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**Bachelor's Thesis**

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**FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES**  
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**Greek Military Junta in Family Reminiscences**

Bachelor's Thesis

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Study programme: Area Studies

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Year of the defence: 2024

## **Declaration**

1. I hereby declare that I have compiled this thesis using the listed literature and resources only.
2. I hereby declare that my thesis has not been used to gain any other academic title.
3. I fully agree to my work being used for study and scientific purposes.
4. During the preparation of this thesis, the author used interviews in order to conduct their research. After using this tool/service, the author reviewed and edited the content as necessary and takes full responsibility for the content of the publication.

In Prague on April 29, 2024

Jan Roček

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## **Abstract**

This thesis examines the period of the Greek military junta through the lenses of then-children's reminiscences. These children, grew up dominantly in Athens, the capital and most likely place where events took place during the junta. Their family, and cultural memory serve as the key component to examining and analysing their collective memory of the Greek junta. The period of the quasi-dictatorship from 1967 until 1974 is to this day regarded as one of the darkest in the modern Greek history. During the colonels' era, political opposition and nonconforming citizens were either persecuted and imprisoned, or exiled to islands. Cultural and political freedom and personal rights were strictly limited. Despite the interviewees being merely children attending primary school, their social circles, families, cultural events, and subsequent years enabled them to create memories, as if they directly witnessed most of the events associated with the junta. The first part of the thesis encompasses theory of collective memories, second and third parts focus on modern Greek history since the end of the Civil War, and on the Greek military junta. The last three sections include the analysis of three concepts which pervaded each interviewees' memories, being the symbolism in education, fear of communists, and giving the junta a meaning. Neither of the interviewees' families were directly affected by the colonels' regime, yet all of them despise junta and have mostly negative memories for the colonels.

## **Abstrakt**

Tato práce zkoumá období řeckých dějin, kdy plukovnická junta v Řecku vládla více než sedm let. Za pomoci kvalitativních rozhovorů je na období vlády junty nahlíženo skrze perspektivu tehdejších dětí, které se většinou narodily v Athenách, hlavním městě, ale především místě hlavních událostí v období junty. Rodinné a kulturní vzpomínky jsou klíčovým faktorem v rámci analýzy kolektivní paměti. Období kvazi-diktatury mezi lety 1967 a 1974 je dodnes považováno za jedno z nejtemnějších v moderní řecké historii. Během této vlády plukovníků docházelo k perzekuci, věznění či vyhnanství nepohodlných občanů. Kulturní, politické, ale především osobní svobody byly v té době téměř neexistující. Přestože všichni účastníci rozhovorů navštěvovaly



teprve základní školu, jejich sociální a rodinné kruhy, ale i kulturní události jim umožnily si vytvořit na období junty nepřímé vzpomínky, jako by období vlády plukovníků naplno prožily. V první části práce se věnují teorii kolektivní paměti, v druhé a třetí analyzují dějiny Řecka od občanské války až po období pádu junty. Poslední tři části se věnují třem konceptům, které zmiňují mí respondenti. Jedná se o symboliku ve vzdělávacím systému, strach z komunismu, a to, kdy dali konceptu “junty” význam. Přestože jejich vzpomínky na období junty jsou převážně negativní, je nutné poznamenat, že nikdo z nich, ani jejich rodiny, netrpěl či nebyl perzekuován.

### **Keywords**

The Greek junta, collective memory, family reminiscences, interviews, the colonels, memory studies

### **Title**

Greek Military Junta in Family Reminiscences

### **Název Práce**

Řecká vojenská junta v rodinných vzpomínkách

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# Greek Military Junta in Family Reminiscences

## Introduction

During the early days of the Greek junta, the local police enforcement unit visited villagers surrounding Preveza, a coastal town by the Ionian Sea in northwestern Greece, to inform them about the new pre-emptive measure: all weapons were to cease in use, even those used for hunting. The news created a public commotion, as hunting was one of the main sources of living. The reason the measure was enacted, as Sotiris recalls in our interview, was to prevent any armed revolt against the colonels, known in Greek history, as the junta.<sup>1</sup>

The era from 1967 to 1974 is often regarded as one of the darkest in modern Greek history because it still represents traumatic experience to the ones who have witnessed it, and through indirect memories, even to those who have not. The purpose of this thesis is not to judge junta's governing, verify information from the interviewees, or examine junta's political and economic consequences. Rather, the purpose is to analyse and interpret memories of people in Greece during the period. The prime subjects of this research contemporary will be middle-class representatives, who were at a grade schooler age when growing up in Athens during the junta period and later completed their higher education. Despite having vague direct memories from that period, these people remember to strongly oppose junta's ideology.

My primary sources are in-depth interviews that I conducted in Athens with six Greeks (three men and three women) who now form couples, and were born between 1960 and 1967, thus before the colonels seized power in Greece and implemented dictatorial practices. By using the interviewees' family life stories, I aim to offer a perception of the junta through the unique lenses of family, and cultural memory<sup>2</sup> All interviews were semi-structured with prepared topics, which were then freely discussed and narrated by each interviewee.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See Appendix, Figure 1.1, part 3A.

<sup>2</sup> Amos Funkenstein, "Collective Memory and Historical Consciousness", *History and Memory* 1, no. 1 (1989): 5–26, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25618571> (downloaded on 12 February 2024).

<sup>3</sup> Karen E. Rosenblum, "The In-Depth Interview: Between Science and Sociability", *Sociological Forum* 2, no. 2 (1987): 388–400, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/684479> (downloaded on 10 March 2024).

Since this thesis examines aspects of growing up under the junta through testimonies of then-children, which were by large transmitted to them through their families and social circles, to preserve privacy, names and other personal information of the interviewees will be anonymized. They will be substituted with randomly selected pseudonyms without any relevant meaning or connotation to their family or story.<sup>4</sup>

The thesis expands the historical and political reflection of the military junta in modern Greece, particularly through the memories of family life, social circles, and cultural occasions through the eyes of children, who were not able to yet comprehend certain difficulties of that period. These children reminisce about the era mostly through their family memory, and their own traumatic experience, especially regarding the fall of the junta and violent uprisings towards the end of this period. Even though many articles and books concerning the junta in Greece have been published,<sup>5</sup> few focus on the youngest of the population. This thesis seeks to focus on that gap.

In the first of six sections, I will introduce the types of collective memory used for the analysis, and briefly describe each interviewee's family background. In the latter two, I outline the overall complexity of events following the Civil War in Greece, ending with basic characteristics of the military junta. In the last three sections, I will analyse parts of interviews according to three intertwined topics: reminiscences of junta related to elementary school education, memories of the fear of communists and use of propaganda, and memories of how the interviewees produced their meaning of junta as a political concept.

The methodology is a mix of idiographic research, along with thematic analysis. Using these two methods will allow me to critically examine each response from the interviews, recorded for this research, and selected parts available as transcripts.<sup>6</sup> My primary sources are in-depth interviews that I conducted in Athens with six Greeks (three men and three women) who now form couples, and were born between 1960 and 1967, thus before the colonels seized power in Greece and implemented

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<sup>4</sup> See Appendix, Figure 1.1.

<sup>5</sup> Dimitri A. Sotiropoulos, "The Authoritarian Past and Contemporary Greek Democracy", *South European Society and Politics* 15, no. 3 (2010): 449-465, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13608746.2010.513604> (downloaded on 5 April 2024).

<sup>6</sup> See Appendix, Figure 1.1.

dictatorial practices. By using the interviewees' family life stories, I aim to offer a perception of the junta through the unique lenses of family, and cultural memory.<sup>7</sup> All interviews were semi-structured with prepared topics, which were then freely discussed and narrated by each interviewee.<sup>8</sup>

Since this thesis examines aspects of growing up under the junta through testimonies of then-children, which were by large transmitted to them through their families and social circles, to preserve privacy, names and other personal information of the interviewees will be anonymized. They will be substituted with randomly selected pseudonyms without any relevant meaning or connotation to their family or story.<sup>9</sup>

Conceptually, I will proceed mainly from Assmann's interpretation and analysis of Maurice Halbwachs' theory on collective memory.<sup>10</sup> This type of memory plays a key role in the analysis of interviews and will be used to explain three concepts towards the end of this thesis. While academic literature using testimonies about the junta are based on adults, or elderly people, I aim to narrate the memory of those who were too young to comprehend it. Despite reminiscences developing their opinion on the junta overtime through their families, social circles, or cultural experience, their own education and findings also contributed to their stance on the junta.

There is an insubstantial amount of scholarly research conducted on cultural and social memory, and education. As Julia Paulson, an Associate Professor in Education, acknowledges, the education system (schools) as a site of memory has been an undiscovered field. In her work, she examined imprints of domestic political agenda, and international and global events, which function as memory-shaping processes to students of various socio-economic groups.<sup>11</sup> Based on her arguments, regarding the Colombian example, I attempt to approach the concept of memories of education similarly, conceptualising schools as sites of memory.

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<sup>7</sup> Amos Funkenstein, "Collective Memory and Historical Consciousness", *History and Memory* 1, no. 1 (1989): 5–26, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25618571> (downloaded on 12 February 2024).

<sup>8</sup> Karen E. Rosenblum, "The In-Depth Interview: Between Science and Sociability", *Sociological Forum* 2, no. 2 (1987): 388–400 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/684479> (downloaded on 10 March 2024).

<sup>9</sup> See Appendix, Figure 1.1.

<sup>10</sup> Aleida Assmann, "Transformations between History and Memory", *Social Research* 75, no. 1 (2008): 49–72 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40972052> (downloaded on 10 October 2023).

<sup>11</sup> Julia Paulson, Nelson Abiti, Julian Bermeo Osorio, Carlos Arturo Charria Hernández, Duong Keo, Peter Manning, Lizzi O. Milligan, et al. "Education as Site of Memory: Developing a Research Agenda", *International Studies in Sociology of Education* 29, no. 4 (2020): 429–51, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09620214.2020.1743198> (downloaded on 10 March 2024).

On the contrary, memories of propaganda are a well-discovered area for anthropologists and other disciplines. Scholars often focus on “propaganda of memory”, analysis of regimes distorting past events through propaganda, and how it affected the examined group. Miguel Vázquez-Liñán, an Associate Professor in the Department of Journalism at the University of Seville, articulates that the use of propaganda and distortion of collective memory (“re-writing history”) in Russia serves the utmost purpose of maintaining power and ideology of the ruling elite. He associates this with the intention of preserving the regime for a long period of time.<sup>12</sup> However, the case of the junta was not such a case. Instead, in my analysis, I will use Professor Emeritus of Communication Studies J. Michael Sproule’s arguments, working with types of propaganda devices, which parallel the arguments used by the junta in Greece.<sup>13</sup> Further, I will use Michael Denison’s work, who associated the use of propaganda to accustoming the Turkmen people to Niyazov’s reign and uniting them based on their national identity. In his analysis, Denison, a scholar focusing on Central Asia, describes the use of propaganda by the regime as a transitional period.<sup>14</sup> Denison’s example is applicable to the concept of the Greek junta, since the colonels aimed at containing the communist ideology, promoting their own success and nationalism, and establishing and legitimising their reign.

Memories of giving junta a meaning stem from Efraim Sicher’s article on the conceptualisation of various post-Holocaust narratives. When examining the memories of giving junta a meaning, certain parallels exist. Detailed and descriptive research by Sicher, an Israeli literary scholar, conceptualises different understandings of the Holocaust based on their origin, either through mass media, official narratives, or as of lately, distorted by cultural adaptations.<sup>15</sup> In this thesis, I do not consider cultural adaptations of the junta to distort narratives, yet focus mainly on each interviewees’ background, and family memory, as the main factor, which influenced memories of

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<sup>12</sup> Miguel Vázquez-Liñán, “Historical Memory and Political Propaganda in the Russian Federation”, *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 50, no. 2 (2017): 77–86, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/48610470> (downloaded on 10 April 2024).

<sup>13</sup> J. Michael Sproule, “Authorship and Origins of the Seven Propaganda Devices: A Research Note”, *Rhetoric and Public Affairs* 4, no. 1 (2001): 135-143, <http://jstor.org/stable/41939653> (downloaded on 20 April 2024).

<sup>14</sup> Michael Denison, “The Art of the Impossible: Political Symbolism, and the Creation of National Identity and Collective Memory in Post-Soviet Turkmenistan”, *Europe-Asia Studies* 61, no. 7 (2009): 1167–1187, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/27752343> (downloaded on 3 April 2024).

<sup>15</sup> Efraim Sicher, “The Future of the Past: *Countermemory and Postmemory in Contemporary American Post-Holocaust Narratives*”, *History and Memory* 12, no. 2 (2000): 56–91, <https://doi.org/10.2979/his.2000.12.2.56> (downloaded on 5 April 2024).



giving the junta a meaning. Additionally, the analysis of memories of giving the junta a meaning stems from Dimitri A. Sotiropoulos' article on the Greek junta, which encounters memories of the junta, based on political orientation and age.<sup>16</sup> This article proves crucial when interpreting memories of the interviewees.

### **Growing up under the junta**

When approaching the Greek junta through the lenses of collective memory, narratives of life under the junta can differ from direct testimonies. As Aleida Assmann describes, memory is a particularly important part of the past, thus we should no longer ask “what happened,” but “how is it remembered,” or “what shadow does the past cast over the present”?<sup>17</sup> Since my interviewees were not able to comprehend the severe complexities of the regime, their family reminiscences shaped their opinions on how to approach the junta. According to Andr az Kezsei, we can retain most memory capacity between the ages of 13 and 25.<sup>18</sup> However, neither of the interviewees were at that age.

Each personal recollection at a smaller age than 13, might signify either something important, or mundane to the extent, it became deeply embedded in one's mind. These stored fragments are often part of traumatic experiences. As E. Byron Anderson explains, memory is a key aspect of our future lives. Memory, along with traditions, are processes by which we construct personal and social narratives.<sup>19</sup> Based on this argument, the interviewees' narratives of their personal experience and their family memory then contribute to their future lives, and in this case, their opinion on the junta.

I conducted interviews with three couples in their 60s in a dialogue about their personal and family life during the junta, their direct memories, their school experience, and general opinions on the junta. Questions and topics for the interviews were constructed in a way which regarded each

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<sup>16</sup> Dimitri A. Sotiropoulos, “The Authoritarian Past and Contemporary Greek Democracy”, *South European Society and Politics* 15, no. 3 (2010): 449–465, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13608746.2010.513604> (downloaded on 5 April 2024).

<sup>17</sup> Aleida Assmann, “History, Memory, and the Genre of Testimony”, *Poetics Today* 27, no. 2 (June 2006): 261–273, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40972052> (downloaded on 10 October 2023).

<sup>18</sup> Andr as Keszei, “Memory and the Contemporary Relevance of the Past”, *The Hungarian Historical Review* 6, no. 4 (2017): 804–824, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/26374407> (downloaded on 1 February 2024).

<sup>19</sup> E. Byron Anderson, “Memory, Tradition, and the Re-membling of Suffering”, *Religious Education* 105, no. 2 (2010): 124–139, [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/234597088\\_Memory\\_Tradition\\_and\\_the\\_Re-Membling\\_of\\_Suffering](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/234597088_Memory_Tradition_and_the_Re-Membling_of_Suffering) (downloaded on 20 November 2023).

interviewee's family history and socio-economic group. These groups, sorted by their social and economical status, are based on differentiation provided by the American Psychological Association.<sup>20</sup>

Concepts of family, and cultural memory contributed to this research significantly when working with results from interviews. These are all types of collective memory. As Astrid Erll remarks in her article, collective memory and individual memory are intertwined. According to her, collective memory is a projection of multiple individual memories, which then create a complete picture.<sup>21</sup> This reasoning is useful when examining each interviewee's memories of giving junta a meaning, since they are individual experiences that determined their own perceptions of the junta.

Since the results of this thesis are based on a collection of different narratives from people who were brought up during the junta, their family memory serves as the key component when examining the period. This type of memory is the source of one's social and personal identity, one of the most crucial factors when growing up.<sup>22</sup> In all cases here, the interviewees had to rely mostly on their family, social circles, and diminishing cultural background of the period. Cultural memory would be another key concept used to examine responses. Ann Swindler and Jorge Ardití note that events are more likely to be remembered "if they happened during one's lifetime, if they are commemorated, if they touched people personally, and if they concern the public centre of national life".<sup>23</sup> This type of collective memory serves participants to construct their own narratives of the vague reminiscences they have of the junta. Contrary to the examples in Swindler's and Ardití's article, most of my interviewees did not judge the junta based on their personal experience, but instead on their conclusions developed during their time in high school, university, or their adulthood.

To position myself as an interviewer, it is important to note that I have known each interviewee already prior to the interviews. This might come as an advantage because the period examined in this thesis is still considered a sensitive topic for many people in Greece. Our already

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<sup>20</sup> "Education and Socioeconomic Status", American Psychological Association, last updated in 2017. <https://www.apa.org/pi/ses/resources/publications/education> (accessed on 22 March 2024).

<sup>21</sup> Astri Erll, "Locating Family in Cultural Memory Studies", *Journal of Comparative Family Studies* 42, no. 3 (2011): 303-318, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2083368> (downloaded on 27 January 2024).

<sup>22</sup> András Keszei, "Memory and the Contemporary Relevance of the Past", *The Hungarian Historical Review* 6, no. 4 (2017): 804-824, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/26374407> (downloaded on 1 February 2024).

<sup>23</sup> Ann Swidler and Jorge Ardití, "The New Sociology of Knowledge", *Annual Review of Sociology* 20 (1994): 305-329, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2083368> (downloaded on 12 February 2024).

existing relationship might have supported the authenticity of each response, and partially made each interviewee feel more comfortable. Nonetheless, I can be also perceived as a foreigner (Ξένος) which in Greece can have negative connotations. To systematically structure the latter part of this thesis, in which relevant extracts of interviews will be shared, the most organised way to do so was by selecting most frequented topics which were parallel, and independently reflected by each interviewee, or rather each couple. Therefore, in this part I will briefly introduce each interviewee couple and their families since their family background plays a key role in the thematic analysis. Said interviews engaged three couples, currently in their 60's about topics ranging from any of their direct memories, through their personal and family life during the junta, to general opinion on the junta and when and how it had developed.

Anna and Alexandros will substitute the first couple's actual names. Regarding their family background, Anna comes from a single-parent family. Her mother had a small clothing business which provided for the whole family. Despite being born in 1965, Anna's family stories are abundant, since she lived in the centre of Athens, where most events occurred during the junta. Attending a private school near the centre would place her at least in the Greek middle class. In contrast to Anna, her husband, Alexandros, belonged to a working-class family. Born in 1963 in the suburbs of Athens, in an area called Marousi, Alexandros' family recollections of the junta are mostly superficial. His father was a worker in the Department of Transportation for the Greek state, and his mother was a housewife. Alexandros admits that despite living in the suburbs of Athens, his junta memories were very different to his wife's. He elaborated that they only heard certain rumours about the junta in Marousi.

As for the second couple, Nicky was born in 1963 to a middle-class family living in Daphne, a part near the centre of Athens. Her mother was part of the communist resistance during the Second World War. Their family was never persecuted for their associations, despite it being considered a taboo. Following the end of the Second World War, Nicky's mother, Eliza, divorced her first husband. From that marriage Nicky has older step siblings who moved to the United States and Canada prior to the junta. Her spouse, Nikos was born in 1965 in Agios Dimitrios, another suburb of Athens. At four

years old, his father passed away, and his mother was a single caretaker. Her utmost worry was to provide for the family, therefore, Nikos does not remember much from the junta period.

The last interviewed couple were Sofia and Sotiris. Born in 1963 in the centre of Athens, Sofia lived with her mother working as a seamstress, and her father was a mechanical engineer in Metaxourgeio. Back then, this was still an industrial part of Athens. Her spouse, Sotiris, was born in 1963 in Preveza into a communist family. Looking for job opportunities, his family had to move to Athens in 1970, to a neighbourhood called Ampelokipoi. Despite being situated right in the centre of Athens, they still felt like complete strangers in the metropolis. Well-educated, his father eventually found a job as a baker, and his mother would work in a pharmaceutical company. Sotiris has two older brothers who often participated in anti-junta events.

Most of my interviewees' families could have been characterised as the lower-middle class, neither economically nor politically indisposed. Additionally, all have completed higher education, and as of their adulthood, are climbing the social ladder to the upper-middle class. The choice of all of my interviewees being born in Athens (apart from Sotiris, who moved there in 1970), is not accidental, since the capital was the place of most political protests during the junta. They also share one more trait; they all despise junta, even though the regime did not directly affect their families.

### **Between the Civil war and the junta**

The pre-junta years, regarded here as the period between World War II and the junta, are important parts of the family histories, and were strongly influenced by the ongoing Cold War. Non-democratic regimes and the chaotic political situation in Greece offered ground for junta's colonels to seize power in 1967.<sup>24</sup> The following part aims to explain the events that lead to the coup of colonels, and to outline the overall political situation in Greece. It is important to keep in mind that during these years, Greece was a monarchy with strong influence from the Orthodox Church. Both entities were inclining towards more conservative approaches and less democratic practices.<sup>25</sup> The following part aims to highlight the historical and political context in which the families, especially parents of the

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<sup>24</sup> George Kaloudis, "TRANSITIONAL DEMOCRATIC POLITICS IN GREECE", *International Journal on World Peace* 17, no. 1 (2000): 35–59, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20753241> (downloaded on 18 March 2024).

<sup>25</sup> Victor Fernández Soriano, "Facing the Greek Junta: The European Community, the Council of Europe and the Rise of Human-Rights Politics in Europe", *European Review of History: Revue Européenne d'histoire* 24, no. 3 (2017): 358–376, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13507486.2017.1282432> (downloaded on 7 April 2024).

interviewees, were growing up. Despite the section encompassing their family memories marginally, it outlines the overall political context in Greece and the difficulties of the pre-junta period.

At the end of the Second World War, an armed conflict between resistance groups fighting German occupants started slowly transitioning into the Civil War, which would last from 1946 until 1949.<sup>26</sup> During the Second World War, the north of Greece, and especially its mountainous areas were places where the Greek People's Liberation Army (Ellinikós Laikós Apeleftherotikós Stratós, ELAS) held strong positions against the occupants.<sup>27</sup> In ELAS, the resistance groups consisted mostly of communists, as is the case of Nicky's mother, Eliza. She joined the partisans when she was only 17. Her task was to secretly distribute pamphlets with agenda regarding Nazi resistance activities. Eliza was arrested and spent three months in prison, while being pregnant. After the end of the Second World War, during the interwar period, she lost her baby. As a result, she distanced herself from any politics, which prevented her, and her family from problems with the regime.<sup>28</sup>

Regarding the resistance groups, the main opponent of ELAS was the Greek National Republican League (Ethnikós Dimokratikós Ellinikós Síndesmos, EDES), consisting of republicans, and conservative anti-communists. After the end of the Civil War, in short, the communists were defeated with the support of the Western powers, particularly the United States.<sup>29</sup> Implementation of the Truman doctrine for Greece and Turkey in 1947 and subsequent Marshall plan in 1948, a financial aid to European countries, ensured Greece would stay within the Western sphere of influence, and the monarchy restored. The goal was to contain communism and cease its spread.<sup>30</sup>

In 1950 the first post-Civil War elections were held, after which the Liberal coalition managed to form a government. Due to diverse political parties participating in the coalition, there were eight

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<sup>26</sup> Amikam Nachmani, "Civil War and Foreign Intervention in Greece: 1946-49", *Journal of Contemporary History* 25, no. 4 (1990): 489–522, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/260759> (downloaded on 20 February 2024).

<sup>27</sup> Thanasis D. Sfikas, "War and Peace in the Strategy of the Communist Party of Greece, 1945–1949", *Journal of Cold War Studies* 3, no. 3 (2001): 5–30, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26925133> (downloaded on 10 April 2024).

<sup>28</sup> See Appendix, Figure 1.1, part 2A.

<sup>29</sup> John O. Iatrides and Nicholas X. Rizopoulos, "The International Dimension of the Greek Civil War", *World Policy Journal* 17, no. 1 (2000): 101–102, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40209681> (downloaded on 17 February 2024).

<sup>30</sup> Stephanie Hinnershitz, "The Marshall Plan and Postwar Economic Recovery", *THE NATIONAL WWII MUSEUM*, updated on 30 March 2022. <https://www.nationalww2museum.org/war/articles/marshall-plan-and-postwar-economic-recovery> (downloaded on 6 July 2022).

different government cabinets in two years.<sup>31</sup> In the beginning of the Cold War, the first post-war left-wing political party – The United Democratic Left (Eniea Dimokratiki Aristera, EDA) – was formed in 1951, offering an electoral alternative to some former members of the leftist resistance, and allowing the left to politically survive. This was due to the disqualification order of the Communist Party of Greece (Komunistikó Kóma Eládas, KKE) in 1951.<sup>32</sup> In 1952 Greece and Turkey were accepted to be part of NATO, further securing Greece to the West.<sup>33</sup>

Soon after joining NATO in 1953, Alexandros Papagos, a member of the resistance against Nazis during earlier stages of the Second World War, won the elections with his party Greek Rally (Ellinikós Synagermós, ES). Papagos' authoritarian regime was strongly supported by the West, especially by the United States, due to an ongoing fear of Soviet expansion from the North.<sup>34</sup> Although an army officer, one of his attempts to secure and preserve power was to separate the Greek army from the state's authority.<sup>35</sup> Following Papagos' death in 1955, Konstantinos Karamanlis, former Minister of Labour, was chosen as Papagos' successor and entrusted by the King to form the government. Becoming the prime minister, Karamanlis partially transformed ES to National Radical Union (Ethnikí Rizospastikí Énosis, ERE). The situation in Greece became more severe, both due to political and economic insecurity. As Nikola Karasová explains in her thesis "Parakratos in Post-Civil War Greece: Reality and Interpretation", Karamanlis was merely a representative of a quasi-state, rather than a sovereign country. In fact, the army and police, along with the assistance of the United

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<sup>31</sup> Among the most prominent ministers were names like Sofoklis Venizelos from the Liberal Party, Nikolaos Plastiras from the National Progressive Center Union (Ethniki Proodeftiki Enosis Kentrou, EPEK), or Georgios Papandreou from the homonymous party.

<sup>32</sup> Marcus Wheeler, "Greek Political Perspectives", *Government and Opposition* 3, no. 3 (1968): 339–51, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/44481878> (downloaded on 14 April 2024).

<sup>33</sup> "NATO member countries", North Atlantic Treaty Organization, last updated March 11 2024. [https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics\\_52044.htm](https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_52044.htm) (accessed on 15 March 2024).

<sup>34</sup> Christos Kassimeris, "United States Intervention in Post-War Greek Elections: From Civil War to Dictatorship", *Diplomacy & Statecraft* 20, no. 4 (2009): 679–96, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09592290903455790> (downloaded on 28 March 2024).

<sup>35</sup> Pavel Hradečný and Růžena Dostálová, and others, "DĚJINY ŘECKA" (Praha: NLN, 1998), 482-495.

States and CIA, were in charge.<sup>36</sup> These factors contributed to ambiguities regarding Karamanlis' personality, since it was him, who presumed power, following the junta's fall.<sup>37</sup>

In short, the regime was hostile to any communist tendencies. Persecutions and arrests of political and non-political opposition were common practice. As most of my interviewees were able to describe in their testimonies, the exile and/or imprisonment of non-conforming people to prisoner's camps on Greek islands without a just trial was a practice associated not only with Papadopoulos and his colonels, yet also with their political predecessors.<sup>38</sup> As historians Peter Siani-Davis and Stefanos Katsikas confirm, this may support the argument that the junta did not differ substantially from previous regimes.<sup>39</sup> The subsequent resolution of the Cuban Crisis in 1962 led to dwindling American interest in Greece. Before, the United States had installed numerous batteries of mid-range rockets in Greece that posed a threat to the Soviet Union. As part of an agreement to de-escalate the tensions between the East and West, the United States agreed to withdraw these rockets and decrease their military presence in the region, thus ultimately weakening the support for Karamanlis' government.<sup>40</sup>

Karamanlis' policies represented only the pinnacle of already non-democratic 1950's and part of 1960's, during which political opposition to either the government or the monarchy was often imprisoned, and freedom of speech was limited. Thus, the period, in which the interviewees' families, particularly their parents, grew up in, were nonetheless challenging times overshadowed by the geopolitical events of the Cold War, strong presence of foreign forces, and repression of non-conforming citizens.

On the domestic scene, the number of students in universities nearly tripled between 1960 and 1974. As Kostis Kornetis explains, this radical increase of students was caused by "growing demand

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<sup>36</sup> Nikola Karasová, "Parakratos in Post-Civil War Greece: Reality and Interpretation" (dissertation thesis, Charles University, Prague, 2021), 151.

<sup>37</sup> Kostis Kornetis, *Children of the Dictatorship: Student Resistance, Cultural Politics, and the "Long 1960s" in Greece* (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2013), 292.

<sup>38</sup> See Appendix, Figure 1.1.

<sup>39</sup> PETER SIANI-DAVIES and STEFANOS KATSIKAS, "National Reconciliation After Civil War: The Case of Greece", *Journal of Peace Research* 46, no. 4 (2009): 563–565, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25654436> (downloaded on 10 February 2024).

<sup>40</sup> Lykourgos Kourkouvelas, "Denuclearization on NATO's Southern Front: Allied Reactions to Soviet Proposals, 1957–1963", *Journal of Cold War Studies* 14, no. 4 (2012): 197–215, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26924154> (downloaded on 15 February 2024).

for specialized technocratic personnel.”<sup>41</sup> Students were able to overcome socio-economic obstacles due to the liberal EK government removing tuition fees, which led to an increase of students from the poor and agricultural regions in Greece. Such is the case of Anna’s cousin, Antonis, born in 1950 in Aegio, a village in the Peloponnese. As Anna describes in her interview, Antonis studied Naval Mechanical Engineering at the National Technical University of Athens from 1969 until 1974.<sup>42</sup>

More evident calls for reforms appeared in Greek society as a by-product of the increase in educated population. In 1963, a new radical movement, the Lambrakis Democratic Youth (Lambrakides), entered the cultural and political scene. This particular movement followed the steps of their deceased role model, Grigoris Lambrakis, an independent, leftist, and pacifist politician nominated by EDA. Lambrakis was murdered by a group of nationalist fanatics in 1963. His murder created a commotion, escalating in masses of attendants at his funeral, and establishing the biggest student movement in Greece.<sup>43</sup>

### **Greece under the junta**

On the 21<sup>st</sup> of April 1967, a group of colonels, led by Georgios Papadopoulos, initiated a coup. This toppled the government and installed a military government that would reign in Greece for more than seven years. During this era, the junta regime persecuted political opposition, propaganda and censorship were used to spread and retain influence, and police and repressive forces ensured no one would resist. The “Revolution”, as was the coup called by the colonels, semantically represented a quasi-dictatorial government, which broadened and legitimised non-democratic practices already known from the 1950’s and 1960’s.<sup>44</sup>

The “Revolution” happened approximately one month before the elections planned in May 1967. Back then, the polls showed increasing popularity of a centre-left oriented political party, the

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<sup>41</sup> Kostis Kornetis, *Children of the Dictatorship: Student Resistance, Cultural Politics, and the “Long 1960s” in Greece* (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2013), 13.

<sup>42</sup> See Appendix, Figure 1.1, part II.

<sup>43</sup> Efi Avdela, “‘Corrupting and Uncontrollable Activities’: Moral Panic about Youth in Post-Civil-War Greece”, *Journal of Contemporary History* 43, no. 1 (2008): 44, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/30036488> (downloaded on 2 February 2024).

<sup>44</sup> Adamantia Pollis, “The State, the Law, and Human Rights in Modern Greece”, *Human Rights Quarterly* 9, no. 4 (1987): 587–614, <https://doi.org/10.2307/761912> (downloaded on 10 March 2024).



Centre Union (Enosis Kentrou, EK),<sup>45</sup> along with its leader, Georgios Papandreou.<sup>46</sup> Papandreou intended to stay neutral within the ongoing Cold War and aimed to distance Greece from the Western sphere of influence. Thus, his intentions would not have been perceived gladly by Washington.<sup>47</sup> The takeover by the junta prevented EK and Papandreou from winning the elections and affirmed Greece would keep close ties with the United States and its foreign politics.<sup>48</sup>

Once the colonels took over Greece, arrests of political opponents became common once again legitimised by legislation, and later by altering the constitution.<sup>49</sup> People suspected of inclination or association with communists were restricted to travel abroad. Their passports were confiscated, and in most extreme cases, they were either imprisoned, or “exiled” to Aegean islands, most prominently Giaros, or Makronisos. This was confirmed by the interviewees.<sup>50</sup> In Sofia’s case, it was her godfather’s father, who was imprisoned:

Yes, he was exiled, the father of my godfather was exiled. Yes, yes, but I don't know details about it. I don't even know what specific island was it. Because they were, they were silent about it. He didn't even want people to know about it because he had, he was selling shoes, my godfather. And he was afraid that even clients wouldn't come to his shop because his father was in an island.<sup>51</sup>

The colonels cancelled planned elections and prohibited all political parties. Censorship prevailed through media and public spaces, and cultural freedom was a taboo.<sup>52</sup> The colonels and

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<sup>45</sup> The EK was established by Georgios Papandreou in 1961. This party offered an alternative to the already existing but unpopular centrist parties.

<sup>46</sup> Nikola Karasová, “Parakratos in Post-Civil War Greece: Reality and Interpretation” (dissertation thesis, Charles University, Prague, 2021), 8.

<sup>47</sup> LOUIS KLAREVAS, “Were the Eagle and the Phoenix Birds of a Feather? The United States and the Greek Coup of 1967”, *Diplomatic History* 30, no. 3 (2006): 471–508, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24915022> (downloaded on 1 March 2024).

<sup>48</sup> Stephen G. Xydis, “Coups and Countercoups in Greece, 1967-1973 (with Postscript)”, *Political Science Quarterly* 89, no. 3 (1974): 507-538, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2148452> (downloaded on 19 March 2024).

<sup>49</sup> Theodore A. Coulombis, “The Greek Junta Phenomenon”, *Polity* 6, no. 3 (1974): 358-359, <https://doi.org/10.2307/3233933> (downloaded on 28 February 2022).

<sup>50</sup> See Appendix, Figure 1.1.

<sup>51</sup> See Appendix, Figure 1.1, part 3B.

<sup>52</sup> Kostis Kornetis, *Children of the Dictatorship: Student Resistance, Cultural Politics, and the “Long 1960s” in Greece* (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2013), 59.

Papadopoulos used to glorify the regime with most prominent symbol of this period; a rising phoenix from flames, with a soldier standing in front of the “Revolution”.<sup>53</sup>

In the early days of the junta, Papadopoulos and the colonels relied on martial law. This enabled them to restrict gatherings of more than three people, to set the nighttime curfew, to tap phone calls, and to break the secrecy of correspondence. Police enforcement and the army assumed control of the streets, enforcing public order.<sup>54</sup> This was adopted more strictly in Athens, as the capital, and the most likely location of any disruptions. This is evident from the Polytechnic University uprisings in 1973. The day of the 21<sup>st</sup> of April, the colonels’ coup, became part of a cult associated with the junta, and was celebrated throughout this period. Anna recalls this day in her interview as follows:

It was, it was like a holiday. We had to celebrate the day, and have [prepared] something like poems for, you know, for that day, and we had to hear [/watch] from the TV, which was also run by the government. You know, [listen to] speeches about liberty, which [it] was not, about revolution as they called it. They called it revolution, not junta.<sup>55</sup>

To secure the legitimacy of the government without a reliance upon martial law, a national referendum was held. Through this referendum, the new constitution of 1968 was passed.<sup>56</sup> The constitution granted the civil rights, such as political freedom and freedom of speech, that any other democratic constitution would do.<sup>57</sup> According to a renowned political scientist, Theodore A. Coulombis’ article, 92% of participants voted for the new constitution.<sup>58</sup> Despite that, a caveat within the constitution was section Nr. 138, which allowed the government to deprive citizens of the above-mentioned rights, and so allowing the Papadopoulos’ regime to reign without any constraints.

The three most important pillars to the junta were the homeland, religion, and family (Πατρίδα, θρησκεία, Οικογένεια). For example, Papagos’ regime between 1952 and 1955 was

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<sup>53</sup> Kostis Kornetis, *Children of the Dictatorship: Student Resistance, Cultural Politics, and the “Long 1960s” in Greece* (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2013).

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>55</sup> See Appendix, Figure 1.1, part 1D.

<sup>56</sup> Theodore A. Coulombis, “The Greek Junta Phenomenon”, *Polity* 6, no. 3 (1974): 358-359, <https://doi.org/10.2307/3233933> (downloaded on 28 February 2024).

<sup>57</sup> Constantine P. Danopoulos, “Military Professionalism and Regime Legitimacy in Greece, 1967-1974”, *Political Science Quarterly* 98, no. 3 (1983): 485–506, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2150499> (downloaded on 8 March 2024).

<sup>58</sup> Theodore A. Coulombis, “The Greek Junta Phenomenon”, *Polity* 6, no. 3 (1974): 345-374, <https://doi.org/10.2307/3233933> (downloaded on 28 February 2023).

established on the same three pillars as the junta.<sup>59</sup> Despite mostly negative connotations stemming from reminiscing about the junta, Greece started massively building public infrastructure and housing, and promoted trade to increase the capabilities of a newly non-democratically run state. As Nikos admits, this was the only good thing about the junta and this period.<sup>60</sup>

Towards the end of the junta, which was already foreshadowed in January 1973, during the Law University student uprising, Papadopoulos intended to implement his new strategy in order to secure the legitimacy of his ruling. On June 1<sup>st</sup>, 1973, Papadopoulos announced the beginning of the *New Era*, which was meant to lay out the foundation for his upcoming presidency. The monarchy in Greece was abolished, and Papadopoulos proclaimed himself the new president of Greece.<sup>61</sup> In addition to that, he initiated first steps towards alleged democratisation, which meant that elections were supposed to be held, censorship was lifted, and massive amnesty took place, releasing high numbers of political prisoners from both jail and exile.<sup>62</sup>

In opposition to the Papadopoulos regime, two separate camps started forming: one being students who called for the end of the junta, and the other being highly ranked officers, and generals, who desired to further pursue the authoritarian system. On the 17<sup>th</sup> of November 1973, the infamous Polytechnic University uprising occurred. It was initiated by students who took over the Polytechnic University in the centre of Athens and demanded the end of Papadopoulos, along with the junta.<sup>63</sup> Soon after that, the colonels reenacted the martial law, and the uprising was brutally suppressed by the police and army. Contemporary pictures from the event depict a tank standing in front of a blurred crowd with hundreds of protesters. This event was described during an interview with most of my interviewees. Firstly, Anna remembers that teachers asked their parents to go and pick them up from school. When she was walking with her mother home, she witnessed this:

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<sup>59</sup> Hradečný, Pavel, and Dostálová, Růžena, and others. “*DĚJINY ŘECKA*” (Praha: NLN, 1998) 482.

<sup>60</sup> See Appendix, Figure 1.1, part 2F.

<sup>61</sup> Constantine P. Danopoulos, “Military Professionalism and Regime Legitimacy in Greece, 1967-1974”, *Political Science Quarterly* 98, no. 3 (1983): 485–506, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2150499> (downloaded on 8 March 2024).

<sup>62</sup> Kostis Kornetis, “Ten Months that Shook Greece”, in *Children of the Dictatorship, Student Resistance, Cultural Politics, and the “Long 1960s” in Greece*, ed. Kathrin Fahlenbrach and Martin Klimke and Joachim Scharloth (Oxford: Berghahn Book, 2013), 225-312.

<sup>63</sup> Protesters often use the slogan “KATO H XOYNTA”, which literally translates to “Down with junta”.

And I remember going in a street to cross Ermou, my mom pushed me into a window of a store and she, she hid [hid] me behind her back because the tanks were going up the street.

The tanks were going up Ermou to Constitution Square to go to...Polytexneio.<sup>64</sup>

Another direct memory comes from Nicky's mother, Eliza, who was hospitalised around the days of the uprising in a nearby health s. She depicts the situation accordingly:

And she was in a clinic very near to the Polytechnical University on a street down there. So, she could see and hear what exactly was happening. Because the tanks they were there. It was very noisy, very. The guns or the protesting people from the university with the groups that were on the streets, the tanks, the police, the army. Everything was down there like a film on her own eyes. She was on a side road, but she could see it.<sup>65</sup>

The total number of victims was 24, due to the brutality of such intervention. Nevertheless, these are the only direct victims of the junta's regime. Despite that, the day of the 17<sup>th</sup> of November is recognized in Greece to this day and is remembered due to the brutality which took place during the Polytechnic University Uprising. University students played a significant role in the fall of the junta, although not only should the opposition to the junta be assumed for universities. As Sotiris, having two older brothers, described:

Not only older student had their organisations against junta. Even students at high school. Or even at the first classes of high school. They were organised and had certain actions, and gatherings...<sup>66</sup>

Ten days after the Polytechnic University uprising, a group of generals, led by Dimitrios Ioannidis, along with Faidon Gizikis, and Adamantios Androutsopoulos initiated another coup. With them toppling the Papadopoulos regime, they reinstated the dictatorship to its full potential. They managed to get so far that for a short while, Greece dismissed the United Nations organisation. Despite that, the end of the new junta came soon after, due to growing tensions with Turkey regarding

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<sup>64</sup> See Appendix, Figure 1.1, part 1F.

<sup>65</sup> See Appendix, Figure 1.1, part 2B.

<sup>66</sup> See Appendix, Figure 1.1, part 3C.

Cyprus, and subsequent mobilisation.<sup>67</sup> Nicky's older brother was supposed to be sent to Cyprus to fight the Turks in Cyprus, as she explains:

And that August 1974, he got called to go to Cyprus to fight. And we were in a shock in the family because my brother was going to Cyprus. But very soon, he had a problem with his knee. (...) Yeah, he didn't go, but during these days, you know, that we had agony and stress that he was going to the island to fight with Turkish. And finally, they took the half of the island.<sup>68</sup>

However, due to health issues, he could not go. Eventually the mobilisation was cancelled, and finally the junta fell. After the period, a national referendum was held, to decide, whether Greece would stay a monarchy, or become a republic. Following the junta, a period, called Metapolitefsi, came, at the end of which, Greece entered the European Union in 1981. This also marks the first time a left-oriented political party formed the government, with Andreas Papandreou, the son of Giorgos Papandreou, and his new political party, PASOK.

## **Memory of education**

Prior to the junta, Giorgos Papandreou outlined a proposal for a liberal reform, which would propel Greek education system for the upcoming years. This intended reform was scrapped in 1967, following the colonels' coup. Following the junta's takeover, as Henry Kamm in his New York Times article stated, the ministry of education declared their own reforms, which would reinstate "Christian manners" in schools. As the article mentions, this was ensured by prohibiting mini-skirts for girls, long-hair for boys, and eventually, led to mandatory uniforms.<sup>69</sup> In other aspects however, the Greek junta pervaded the memories of the interviewees by symbols, such as the phoenix rising from the ashes, the official emblem of the regime.<sup>70</sup> In this part of the thesis, I will interpret and analyse memories of education, considering the education system (schools) as a site of memory.

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<sup>67</sup> Dimitris Asimakoulas, 'Translating "self" and "others": waves of protest under the Greek Junta', *The Sixties* 2, no. 1 (2009): 25-47, <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/17541320902909532> (downloaded on 27 February 2024).

<sup>68</sup> See Appendix, Figure 1.1, part 2B.

<sup>69</sup> Henry Kamm, "Junta Plans to Put Stress on 'Christian Civilization'", *The New York Times*, pg. 13 (May 15, 1967) <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1967/05/15/issue.html> (downloaded on 15 March 2024).

<sup>70</sup> See Appendix, Figure 1.1.

In her article, Julia Paulson examines the education system (schools) as a site of memory, through which each regime, whether authoritarian or democratic, streams their policies and ideology. Based on her findings, schools play a key role in the analysis of reminiscences, comparable to museums, monuments, and memorials.<sup>71</sup> Thus, schools, or the education system, will be regarded as a site of memory, through which certain features of the Greek junta pervaded and helped create memories for the interviewees. Since most of my interviewees started attending primary school during the junta, they were not able to compare the junta education with education under the previous regimes. More than that, as all my interviewees attended primary school during that period, their recollections were still vague. Despite having no memories of what was exactly being taught, they pointed out less evident features of the regime pervading within the school system.

The objective of this part is to outline key features that the interviewees associate with the junta period during their time in school. The first association each of the interviewees had of their time spent in school was the emblem of the junta, encompassed in all schoolbooks on the first page: the picture of a rising phoenix with a soldier standing in front of it holding a bayonet. This was everyone's first recollection of their school experience, under the junta.<sup>72</sup> All of the interviewees recall the official emblem of the junta might correlate to the fact, that not only was it displayed in every schoolbook, although as well as on every matchbox, on Greek currency, and in most public places, as Kostis Kornetis highlights in his book.<sup>73</sup>

The junta chose the emblem of a phoenix deliberately. In the Cambridge dictionary, the phoenix is described as a mythical creature which has the ability to be reborn again, and again.<sup>74</sup> Stemming from this, a Greek political scientist, Stephen G. Xydis further associates the symbol of the phoenix with the official emblem of the quasi-dictatorial regime of Ioannis Kapodistrias, the first

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<sup>71</sup> Julia Paulson, Nelson Abiti, Julian Bermeo Osorio, Carlos Arturo Charria Hernández, Duong Keo, Peter Manning, Lizzi O. Milligan, et al. "Education as Site of Memory: Developing a Research Agenda", *International Studies in Sociology of Education* 29, no. 4 (2020): 429–51, [https://pure.ulster.ac.uk/ws/files/87391157/Education\\_as\\_a\\_site\\_of\\_memory\\_Accepted\\_version.pdf](https://pure.ulster.ac.uk/ws/files/87391157/Education_as_a_site_of_memory_Accepted_version.pdf) (downloaded on 10 March 2024).

<sup>72</sup> See Appendix, Figure 1.1.

<sup>73</sup> Kostis Kornetis, *Children of the Dictatorship: Student Resistance, Cultural Politics, and the "Long 1960s" in Greece* (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2013).

<sup>74</sup> "Dictionaly", Cambridge dictionary, <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/phoenix> (accessed on 14 March 2024).

Greek president after Greece defeated Turkish occupants, and gained independence in 1827.<sup>75</sup> The overall idea of restoration of true Greece, could explain Papadopoulos' strongly nationalist ideology, and give an answer as to why he chose the symbol of a phoenix.

Following the fall of the junta, the childhood memory of all interviewees is teachers asking them to tear off the page with the emblem.<sup>76</sup> An adequate example of that experience comes from the interview with Alexandros, who describes his school recollection accordingly:

I remember one thing. In our books, when junta start[-ed], [the school] put [there] a picture with a bird with a soldier. Phoenix. And when junta ended, [the] teachers tell us to cut [/tear off] the paper with this picture.<sup>77</sup>

This act only propels the theory of symbolism,<sup>78</sup> where during Metapolitefsi, Karamanlis' regime initiated cultural and political secession from the junta. With the era of the junta, Anna and Sofia recall one more feature associated with the school experience being the mandatory dress code. According to Anna, regardless of the weather, even though it was hot during the spring and autumn months, children had to wear uniforms on top of their daily clothing. Girls had to wear long navy-blue dresses with white collars, and boys had to wear shirts and a jacket in similar fashion. Depending on the type of education, whether it was high school, or primary school, colours differed only by their shade.<sup>79</sup> Sofia further elaborated on this matter, mentioning mandatory uniforms, which were "very long". A feature, which gradually disintegrated, although not directly after the fall of the junta, according to her testimony.<sup>80</sup>

The education system (primary schools in this case) was regarded as sites of memory, of which the main reminiscences stem mostly from basic features of the junta, or any authoritarian regime, such as the promotion of nationalist symbols. The goal was to highlight less evident characteristics of the junta, which hitherto serve as a constant reminder to the interviewees. Despite

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<sup>75</sup> Stephen G. Xydis, "Coups and Countercoups in Greece, 1967-1973 (with Postscript)", *Political Science Quarterly* 89, no. 3 (1974): 507-538, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2148452> (downloaded on 19 March 2024).

<sup>76</sup> See Appendix, Figure 1.1.

<sup>77</sup> See Appendix, Figure 1.1, part 1E.

<sup>78</sup> LOUIS KLAREVAS, "Were the Eagle and the Phoenix Birds of a Feather? The United States and the Greek Coup of 1967", *Diplomatic History* 30, no. 3 (2006): 471-508, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24915022> (downloaded on 1 March 2024).

<sup>79</sup> See Appendix, Figure 1.1, part 1D.

<sup>80</sup> See Appendix, Figure 1.1, part 3E.

most memories of attending school being vague, the testimonies offer a perception of the junta through the lenses of children, who, due to their age, have no memory of what was being taught. Yet, they were able to witness and associate symbolism of the junta, in the case of school uniforms, or ornamental, despite being present in most public spaces.

### **Memories of fear of communism, and propaganda**

The colonels' regime was established on anti-communist ideology and suppression of nonconforming citizens. Persecution, imprisonment, and spreading fear of communism was their main agenda to legitimise their repressive regime. As historian John Sakkas reminds us that Greece was the only country in the Balkans that was not subject to Soviet hegemony. Had the Soviets taken over Greece, the West, in particular NATO, would lose access to the Middle East, which represented an important source of oil for Europe and the United States.<sup>81</sup> Furthermore, for the majority of post-Civil War Greek governments, suppression of the communist ideology, regardless of civil rights, became a common practice. Not being part of the Soviet bloc allowed Greek post-Civil War regimes to function without any major protest from the Western countries, despite clear violation of human rights. To pursue their agenda, the colonels focused on promoting nationalism, Christian identity, and repressing non-conform citizens, or ideologies. The first two were achieved by elevating the national sentiment through means of propaganda, and censorship. According to Veronica Ma, a philosophy student at Harvard University, authoritarian regimes of the 20<sup>th</sup> century often aimed to promote their national narratives by using propaganda while censoring the ones that opposed them.<sup>82</sup> As Alexander Kazamias, an associate professor of Politics, argues postwar propaganda in Greece often vilified the left, and portrayed its followers as monsters.<sup>83</sup> However, after the infamous uprising at the Polytechnic University in 1973, Papadopoulos called for a more democratic approach to his reign, aiming for less conservative practices.

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<sup>81</sup> John Sakkas, "The Greek dictatorship, the USA and the Arabs, 1967–1974", *Journal of Southern Europe and the Balkans* 6, no. 3 (2004): 245-257, DOI: [10.1080/1461319042000296804](https://doi.org/10.1080/1461319042000296804) (downloaded on 1 March 2024).

<sup>82</sup> Veronica Ma, "Propaganda and Censorship: Adapting to the Modern Age", *Harvard International Review* 37, no. 2 (2016): 46–50, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/26445580> (downloaded on 5 March 2024).

<sup>83</sup> Alexander Kazamias, "The Visual Politics of Fear: Anti-Communist Imagery in Postwar Greece", *Journal of Contemporary History* 57, no. 4 (2022): 997-1028, <https://doi.org/10.1177/00220094221090838> (downloaded on 15 April 2024).



According to Michael Denison's article, the use of propaganda in the Turkmen example from the early 2000's was an attempt to legitimise the newly established regime. Denison distinguishes temporality as a crucial factor of the use of propaganda to accustom citizens to the new regime. Such interpretation might seem far-fetched, when associated with the regime of Greek colonels but other parallels can be found. For example, in both the Turkmen and the Greek junta, we can observe constant reminders of national belonging, national symbols, and the use of soft power as the main mediator.<sup>84</sup> Although, in the case of the Greek junta, the colonels did not hide the use of violent practices, such as torture. Rather, they relied on inducing fear of harsh consequences and punishments withing the population. In the following part I focus on how the interviewees were reminiscing of fear of communists, and use of propaganda and censorship by the colonels. The first example comes from Alexandros' memories of going to the cinema, which he recalls as the following:

Before movies, in cinema, they [the colonels] always show[-ed] us some people of the government who make [/made] some actions [stood behind something important for the regime, such as], buildings, segments, and other. And we thought that these were heroes. [We saw] Patakos, Papadopoulos. Again and again, Papadopoulos.<sup>85</sup>

According to Alexandros' reminiscences, the colonels streamed propaganda to Greek citizens through media, and during cultural occasions, such as in this case, the cinema. In the interview, Alexandros describes the way the regime promoted their own accomplishments, for example with constructions in public spaces and developing basic infrastructure. According to J. Michael Sproule, one of seven types of propaganda devices is "glittering generalities", which in the junta's case, would translate to glorification of their acts, and heroization of themselves.<sup>86</sup> Alexandros further outlines the way in which the colonels were using propaganda during other cultural events when he recalls attending a circus show with his family. Few days after their visit, the Greek police interrupted the play and arrested the actors:

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<sup>84</sup> Michael Denison, "The Art of the Impossible: Political Symbolism, and the Creation of National Identity and Collective Memory in Post-Soviet Turkmenistan", *Europe-Asia Studies* 61, no. 7 (2009): 1167–87, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/27752343> (downloaded on 3 April 2024).

<sup>85</sup> See Appendix, Figure 1.1, part 1F.

<sup>86</sup> Michael J. Sproule, "Authorship and Origins of the Seven Propaganda Devices: A Research Note", *Rhetoric and Public Affairs* 4, no. 1 (2001): 135–143, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41939653> (downloaded on 20 April 2024).

I went with my family to the theatre, and there was a play which is called “The Big Circus” and on another day, but at that play, the police came in and arrested all the actors. (...) Because they said something against junta. (...) Not directly. Allegorically. And they [the colonels] didn’t understand. They thought that these meanings of theatrical play, they were dangerous for that period, so they stopped the play, while people was [/were] in the theatre, and they arrested all the actors.<sup>87</sup>

Coming from a democratic family, Sofia had a similar experience. Her parents were aware of the use of propaganda and censorship and were therefore wary of the movies or shows they attended. Thus, as she explained, they would mostly choose comedies because of their apolitical context:

And I remember laughing a lot with these comedies at the cinema. And also, [in the] theatre. But the theatre was not, I remember my father saying, what [we should] see during this period. Because there was, what’s the political term? (...) Censorship, that’s the word. And so, the plays were in the theatre, that was not a real place to see, so we decided not to go to theatre very often.<sup>88</sup>

Lastly, the junta aimed to induce fear of non-conforming citizens and ideologies. Alexandros, despite living in the suburbs of Athens, mentions in the interview that his mother instructed him to keep away from certain people, warning him of possible consequences. Alexander Kazamias, a political scientist, argues communists were often portrayed in an evil way, similarly to Alexandros,<sup>89</sup> who admits that he was not able to comprehend what his mother told him to be aware of. He compared the word “communists” to mythical creatures:

I remember that everyone [was] afraid [of] communists. (...) Eh, he’s communist. My mother said to me: Eh, he’s communist.<sup>90</sup>

Later in the interview, his wife, Anna, explains that it was not the fear of being labelled as a communist. Rather, it was the fear of being punished as such:

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<sup>87</sup> See Appendix, Figure 1.1, part 1E.

<sup>88</sup> See Appendix, Figure 1.1, part 3D.

<sup>89</sup> Alexander Kazamias, “The Visual Politics of Fear: Anti-Communist Imagery in Postwar Greece”, *Journal of Contemporary History* 57, no. 4 (2022): 997-1028, <https://doi.org/10.1177/00220094221090838> (downloaded on 15 April 2024).

<sup>90</sup> See Appendix, Figure 1.1, part 1E.

It was not only fear, it was a punishment. To be communist, if you were characterized as a communist, you were punished. As my cousin was punished.<sup>91</sup>

Anna refers her to her cousin whose father was imprisoned at the Giaros island for being a communist. Due to being associated with communists, Anna's cousin was not allowed to attend university.

In her interview, Sofia recalls when the father of her godfather was imprisoned. Her family was afraid that anyone could listen to the conversation they had privately in their apartment:

He [Sofia's father] turned on the radio and decided to choose some songs that were patriotic, that was very popular [during] that period of junta. Because they [the colonels] saw the idea that we are all patriots, and we have to sing and dance only traditional Greek dances and songs and things like that. And he turned on the radio, picking this type of music so it [the conversation] was covered, the conversation between my godfather and my father, that he [Sofia's father] was asking: "what about your father? What news do you have any news about your father?" He didn't want to talk about it. But there was nobody around. But there was an interior, let's say, a fear, that anybody can listen what they were saying.<sup>92</sup>

Two of my interviewees, however, come from families with communist pasts. Nicky's mother was part of the communist resistance during the Second World War, and Sotiris' family were communists. Nicky believes that her family was not persecuted because her mother was able to hide the fact that she was involved in the resistance during the Second World War. As Nicky admitted, her mother also distanced herself and her family from the communist past of the Civil War. Sotiris claims that they did not suffer because they were "secretly communists."<sup>93</sup> His wife, Sofia, then elaborates that his family was not part of the official resistance, but rather the general opposition to the colonels' regime. Regarding memories of "fear of communism", and propaganda associated with it, Nicky brings closer as to why people were so scared. According to her, many people in public services, transportation, and other sectors were in fact informants for the junta. Thus, one had to be particularly careful what they

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<sup>91</sup> See Appendix, Figure 1.1, part 1E.

<sup>92</sup> See Appendix, Figure 1.1, part 3A.

<sup>93</sup> See Appendix, Figure 1.1.

said.<sup>94</sup> This fear prevailed until the end of the junta in 1974. In certain places it remained present even during the period of Metapolitefsi.

Memories of propaganda and fear of communism stem from one of the key aspects of the regime. Even though they were described by people who have faint memories of the period, these aspects of the Greek junta were pervasive for the interviewees through their family memories. However, in some cases, propaganda and fear of communists were prominent to the extent that they remained as one of the main negative connotations of the period, despite the interviewees' early age. Oftentimes being associated with words like gloomy, dark, and dismal, these were the main collective memories the interviewees share from the period of the junta.

### **Memory of giving the junta a meaning**

Today, each interviewee gives the junta a meaning not only according to their family experience, yet also their upbringing and the political and cultural realities of their adulthood. Thus, in their own personal recollections, they often associate the realization with the period of Metapolitefsi, which is the period after the fall of junta, from 1974 up to 1981, when PASOK won the elections and Greece joined the European Union. In Greece, the year 1974 signifies the transition from the junta to democracy and represents a milestone. Dimitri A. Sotiropoulos reflects on the transition to democracy during Metapolitefsi as rather uneven. Based on his research, there was a noticeable difference in transition within the state sector, especially regarding the education, security, and justice.<sup>95</sup>

Working with Pierre Nora's concept of "sites of memory", an American historian, Jay Winter, explains them as places which commemorate certain events, experienced by a group of people that are then preserved and associated with such event.<sup>96</sup> These sites and traditions contributed to one of my interviewees (Nikos) in the realization of what the Greek junta represented. Another interviewee (Sotiris), who comes from a communist family, correlates to Dimitri A. Sotiropoulos' article. He argues that people with left-inclining families have clearer and more precise memory of the events

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<sup>94</sup> See Appendix, Figure 1.1, part 2B.

<sup>95</sup> Dimitri A. Sotiropoulos, "The Authoritarian Past and Contemporary Greek Democracy", *South European Society and Politics* 15, no. 3 (2010): 449–65, doi:10.1080/13608746.2010.513604 (downloaded on 5 April 2024).

<sup>96</sup> Jay Winter, "Sites of Memory", in *Memory: Histories, Theories, Debates*, edited by SUSANNAH RADSTONE and BILL SCHWARZ (Fordham University Press, 2010): 312-324.

that occurred.<sup>97</sup> The other four interviewees realized the meaning of the junta only later, during the period of Metapolitefsi and during their adulthood. Their reminiscences, although marginal, along with their family, pop culture, and education, played a key role in the comprehension of the concept of the Greek junta. Cases of these interviewees correspond with Efraim Sicher's argument in his article regarding the analysis of memories and various interpretations of the Holocaust.<sup>98</sup> Sicher works with different approaches to the Holocaust based on their origin, whether they are distorted by media, witnesses, or even pop culture.<sup>99</sup> In the case of the junta, since the interviewees were of a young age, they were not able to comprehend the concept fully by themselves. Therefore, their family and education play a key role in the understanding.

Growing up in a single-parent, apolitical family during the junta, Nikos has no outstanding memory of the junta. His family, relatives, and peers did not suffer under the junta. Thus, the regime did not affect their lives. Following the fall of the junta, Nikos' mother took him on the anniversary of the Polytechnic University uprising every year to lay flowers at the commemorative site and pay respect to the deceased students.<sup>100</sup> This tradition enabled him as a child to partially understand the concept of the junta, since, as he claims, this ceremony is one of his recollections he associates with the period.<sup>101</sup> Jay Winter argues that these traditions give a meaning to individuals, and help create and maintain a collective memory closely linked to any event, associated with the particular site.<sup>102</sup>

Quite different is the memory of Sotiris, who grew up in a communist family. One of his earliest memories of giving the junta a meaning is from the funeral commemoration of Georgios Papandreou, who passed away in 1968.<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>97</sup> Dimitri A. Sotiropoulos, "The Authoritarian Past and Contemporary Greek Democracy", *South European Society and Politics* 15, no. 3 (2010): 449–65, doi:10.1080/13608746.2010.513604.

<sup>98</sup> Efraim Sicher, "The Future of the Past: *Countermemory and Postmemory in Contemporary American Post-Holocaust Narratives*", *History and Memory* 12, no. 2 (2000): 56–91, <https://doi.org/10.2979/his.2000.12.2.56> (downloaded on 5 April 2024).

<sup>99</sup> See Appendix, Figure 1.1.

<sup>100</sup> See Appendix, Figure 1.1, part 2F.

<sup>101</sup> See Appendix, Figure 1.1, part 2F.

<sup>102</sup> Jay Winter, "Sites of Memory", in *Memory: Histories, Theories, Debates*, edited by SUSANNAH RADSTONE and BILL SCHWARZ (Fordham University Press, 2010): 312-324.

<sup>103</sup> Following his funeral in 1968, massive protests took place against the regime. This particular commemoration happened four years after his death in 1972.

And during this memorial, the first cemetery of Athens, [the] crowd gathered, we came inside, it was Sunday, my dad brought the three of us [Sotiris and his two older brothers], and there were many people. It was a symbolic gathering because he [Georgios Papandreou] was a democrat. (...) Before [the] junta fell. We sang the national anthem, and then the police came [and] started arresting. So, we had to quickly escape. My father was afraid [for us].<sup>104</sup>

As Sotiris recalls, this moment is deeply embedded as one of his family memories of the junta when he was merely five years old. In Sotiris' case, his family's political orientation helped him comprehend sooner than his peers, whose recollections and reminiscences of the junta were particularly vague. Dimitri A. Sotiropoulos argues that left-wing oriented people have clearer understanding of the events which occurred during the junta. Their recollections of the junta then mostly stem from the coup in 1967, student uprisings in 1973, and the situation in Cyprus in 1974, which subsequently lead to the fall of the colonels.<sup>105</sup> However, despite Sotiris merely being able to comprehend the complexities of the period, his recollections are closely related to his family and their perception of these events.

The rest of my interviewees were able to comprehend the concept of the junta after 1974, during the period of Metapolitefsi, and after 1981, when PASOK won the elections. Oftentimes, they describe the junta vaguely as a gloomy period, which did not deprive them of any needs or rights, but they could sense something was not right.<sup>106</sup>

When questioned on the difference between the colonels' regime and Metapolitefsi, Alexandros mentions that he was not able to differentiate them. He explains:

No, I don't remember something different for the next ten years. It need[-ed] more time, to change this situation. When the junta stopped, [the] government change[-d], Karamanlis came, but it was very difficult to change. For the change.<sup>107</sup>

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<sup>104</sup> See Appendix, Figure 1.1, part 3A.

<sup>105</sup> Dimitri A. Sotiropoulos, "The Authoritarian Past and Contemporary Greek Democracy", *South European Society and Politics* 15, no. 3 (2010): 449–65, doi:10.1080/13608746.2010.513604 (downloaded on 5 April 2024).

<sup>106</sup> See Appendix, Figure 1.1.

<sup>107</sup> See Appendix, Figure 1.1, part 1E.

According to his testimony, despite the junta having an exact end date, the transition did not happen immediately. Rather, it was a gradual and slow process. When examining why there was no radical change, Alexandros' spouse, Anna, added that:

Even after, some things didn't change. They were kept the same... Some things. But slowly... There was a change. And people were feeling relieved by... You know, by the fall. (...) Yes. Of course, the big change happened after 1981, when Andreas Papandreou came. (...) There were many changes made. And many people felt as if they were free at last. This is the period I was telling you that the files were burned. So everything was erased. It was not really erased in the mind of the people.<sup>108</sup>

Anna and Alexandros, both coming from families of democrats, as they label them and themselves, emphasizing the year 1981 and associating it with Papandreou's PASOK election victory underlines their political preferences and expressed why the year 1981 was important to them. In the interview with Anna. In her testimony, giving the junta an "end date" marks the time when PASOK government burnt files of persecuted citizens, and distanced Greece from the era.<sup>109</sup>

A similar example to Anna might come from another interview, with Sofia, when mentioning the fall of the junta:

I remember that people gather[-ed] together, they open [/played] the music that they like[-d] to listen to. Dancing, drinking and having fun because of the new reality. But that exactly was a moment in all climates. Because very soon we realized that nothing really changed for us.<sup>110</sup>

As Sofia recalls, most people were unable to notice major differences between the junta and the following period of Metapolitefsi. Despite gaining political freedom, freedom of speech, and other rights, their lives were not affected by the transition to democracy. This slow and gradual transition, as Sofia describes it, can be associated with the features of the Metapolitefsi period represented by Konstantinos Karamanlis. As Kostis Karpozilos, a historian at Panteion University, argues, when Karamanlis returned to Greece after the fall of the junta, Mikis Theodorakis, a prominent left-oriented

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<sup>108</sup> See Appendix, Figure 1.1, part 1H.

<sup>109</sup> See Appendix, Figure 1.1, part 1F.

<sup>110</sup> See Appendix, Figure 1.1, part 3E.

singer, noted that Greek people must choose between “tanks or Karamanlis”, comparing Metapolitefsi to Karamanlis’ quasi-state around 1960.<sup>111</sup>

According to their claims, all of the interviewees oppose, and despise the junta. Their personal recollections play a marginal role, since they were too young to comprehend the concept of the junta fully and develop any important direct memories. Despite some of the interviewees admitting having acquaintances who were imprisoned on Greek islands, their memories and recollections were developing during the following years, and affected by their education, occupation, and political context of the period. When Sofia describes her learning about the period, she stated:

Because later on, I read about it [junta]. I saw documentaries. I saw films. I spoke with people. And now I have communicated with people that suffered from junta. And I know a very famous writer that he can even stand to his body [prove on his body] because of the...beatings. So, later on, we understood that what we believed that some people are in jails that was... they was [/were] not just in jail. But they were beaten [/beaten] very cruelly.<sup>112</sup>

In Nicky’s case, the experience of comprehending the concept of the junta was similar, she particularly mentions her peers, her family, and acknowledging, she was unable to comprehend prior to the fall of the junta:

That it was something bad and they had in some way, we were not free to express our thoughts, our mind, our beliefs. So, I learned it afterwards coming you know 13 years old, 15, 17 when I was growing up. I had more and more ideas from the friends and from family what was happening and from my brothers of course. Because they were telling their side, so it was not because I remember my brothers that couldn't go out, be free. It was only this I remember.<sup>113</sup>

These reflections on the junta and its fall resonate with each interviewees’ family and their political orientation. Despite neither of the interviewees’ families or even themselves were affected by

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<sup>111</sup> Kostis Karpozilos, “Transition to Stability: The Greek Left in 1974”, in *Rethinking Democratisation in Spain, Greece and Portugal*, edited by Maria Elena Cavallaro and Kostis Kornetis (Oxford: St Anthony’s Series, 2019), 179-197.

<sup>112</sup> See Appendix, Figure 1.1, part 3C.

<sup>113</sup> See Appendix, Figure 1.1, part 2C.



the regime, they created negative connotations and memories for the period, stemming mostly from their family, or the society as a whole. Altogether, the fact that they spent their early adulthood in Athens, being the capital, and belong to the middle class, this also significantly contributed to the creation of the narratives of the junta. As the interviewees admitted, their understanding of the junta did not really happen during the period, but it was evolving in the latter stages of their lives, following the junta's fall, forming their collective memory of the junta and Greece.<sup>114</sup>

## **Conclusion**

The period of the junta, despite lasting for mere seven years, left generations of Greeks with negative, direct and indirect memories. As this thesis outlined, the direct consequences on the interviewees belonging to the youngest generation were not vast yet contributed to the development of their shared memory on the junta. The colonels entered the interviewees collective memory as representative of a gloomy period, during which personal and political freedoms were limited. Although due to their age, they were unable to comprehend these rights. The interviews offered us a glimpse into the individual perception of the junta by then-children through their direct memories and allowed us to contextualize them within the Greek collective memory. With their testimonies, the thesis slightly confirmed the known narrative of the junta having negative direct and indirect impacts on the Greek population, especially on the development of their memories.

From the interviews, I highlighted three concepts of shared memories among the interviewees were pervasive in their memories. Firstly, I outlined symbolism of the junta used in the education system, regarding it as a site of memory. Secondly, I analysed their family and cultural memories of the junta, which focus on fear of communism (and communists) and the use of propaganda by the regime. Lastly, I interpreted the interviewees' individual remembering of when they gave the junta a meaning, as a political concept; the results of the last topic showed that most of the memories of the interviewees were being developed only following the fall of the junta.

Since most memories of the interviewees were shaped after the fall of the junta during their adulthood, one cannot particularly assign the junta's direct negative impacts to the youngest of generations. Following Sotiropoulos' argument, memories of the junta are unevenly distorted

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<sup>114</sup> See Appendix, Figure 1.1.

according to the political belonging, and age group of each person.<sup>115</sup> Despite the junta being highlighted as a unique period in the Greek history, the regimes preceding it often shared similarities to the practices of the colonels.

Additionally, as the interviewees recalled, the period of Metapolitefsi, following the fall of the junta, was not clean cut, but rather a gradual transition, during which certain features of the junta remained present. The overall end of the junta, to the interviewees, marks the year 1981, when PASOK, along with Andreas Papandreou, won the elections, and Greece became a member of the European Union. This milestone might be highlighted due to the interviewees' political preference for that particular party. The period of colonels and their junta still remains nonetheless one of the most negative periods of modern Greek history, which pervades the memories of most Greeks to this day.

## **Shrnutí**

Období vlády junty, přestože trvalo pouhých sedm let, zanechalo generace Řeků s negativními přímými i nepřímými vzpomínkami. Jak již tato práce nastínila, přímé důsledky na dotazované generaci patřící k nejmladším, která zažila juntou, nebyly rozsáhlé, přesto přispěly k rozvoji jejich kolektivní paměti na juntou plukovníků. Ti tak vstoupili do kolektivní paměti dotazovaných jako představitelé ponuré doby, během níž byly osobní a politické svobody striktně limitovány, ačkoli dotazovaní, vzhledem ke svému věku, nebyli schopni tato práva pochopit. Rozhovory nám poskytly perspektivu do individuálního vnímání junty tehdejšími dětmi, především prostřednictvím jejich přímých vzpomínek, a umožnily nám je zasadit do kontextu řecké kolektivní paměti. Díky jejich svědectvím potvrdila tato práce známý narativ o juntě s negativními přímými i nepřímými následky na řecké obyvatelstvo, zejména pak na vývoj paměti.

Z rozhovorů jsem v této práci vyzdvihl tři koncepty kolektivní paměti dotázaných, které byly všudypřítomné v jejich vzpomínkách. Nejprve jsem nastínil symboliku junty používanou v rámci vzdělávacího systému (školách), kterou zde považuji za „site of memory“. Za druhé jsem analyzoval jejich rodinnou a kulturní paměť na juntou plukovníků, které se zaměřují na strach z komunismu (a komunistů) a na používání propagandy ze strany junty. Nakonec jsem analyzoval individuální

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<sup>115</sup> Dimitri A. Sotiropoulos, “The Authoritarian Past and Contemporary Greek Democracy”, *South European Society and Politics* 15, no. 3 (2010): 449–65, doi:10.1080/13608746.2010.513604 (downloaded on 5 April 2024).

vzpomínky dotazovaných na to, kdy dali juntě význam jakožto politickému konceptu; výsledky posledního tématu ukázaly, že paměť na juntou dotazovaných se rozvíjela až po pádu junty samotné.

Vzhledem k tomu, že většina vzpomínek dotazovaných se utvářela po pádu junty během jejich dospělosti, nelze přímé negativní dopady vlády plukovníků přiřadit nejmladším generacím. To de facto potvrzuje Sotiropoulosův argument, kde dokládá, že kolektivní paměť je nerovnoměrně tvořena v závislosti na politické orientaci a věku daného subjektu.<sup>116</sup> Přestože je junta chápána jakožto jedinečné období v řeckých dějinách, režimy, které jí předcházely, se dají charakterizovat obdobnými vlastnostmi.

Dále, jak dotazovaní častokrát zmínili, období Metapolitefsi po pádu junty nebylo jednoznačným koncem některých charakteristik vlády junty, ale spíše pozvolným přechodem, během něhož zůstaly určité rysy junty přítomny. Celkový konec junty pro dotázané znamená rok 1981, kdy PASOK spolu s Andreasem Papandreou vyhrál volby a Řecko se stalo plnohodnotným členem Evropské unie. Tento milník byl v rozhovorech zmiňován právě kvůli politické preferenci dotazovaných pro tuto konkrétní stranu. Období plukovníků a jejich junty však nadále zůstává jedním z nejnegativnějších období moderních řeckých dějin, které dodnes prostupuje vzpomínky většiny Řeků.

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<sup>116</sup> Dimitri A. Sotiropoulos, “The Authoritarian Past and Contemporary Greek Democracy”, *South European Society and Politics* 15, no. 3 (2010): 449–65, doi:10.1080/13608746.2010.513604 (downloaded on 5 April 2024).

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## **List of Appendices**

Appendix no. 1.1: Transcript from the interviews (short version)