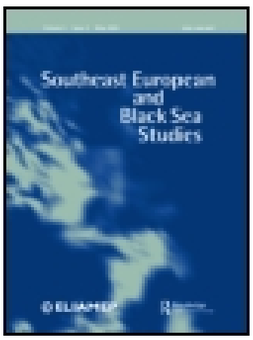

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'Being traitors': post-war Greece in the experience of Jewish partisans

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ABSTRACT

As a result of political developments, silence about Jewish resistance in post-war Greece persisted for decades. In my article, I focus on the post-war fate of Jewish partisans in the context of the Greek Civil War and the emerging East–West conflict. After liberation, many partisans in Greece were stigmatized and even tried as communists. In the 1980s, when Athens shifted towards socialism, Jewish survivors began to speak up regarding their involvement in the left-leaning resistance (EAM/ELAS). Based on archival research and oral testimonies, I explore how former Jewish partisans reflected on their EAM/ELAS participation, in which way they came to terms with the imminence of post-war persecution and which attitudes were applied in the case of arrests. In this way, this study may contribute not only to a better understanding of post-the First World War Greece but also towards identity politics and memory studies in general.

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In Memoriam of Isaac Nehama (1927–2014)

Introduction

After Greek socialists took over the government in 1981 an agitating piece by Joseph Matsas, a former leftist resistance fighter, stated,

> It is an imperative that those Jews who gave their life for the freedom of their country be honored, and we express our gratitude to the organizations of national resistance for the efforts they made to save as many Jews as they could.[1]

Four years earlier, the Central Board of Jewish Communities' (KIS) monthly *Chronika* published a concise article by Asher Moissis, a major figure of Greek Jewry, on Jews in the Greek armed forces since 1821, which included the Jewish resistance during the occupation of Greece (Moissis 2012, 165–176).[2] These publications were later followed by Michael Matsas's well-researched book *Illusion of Safety* (Matsas 1997) and Steven Bowman's scholarly study *Jewish Resistance in Wartime Greece* (Bowman 2006). Another recent, popular presentation of the issue in Greek and international public space has been presented at the

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Jewish Museum's exhibition *Synagonistis: Greek Jews in the National Resistance*, further disseminated by an online exhibit and an exhibition catalogue both in print and an electronic format (Chandrinos 2013).[3]

While a lot has been written about the persecution of Jewish communists in Stalin-controlled countries,[4] Jewish resistance was quite stalled in Greece. The delay has to be set in the framework of the Greek Civil War (1944; 1946–1949) and the cold war, in which Athens took the side of the West and became strongly anti-communist, thus suppressing the narrative of predominantly leftist resistance. Only in the 1980s, with the onset of the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK), did the perception change significantly. First attempts to legitimize Jewish resistance emerged, but silence prevailed for the post-war fate of Jewish partisans. The main source of information about the post-war life of former Jewish resistance fighters in Greece seems to be oral or scarcely published personal accounts appearing during the democratic consolidation of Greece after 1974. These can essentially be found in the Jewish periodical *Chronika*[5] and in the above-mentioned books by Michael Matsas and Steven Bowman.

In my study, I argue that the atmosphere of the forthcoming cold war influenced the Greek case as Greece became sort of a 'grey zone' between the East and the West; it was initially contested but then turned fully to the West. Like all countries across Europe, Jewish survivors generally sought a 'return to normality' (Cichopek-Gajraj 2014, 180). Yet, given the devastation of the Holocaust, they were rather forced to create a 'new normality.' In post-war Greece, those associated in any way with the left-wing resistance were frequently labelled as 'traitors' and enemies of the nation (Voglis 2002, 30). Who were these Jewish partisans in Greece? What was their profile in regards to age, gender and ideals? What was their post-war experience and what happened to those suspected of leftist leanings?

Based on personal accounts, oral testimonies mainly from the Visual History Archive (VHA) of the USC Shoah Foundation collection and the US Holocaust Memorial Museum's (USHMM) Oral History Collection, archival sources and Jewish periodicals, I will first briefly describe the post-war Jewish leadership connected to the wartime resistance as well as the wartime structure of Greek resistance forces to examine the situation in Greece immediately after the end of the occupation prior to the civil unrests of December 1944. Further, I will elaborate on the conditions of the return home experienced by those Jews who had survived in Greece and were, therefore, often associated with the resistance movement. After that, I will concentrate exclusively on those facing accusations of being part of the left-wing guerrillas. To conclude, I will outline the position and attitude of the institutionalized Central Board of Jewish Communities in Greece, the State of Israel and Athens itself towards those Jews who ended up in Greek prisons. I argue that in the predominant atmosphere of fear, Jews were driven to manifest their Greek national consciousness and to keep a low profile on account of their possibly different political opinion. As a result, all Holocaust survivors in Greece had to reconsider where they belong and with whom they identified.

Jewish involvement in the leftist resistance

By October 11, 1944, a day before German troops left Athens, some Jews had cautiously dared to come outside, explore the streets, have a cup of coffee and discuss their future. This was the first sensation of a re-acquired freedom after being in hiding that was written about by Asher Moissis, the Zionist leader and first president of the of the Central Board

of Jewish communities in Greece (KIS), which was established by law in the summer of 1945.[6] The next day, there was a gathering in the synagogue headed by Moissis and Elias Barzilai, the Chief Rabbi of Athens, where those who succeeded to survive hidden in the capital and nearby met again (Moissis 2012, 11).

These two men had actively participated in the activities of the leftist resistance during the occupation, which would come to shape their futures. Asher Moissis (1899–1975) was personally attached to the left-wing resistance during the war while also having strong ties to the Greek Orthodox archdiocese in addition to international Zionist organizations and Greek Jews in Palestine. His prominent assignment as the head of the Jewish community in Greece was, however, soon contested. Internal disagreements towards Zionism and the leftist National Liberation Front (EAM) along with personal differences within the KIS leadership led to the dissolution of the first Central Board committee.[7] Moissis later became the only diplomatic representative of Israel in Greece, remaining in this position until 1952. As a Greek citizen, Moissis was sometimes blamed by Tel-Aviv for insufficient vehemence towards Greek authorities. On the other hand, he regularly faced the Athenian ruling elites accusing Israel of its inclinations towards Moscow, especially while backing Jewish partisan prisoners (Nachmani 1987, 97, 98–102).

Chief Rabbi Barzilai (1891–1979) was also keen to the leftist resistance since he and his family survived the occupation thanks to the support of the EAM, accommodated in partisan held territory by September 1943. As apparent from Rabbi Barzilai's later statements, he felt indebted to EAM for their assistance,[8] making him suspicious in the eyes of the then ruling elites in Greece. At the beginning of 1945, even the Sephardic Chief Rabbi Ben Zion Uziel in Jerusalem pleaded to the American JDC on behalf of Barzilai, stating he was 'now without position because of relations with partisans and in dire hardship.' According to Uziel, it was 'most vital to help him to reach Palestine and to assist him meanwhile.'[9] Being the former Chief Rabbi of Salonika from the interwar period, we can assume that Uziel had a clear picture of developments in Greece (Kerem 2013, 187). Barzilai, though, regained his post and stay in Greece without criminal prosecution. Regardless, he obviously decided to keep a low profile regarding internal Greek politics and prioritized the community over the guerrilla fighters. This suggests that the political development around Moissis and Barzilai and their subsequent self-positioning was of critical influence for the Jewish community in Greece.

With the ultimate withdrawal of the *Wehrmacht* in the autumn of 1944, the situation in Greece was still in favour of left-wing partisans. The EAM, established in September 1941, controlled about two-thirds of Greek territory. Its armed wing, the Greek People's Liberation Army (ELAS), was created in February 1942 (Kalyvas 2015, 128). The EAM/ELAS became the leading resistance throughout the occupation.[10] At the end of the war, EAM had possibly half of Greece's approximately eight-million inhabitants on its side (Hradečný 1998, 445). This made its communist leaders believe they could potentially acquire political power legitimately without violence. By contrast, some party's radicals were already calling for immediate armed aggression against the political elites to be installed in Athens and preparing for a *coup d'etat*.[11]

Based on the Caserta agreement from September 26, 1944, signed by both the official Greek Government still in exile and the Greek resistance leaders along with subsequent negotiations between the Prime Minister of Greece, Giorgos Papandreou, and the EAM to decide upon a date for its official enforcement, domestic resistance formations were to

disband as the national liberation struggle had finished on December 10, 1944. This was declared exactly one month later by Papandreou. It was supposed that former ELAS fighters, with other dissolved forces, would be integrated into a new national army. Nevertheless, the EAM soon demanded a revision of the conditions and half of all members in the emerging army. Under pressure from British and Greek generals, Papandreou refused; simultaneously, the Greek Communist Party (KKE) began to reactivate the ELAS forces and to diminish the influence of the non-communist members in EAM (Alexander 1981, 157–166). The polarization of Greek society and the overall political atmosphere caused ELAS sections, including those with Jewish partisans, to remain further in the field.

Jewish armed resistance in Greece did not develop independently; after the emergence of Greek resistance organizations, men and some women of Jewish origin joined to escape the urban environment ruled by occupiers (Chandrinos 2013, 6).[12] According to relevant sources, at least 650 Jews were actively engaged in the EAM/ELAS resistance during the war.[13] It is important to add that of the pre-war 70–80,000 Jews in Greece, only about 10,000 survived, approximately 2000 of whom were war camp returnees (Fleischer 1991, 270).[14] Nonetheless, Rika Benveniste emphasizes the difficulty in giving a final account of Jewish resistance fighters in Greece; differing between Jewish and gentile combatants, Jews protected by the resistance or resistance networks, and Jews arrested under a false identity during the war for other reasons than resistance activities can be ambiguous and troublesome as there is no strict criteria for doing so and the records are not always clear. Jewish partisans, like others, used pseudonyms only exceptionally related to their background. Moreover, most had come to the mountains with false Christian identities, which they usually dropped while returning back home immediately after the occupation. Even after decades, these Jews largely self-censored their memories of resistance because of their experiences with an environment of political persecution (Benveniste 2014, 44, 45).

The EAM/ELAS, to which most Jewish partisans belonged, comprised approximately 50,000 fighters at the occupation's end (Iatrides 1972, 327–329). About 10% of Jewish partisans (63 people) had been killed in action.[15] Given this relatively low death-ratio of Jews in the armed resistance, it is not surprising that Alfred Cohen, an officer attached to the Greek Ministry of Justice that escaped from occupied Greece, proposed his rescue plan for Jews still living in Greece in his July 1944 memorandum. He suggested that all Jews eligible for military training and without dependents should immediately join the EAM/ELAS partisans.[16] This document was prepared in connection with the Lebanon Conference of Greek resistance representatives at the request of Reuben B. Resnik from the JDC.[17]

After the end of the German occupation and based on Papandreou's declaration, some Jews returned home in hopes of reuniting with their families. Even so, many others remained with their units, such as Isaac Moissis, an ELAS battalion commander who used the alias 'Kitsos.'[18] As one of 8000–9000 Jewish forced labourers working for the Reich on construction projects inside Greece in 1942,[19] he was stationed in the Tempi valley, where he escaped to join the EAM/ELAS and subsequently made his name as a partisan.[20] On November 4, 1944, three weeks after the reinstallation of the Greek Government, Isaac Moissis with other ELAS fighters in Northern Greece fought against German forces and their Greek collaborators who joined the *Wehrmacht* on their retreat to Germany. In the aftermath of this armed clash, the bloodshed continued. Fighters from the ranks of collaborators were shooting local villagers suspected of being sympathetic to ELAS while ELAS was killing its opponents by the thousands (Dordanas 2006, 498–514). While more formal and informal

means of violence followed, the 'battle of Kilkis' became one of the most devastating actions signalizing the upcoming Greek civil war.

The post-occupation struggle of Jewish partisans

At the end of the occupation, most partisans remained in ELAS regiments. Though Dick Benveniste, at the age of 23, first entered Thessaloniki on October 31, 1944, he rejoined his regiment on its way to the mountains on November 2.[21] They were only dismissed after the Varkiza Agreement was signed on February 12, 1945, bringing a short-lived armistice between the Greek Government and the leftists.[22] In his diary, Benveniste depicted the difficulties after demobilization very appositely:

> The thought that tortures me now is the question of my re-settlement in Thessaloniki. So far so bad, you went everywhere with your eating utensils and you somehow got to eat. But now we need to struggle to eat. Every night before I fall asleep I make a bunch of plans as for how to take care for my existence. (Benveniste 2014, 103)

Isaac Nehama, who was originally from Athens and interviewed in the United States in 2002, joined EAM/ELAS in Thessaly during the autumn of 1943 at the age of 17. His father, his mother and his two younger brothers remained in the capital at two separate households. When the war ended and his father's acquaintance came to ask Isaac to return to Athens, he was stationed in Larissa doing administrative work. In mid-November 1944, he was given a three-week medical leave from the army doctor. At that point, he had no idea that his mother as well as his two younger brothers had been deported to Auschwitz in August 1944, leaving only Isaac's father behind.[23]

Since he was simply on leave, Isaac planned to depart Athens and rejoin his unit, which was prevented by his father. Having sworn an oath, ELAS fighters were not supposed to abandon their units without formal dismissal. While ELAS was organized more-or-less as a regular army since summer 1943, the partisans still developed strong bonds with their brothers-in-arms. The reasons for staying on duty surely differed: some believed in their cause and some thought it would soon rule the country and they may be rewarded, but others remained out of fear. Moise Eskaloni from Thessaloniki, then 25, belonged to the last group. According to him, his family had a strong communist background, with himself becoming a member of KKE while serving in ELAS. After the Varkiza Agreement, he started to fear being injured by people in his own ranks as relations were getting abrasive.[24]

Waiting for the return of other family members from Poland, Isaac Nehama and his father found themselves in the middle of a new armed conflict. The battle of Athens (also known as the *Dekemvriana*, i.e. December events) between the Greek left-wing resistance and the British Army was supported by the official Greek Government as well as former collaborators. It started on December 3, 1944 after EAM called for a general strike, which culminated in a bloody clash with demonstrators. Many partisans made their way to Athens to back the demonstration.[25] Soon after, Nehama was detained by Greek police. He recalls:

> Everything had been closed, there would have been no food, other than what one had kept in before the trouble started. So the following day, I went and stood in line at the grocery store two blocks from our apartment, waiting to get whatever was available. And five minutes later, after I started standing in line, a number of police officers, gendarmerie came, and they're going down the line: 'Who is Isaac Nehama?' So, me. Well they took me, and first they took me to

> the apartment, and I saw my father, there were other policemen and gendarme around, some of them in civilian clothes, some of them in uniform.[26]

At that time, all Holocaust survivors in Athens faced difficulties, and the situation of the remaining Jewish and non-Jewish populations in Athens was not calm either. Nelli Nachmias, who survived in hiding, was 16 during the *Dekemvriana* and reflects on the overall fear:

> They started to distribute rations at the synagogue, but from Syntagma Square to the synagogue the territory was already in the hands of partisans. (…) I remember one day I went with my father to get food because we heard they were giving food at the synagogue. And starting from Klaythmonos Square the bullets were flying over us. And we heard a bzzz and just went down. It popped some hundred meters from us. We arrived at the synagogue. Even if they didn't let anybody through, when we said we were Jewish, the partisans let us go. I remember Aiolou Street where the bullets were coming both sides. From one side the 'non-left,' and from the other the partisans. And a war was going on, guerrilla warfare, civil war … And we reached the synagogue, got food and went back. But we never tried again because it was far too dangerous.[27]

In the case of Nehama, the policemen were not hunting for valuables as he suspected but ELAS fighters. They immediately took him to the police station for interrogation:

> They began to pummel me with the butt of the rifles because they wanted me to reveal names of EAM/ELAS people in the neighborhood. I told them I hadn't been in the neighborhood for over a year. I was not a part of that before I left. Yes, I was in ELAS, but I went to survive, not for political reasons, and certainly I did not know anyone in the neighborhood of that. Well, I was beaten for quite a time, but at the end I was put in a car, and taken to the place in the center of Athens, which was ironically the place where the Gestapo used to round up their prisoners in the basement.[28]

The December 1944 Report of the Central Committee by the EAM entitled 'Jews of Greece and the Liberation Struggle' states that thousands of people, including Jews, associated with the leftist resistance were imprisoned and persecuted. Some of them were tortured and then transferred by the British allies to camps in North Africa, yet no measures were taken for their rehabilitation.[29] Among the deportees was Nehama who was deported to Libya after being held in custody in Athens:

> They had been rounding up people, and the following day they put us in trucks, they took us to a mini camp, a detention camp with barbed wire, near the shore, Glyfada, which is a suburb of Athens. […] I was kept there for a day and a half, and then we were taken to Piraeus and put on ships. We didn't know where we were going, and after a traverse of I think three or four days and nights, then also it happens in darkness we will disembark. And we found ourselves in the middle of a desert.[30]

Nehama claims he was repatriated before the end of 1944 while many others remained.[31] After the Varkiza Agreement's ratification, the situation seemingly stabilized. In one of his interviews, he summarizes what counts for all of Greece: 'I think it was, essentially, in the beginning of 1945 that we even began to think about the restoration of our lives.'[32] By mid-February 1945, most Jewish ELAS fighters had made use of the legitimate military discharge and many handed over their weapons. Dick Benveniste was lucky enough to eventually move back to Thessaloniki and to start rebuilding his life peacefully. The return, however, was often accompanied by feelings of nostalgia and fear. While Moise Eskaloni argues that the gun became a part of them after all that time,[33] Raphail Sampetai, born in 1924 in Trikala, surrendered control of a partisan infirmary in Keramidi and went to study in Athens, albeit with concerns about his political profile.[34] Although Nehama had started university in Athens, by October 1946 he had moved permanently to the United States

thanks to his father's efforts; meanwhile, his father and remaining brother Samy stayed behind, leaving one to speculate on his father's true motivations.

Disregarding the consequences, several resistance fighters arbitrarily abandoned their units to start their lives anew. For instance, Leon Idas Gavrilidis left his unit close to Thebes when he was 19 years old. He remembers that many people were heading north to seek refuge in communist countries since they were afraid of political persecution.[35] Among them was Isaac Ovadia (1917–1976), originally from Drama in Northern Thrace ('The Region of Belomurie,' as it was called under the Bulgarian occupation). Jewish communities there had been more-or-less annihilated after the Bulgarian commanders implemented the 'Final Solution of the Jewish Question' in March 1943 and deported all local Jews to Treblinka, from where nobody returned (Fleischer 1991, 258). Ovadia made his way from the mountains to Czechoslovakia, where he passed away without ever coming back.[36]

Gavrilidis nonetheless recalls,

> I had no reason to go down there [to the countries under Soviet influence north of Greece], so I deserted. I threw away my gun some place, I hid it in the river and I went up to the bell of a church in the night to hide myself hoping there would soon be the British there.

Still wearing a partisan uniform, he was labelled a spy, beaten up and imprisoned in Chaidari. Gavrilidis was eventually freed thanks to Varkiza pardoning his previous crimes. He did not know yet whether he would meet his family again. Later, he learned that both of his parents and his brother were murdered in Auschwitz. In October 1947, like many other Greek men of his age, including Jewish survivors, he started his three-year military duty fighting against the leftist guerrillas. After that, he migrated to the United States.[37]

Only a few Jews among the former ELAS fighters remained organized as communists after the *Dekemvriana*, especially in partisan-controlled cities. Bowman mentions that, among Holocaust survivors, it was mainly Isaac Moissis, Iossif Gattegno, Moisis Bourlas and Rosa Koen who declared their communist affiliation (Bowman 2006, 61). Another example may be Markos Botton and notably Allegra Felous-Kapeta. Having a strong communist family background, the latter had already become a KKE member in the interwar period and later an EAM functionary.[38] At the VII Congress of the KKE in October 1945, Allegra was elected a deputy member of the Central Committee, which made her one of four women and the only Jew on the board.[39] According to recovered testimonies, few former Jewish EAM/ELAS members, such as Allegra Felous-Kapeta and Markos Mpotton, were active alongside the communist insurgents during the Greek Civil War.[40] At the beginning of 1950s, both Allegra and Marco became Greek Civil War refugees in the Eastern Bloc and were prevented from returning under the threat of severe punishment.[41] At that time, some other potential Jewish fighters were still in prison.

Persecution of Jewish resistance fighters

Although the Varkiza Agreement clearly declared that offences committed during the *Dekemvriana* would be pardoned, according to Article 3 on Amnesty, the 'common-law crimes against life and property which were not absolutely necessary to the achievement of the political crime concerned' as well as 'any person being under obligation to surrender their arms […], shall not have handed them over by the 15th March 1945' were excluded.[42] The passage implies that former collaborators, if their actions were deemed necessary, could have escaped justice while suggesting anti-establishment activity was charged due to the

vaguely-defined exclusion clause. Persecution soon reached massive proportions. British representatives in Greece indicated that 50,000 people who had been arrested and 16,700 who had been imprisoned were waiting for a court decision in 1945 (Voglis 2002, 57). This impacted the entire population of men as well as women, some of which were Jewish survivors. For example, in Thessaloniki, according to Bowman's research, 200 out of 800 Jews were identified as ELAS fighters and therefore communists. Most of them opted for migration to Palestine (Bowman 2006, 57).

By September 1949, almost 50,000 Greek citizens were either in prison or banned to detention camps on isolated Greek islands, with many facing the death penalty.[43] After the civil war broke out, Athens issued a parliamentary resolution 'on emergency measures concerning public order and security,' which created a legal basis for capital punishment of politically persecuted persons.[44] In December 1949, immediately after Greek communist rebels established a renegade Provisional Democratic Government (*Prosorini dimokratiki kyvernisi tis Ellados*, PDKE), a law was issued banning the KKE and affiliated bodies, such as the social welfare organization of EAM, the National Solidarity (*Ethniki Allileggyi*), and any future organizations of communists imposed under the penalty of death.[45]

Consequently, some Jewish communism sympathizers and former ELAS fighters ended up in jail. A list issued by the Central Board of Jewish Communities in Athens (1950) names 23 Jews prosecuted as communists born between 1895 and 1926 (including five women). Their sentences may be divided into four categories: the death penalty (5), life imprisonment (6), imprisonment up to 20 years (6) and 'detention' (6).[46] The reason for imprisonment, derived from archived correspondence, was not only communist beliefs but also mere contact with insurgents, espionage, illegal possession of weapons, and harbouring wanted persons.[47] Salvator Koen from Volos was arrested at the age of 27 in late 1945. Two of his four siblings, who all joined EAM/ELAS, already illegally immigrated to Palestine. His younger sister Rozita, who survived the war thanks to the EAM, described that the moment Salvator 'left the guerrilla, he became a conscious communist. He could not compromise. He did not do anything.'[48] Other detainees, however, openly claimed not to be communists.[49]

The above-mentioned register of sentenced Jewish communists seems far from final (Matsas 1997, 324, 325).[50] According to personal testimonies, more Jews were imprisoned or in 'detention' from 1945 to 1949 – such as Danelos Alchanatis and Leon Varon,[51] Rafail Filosof,[52] Sam Meyer (Matsas 1997, 415), Albertos Tsachon and Raoul Almosnino (Bourlas 2000, 105). Gouliemos Azar, Aaron Ganis, Rena Azouz, Matika Kabeli and Elen Beza are those listed as sentenced to death. Yet in 1986, a former ELAS partisan and *Chronika* correspondent Moissis Sakkis presented five others executed between 1947 and 1949.[53] Voglis argues that the death sentence was often used as a political instrument of repression. He claims that those convicted unanimously were more likely to be executed, though this was not the case for Matika Kabeli. On October 2, 1949, less than a week before KKE stopped its combat operations, Savvas Issis was the last Jew to be executed before capital punishment was terminated later that month.[54]

Drawing a full picture of post-war life of Jewish partisans close to KKE is truly problematic. Archival documentation gives us a general depiction of fear with many becoming aware of the politically driven danger in being associated with the KKE. As late as August 1947, the AJD Committee report states:

> Greece suffered perhaps more than any other country from Nazi occupation. The lack of supplies from the outside world meant starvation for large numbers. The military oppressions in

> 1940–1941 and the subsequent guerrilla warfare left the country in a ruined state. The post-war inflation contributed further to the growth of instability.[55]

Just two months later, Rabbi Harold Goldfarb, the director of the JDC in Athens, wrote in his letter to Herbert Katzki, the secretary of the JDC European Executive Council in Genève:

> There is great reluctance on the part of the Jewish community to fight back even when the law is on their side. The present guerrilla activity, the mass raids in which some Jews have been caught and accused of being communists have frightened the Jews into inactivity. Many of them refuse to appear in a police precinct for their ration cards only because they fear that such an appearance might inspire the police to arrest them without charge, and have them deported to some island or other. The mere fact of having fled from one's home during the German occupation, and having sought refuge in the mountains has, on occasion, been sufficient to justify an accusation of anti-Government activity.[56]

Moisis Bourlas left Thessaloniki at the age of 25 with his family on the eve of the deportations. While his mother was hiding, his father, two daughters and both sons joined EAM/ELAS. The youngest, Solomon, was killed in the battle of Kilkis.[57] After his return to the city, Moisis was first confronted with a police arrest during the liberation celebrations in May 1945 and soon after passed through several detention camps.[58] For those who didn't flee after the occupation, more was yet to come during the Greek Civil War, when many Jews were charged for being enemies of the state and sentenced to years in forced 'detention' or imprisonment if not death.

Certainly, there were also female Jewish partisans. Their lack of coverage here should not imply they were absent from the conflict yet their testimonies on post-war years are scarce and archival sources are very limited in the VHA (although more potentially exist in Greece and in Israel) making their account far from comprehensive. Most known examples were serving within the EAM 'National Solidarity' primarily as nurses but also as teachers, recruiters, suppliers and agitators. After the war, they were fearful of the consequences. For instance, Fani Florentin joined EAM/ELAS with her young husband Leon Matalon, escaping roundups in Thessaloniki in March 1943 to become a nurse. Later, they ended up together in the United States (Matsas 1997, 419). Dora and Yolanda Bourla (sisters of Moisis), as well as Sara Yeshua, were others who joined the medical service. By contrast, Daisy Carasso joined the Resistance Youth Movement, the United Panhellenic Organization of Youth of EAM (EPON), in spring 1943. Most of these women succeeded in emigrating to Palestine before being captured and eventually tried (Bowman 2009b). Others, such as Chryssoula Felous, Rena Azouz, Matika Kabeli, Zakelina, Monika and Elen-Louiza Beza, were already under arrest.[59]

Based on other testimonies, Rabbi Goldfarb willingly agreed to provide assistance to those disliked by the anti-Communists,[60] though Herbert Katzki only rarely mentioned Greece and never in the context of guerrilla activities.[61] For the JDC representatives in Greece, a friendly attitude towards potential 'traitors' meant interfering in internal affairs, thus violating their politically unbiased humanitarian mission. Marguerite Glicksman, a JDC representative in Greece since April 1945, admitted to secretly helping Jews accused of radicalism or 'being traitors,' which put her in danger of losing her position. Glicksman further declared, 'You mustn't interfere and you mustn't do anything that's politically unsound'.[62]

The Greek Government in Athens did not hesitate to use extreme right-wing radicals, such as the members of the Sacred League of Greek Officers (IDEA), collaborationist Security Battalions and the Chi (X) organization (Richter 1981, 173–175). Given their political, nationalistic orientation while also being purposefully indoctrinated by anti-Jewish

propaganda during the war, they certainly were not philosemites. These tensions triggered a chain of violence, both physical and publically humiliating, that occurred about a month after the German withdrawal in the *Dekemvriana*. This led not only to retaliatory actions by communist and anti-communist camps but also to the ultimate emigration of a number of Holocaust survivors from Greece while plenty others, such as David Broudo and David Sion, went into hiding. In Broudo's case, these precautions did not prevent his imprisonment in January 1945.[63] Broudo's former superior Lazaros Azarias, who managed to immigrate illegally to Palestine, was sentenced to death *in absentia*.[64]

Assisting Jewish prisoners

The Jews in prison were politically and materially supported by the Jewish communities in Greece and Israel. The perception of Jewish prisoners by the majority society, however, may have ranged from being privileged in terms of exclusively Jewish services offered to them to favouring their expulsion from Greece indefinitely. Even before the execution of Meyer Levis in August 1949, Elias Barzilai tried to approach the Greek army command to change the decision. The Central Board of Jewish Communities, KIS, and the Jewish communities of Larissa and Trikala also intervened, as did Ben Zion Uziel.[65] Nonetheless, the position of local Jewish representatives in the civil conflict's climate and of those in Israel, given its recent establishment, was difficult. This was also indicated by the lack of coverage regarding imprisoned Jews in Jewish periodicals like the fortnightly review *Jewish Home* (*Evraiki Estia*), whose chief editor Rafail Konstantinis was close to Asher Moissis (Frezis 1999, 219).

In 1947, only two short articles appeared in *Evraiki Estia* regarding Jews in 'detention'. They stated that it was not ideology but emergency that drove the Jewish youngsters to ELAS. While the first article was formulated as an appeal to the Greek, the second briefly reported about Moisses' meeting with the Minister of Public Order, during which the minister allegedly promised to review the issue and free the young men 'unless there is particularly aggravating evidence against any of them'.[66]

KIS's Central Care Committee for Jews in Need (*Kentriki epitropi perithalpseos aporon Israililton*, KEP) achieved support for the prisoners, at least materially, by distributing humanitarian aid to destitute Jews in coordination with the JDC. Jewish internees received monthly parcels with food, including scarce commodities such as milk powder, chocolate, clothing and other everyday necessities as well as money since prisoners had to cover all their needs. Local Jewish communities were to provide financial aid for legal assistance and judicial costs if the family was incapable of doing so.[67] The most effective way to liberate the Jewish prisoners was likely through their transfer to Israel. After Tel-Aviv passed the Law of Return in June 1950, granting every Jew the right to settle in Israel, the road to the Near East seemed open.[68]

Yet Athens impeded those Jews who were about to leave Greece using a legal instrument from 1927 that enabled the state to remove Greek citizenship from non-ethnic Greeks (*allogenis*) leaving the country without intent to return.[69] Moreover, individuals whose loyalty was doubted would be deprived of their citizenship (Baltsiotis 2004, 84). In regards to Jewish prisoners, Athens declared that to leave for Israel they had to officially express remorse, renounce their citizenship, and give up their right to return, since the government feared they may take advantage of joining the communist insurgents.[70] Some imprisoned patriotic Jews, nonetheless, preferred to stay rather than lose their citizenship and being

deported to Israel (Nachmani 1987, 88).[71] For example, Rozita Arditti recalls how her family tried to have her brother, Salvator Koen, released while others were going abroad. 'Our goal was to free my brother who went to prison and to "exile" [i.e. detention facilities on convict islands]. He had been sentenced to death but only by a minority, that saved him.' Despite their efforts, Salvator did not want to give up his citizenship and leave for Israel. Eventually he moved to Haifa where, according to *Chronika*, he still lived in 1986.[72]

The political circumstances made Greek-Israeli relations difficult, indicated by the fact that Greece was the only Western European country to vote against the United Nations Partition Plan for Palestine (Friedman 2006, 248). Consequently, Greece was constantly postponing the transfer of Jewish prisoners. The first group of internees, mainly in 'detention', was sent to Israel in 1951. Moisis Bourlas, who was among them, noted in his memoir that this may have been connected with the so-called four-point agreement regarding the Greek Orthodox property in Israel, which was signed in 1950 and was supposed to signalize the improvement of bi-lateral relations (Bourlas 2000, 109–110).[73]

Remaining internees had to wait. Relatives of Jewish prisoners living in Israel started to organize into committees, and from 1951 their authorized representatives were regularly approaching Jewish communities in Greece, honorary consul Asher Moises, and the Foreign Ministry of Israel in addition to the World Jewish Congress with their pleas.[74] A petition of 700 signatures was signed on behalf of the internees.[75] When one of the inmates, Samouil Koen from Volos, died at the age of 27 due to poor health onset by severe conditions of long imprisonment, fear spread among internees.[76] Only in 1953 were remaining prisoners transferred (Nachmani 1987, 88). When Moisis Bourlas returned to Greece in 1987, after encountering a breadth of problems, it took him almost 12 years to reacquire his lost Greek citizenship (Bourlas 2000, 183–191).

Conclusion

Post-war conditions meant that for the majority of the population in Greece, including Jews, it was inevitable to take unambiguous sides. Identifying with the official government or leftist resistance was based on their own decisions as well as the possibility of stigmatization. Such a stance was decisive to whether Holocaust survivors would individually be able to 'return to normality' or whether they would have to face persecution. As most Jewish survivors were being affiliated with the leftist resistance, suspicions of loyalties to its leadership and communist leanings were to a degree apprehensible. Their distress was intensified in the climate of the impeding East–West conflict together with the Greek Civil War. However, it must be noted that connecting with the resistance often seemed the logical and only way to be rescued.

The testimonies used in this article come mostly from men who were young during the war and joined EAM/ELAS, making the register non-exhaustive. Testimonies of older Jewish partisans and supporters of other resistance organizations are lacking. Still, the testimonies presented here importantly complement the picture of the conditions in post-war Greece and tensions between two ideological camps arising from the cold war. We can deduce that Jewish youth, both male and female, were joining the resistance. Several of them were verifiably acting alone, but some were driven to the mountains by their middle-aged parents. If these young Jews were to face legal persecution after the war, their parents were mostly excluded. This can be explained by Voglis' words, which state that prosecution served as an

instrument of pressure. Persecution acted as an incentive to revoke certain ideological affiliations, multiplied by a general atmosphere of fear not explicitly stated in archival sources.

Depicting the Greek Civil War and its impact on Holocaust survivors also means reflecting on the need to proclaim, accept and adapt to new positions in addition to changing them once necessary. Even strong patriotic feelings towards Greece may have conflicted with the ideological standards proclaimed by, or at least tolerated by, Greek state authorities if the individual political beliefs were contradicted. This tension could lead not only to exclusion from the Greek community but also, in case of emigration, from the Jewish community in Greece. Consequently, the self-perception shifted according to the given situation. Jewish emigration from Greece to Palestine/Israel was due both to longing and sometimes pressure. Given the difficult Greek-Israeli relations connected with the issue of Greek/Israeli citizenship, it was yet another complicated process of negotiations in which the transfer of the Jewish prisoners to Israel symbolizes a landmark. In some way, it ended the decision-making process of Holocaust survivors in Greece as to how they defined their post-war Greek-Jewish belonging.

Notes

1. In 1991, Joseph Matsas published his 1982 speech presented at the cultural center of the Jewish Community in Athens on October 2, 1982, and at the Jewish Community in Thessaloniki two months later (Matsas 1991, 55).
2. In *Chronika* 12 (1978), the article entitled 'Participation of Jews in the Wars of Greece, 1821–1949' was printed with the following introduction: 'In late Joseph Nehama's papers the following script was found, which deals with the participation of Jews in various wars of the Greeks. The text of an unknown author (maybe Nehama himself) is reprinted here as such on the occasion of the celebration of the 28th October anniversary [celebration of Greek proclamation of war to fascist Italy in 1940].' *Chronika* 12 (1978), 5.
3. Evraiko Mousio tis Ellados, *Synagonistis: Ellines Evrei stin Ethniki Antistasi*, Athens April 16, 2013–April 25, 2014. This also took the form of traveling and digital exhibitions both in Greek and in English. For English version cf. 'Digital Exhibition: Synagonistis', *Jewish Museum of Greece*, http://www.jewishmuseum.gr/en/exhibitions/digital_exhibitions/synagonistis.html (accessed on November 20, 2015).
4. Cf. e.g. (Gerrits 1995, 49–72) or (McDermott and Stibbe 2010). On the so-called Doctors' plot in the Soviet Union see (Kostyrčenko 2003) or (Medvedev 2003). On Slánský Trial in Czechoslovakia e.g. (Kaplan 1992), on Ana Pauker case in Romania see (Levy 2001) etc. A heroic national history, on the other hand, has been constructed around Jewish partisans such as Moshe Pijade in Yugoslavia – cf. e.g. (Gordiejew 1999, 139) and (Goldstein 2004, 64) or (Kerkkänen 2001, 99), or the Jewish resistance in Bulgaria and the Bulgarian rescue of Jews - see (Koen and Assa 1977) as well as (Ilel and Ilel-Vatcheva 2003).
5. The *Chronika* started as a monthly in May 1960 and was more or less published regularly until summer 1962. It was then re-established in 1977 and institutionalized as a periodical of the Central Board of Jewish Communities in Greece. Occasionally, a special issue of *Chronika* pays tribute to a specific themes such as the history of one of the Jewish communities in Greece, literature, the Kristallnacht, the Greco-Italian War, the Holocaust or, in 1986, the resistance. The *Chronika* archive is available on the website of the Central Jewish Board of Jewish Communities in Greece (*Kentriko Israilitiko Symvoulio*, KIS), see http://www.kis.gr/index.php?option = com_content&view = category&layout = blog&id = 48&Itemid = 77 (accessed on November 20, 2015). More on *Chronika* in (Frezis 1999, 260–280).
6. Law 367/1945 (4 June 1945) – Peri anasygkrotiseos Israilitikon Kinotiton, FEK (Efimeris tis Kyverniseos) No. 143.
7. Joint Distribution Committee (JDC), NY AR 1945/54-4/33/2/387 – 'The American JDC's Program April 17th–June 30th, 1945' (August 1, 1945).

8. JDC, NY AR 1945/54-4/33/402 – 'Central Location Index, Inc.' (May 24, 1945). See also (Moissis 2012, 70, 71) or (Chandrinos 2013, 6), *Chronika* 104, 1–2 (1989), 6.
9. JDC, IST 1937/49-4/9/IS.217 – Letter from Charles Passman to Mr. Ch. Barlas (March 15, 1945).
10. For more on the occupation, see especially (Richter 1973), (Fleischer 1986) and (Mazower 2001). For Jews in Greece in general see (Fleming 2008).
11. The ELAS structure was based on a 'triple leadership': for each unit there was an EAM representative, a military leader and a captain (*kapetanios*). The smallest body was a section of 15 persons; these further formed platoons, companies, battalions and regiments. ELAS was comprised of about seven divisions and some specialized Brigades mainly staging ambushes and performing sabotages as the commander-in-chief of ELAS, Stephanos Sarafis, later described. See (Saraphis 1980, 156, 166, 167).
12. It seems, however, that there was an active group of Jewish leaders engaged in organizing rescue actions of Greek Jewry. More (Lampsa and Sibi 2012, 289–296; Moissis 2012, 70, 71).
13. This figure is based on Joseph Matsas' findings presented in (Matsas 1991, 49–53). Bowman, on the other hand, claims that 'estimates ranging from 1000 to 2000 are not necessarily exaggerated'. (Bowman 2009a, 162).
14. In parallel, a concurrent anti-communist resistance organization operated in Greece, the National Republican Greek League (*Ethnikos dimokratikos ellinikos syndesmos*, EDES), which was established in September 1941. Lampsa and Sibi suggest that apart from Jews who joined EDES in action (see e.g. Chandrinos 2013, 22–25), this organization also provided protection for many others (92 persons) despite its location in North of Greece and with EAM assisted in the transfers of Jews to Palestine (Lampsa and Sibi 2012, 327–329).
15. For fallen Jewish resistance fighters cf. (Chandrinos 2013, 22–27).
16. JDC, IST 37-49/4/9/IS.217 – 'Memorandum: The Rescue of Jews Remaining in Greece' (19 July 1944).
17. JDC, NY AR 1945/54-4/33/2/387 – Letter from the American JDC, Rome to the American JDC, New York Lisbon, 'Memorandum on the Present Situation of Jewish Communities in Greece' (14 January 1945).
18. Most of the Jewish partisans were 15–20 years old when joining the resistance forces. As for the older ones, many of them gained their first combat experience among the 12,898 Jews fighting in the Greco-Italian war (1940–1941). (Benveniste 2014, 46).
19. The National Archives, London – Kew (TNA), GFM 33/2518 – Behandlung der Judenfrage im Ausland, Griechenland (August 18, 1942).
20. Yad Vashem, Oral History Collection – Testimony of Yitzhak Moshe (3558586); Further on Isaac Moissis and his co-fighter in (Bowman 2006, 30), who constructed the core of his research around the experience and testimonies of Moissis.
21. Dick Benveniste, the partisan fighter, is not to be confused with Rika Benveniste, a well established Greek historian. Nevertheless, they are indeed relatives, and Rika insists part of her desire to do research is to understand her own family history (Benveniste 2014, 363).
22. More on Varkiza e.g. (Richter 1985).
23. USHMM, RG-50.030*0472 – Oral history interview with Isaac Nehama (October 22, 2002). For transports to Auschwitz see (Czech 1990, 5–37). See also (Fleischer 1991, 273).
24. VHA, Interview Code 28007 – Oral history interview with Moise Eskaloni (February 22, 1997).
25. Jewish ELAS fighters such as Salvator Bakolas and Salomon Koen, both in their twenties, whose other family members were deported from Ioannina to Auschwitz in 1944, were among them. VHA, Interview Code 41842 – Oral history interview with Salvator Bacolas (May12, 1998) and VHA, Interview Code 6883 – Oral history interview with Shlomo Cohen (August 14, 1995).
26. USHMM, RG-50.030*0472 – Oral history interview with Isaac Nehama (October 22, 2002).
27. VHA, Interview Code 40116 – Oral history interview with Nelli Nachmias (January 25, 1998).
28. USHMM, RG-50.030*0472 – Oral history interview with Isaac Nehama (October 22, 2002). The Gestapo headquarters, which became notorious for torturous interrogations, were

located in Athens at 6 Merlin Street. This unfortunate period has been commemorated with a memorial to its victims located at the entrance of the building since 1983. On Gestapo headquarters in Athens see e.g. (Richter 1985, 159).

29. JDC, NY AR 1945/54-4/33/2/386– 'The Jews and the Liberation Struggle: A Report of the Central Committee of the EAM on the Jews of Greece and the Liberation Struggle' (September 12, 1945).
30. USHMM, RG-50.030*0472 – Oral history interview with Isaac Nehama (October 22, 2002).
31. After the Italian surrender, these camps were passed to British supervision. See description of Adekamre camp in Eritrea in the interview with Gavriil Gavriilidis, VHA, Interview Code 41612 – Oral history interview with Gavriil Gavriilidis (10 March 1998). For basic information on Adekamre, Eritrea see 'Adekamre,' I Campi Fascisti: Dalle Guerre in Africa alla Repubblica di Salò, available at http://www.campifascisti.it/scheda_campo.php?id_campo = 281 (accessed on November 20, 2015).
32. USHMM, RG-50.030*0472 – Oral history interview with Isaac Nehama (October 22, 2002).
33. VHA, Interview Code 28007 – Oral history interview with Moise Eskaloni (February 2, 1997).
34. VHA, Interview Code 44379 – Oral history interview with Raphail Sampetai (May 13, 1998).
35. VHA, Interview Code 22884 – Oral history interview with Leon Idas-Gabrielides (November 17, 1996).
36. Cf. *Kalimera*, 8/2009, 30, available at http://www.ropraha.eu/downloads/kalimera/kalimera_august_2009.pdf (accessed on November 20, 2015).
37. VHA, Interview Code 22884 – Oral history interview with Leon Idas-Gabrielides (November 17, 1996).
38. VHA, Interview Code 10093 – Oral history interview with Markos Mpotton (May 5, 1998). For Allegra Felous-Kapeta see Chandrinos 2013, 16.
39. *Rizospastis* (January 9, 2005), available at: http://www.rizospastis.gr/story.do?id = 2660376 (accessed on November 20, 2015).
40. For Allegra Kapeta-Felous see Chandrinos, *Synagonistis*, 16, for Mpotton cf. VHA, Interview Code 10093 – Oral history interview with Markos Mpotton (May 5, 1998).
41. On the Greek Civil War refugees in Eastern Bloc countries see e.g. (Tsekou 2013).
42. Cited according to 'The Varkiza Agreement between the Greek Government and EAM, concluding the "Second Round" of the Civil War, 12 February 1945' in (Clogg 2002, 188).
43. According to Voglis, of about 7500 persons, both male and female, sentenced to death, 3000–5000 were executed. (Voglis 2002, 151).
44. A'. Resolution III/1946 (26 June 1946) – Peri ektakton metron aforonton tin Dimosian taxin kai asfaleian, FEK No. 203.
45. Law 509/1947 (27.12.1947) – Peri metron asfaleias tou Kratous, tou politeumatos, to koinonikou kathestos, FEK No. 293. In Greece, KKE was legalized again only after the fall of junta in 1974.
46. While in 1950 only five Jewish prisoners were over 40, an equal number of prisoners was in the age group of 20–25 (i.e. they joined EAM as underage teenagers). USHMM, RG-45.010*KIS 240 – Pinax Israililon katadikon ypovlithis apo ton proxenion tou Israil is to Ypourgion ton exoterion tin 20-7-50 and RG-45.010*KIS 240 – Pinax Israililon exoriston tin 20-8-50 (August 22, 1950). Documents under USHMM, RG-45.010*KIS 240 not yet released for public use.
47. USHMM, RG-45.010*KIS 240 – Allilografia me kratoumenous (1948-1953), particularly RG-45.010*KIS 240 – Letter from Moris Benroubi, Aegina prison (August 8, 1950), RG-45.010*KIS 240 – Letter from Moisis Siakis to Avraam Alchanatis (July 10, 1950) and RG-45.010*KIS 240 – Application of Ganis Aaron, Averof prison (June 18, 1951).
48. In 1953, Salvator belonged to the last group of Jewish prisoners to be transferred to Israel where he met his sister Rachil Azaria (born Koen) and his brother Chaim Koen. VHA, Interview Code 47848 – Oral history interview with Rozita Arditti (19 November 1998).
49. USHMM, RG-45.010*KIS 240 – Fakelos Benroubi Moris, detailed in RG-45.010*KIS 240 – Letter from Moris Benroubi, Aegina prison (August 8, 1950), RG-45.010*KIS 240 – Letter from Gouliemos Azar to JDC, Aigina prison(October 17, 1949) and RG-45.010*KIS 240 – Application of Ganis Aaron, Averof prison (June 18, 1951).

50. Cf. also *Chronika* 4 (1986), 13, 14. A letter from July 1948 suggests that at that point Vital Yakoel, Alvertos Prisnalis, Moisis and Leon Bourlas, Emilios Matalon, Salvator Koen and Iakov Antzel were released from 'detention', while Avraam Tzachon was sent to another 'detention' to Ai Eustratio. USHMM, RG-45.010*KIS 247 – Letter from Police Chief N. Tsaousis to B' police department (July 2,1948). Documents under USHMM, RG-45.010*KIS 240 not yet released for public use.
51. Cf. Chandrinos 2013, 15, 18.
52. VHA, Interview Code 48557, Oral history interview with Rafail Filosof (24 November 1998).
53. Moysis Iesoulas (age 26) executed in May 1947, Samouil Dentis (18) in 1948, Meyer Levis (32) and Chryssoula Felous (20) both executed on August 5, 1949, and Savvas Issis (26) on October 2, 1949. *Chronika* 26 (April 1986), 13.
54. On Kabeli see USHMM, RG-45.010* KIS 247 – Katastasi is Ellada Israililton, pou ine katadikasmeni is thanato i filakisin i ine exoristi os kommouniste (n.d.) and on Issis *Chronika* 26 (April 1986), 13. For broader frame on death sentence of political prisoners in (Voglis 2002, 151).
55. JDC, NY AR 1945/54-1/1/1/2117 – J.D.C. Primer Part II Geography of the J.D.C (August 24, 1947).
56. JDC, G 1945/54-4/9/11/GR.62 – Letter from Harold Goldfarb to Mr. Herbert Katzki, Re: Mr. Morton Adell. 'Letter No. 127' (October 9, 1947).
57. VHA, Interview Code 9368 – Oral history interview with Moise Bourla (February 11, 1996). See also (Bourlas 2000, 79, 80).
58. VHA, Interview Code 9368 – Oral history interview with Moise Bourla (February 11, 1996) and (Bourlas 2000, 90–109) For 'detention' of Jews on Greek islands see USHMM, RG-45.010*KIS 247 – Fakelos kratoumenon and RG-45.010*KIS 240 – Allilografia me kratoumenous (1948–1953), *Chronika* 4 (1986), 13–14.
59. USHMM, RG-45.010*KIS 247 – Katastasi is Ellada Israililton, pou ine katadikasmeni is thanato i filakisin i ine exoristi os kommouniste (n.d.).
60. See *Chronika* (April 1986), 14.
61. USHMM, RG-50.030*0337 – Oral history interview with Herbert Katzki (June 2, 1995).
62. USHMM, RG-50.030*0404 – Oral history interview with Marguerite Glicksman (December 17, 1999).
63. VHA, Interview Code 8856 – Oral history interview with David Sion (February 29, 1998). VHA, Interview Code 4466 – Oral history interview with David Brudo (August 16, 1995). Also (Matsas 1997, 320, 321). VHA, Interview Code 4466 – Oral history interview with David Brudo (August 16, 1995).
64. Chronika 10 (1982), 10. For more details on Azarias see (Liolios 2008, 182, 183).
65. 'Greek Army Executes Jew Charged with Contacting Guerrillas; Community Appeals Ignored' (May 17, 1949), *The Jewish Telegraphic Agency*, available at http://www.jta.org/1949/05/17/archive/greek-army-executes-jew-charced-with-contacting-guerrilias-community-appeals-ignored (accessed November 20, 2015).
66. *Evraiki Estia* (March 26, 1947), respectively ibid. (October 24, 1947).
67. USHMM, RG-45.010*KIS 247 – Fakelos kratoumenon and RG-45.010*KIS 240 – Allilografia me kratoumenous (1948-1953).
68. The Law of Return 5710 (1950), *Knesset*, http://www.knesset.gov.il/laws/special/eng/return.htm (accessed on November 20, 2015).
69. Presidential Decree of 13 August 1927 – Peri kryseos ke tropopiiseos tou apo 13/15.9.1926 N.D. 'peri tropopiiseos diataxeon tou Astikou Nomou', FEK No. 171.
70. USHMM, RG-68.045 – Jewish Prisoners in Greece (June 13, 1951) and (Nachmani 1987, 88).
71. Hesitations of Solomon Kapetas and Vital Dasa are expressed in USHMM, RG-45.010*KIS 240 – Letter from KEP to KIS (July 31, 1950) and further RG-45.010*KIS 240 – Letter from Solomon Kapetas, Trikkala prison (January 18, 1953).
72. Rozita Arditti, ID No. 47848, VHA,USC Shoah Foundation.
73. For four-point agreement see (Nachmani 1987, 109).
74. USHMM, RG-45.010*KIS 247 – two undated letters probably from 1951 and further three letters from November 10, 1951, March 1, 1952 and March 30, 1952.

75. USHMM, RG-68.045 – Jewish Prisoners in Greece (June 13, 1951).
76. USHMM, RG-45.010*KIS 240 – Letter from Bension Menachem, Gioura prison (August 15, 1952).

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