'Ηρωες – Μάρτυρες Λαϊκών, Απελευθερωτικών Αγώνων Τόμος Εβδομος Γ" (Αθήνα: Έκδοση της Κεντρικής Επιτροπής του Κομμουνιστικού Κόμματος Ελλάδας, 2010).

Figure 3: Front cover of Έπεσαν για τη ζωή: 'Ηρωες – Μάρτυρες Λαϊκών, Απελευθερωτικών Αγώνων Τόμος Εβδομος Γ" (Αθήνα: Έκδοση της Κεντρικής Επιτροπής του Κομμουνιστικού Κόμματος Ελλάδας, 2010).
ΚΑΣΜΕΛΑΣ ΓΙΩΡΓΟΣ
Από το χωριό Δάκικας Γρεβενών. Μαθητής στα Τέταρτα Παπαδήμητριο της VIII Μαράθρας του ΔΣΕ. Σκοτώθηκε στις 12 Σεπτεμβρίου 1948 στη Δήμο Μαρίτσα Μυτιλενίας.

ΚΑΣΜΕΡΙΔΗΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ
Γεννήθηκε στον Καπάκι της ΕΣΣΔ. Κόκκινος του χωριού Αμαρόντας Κολοκ. Αρχηγός της Εθνικής Αντιστάσεως. Μαθητής του ΔΣΕ. Σκοτώθηκε στη διάρκεια του Εμφυλίου Πολέμου.

ΚΑΣΜΕΡΙΔΗΣ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΣ
του Αλέξανδρου και της Κωνσταντίας
Από το χωριό Αμάροντα Κολοκ. Αρχηγός της Εθνικής Αντιστάσεως. Μαθητής του ΔΣΕ. Σκοτώθηκε στη διάρκεια του Εμφυλίου Πολέμου.

ΚΑΣΜΕΡΙΔΗΣ ΑΧΙΛΛΕΑΣ
του Αλέξανδρου
Από το χωριό Αμάροντα Κολοκ. Αρχηγός της Εθνικής Αντιστάσεως. Μαθητής του ΔΣΕ. Σκοτώθηκε στη διάρκεια του Εμφυλίου Πολέμου.

ΚΑΣΜΕΡΙΔΗΣ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ
του Γιάννου
Από το χωριό Αμάροντα Κολοκ. Αρχηγός της Εθνικής Αντιστάσεως. Μαθητής του ΔΣΕ. Σκοτώθηκε στη διάρκεια του Εμφυλίου Πολέμου.

ΚΑΣΜΕΡΙΔΗΣ ΝΙΚΟΣ
του Θεόδωρου και της Κωνσταντίας
Γεννήθηκε το 1913 στην Πράσινη της Μ. Ασίας. Κόκκινος Δράμες. Κορμός το 1928 συγκαταράθηκε στην ΟΚΛΕ και το 1942 στο ΚΚΕ. Αρχηγός της Εθνικής Αντιστάσεως. Στις 18-11-47 κατακτήθηκε στο ΔΣΕ. Σκοτώθηκε στην 102 Τομέαρχη. Σκοτώθηκε στις 17 Ιουλίου 1948 στη μεγάλη συναγερμόμενη στο όρμα Κάλαμας του Σμόλικα. Επιλογής μαρτυρίας νεκρός.

ΚΑΣΜΕΡΙΔΗΣ ΤΑΧΗΣ
Από το ΔΣΕ. Σκοτώθηκε στην έμμεση της Δ. Μαραθώνης. Σκοτώθηκε στις 12 Φεβρουαρίου 1949 στη μάχη της Φιλαδέλφειας.

ΚΑΣΜΕΡΙΔΗΣ ΧΑΡΑΛΑΜΠΟΣ
του Γεώργιου
Από το Παναγιά, Κολοκ. Αρχηγός της VI Μαράθρας του ΔΣΕ. Σκοτώθηκε στις 4 Μαρτίου 1949 στην Κορονοφέλα της Κολοκ.

ΚΑΣΜΕΡΙΔΗΣ ΧΡΗΣΤΟΣ
του Αλέξανδρου
Από το χωριό Αμάροντα Κολοκ. Αρχηγός της Εθνικής Αντιστάσεως. Μαθητής του ΔΣΕ. Σκοτώθηκε στη διάρκεια του Εμφυλίου Πολέμου.

ΚΑΣΜΕΡΙΔΟΥ ΚΑΡΤΕΡΗ
του Αλέξανδρου
Από το χωριό Αμάροντα Κολοκ. ΕΠΟΝιστής, Μαθητής του ΔΣΕ. Σκοτώθηκε στη διάρκεια του Εμφυλίου Πολέμου.

ΚΑΣΝΑΦΕΡΙΔΗΣ ΣΠΥΡΟΣ
του Ανδρέα
Γεννήθηκε το 1913 στο Καρπάθιος. Κόκκινος Δράμες. Φίλος μέρος στην Εθνική Αντιστάσεις από τη γενική Μ.ΝΤΟΝΕ και το ΕΛΑΣ. Αρχηγός του ΔΣΕ. Στις 15 Σεπτεμβρίου 1947 στη μάχη του Λιμένα επέκτεινε στο υπόλοιπο κομμάτιο και σε δύο μέρες έλαβε το δόξα του καταπόντισαν στο Βενετία και Ελευθερία.

ΚΑΣΝΙΔΑΚΟΣ (ΜΠΟΥΛΑΚΗΣ) ΓΙΩΡΓΟΣ
Από την Σικελία Ασημένιο Λακωνίας. Κόκκινος του χωριού Ρεθώ Σκιάθος. Πήδηκε στην Εθνική Αντιστάσεις.

Figure 4: This is the entry for Yiorgos Kasidakos (Boulahanis) in Έπεσαν για τη ζωή: Βροχες – Μάρτυρες Λαϊκών, Απελευθερωτικών Αγώνων Τόμος Εβδομος Γ’ (Αθήνα: Έκδοση της Κεντρικής Επιτροπής του Κομμουνιστικού Κόμματος Ελλάδας, 2010), 362.
στη από τις χρισμές του ΕΛΑΣ και τραυματίστηκε σε μάχη με τους κατακτητές. Για την αντιπατηστική δράση του φιλανθρώπου από το μεταδικαιούμενο καθεστώς στη φιλανθρωπία Γιουβένο, δολοφονήθηκε έγχρωμα το 1947 από μονονομαστικούς παραπιστικούς, μετά με άλλους αγωνιστές, με τη γνωτική απόβλητη τους στη φιλανθρωπία Γιουβένο.

ΚΑΣΣΟΣ ΧΡΗΣΤΟΣ

Από το Καραϊσκάκη Κατσιώτα. Μεγαλειώδης του ΔΣΕ. Σκοτώθηκε στη διάρκεια του Εμφύλιου Πολέμου.

ΚΑΤΣΑΜΠΟΥΛΙΩΤΗΣ ΜΠΙΝΙΤΣΗΣ

Από το Γιαννισάκη Κατσιώτα. Αγωνιστής της Εθνικής Αντίστασης και του ΔΣΕ. Σκοτώθηκε τον Μάιο 1947.

ΚΑΣΤΑΝΑΣ ΒΑΓΓΕΛΗΣ

Δεκαπεντάχρονος παλικάρι από την Ευελπίδα. Μεγαλειώδης με τον παπά του στο ΔΣΕ Ευδοξίας. Σκοτώθηκε το Φθινόπωρο 1948 σε μια συμπλοκή με τους καθηγητές και τους ανώτατους στρατιωτικούς. Σκοτώθηκε το και το περιόδου στη Χαλκίδα.

ΚΑΣΤΑΝΑΣ ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΗΣ - ΝΙΚΟΣ

Από τον Βαγγέλη και την Κωνοκλάτη. Αγωνιστής της Αλεξάνδρειας Συμμαχίας και του ΓΑ του ΔΣΕ. Σκοτώθηκε τον 13 Σεπτεμβρίου 1949 στη μάχη της Φλωρεντίας.

ΚΑΣΤΑΝΑΣ Ι ΚΑΣΤΑΝΑΣ ΣΑΡΑΝΤΗΣ

Από τον Γιάννη και την Ομολογία. Γεννήθηκε στη Ράθη Ιακωβός το 1913. Ναύαρχος, Μέλος του ΚΚΕ. Στο ΔΣΕ και της τεταρτής της 26-8-48. Στη συγκεκριμένη ανθεκτική περίοδο. Υποστήριξε στη μάχη της 187 Ταξιαρχίας. Σκοτώθηκε τον 14 Αυγούστου 1949 στη μάχη της Φράγκας Λάρισας. Υποστήριξε την 8η Περιοδεία του ΓΑ του ΔΣΕ.

ΚΑΣΤΑΝΗΣ ΔΙΟΣΟΛΟΣ

Από τον Βαρβάρα και την Κωνοκλάτη. Μεγαλειώδης του ΔΣΕ. Σκοτώθηκε στη διάρκεια του Εμφύλιου Πολέμου.

ΚΑΣΤΑΝΟΥΤΗΣ ΑΡΓΥΡΟΣ

Από τον Βαγγέλη (μητέρ. Ανδρέα Ξανθιά). Γεννήθηκε το 1920 στο χωριό Χρονώνης. Μέλος του ΚΚΕ. Αγωνιστής της Εθνικής Αντίστασης. Στο ΔΣΕ της 26-7-46. Φέρθηκε στην Γ' Σειρά της ΣΑΠΑ και στις 25-3-48 ομοφωνήτηκε ανθεκτική περίοδος. Υποστήριξε την αλλαγή της συμπαθίας του ΓΑ του ΔΣΕ στην Χαλκίδα. Σκοτώθηκε το 1949. Υποστήριξε την 8η Περιοδεία του ΓΑ του ΔΣΕ.

ΚΑΣΤΑΝΟΥΤΗΣ ΤΑΣΙΣ

Από τον Βαγγέλη και την Κωνοκλάτη. Μεγαλειώδης του ΔΣΕ. Σκοτώθηκε στη διάρκεια του Εμφύλιου Πολέμου.

ΚΑΣΤΑΡΑΚΗΣ ΠΑΝ. ΝΙΚΟΣ

Από τον Βαγγέλη και την Κωνοκλάτη. Μεγαλειώδης του ΔΣΕ. Σκοτώθηκε στην διάρκεια του Εμφύλιου Πολέμου.

ΚΑΣΤΑΡΗΣ ΓΙΑΝΝΗΣ

Από τον Βαγγέλη και την Κωνοκλάτη. Μεγαλειώδης του ΔΣΕ. Σκοτώθηκε στην διάρκεια του Εμφύλιου Πολέμου.

ΚΑΣΤΑΣΘΟΣ ΘΩΜΑΣ

Από τον Βαγγέλη και την Κωνοκλάτη. Μεγαλειώδης του ΔΣΕ. Σκοτώθηκε στην διάρκεια του Εμφύλιου Πολέμου.

Figure 5: This is the continued part of the entry for Yiorgos Kasidakos (Boulahanis) in Έπεσαν για τη ζωή: 'Ηρωες – Μάρτυρες Λαϊκών, Απελευθερωτικών Αγώνων Τόμος Ε'Βδομος (Αθήνα: Έκδοση της Κεντρικής Επιτροπής του Κομμουνιστικού Κόμματος Ελλάδας, 2010), 363.
Figure 6: This is the cover of Γιώργος Κόκκορης “Κοκκοράκης,” Πικρές Αλήθειες (Αθήνα, 1989).
ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΣ ΚΑΣΣΙΔΑΚΟΣ (ή Μπουλαχάνης)

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

Αρκούσα το γεγονός του ότι ήταν στον ΕΛΑΣ, και όχι στην υπερεξία 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.

Γλύτωσες απ' τους Γερμανούς
Του χάρου το δρεπάνη
Μα όχι απ' τους δοσολογούς
Που οι Αγγέλοι είχαν βάλει

Figure 7: This is the entry for Yiorgos Kasidakos in Γιώργος Κόκκορης “Κοκκοράκης,” Πικρές Αλήθειες (Αθήνα, 1989), 285.
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 πύρηνας στη Σκάλα Λακωνίας].
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.
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.
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).
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 Jagdfliegerverbande Der Deutschen Luftwaffe 1934 Bis 1945 Teil 5*. This particular image was provided to me by Tasos Anastasakis.
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.
Figure 23: Cover of Eleftheri Ellada, the daily of the Political Coalition of the Parties of EAM for March 22, 1947. The news of the massacre is under the main headline which says "Η ΑΝΑΤΡΙΧΙΑΣΤΙΚΗ ΣΦΑΓΗ ΤΟΥ ΓΥΘΕΙΟΥ" or "The Hair-raising Slaughter at Gytheio." Source: Library of the Hellenic Parliament.
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 (κάμπτο των Μολάων). Source: Author.
ΠΡΟΣ ΤΗΝ
Πρωτεύειο Επιτροπή Κρίσεων
(όρθημι 9. π. Α. 379/1983)

ΑΙΤΗΣΗ

ΕΠΩΝΥΜΟ: ΚΑΣΙΑΚΩΣ

ΟΝΟΜΑ: ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΗΣ

ΟΝΩΜΑ ΠΑΤΕΡΑΣ: ΠΕΝΙΑΙΑΣ

ΟΝΩΜΑ ΜΗΤΕΡΑΣ: ΠΑΡΑΣΚΕΥΗ

Ο ΣΥΖΥΓΟΣ: ΑΓΓΕΛΙΚΗ

ΤΟΠΟΣ ΓΕΝΝΗΣΗΣ: ΣΥΡΙΑΧ

ΝΟΜΟΣ: ΛΑΚΟΝΙΑΣ

ΧΡΟΝΟΣ ΓΕΝΝΗΣΗΣ: 1926

ΚΑΤΟΙΚΟΥ: ΚΑΝΑΔΑ

ΘΕΜΑ: Άρθρο αναγνώρισης της

αντιστασιακής ιδιότητας.

Υ. 2. 1986

Ο ΑΙΤΟΝ:

ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΗΣ ΚΑΣΙΑΚΟΣ

ΦΩΤΟΓΡΑΦΙΑ

ΣΙΓΟΥΡΗ ΝΕΟΡΘΑΕΙΑ

ΟΡΚΩΘΗ ΕΝΤΕΡΑΛΕΜΠΡΝ

Figure 28: Page 1 of Pappou's application for recognition of EPON service. Source: Author.
Μόντρεαλ, ΠΗΓΡΩΜΙΝΗ: 4-7-86

ΕΞΟΥΣΙΩΔΟΤΗΣΗ

Ο κάτω η απογραμμένος ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΗΣ ΚΑΣΣΙΔΑΚΟΣ, του Λευκίμα και της Παρασκευής, το γένος Στάππα, γεννηθείς στη Συκέα Λακωνίας το 1926, και της κότολκας Μόντρεαλ, Καναδά.

ΕΞΟΥΣΙΩΔΟΤΗΣΗ

τον κ. ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΗΝ ΚΟΝΤΑΚΩΝ, καθηγητήν και κάτοικον Σάντι, και επί της οδού Περαγμένη 13, Α.Τ.Κ. 231 00,

για να φροντίζει για λειτουργία ιατρικής και υποβάλει στην Πρωτοβάθμια Επιτροπή Κρίσης ΛΑΚΩΝΙΑΣ δικαιολογητικά, για την αναγνώρισή μου ως αρμόδια της Εθνικής Αντιστασιάς.

Για τον ίδιο λόγο, να υπογράψει αυτής ες, δηλώσεις και άλλα έγγραφα και παραλαμβάνει πιστοποιητικά και γενικά ενέργεις κάθε ιύπιο και αποφασίζει για την εκτέλεση των ανωτέρω.

Επίσης να φροντίζει για λειτουργία ιατρικής μου από την Πρωτεύουσα Στρατού Τύπου Α' από τη Γραφείο της Στρατολογίας, για την αναγνώρισή μου.

Ο ΕΞΟΥΣΙΩΔΟΤΗΣ:

ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΗΣ ΚΑΣΣΙΔΑΚΟΣ

ΔΙΑ ΤΟ ΓΝΗΣΙΟΝ ΤΗΣ ΥΠΟΓΡΑΦΗΣ:

ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΗΣ ΚΑΣΣΙΔΑΚΟΣ

ΕΠΙΒΙΡΟ ΣΤΙΓΜΗΝ

ΟΡΚΗΤΗ ΕΝΤΕΛΕΜΕΝΗ

ΑΘ. ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΥ 91-507

4-7-86

Figure 29: Page 2 of Pappou's application for recognition of EPON service. Source: Author.
ΠΡΟΣ ΤΗΝ ΠΡΟΤΩΒΑΣΜΙΑ ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΗ ΚΡΙΣΗΣ
ΝΟΜΑΡΧΙΑΣ ΛΑΚΩΝΙΑΣ

-----------------------------------------------

ΕΚΘΕΣΗ ΤΗΣ ΔΡΑΣΗΣ ΜΟΥ
ΣΤΗΝ ΕΘΝΙΚΗ ΑΝΤΙΣΤΑΣΗ
-----------------------------------------------

Ονομάζω σας ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΗΣ ΚΑΣΙΔΑΚΟΣ, και είμαι γιος του Λεωνίδα και
της Παρασκευής, το γένος Στίππα, και γεννήθηκα στη Συκέα
Λακωνίας, το 1926.

Οργανώθηκα στην ΕΠΟΝ από το 1943, στη Συκέα Λακωνίας.
Διατάχθηκας έπερνα από την τοπική διοίκηση της Συκέας.
Οι αγωνιστές Ηλίας Αυθωλός, Δημήτρης Καλκούνης, Άνδρος Φιλιππάκος
και Θεόδ. Μπράχης, πολλές φορές με έστελναν με μνήματα σε διάφορες
περιοχές.

Σχεδόν όλη η οικογένειά μας ήταν μέλη ενεργά στην Εθνική Αντίσταση.
Από τα αδέλφια μου, ο Γεώργιος, ο Νικόλαος, ο Νικόλαος ήταν τραυματισμένοι
στην Εθνική Αντίσταση.

Ήμουν σύνδεσμος της ΕΠΟΝ Συκέας.
Μετέδωκα έγγραφα, ρουχισμού και τρόφιμα στην Ρωμά.
Τα παρέδωσα όλα στο σχολείο της Ρωμά σε αγώνιστές του ΕΑΜ.
Έδωσα επίσης και πληρωμένοι προσφορές στους αγώνιστές του ΕΑΜ.
Κατάστηκαν όπως και με ανάγκασαν να εργασθώ σε καταναλωτική
εργασία στο αεροδρόμιο στον Κάππο Μονοβασίας.

Figure 30: Page 3 of Pappou's application for recognition of EPON service. Source: Author.
Το 1945 οι Γερμανοί με στρατάρχεσαν και με πήραν για μια νύχτα στην Ελλά (με στρατάρχεσαν στην Κοκκινή Λεωνίδα), διότι με έπιοσαν να κουβαλά στον υπόλοιπο και νόμιζαν ότι τα πήγαινα στους ανώνυμους μας, ενώ εγώ τα πήγαν για να τα πουλήσουν αυτο Δεξία, για να αγοράσει φωτιά για να φάει στο ανέτε.

- ο πατέρας μου ήταν ταράκος και έφτιαξε παπούτσια για να τα πουλάμε και να ζωντανεύουμε-

θεμάζει τη Μάχη της Σκάλας και τον τρομακτικό θάνατο αδέλφων μου στη μάχη αυτή.

Επίσης θυμάμαι πολύ καλά ότι στην Απελευθέρωση είχε σκοτωθεί ένας Γερμανός στρατόκατης την Πελοπόννησο. Μετά για αντίποινα σκότωσαν δύοτρις

116 Σπαρτιάτες, μεταξύ των οποίων πολλοί συνεργάτες της εικονογένειάς μας.

Αυτή είναι η δράση μου εκεί στα κατοχικά χρόνια. Αδέσποτες οιμένη και φυσικά για τον αγώνα, ο καθένας με τον τρόπο του, κάναμε την ζωή μας μικρή και μεγάλη έναν αγώνα καθημερινό, για την ελευθερία μας.

Σας ευχαριστώ και διακεκριμένος,

[Signature]

Figure 31: Page 4 of Pappou's application for recognition of EPON service. Source: Author.
Figure 32: Page 5 of Pappou's application for recognition of EPON service. Source: Author.
ΣΗΜΕΙΩΜΑ

Προς

Επόμενο

Οποίο

ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΗΣ

πατέρας

ΛΕΩΝΙΔΑΣ

σύζυγος

μητέρας ΠΑΡΑΣΚΕΥΗ

Το γήινο ΣΤΑΤΙΝΑ

Τότες γεννήθηκε ΣΤΑΤΙΝΑ

Επαρχία ΠΑΚΟΝΙΑΣ

Χρόνος γεννήθηκε 1926

Κλάσης 1947

Επάγγελμα ΡΑΠΤΗΣ

Κατοικεί ΚΑΝΑΔΑΣ

Οδός 771 ΒΙΕΝΝΑ

ν. χ. ρ. ρ.

CANADA

— 7-9-1986 —

Μετά τιμής της ΚΑΤΑΒΑΣΗΣ

Περιγραφή όπως αντεγγυήστηκε:

Παπαδοπούλου

Σάββα Τόπον Α'

με την Οδηγία

του των Εθνικών Στρατών.

Figure 33: Page 6 of Pappou's application for recognition of EPON service. Source: Author.
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.
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.
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.
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 19th, 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 19th, 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 15th, 2014). Source: Author.
Figure 55: Pappou at the Monastery of Panagia Elona in the Parnona mountains (August 20th, 2014). May his memory be eternal. Source: Author.
Comrades gather to defend against fascists at the squatted community of Prosfygika on Leoforos Alexandras in Athens. Symbols include the black star, the anarchist (Α), 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, damager from artillery) of the Dekemvriana. This photo was taken by me on September 13th, 2016. Source: Author.
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<p>| ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΗ ΕΛΛΑΔΑ (ΑΡ ΦΥΛΛΟΥ 775) | Newspaper Athens | ΠΕΜΠΤΗ 27 ΜΑΡΤΙΟΥ 1947 | ΜΕΤΑ ΤΙΣ ΑΠΕΙΛΕΣ ΤΟΥ ΖΕΡΒΑ | 2 |
| ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΗ ΕΛΛΑΔΑ (ΑΡ ΦΥΛΛΟΥ 776) | Newspaper Athens | ΠΑΡΑΣΚΕΥΗ 28 ΜΑΡΤΙΟΥ 1947 | ΤΑΓΜΑΤΑ ΑΣΦΑΛΕΙΑΣ ΚΑΤΑΡΤΙΖΟΝΤΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΣΤΕΛΛΟΝΤΑΙ ΕΝΑΝΤΙΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΚΟΥ ΛΑΟΥ ΤΗΣ ΛΑΚΩΝΙΑΣ | 1-2 |
| ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΗ ΕΛΛΑΔΑ (ΑΡ ΦΥΛΛΟΥ 777) | Newspaper Athens | ΣΑΒΒΑΤΟ 29 ΜΑΡΤΙΟΥ 1947 | Ο ΚΑΤΣΑΡΕΑΣ | 1-2 |
| ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑ (ΠΕΡΙΟΔΟΣ Α. (ΚΑΤΟΧΗΣ) ΦΥΛ. 1-44 ΠΕΡΙΟΔΟΣ Β. ΑΡΙΘ. 781) | Newspaper Athens | ΣΑΒΒΑΤΟΝ 22 ΜΑΡΤΙΟΥ 1947 | Ο ΕΜΦΥΛΙΟΣ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΣ ΜΑΙΝΕΤΑΙ ΣΦΑΓΑΙ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΠΕΛΟΠΟΝΝΗΣΟΝ | 1 |
| ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑ (ΠΕΡΙΟΔΟΣ Α. (ΚΑΤΟΧΗΣ) ΦΥΛ. 1-44 ΠΕΡΙΟΔΟΣ Β. ΑΡΙΘ. 782) | Newspaper Athens | ΚΥΡΙΑΚΗ 23 ΜΑΡΤΙΟΥ 1947 | ΑΙΜΟΣΤΑΓΕΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΝΕΑΙ ΣΦΑΓΑΙ | 1-2 |
| ΕΦΗΜΕΡΙΣ ΤΗΣ ΚΥΒΕΡΝΗΣΕΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΟΥ ΤΗΣ ΕΛΛΑΔΟΣ (ΤΕΥΧΟΣ ΠΡΩΤΟΝ ΑΡ ΦΥΛΛΟΥ 48) | Journal Athens | 22 ΜΑΡΤΙΟΥ 1947 | ΔΙΑΤΑΓΜΑΤΑ (1) | 267 |
| ΕΦΗΜΕΡΙΣ ΤΗΣ ΚΥΒΕΡΝΗΣΕΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΟΥ ΤΗΣ ΕΛΛΑΔΟΣ (ΤΕΥΧΟΣ ΠΡΩΤΟΝ ΑΡ ΦΥΛΛΟΥ 49) | Journal Athens | 25 ΜΑΡΤΙΟΥ 1947 | (3) | 269-270 |</p>
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<th>ΡΙΖΟΣΠΑΣΤΗΣ</th>
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<td>Η ΚΥΒΕΡΝΗΣΗ ΑΠΕΦΑΣΙΣΕ ΧΘΕΣ ΝΑ ΚΗΡΥΞΕΙ ΣΤΟ ΝΟΜΟ ΛΑΚΩΝΙΑΣ ΤΟ ΣΤΡΑΤΙΩΤΙΚΟ ΝΟΜΟ</td>
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<td>ΕΔΩ ΚΛΕΙΣΕ Η ΚΑΤΣΑΡΕΑ Η ΛΑΚΩΝΙΑ</td>
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<td>ΟΙ ΟΜΑΔΙΚΕΣ ΣΦΑΓΕΣ ΤΗΣ ΛΑΚΩΝΙΑΣ “ΦΥΣΙΚΟΝ ΕΠΑΚΟΛΟΥΘΩΝ ΤΟΥ ΕΓΚΛΗΜΑΤΟΣ ΠΟΥ ΔΙΕΡΑΞΑΝ ΟΙ ΑΝΤΑΡΤΑΙ ΕΞΟΝΤΩΣΑΝΤΕΣ ΤΟΝ ΚΑΤΣΑΡΕΑΝ!”!!</td>
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<td>ΡΙΖΟΣΠΑΣΤΗΣ</td>
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<td>ΑΠΙΣΤΕΥΤΟ! ΘΕΛΟΥΝ ΝΑ ΜΕΤΑΦΕΡΟΥΝ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΟΥΣ ΚΡΑΤΟΥΜΕΝΟΥΣ ΑΠΟ ΤΟΝ ΠΕΙΡΑΙΑ ΣΤΟ ΓΥΘΕΙΟ</td>
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<td>ΡΙΖΟΣΠΑΣΤΗΣ</td>
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<td>Η ΤΡΑΓΩΔΙΑ ΤΩΝ ΦΥΛΑΚΩΝ ΤΟΥ ΓΥΘΕΙΟΥ ΑΓΝΩΣΤΕΣ ΛΕΠΤΟΜΕΡΕΙΕΣ</td>
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<td>Daily Worker⁴ (No. 4837)</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Newspaper</td>
<td>London, England, United Kingdom</td>
<td>22 March 1947</td>
<td>Greek Fascists Kill 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nippon Times (No. 17,249)</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Newspaper</td>
<td>Tokyo, Japan</td>
<td>25 March 1947</td>
<td>S. Greece Is Placed Under Martial Law</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**International News Service**

ATHENS, Mar. 24–Martial law was clamped on the southern tip of Greece Sunday to stop rightist reprisal raids and murder of leftist sympathizers.

After a full five-hour session the Greek Cabinet proclaimed military rule for the Laconia district of Southern Peloppenesus where 13 persons, reportedly leftists, were killed by rightists mobsters.

The attack occurred in the village of Molai, 15 miles northeast of Gythion. The two dead were reportedly women.

The Government threatened court martial for those participating in attacks.

General Ventris, Commander-in-Chief of the Greek General Staff, attended the Cabinet emergency session Sunday.

The Leftist National Liberation Front

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² Note that this list is not exhaustive.

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

⁴ Paper of the Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB).
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Newspaper</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Headline</th>
<th>Body</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Age (No. 28,677)</td>
<td>Melbourne, Australia</td>
<td>24 March 1947</td>
<td>POLES AND RUSSIANS - Hostility in Greece</td>
<td>...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.”</td>
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<tr>
<td>The Daily Gleaner (Vol. 113, No. 7?)</td>
<td>Kingston, Jamaica</td>
<td>24 March 1947</td>
<td>Greeks Proclaim Martial Law</td>
<td>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 Gythion, 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.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Daily Mercury (Vol. 81, No. 71)</td>
<td>Mackay, Australia</td>
<td>24 March 1947</td>
<td>Greek Prisoners Slain</td>
<td>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</td>
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<tr>
<td>Source</td>
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<td>Type</td>
<td>Location</td>
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<td>The Illustrated London News (Vol. 210, No. 5633)</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Newspaper</td>
<td>London, England, United Kingdom</td>
<td>5 April 1947</td>
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From Our Special Corresponder

ATHENS, March 23.

In the feud-ridden Southern Peloponese, where individual and political vendetta has for a century
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.

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.

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. …
| The Palestine Post (Vol. 22, No. 6362) | English | Newspaper | Mandatory Palestine | 23 March 1947 | Guerrilla Activity Scores Dead in Greece | 1 | 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. 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. (Reuter. AFP.) |
| The Palestine Post (Vol. 22, No. 6363) | English | Newspaper | Mandatory Palestine | 24 March 1947 | Greek Civil War Martial Law in South | 1 | 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. **Sanctions** 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. |
| 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, 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.

Fourteen Communists were murdered by Right-wing armed villagers at Kaghios Dimitrios, near Gythion, the same statement said.

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.

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.


ATHENS, Sunday.—M. Maximos, the Prime Minister, today 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.

The Ministers bound for the trouble area are: M. Papandreou (Interior), Gen.
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.

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.” …

| 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

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... From Our Own Correspondent

Salonika.

No Validity

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
of the Government and precisely for this reason such a Government has no moral validity in the eyes of the Greek people. 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.

**Notwithstanding all this the Government continues to be recognised by the most democratic capitalist countries like Britain and America for the reasons stated above.**

Greece is, indeed, a testing ground in the battle of world politics.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>The Sydney Morning Herald (No. 34,087)</th>
<th>English Newspaper</th>
<th>Sydney, Australia</th>
<th>24 March 1947</th>
<th>Lynching In Greece: Martial Law</th>
<th>3</th>
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<tr>
<td>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. The Greek National Liberation Front (EAM) has asked the Foreign Ministers, now meeting at Moscow, to “end Greece's tragedy by common action.” 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</td>
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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.

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
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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<th>EXTRACT</th>
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<tr>
<td>Akron Beacon Journal (108th Year, No. 107)</td>
<td>Newspaper</td>
<td>Akron, Ohio</td>
<td>23 March 1947</td>
<td>$26,666 On Each Greek Outlaw's Head</td>
<td>15A</td>
<td>By George Weller Chicago Daily News Foreign Service NEW YORK – The guerrillas lost 100 of their numbers Friday in a battle at Epirus near Albania with the Eighth Greek division. At Gytheion, in extreme southern Greece, 32 unarmed “Communist” convicts were slaughtered when rightists stormed a prison since Truman's plea.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Akron Beacon Journal (108th Year, No. 107)</td>
<td>Newspaper</td>
<td>Akron, Ohio</td>
<td>23 March 1947</td>
<td>Martial Law For Laconia</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>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. ...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.” 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.</td>
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6 Note that this list is not exhaustive.

7 Note that errors in spelling, word choice, and information have been reproduced exactly as they are found in the source material.
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<tr>
<td>Asheville Citizen-Times</td>
<td>Asheville, North Carolina</td>
<td>23 March 1947</td>
<td>Martial Law Ordered To Curb Greek Rebels</td>
<td>1</td>
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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 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.”

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...
The attack on the prison was made by neighboring villagers in reprisal for the murder of the leader of a rightest band, the ministry of public order said.

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<tr>
<td>Chicago Sunday Tribune (Vol. 106, No. 14 C)</td>
<td>Chicago, Illinois</td>
<td>6 April 1947</td>
<td>Greek Civil War Waged On Famed Terrain Of Past 10 Rugged Country Blocks Modern Methods 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.</td>
</tr>
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<td>Council Bluffs Nonpareil (Vol. 90, No. 81)</td>
<td>Council Bluffs, Iowa</td>
<td>22 March 1947</td>
<td>Greek Army Opens Drive on Guerrillas 1 Spring Offensive in North Reported as Under Way ATHENS, AP – … Communist Convicts Killed. In Greece's southern peninsula of the Peloponnesus, inhabitants of nearby villages broke into a prison at Gythion and killed 32 communist convicts to avenge the leftists killing of P. Katsareas, right-wing band</td>
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The ministry of public order, which announced the lynching, said it was carried off by some 200 armed villagers who overcame 25 prison guards.

The government voicing “indignant disapproval,” promised stern penalties and ordered the minister of public order, lately on tour in eastern Macedonia, to go to Gytheion to investigate.

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<td>Dayton Daily News (Vol. 70, No. 243)</td>
<td>23 March 1947</td>
<td>Dayton, Ohio</td>
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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.

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 meet the rightist threat with equal vigor.

...Two of the cities clapped under martial law were Gytheion, provincial capital, where rightist bands murdered 39 persons Friday, and Mallai, 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.”

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<tr>
<td>Dayton Daily News</td>
<td>8 April 1947</td>
<td>Dayton, Ohio</td>
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By Raymond Daniell
Left Rages in Greece, Writer Says

ATHENS, April 8. -

...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.

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.

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<tr>
<td>Edwardsville Intelligencer</td>
<td>Edwardsville, Illinois</td>
<td>22 March 1947</td>
<td>Greek Leftists Slain</td>
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<tr>
<td>Eugene Register-Guard</td>
<td>Eugene, Oregon</td>
<td>23 March 1947</td>
<td>Guerrilla Action In Greek Lands Brings Martial Law Proclamation</td>
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<td>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....</td>
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<td>A government statement said the ministers</td>
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<td>Freeport Journal-Standard</td>
<td>Freeport, Illinois</td>
<td>22 March 1947</td>
<td>33 Leftist Prisoners Hauled From Jail In Greece And Killed</td>
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<td>Gazette and Bulletin</td>
<td>Williamsport, Pennsylvania</td>
<td>22 March 1947</td>
<td>32 Red Convicts Killed In Greece</td>
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<td>Hanford Morning Journal</td>
<td>Hanford, Kings County, California</td>
<td>23 March 1947</td>
<td>Greek Killings</td>
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<td>Hanford Sentinel (60th Year, No. 7)</td>
<td>Hanford, Kings County, California</td>
<td>22 March 1947</td>
<td>Greek Killings</td>
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<td>Medford Mail Tribune (42nd Year, No. 1)</td>
<td>Medford, Oregon</td>
<td>23 March 1947</td>
<td>Greeks Proclaim Martial Law in Battered Region</td>
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<td>Miami Daily News (Vol. 52, No. 95)</td>
<td>Miami, Florida</td>
<td>23 March 1947</td>
<td>2 Greek Towns Get Martial Law</td>
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<tr>
<td>Minneapolis Sunday Tribune (Vol. 80, No. 303)</td>
<td>Minneapolis, Minnesota</td>
<td>23 March 1947</td>
<td>Martial Law Placed on Greek Rebel Area</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nevada State Journal (77th Year, No. 104)</td>
<td>Reno, Nevada</td>
<td>23 March 1947</td>
<td>Martial Law Order Follows Slayings</td>
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application of martial law. Responsible military and civil authorities will be punished by special courts martial.

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 Mallaoi, to the southwest, where 13 leftist supporters, including two women, were slain.

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.

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<tr>
<td>Oshkosh Daily Northwestern (80th Year)</td>
<td>Newspaper</td>
<td>Oshkosh, Wisconsin</td>
<td>22 March 1947</td>
<td>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.</td>
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<tr>
<td>San Francisco Examiner (Vol. 186, No. 81)</td>
<td>Newspaper</td>
<td>San Francisco, California</td>
<td>22 March 1947</td>
<td>Thirty-two Communist convicts were killed in an attack on a prison at Gythion 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. The report was followed by a government statement expressing “indignant disapproval” of the Gythion 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.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Soviet Russia Today (Vol. 16, No. 1)</td>
<td>Magazine</td>
<td>New York, New York</td>
<td>May 1947</td>
<td>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.</td>
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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.”

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<tr>
<td>The Arizona Republic (57th Year, No. 308)</td>
<td>Newspaper</td>
<td>Phoenix, Arizona</td>
<td>22 March 1947</td>
<td>Greek Fighting Takes 40 Lives</td>
<td>From Athens today that 40 persons were killed when an armed Rightist band raided the prison at Gythion, a port in the Northern Peloponnessus 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.</td>
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<tr>
<td>The Arizona Republic (57th Year, No. 309)</td>
<td>Newspaper</td>
<td>Phoenix, Arizona</td>
<td>23 March 1947</td>
<td>Greeks Order Martial Law</td>
<td>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.”</td>
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<td>The Boston Sunday Globe</td>
<td>Newspaper</td>
<td>Boston,</td>
<td>23 March 1947</td>
<td>Martial Law</td>
<td>ATHENS, March 22 (AP)–The Greek cabinet</td>
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<td>The Brooklyn Eagle</td>
<td>Newspaper</td>
<td>Brooklyn, New York</td>
<td>22 March 1947</td>
<td>33 Greek Leftists Taken From Jail, Slain</td>
<td>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.</td>
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<tr>
<td>The Burlington Free Press</td>
<td>Newspaper</td>
<td>Burlington, Vermont</td>
<td>24 March 1947</td>
<td>Weekend News</td>
<td>THE GREEK 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 Gythion.</td>
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<tr>
<td>The Cedar Rapids Gazette</td>
<td>Newspaper</td>
<td>Cedar Rapids, Iowa</td>
<td>22 March 1947</td>
<td>Kill Greek Leftists.</td>
<td>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.</td>
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<td>The Courier-Journal</td>
<td>Newspaper</td>
<td>Louisville, Kentucky</td>
<td>23 March 1947</td>
<td>Slaying of 32 Communists In Prison Brings Martial Law to Laconia, Greece</td>
<td>Cabinet Blames Reprisal Raid From Overseas Dispatches. 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</td>
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Communist convicts yesterday in a prison at Gythion.

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.

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...

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<td>The Daily Herald (61st Year, No. 210)</td>
<td>Newspaper</td>
<td>24 March 1947</td>
<td>Around the World</td>
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<td>The Gazette and Daily (Vol. 119, No. 19,304)</td>
<td>Newspaper</td>
<td>27 March 1947</td>
<td>416 Slain In Greece; Liberals Blame US</td>
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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.

By Constantine Poulos
Athens, March 26 (ONA) – Over the weekend 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.

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.

These outbreaks have aroused fears inside
and out of the Government that a widespread wave of blood-letting may be in the offing.

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.”

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.

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.

These circles point to the strong statement made by the Minister of Public Order at Veroia in Macedonia on Saturday. Gen. Zervas said:

“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
and Slavism will suffer the fate of Nazism.

“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.”

Killing of Unarmed Civilians By Rightist Bands Continues

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.

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.

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.

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.
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.”

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.”

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.

The Liberal and Centrist newspaper Eleftheria characterizes that statement as government justification, tolerance 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.
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<td>The Hartford Courant</td>
<td>Hartford 1</td>
<td>24 March 1947</td>
<td>Greek Probe to Follow Slaying of Prisoners</td>
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<td>(Est. 1764, Vol. 111)</td>
<td>Connecticut</td>
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<td>The Honolulu Advertiser</td>
<td>Honolulu, Hawaii 8</td>
<td>23 March 1947</td>
<td>Martial Law in Greece</td>
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<td>(90th Year, No. 21,224)</td>
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**Greek Probe to Follow Slaying of Prisoners**

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.

The ministers making the trip were George Papandreou, interior; Napoleon Zervas, public order, and George Stratos, war.

The Communist prisoners reportedly were executed when a band of villagers from the area surrounding Gythion stormed the prison in reprisal for the slaying of the leader of a right-wing band.

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**Martial Law in Greece**

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.

Violence in the last 36 hours which precipitated martial law included the murders of two fighting wing leaders, 52 leftists and one communist...

Rebels Driven Back

...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.

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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 50th state in 1959.
Proclamation of martial law followed an emergency cabinet meeting at which Premier Demetrios Maximos said “all steps will be taken to restore order.”

**Ministers to Scene**

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...

**Martial Law in Greece; 55 Slain**

(Continued from Page 1)

**Emergency Session**

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.”

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.”

**Massacres Reported**

Reinforced troop units were ordered to Gytheion, were yesterday guerrilla bands were reported to have executed 32 political prisoners and seven civilians.

The executions were described as a reprisal for the killing of a Leftist leader, Catsareas
A government spokesman reported that a band of armed persons entered the town of Mallaoi, Southwest of Gytherion, and executed 13 persons including two women.

The Indianapolis News
*Special to The Indianapolis News and The New York Times*

ATHENS, April 11. - ...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.

The Montana Standard

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.

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**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.**

**ATHENS, March 21 (U.P.)—Reports tonight said an armed right-wing group overcame the small Greek Army garrison at Gythion, in the Peloponnesus, broke into the town prison and killed thirty-three left-wing prisoners.**

**ATHENS Acts to Control Rightists in Laconia – Fighting Spreads in North Toward Bulgaria**

**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.**

**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.**

**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**
Order said.

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.

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.

[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]

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.”

“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.

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
against both Leftists and Rightists.

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.

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.

The information from Gythium listed the persons slain in the jail as “thirty-two political prisoners and seven civilians.”

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| 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. |

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| 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.

The Royalist newspaper Hestia said armed villagers killed thirteen Communists, who were about to be released from prison, at |
Aghios Demetrios, in the Molaoi district of Laconia. The same villagers killed five more Leftists the district between Apidea and Prostami, Hestia said.

[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.]

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 Kerdyilia. The Ministry said forty-six guerrillas were killed, nineteen wounded and six captured.

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

By Raymond Daniell
Special to The New York Times
ATHENS, April 4 – …. Rightist Murders Unpunished

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.

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,
the enemies of the state.

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.

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....

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The New York Times (Vol. 96, No. 32,581)

Newspaper  
New York, New York  
8 April 1947  
Void in Democracy Fans Greek Strife  
6  
Government Observes Forms of Liberties but Defends Excesses as Necessity  
By Raymond Daniell  
Special to The New York Times  
ATHENS, April 7 –  

... Basic Liberties Flouted  
... 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. ...
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 quested the Governors of Greece's forty-six Departments concerning Right-Wing bands in their areas.

The replies he received, he said, show that such organizations exist only in Laconia in the Peloponnesus and on Cephalonia in the Ionian Islands. He acknowledged there were "certain remnants active in two or three other areas," but these he held were in the process of liquidation.

"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."

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.

MAY has frequently been identified as an
exclusively Right-Wing organization, and some of its groups have been accused of acting as marauding bands from political motives.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Publication</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event Description</th>
<th>Actions</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The News-Herald (70th Year, No. 20,227)</td>
<td>Franklin and Oil City, Pennsylvania</td>
<td>22 March 1947</td>
<td>Report Greek Lynching</td>
<td>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.</td>
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<td>The Palm Beach Post (Vol. 39, No. 34)</td>
<td>West Palm Beach, Florida</td>
<td>22 March 1947</td>
<td>32 Red Convicts Killed In Attack On Prison</td>
<td>ATHENS, (AP)–Thirty-two Communist convicts were killed in an attack on a prison at Gythion 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. The report was followed by a government statement expressing indignant disapproval” of the Gythion slayings and declaring that severe punishment would be imposed on the attackers. The minister of public order, now touring Eastern Macedonia, has been instructed to make a personal investigation and to go to Gythion today. The ministry announcement said the prison's 25 guards were over-powered by approximately 200 armed residents of nearby villages.</td>
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<td>The Philadelphia Inquirer (118th Year, Vol. 236, No. 81)</td>
<td>Philadelphia, Pennsylvania</td>
<td>22 March 1947</td>
<td>40 Greeks Slain By Rightist Raiders</td>
<td>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.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
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 Captain Katsareas, head of the anti-Communist volunteer corps in the Sparta area.

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<td>The Pittsburgh Press (Vol. 63, No. 269)</td>
<td>Newspaper</td>
<td>22 March 1947</td>
<td>33 Prisoners Killed</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>The Press Democrat (91st Year, No. 71)</td>
<td>Newspaper</td>
<td>23 March 1947</td>
<td>Greeks Place Martial Law Over Laconia</td>
<td>6</td>
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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.

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....

Violence in the last 36 hours which precipitated martial law included the murders of two right wing leaders, 52 leftists and one communist.

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 Demetrio Maximos said “all steps will be taken to restore order.” 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.

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<th>Newspaper</th>
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<th>Death</th>
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<tr>
<td>The Racine Journal-Times (Vol. 91, No. 69)</td>
<td>Racine, Wisconsin</td>
<td>22 March 1947</td>
<td>33 Leftists Slain</td>
<td>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.</td>
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<td>The Sun (Vol. 220, No. 107)</td>
<td>Baltimore, Maryland</td>
<td>22 March 1947</td>
<td>Major Greek Army Drive Against Guerrillas Reported</td>
<td>Foes of Athens Strafing And Machine-Gunned; Band of 100 Slain</td>
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Athens, March 21 (AP)-- …

**32 Reported Dead At Prison**

Meanwhile, 32 Communist convicts were killed in an attack on a prison at Gythion 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.

The report was followed by a Government statement expressing “indignant disapproval” of the Gythion slayings and declaring that severe punishment would be imposed on the attackers.

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<td>The Sunday Pantagraph</td>
<td>Bloomington, Illinois</td>
<td>23 March 1947</td>
<td>Martial Law In Southern Greece Area</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>(101st Year, No. 82)</td>
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<td>ATHENS. –(AP)– The Greek government proclaimed martial law Saturday in the Laconia district at the extreme southern tip of the Greek mainland. Although the government did not state immediately the reason for the declaration of military rule, the Laconia district contains the town of Gythion where 32 Communist convicts were killed Friday in an attack on a prison. 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.</td>
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<td>The Wisconsin State Journal</td>
<td>Madison, Wisconsin</td>
<td>22 March 1947</td>
<td>33 Greek Prisoners Die in Political Lynching</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(108th Year, Vol. 169, No. 170)</td>
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<td>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.</td>
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