

HISTORY OF THE BALKANS – Ch. 8 The immediate postwar readjustments: the Greek civil war and the Yugoslav-Soviet conflict

Iz poglavja sem povzela predvsem grško državljansko vojno ter odnos med Albanijo in Jugoslavijo po sporu Jugoslavije z Informbirojem. Preostali (izpuščeni) del poglavja se nanaša na splošne dogodke po 2 S.V. ter zgodovino Jugoslavije.

Grška državljanska vojna 1946-1949

Medtem ko sta se v Bolgariji in Romuniji po 2 S.V. oblikovala režima, ki sta bila pod sovjetskim nadzorom, v Albaniji in Jugoslavijo pa sta bili vzpostavljeni komunistični vladi, je Grčija sledila drugi poti.

Po vojni je Grčija dobila od Italije Dodokaneze.

Že decembra 1944 je britanska vlada sprejela ukrepe s katerimi je želela ohraniti svoj vpliv v Atenah. Britanski strokovnjaki so diktirali ekonomsko, zunanjo, obrambno, zaposlovalno in finančno politiko. Njihovo politiko so kritizirale predvsem ZDA, ki so sicer ostale zunaj dogajanj, vendar pa so posredno preko ZN in UNRRA programa prispevale veliko sredstev namenjenih Grčiji, ki so v državi preprečila stradanje.

Na nasprotnih straneh sta si stali komunistična gverila (podpora Jugoslavija in Bolgarija) in rojalisti (podpora VB).

Prvo politično vprašanje, ki se pojavi je vrnitev monarhije. Zahodne države se odločijo, da bodo izpeljale plebiscit in volitve. KKE (grška komunistična stranka) je zaradi težav v izvedbi kampanje v hribovitem svetu prosila za preložitve, kar pa so zavrnili. V odgovor se v KKE niso udeležili volitev, kar je bila dolgoročno gledano slaba odločitev, ker se naslednja 4 leta niso imeli predstavnikov v parlamentu. Septembra so se Grki na plebiscitu odločili za monarhijo (George II).

1946 leta situacija postaja vedno bolj kaotična, zato tudi ne vemo točnega datuma začetka državljanske vojne.

Ko se je grška vlada zavedela, da vojne verjetno ne bo dobila, se je obrnila po pomoč k ZDA. ZDA so jim namenile denarno pomoč (Trumanova doktrina, Marshallov načrt) in s tem postanejo najbolj vplivna zaveznica/podpornica Grčije (zamenjajo VB).

KKE ni imela podpore s strani Sovjetske vlade. Stalin je celo očital Jugoslaviji in Bolgarijo podporo KKE. Končni udarec za KKE pa je predstavljal spor Jugoslavija: SZ. Julija 1949 je Tito zaprl mejo z Grčijo in s tem KKE prekinil oskrbovalno linijo. Boji se nehajo septembra 1949.

Posledice: 100.000 žrtev, velika gmotna škoda (večja kot v 2 SV), begunci ...

Territorial expansion and internal turmoil

Greece during World War II (1940-1944)

[Ioannis Metaxas](#) (left), with King [George II of Greece](#), Crown Prince [Paul of Greece](#) and Commander-in-Chief General [Alexander Papagos](#).

In the early hours of [October 28, 1940](#), [Italian](#) dictator [Mussolini](#) demanded that Greece surrender all its arms and allow the [Axis](#) troops to invade the country; the administration then gave what became known as the simple negative response of “No” (see [Okhi Day](#)), thereby siding with the [Allies](#). Italian troops immediately began [invading](#) the country from southern [Albania](#). However they were checked by the significantly smaller Greek Army. This signalled the Allies' first major victory on land against the Axis powers. A prolonged period of fierce fighting in the [Pindus](#) mountains followed, in which Mussolini's forces were successfully pushed back. [Hitler](#) and his generals realized that their strategic southern flank needed to be secured more effectively so German forces, whose ranks included troops from [Bulgaria](#) and [Italy](#), invaded.

The [invasion of Greece by Nazi Germany](#) began on [April 6, 1941](#) and led to the complete [occupation](#) of the country. [Greek Resistance](#) to the occupation was fierce, often with bitter retaliation from the occupiers. The Greek resistance in 1940-41 however, is believed to have forced a delay in German plans to initiate [invasion against the Soviet Union](#), thereby extending the campaign into the punishing Russian winter. Meanwhile the extremely heavy losses suffered by German paratroop forces (5000) in the [Battle of Crete](#) foiled a planned German campaign in the [Middle East](#) against British-held Iraq and its oil fields. Germany retained its disastrous grip on the country until [October 12, 1944](#) when its troops finally withdrew after the landing of Allied Forces in Athens. The Jewish communities of Greece, especially of Thessaloniki, suffered the heaviest toll in the [Holocaust](#), ca. 300,000 Greeks died of famine and the country's economy languished.

Post-war era (1944-1966)

[November 17, 1973](#): An [AMX 30](#) tank standing in front of the Athens Polytechnic School, moments before the bloody end to the [Athens Polytechnic Uprising](#).

[July 24, 1974](#): [Konstantinos Karamanlis](#) arrives in Athens on the French Presidential jet, courtesy of French President [Valéry Giscard d'Estaing](#), to assume the leadership of government of national unity that would lead to free elections. He is greeted by jubilant crowds of supporters craving for the restoration of democratic rule.

After liberation from [Nazi Germany](#), Greece experienced an equally bitter [civil war](#). This war was caused by differences that were created between left-wing partisans and right-wing elements. Near the end of the war right-wing former resistance forces made a deal with the Nazis not to attack each other. This caused an outrage from left-wing resistance forces. After World War II ended, the civil war started between the self-proclaimed communist [Democratic Army of Greece](#) (left wing resistance) and the right-wing forces

which now had the support of the Hellenic Army. The war lasted until 1949, when communist forces were defeated in the Battle of Grammos-Vitsi. However, during the 1950s and 1960s, Greece experienced a gradual and significant economic growth, also aided by grants and loans by the United States through the Marshall Plan.

Regime of the Colonels (1967-1974)

In 1965 a period of political turbulence and uncertainty began which led to a coup d'état against the elected government and King Constantine II on April 21, 1967. In their place, a US-supported military junta, known as the Regime of the Colonels, was established. In the ensuing years, a number of sympathisers of the left, as well as a number of politicians and communists, were arrested and brutally tortured by the members of the regime. Many politicians evaded capture and found political refuge elsewhere in Europe, such as France and Sweden. The then head of state, King Constantine, had officially acknowledged the new regime, which was then duly recognized by the international community, so diplomatic relations continued. However, the King subsequently attempted a failed counter-coup in December 1967, after which the former head of state went into exile in Rome. In November 1973 the Athens Polytechnic Uprising sent shockwaves across the regime, but the junta was not suppressed until July 20, 1974. On that day, Turkey invaded Cyprus, allegedly to protect the island's Turkish minority from a junta-sponsored coup d'état. The developing crisis led to the collapse of the Regime of the Colonels on July 23, 1974.

Modern Era (1975-present)

Ex-Premier Constantine Karamanlis was immediately invited back from Paris, where he had resided since 1963. Marking the beginning of the Metapolitefsi era of modern Greek history, the plane carrying Constantine Karamanlis landed in Athens in the early hours of July 24, amidst massive celebrations and enormous crowds, extending from the capital's Ellinikon International Airport to Syntagma Square; Karamanlis was immediately appointed as the interim prime minister under President Gizikis and founded the conservative New Democracy party, going on to win the ensuing elections by a large margin. Democratic rule was finally restored in its birthplace and a democratic republican constitution activated in 1975. The monarchy was abolished by a referendum held that same year, denying King Constantine II and his family any access to the country until 2004. Meanwhile, another prominent figure of the past, Andreas Papandreou, had also returned from the United States and had already founded the Panhellenic Socialist Party, or PASOK.

Karamanlis won the 1977 parliamentary elections but resigned in 1980 giving way to George Rallis; Papandreou, however, won the elections held on October 18, 1981 by a landslide and formed the first socialist government in Greece's history. Papandreou dominated the Greek political stage for almost 15 years (excepted only by the 1990-1993 period when Constantine Mitsotakis of the New Democracy party won elections), until his death in June 23, 1996. By that time Kostas Simitis, one of many prominent political figures of PASOK, had already succeeded the ailing and hospitalized Papandreou as the

new Prime Minister. Following a long period of diplomatic tension and the threat of a military confrontation (see Imia-Kardak crisis), relations with neighbouring Turkey have improved substantially over the last decade, since successive earthquakes hit both nations in the summer of 1999. Rapprochement came about through what became known as Greek-Turkish earthquake diplomacy and today Greece is an active supporter of Turkey's effort to be accepted by the European Union as a full member, under the assumption that it addresses humanitarian issues. Prime Minister Simitis remained in office until March 7, 2004 when Kostas Karamanlis of the conservative New Democracy party and a nephew of Constantine Karamanlis, won the parliamentary elections. Greece became the tenth member of the European Union on January 1, 1981 and ever since the nation has experienced a remarkable and sustained economic growth. Widespread investments in industrial enterprises and heavy infrastructure, as well as funds from the European Union and growing revenues from tourism, shipping and a fast growing service sector have raised the country's standard of living to unprecedented levels. The country adopted the Euro in 2001 and successfully organised the 2004 Olympic Games in Athens. In 2005 Greece wins Eurovision Song Contest 2005 with the song My Number One of Elena Papparizou.

The **Greek Civil War** was fought between 1946 and 1949, and represents the first example of a post-war Communist insurgency. The victory of the government anti-Communist forces led to Greece's membership in NATO and helped to define the ideological balance of power in the Aegean for the entire Cold War.

The civil war consisted on one side of people from the predominantly conservative and centrist Greek civilian population ^[citation needed] and the armed forces of the Greek government, supported by the USA and the UK. On the other side were mostly Greek communists, and key members of the biggest Anti-Nazi resistance organization (ELAS), the leadership of which was controlled by the Communist Party of Greece (KKE).

The first phase of the civil war took shape in 1942-1944. The left-wing and right-wing of the resistance movement fought each other in a fratricidal conflict to establish the leadership of the Greek resistance. In the second phase (1944) the ascendant communists, in military control of most of Greece, were confronted by the returning Greek government in exile, which had been formed under Western Allied auspices in Cairo. In the third phase (commonly called the "Third Round" by the Communists) (1946-1949), a centre-right coalition government, elected under abnormal conditions, fought against armed forces controlled by the Communist Party of Greece. Although the involvement of the Communist Party in the uprisings was universally known, the party remained legal until 1948, continuing to coordinate attacks from its Athens offices until proscription.

During the conflict, neighbouring countries attempted to pursue territorial claims against Greece. Many members of ELAS were Slavo-Macedonians from northern Greece, who established SNOF (Slavomacedonian Liberating Front) in 1944, with the support of the Yugoslav leader Tito who had plans for Greek Macedonia. KKE was very positive towards the idea of the creation of a "Socialist Republic of Macedonia" that would annex

Greek Macedonia. Later ELAS and SNOF disagreed on issues of policy and finally crashed.

The civil war left Greece with a legacy of political polarisation; as a result, Greece also entered into alliance with the United States and joined NATO, while relationships with its Soviet-allied northern neighbors became strained.

Civil War: 1946-1949

Fighting resumed in March 1946, as a gang of 30 ex-ELAS members, most of whom were persecuted, attacked a police station in village Litohoro. Next day, the official KKE paper's coversheet stated that "The authorities and the gangs fabricate alleged communist attacks". Contemporaneously, armed bands of ELAS veterans infiltrated into Greece through the mountainous regions near the Yugoslav and Albanian borders. They now were organized as the Democratic Army of Greece (*Dimokratikos Stratos Elladas*, DSE), under the command of the ELAS veteran Markos Vafiadis (known as "General Markos"), who operated from a base in Yugoslavia, sent from KKE to organize already existing troops.

The average and mainly peasant citizen was caught in the crossfire. When the DSE partisans were entering a village asking for supplies, the citizens could not resist. And when the national army was coming to the village the same citizens who had given supplies to the partisans, at gun point, were characterized as communist sympathizers and suffered the consequences (usually imprisonment or exile).

The Greek Army now numbered about 90,000 men, and gradually was being put on a more professional basis. The task of re-equipping and training the Army had been carried out by its fellow Western Allies. But by early 1947 Britain, which had spent 85 million pounds in Greece since 1944, no longer could afford this burden. President Harry S. Truman announced that the United States would step in to support the government of Greece against Communist pressure. This began a long and troubled relationship between Greece and the United States. For several decades the American Ambassador advised the King about important issues such as the appointment of the Prime Minister.

Through 1947 the scale of fighting increased. DSE launched large-scale attacks on towns across northern Epirus, Thessaly and Macedonia, provoking the Army into massive counter-offensives, which then encountered no opposition as the DSE melted back into the mountains and into its safe havens over the northern borders. Army morale remained low, and it would be some time before the support of the United States became apparent.

In September 1947, however, KKE's leadership decided to move from these guerilla tactics to full-scale conventional war, despite the opposition of Vafiadis. In December the KKE announced the formation of a Provisional Democratic Government, with Vafiadis as Prime Minister. This led the Athens government to finally ban KKE. No foreign government recognised this government. The new strategy led the DSE into costly attempts to seize a major town to be the seat of its government. In December 1947 1,200

DSE men were killed at a set-piece battle around Konitsa. However, this strategy forced the government to increase the size of the Army. Controlling the main cities, the government cracked down on KKE members and sympathizers, many of whom were imprisoned on the island of Makronisos.

Despite setbacks such as the fighting at Konitsa, during 1948 the DSE reached the height of its power, extending its operations to the Peloponnese and even to Attica, within 20 km of Athens. It had at least 20,000 fighters, and a network of sympathizers and informants in every village and every suburb. It has been estimated that out of DSE's 20,000 fighters, 14,000 were of Slavic Macedonian origin. Given their important role, KKE changed its policy on Greek Macedonia. At the fifth Plenum on January 31 1949, a resolution was passed claiming that Macedonian people are distinguishing themselves, and after KKE's victory they would find their national restoration as they wish.

Western Allied funds, advisers and equipment now were flooding into the country, and under Western Allied guidance a series of major offensives were launched in the mountains of central Greece. Although these offensives did not achieve all their objectives, they inflicted some serious defeats on the DSE. Army morale rose, and the morale of the DSE fighters, many of whom had been "conscripted" at gunpoint, fell correspondingly.

The end of the war: 1949

The fatal blow to KKE and the DSE, however, was political, not military. In June of that year, the Soviet Union and its satellites broke off relations with President Tito of Yugoslavia, who had been the KKE's strongest supporter since 1944. The KKE thus had to choose between their loyalty to Stalin and their relations with their closest and most important ally. Inevitably, after some internal conflict the great majority of them, led by Zachariadis, chose Stalin. In January 1949 Vafiadis was accused of "Titoism" and removed from his political and military positions, being replaced by Zachariadis.

After a year of increasing acrimony, Tito closed down the Yugoslavian border to the guerrillas of DSE in July of 1949 and disbanded their camps inside Yugoslavia. The DSE still could operate from Albania, but to the DSE that was a poor alternative. The split with Tito also set off a witch-hunt for "Tito-ites" inside the Greek Communist Party, leading to disorganisation and demoralisation within the ranks of the DSE and decline of support of the KKE in urban areas.

At the same time, the National Army found a talented commander in General Alexander Papagos. In August of 1949, Papagos launched a major counter-offensive against DSE forces in northern Greece, code-named "Operation Torch". The campaign was a major victory for the National Army and resulted in heavy losses for the DSE. The DSE army was no longer able to sustain resistance in set-piece battles. By September of 1949, most of its fighters had surrendered or escaped over the border into Albania. By the end of the month, the Albanian government, presumably with Soviet approval, announced to KKE that it would no longer allow the DSE to perform military operations from within

Albanian territory. On October 16, Zachariadis announced a "temporary cease-fire to prevent the complete annihilation of Greece." This ceasefire marked the end of the Greek Civil War.

The Western Allies saw the end of the Greek Civil War, as a victory in the Cold War against the Soviet Union. The irony was that the Soviets never actively supported the Communist Party's efforts to seize power in Greece. The KKE's major supporter and supplier had always been Tito, and it was the rift between Tito and the KKE which marked the real demise of the party's efforts to assert power.

Post-war division and reconciliation

The Civil War left Greece in ruins, and in even greater economic distress than it had been after the end of the German occupation. Additionally, it divided the Greek people for the following decades, with both sides vilifying their opponents. Thousands of Greeks languished in prison for many years or were sent in exile in the islands of Yaros or Makronisos. Many thousands more took refuge in communist countries, or emigrated to Australia, Germany, the USA, and other countries. About ten thousand underaged children were abducted by communist fighters across the border, and forcibly relocated to Eastern Bloc countries. [1][2][3][4][5][6] The polarisation and instability in the 1960s of Greek politics was a direct result of feelings and ideologies lingering from the Civil War.

Right-wing extremist organisations played a role in the politics of the time by instigating conflict and tension, leading to the murder of the left-wing politician Gregoris Lambrakis in 1963 (the inspiration for the Costa Gavras political thriller, Z). On April 21, 1967, a group of right-wing Army officers (later referred to as the Regime of the Colonels) carried out a coup d'état and seized power from the government, using as an excuse the political instability and tension of the time. The leader of the coup, George Papadopoulos, was a member of the paramilitary organization IDEA (Ιερός Δεσμός Ελλήνων Αξιωματικών, or "Sacred Bond of Greek Officers").

Before the Junta was in power, officers belonging to the ASPIDA group, a left-wing organization of anti-royalist officers, were accused of planning an attempt to take power through a coup. The attempt never took place, and the officers were court martialed for "treason against the Greek state", and "following a known communist". They allegedly were followers of socialist leader Andreas Papandreou, the son of former prime minister of Greece, George Papandreou, who had led the Center Union political party.

After the fall of the military junta, in 1974, a conservative centre-right wing government under Constantine Karamanlis legalised the KKE and quickly established a constitution which guaranteed political freedoms, individual rights, and free elections. In 1981 the center-left-wing government of PASOK, which was elected with a substantial majority, allowed DSE fighters who had taken refuge in Communist countries to come back to Greece and reestablish to their former estates. However, this law excluded a large number of DSE fighters who described themselves as "ethnic Macedonians" and were still forbidden from entering Greece. PASOK claimed that this law diminished the

consequences of the civil war in Greek society. Moreover, PASOK government offered state pension to former guerrillas; Markos Vafiadis was honorarily elected as member of the Greek parliament under PASOK's flag.

Greek military junta of 1967-1974

The **Greek military junta of 1967-1974**, alternatively "**The Regime of the Colonels**", or in Greece "**The Junta**" (Greek: Η Χούντα) and "**The Seven Years**" are terms used to refer to a series of right-wing military governments that ruled Greece from 1967 to 1974. Rule by the military started in the morning of 21 April 1967 with a coup d'état led by a group of colonels of the Greek military, and ended in July 1974.

Background

The 1967 coup and the following seven years of military rule were the epitome of 30 years of national division between the forces of the Left and the Right that can be traced to the time of the resistance against Axis occupation of Greece during World War Two. After the liberation in 1944 Greece descended into civil war, fought between the forces of the Communist-led Greek resistance and the now returned government-in-exile.

American influence in Greece

The Phoenix rising from its flames and the silhouette of the soldier bearing a rifle with fixed bayonet was the emblem of the Junta. On the header the word Greece (Ελλάς) and on the footer 21 April 1967, the date of the coup d'état, can be seen in Greek.

In 1947, the United States formulated the Truman Doctrine, and began to actively support a series of authoritarian governments in Greece, Turkey and Iran, in order to ensure that these states did not fall under Soviet influence. With American and British aid, the civil war ended with the military defeat of the Left in 1949. The Communist Party of Greece (KKE) was outlawed and many Communists had to either flee the country or face persecution. The CIA and the Greek military began to work closely, especially after Greece joined NATO in 1952. Greece was a vital link in the NATO defense arc which extended from the eastern border of Iran to the northmost point in Norway. Greece in particular was seen as being in risk, having experienced a Communist insurgency. In particular, the newly-founded Hellenic National Intelligence Service (KYP) and the LOK Special Forces (later actively involved in the 1967 coup) maintained a very close liaison with their American counterparts. In addition to preparing for a Soviet invasion, they agreed to guard against a leftist coup. The LOK in particular were integrated into the Gladio European stay-behind network. ^{[[citation needed](#)]}

Več informacij o Grčiji:

- <http://www.geocities.com/nevnato/grcija.htm> (malo populistično, ampak kratko in jedrnato);

- http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Greek_Civil_War (več o grški državljanski vojni).

Albanija: Jugoslavija

Julija 1946 podpišeta državi Sporazum o prijateljstvu, sodelovanju in medsebojni pomoči. Podobni sporazumi so bili sklenjeni tudi z Bolgarijo, kar je sprožilo razprave o federaciji treh držav.

Odnosi z ZDA in VB so postajali vedno slabši:

- Albanija razglasi jurisdikcijo na pasom Jadranskega morja 3 milje od obale; VB pošlje rušilce, dva uničijo Albanske mine; ZN naložijo Albaniji plačilo odškodnine;
- Senat ZDA podpre Grške zahteve po J delu Albanije.

Albanije se opre na Jugoslavijo: podobna ustava, jugoslovanski svetovalci, denarna pomoč.

Obtožbe: YU zavira ekonomski razvoj Albanije, plačuje nizke cene za surovine, želijo podrediti Albanijo ...

Po sporu z Informbirojem 1948: YU svetovalci so se morali v 48ih urah umakniti iz Albanije; ekonomski sporazumi so bili preklicani; propaganda proti YU. Albanije vodi pro-SZ in anti-YU politiko.