

Outside Influences in the Greek Civil Wars

Andrew Rivadeneira

Joanna Simos

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Table of Contents

Abstract	3
Keywords	3
Introduction	4
Methodology	6
Research Rationale	6
Findings	8
Research Ethics	20
Conclusion	21
Summary	22
Reflection of Research and Internship	23
Bibliography	25

Abstract

The focus of this project is on the Greek Civil Wars of the 1940s. It will be focusing on what caused the outbreak of these wars, and how foreign countries influenced the course of Greek history. The project will provide some information of the history before World War II, but will be mostly focusing on the events during the decade of 1940. Different countries would intervene for a variety of reasons: economic, political, and expansionism. In what would have been a domestic issue within Greece, became something that would involve many countries around the world. The project will attempt to show how these countries vying for power within Greece only exacerbated the situation and crippled this Mediterranean country. In the name of democracy, countries would intervene, and create a situation that was far from being democratic. Instead they would create two polarizing groups within Greece. On one side there were the Leftist communist Greeks, and the other the rightist who tended to be ultra conservative and monarchial. These two polarized groups would lead to a devastation all across Greece worse than World War II itself for this country. The effects of the Civil Wars are something that still plagues Greece some seventy years later since the conclusion of the Wars. This is still a period shrouded in mystery, and one rarely studied and written about. The project will shed some light on this dark period, and hopefully become a piece of the road to fully understanding the magnitude, the chaos and effects of the Greek Civil Wars brought with it.

Keywords

Greece

Civil War

Allied Forces

Axis Powers

Communism

National Liberation Front (EAM)

Greek People's Liberation Army (ELAS)

Communist Party of Greece (KKE)

Democratic Army of Greece (DAG)

National Republican Greek League (EDES)

Greek National Army (GNA)

Introduction

War in of itself is devastating and destructive. This is something Greece is no stranger to, as they claim the title of being the oldest civilization in Europe. The wars that Greece faced in the 1940s was something they were ill prepared for though, and in some respects are still trying to cope with today. Civil Wars are more devastating to a country than external struggles. As they cause fissures within communities. When you have an external enemy, it becomes easier to band together in most instances. In Greece this becomes a difficult task. Greece having a lot history of subjugation creates loyalties to outside influences. The purpose of this introduction will be to give some elements, and paint a picture of events that would lead to the extreme chaos Greece would face in the 1940s.

Kingdom of Greece

Greece was under Ottoman occupation for over 400 years, and would not become a sovereign country until 1830.¹ This independence also was not one that the Greeks won by themselves. It would take the Great Powers of the time to apply pressure on the Ottoman state to allow for the Greek independence. These Great Powers would be Great Britain, France, and Russia.² This is important for two reasons. The first reason is that, before this time there was never a unified Greece. Greece had been made up of city-states who were at constant struggles against one another. The most they had been unified would have been against the Persian threat in the 5th century BCE. What this Greek independence did was try to unify these various regions, who had their own cultural identities, into one cohesive country under a king from a foreign country. The second important reason would come up during World War I.

Stage set for World War I

Greece had become split on either to remain neutral or join the war. At this time there was King Constantine who wanted to stay out of the war, but Venizelos a powerful politician was in favor of joining.³ The Great Powers used their power to force the king to step down, and supported Venizelos rise to power so that Greece could support them in this war. This would create a precedent that would have lasting impacts upon Greece. On one hand it forced the country to decide between two opposing ideologies, and on the other hand, showed how easily foreign powers could manipulate situations within Greece. This rift between two opposing ideologies is something that still plagues Greece today.

In Between the World Wars

¹ André Gerolymatos. *An International Civil War: Greece, 1943-1949* (Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2016), 11.

² Gerolymatos, *An International Civil War*, 10.

³ Gerolymatos, *An International Civil War*, 29.

Leading up to World War II, there would be political turmoil between those loyal to the monarchy, and the ones who opposed having a ruler. One side would purge the other from political and military positions, and this bitterness would become exacerbated during World War II. To the point that no middle ground would be allowed to exist. Also, important to note during this time, was the exchange of people between Greece and Turkey. Following the failed war against Turkey, Greece was forced to accept over 1.5 million refugees.⁴ These were Greeks who had lived in Turkish territory, and spoke Turkish instead of Greek. Due to the strain they put on the Greek economy, and their different culture they would not be fully accepted by other Greeks. This resentment would only create willing supporters for the rise of the communist party.

Methodology

In preparation to writing this paper, a qualitative case study approach was used. This is an efficient way at studying historical events, and the best suitable approach for the scope of time allotted. Techniques used in conducting research were a combination of primary, but mostly secondary sources. Sources would be both physical as well as electronic from reliable databases. Books over this time period in Greek history and articles were used. The primary source would be observational studies of aerial photographs taken by Allied Forces during World War II over Greece.

Research Rationale

Type of Sources

The reason for primarily using secondary sources was because the lack of knowledge of this period of time. The secondary sources helped put into perspective this time period, and

⁴ Gerolymatos, *An International Civil War*, 9.

provide background information to events and their causes. Electronic sources came from databases through Arcadia's Landman Library and the University of Kentucky's Library. They are scholarly works and from credible institutions. The issue that can arise from reading secondary sources is biases. A common historian phrase is that history is written by the victor. This is something that was more prevalent in antiquity where less people were writers, but one that is still prevalent in modern times. As such, it was critical to choose a range of sources to help create a well-balanced base of research.

The Sources Used

The three books would help give a historical narrative of this period. One book is written by an American serviceman so bias would have to be taken into account with it. Another article would look at this from communist perspective, and the last article would look at what happened to the communist members after the final Civil War. The physical sources would be provided by the British School of Athens, who has a long tradition of being an institute for scholarly research. A book would be used from this institute, and they also provided the aerial photographs that is part of their ongoing project. The reason the photographs are a critical piece for this argument. Is for the fact that even after the occupation of Greece, by the Axis Forces, photographs were still being taken. The Allied Forces were still photographing over Greece frequently, and this will help support the theory of their heavy involvement in the Greek Civil Wars. If given more time for research these photographs could provide vast amounts of information. The use of electronic resources was due to the fact that they were more accessible. The British School of Athens is only available Monday-Friday, and as such made conducting research difficult within the scope of time provided for this project. The British School of Athens also has a policy of keeping their works on premises.

Why This Topic?

The purpose of choosing this subject of the Greek Civil Wars was as a challenge. This is not a period of time traditionally studied by me. Primarily, my focus has been on Ancient History, and to that respect mostly on ancient warfare. In starting this research, I came to the realization that this was a period not well studied in general. Having the opportunity to study in Greece made the subject matter all that more interesting. What started the path during this research, would have been my handling of the aerial photographs during my internship with the British School of Athens. Greece is currently undergoing another charged period of politics, and it is my belief that some of the effects from the Civil War can still be seen today. As a historian, I believe it is important to study the past to help prevent repetition in the future. If more people are able to study this period of time it can create an opportunity for more friendly and democratic discussions, and would help prevent future polarization of political parties and influences. As an observer, with no Greek affiliation, I believe this project can provide an unbiased view of the situation during the Greek Civil Wars. In pursuit of pure academic research hopefully this can become a step for future studies.

Findings

With each Civil War the battles and horrors would escalate. The first Civil War would actually take place during occupation. The second Civil War would last for a few months from December 1944 to January 1945. Finally, the third Civil War which was the most intense would last from 1946-1949. By giving some narrative for these periods, the influence of outside countries within Greece become more evident.

Prelude to First Civil War

Before the start of World War II, Greece would have reinstated the monarchy. This time it would be King George II who would cause vast amounts of turmoil. The King would

support a regime in government that was heavily right winged and oppressive to Greece. Without fully understanding the dynamics in Greece, Great Britain would give public support to this government as it was seen as “legit.”⁵ This intern would lead to an alliance between the two countries when Germany invaded in 1941. When these forces could not counter the machine known as the Germany military, the King would escape Greece in exile to England, and leave the Greeks essentially to their own defenses. This would cause a vacuum within Greece for people to exploit for their own needs.

Players During World War II

Great Britain would cause more intertrial turmoil within Greece than Germany’s occupation. Germany would cripple Greece’s economy that would become a crucial factor during the third round of Civil wars. While Great Britain would cause political instability. Determining which would be more devastating for Greece is out of the scope of this project. Germany would cause hyperinflation within Greece with the printing of their currency, and also contributed to the famine in Greece by consuming most of the food available.⁶ Germany would create some issues politically for Greece, establishing their own government within Greece. The occupation itself was not something that was fully resisted. What had mostly made the Greeks upset was the fact that Italy was part of the occupying force.⁷ German occupational forces did start to treat the Greeks terribly as resistance within the country grew. Germany would become repressive on society, and would also go on to create the Security Battalions to attack communist. These people were willing collaborators from the previous Greek regime.⁸

⁵ Gerolymatos, *An International Civil War*, 52.

⁶ Gerolymatos, *An International Civil War*, 54.

⁷ Gerolymatos, *An International Civil War*, 53.

⁸ William D. Harris Jr, *Instilling Aggressiveness: US Advisors and Greek Combat Leadership in the Greek Civil War, 1947-1949* (Fort Leavenworth, Kansas: Combat Studies Institute Press, 2013), 18.

British Influence

Great Britain would deploy a dual approach with Greece. Publicly the government would support the King in exile, but behind the scenes they were funding the resistance movements. The Special Operations Executive (SOE) of Britain would be a major factor within Greece. They were sent to infiltrate and determine what groups would make for a good resistance force. What the SOE determined was that “loyalist were also German sympathizers,” and that the republicans and communist would prove the best groups for resistance.⁹ Being a fairly new group, created secretly in Britain reporting primarily to Churchill, they were eager to prove their strategical worth, and did not care that these two groups were strongly opposed to the monarchy.¹⁰ In this vein the SOE would go and train these two groups who also politically opposed each other in guerilla warfare.

Resistance Groups

The two main groups that would come from this would be Greek People’s Liberation Army (ELAS) and National Republican Greek League (EDES). The former was created from the political party National Liberation Front (EAM), who was primarily controlled by the Communist Party of Greece (KKE). The later EDES was a republican resistance group with no political party affiliated directly to it.¹¹ Before the outbreak of the war, the communist movement lacked momentum, to promote EAM though it was presented “as the common resistance front.”¹² With this slogan EAM/ELAS quickly rose to become the largest, strongest, and most influential resistance group in Greece. This played into the British decision of supporting both groups. They could not stop backing EAM because of their strength, but also backed EDES as they had closer political views, mostly anti-communism,

⁹ Gerolymatos, *An International Civil War*, 42-43 and 67.

¹⁰ Gerolymatos, *An International Civil War*, 79.

¹¹ Gerolymatos, *An International Civil War*, 83.

¹² Gerolymatos, *An International Civil War*, 75.

and better prospects in a post occupied Greece.¹³ To this end, a SOE officer who was with EDES recommended the EDES's leader to support the exiled king.¹⁴ This now sets the stage for the first round of Civil Wars. The republicans who were originally politically in between the loyalist of the king and communist. Had now sided with the loyalist in their anti-communist views.

First Civil War

During this first Civil War the major outside powers would be Great Britain and Germany. EAM/ELAS would find themselves fighting both Greeks and Germans during this period. Even though EAM/ELAS was mostly being led by the KKE, a majority of its members were not communist. The resistance force would just provide them an "alternative to passivity and collaboration with the foreign enemy."¹⁵ In 1943, Italy had fallen to the Allied Forces, and the Greek resistance movement started to look at the future of Greece after occupation. To this end EAM/ELAS decided on a path of "unification of the resistance forces."¹⁶ The way EAM/ELAS went about this was with force and brutality. The groups that would not join EAM/ELAS were met with strong brutality, and this would only sow future enemies in later conflicts. This would bring EAM/ELAS in direct conflict with EDES.

Clashing of the Resistance Groups

Once they were allies, and even contributed to the first successful act of sabotage in Europe against the Axis Forces.¹⁷ Now were the most bitter of enemies. In this regard EDES would even see the occupying Germans" as the lesser of evils."¹⁸ EDES would have been

¹³ 4. Lars Baerentzen and David H. Close, "The British Defeat of EAM, 1944-5", in *The Greek Civil War, 1943-1950: Studies of Polarization*, ed. David H. Close (London: Routledge, 1993), 73.

¹⁴ Gerolymatos, *An International Civil War*, 82.

¹⁵ 3. Ole L. Smith, "The First Round'-Civil War During the Occupation," in *The Greek Civil War, 1943-1950: Studies of Polarization*, ed. David H. Close (London: Routledge, 1993), 58.

¹⁶ Smith, *The Greek Civil War*, 67.

¹⁷ Gerolymatos, *An International Civil War*, 73-74.

¹⁸ Smith, *The Greek Civil War*, 67. Gerolymatos, *An International Civil War*, 95.

destroyed if not for their suspected collaboration with the German army, who rather have the Greeks killing each other instead of Germans.¹⁹ During this time Britain would threaten both parties into a truce by threatening to stop supplying both resistance groups. Britain was also looking at the future and saw the importance of Greece post World War II, in regards to their recovery and influence in the Middle East.²⁰ Britain was able to promise delaying the return of the king which helped temporarily appease both EAM/ELAS and EDES, but the psychological damage and split between the two parties would not be alleviated so easily.

Second Civil War

The only foreign influence during this stage would be Great Britain. Britain had invested much into Greece, and were not willing to let this work be squandered. With this in mind they would play a major factor in post occupied Greece. Part of the truce between EAM/ELAS was to allow British forces to come into Greece with the pretext of helping facilitate a smooth transition post occupation, and allow for a democratic election to take place.²¹ What arose would be a breakdown between EAM/ELAS and the weak provisional Greek government backed by Britain. EAM/ELAS were known to be exceptionally ruthless to anyone they deemed as collaborators during the occupation.²² They were also aware that without having a major influence in the newly formed government. All the work EAM had done to become a political force would deteriorate, and their roles marginalized. When EAM/ELAS could not get what they saw as a suitable agreement finalized, war would return. What started as a simple protest in early December would turn into a tragic moment in Greek history, and would give EAM/ELAS the excuse to use military force within Athens.

¹⁹ Smith, *The Greek Civil War*, 66.

²⁰ Gerolymatos, *An International Civil War*, xii.

²¹ Baerentzen and Close, *The Greek Civil War*, 88.

²² Baerentzen and Close, *The Greek Civil War*, 78.

Start of Armed Conflict in the Second Civil War

To combat this, Britain and the government would allow collaborators to join the fight against EAM/ELAS since they shared anti-communist ideology, and they would bring 75,000 troops to Greece by the end of this second Civil War.²³ On the EAM/ELAS side of things they had seen the situation as a domestic dispute between themselves and the provisional government, and had feared provoking the British forces into action.²⁴ Unbeknownst to them, Churchill had given orders for a “full offensive action against ELAS.”²⁵ Like a true Greek tragedy, the resistance and their former allies would become enemies. Any resistance fighters who were not right winged would be “labeled traitors.”²⁶ This would contrast greatly from the world perspective of the leftist EAM/ELAS who were seen as the “Greek resistance.”²⁷ With the common German enemy gone. These two opposing political sides would clash, and there was no intermediary to intervene. Britain who should have been the intermediary had their own personal agenda to accomplish, and would involve themselves in what should have been a domestic situation.

The Way it Would Play Out

At the start of this second round of conflict EAM/ELAS would have success within Athens and Greece, but were never fully able to control Athens. Without accomplishing this goal, it allowed Britain to eventually take control of the situation and force ELAS disbandment. While ELAS was in control of a vast amount of Athens, the communist would commit atrocities to the citizens. They primarily targeted people thought to be collaborators, but many innocents would be caught in the urban crossfire. This in turn created a period

²³ Baerentzen and Close, *The Greek Civil War*, 89.

²⁴ Gerolymatos, *An International Civil War*, 130.

²⁵ Baerentzen and Close, *The Greek Civil War*, 86.

²⁶ Gerolymatos, *An International Civil War*, 134.

²⁷ Gerolymatos, *An International Civil War*, 173.

essentially of blood feuds. With the disbandment of the leftist, the rightist would rise to power and would persecute anyone they thought to be EAM. It would truly be a dark and sad period of Greek history, and sets the stage for the final phase of the Civil Wars.

Third Civil War

Participants

This final Civil War of Greece would involve more foreign powers than the previous ones. On one side you had Great Britain again, but joined this time with the United States of America. The opposition would be the communist countries of: The Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, Albania, and Bulgaria. This phase would be one of the most intense periods in European history, and different countries would become involved for different reasons.

Aftermath of the Second Civil War

The conclusion of the second Civil War, many people who had been associated with EAM would flee out of fear of being persecuted.²⁸ The stage was now set for the KKE to become the focal point. Surviving ELAS members would go to Albania to hide, and also would go to their traditional mountainous regions to attack the overzealous rightist.²⁹ The KKE would now create their own military branch known as the Democratic Army of Greece (DAG). They would be made up of communist, but also EAM sympathizers who would be stigmatized for life as communist.³⁰ If the government would have been more open minded and stronger to enforce their will. It could have been possible to prevent this needless war. At

²⁸ Gerolymatos, *An International Civil War*, 218.

²⁹ Nikos Marantzidis, "The Greek Civil War (1944-1949) and the International Communist System," *Journal of Cold War Studies* 15, no. 4 (2013): 34, accessed April 1, 2019, <https://muse-jhu-edu.ezproxy.uky.edu/article/534424/pdf>.

³⁰ Gerolymatos, *An International Civil War*, 228.

lass there was no one able to act as a mediator between these two opposing sides, and it would lead to delaying the Greek reconstruction efforts.

Western Powers

Britain and America would be very public in their support for the Greek government and their military the new Greek National Army (GNA). Unlike in the second Civil War, these two powers would primarily provide economic and materialistic support. Britain had lost public face with their heavy involvement in the previous domestic dispute.³¹ GNA would lack morale due to the makeup of its forces. The leftist would have sympathizers within the army, who had difficulty fighting fellow Greeks who helped during the resistance. While also fighting alongside Greeks who had collaborated with the Germans.³² Britain would also make the mistake of training the GNA in traditional warfare tactics, instead of guerilla warfare that they would be facing against DAG.³³

Communist Backers

Support for DAG was much more complicated. Britain's involvement gave precedence for the northern communist countries boarding Greece to support the KKE. Publicly the Soviet Union would not support the KKE. They would play a behind the scenes role so as not to provoke America during this Cold War period. The extent of this support is still not fully clear as all the information pertaining to this period has not been disclosed. Their support is evident in the fact that Yugoslavia, Albania, and Bulgaria would support the KKE. These countries would not have done so without the consent of the Soviet Union, who were the leaders of the communist movement. This dual approach by the Soviet Union is

³¹ Baerentzen and Close, *The Greek Civil War*, 90.

³² David H. Close and Thanos Veremis, "The Military Stuggle, 1945-9," in *The Greek Civil War, 1943-1950: Studies of Polarization*, ed. David H. Close (London: Routledge, 1993), 100.

³³ Close and Veremis, *The Greek Civil War*, 105.

evident in the story of Stalin claiming the Greek communist had no chance at victory.³⁴ Then on the other hand, the evidence of Soviet officials approving money being sent from Bulgaria.³⁵ During the start of the third Civil War, Yugoslavia would provide the most support for the KKE. Tito the leader of Yugoslavia had expansionist dreams, and to accomplish these goals he had wanted to take control of Greek Macedonia.³⁶ Greek Macedonia was heavily populated by Slavic Greeks, and they would end up comprising about half of the DAG force. To keep them as allies the KKE would promise to recognize their sovereignty if successful in winning the war.³⁷ This promise would go to undermine the KKE cause though, as the Greek government would use it as propaganda. They would claim the communist as trying to give away Greek territory.³⁸ It is interesting that this concept of a sovereign Macedonia country is still one that is highly disputed in Greece today. Further referencing the point of the project of the lasting impact the Civil Wars still have on modern society.

Conclusion of the Third Civil War

This tumultuous period of Civil Wars would end in 1949 for a variety of reasons. The three primary reasons would be: Americas involvement, Tito-Stalin split, and DAG change in strategy. America would become involved because Britain could no longer afford their presence in Greece, and would convince the Truman administration of the potential for communism to spread into Europe and the Middle East.³⁹

American Influence

³⁴ Gerolymatos, *An International Civil War*, 209-210.

³⁵ Marantzidis, "The Greek Civil War," 31.

³⁶ Gerolymatos, *An International Civil War*, 199.

³⁷ Gerolymatos, *An International Civil War*, 185.

³⁸ Gerolymatos, *An International Civil War*, 199.

³⁹ Gerolymatos, *An International Civil War*, 173.

America sent advisors to better manage the Greek military who had been struggling against the communist. America would claim to be preserving Greek democracy.⁴⁰ Yet, they were intervening in a domestic dispute because of their own personal fears of communism, and economic implications in the Middle East. This was done by two methods. First, they sent vast amounts of money that would be used to attract military service,⁴¹ and secondly, they would create a change in military leadership.⁴²

Effects of the Split Between Communist Powers

The Tito-Stalin schism would put a strain on the KKE supplies, as they would side with Stalin. Due to this, the KKE lost their major supporter in their war effort. They would still receive supplies through Albania and Bulgaria, but the effects would be more critical especially for the third reason above. Towards the end of the Civil War, the KKE leaders wanted to force a conclusive victory of the GNA. To accomplish this goal, they decided to abandon guerilla tactics that had been effective, and change the DAG into a more conventional army. This would lead to casualties they were not able to replace quickly, and also a conventional army was harder to maintain from a logistical perspective.⁴³

Aerial Photographs

⁴⁰ Gerolymatos, *An International Civil War*, 259.

⁴¹ Harris Jr, *Instilling Aggressiveness*, 31.

⁴² Harris Jr, *Instilling Aggressiveness*, 52.

⁴³ Harris Jr, *Instilling Aggressiveness*, 65-66.



This is just one example of the collection of aerial photographs that the British School of Athens has. The bottom of the photograph is called the frisket. It contains the information of what unit was making the flight, their sorties, date, altitude, and time. Using the photograph's number, it is then possible to use the database to determine the location it was taken. In studying a portion of these photographs some interesting things came to light. There appear to be many photographs taken of the different mountainous regions within Greece, and the only photographs taken after the Germany occupation all come from the Royal Air Force of Britain. The multitude of mountain photographs gives the impression that the Allied Forces were attempting to monitor the resistance groups, as these were regions occupying forces would not be found. The fact that only Britain was conducting these missions after occupation lead credence to this fact, and shows their individual interest in the Greek region.

⁴⁴ Royal Air Force, "D2_4235," photograph,(1945), from British School of Athens, *Aerial Photographs*.

Something else that was interesting. Was that in May of 1944 some photographs from the United States Air Force are listed as combat mapping. This would have occurred during the time of German occupation still. On the other hand, in August when the occupation was essentially over the photographs are listed as being done by reconnaissance squadrons. If given more time to study the collection it would be possible to find resistance locations. This photograph was chosen to show how close some towns were to the mountainous regions, and it would be these types of locations that ELAS/DAG would be able to recruit from in Northern Greece. This photograph specifically was taken in the Macedonia region north of Kavala. The flight had originally taken off from Thessaloniki.

Research Ethics

This is a topic that can be sensitive for some here in Greece. For that reason, it is important to do thorough research, and not create personal conclusions without looking at facts. This topic does pose an issue in that not all the facts are currently available for the average person. For example, the aerial photographs were highly classified information during World War II. As more time passes there will be more information regarding this period becoming declassified. Even when declassified permission was given by the librarian at the British School of Athens to use this photograph. Due to the sensitive subject it was also important to research the different sides involved in the war so as to create an unbiased project. The project proved difficult in that as an American communism is often looked down upon, and America portrayed as heroes of democracy and justice. In conducting the research for this project, the revelation of that this is not always the case is something that one must accept.

Conclusion

By the Numbers

There were many consequences of the Greek Civil Wars. The most important would be the staggering amount of lives lost. Not only the people that died in this decade of 1940, but also the new diaspora of Greeks that were created. The Civil Wars would claim 158,000 lives. Another 700,000 were displaced from their homes, which resulted in Athens growing to become as large as it is today. Lastly, 50,000 people were exiled, and they would take with them 28,000 children. Of these children less than half would return to Greece.⁴⁵ Another source claims 100,000 Greeks would relocate throughout Europe.⁴⁶ 12,000 are known to have been secretly taken from Albania to present day Uzbekistan by the Soviet Union.⁴⁷ Some of these people would never come close to seeing Greece again. These totals are beyond staggering. If the KKE had decide to participate in the 1946 elections maybe this last deadly round of Civil Wars could have been avoided, but that is easier to say with hindsight. Fact is that Greece between 1945-1946 would have seven different types of government.⁴⁸ This instability creates an environment where attempts for a dialogue are nonexistent.

How it Ended

Stalin would force the KKE/DAG into a cease fire in 1949. Greece was threatening to invade Albania in the name of self-defense.⁴⁹ Stalin wanted to minimize Americas involvement in the other Balkan communist countries he still had an influence in.⁵⁰ The Greeks communist would have no input to where they would be moved to, and they did not even get to decide on when to officially end the Civil War. Both the Greek government and communist parties would be controlled by their respective allies. That by the end of the Civil

⁴⁵ Gerolymatos, *An International Civil War*, 287.

⁴⁶ Kostis Karpozilos, "The Defeated of the Greek Civil War: From Fighters to Political Refugees in the Cold War," *Journal of Cold War Studies* 16, no. 3 (2014): 63, accessed April 1, 2019, <http://web.b.ebscohost.com.ezproxy.uky.edu/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=6&sid=e1beb8e9-7c07-4015-a6e6-06505770ef41%40sessionmgr101>.

⁴⁷ Karpozilos, "The Defeated of the Greek Civil War," 70.

⁴⁸ Harris Jr, *Instilling Aggressiveness*, 22.

⁴⁹ Karpozilos, "The Defeated of the Greek Civil War," 67-69.

⁵⁰ Gerolymatos, *An International Civil War*, 286.

Wars, it was hardly civil anymore, and became a country fought over by foreign powers with their own agendas.

Future Events Caused by the Civil Wars

America would have further military impacts on Greece and its government. The American ambassador to Greece would manipulate the election process in 1952 to ensure the victory for their supported candidate.⁵¹ Due to the involvement of America, the Greek military services once again believed themselves to be the sole protectors of Greece, and this would lead to the military coup that would result into a dictatorship of 1967.⁵² America would still be seen in a better light than Britain, as no America soldier would fight against a Greek during this period of warfare.⁵³

Greek communist would finally be recognized for their resistance efforts in 1982, and this would allow for them to finally safely return to their homeland from abroad.⁵⁴ This would be thirty-three years after the end of the last Civil Wars. Almost a whole generation would have passed, and the fortunate Greeks who still remembered their homeland finally were welcomed back.

Summary

Wars are always complicated situations, with different sides having their own justifications for waging it. Civil Wars tend to be more psychologically scarring to the inhabitants, and creates situations that are not easily forgotten. It becomes difficult to truly call one side the winner of these wars, as some of the animosity is still present today. There are many Greeks who still have not been able to return home, and many who died in exile far

⁵¹ Harris Jr, *Instilling Aggressiveness*, 103.

⁵² Harris Jr, *Instilling Aggressiveness*, 103.

⁵³ Gerolymatos, *An International Civil War*, 297.

⁵⁴ Gerolymatos, *An International Civil War*, 287 and 299.

from their homes. Politics are a matter that can easily become emotionally charged, especially when there are other countries imposing their will in decisions. What becomes important is not to give into the fear an opposing side may have, and to always maintain an open dialogue. True democracy is found when a dialogue where people can express themselves is nurtured.

Reflections

I truly feel blessed in having had the opportunity to come to Athens to study for a semester, and having the amazing opportunity at interning at the British School of Athens. I never would have imagined writing a paper on modern history, and it was something that even shocked my family. In having the wonderful opportunity in working to conserve the aerial photographs, they struck a chord within me, and I wanted to learn as much as possible over this time period. I am grateful in having the opportunity to consult with the librarians of the British School and my professor for this class. I was given the opportunity to ask them for readings, ideas, and general guidance on this topic. I would say that I have grown to appreciate modern history much more than I used to. As a historian and a researcher this project helped me grow in these fields, but I feel that more importantly I was able to grow on a personal level.

This period in Greece reminded me tremendously of the path current state of affairs in the world. People are so emotionally charged in choosing a side and position to support. It truly feels that this extreme type of polarization can occur once again, and that is a scary thought. As more information becomes declassified, I hope that more people are given the opportunity to study these events in their entirety and with integrity. As sad as the events that occurred were. It would be all that much sadder if we are not able to learn from the mistakes of others. It is our responsibility as the current generation and teachers of the future ones to

guide people down open communication. In the end we are all flesh and blood, and there is no need for exclusivity. Imagine what the world would be like if we could all talk to one another in a civil manner. It is my hope that I was able to give this topic some justice, and that it could possibly be used for further research.

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