

DYNAMICS OF 'HETEROGENEITY': INTEGRATION AND RADICALISM OF POST WAR GREEK WORKERS IN THE NETHERLANDS, 1955 TO 1981.



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ABBREVIATIONS

SBBW, Stichting Bijstand Buitenlandse Werknemers, Foundation of the Welfare of Foreign Workers.

Migrantenraad, Migrants Council in *SBBW*.

CPN, Dutch communist party

UDL, United Democratic Left, Ενιαία Δημοκρατική Αριστερά.

UDL, ΚΚΕ, Κομμουνιστικό Κόμμα Ελλάδας

UDLin (ΚΚΕ εσωτερικού) Euro communist's part after 1968's division

A.D.K Anti Diktatoriale Kommittee ADK, Antidictatorial committee, 1969

PAK, Πανελληνια Αντιδικτατορική Κίνηση

PAM, Pan-Hellenic Antidictatorship Movement, Πανελλήνιο Αντιδικτατορικό Μέτωπο

ΕΣΑΚ, Uniform Antidictatorship Syndicalistic Movement, Εννιαία Συνδικαλιστική Αντιδικτατορική Κίνηση

Vereniging van de Werkende Grieken Rotterdam en Omstreken, Κοινότητα Ελλήνων Εργαζομένων Ρότερνταμ (1974)

Federatie der Griekse Vereniging in Nederland, Netherland's Greek Communities Federation, Ομοσπονδία Ελληνικών Κοινοτήτων Ολλανδίας, ΟΕΚ (1976)

ΣΑΕ, Συμβούλιο Αποδημού Ελληνισμού

Platform Buitenlanders Rijnmond, Foreign Worker's Platform, Πλατφόρμα Μεταναστευτικών Οργανώσεων Ρότερνταμ (1981)

L.S.O.B.A, Πανολλανδική Οργάνωση Μεταναστών Εργατών (1981)

...but the voyages did not end.

Their souls became one with the oars and the oarlocks

With the solemn face of the prow

With the rudder's wake

With the water that shattered their image.

The companions died one by one, with lowered eyes.

Their oars mark the place where they sleep on the shore.

No one remembers them.

Justice.

G.Seferis, Argonauts Δ, *Mythistorema*, 1933-34.

Contents

Introduction

Synopsis and aim of the research.....	8
Theory.....	11
Historiography.....	13
Research Structure and Sources of analysis....	16

Chapter I.

A to Z: from post civil war Greece to 60s to ‘consensus’ Netherlands.

1. Segmented post-war Greece	
1.1.1950-1967.....	25
1.2. Greek dictatorship 1967-1974.....	27
1.3. Economy and welfare state.....	28
1.4. A Clientele Immigration policy.....	30
1.5. The Pre-war Greek group in the Netherlands	32
2. The Netherlands from the 1950s onwards.....	33
2.1. Dutch modernized Model.....	33
2.2. Migration Policies of Temporariness	35
3. A frame of a predefined inequality.....	36

Chapter II.

First phase of installation, 1955-1967.

Greek group’s ‘vulnerable’ and ‘heterogeneous’ elements.....	38
Recruitment conditions: <i>To the unknown with the boat of ‘Hope’</i>	38
<i>Pensions</i> and initial impressions.....	55
An Indirect Discrimination: labor conditions and work environment.....	61
Comparisons and permanency.....	71

Dutch banks.....	75
Observations.....	76
Chapter III.	
Reunification and settlement after 1967.....	80
Marriage Patterns.....	93
Two parallel linguistic and educational realities - Intergenerational integration.....	93
Oppositional cultural dualities	99
Dutch Welfare state: Paternalism or Opportunity.....	115
Occupational Trajectories.....	119
Repatriation: <i>'You come for one year...and finally you stay forever'</i>	126
Observations.....	131
Chapter IV.	
Institutional Politics, Rotterdam and Utrecht.....	137
Church's political and social role.....	137
Greek School, the 'apple of discord'.....	146
Political Organizations in Rotterdam and Utrecht.....	149
Anti-dictatorship activism 1967-1974.....	153
Communities normalization onwards 1974	171
Observations	177
Conclusions.....	183
Appendix	188
Bibliography.....	236

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Introduction

Synopsis and aim of the research.

Prior to the eighteenth century, there is already evidence of Greek migration to the Netherlands. However, the largest Greek migrants group arrived in the 1960s. Except for the case of Greek seamen in Rotterdam's port, the main migration consisted of low skilled guest workers. Western Europe needed workers. Mediterranean countries were a source of labor. Greece had been plagued by political and social crisis, with the additional disadvantage of foreign power's interventional paternalism (Great Britain). The 'Triple Occupation' period¹ bequeathed primordial productive structure's decomposition and disadvantageous intrinsic economic features, which fostered emigration. Moreover, the post civil war anti-communist pogrom and suspicions left part of the population unemployed, hunted and threatened. Greece in the post civil war period was an ideal source of labor. The uneven economic development between Greece and the Netherlands influenced the countries' bilateral agreements (recruitment conditions, nominal labor status) and enhanced the worker's low status.

The Greek immigration to the Netherlands can be divided into three phases. Until the late 1960s, Greek immigration to the Netherlands had been majority male and temporary. In the period 1962 to 1964, Greek guest workers arrived in the Netherlands either 'spontaneously', or via a contract between the two states.² A formal convention was signed between the Greek and the Dutch state in 1966, but the worker's migration flow paused after 1964. The first period of Greek settlement to the Netherlands (1955-1967) coincides with a transitional political and socioeconomic period in Greece. 1967 is a turning point as a dictatorship was imposed in Greece. Consequently, the second period (1967-1974) marks an intense political period in the home country, a fact that is decisive for the Greek worker's actions in the host land, as that is expressed by their organizational activities. At the same time, from 1968 onwards, family unification procedures gave Greek labor migration a new and more permanent character. After 1975, when the political tension in Greece declined due to the dictatorship's fall, Greek organizations in the Netherlands

¹ German, Italian and Bulgarian occupation, April 1941- October 1944.

² Mainly through informal labor networks- kinship or defecting from Belgium mines. Hans Vermeulen et al., *Ελληνες στην Ολλανδία* (Αθήνα 1990).

gradually transformed and got new functions and structures. Moreover, at that point, the group's integration conditions changed, mainly in the level of their occupational specialization. Self-employment of Greek migrants in the 1980s became their main economic and social strategy for upward mobility. As a consequence, the group's integration process entered a new phase.

Although, post-war groups of sojourners can generally be considered as part of 'labor' migration, which has been formed by Europe's unequal development of North, West and South ('push and pull' factors), I argue that considering the characteristics of the Greek group and its migration type, such an approach would be simplistic and essentialist. Greeks are not like other labor migrants, because they were characterized by political heterogeneity and an especially low social status. The group's political diversities distinguish it from labor migration labeling.³ Greek's special 'heterogeneous' characteristics and their confluence to the worker's identifications and actions in the host country are central to this research. The immigrant's social, political and cultural capital, predefined by the home country, affected the Greek's potential social position and mobility in the host country. Moreover, in our case, the communists' workers in 1960s and 1970s were disadvantaged and mistrusted in both Greece and the Netherlands. In that sense, progressives must be considered as a 'constructed 'heterogeneity', 'otherness', among co-ethnics, but also among the receiving majority of Dutch.

I argue that although homogeneity defined the outlines of integration, it was in fact the heterogeneity and the specific pre-migration characteristics of the Greeks that determined the individual outcome. The group's common social status back home (World War II occupation, poverty, refugee status, and orphan hood) and in the Netherlands (countries' international status, unequal development, bilateral agreements, recruitment conditions, opportunities structures) has led to a shared social and labor position to the host country. Although, the Greek's political heterogeneity and radicalism resulted to divergent trajectories, 'triggered' by specific political conditions in Greece (junta) and affected by special structural conditions in the Netherlands.

³ It is divided in two political parts, the 'conservatives' and the 'progressives'. Actually, those 'inscriptions' concern the worker's ancestors political tradition and placement, during the civil war and are not indicative for individual's ideologies; their differences concerns primarily, their confrontation with the post-civil war powers.

Differences between the 'progressive' group's institutional actions have been filtered by the grade of class and political consciousness of the members.

In a wide perspective, the research, which is engaged in a critical analysis of the continually changing socioeconomic environment, of both the sending and the receiving society, targets Greek migrant's integration process in the period 1955 to 1981. The interdependence and changes between three modules: the group's character, as it has been shaped in the sending country; the receiving country's opportunities' structures and policies and Greek's institutionalization activity in the Netherlands, covers a wide spectrum of the integration's process study. The leading question of this research relates basically, to the specific post civil war situation in Greece and the way in which that determined the group's immigration character in the Netherlands.

Focus on the 'situation before' and its contribution to the 'situation after' migration is an approach that few authors have pay attention to. I argue that the study of the sending country's special conditions can shape an explanatory model for a group's integration trajectories during its migration process in a receiving land.

Thus my leading question is: How and why did the situation in Greece shape and determine the group's migration and integration trajectories in the Netherlands?

In order to answer that question some sub-questions have to be addressed. Which were the group's characteristics, as defined by the sending country? Which were the host's opportunities structures and how has that reflected on Greek's structural integration? Where there differences in social mobility between various groups of Greeks? Why did the group's institutional tendencies differ in the period from 1967 to 1974? Which demarcations were shaped, for whom and why? Which was the progressive's contribution for a shift in worker's status; the control of the 'alienage' pathology? How were those changes prepared and when did they become formal? Why did the Greek's institutions change character and target group after 1974, and which were the differences because Utrecht and Rotterdam? Finally, how did the group's heterogeneity reflect and contribute to the Greek worker's social and political integration, in the Netherlands in 1955 to 1981?

Theory

The analysis is organized theoretically along the three modules of my study. The first part analyzes the group's character and how the 'situation before' migration influenced integration and the establishment of associations. The second is about the state level – Greece and the Netherlands - and how authorities in both countries shaped integration and institutionalization. The third part monitors how integration took place. Apart from these three theoretical modules, I hypothesize in this paragraph about the pre-migratory and host-society-related factors that influence integration.

Firstly, I focus on the homeland and try to shed light on the pre-migratory factors that influence integration in after migration. Socioeconomic factors, political conditions, religion, culture in the sending state are filters, shape emigration motives, form the group's character, and shape integration. Schrover and Van Faassen, studying Dutch transatlantic migration, analyzed the relation between socioeconomic conditions and emigration policies in the country of origins and community formation of immigrants in the country of settlement.⁴ Vermeulen studied the influence of the country of origin for the immigrants' group institutional embeddedness in the host land.⁵ Analyzing the 'situation before' emigration at the political, social, religious and cultural level in Greece enabled us to understand, which factors influenced the integration process in the Netherlands.

Secondly, considering the group's institutional activities, we focus on the interaction between the political conditions in Greece and the Dutch opportunities structures. The group's institutionalization – in the form of setting up immigrant organizations - is developed upon the theory of Schrover and Vermeulen⁶ and Schrover.⁷ Immigrant organizations shed light on the

⁴ Marlou Schrover and Marijke van Faassen, 'Invisibility and selectivity; Introduction to the special issue on Dutch overseas emigration in the nineteenth and twentieth century', *Tijdschrift voor Sociale en Economische Geschiedenis* 7:2 (2010) 3-31.

⁵ Floris Vermeulen, *The immigrant organizing process; Turkish organizations in Amsterdam and Berlin and Surinamese organizations in Amsterdam 1960-2000* (Amsterdam 2006).

⁶ Marlou Schrover and Floris Vermeulen, 'Immigrants Organizations', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 31:5 (2005) 823-832

⁷ Schrover and Vermeulen, 'Immigrants Organizations', and Marlou Schrover, 'No more than a keg of beer; The coherence of German immigrant communities', in: Leo Lucassen, Jochen Oltmer, and David Feldman, *Paths of integration* (Amsterdam 2006) 222-238.

opportunities structures the migrants encountered, the changes in group dynamics and migration status.⁸ Considering the transnational migrant's action as indicative for the status of a group during its integration procedure, I focus on the institutional formations that the Greek migrants set up in Rotterdam and Utrecht. The research into operation, maintenance and continuity of those organizations is indicative for the Dutch state's stand towards the Greek migrants. Organizational formation demonstrates the worker's identification, their distinctive 'Greekness' and its coherence, and thus their political culture.⁹ A comparison between organizations in Rotterdam and Utrecht shows primarily, demarcations within a group and to which extent those diversities led to different organizational trajectories. The comparison also reveals differences between the cities' opportunities structures, which affected the group's institutionalization and integration. The study of the relation's – continually transformed - that Greek migrants develop with their fatherland, the majority society and between them indicates the reasons and the ways in which their ethnic networks, identities and strategies were formed and reshaped during the period 1955 to 1981 in Rotterdam and Utrecht.

Thirdly, Alba and Nee "revised" model of assimilation is used in order to study the semi-measurable factors of Greek's integration.¹⁰ According to their model, one key to understanding trajectories of incorporation lies in the interplay between the purposive action of immigrants and their descendants and the contexts - that is institutional structures, cultural beliefs, and social networks - that shape it. The group's lifecycle, the stages of their 'economic and social positions, culture and consciousness' are evidence of interpenetration.¹¹ Language, cultural interaction, labor market position, marriage patterns, spatial concentration, discrimination and return projects, for the first generation as also educational attainment and trajectories for the second generation, will be discussed. The group's housing patterns will not be further analyzed due small group's size and its spatial dispersion. The last semi-measurable factor, the group's institutional activity is fundamental, as has been mentioned above.

⁸ Schrover and Vermeulen, 'Immigrants Organizations', 823-832.

⁹ Lucassen, Feldman and Oltmer, (eds.) *Paths of Integration* 244-249.

¹⁰ Richard Alba and Victor Nee, *Remaking the American Mainstream: Assimilation and Contemporary Immigration* (New York 2005).

¹¹ Stephen Castles and Mark J Miller, *The Age of Migration: International Population movements in the Modern World* (New York 2003) 40.

In the thesis, I combine the insights of the three above theoretical modules to analyze the integration of the Greek migrants. Integration is influenced by factors in the receiving society, as scholars like Alba and Nee have demonstrated. The economic situation in the host country affects the opportunities that migrants have after arrival. Moreover, opportunity structures are affected by government policies of supporting or competing with migrant institutions, i.e., granting subsidies to institutions, or forbidding migrants to institutionalize their communities. It is also about the communication with Dutch society and the awareness of the native of the situation that the Greeks had in The Netherlands and back home. The socio-political rebelliousness of the sixties and seventies, for example the Dutch *Provo's*, supported the Greek migrants' cause. The Greeks arrived as part of the 'guest workers' migration in West-Europe with other Mediterranean laborers. Temporariness was the main spirit of this migration and formed the actions of the Dutch state, as well as the migrants'. Another implication of the arrival as 'guest workers', was the class solidarity among this social category. These migrants with different ethnic origins interacted politically, which affected political acculturation in the host country. Finally, the guest workers arrived in the period of reconstruction of the Netherlands after the Second World War, when Dutch society was characterized by political consensus, modernization theories and growing welfare. The factors listed above are related to the host society and shape the integration of Greek migrants.

Other factors that influence integration are the characteristics of the migrant group, like sex ratio and education levels. In this thesis, I am interested in these pre-migratory factors and how they determined the process of integration. I am aware of the importance of the host-society related factors as listed above, but I believe that this pre-migratory approach adds new insights to the historiography. As I show in the thesis, Greeks' integration was affected by common factors like socio-economic status in Greece. However, political heterogeneity resulted in different integration patterns. The pre-migratory factors that influenced integration in the Netherlands are:

- (1) Poverty: Greece did not have an economic basis after the end of the Second World War and was not industrially developed. There was a lack of economic growth. Poverty

functioned as a push-factor, but also formed the will of the migrants to integrate. Moreover, the origins of this 'inferior' Greek economy-in comparison with Western European countries of NATO block- shaped the self-identification of the Greeks in the Netherlands.

- (2) Civil war: The communist Greeks formed the resistance against the Second World War occupation, and therefore after the end of the war, they had a strong position in politics. The Greek nationalists, which were the pre-war majority, won the civil war with the help of the British and thereafter the Americans. The migrants came to the Netherlands after the civil war, in a period of revanchism and political radicalism in Greece. Post-civil-war conservative governments pursued and made pogroms of communists.
- (3) Geopolitical situation: Greece was located at the theoretical front of the Cold War, South of the Balkans and West of the Iron Curtain. Since the country joined in the NATO-pact and became part of the American block the internal conflicts were not solved. On the contrary, the anticommunist pogrom increased the 'alienage' status of the progressive part in Greek society.
- (4) Political orientation: The Greek migrant group consisted of contradictive political orientations, which affected their coherence; the group's conflictual character determined the migrants' inner relations in the Netherlands.
- (5) Family status: A part of the Greeks who emigrated had become orphans during the civil war. In the nuclear-family model of Greece, this formed a problematic situation. Moreover, it shaped their motivations to emigrate.
- (6) Refugee status: Some of the Greek migrants had a background in Minor Asia or Egypt and were not perceived of as Greeks, which made them a vulnerable category.
- (7) Social capital: The Greek migrants mainly originated from rural isolated and disadvantaged areas. They did not have previous urban or industrial labor experience.

- (8) Class: The migrant group consisted of people from the lower social classes, who had no opportunity of further education or labor training, which related in low human capital.

The thesis deals specifically with the above listed pre-migratory factors that affected the situation after migration, but also looks at the combination of these factors with the situation in the host country. From this combination I have deducted two hypotheses. First, that the political diversity of the group has shaped different motivations for migration, which predefined different integration trajectories in the host land. Moreover, the diversity affected the internal coherence of the group, as well as the extent and manner of activism and institutionalization. The second hypothesis concerns the traditional culture in Greece, which contradicted with the modernizing Dutch society; this lead to issues about religion, family formation and moral codes. Above all, these issues formed oppositional dualities which functioned as barriers to the Greeks' integration and cultural acculturation in the Netherlands. The thesis adds this pre-migratory perspective to historiography.

The table below summarizes the factors. Key to the analysis is the interaction between the groups of factors.

pre-migratory: the Greek state / the Dutch state	pre-migratory: the migrants	post-migratory
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Civil War - repression of communism - interference by British and American authorities / NATO effect - treaties between the Netherlands and Greece for the recruitment of guest workers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - class, poverty, family composition, persecution, capital (including skills and education) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - life cycle, age, class, gender, marital behavior, spatial concentration, housing, labour market position, education - local differences (opportunity structure of Utrecht and Rotterdam) - long distance control by Greek authorities - Dutch subsidies for Greek immigrant organizations - church based activities (including remote control via the churches) - Dutch support of Greek workers - knowledge within Dutch society about the situation Greece

Research Structure and Sources of analysis

Nancy Green observed: 'The immigrant's observation fall somewhere between the tourist's hasty generalizations and the social scientist's constructed comparisons'. That phrase has been inspiring for my research, regarding the migration experience as a bonding common denominator between the author - an immigrant- scientist observer - and the narrators of those personal migration stories. Ethnicity and an individual's identity is a multidimensional structured term that changes depending on time and context.¹² Deveroux argued that identity, as an 'absolute uniqueness of the individual' can be appropriately formulated by a self-ethnographer,¹³ implying the need of a qualitative approach. In that rationale, oral History's contribution is that it can 'enlighten the inconspicuous majorities' that do not usually tell their own story.¹⁴

I used both divergent and convergent comparisons.¹⁵ Firstly, I compare pre-war and post-war Greek migrants and secondly, the 'conservatives' and the 'progressives', among the worker's group. I analyze the migrants' background and their life cycle in the new land from 1955 to 1981, through twenty-five in-depth interviews. The presentation of the individual's background and their social and occupational position in Dutch life highlights the group's character, as well as the newly found conditions in the host land, in the level of the Dutch state and society. Prewar Greek migrant's representation is relatively small in size;(an analogy of two to twenty-five persons);due to the wide time space from the prewar period to the present, as also the reluctance of members of the first settlers in the Netherlands to share their experiences. Nevertheless, those five testimonies are valuable, exactly for the reason of their rarity. For practical reasons I have interviewed mainly Greeks in Rotterdam and Utrecht.

In a divergent approach, I compare the group in the same time period (1955-1974) in two different Dutch cities: Rotterdam and Utrecht. In that sense, three different groups are formulated: participants in organizations, - nationalists and progressives - and non-participants.

¹² Jean S. Phinney and Anthony D. Ong, 'Conceptualization and Measurement of Ethnic Identity: Current Status and Future Directions' *Journal of Counseling Psychology* 54: 3 (2007) 271-281.

¹³ G. Devereux (1996) Ethnic identity: its logical foundations and its dysfunctions, in: W. Sollors, *Theories of ethnicity: a classical reader* (New York 1996) 385-414, 391.

¹⁴ Paul Thompson, *The voice of the Past. Oral History* (London 1978) 236.

¹⁵ Nancy L. Green, 'The Comparative Method and Poststructural Structuralism- New Perspectives for Migration Studies', *Journal of American Ethnic History*, 13:4 (1994) 3-22.

The latter is the part of the group whose organizational activities did not have a primer role in its migration procedure. Combining stories from different angles, 'from below, above or between', I try to overcome the boundaries of 'a descriptive to an explanatory practice'.¹⁶ Through that study, as also by comparing Rotterdam's and Utrecht's organizational forms and transformations I analyze and estimate the group's 'heterogeneity significance and 'creative' junction to Greek's integration process.

Analysis periodization is organized following the socio economic, political and cultural incisions of the research period: a. from 1955 to 1967 when there is the decrease of the Greek migration flow.¹⁷ b. During the dictatorship's period, from 1967 to 1974, I focus on the group member's various behaviors and the way that their relations, between them and also with the home and host society change. Until the late 1960s, Greek migrants experienced an identificational period with specific characteristics determined by both the sending and the hosting state, as also the new conditions in their daily life (housing, occupation, language, interaction with their co ethnics and the locals). 1967 was the defining point for political changes in Greece; - and consequently in Greeks organizations in the Netherlands; it coincided with a new phase of permanent settlement procedure (family unification 1967-1969). Until 1974, Greek migrant's life and ethnic coherence is dominated and determined mainly by the Greek Military Junta and their transnational political actions in the Netherlands c. In 1974, Greece's political stabilization and democratization coincides with the start of an international unstable economic period (1973-1974 crises). In the wider frame of the global economic and political crisis of 1973-1974, the group's trajectory takes a new naturalized turn that reflect new Dutch State policies, new occupational patterns and also changes in second generation's 'migrant status'. At the same period the issue of repatriation has been emphatic. In 1981, Greece becomes an EU member, a fact that changes the terms of the country's immigration.

¹⁶ William H. Sewell, Jr., 'Marc Bloch and the Logic of comparative History', *History and Theory* 6 (1967) 208-218.

¹⁷ Either for reasons which consider the sending state, as in our case, the deterrence of immigration by the junta, or for reasons considering the host state, as the arrival of new "guest" workers, from Turkey and Morocco.

I use: A. twenty-five interviews, defined as a combination of half structured and focused questionnaire, in a free frame of observation. To overcome bias implications, I combine the interviews with complementary archive material.

Table 1: Seamen.

Name, Date of Birth	Place and Date of Arrival	Origins	Education	Occupation	Motivation of migration
Moraitis Christos, 1921	Rotterdam, 1952	Galaxidi, coastal Central Greece	Naval School, Piraeus	Sailor, 1 st mechanic	Economic
Kakomanolis Manolis, 1929	Rotterdam, 1956	Refugee from Egypt/Athens	Naval School, Piraeus	Midshipman	Economic
Koutsakis Sarantos, 1939	Rotterdam, 1959	Kalamata, Peloponnese	High school	Sailor, Dock worker	Economic
Theodosiou Georgios, 1945	Rotterdam, 1965	Halkida, coastal Central Greece	Naval School, Halkida	First ship engineer	Economic
Sotirakis Giannis, 1949	Rotterdam, 1966	Rodos island	Secondary education	Sailor, Dock worker	Economic

Table 2: Workers

Name, Date of Birth	Place and Date of Arrival	Origins	Education	Occupation	Motivation of migration
Slovakian Leonidas, 1930	Rotterdam, 1959	Refugee from Minor Asia/Athens	Secondary education	Trade- self occupation	Economic
Pertsinidis Haris, 1934	Eindhoven, 1963	Kilkis, Central Macedonia	Primary	Worker in Belgium, <i>contracto</i>	Economic
Papadopoulos Haralampos, 1938	Rotterdam, 1964	Thessaloniki	High school	Worker, <i>contracto</i>	Economic
Kyvelos Sotiris, 1937	Rotterdam, 1964	Messenia, Peloponnese	Secondary education	Translator, spontaneous	Political, Economic
Merodoulakis Stelios, 1936	Rotterdam, 1964	Thessaloniki	Primary School	Worker, <i>contracto</i>	Political, Economic
Tzavos Eleytherios, 1940	Rotterdam, 1964	Minor Asia refugee, Thessaloniki	Primary School	Worker, <i>contracto</i>	Political, Economic
Babalidis Lambros, 1942.	Rotterdam, 1964	Thessaloniki	Secondary education	Worker, <i>contracto</i>	Political, Economic

Mitropoulos Panagiotis 1941	Rotterdam, 1964	Kalavryta, Peloponnese	Primary School	Worker, <i>contracto</i>	Economic
Artoglou, 1940	Rotterdam, 1964	Minor Asia refugee, Thessaloniki	High school	Worker, <i>contracto</i>	Economic
Artoglou Aggeliki, 1945	Rotterdam, 1966	Serres, N. Greece	High school	Worker	Marriage
Bahtsevanidis Thanasis, 1945	Utrecht, 1967	Evros	High school	Spontaneous, Worker	Political, Economic
Georgiadis Aristotle, 1940	Rotterdam, 1967	Refugee from Minor Asia, Kavala	High school	Musician	Economic
Polyhronakis, 1950	Rotterdam, 1968	Crete	Secondary education	Worker- student	Political, Economic
Bahtsevanidis Ntina, 1954	Utrecht, 1971	Komotini, Thrace	High school	Worker	Marriage
Koutsaki Maria, 1950	Rotterdam, 1974	Messenia, Peloponnese.	High school	Unknown	Marriage

Table 3: “Enosis” prewar Greeks and consular representatives.

Name, Date of Birth	Place and Date of Arrival	Origins	Education	Occupation	Motivation
Kokkinos Stelios Demetrios, 1942	Rotterdam	Rotterdam/Chios	Secondary education	Shipment company	Second generation migrant
Dimitopoulou Maritsa, 1928	Utrecht, 1947	Athens	High school	Household	Marriage
Andrikopoulos Stathis, 1931	Rotterdam, 1964	Athens	Secondary education	Consular officer	Occupation
Rohar Maria, 1953	Rotterdam, 1974	Drama, Thrace	Secondary education	Consular officer	Marriage

In table 1, five sailors are presented; three of them got employed in Rotterdam’s port. In table 2, there is one ‘spontaneous’ immigrant, a Minor Asia refugee in Greece who has been self-employed since his arrival in the Netherlands. Seven guest workers were recruited in 1964, through a *contract*. The same table presents four ‘spontaneous’ workers (1965-1968), a student

and also three worker’s wives who came from Greece in the late 1970s. The main difference between the workers was their political orientation and consequently their motives. Table 3, firstly, presents two members of the pre-war Greek group, which formed “Enosis”, the first Greek union in Rotterdam.¹⁸ Secondly, the two consular offices, who covered respectively the period 1967 to 1974 and onwards 1974, represent the Greek administrative approach on the postwar migrant’s group arrival in the beginning of the 1960s. B.W and Betty Moraitis, Dutch spouses of Greek workers have been interviewed, but they are not included in the tables.

B: The Dimitra Sideris Archives (DSA)¹⁹ material is main source for the organizational actions of PAM (Πανελληνιο Αντιδικτατορικο Μετωπο, Pan-Hellenic Anti-dictatorial Front) in Utrecht, which was represented since 1955 from Nikos and D. Sideris in the Netherlands. Sideris archives, retained in Amsterdam’s International Institute of Social History (IISH), are used in order to follow the organizational formation in Utrecht, from 1955 to 1981. Information will also be derived by Sideris autobiography, “Patrides” (“Homelands”). Records of D. Giannakos, who served the Dutch Migrant’s Stichting (Migrantenraad) in Utrecht, are considered. **C:** Utrecht’s Greek community journal “Metanastis”, which has been published bimonthly since 1975, is analyzed in order to shed light to the newly formed status of the group at a structural, identificational and organizational level.

Table 4: *Metanastis* journal.

Article	Journal	Date
“Children from mixed marriages”	<i>Metanastis</i>	Year 3, Issue 5, May-June, 1978
“Utrecht’s Greek migrant in his work, house, leisure environment”	<i>Metanastis</i>	Year 4, Issue 1, January- February, 1979

¹⁸ Enosis archives (since 1946) access was under strict conditions and limited only to papers that considered decisions of the union’s commission. Patriarchal correspondence series from the Ecumenical throne of various matters that concerned the Greek community remained unavailable.

¹⁹ DSA considered from now the abbreviation for Dimitra Sideris Archives.

“News from Greek Communities Federation”	<i>Metanastis</i>	Year 4, Issue 3, May-June, 1979
“Greek children’s education” “L.S.O.B.A “Guest worker’s organization”	<i>Metanastis</i>	Year 6, Issue 1, January-February, 1981
“Utrecht’s Greeks”	<i>Metanastis</i>	Year 7, Issue 4, July-August, 1982

Table 5: DSA letters.

Paper	Subject	Author	Date
1	<i>Secretariat of the Steering Committee of the United Greek communities in the Netherlands</i>	Lambros Babalidis, Evstratios Adam, Dimitris Otantzis	25 March 1976
3	<i>Letter to Utrecht’s Greeks</i>	Euripides Kouskousidis	8 January, 1976
4	<i>letter to “Anagennisi” community</i>	Anonymous	14 December, 1976
2	<i>Application to Judgment committee for Antidictatorial action (1967-1974) according to: article 4, Law 1543/85 and 58448/29-7-85 Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Public Order</i>	Nikos Sideris	7 November, 1989

D: Dutch newspaper’s articles from Babalidis archive cover mainly the period 1967 to 1974. Babalidis has been a conscious militant communist, Rotterdam’s main political actor during 1967-1974, and president of worker’s community for 18 years after 1974, founder of communities Federation and foreign worker’s ‘Platform’.²⁰ Thirty-four Dutch newspaper articles are analyzed in order to reveal Greek migrant’s demarcations and alliances during the junta period and their connection with the Dutch authorities or Dutch society’s members. The newspapers belong to the wider political spectrum of that era and are: *Het Vrije Volk*, *Het Parool*, *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad*, *NRC HANDELSBLAD*, *De Volkskrant*, *De Nieuwe Linie*, *Athene*, *Haagsche Courant*, *De Tijd*, *Dordtse Editie van Het Vrije Volk*, *De Rotterdammer*, *De Waarheid*, *VRIJE TRIBUNE*, and *Rotterdam*, as seen in the next table:

²⁰ ‘Hij was voorzitter van het Platform buitenlanders Rijnmond, voorzitter van de Griekse voetbalvereniging Olympic, voorzitter van de vereniging voor Werknemers Grieken en Buitenlandse Werknemers Rijnmond’ in: ‘Hoop en wanhoop van een immigrant, Lambros Babalidis stond jaren op de bres voor buitenlandse werknemers’, *Rotterdam*, Donderdag, 3 December, 1998.

Table 6: Dutch newspapers 1964-1998.

Article	Journal / Newspaper	Date
“Griek (39) schiet voor consulaat landgenoot neer”	Unknown	October 16, 1971
“Rijksrecherche stelt onderzoekt in Steekpenningenschandaal bij Rotterdamse politie?”	<i>De Rotterdammer</i>	October 29, 1971
“Hongerstaking voor Griekse ambassade”	<i>Het Vrije Volk</i>	February 26, 1973
“Waar Grieken werken is de geheime dienst”	<i>Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad</i>	June 23 ,1973
“Eensgezind tegen junta; Griekse ballingen betogen in Brussel”	<i>De Tijd</i>	April 16, 1973
“Links en rechts, we zijn allemaal tegen de junta”	<i>Het Vrije Volk</i>	November 24 , 1973
“Bisschop per tank naar eedaflegging”	<i>Het Vrije Volk</i>	November 26, 1973
“Wat wil de politie weten over de gasterbeiders?”	<i>Vrij Nederland</i>	September 8, 1973, no 36
“Ik vind dit artikel ongenueanceerd, onbeschoft en arrogant”	<i>VRIJE TRIBUNE</i>	June 9, 1973 (34)
“Roel Walraven: samen met Griekse patriotten tegen gemeenschappelijke vijand “	<i>De Waarheid</i>	January 25, 1974
“Grieks intimidatie-net bedreigt gasterbeiders”	<i>Het Vrije Volk</i>	March 2, 1974
“Razzia’s: geliefde wapen van Griekse dictatuur”	<i>Het Vrije Volk</i>	March 15, 1974
“Spionnen houden onze Grieken in de gaten”	<i>Het Vrije Volk</i>	March 2, 1974
“Werkgroep stuit op Griekse spionage”	<i>Het Parool</i>	March 12, 1974
“Theodorakis: Grieken niet bang meer”	<i>NRC HANDELSBLAD</i>	February 25, 1974
“Rapport actiegroep: Grieks bureau dekmantel voor spionage –acties”	<i>De Volkskrant</i>	March 12,1974
“Actie groep onthult: Griekse dictatuur reikt tot in Nederland”	<i>De Nieuwe Linie</i>	March 13, 1974, (29,no. 11)
“Nederland schuwt boycot van griekse schepen waarom?”	<i>De Nieuwe Linie</i>	June 5, 1974, (29 no. 23)
“Links heeft nog geen leider die Karamanlis kan verslaan”	<i>Vrije Nederland</i>	August 10, 1974
Griekse Ambassadeur: ”jaren lang stond ik overal buiten”	<i>Haagsche Courant</i>	August30, 1974
“Zwendelde junta in Athene met Amerika’s wapens?”	<i>Haagsche Courant</i>	August30, 1974
“Actiecomite vraagt regering: ”Onderneem iets tegen intimidatie Grieken””	<i>Het Vrije Volk</i>	March 12, 1974
“Griekse agenten hielden kinderfeest in de gaten”	<i>Dordtse Editie het Vrije Volk</i>	March 25, 1974
“Bevolking Athene kijkt de kat uit de boom”	<i>Het Vrije Volk</i>	July 25, 1974 (no.3245)
“Griekenland roept Spionnen terug” “Flater voor Nederlandse regering”	<i>Het Vrije Volk</i>	August 8, 1974
“Rapport van actiegroep op basis van documenten en interviews, “Utrechtse politie helpt Griekse Spionnen””	<i>NRC HANDELSBLAD</i>	March 12, 1974
“Het Griekse regime heeft lange armen”	<i>NRC HANDELSBLAD</i>	March 30, 1974
De Grote Geschiedenis Quiz	<i>De Volkskrant</i>	March 14, 2009
“Gasterbaiders-spion van hoogverraad beschuldigd”	<i>Het Vrije Volk</i>	June 27,1975 (no. 35)
“Hoop en wanhoop van een	<i>Rotterdam</i>	December 3, 1998

immigrant,LambrosBambalidis stond jaren op de bres voor buitenlandse werknemers”		
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Next table includes material from the ADK committee’s bulletins and posters and *Αποδημος* journal.

Table 7: Babalidis archives.

Subject	Origin of Archival Material	Date
“Information from Greece on Greece, Central Council of the Greek Antidictatorship Abroad”	<i>Bulletin no.1</i> , Antidictoriale Committee voor de Grieken in Nederland	September 27, 1971
“Een ongepubliceerde Brief uit Italië, De Nieuwe Griekse Ambassadeur Comploteerde al Eerder, Antidictoriale Komite voor de Grieken in Nederland”	<i>Bulletin no 2</i> , Antidictoriale Committee voor de Grieken in Nederland	July 1971
“Antidictoriale Committee voor de Grieken in Nederland”	<i>Bulletin no3</i> , Antidictoriale Committee voor de Grieken in Nederland	September 1971
“Τι κρύβεται πίσω από την επίθεση εναντίον ελληνικών κοινοτήτων της Δ.Γερμανίας, απάντηση της ΟΕΚ στα ενορχηστρωμένα δημοσιεύματα”	<i>Αποδημος, Εκδοση της Επιτροπής Αποδημων Ελληνισμου του ΠΑΣΟΚ, Αθηνά</i>	February 29, 1985
<i>Ritsos en alle andere Griekse politieke gevangenen</i> (poster)	Antidictoriale Committee voor de Grieken in Nederland	Sine Dato
<i>Westers capital en junta regime profiteren van elkaar ten koste van het Griekse volk</i> (poster)	Antidictoriale Committee voor de Grieken in Nederland	Sine Dato

E: Lastly, for the actions of ESAK (United Trade Union Anti-Dictatorship Movement) I used the autobiography of Costas Yambannis, *Memories of a sea worker*. Yambannis has been Babalidis partner and co leader, a unionized communist which organized the sector of seafarers in Rotterdam, who are also a part of the group we study.

CHAPTER I.

A to Z: from post civil war Greece to 1960s 'modernized' Netherlands.

1. Segmented post-war Greece

1.1. 1950-1967.

Greece after the 1950s experienced the consequences of a decade of death and violence. During the Second World War thousands died from malnutrition. The fear of hunger and poverty became an intrinsic feature of postwar Greek society.²¹ After the axon's occupation, the civil war period (1946-1949) spread disaster to both ideological sides of Greece.²² Onwards 1952, the country's political stage had been dominated by conservative right wing governments, whose prevalence had not been the result of popular will. The continuity and maintenance of the civil war's social conflict and anticommunist position had been reflected on the revised Constitution of 1952. Communist's conviction and execution - as Beloyanni's and his comrade's - was continued.²³ During that period, political power had been fragmented; in parallel with the parliamentary system, independent political cores were acting against social coherence. The autarchic official Greek state alongside with a powerful and autonomous withholder 'parastate' were terrorizing and assaulting civilians, especially in rural areas, whilst they ensured the election results through falsification. Military police became 'a veritable state within a state'.²⁴ The army, enhanced ideologically and materially since Metaxas's dictatorship and empowered by the civil war victories, was acting independently and in the context of impunity. This entire parallel power matrix had been subsidized with enormous amounts from the state.²⁵ Moreover, local familial or clan power cores seemed to remain active since the Greek war of independence,

²¹ Only during 1941-1942 Winter, 300.000 died from hunger. John S. Koliopoulos and Thanos M. Veremis, *Modern Greece, a History since 1821* (Oxford 2010) 118.

²² In the period 1948 to 1949, 15.000 soldiers of the National army and 20.000 from the DSE guerillas were killed; more 4.000 civilians were killed by the rebels and 5.000 communists were executed after the war, in: Koliopoulos and Veremis, *Modern Greece*, 125.

²³ *Ibidem*, 129.

²⁴ *Ibidem*, 146.

²⁵ The Gendarmerie and National Security Battalions (TEA) were engaging in arbitrary arrests and property destruction. The whole militaristic network was supported by a well technologically equipped information system, which was actually working with the supervision and support of CIA's Advanced Intelligent Center's employees. Μαργαρίτης et al., *Νεότερη και Σύγχρονη Ελληνική Ιστορία* (Patra 1999)311.

a characteristic that outlines “a traditional segmented society” that survives in post civil war Greece.²⁶

Greece’s membership to NATO (1951) functioned as an anticommunist shield to the Balkan Sovietism²⁷ and it also constituted a linkage of Greece to the modern Western European states. Greece was a strategic point for the NATO alliance since all Balkan neighbors (Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Albania) were adhered to the Soviet defense system.²⁸ The country’s participation in the NATO scheme made the intertwining with U.S. policy definite. Interrelationship between the American funding and the incisions of political instability in Greece’s politics had been confirmed in cases of serious political instability; capital funding from the USA played then the role of *deus ex machina*.²⁹ Especially after 1955, Greece became depended on USA paternalism.³⁰ During the same year, Greece applied for connecting to the European Union, a fact that finalized the country’s inclusion to the western European model.³¹

Until 1961, the Greek clientele state, not only did it promote social solidarity, but on the contrary it cultivated the civilian’s separation in nationalists “patriots” and not, and deprived, from a large part of the population, the right to vote. Rightwing governments of that period used all kinds of prosecution/ persecution in order to obtain a “declaration of loyalty” and left wing ideology renunciation.³² The requirement of a “belief certificate” (*πιστοποιητικό φρονημάτων*) had been a key instrument of the state’s political control, as it was absolutely necessary for the issuing of a passport or employment.³³ The most significant political characteristic of the 1952-1964 period

²⁶ Koliopoulos and Veremis, *Modern Greece*, 125.

²⁷ During German’s occupation Bulgaria had invaded in the west east territories of Thrace and Macedonia and consisted a major point for Greece’s electoral contests.

²⁸ Until 1953, Greece’s privileged geopolitical position offered to NATO allies the right of using the air and land for military bases in: Koliopoulos and Veremis *Modern Greece*, 129.

²⁹ In 1950, the continual change of five governmental schemes threatened Greece’s stability which was a determining factor for the continuation of American aid in: Koliopoulos and Veremis, *Modern Greece* 128.

³⁰ C. Karamanlis left the tutelage of Britain, mainly for the latter’s role in the Cyprus issue, Ibidem, 132.

³¹ Greece’s entry in the European Community had been signed on 1979 and the integration was completed in 1981 Greece’s entrance to EU in 1981 changed the country’s migration politics. Θάνος Βερέμης και Γιάννης Κολιοπουλος, *Ελλάς η Σύγχρονη Συνέχεια από το 1821 μέχρι σήμερα* (Αθήνα 2006) 458.

³² The Greek ‘parastate’ is rooted in the period of Metaxas dictatorship (1936-1941) and was based in a military control and terrorism which caused all the suffering in communists and non-nationalists more generally. The power of that pole acted usually independently and –theoretically- sometimes in contrast to the official Greek state. Μαργαρίτης et al., *Νεότερη και Σύγχρονη Ελληνική Ιστορία* 312.

³³ Glogg, *a Concise History of Greece*, 145.

had been the prohibition of political parties, the restriction on freedom of speech and defiance actions against the state and the dissolution of unions. Coercive and intimidating actions against the opposition were a part of daily life, especially in rural areas. In that sense, every democratic political activity had been ceased. During the period of 1961-1965, a parenthesis of democratization, an attempt for political and social ‘normalization’ emerges. In 1961’s elections a coalition of peasants and laborers elected the first postwar non-right political core ‘Ενωσις Κεντρον’ (Center Union).³⁴ The murder of EDA’s³⁵ independent deputy G.Lambrakis, by extreme fascists on May 1963, accelerated the developments in favor of the centrists. In the following elections, Papandreou’s government ensured absolute majority. The reaction to Papandreou’s attempt on reformation was intense. Papandreou efforts to resist Britain’s interference³⁶ and to weaken the competitive powers of the radical fascist cores in the army, the “parastate” and the Palace, had as a consequence the fall of his government.³⁷ It is mentionable that during that period -Greece’s democratization’s attempt-, all the political stage had been dominated by nepotism and not by principles or ideologies. The system of representation encouraged individual personalities or political families (Papandreou, Karamanlis) and it did not promote parties’ interaction and group’s political interrelationship. In that sense, Greek civilian’s political consciousness was not developed as it did in the Western Europe. Greek state confronted the country’s residents as voters- clients and not as civilians, at least until junta’s fall.

Greece’s parliamentary institutions failure provided an opportunity to a well trained fascist military clique, which was active throughout all the post civil war period to take power and establish a dictatorship from 1967 to 1974. The following era functioned as a regression for Greece. The praetorian officers of Junta 1967, had been a military group which was nurtured by

³⁴ The period from 1961 to 1965 was the first time when some efforts were made, in order to implement a planned economic schedule based on industrialization on the one hand and to democratize the political and social processes on the other. (Unions and syndicates legitimization, educational reformation or social policy’s implementation). Koliopoulos and. Veremis, *Modern Greece*, 135-138.

³⁵ Eniaia Demokratiki Aristera, EDA is United Democratic Left.

³⁶ At the same time, Britain was pressuring Greece to accept Turkey’s claims for the “Cyprus” issue.

³⁷ On the pretext of a conspiracy - in which Papandreou’s son was supposed to have been interfering - the popular prime minister had resigned.

the 'pseudo ideology'³⁸ of Metaxas's fourth of August paternalist-authoritarian Regime (1936).³⁹ Both regimes were projected as the nation's saviors 'and ethnic guardians against the ultimate threat of communism and ethnic anarchy'. Actually, the 'National revolutionary government' of 1967, attempted to maintain conflictual civil war conditions, in order to preserve the role of dominance and control for the Greek army.⁴⁰

1.2. Greek dictatorship 1967-1974.

Greek Junta had no political plan or consistent ideology; its only concrete policy was a general restriction for all democratic procedures and values (media censorship, prohibition of demonstrations, banning of political parties) as also the severe prosecution of all the diverse political orientations. The political amateur efforts of the praetorians had been revealed by the fact that, they were unable to create alliances. Junta emerged an antithetical relation with the entire political spectrum, the Palace (monarchy abolition, 1974) and even part of the army. Between 1967 and 1974, the political elite were arrested, while a catharsis took place in the army and the royalist environment. The only relationship that was cultivated positively with the regime was that of the official church, in exchange with state's financial support to the latter.⁴¹ The supportive relation between the Church and all authoritarian regimes in Greek history has formed to the public, the interpretation of those two power poles cooperation and convergence.

During Junta, tactics of imprisonment or exile in segregated islands, tortures and extortions were common. In response, a stream of political refugees left the country for Western Europe, where they applied for political asylum. Politicians from the progressive political stream escaped to Sweden and Germany respectively where they became members of PAM, the Pan-Hellenic Liberation Movement, or PAK (Patriotic Antidictatorship Front) and acted as political actors

³⁸ 'The third Hellenic civilization' of Metaxas was inspired in the political model of ancient militaristic Sparta and supposed to be in continuity to the Greek ancient and Byzantine civilization with the main objective of ethnic coherence.

³⁹ Clogg described Metaxas regime as paternalistic- authoritarian avoiding the characterization 'fascist' as a regime more influenced by Franco's Spanish nationalism than Hitler's Nazism. Richard Clogg, *Parties and Elections in Greece: the Search for Legitimacy* (London, 1987) 182.

⁴⁰ Μαργαρίτης et al., *Νεότερη και Σύγχρονη Ελληνική Ιστορία* 318.

⁴¹ Koliopoulos and Veremis, *Modern Greece* 145.

trying to highlight the issues of their homeland.⁴² After 1968, there was a disruption in the communists group; they were divided in two parts, euro communism (ΚΚΕ Εσωτερικού) and ΚΚΕ, which remained related to the Soviet Union politics.⁴³ Most of the political refugees, either well known or anonymous progressive Greek individuals were using various ways (organizing protests, lectures, or hunger strikes), in order to denounce the regime. Banning cash transactions between family members, passport's or citizenship's deprivation, or property's confiscation were usual punishments for any oppositional political activity against junta. Greek Consulates abroad in that period kept tight surveillance on political active migrants to Western Europe and reported the latter to the Greek state, in order to intimidate them.⁴⁴ Western European countries of NATO did not put any serious pressure on Greece's democratization. While European public opinion united against the brutalities of the Junta, Greece's NATO allies remained officially neutral and avoided any political opposition with the regime.⁴⁵ After the failed coup on Cyprus at the behest of Junta and the Turkish invasion of the island in 1974, the military regime collapsed.⁴⁶ In Greece, Karamanlis' government satisfied the popular desire for the consolidation of democracy. The 1977 elections were a far cry from the revanchist and fanatical spirit of the pre-Junta periods.

1.3. Economy and Welfare state.

Greek economy, during the phase of the postwar Greek state restructure, was characterized primarily as agricultural. Although, there was a state protectionism policy towards the industrial development, that sector remained cachectic. Greek workers, due to their small number and lack of class-consciousness, never developed a proletarian syndicalistic action and attitude.⁴⁷ Until 1970, Greek society was characterized by inequalities between rural and urban areas. Rural population was unprivileged in every level; they were targeted and oppressed for political

⁴² Theodoros Lagaris, 'Greek Refugees in Western, Central, Northern, and Southern Europe during the military dictatorship 1967-1974', in: Klaus J. Bade, Leo Lucassen, Pieter C. Emmer, Jochen Oltmer, (eds.), *The Encyclopedia of Migration and Minorities in Europe; from the 17th century to the Present* (Cambridge 2011) 466.

⁴³ Glogg, *a Concise History of Greece* 160.

⁴⁴ Lagaris, 'Greek Refugees', 467.

⁴⁵ Μαργαρίτης et al., *Νεότερη και Σύγχρονη Ελληνική Ιστορία*, 319.

⁴⁶ At the same time Nixon's Watergate scandal signaled for changes in American politics.

⁴⁷ Αντώνης Λιάκος, 'Από κράτος φύλαξ εις κράτος πρόνοια; Οι παράμετροι της εργατικής πολιτικής στο μεσοπόλεμο', *Ο Πολίτης*, 78: 6 (1987) 34-40, 38.

reasons by all conservative governments. The devaluation of agricultural economy resulted in poverty and unemployment. The urbanization trajectory for peasants and agricultural laborers was unavoidable. The newcomers in the urban environment formed an unskilled, primarily uneducated proletariat, which was unfamiliar with urban life and culture. As a consequence, the rural population became the main tank for internal, innereuropean or interatlantic migration. Moreover, an unbalanced urbanization increased internal economic inequalities (income distribution), which resulted in the decline of rural economies. A problematic standard of living was the main reason of the rural population's internal and external migration.⁴⁸

Except agriculture, main levers of the post-war economy were tourism and shipping. Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, Western Europe's post war economic growth and development of mass travel leisure and communication, increased internal European tourist mobility to Greece. The Greek merchant shipping & maritime industry was created by the postwar sale of a hundred American liberty ships, at low prices to Greek ship owners. On the one hand, until 1980, the Greek shipping industry was supplying the country's banks with foreign exchange and was also a source of employment for Greek seamen while on the other, the ship-owners became extremely powerful and were supported by all governments.⁴⁹ As a consequence, the employment policy of the Greek shipping sector as also Ship-owners Unions policies were totally convergent with the State's commands, in each period. The background of the general European development, the annexation of Greece in the American and European bloc and the "eclectic liberalism" that was applied by the conservative Greek governments, generally resulted in an upward growth and average income improvement. Postwar State's economic interventionism controlled the investments to private sectors and business and also subsidized the rural production which was the dominant sector and market in Greece until the 1970s. Nonetheless, Greece's wealth distribution was unequal and "the fruits of economic recovery were unevenly distributed".⁵⁰ As the economic policies did not achieve a heavy industrial development the consequence was the compression of wage labor, unemployment and poverty, elements that became a permanent

⁴⁸ Μαργαρίτης et al., *Νεότερη και Σύγχρονη Ελληνική Ιστορία*, 322.

⁴⁹ Glogg, *A Concise History of Greece*, 131.

⁵⁰ The State's control in all sectors favored the followers and the voters of each regime and also created an expanded and inefficient clientele sector of state officials. *Ibidem*, 146.

characteristic of the labor proletariat, which in addition was deprived by the rights of unionism and self constitution until *Metapolitefsi*, after 1974.

The lack of a Greek welfare state has also been important. Health, social welfare and insurance, retirement and housing issues, in the first two postwar decades were all matters of the private sector. In addition, the lack of a Welfare state organization resulted to Greece's social adhesion in the traditional nuclear family model; in which familial relations functioned as social centers of protection and care, for its vulnerable members. There was never developed a social state in order to protect and support the unprivileged. In that sense, the economic inequality and the political discriminations created an unequal social organization that resulted in a massive innereuropean and transatlantic Greek migration in 1950s and 1960s, mainly derived by the unprivileged rural areas.

1.4. A Clientele Immigration policy

Massive immigration, - innereuropean or transatlantic - during the 1950s, obliged the state to initiate a vestigial migration policy.⁵¹ From 1950 to 1970 the criteria that shaped Greece's migration policy were mainly economical. Systematic labor migration had been addressed by the right government's wing as a doctrine to a surplus population, to high rates of unemployment and poverty. Emigrant's remittances became the focus of attention as it had been reflected in the speech of the Minister in the Greek parliament in 1955.⁵² The essays of Xenophon Zolotas⁵³, who had been a main protagonist in postwar Greece's economy management and control, reflected the state's concern to relate emigration with the economy and evaluate the gains and losses by that phenomenon. Nevertheless, he concluded that imported cheap labor migration

⁵¹ Between 1946 and 1977 one million people will leave Greece, a number which classifies the country in a high range migration position, provided that the issue is addressed in relation to Greece's population

⁵² Speech by I.Nikolitsas, Minister of Domestic Affairs: Parliamentary Proceedings, 27/6/1955 in: Lina Venturas 'Governments Grecs et partis politiques: lute pour le controle de l'emigration (1959-1974)' *Revue europeenne de migration Internationales* 17:3(2001) 43-65 46.

⁵³ Xenophon Zolotas has been a Greek economist and academician; his significant contribution, as Governor of the Bank of Greece, was the Association Agreement between Greece and the EEC in 1962, according to which the country became the first state connected with the community, in: Ευάνθης Χατζηβασιλείου, *Ελληνικός Φιλελευθερισμός: το ριζοσπαστικό ρεύμα, 1932-1979* (Αθήνα 2010) 364-369.

from the south “has proven indispensable for rich industrial Western countries, in order for them to maintain their higher rate of economic growth and monetary equilibrium”.⁵⁴

On a second level, conservative Greek governments adopted emigration as a mechanism of social evaporation. Civil war agitation and violence had established a conflictual and unbalanced social reality which had been preserved by the antiprogressive and anticommunist pogrom addressed by right-wing governments until 1974. Moreover, Greek governments considered as assured that sojourners emigration would be contemporary. In that sense, after their return the latter would format a new skilled middle working class, efficient for Greece’s industrial development. In a wider perspective, Greece’s interest was to be linked with the Common market and establish economic relations with Western states.⁵⁵

Bilateral agreements were signed between Greece and northwestern European states; from 1954 to 1969.⁵⁶ Greece’s handlings, in order to secure the immigrant’s labor and social equal conditions were fragmentary and inconsistent. Theoretically, the migrants were covered by a one year health care and social benefits scheme. Additionally, although it was supposed that the selection of the migrants was a matter of the hosting countries, selection filters - as the need of “conviction certificate” - were clearly posed by Greece, for political and social reasons. Actually, Greek migration policy preserved qualities and elements from the past clientelistic relations between the state and its voters-civilians. Greece’s previous turbulent history, since the beginning of the twentieth century, had been reflected and transferred through policies towards citizens, either in the homeland or out.⁵⁷ The only differentiated point for Greece’s migration policy, before 1974, was during G. Papandreou’s government 1964-1965, where on the one hand, there is an “opening” in migrant’s selection filters, as the use of the “conviction certificate”

⁵⁴ The Greek economist agrees about the major significance of migrant’s remittances for the sending country economy, but he differentiates the results during the time. The factor of remittances, according to Zolotas would not be considered as stable, but on limited duration, until the family unification in the sending country or the loss of the migrant’s home family links. A possible benefit according to his essay would be for the sending state, the training degree that a labor worker could gain in an industrial hosting environment that under the condition of return could benefit home’s industrial labor class. Xenophon Zolotas, *international monetary issues and development policies; selected essays and statements* (Athens 1977) 451.

⁵⁵ Venturas, *Gouvernements grecs et partis politiques*, 46.

⁵⁶ France (1954), Belgium (1957), Germany (1960), The Netherlands (1966) Venturas, *Gouvernements grecs et partis politiques*, 47.

⁵⁷ *Ibidem*, 49.

had been abolished and the government attempted to implement an indirect control on the migrants. In that period, communists successfully exited the country, but did not constitute the majority.⁵⁸ After 1974, the realization of the expatriates' role abroad as pressure power poles, did not result in any substantial changes in Greece's migration policy.

Generally, all post-1950s Greek governments used migration issues in a frame of a blank demagogy. Until the 1970s, politicians from both Greece and southwestern European states were convinced about the temporariness of the inner European phenomenon, so all their actions were targeted towards ensuring the migrant's return to the home country. In Greece, Right-wingers or Centralists were interested in preserving control on the immigrants whilst in the host land and ensuring strong relations with the homeland; but no policies were constituted to secure or develop Greek's status to the receiving societies.⁵⁹

1.5. The Pre-war Greek group in the Netherlands

During the post war period small numbers of Greeks were living mainly in Rotterdam, Utrecht and Amsterdam.⁶⁰ Their first attempt to form an ethnic coiling had taken part in Rotterdam. *Rijnmond* has been since the 1950s the symbol of Dutch economic growth and represented "the most powerful image of technocracy".⁶¹ Moreover, Greek shipment was the dominant economic and social power of the Greek postwar group in the Netherlands. The old Greek group's synthesis had been composed by merchants and ship suppliers and entrepreneurs. In 1946, a few Greeks gathered in a small cafe and founded the *Vereeniging van Grieken in Nederland (Ένωση Ελλήνων Ολλανδίας)*. After a year, Rotterdam's city council decided to respond to the Greek's application to lease a piece of land, in order for them to build a church, which was founded in 1954 from Greece's Prime Minister A. Papagos. The church started to operate in 1957, while two years after, a Greek evening school had been founded. Ten years after the "Enosis" foundation,

⁵⁸ Ibidem, 56.

⁵⁹ Ibidem, 62.

⁶⁰ Respectively, they were islanders from Chios, shipping feeders and businessman assembled around Rotterdam's port, or traders from Thrace and Minor Asia. Chios had been the main island from where shipment businessmen were dispersed in central port all over the world as had been also evidenced in London since the 18th century. Νίκος Κοκοσαλακης, 'Ο πολιτιστικός και κοινωνικός ρόλος της Εκκλησίας στον Απόδημο Ελληνισμό', in: Anthya-Ayres F. et al., *Η Ελληνική Διασπορά στην Δυτική Ευρώπη*, (Αθήνα 1985) 108.

⁶¹ Schuyt and Taverne, *Dutch Culture in a European Perspective*, 152.

the main goals of the union's first statute were achieved.⁶² Until 1958, prewar Greek residents in the Netherlands were amounted to sixty people and shaped the ethnic conclave to which the new post-war migrants would relate with, in the next decades.⁶³

2. The Netherlands from the 1950s onwards.

2.1. Dutch Western Model

The Netherlands belonging to America's anti-Soviet armor during the Cold War era (1953-1985) undertook the commitment of anti-communism; the country's politics and diplomacy were determined by changes in the power relations between the two parties. During the post-war period, the Dutch state and society experienced various radical and fundamental transformations in a political, economic, social and cultural level in a wide frame of modernization, implemented by the Marshall Plan.⁶⁴ A mixed economic system was followed where the "open" market was coordinated by a Keynesian "planned" strategy applied by the state. Between 1948 and 1973, the American influence and support in combination with the Dutch adaptation of management, organization and information techniques, resulted in the Dutch "economic miracle".⁶⁵

Welfare state's formation silenced political reservations about the unconditional adaptation of the American model.⁶⁶ For the smooth operation of the economy and the welfare, state political

⁶² '...as our first purpose we will pose the foundation of a Greek orthodox church and a school, in order to give to our children the opportunity to maintain Greeks.' The same first statute states that money donations were not enough, but what the ethnic core needed was more a 'connector to relate the people between them and also to assist them fulfill their obligations towards their distantly homeland'. It is mentionable that the president of *Enosis* continually emphasized the need for group action in order to avoid discord and indifference between the members. The president's speech in: Θεοδωρος Θεοδωριδης, *Χρονικο της Ενωσης Ελληνων Ολλανδιας 1946-1996* (Ουτρεχτη, 1996).

⁶³ Although the Statutes have not been saved, Mr. Kakogiannis speech has been archived by his family. Ibidem, 16-17.

⁶⁴ After 1947, United States economic and technological hegemony promoted 'growth' in contrast to war and revolution that had destroyed Western European countries. In that context values as economic growth and development, and in a second level its materialistic products, productivity and consumerism, were propagated by *Pax Americana* as universal beliefs. Between 1948 and 1953 1,127 million dollars were available to the Netherlands. Schuyt and Taverne, *Dutch Culture*, 64.

⁶⁵ Ibidem, 60, 61.

⁶⁶ From 1948 to 1968, The Dutch Welfare state, though not without criticism, was formed and based in the revision of social security. (*Rapport inzake de herzienig van de sociale zekeirheid*, March 1948). After the historical point of

consensus had been achieved.⁶⁷ Besides the materialistic support to vulnerable social groups,⁶⁸ the Welfare formation had also some other ramifications for Dutch society; it liberated the individual from normative religion, family or social schemes and provoked a new independency and freedom towards ideologies and culture. Daily reality was transformed also by the technological achievements of that period. An unprecedented mobilization of “people, goods and information” caused fundamental changes in Dutch culture and life.⁶⁹ The construction of modern sophisticated infrastructure was supported by the *mathematization* of society. The use of statistics adjusted to a new “scheduled” life model, which in turn caused radical changes. Not only family norms and values, leisure patterns, mobilization and transport changed, but also the individual’s gradual emancipation from the social and physical environment.⁷⁰

Up to 1950, new values and educational goals were emphasized, such as talent’s promotion and capitalization and the significance of personal performances. Criteria to a new educational *savoir vivre* were “personal development and personality”.⁷¹ Educational individualization and expansion, along with religious and class emancipation of the Dutch society are probably related with the rebellious spirit of the Netherlands in the 1960s. Since, the socioeconomic transformations were followed by analogous socioethical changes, new nontraditional attitudes had been introduced in that period. The “culture of tolerance”, and the formation of mass ecologic consciousness after 1976, was the sequel of 1960s liberation towards self-realization and freedom of choices.⁷²

1956, when the General Old- Age Pensions Act was enacted, several social security Laws, for employees and national insurance or social services were applied. The whole Welfare scheme was based on an apportionment system, in which all working people should attribute and as such it was emphasizing the idea of common prosperity through productivity. See chart 11.1, Ibidem, 269.

⁶⁷ Ibidem, 63.

⁶⁸ Elders, families, unemployed, widows or orphans.

⁶⁹ Ibidem, 151.

⁷⁰ Ibidem, 50.

⁷¹ Ibidem, 297.

⁷² Ibidem, 287-299.

2.2. Migration Policies of Temporariness

Since the 1950s, the basic principle underlying the formation of the Dutch society has been the pillar system.⁷³ Multiculturalism's emerged after 1950 signaled changes not only regarding the state's policies, but also for the decrease of the private sector's role and the beginning of a direct connection between the state and the citizens. Since the 1960s, the spirit of secularization and individualization, as religion's role decreased, was diffused in the political and social sector of the Netherlands.⁷⁴ While the Netherlands did not have the tradition of a homogenous society – as Pillarization implied - the state did not accept to be characterized as an immigration country, at least until the 1980s. The element of “temporary stay” of the migrant's has been overstressed by the governments.⁷⁵ Generally, migration policies were implemented centrally, by the state and were depoliticized following the “consensus” rule, until the end of the 1970s.⁷⁶

The Netherlands have signed bilateral agreements for the recruitment of the Mediterranean guest workers due to the 'continuous growth depended' on cheap manual labor.⁷⁷ While, in the first two decades there was a strong belief about the worker's temporariness, this changed in the 1960s and 1970s. Foreign migrant's plethora and cultural diversity caused a shift in Dutch migration ideology and policy. The idea of multiculturalism approached migrants as distinctive

⁷³ (*Verzuiling*) A 'vertically segmented pluralism' defined on one hand, the relation of the citizens with the state, through the pillar in which they belonged and on the other hand, the strong influence and interference of private figures, such as churches in relation to public matters. Pillarization as a political and social structure gave emphasis to population clustered as ethnic minorities and not as racial, or class groups. The pillar system (Protestants, Catholics, Socialists and Liberals) functioned as a base for future minorities' institutional formation and in that sense we can argue that it has been the vehicle for the next implemented multicultural policy. Pillars as a system defined like a 'centralized consensus democracy' had reflected the need for compromise between diverse, homogenous, equally dominant groups and promoted modernization. In: Marlou Schrover, 'Pillarization, Multiculturalism and Cultural Freezing, Dutch Migration History and the Enforcement of Essentialist Ideas', *BMGN Low Countries Historical Review* 125: 2/3 (2010) 329-354, 332.

⁷⁴ Giovanna Zincone, Rinus Penninx and Maren Borkert, *Migration Policy Making in Europe; The dynamics of Actors and Contexts in Past and Present* Imiscoe Research (Amsterdam 2012) 155.

⁷⁵ Even though, the country in the post war period received three main streams of migration – colonial, labor and refugees-asylum seekers- , the Dutch state did not react with any specific measures. Repatriates, Kingdom Fellows (Rijksgenoten), guest (gasterbeiders) were labeled respectively migrants from Dutch East Indies, Surinam and Antilles, Mediterranean. Zincone, Penninx and Borkert, *Migration Policy Making in Europe*, 132.

⁷⁶ The Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment, which was responsible for the labor sector had a 'non permanent' approach for the 'guest workers'; whereas the Ministry of Culture, Recreation and Social Work, which was related to a welfare level with family matters, was more interested in their integration, approaching their status as a long term settlement. Zincone, Penninx and Borkert, *Migration Policy Making in Europe*, 154.

⁷⁷ Italy (1960), Spain (1961), Portugal (1963), Turkey (1964), Greece (1966), Morocco (1969), Yugoslavia (1970). Zincone, Penninx and Borkert, *Migration Policy Making in Europe*, 134.

groups related by a common “public ethnic identity” and culture. State’s willingness to subsidize migrant’s organization resulted to an ascending institutionalization.⁷⁸ New welfare measures, for the guest workers, had been taken in 1960 by the establishment of private charities funded mutually by the Catholic Church and the state. After 1970, the Foundation of the Welfare of Foreign Workers had been totally directed by the state, while the intrusion of migrants in the managing sector had been prohibited.⁷⁹ Although, the first international economic recession emerged in 1973, due to the oil crisis in the Middle East, “temporary” migrants settled permanently and a family reunification process starts at that point. A 1979s report had a dual impact in Dutch migration politics. It signaled an era of political debate about migration in the country, and also led to the start of a multicultural, multiethnic society approach.⁸⁰ The politicalisation reflected the start of Dutch state’s awareness that the new status of the labor workers should be considered as a permanent settlement. State’s Policies transformation from a corporatist to a neoliberal model towards migration signaled the start of politicalisation in 1980s.⁸¹

A predefined status of inequality for the Greek immigrants to the Netherlands in 1960s.

The scheme of capitalistic center and periphery formed the framework of enormous disparity between the two countries. The European capitalistic evolution and modernization had been based on inequality and diversity.⁸² While, both members of NATO and the European scheme, Western “modern” Netherlands, contradicted with Mediterranean traditional Greece. The general diversity between post war European West and South, at the expense of the latter, follows the corresponding endogenous diversity between the Netherlands and Greece during the period of

⁷⁸ Schrover, ‘Pillarization, Multiculturalism and Cultural Freezing’, 336.

⁷⁹ The main reason for that restriction was that the Dutch government wished to avoid any external interference (sending state’s political influence, rightwing groups in the Netherlands.) Schrover, ‘Pillarization, Multiculturalism and Cultural Freezing’, 342.

⁸⁰ A series of acts, from 1980 to 1983 constituted a new ‘overall ethnic minority’s policy’ in: Zincone, Penninx and Borkert, *Migration Policy Making in Europe* 161.

⁸¹ When in 1980 the Ministry of Justice tried to take restriction measures to family formation, the progressive and left parties of the Dutch parliament (Pvda, Groelinks, SP, and D66) opposed to that action arguing for institutional equality for all civilians. In 1983 Minderhedennota memorandum was the official acceptance of migrant’s permanency and the starting point for integration measures. Ibidem, 136.

⁸² The UN Economic Commission verdict of 1953 concluded that the overall progress in Europe during the 1960s had been based in unequal distribution and also as based in internal characteristics of each country had been empowered by the national self-sufficiency trajectory, a fact which was contradictory to the vision of a united political Europe in: Mark Mazower, *Σκοτεινή Ήπειρος Ο ευρωπαϊκός εικοστός αιώνας* (Αθήνα 2001) 82.

the research. The juxtaposition of characteristics in the political, economic, societal and cultural life between Greece and the Netherlands onwards 1950s had clearly outlined fundamental inequalities. Consensus spirit in the Netherlands contradicted with Greece's political autarchy and oppression. Dutch wealth and prosperity, theoretically equally distributed, contradicted with Greece's lack of industrial development, unemployment and poverty for low class and rural population. The diversity between rural⁸³ and urban society in Greece considering political, economical, social, cultural levels, escalated in the postwar period. The peasants and the laborers had been the underprivileged Greek proletariat and paid the highest price. Dutch workers secured their rights and position to the market through unionism, which was forbidden in Greece. While Dutch society experienced a perspective of emancipation towards social, religious or physical norms and structures, which spread the spirit of equality and liberation, Greek society faced revanshism, discord and prosecution. Greece's traditional culture was based on the nuclear family norms, the patriarchic model and the inferior position of women. In the Netherlands, liberation in education and culture resulted to a rebellion spirit which was also supported by society's "tolerance" and multicultural values. In Greece there was neither freedom of speech nor protest and youth was prosecuted for nontraditional attitudes. Finally, the standard of living in Netherlands that the welfare system as well as the well organized institutional structures and technology of communication and transportation provided was never experienced from the Greek society. Modernization, according to the capitalistic Western model, had been a word that defined the transformations that occurred in 1950s and 1960s in the Netherlands. In contradiction, Greece, moved backwards at all levels until 1974; even then, the country never approached a level of modernization, such as the one that had been defined in the Netherlands. In that sense, Greek labor immigrants in 1950s and 1960s had to handle a dual status; firstly, their personal unprivileged position, formed by their low social status in Greece, and secondly, the peripheral and problematic position of their country within the European and international

⁸³ Greek peasants had been the most underprivileged and paid the highest price during the strife. Thousands were killed, estimated at 158.000, while a large number of civilians were relocated or deported due to various local clans' conflicts. In the end of the civil conflict from 1949 to 1952, mopping up actions operated by the National Army killed thousands of leftist guerillas at the north border mainly at Chalkidiki, southeast of Thessaloniki, in: Koliopoulos and Veremis *Modern Greece*, 128.

context. In that sense, their social position in the post war neo-colonial scheme had been predefined, long before their immigration procedure had started.

Chapter II.

First phase of installation, 1955-1967.

Which were the primary factors that laid the basis for the character of Greek migration to the Netherlands and how did those factors influence the migrants' relations with the sending and the receiving country, as well as between themselves? In chapter II, I focus on the background of the interviewees that arrived in the Netherlands between 1950 and 1968. The migration filters, implemented by the Greek state's policy and the Dutch labor market are analyzed. I examine the conditions and the characteristics of their transition from home to the host land, and the new job and workplace, which is one of the most intensive changes in Greek migrant's lives. Two factors, the background (social, political, cultural, and economic) of the group - in its differences or similarities - and the selective filters, which were imposed mutually by the mother land and the receiving country's labor needs, formed the motives, conditions and the basis of Greek migration. The interplay of these two factors will explain on the one hand, to what extent their status in the host land has been predetermined by the group's characteristics (as already shaped in Greece). On the other hand, it reveals the shifts on migrant's relations, between them and their home and guest land.

Greek group's 'vulnerable' and 'heterogeneous' elements

Since the Second World War, violence and death have been endogenous and continual elements of urban and rural Greek societies. The oldest of the group (93 years old) was a young man during the Second World War. His story is apocalyptic: *"I was born in 1921. In 1944, when I was 23 years old, the Germans incarcerated me in Goudi jail because they had caught an Englishman in my neighborhood in Galaxidi, where I was raised. They accused me of sheltering him. They took us from the jail to Germany, to a concentration camp in Westphalia. There we*

worked hard in flattening bombed and destroyed airports and rural areas. I was worked like a dog, but if I had been in Greece I might have been killed by the Nazis or died from hunger. When the war ended, it took six months until we got back home. They took us to Belgium, England and then Italy where we stayed for four months. Then in Greece there was the civil war; only when it had finished did they put us on a boat to Piraeus."⁸⁴ The man regarded captivity and forced labor in Germany as preferable to a stay in Greece during the war, which would probably have resulted in death from starvation or at the hand of the Nazi's. The famine in the winter of 1941 cost the life of 300,000 civilians whilst a daily life of high risk and poverty was the reality for Greek societies during the war. Greece's formal and collective resistance actions started in western Thrace (Drama) in 1941 upon the annexation of Bulgaria (where an estimated fifteen thousand civilians were killed). The strife was continued throughout the duration of the war by armed groups, such as the guerillas *andartes*⁸⁵ (who first appeared in Macedonia's mountains in 1941) and urban saboteurs. Reprisal executions of the Greek population by the Germans or the Bulgarians, mainly in villages, were commonplace. Moreover, Greece's occupation resulted in a total drain of the Greek economy. Economy's pillage did not stop after the end of the occupation; it continued during the civil war.⁸⁶ Both the nationalists and the guerilla armies were raiding towns and villages for loot, crops and animals, causing pain for the local population. It is not surprising that such strong experiences of extreme danger and life's devaluation are likely to function as a strong incentive for an individual to migrate. As Moraitis continues *...that experience broke something...I was then ready to travel all over the world, to seek for myself...*⁸⁷ But misery and the lack of political and social stabilization in postwar Greece has apparently also been the reason for migration by the young daughters of urban families. Maritsa Dimitopoulou, a refined woman who since 1947 has been a "war bride" for a wealthy Greek man in Utrecht, recounts: *Do you know what it meant to live in Greece in 1946? Revolutions - political and social - a devastated economy...I was the best student in my class, but because of the war I finished only the three high school class. Then the war started and schools were closed. We were*

⁸⁴ Christos Moraitis.

⁸⁵ Greek resistance, EAM was established in 28th of September, 1941, by a wide communist political spectrum, as also independent persons. The resistance frontier was using as base of operations, mountain areas, which were staying liberated.

⁸⁶ Βερέμης και Κολιοπουλος, *Ελλάς η Σύγχρονη Συνέχεια*, 451.

⁸⁷ Christos Moraitis.

*four daughters in the house. My father in order to marry us all had to give four dowries. That man saw me and asked me in marriage clarifying that he wanted no dowry. My mother, who was extremely religious, said to me: “my girl this is the wish of God, take my prayer and go...”*⁸⁸ Dimitopoulou recalls Athena’s “December” fighting, an era of escalating violence, which marked the start of the Greek civil war (1946-1949).⁸⁹ After the withdrawal of the German occupational power in 1944, the establishment of British powers in Athens⁹⁰ initiated political strife between Papandreou’s government and guerilla forces, which were reacting to their disarmament and dissolution. In such an epoch, urban families with many daughters were finding a solution to matchmaking of the girls and their migration abroad, in prospect of a better life. Considering the significance of the Mediterranean nuclear family model, in which the family is the main economic and social life unit, the precondition of the dowry has been highly evaluated.”⁹¹

The responsibility to financially support the unmarried sisters in order to get married has been a motive for migration for the older male members of families, whose childhood during the post war period has been characteristically full of hardships, in terms of their life’s depreciation. Konstandinos Mitropoulos, a worker from a mountainous area in northern Greece recounts: *“I come from Kalavryta, Peloponnese. I had ten brothers and sisters and we were orphans. My father has been a farmer, but he died from the hardships; after that, the only thing I remember from my childhood is deprivation and poverty. As they say: “ravaged flocks, deserted sheepfolds.” Everything was poor, the land, the people, I had to leave from there...I had to help my mother and my sisters.”*⁹² Mitropoulos describes the total deprivation of any life sources due to the lack of crops or animals. During the civil war, isolated mountain villages like Kalavryta in the Peloponnese, had been the matrix of the National army’s military operations against the communist’s guerilla forces. In the winter of 1948, the area was the center of sweeping battles

⁸⁸ Maritsa Dimitopoulou.

⁸⁹ Γιώργος Μαργαρίτης, Σπύρος Μαρκετος, Κωνσταντίνος Μαυρεας, Νικόλαος Ροτζωκος, *Ελληνική Ιστορία*, (Πάτρα 1999) 299.

⁹⁰ In order to ensure the implementation of the Balkan’s division, as it has been agreed by Stalin and Churchill.

⁹¹ Dowry practice is rooted in Homeric ancient Greece, - the wedding gifts from the bride’s father to the groom were named *μείλια* - and is accessed in the wider practice of “gift” Ομηρου, *Οδυσσεια*, ζ ‘207-8’.see reference no. 290.

⁹² Panagiotis Mitropoulos.

for the liquidation of almost four thousand fighters who were captured or killed.⁹³ The prevailing violent atmosphere seems not to have allowed for any illusions of a prospective life in the village, especially for orphan boys. According to the Greek nuclear patriarchic family tradition, the physical death or the absence of the father deems automatically the male members of the family to be “protectors” of the mother and the sisters, for whose dowry they are responsible, in order for the girls to get married. Living standards were the same in other parts of the country, such as in Greece’s eastern and western borders. Thanasis Bahtsevanidis, a worker who became a shopkeeper in Utrecht, describes: *“I was born in 1945 in Ladi, Evros. We were five children and we were extremely poor. In order to get one kilo of flour and grind it through stones and make some bread we did everything with my mother... it was our luxury to eat bread. My father had gone with the partisans into the mountains. They caught him in Maroussi, Athens and they (the national army) imprisoned him. I never saw him until I became 34 years old...”*⁹⁴ The western part of Greece was the main base of the guerilla’s operations. In January 1950, one of the last fights of the civil war took place near Thessaloniki. The guerillas that were not killed, captured or executed were deported to Albania and Bulgaria. Although exact figures of the war fatalities remain vague, it is estimated that by 1950 almost 45,000 people had been killed.⁹⁵ In addition, the border areas of Greece and Bulgaria have been the points from where the guerilla’s bands were mobilizing and as a consequence, they were oppressing the local rural populations.⁹⁶ Post civil war governments, as T. Bahtsevanidis confirms, not only banned the communist party of DSE, but also imposed the forfeiture of their civil rights and citizenship.⁹⁷ *“I never saw him until I become 34 years old... and I searched for him through the Red Cross, in Utrecht. I finally found him forgotten and mentally sick in a concentration camp in Bulgaria. He had no Greek*

⁹³ Koliopoulos and Veremis, *Modern Greece*, 124.

⁹⁴ Thanasis Bahtsevanidis.

⁹⁵ 15.000 soldiers of the National army and 20.000 from the DSE guerillas were killed; 5.000 communists were executed after the war. Koliopoulos and Veremis, *Modern Greece*, 125.

⁹⁶ 74.000 men, women and children from the rural borders fled into Albania and Bulgaria. Lagaris, ‘Greek Refugees in Western, Central, Northern, and Southern Europe’, in: Klaus J. Bade, et al., *The Encyclopedia of Migration and Minorities in Europe*, 464.

⁹⁷ Partisan’s Communist Party, CPG who had fought efficiently against the axon occupation, was banned from December 1947 until the junta fall in 1974. After the civil war partisans who had fled to eastern and southeastern countries in the pretext of national betrayal and ‘pan-Slavic ‘support, were deprived by their citizenship(1948-1963) as also had been confiscated of their property (1948), which was then divided among the members of the conservative governments. Ibidem, 464.

*citizenship anymore, so I brought him here with me to the Netherlands where he stayed until he died.”*⁹⁸

The Communist’s pogrom created a flow of internal family mobility during the civil war in Greece. Communist families have been refugees on their own land as a third of the interviewees testify. S.K., who persists to his anonymity exactly by this previous life experience of pursuit when he was a child, says: *“I was born in Peloponnesus, Messenia, but we were hunted because my father was a communist, so we were constantly changing settlement. While my father was in exile, in Nafplio and afterwards in Gyaros, we stayed with my mother in Athens. Our life was difficult and we mainly depended on other members of my father’s family. Food has been for years a luxury...”*⁹⁹ In the same way, families from the most distant part of Greece, Crete, have been reported apparently following the traits of the partisan father. Stelios Merodoulakis, who has been a dock-worker and bar owner in Rotterdam, becomes emotional as he remembers: *“I was born in Crete, but my family was constantly moving because my father was a communist. I remember nothing but agony. In 1960 I was living to the North of Greece, to Thessaloniki”*.¹⁰⁰

If we consider the death rate among the soldiers of both the nationalists and the communists during the civil war, it is obvious that being extremely poor and an orphan has been an insistent combination in those future guest workers’ childhoods . *“My parents have come from Smyrna to Greece in 1922. My mother gave birth to me in a cornfield in Edessa. She had gone there from Thessaloniki to collect wild mountain greens, in order to bring to the other children something to eat. She had already six other children. My mother was so malnourished that I was born...dead...my belly was tumescent. “Dig it in a hole, to get rid of it” my brothers and sisters told her. (crying). In order to live I was eating what was left from other’s plates or glasses...I was waiting for another child to drink their milk and then I was collecting with my tongue what has been left, the white cream on the glass’s sides. When a child in the neighborhood was eating a mandarin there was a real fight, you had to become mean in order to survive. Since I became an orphan, when I was four, I have lived in a horrifying situation of hunger”*, remembers Tzavos, who worked in the Rotterdam dock area for 25 years. The latter also confirms a situation where

⁹⁸ Thanasis Bahtsevanidis.

⁹⁹ S.K.

¹⁰⁰ Stelios Merodoulakis.

stagnation in everyday life resembles only death. That feeling of insecurity would follow him for all his life and determined his future individual identification. Tzavos: *“I remember myself constantly looking for food. I never got over that feeling, even though today I have my savings in the bank, I am always afraid that this feeling of hunger will come again. I feel insecurity. My daughter says to me: Dad, treat yourself good, you deserve it, go for a trip, relax...” but I cannot do that. I am afraid; I save money in case that something will happen. I never deprive anything from the others (family members) but only from myself...*¹⁰¹.

As we notice in the last interviewee’s words, since the 1930s poverty and bloodshed made families vulnerable. Five out of eighteen Greek interviewees, who migrated to the Netherlands as workers or sailors, were settled in Greece as refugees; one from Egypt and the rest from Minor Asia. Manolis Kakomanolis, a shipmaster who settled in Rotterdam, describes his family’s migration experience and culture: *“My family left from Kassos to Egypt in 1924. We (Kassos Island) belonged then to Italy. It was then that people from Kassos and Kalymnos, who were sponge divers, were extremely poor and seeking for work. They brought them (to Egypt) in order to build the Suez’s canal and Port Said; Said¹⁰² was then there.”*¹⁰³ The Dodecanese Islands in the Aegean Sea were occupied by Italy since the Italo-Turkish War of 1911-1912. After the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923, the islands were officially placed under Italian administration.¹⁰⁴ At the end of the nineteenth century, there was a large migration from these isolated and poor islands to Egypt, for the needs of the Suez Canal building. The Port Said’s Greek community has been officially established in Egypt in 1865. Between 1880 and 1920, the Greek Diaspora flourished socially and economically,¹⁰⁵ a fact which is reflected by Kakomanolis’ report about a high educational level amongst the Greek second generation in Egypt: *“I was born in Port Said in 1929, and I have been well educated. In school I have learned ancient Greek, French and Arabic; I can still read in those languages very well.”* As he also indicates, the continual

¹⁰¹ Eleytherios Tzavos.

¹⁰² Refers to M. Said Pasha (1822-1863) minister in 1910-1914 and afterwards in 1919, who granted Suez Canal building.

¹⁰³ Manolis Kakomanolis.

¹⁰⁴ William Henry Beehler, *The history of the Italian-Turkish War, September 29, 1911, to October 18, 1912* (Harvard 2008).

¹⁰⁵ I.M. Χατζηφώτης, *Οι δύο Αιώνες του Νεότερου Ελληνισμού*, (Αθήνα 1999). Ευθύμιος Σουλογιαννης, Αφρικανική Ηπειρος, Αίγυπτος και Σουδάν, οι Έλληνες στην Διασπορα ,in: <http://www.hellenicparliament.gr/onlinepublishing/apd/222-253.pdf>. (last accessed 15-4-2013).

mobilization of his family in different “homelands” resulted in a feeling of “no-land” so to speak: *“I am a man without land. For the Greeks, when we were living in Kassos, we were considered as Italians; until 1947 we did not belong to our country. In Egypt we were strangers again, Greeks. We were going to the authorities only with one witness, we declared our names and were given Greek passports (in order to get rid of us). Although I was raised in Egypt, I never became an Egyptian; they considered us (the Greeks) as ‘strangers’. Here, I became a ‘stranger’ again.”*¹⁰⁶ After 1930, the Greek population started to abandon Egypt, a phenomenon that continued and was completed by 1956, mainly in the frame of Nasser’s politics.¹⁰⁷ Kakomanolis’ “no land” experience played the role for a strong motivation to migrate. He confirms that their settlement in Greece happened with privileged conditions, as those refugees were wealthy and high skilled. *“In the 50s there were two Merchant Marine Academies, I finished in four years the School and I gave examinations to the External Relations Ministry and I took my diploma; at the age of twenty-seven I travelled with my first ship as a ship commander, a skipper.”*¹⁰⁸ The situation was similar for a man who was a refugee in Greece and migrated to the Netherlands in 1959, Leonidas Slovakian, a wealthy hotel owner in Rotterdam: *“I have always been a migrant. My family was changing “topos” (country) forever. We came to Athens in 1922 from Asia Minor. I moved to the Netherlands in 1959, because I had heard that other refugees from Asia Minor migrated there. When I first came, I had my savings with me; we were not poor because we had left our place before the Turks invaded. In Athens, my father had his own business.”*¹⁰⁹ But those previous cases are an exception; those who had been pursued in 1922 from Asia Minor were settled in Greece under the worst conditions. Artoglou, a worker from Rotterdam remembers: *“I was born in 1942. My family came to Thessaloniki from Pontos in 1922. I am orphan from my father since I have been seven years old. The communists’ partisans killed my father during the civil War in 1949, in Pavlou Mela Street in Thessaloniki. My uncle, who fought in the Balkan Wars, was also killed by the partisans. My mother was an honest widow with four children and they gave her a job in ΠΙΚΙΑ Saint Demetrio’s orphanage*

¹⁰⁶ Manolis Kakomanolis.

¹⁰⁷ Angelos Ntalachanis, ‘Entre Paroikia, Metropole et Diaspora. Strategies de migration pour les Grecs de l’Égypte, 1945-1956’, *Mnimon*, 31 (2010) 187-213.

¹⁰⁸ Manolis Kakomanolis.

¹⁰⁹ Leonidas Slovakian

house. We also lived in there along with other migrant's families mostly Armenians.”¹¹⁰ Artoglou belongs to the refugee community, which was created in Greece from the flow of about one and a half million people that took refuge in Greece, after Kemal's negation of the Treaty of Sevres and the defeat of the Greek army at the Saggarios River in August 1922. According to a mainstream historical approach, that community in Greece took an anticommunist and nationalistic position and joined the National Army.¹¹¹ This argument can be justified; refugees were strongly influenced by Venizelos' Great Idea of the unified Greek Nation and actually, their status would not permit them any opposition to the majority's right wing governments. Avoiding an essentialist approach, since the refugees could not be considered as homogenous - neither in their political orientation, nor in their economical status - we could consider their minority as conservative; what is mentionable is their vulnerable status in Greece as confirmed by their testimonies. Artoglou's testimony also reveals the political insanity of an era in Greece when men were killed every day for their political orientation on both sides. As a woman recalls, people in that period were slaughtered even if they were members of the same family: *“My father fought in 1945 and as soon as they thought the War was over the civil war devastated them; they saw families and kinships exterminate each other. Hunger was terrible, my mother has described to me a period when all her family was eating for months on end only Wild Mountain greens, like animals and they became like ghosts.”*¹¹² That description about the war between bandits, clans and families constitutes a historical transfer to the Greek War of Independence and refers to the Greek traditional segmented society that survives after liberation.¹¹³ Existence and operation of diverse centrifugal political powers in Greece maintained after independence and has been the one of the main reasons for the country's consolidation towards nationalistic and conservative ideologies, which promoted a 'confused' political frame and differentiated Greece's political

¹¹⁰ Haralampos Artoglou.

¹¹¹ Μαρία-Εύα Θεοδωρίδου, 'Η Μικρασιατική Ελληνική μειονότητα στο Παρίσι.' In: F. Ανθία-Ayres, M. Van Attekum, Π. Γουγουλακής, Μ. Θεοδωρίδου, Α. Κατσανάκη, Ν. Κοκοσαλακής, Σ. Μαππα, Α. Μέργιανου, Μ. Νικολινάκος, Τ. Pennings, Β. Πεζμαζογλου, Γ. Πετροχειλος, Μ. Ρούσου, Ε. Σαρίδης, Γ. Τσιακαλος, Η. Vermeulen (eds.), *Ελληνική Διασπορά στη Δυτική Ευρώπη*, (Αθήνα 1985)187-200

¹¹² Bahtsevanidou Dina.

¹¹³ The Ottoman's occupation bequeathed to Greece a complex feudal system. The sultan was ruling a military and administrative mechanism manned by Greek Christians; in that sense, the authority of the sultan could not be threatened by his competitors. Those 'privileged' Greeks- *προεστοι, προχοντες*- by being the intermediaries in significant matters as the tax collection, gained political and economic power.

history, after her liberation from the Ottomans (1832), from the Western European model.¹¹⁴ The war of independence in Greece was ideologically based on intellectuals of enlightenment (*Φαναριώτες*) who envisioned an alternative secular, liberal new state according to western standards. After 1850 however, the reaction of the old conservative status in the country - which replaced the Ottomans' power - caused a major change; on the one hand, it established a conservative, nationalistic state based on orthodox Greek-Christian tradition and on the other, it perpetuated a political culture in which military operations became the main implementation of the authorities.¹¹⁵ Violence and strife continued to constitute common denominators of Greece's political history after the Second World War. Even after the end of the civil war, Greece did not seem to enter a period of social pacification, political recovery and stabilization. L. Bambalidis recalls incidents from his childhood that shaped his leftist beliefs as an adult: *"I will never forget; In Thessaloniki, when I was a young boy, 1950s to 1960s, we were living near Yentikule. Every day I listened to gunfire and I was thinking that they have killed a partisan again. In the house no one was talking then, a death silence in the neighborhood..."*¹¹⁶ The conservative right wing governments in the period from 1949 to 1964, promoted the revanshism and hatred that were keeping the exhausted Greek society divided, and formed accordingly, the political and social consciousness of the future's Greek citizens. Some of those who immigrated did not have the opportunity to study, or work in any job, because of their political persecution; mostly based upon their father's political orientation during the civil war. *"As a young boy I couldn't find a job because of my father's political orientation. I had to go to the police and sign the "conviction's certificate" and declare that I was not a communist, something that I would never have done."*¹¹⁷ In the same way, a man who was politically conscious from an early age, told us: *"In Greece we had in 1960 the ethnarch of ERE, I was then sixteen years old. They (the conservative governments of that period) had put me on their black list because I was influencing the young people of my age group; I had been asked to sign that I am not a communist, which I had not done. That (my refusal) was the reason for which I could not find any job. As long as I was getting a job somewhere, the gendarmes were coming and my boss was*

¹¹⁴ Παναγιώτης Κιτρομηλίδης, *Νεοελληνικός Διαφωτισμός*, (Αθήνα 1996) 467.

¹¹⁵ Κιτρομηλίδης, *Νεοελληνικός Διαφωτισμός*, 482.

¹¹⁶ Lambros Babalidis.

¹¹⁷ Stelios Merodoulakis.

driving me out. I was working only four to five months per year to the tobacco warehouses. I even tried to take examinations in the military school. I did very well in the examinations, but when I went to get my results the officer told me that they would not accept me in the class. This was then the Greek state, militaristic and autarchic...as it still is".¹¹⁸ A restriction from the studies he wanted to follow was witnessed also by S.K: "*When I finished school, I wanted to become an actor, so I went to acting school, but after a while the director told me that I should present myself to the police station to sign the "conviction's certificate", otherwise they would not let me continue. I was not active in any political organization then, but after what my father had been through, I decided not to obey. Also, I did not want to go to the army, because I knew that as a son of a communist I would have troubles. I realized then I had to leave Greece because they would not let me live.*"¹¹⁹ It seems that for a part of the group, immigration has been the only way for survival. The youngest person of our group, Polyhronakis, who migrated to the Netherlands exactly when the Junta had established itself, in 1967, shared his own political persecution experience: "*I came here in 1967, from Crete, like a fugitive, with a touristic passport, but I was not legal because I had not served my military duties and also I had many problems with the Greek state. In the last year of school before the university examinations they had arrested me when I was putting up provocative political posters [against the right-wing Greek governments] and they did not let me pass to study*".¹²⁰ The previous descriptions, about people in the beginning of their adulthood, who were prevented from working and studying, and basically pursued and confronted by the threat of death without reasoning, more than the political orientation of their ancestors coordinates with an Arendtian description about the deprivation of human rights: "*...rights of citizens, is at stake ...when one is placed in a situation where, unless he commits a crime, his treatment by others does not depend on what he does or does not do.*"¹²¹ In that sense the characteristics of the Greek group are defined by a political quality; immigration motivations have not being for all members economic reasons. Greek's post civil war migration had two different dimensions: socioeconomic and political. The motivation of one third of the Greek post war workers in the Netherlands for immigration has not being primarily economic; it

¹¹⁸ Lambros Babalidis.

¹¹⁹ S. K.

¹²⁰ Manolis Polyhronakis.

¹²¹ Hannah Arendt, *The origins of Totalitarianism* (New York 1968) 177.

has been a matter of survival, due to the fact that they were confronting the threat of prison or death, similar to their ancestors.

The exception among the people who were oppressed for their political ideas was T. Bahtsevanidis, whose desire to learn a technical occupation in the Royal School, was interpreted by the conservative administrations as an example of repentance and allowed him access to a passport. *“I was able to take the passport only for one reason... - thank god - when in 1959 I finished school I applied to follow the Royal School of Queen Frederica in Athens, Maroussi. There I learned the occupation of carpentry. That “royal” diploma gave me the ticket for my passport, otherwise, considering my father’s past they would never let me go out of the country. It was in the junta time and I knew I had to leave...”*¹²² The latter’s testimony relates the political pursue with the access to formal documentation, which was essential for working in the public sector or even the private, or studying in the home land but also, for any immigration plan. Considering the pressure due to the difficult conditions in Greece, the “certificate of social beliefs”, which was a requirement provided by the police, became the symbol of legality; a “ticket to life” for unprivileged populations, and mostly for those who were pursued in the frame of anti-communism. As we notice from the interviews, the filter for access to the passport during all the conservative right regimes, until the changeover in 1974, was political. Those, for whom there was no suspicion of left wing orientation, had easy access to a passport and respectively a work contract. The group of sailors that has attended a naval school due to their attachment with the naval authorities and the navy bulletin were less dependent to the “*conviction’s certificate*”, than the labor workers, who were in direct relation to the states administrations. Simple sailors needed an ‘emigration license’, which presupposed military obligations accomplishment and a “*conviction’s certificate*”. Kostas Yambannis has been the main organizer of the naval Union movements as a representative of Greece’s communist party in the Netherlands, since 1959. In his autobiography he reports: *“my father could not embark because during the civil war he had helped the guerillas of EAM-ELLAS. The same was happening with other sailors also. The monarch-fascist regime of traitors hated the antifascist fighters. Only in 1952, when a temporary*

¹²² Thanasis Bahtsevanidis.

amnesty was given he succeeded to sail."¹²³ In the wide post civil war anti-communism and anti-syndicalism frame that was imposed by the conservative governments, the union has been declared as illicit and the leading members were incarcerated. After 1947, the cooperation between the state and the ship owners resulted on the one hand, to an enormous Greek ship owner's capital accumulation and on the other hand, to sailor's prosecution and terrorism.¹²⁴ "*In Greek's merchant shipping history there was never before so much contrast, between the owner's wealth and the sailor's low standard of living.*"¹²⁵ At the beginning of the 1960s the alliance between the Ministry of Merchant marine and the Greek ship-owners Union ensured huge wealth for the ship-owners, who were supporting financially the right-winged governments and employed Greek sailors.¹²⁶ Actually, all Greek sailors; there were implemented the same political anti radical filters, by the members of the official Workers Navy Federation (Π.Ν.Ο, *Πανεργατική Ναυτική Ομοσπονδία*) whose members were representing the interests of the ship employers and the conservative Greek state. The shipping sector was cooperating with the state's administrations to marginalize and restrict communists, who would be dangerous to the employers, for their unionizing actions and their class-consciousness.

In that sense, access to the right political powers of that era was really significant for all members of the group. Haris Pertsinidis, an ex-worker and restaurant owner in Dordrecht, who came to the Netherlands autonomously, - from the Belgian mines, explains that he had to use a political mediator in order to obtain a passport and a work contract. "*I came from Kilkis [northeastern Greek border] in 28 October, 1962, when I was twenty two years old. My uncle participated in the Ένωσις Κέντρον' [Center Union] ballot [which were the winners of the 1961 elections] and he secured me a contract for the Belgium mines, through an intermediate office in Thessaloniki.*"¹²⁷ The clientele character of the Greek state has been also confirmed from an ex-worker in Rotterdam: "*I came here from Thessaloniki, in 1964, using a political midst; I had a*

¹²³ . Γιαμπανης, *Οι αναμνησεις ενός ναυτεργατη*, 19.

¹²⁴ Between 1947 and 1967, all the sailor's trade union's victories for the seafarer's rights were suspended. O.E.N.O. (Ομοσπονδία Ελληνικών Ναυτεργατικών Οργανώσεων) the Federation of Greek Seamen Organization, which was established in Cardiff, 1943, during the II world war had a great history of resistance In 1950, The Greek commercial fleet occupied the third position worldwide with 1908 ships. Ibidem, 125.

¹²⁵ Ibidem, 126.

¹²⁶ . Koliopoulos and Veremis, *Modern Greece*, 131.

¹²⁷ Harris Pertsinidis.

family friend who was a military and worked for the Ministry of External Affairs when Georgios Papandreou leader of “Ενωσις Κέντρον” was placing in the catalogs [for labor migration] their own children.”¹²⁸ Worker’s group majority did not have any problems to ensure a passport; either because they had graduated from a naval school, which presupposed the “conviction’s certificate” or they did not belong to the left wing followers and mainly had access - by kinship relations or family friend - to the conservative political elite of Greece at that time. But for one third of the workers the situation was different. Merodoulakis, the son of a *guerilla* explains: “I had to go to the police and sign the “conviction’s certificate” and declare that I was not a communist, something that I would never do. But God helped me. In 1964, I was then 22. I found a way to leave and I signed a labor contract.”¹²⁹ For those, whose family political tradition was left wing, a passport and a working contract were “elusive dreams” as L.Babalidis defined it: “I had been struggling for three years to get a passport; when in 1962 “Ενωσις Κέντρον” by G. Papandreou started to become popular, things changed for a while. In 1963, I was present at Lambrakis’ murder in Thessaloniki...that incident marked me deeply, I had to leave Greece. In 1964, before the elections I found an opportunity and I took the passport. In March I was leaving for the Netherlands, fortunately, because in April the new Government fell and things became worse. I left at the last moment.”¹³⁰ What Babalidis actually describes is a small political change between 1963 and 1964. It was then, after the murder of ΕΔΑ’s¹³¹ deputy, Gregoris Lambrakis (May 1963) that for the first time after the war, a non-conservative party, which coiled in its bosom liberals of the center and the left, consolidates as a powerful non conservative political pole. All the workers from our group left Greece with a contract specifically in 1964. In 1964, G. Papandreou was elected by absolute majority, but his reforming government ended after the strong reaction of the Palace and the right wing political cores. It seems that during that period, when Greek emigration policy started to be used in political controversies¹³², the state’s bureaucratic mechanisms - consciously or not- left some open space for left wing followers, who found a way to ensure a passport and a contract, without the precondition of the “conviction’s

¹²⁸ Haralampos Papadopoulos.

¹²⁹ Stelios Merodoulakis.

¹³⁰ Lambros Babalidis.

¹³¹ (Ενιαία Δημοκρατική Αριστερά) The popularity of United Democratic Left rose after 1951 by political denunciations of the right wing government’s atrocities. Μαργαρίτης, et al. 313.

¹³² Venturas, *Gouvernements grecs et partis politiques*, 49.

certificate". Possibly, the 'central' Government opened an exodus for communists and radicals, in order to secure social and political balance.

In the early 1950s, the people that we study were in their youth and their experiences determined their social, political, economic and cultural status in Greece. According to the analysis, there were specific reasons for which on the whole they were in their country in a vulnerable and unprivileged status. All of them were raised either in the northern or southern border areas of Greece. Five perspective seamen originate from islands or coastal periphery areas (Kassos, Crete, Galaxidi, and Halkida). Among the workers, three originate from South Peloponnese and ten from the North and the border of Greece. Those areas were unprivileged, either by being geographically isolated and thus poor, or by being molds of political strife and violence between the national army and the guerillas, during the civil war. Moreover, a group's minority had originated from refugee's families from Asia Minor or Egypt. That forced-refugee status had a dual consequence: on the one hand, it resulted in a lack of belonging ethnically to a specific national conclave and respectively developed a culture of 'continual mobility and foreignness'. On the other hand, the refugee's position in the lowest socioeconomic strata enhanced an immigration tendency. Only two refugees argued about a middle social position in Greece due to their families' voluntarily emigration in Greece. The majority of the group has shared a common previous social status in Greece, which was the consequence of poverty, deprivation and insecurity, originating by the high level of instability and weakness that the country experienced since the beginning of the twentieth century, at all levels. One third of the group was also politically pursued as children of left-leaning families, while their opportunities for education or work were nonexistent. For that part of the group, social status in Greece, the lack of education, or employment has been the result of a pogrom against them, which they had experienced since their childhood. In the post civil war period, that minority confronted an additional fear; their life's security from the political revanchist spirit. While they all share a common social status, only four of them¹³³ declare their political and class consciousness, even before their immigration departure.

¹³³ Babalidis, Polyhronakis, Merodoulakis and S.K.

The narrator's negative social and political background formed their motives for their immigration to the Netherlands; their recruitment conditions were defined by the Greek state and Dutch employers. The state's selection filter was political, on the pretext of a "*conviction's certificate*", which actually symbolized the assumption of obedience to the majority; here the authoritarian and conservative powers that were restored after the civil war. The selection filter implemented by the Greek state for the prospective immigrants was common, whether they were sailors or workers. The general social synthesis of our interviewees has the quality of vulnerability, as they belonged to the lowest socioeconomic strata and they were unfamiliar with urban life or administration's practices and bureaucracy hierarchy and function. One of the main research targets is to follow how those special groups' characteristic has been expressed in the host land and to what extent have those elements determined firstly, 'route' diversities among the same group and secondly, their integration process in the host land.

Recruitment conditions

*'To the unknown with the boat of Hope'*¹³⁴

After 1951, the needs of a newly formed common European labor market promoted changes in Europe's labor migration approach. The dominant intra-European spirit of that era was that emigration had a temporary character; workers' immigration should be neutralized as sojourner's mobilization and should be controlled by the state (individual, autonomous emigration was not prohibited). The declaration of Greek Parliamentary Proceedings in 4 November 1960 reflected officially that change: "*the mobility of labor within Europe does not constitute emigration anymore; it is workers moving around the wider labor market of the associated Countries, usually for short periods of time and in any case fully covered in terms of social security.*"¹³⁵ Greece signed a migration agreement with the Netherlands in 1966, but 1963-1964 was the peak period of immigration as the research confirms. The role of the Greek state has been mediating between the Dutch industries, - who posed conditions - and the prospective emigrants. The

¹³⁴ Panagiotis Mitropoulos.

¹³⁵ Parliamentary proceedings, 4/11/1960 in: Venturas, *Gouvernements grecs et partis politiques*, 46.

perspective workers, with the precondition of a passport, were checked due to their required age, physical condition, profession and skills, as those were specifically termed by the Dutch employers.¹³⁶ Babalidis remembers the checking procedure as being a humiliating experience: “A friend who was then working for the Ministry of Labour told me that Dutch company’s representatives had come and they were making lists for that country. There, when you were going, they were evaluating you, like you were a donkey, they were looking our physical condition, our hands, even our teethes.”¹³⁷ Serakis, a highly skilled and well paid worker, talks of the same checking experience, remembering the importance of his previous technical knowledge: “I was asked in an office at the foreign state, Dutch people were there too and they were ordering a man who was translating me, “what do you know how to do?” I have learned to do electric welding; a technique that was then innovative for Greece, an uncle of mine has come from America with that electric tool and we were making the iron bases for the balconies. When they saw what I knew they passed me immediately.”¹³⁸ After the checking procedure the emigrants were signing a contract and the representatives of the state were undertaking the transportation to the Netherlands. Officially, the contract guaranteed one year’s work, healthcare and accommodation.¹³⁹ Seven out of every eleven Greek workers have signed a *contracto* with a Dutch industry, but they all answer categorically negatively to the question of whether they knew exactly what the labor agreement they signed was, or if they already had any knowledge about the expected conditions in the receiving country. The words of Babalidis are characteristic: “We landed in that environment like paratroopers, we knew nothing. Not only did we not know what the job would be but we did not even understand or were able to communicate.”¹⁴⁰ In the same vein Mitropoulos adds: “On the 11th July 23 people including me left by train from Larissis station to the “Unknown on a boat named Hope” as we would say. On the train we were all desperate and we tried to exchange the little information that we had, meaning only what was written in that contract paper we were holding like the bible.”¹⁴¹ Only after a year of working and his departure from the *pension*, -where the caretaker had also been controlling his salary-,

¹³⁶ See appendix

¹³⁷ Lambros Babalidis.

¹³⁸ Giannis Serakis.

¹³⁹ Venturas, *Gouvernements grecs et partis politiques*, 47.

¹⁴⁰ Lambros Babalidis.

¹⁴¹ Panagiotis Mitropoulos.

Mitropoulos was able to understand the terms of his contract: *“This was the time that we started to understand what was going on around us, we knew now how we got paid by the company, what expenses they were holding from us...Before we did not control anything, whatever the employees were giving us we were taking it. Now, with the other Italians and Spanish people we started to discuss about the conditions, the payments, our rights, so we could start to demand our rights.”*¹⁴² Pertsinidis, who was initially employed by the Belgian mines, confirms the workers ignorance about their labor conditions: *“I was supposed to work one hundred meters down in the mines, but the conditions were terrible. We could not breathe in there, we suffocated. I stayed for only three months, and when I heard that there were better jobs in Holland I left. I came to Eindhoven which was catholic and I preferred it for that. There I asked to sign a contract after I learned about the salary and the conditions, through a Greek who had already been working there before. I worked in “Van Dyk en co” Fabriek where we manufactured building materials.”*¹⁴³ The lack of information about the work and the contracts terms, in addition to the lack of language was one reason that some industries were forced to hire Greek middlemen, as SK notes: *“In 1964, I arrived in the Netherlands, where I worked for Kabel Fabriek in ABlasserdam. I was introduced by some, not well known, friend. I was presented as a translator, and they hired me because the employers had realized that the Greeks’ (30 persons by then) lack of communication would also be a problem for their work. They could not understand anything, not the system that they were supposed to get paid or work, nor even simple instructions.”*¹⁴⁴ As we see, those Greek workers were not familiar with written official agreements, but they also were not informed by any representative of the Greek state or the Dutch side, about their rights and obligations. An *arbeidsovereenkomst*, an individual labor contract, mentioned only the representative’s name, an abstract characterization of the perspective work (for example, *textielafdelingen*) and the end of the contract one year after the starting day.¹⁴⁵ Some other contracts were written in Dutch.¹⁴⁶ The workers’ lack of information and communication had a

¹⁴² Panagiotis Konstandinos.

¹⁴³ Haris Pertsinidis.

¹⁴⁴ S.K.

¹⁴⁵ See an *Arbeidsovereenkomst* in Appendix

¹⁴⁶ Thanasis Dialektopoulos, *Grieken in de Lage Landen 1600-2000* (Levkosia 2000) 231.

major impact upon their interpretations and impression of their first housing and installation in the guest country.

Pensions and initial impressions.

In each worker's contract there was a term about one year's housing near to the job, the costs of which would be paid out off their salary. The workers were transferred directly from the station to the *pensions*, which belonged and were controlled by the employers; all of them still uphold the worst impression of those places. *There (in the pension) the conditions were awful, I was completely disappointed. In one room were two bunks, each one for four persons, we should, all eight of us, live in a small space like animals. You did not know what kind of person the other one above you was... a drug addict, a sick person, a Spaniard. We were five Greeks and forty Spanish sharing a shower and a toilet. We also had a caretaker who was an alcoholic and he did not cook well...that life was making me sick and I stayed there a year*".¹⁴⁷ The point behind everyone's words was not only the inhuman conditions, but also that they were monitored and repressed by the caretaker, the employers and the Dutch police, who had developed a strict system to control the workers. The caretaker was the informer: *"I remember at the accommodation that we were staying we had to hide everything from the caretaker, if we were playing cards, or we were not in our beds in time, in order to wake up for our shift he would complain to management and they would send us back. We were running like children to pretend that we were asleep... 'The dog' we called him.*"¹⁴⁸ Fear of expulsion was the worst for those people who had tried so hard to secure a contract in a developed 'promising' land. *We could not have any objection because I was scared, all the other guys told me "do not speak, and work for a while first, so the company will see that you worth your money and then you can ask for a better room."*¹⁴⁹ If the caretaker reported non-appropriate behavior to the employers, the police took action, as Babalidis reports: *"In that pension I stayed for two years, I could not stand it anymore. I could not stand the dirt and stench of so many men, stacked on one another day and*

¹⁴⁷ Haralampos Artoglou.

¹⁴⁸ Panagiotis Mitropoulos.

¹⁴⁹ Haralampos Artoglou.

night. When you were coming back from the shift dead from fatigue and you wanted just to sleep in order to get some rest for the next shift, at the same time another person was waking up to leave. We never had any peace. In the middle of the kitchen there was a table with twelve seats. A group was eating and the others were waiting behind for their turn. They were shouting: “finish now, you are late...” The caretakers, mainly older women had the role of the police in the pension. You did not dare to go out, or drink, or play cards. If you did something like that, they denounced you to your ‘fabriek’ as being counterproductive. And then they gave orders to expel you. In the middle of the night, at four o’ clock, the police were coming, they imposed you to gather your suitcase and things quickly and they were driving you out without any excuse. They were putting you on the return train, with a ticket by your accrued money that the fabriek had kept. Like that, with a simple order of the corporation you were back in Greece.”¹⁵⁰ As the latter points out, the workers were stacked in pathetic accommodations, restricted totally from the host society and mainly having been regarded by the employers or the authorities from the first moment not as individuals but as productive subjects; selected by the Dutch companies on the condition of maximum productivity with less cost. Most of the interviewees, not being able to stand psychologically the housing in the pension, left after around one year. “After one year I found a room in the center of the city; I had my head quite from controls and I could mobilize free without administration. The contract did not secure you in any way, it was for one year but the employers could break it whenever they wanted. The residency had to be renewed every three months.”¹⁵¹ Leaving the pension the workers had the opportunity to live a more normal social life, making company with one another and avoiding the authorities’ control which was implemented with a continual anxiety of renewal every three months by the residency. The control system, which was based on the *pension*’s, isolation - at least for the first year of residency in the Netherlands - along with the link between the residency and the lifestyle, or the working ‘behavior’ of the migrant, have been factors that have determined a social inequality status for the Greek workers since their first moments in the host country. The workers were driven directly to the *pensions*, which functioned as an extension of the working environment. Their agony to settle down and their focus on their new jobs, did not give them the opportunity

¹⁵⁰ Babalidis Lambros.

¹⁵¹ Babalidis Lambros.

to get an impression of the new country. Some of them were impressed by the few things they saw on their way from the train station to the *pension*: “*Although I had lived for a few months in Greece’s capital, that city seemed to me strange, huge, the trams, trains and hundreds of cars!*”¹⁵² The same man admits his unfamiliarity with the new found way of life, as he realized when he had to be hospitalized in a Dutch hospital. “*I spend almost two months in the hospital. That experience was for me humiliating. I have never been to a hospital before and there were things I could not get used to. The nurses were young girls! It was impossible for me to accept that they would see me nude, wash me, all the personal things ...I reacted strongly but then they brought me a man for that... The doctors were passing by, but I could not speak with them, I was feeling helpless. They had all day long a radio on in the room, which made me crazy, I was trying to turn it off because that language was just a noise for me.*”¹⁵³ That man’s first interaction with the external environment in his new land was in a professionally organized hospital of a modernized society. In that sense, that unfamiliar and uncomfortable experience made him realize the diversity between his past and present life and the need to adjust to the new terms in order to survive.

While the workers were ‘scheduled’ by the authorities - the sending and the receiving state - to be isolated in their working environment, the sailors have been a different case. They were professionals that embarked in Rotterdam’s port, as they did in other international harbors in that period and their first impressions are interesting. So, for the sailors the dock area has been the first contact with the new land and formed the first impressions. Yambannis wrote: “*I was puzzled by the peculiar buildings, the countless bikers who had their private lane next to the thousands of cars!*”¹⁵⁴ *There was a tunnel that we had not seen before in any other place on earth. The thought that we had passed with the car under the seabed made our minds go insane...we saw in our own eyes the miracle called: Maas tunnel!*”¹⁵⁵ Since 1944, there was an ambitious reconstruction plan (*Nieuwe Waterweg*) for Rotterdam’s port, which had been destroyed during the war, and was to be transformed into a seaport for supertankers. Technologically innovative constructions such as the Botlek, the Europoort and the Maasvlakte - in which Yambannis refers

¹⁵² Panagiotis Mitropoulos.

¹⁵³ Panagiotis Mitropoulos.

¹⁵⁴ Γιαμπανης, *Οι αναμνησεις ενος ναυτεργατη*, 20.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, 21.

to in his autobiography - made Rotterdam's port unique; the 'gateway to Europe'.¹⁵⁶ Babalidis' words for the technological developments in the port are typical: "...on the Dock in Rijn Schelde Concern there was a lock system (filled with water) where the ships came in and those locks could then be emptied so that the ship could be repaired easily. I had never seen something like that before in my life!"¹⁵⁷ The port area was the first impression of the Netherlands for the sailors who were speechless from what they were seeing: "When I disembarked here in Rotterdam for the first time I was most impressed. There were so many cars that I stayed for hours staring with my mouth open. I was astonished." In 1965 there were 1.25 million cars in the Netherlands.¹⁵⁸ The Greek sailors were impressed by modernization when they arrived in Rotterdam after 1950. Their reaction reveals discrepancies, primarily at an economic, technological and cultural level, between Greece and the Netherlands. Our interviewees had left a country which had been diversified from the Western model of enlightenment since its independence from the Ottomans. Tzavos remembers: "When I went to sign for the contract I licked my finger to turn the page, then the men behind the desk in the Ministry told me: "do not do that gesture where you go, they are civilized, progressive people over there..."¹⁵⁹ Even before the migrants set foot in the Netherlands they were told that western civilization was superior to all other cultural models. Especially for Greeks, biased literature in the 1940s implied that not only did none of the blood of the ancient Hellenes flow in their veins, but also that their 'volatile and analytical spirit, lack of cohesion, political incapacity and ready resort to treason all point clearly to southern and eastern affinities'.¹⁶⁰ For someone who was selling 'koulouria' (sesame seed buns) in the street of Thessaloniki since his childhood, the Dutch people seemed 'civilized'. Serakis says: "I felt that there was respect for a man; I was impressed of how kind and in what a civilized manner people were behaving, they even helped me, showed me how to cross the street...no issue that I was an immigrant."¹⁶¹ Apparently, the first impression and the interpretation of a new place for an immigrant depend on his social background and his or her ideology. A communist's approach about the 'progress' and 'civilized' model as it was seen in

¹⁵⁶ Schuyt and Taverne, *Dutch Culture in a European Perspective*, 151.

¹⁵⁷ Lambros Babalidis.

¹⁵⁸ Schuyt and Taverne, *Dutch Culture in a European Perspective*, 154.

¹⁵⁹ Eleftherios Tzavos.

¹⁶⁰ Grant Madison, *The passing of the great race or the racial basis of European History* (New York 1938) 154.

¹⁶¹ Giannis Serakis.

the Netherlands in 1950s and 1960s is totally different: *In the beginning we were impressed by a democratic window, the policemen seemed to be polite here, that there is civilization. But behind that image there were regulations that could bind your hands and feet. The discrimination against us (meaning Greek workers and foreigners generally) was continual and the more you were claiming, the worse the results you had. The Dutch authorities were not different from the model in Greece, simply here there was a democratic “hypocrisy”, a certain professionalism, while in Greece they were not hiding, there was a direct boorishness (from the state’s security forces etc.)*¹⁶² Babalidis, giving a Marxist view, defines ‘civilization’ in terms of the behavior of the local authorities towards lower class minorities in society, such as the ‘foreign’ workers and more generally, the migrants. What he concludes is that besides the obvious differences in the level of manners and typical behaviors, which resulted as elements of a modern well organized Western State; there was not a real frame of ‘democracy’, in the sense of acceptance, respect and interest for the lower social strata where the migrants positioned. On the contrary, he focuses on the host land’s paternalism towards its civilians.

The actual restrictive frame that has been imposed upon the Greek migrants by the Dutch authorities during their first years in the country has been the main reason why they have tried to find alternative ways to respond, in order to avoid expulsion and remain in the country. *“When we had to renew our residency permit we had to go to the police station and prove that we had more than 300 guildens. What we did was give the money from one person to another, they (the authorities) were enthusiastic about the amounts we were carrying...we, the workers helped each other a lot then”*.¹⁶³ Through ‘methods’ that the Greek migrants were inventing, they were helping each other and that is the reason why in those first years in the Netherlands they had close relations with their co-ethnics that belonged to the same class group; in our case the workers. The dependence and coherence between the Greek sailors-workers can be confirmed by most of them. Yambannis wrote of the year 1960: *“We were a bunch of Greeks and we had become really close friends...Having as heritage the Odysseus way of thinking*¹⁶⁴ *we were giving to one another as much money as we had, so that the local police were seeing enough money to*

¹⁶² Lambros Babalidis.

¹⁶³ Stelios Merodoulakis.

¹⁶⁴ In Homer’s *Odyssey*, 8TH Cent. BC, the protagonist Odysseus has been defined by the author as ‘resourceful’ (πολυμηχανος), problematic which means literally, the one who can invent a solution for every situation.

renew our “residence permission”....You see, at that time Rotterdam’s police was giving to us (the sailors) residency for only one month and that could be renewed for one more month on the precondition that we show the amount of money we had. Respectively to our money they were giving the permit or they expelled us.”¹⁶⁵ The idea of the resourceful Greek man, the ancient Homeric *Odysseus* who is clever enough to be able to find a solution to every problem, has been mentioned by the majority of the interviewees, as Serakis confirms: “Every Greek is an *Odysseus*, he tries to leave home and find what he has in his mind.”¹⁶⁶ For the Greek migrants the Homeric ingenuity was the tool to overcome the local authorities’ restrictions, and that reveals the worker’s high esteem and self-identification despite the difficulties. Rotterdam’s police have tried to control the phenomenon of sailors perspective permanent residency after their embarkation, by putting as a term only one month permit’s duration and the possession of a certain amount of money, which probably was not specified, but it would be enough to guarantee the sailor’s possibility to live with legal ways and according to the consumerist local model of life. Money was then a means to buy respect, as Koutsakis remembers: “When I first disembarked at the port I had a lot of money, I did not know where to spend it, and our pockets were full (the sailors). I was working overtime on weekends and gained a lot of money, compared to the weekly salary of a Dutch worker. For that reason we had respect from everyone here, from the police, the bar owners, the women, the simple people. We were not wretches”.¹⁶⁷ Actually, the confrontation of Greek migrants towards Dutch restrictive policies, as the residence renewal - monthly for the sailors and quarterly for the workers - resulted in a coherent low labor class community, where one was supporting, financially and psychologically the other. Especially after the first year’s stay, when the migrants had been transferred to private houses, which they were sharing mainly with co-ethnics, the relations between them became very strong. “After a year, the company gave me a separate room in a better pension and we were all Greek. My best friends, Triantafyllos and Vallios were there and so we were sharing everything, our food and our problems.”¹⁶⁸ The workers’ main theme of reflection during that period was the new work place and the labor conditions. All of them stayed for the first year in a

¹⁶⁵ Γαμπανης, *Οι αναμνησεις ενός ναυτεργατη*, 68.

¹⁶⁶ Giannis Serakis.

¹⁶⁷ Sarantos Koutsakis.

¹⁶⁸ Haralampos Artoglou.

pension under the fear of expulsion from the job and the country. The system between *pension*, local authorities and employers was indirectly blackmailing the workers to remain in the labor houses, in order to monitor and control them and keep them isolated from the interactions of local society. While the whole group presents an impression of high esteem and self-identification, based on their will to work and the trust to their physical and mental abilities, their interpretations regarding the inferiority of the newly found environment differ. Mainly, the group's diversity reflects their perception of the political qualities of the host country. While all workers were disappointed by pension conditions, isolation and control, only one –a communist-criticized consciously the ‘window of democracy and development’ in the new land.

An indirect discrimination: labor conditions and the work environment

*The Netherlands at that period, 1962-1963, was in a phase of great industrial development. There was a big need for workers, mainly unskilled. Dutch workers were refusing to work on low wages, in heavy, dangerous or unhealthy jobs. The industrial owners had to fill the shortage. They had to supplement the labor dynamic from other countries. So they ‘swept’ the Mediterranean countries, which they knew were plagued by unemployment. They were literally, collecting people from the streets. Or they were sending their people (who were gaining procurement for that) in Belgium and Germany, to motivate with tempting proposals to break their contracts there and come to the Netherlands.*¹⁶⁹

Theoretically, the Greek workers in the Netherlands were secured by the same conditions of employment and largely had the same rights as local workers. Essentially, that may have been typically the case, not because the Dutch State or the union members were altruists, but for the simple reason that they first wanted to ease local society fears for the newcomers and also because they did not want the “guests” to provoke a wage depression. But were the Greek workers really working under the same rules as the local laborers?

“When I first came to the Netherlands they were giving us the most difficult and dirty jobs and we were accepting them because we did not have any other choice. We needed to work; if you did not do your job satisfactory then they sent you back. In the beginning I could not stand the

¹⁶⁹. Δημητρά Σιδέρη, *Πατρίδες, το μικρό το ‘Μέγα’* (Αθήνα 1992) 101.

cold, the freezing breeze of the sea wind...I was working in RDM (Rotterdam's Droogdok Maatschappij), near the water. In my job, the water was getting into my gloves and my hands were becoming blue, after a while I could not feel them, I was crying from pain. "Do not cry" the others were saying, "you will get used" and I did after a while; ...- All the jobs in the port were hard because there were no mechanical cranes; we reloaded hundreds of ships each month with our hands and backs. Coffee, hides from Argentina, all wet and moldy were passing through us, the "foreigners".¹⁷⁰ The need for job and also their imposed submissive behavior made the workers do all the work that the local people did not want to do. In *Metanastis* a Greek man shared his experience: "We work more than the Dutch...we are afraid of being fired. You see, we, the foreigners, do not have any choice. If they kick us out we find a job very difficult, while the local workers are in their own land and they know what to do, they are not afraid."¹⁷¹ All of them decided to do any kind of job, as Merodoulakis declares: "I learned all kinds of occupations, even the most difficult. If I got paid I did not care, I could do anything."¹⁷² For others, as S.K, who worked as an intermediate between the employers and his compatriots, the clear and direct exploitation of fellow Greeks and his complaints about this became the reason for his dismissal "... but after one year watching my compatriots' exploitation, - getting the worst shifts or the most difficult jobs- I protested to the employers and I took side with the workers. What the company was actually doing to all of us was an indirect form of blackmail; if someone did not show full obedience and willingness to work hard they would threaten to send you back. Our residence permit depended on our employers' and that was the price we had to pay. All the discrimination and oppression made me react at some point. That was the beginning of trade unionism for me, which was the cause of my dismissal."¹⁷³ This man's testimony reveals how the system of indirect exploitation was functioning; those workers were selected to be in a desperate need for work and without any previous experience from syndicalism or union participation. When K.S. started to develop a kind of class consciousness, about his co-ethnic's position in the labor system, he became unwanted by his employers. None of the interviewees

¹⁷⁰ Elevtherios Tzavos.

¹⁷¹ Utrecht's Greek migrant in his work, house, leisure environment, *Metanastis*, Year 4, issue 1, January- February, 1979 14.

¹⁷² Stelios Merodoulakis.

¹⁷³ S.K.

had been linked with syndicalistic actions in Greece. Industrialization - which had been promoted by Elevation Venizelos governments, especially following the 1927 constitution - did never really kick in. Babalidis is the only exception amongst the workers, who had a family experience related to unionism in his past: *“Tobacco workers were then fearless; they were unionized and organized in TAK, the most powerful syndicate union in the Greek labor sector. In 1950, the right-winged Greek government ransomed the workers and dissolved the union. It was part of the “red line” plan. I remember how challenged my father had been when they offered him eighteen thousand drachmas to agree to the new exploiting terms. And he had to agree. That was the way to destroy the most powerful Greek labor union.”* While the 1960s were for Western Europe a decade of strong unionism, Greece’s 1952 constitution forbids any action of worker’s self organization. In that sense, Greek workers have also been handpicked by their employers for their inexperience in union culture, which made them less demanding and assertive.

Most of the workers accepted the shifts and posts given without any objection; Mitropoulos says: *“They have given me the night shift from the beginning...”*¹⁷⁴ which was acceptable for someone who had no other option. Although, the consequences of bad communication and the lack of experience in difficult posts, became dangerous for workers’ health. Mitropoulos remembers with ill-ease his accident in the second week of his work in Kabelfabriek: *“The jobs that were given to us were the most unwanted, difficult and dangerous. We did not have security. They were risky posts and the Dutch workers did not undertake them. I was cooperating with a crane man who was lifting heavy hot iron rods and putting them in a wagon. I was climbing up on the platform where the hot rods were lying down - imagine they were so hot that they were still red - and I was grasping the nipper, open it and I was putting in the front fork the thin edge of the bunch. During the third month that I was working there, the operator with whom I was cooperating almost every day did not appear. In his place another operator came, who probably was still learning, but I was not aware of that; we could not speak; we only understood one other through gestures. I climbed onto the platform and opened the fork, but he made a backward movement and trapped my left feet. I fell down and started to kick hard with the other foot to*

¹⁷⁴ Panagiotis Mitropoulos.

open the fork; meanwhile my foot was burned, I could smell my skin burning."¹⁷⁵ It is obvious that accidents like the aforementioned were happening because those workers were not familiar with such difficult jobs of a highly industrialized work environment for the simple reason that they had no previous experience in Greece. Also, they were clearly positioned in the 'high risk' post, where simple daily changes – such as in this case the absence of his usual co-worker - could result in an accident. Babalidis aptly confirms the discrimination towards the Greek workers: *"We were taking the worse jobs. In the shipping area, the Port, painting the ship externally with long poles, during the snowfall and the strong sea wind, was done exclusively by guest workers. When it was snowing our hands were becoming blue and we could not feel them after a while, "the cursed come" the locals were saying when we were passing by.*"¹⁷⁶ The lack of language made the workers dependent on other migrant sojourners who had been in the country before them and they knew the codes of the working environment as Mitropoulos explains: *"They had given me the night shift from the beginning. In the first noon, the care-taker walked me to the bus stop, about ten minutes away. He made me understand that I had to wait at that stop. He also gave me a card to use. I stayed alone in the middle of the night waiting. Buses were passing by, I was trying to get on but they were saying to me "out". I could not understand anything; no one had explained anything to me. After a while I managed to find the right bus. When I returned I could not find the accommodation, not even ask, I did not know one word...The next night I found a mysterious short guy, a Spanish man who was here before me, from that day on I became his shadow. After two months I had learned to speak a little but in the beginning it was really difficult because of the language.*"¹⁷⁷ The lack of communication has been a major reason for the worker's dependence and vulnerability. Additionally, it became the reason for the workers to cultivate stronger ties with the other 'guests' and develop their labor class consciousness. Babalidis, who has been perceptive on many levels and had an organizing talent reports: *"When I first came I asked the company to organize for all of us a language lesson, but they refused, they did not want to help us, they wanted us to remain like animals, dependent on them and only to work...like machines on a production line.*"¹⁷⁸ Apparently, the

¹⁷⁵ Panagiotis Mitropoulos.

¹⁷⁶ Lambros Bambalidis.

¹⁷⁷ Panagiotis Mitropoulos.

¹⁷⁸ Lambros Babalidis.

industries showed no interest to educate the foreigners, on the one hand, because that would cost them money and on the other hand, because the lack of language skills would keep the workers in a dependent and unprivileged position; in that sense they would not have the right to demand better shifts or less dangerous jobs. The lack of language knowledge and the indifference by the industries to train the workers maintained the discrimination labor system towards the ‘guests’.

What was actually the union’s or the local workers’ behavior towards the guest workers? “I was registered in the union’s (NVV) sector which was only for us port workers the CEAO. The Dutch union protected us and ensured equal day wage for all. When we were paid there were no differences between guest and local workers. I had to pay a few guilders per month to be registered and the union helped you for free in case of a problem. For the first few years I knew only a few words so I could not communicate, I did not ask for anything. After three years of work I started to meddle in unions matter...if something happened there was shouting, protesting, chaos...With them I learned how to claim my rights...”, Tzavos tells.¹⁷⁹ The first impression for the unions was really positive; as, according to Tzavos the union had been protecting the ‘guest’s’ rights and helped them to become aware of rights. Tzavos had won from his employers, using the union’s lawyer’s support: “Since I was playing football in Greece I had a problem with my knee. At work my knees became worse, because I was carrying a lot of weight. I went to a specialist and he recommended to change position in the job otherwise my knee would be destroyed. I went to my boss and I asked him to be transferred, but he refused saying “if you do not like it just stay out of work.” Then I went to the union where they hired a lawyer and finally I won the case. I was supported for one year by WAO and I took a certificate for Sociale Dienst. When I returned to work I changed duties.”¹⁸⁰ It seems that the unions tried to follow and monitor all labor conditions and agreements between the employers and the ‘guest’ workers. As Bahtsevanidis, a worker in Utrecht, reports: “We were thirty Greeks in the union. The Dutch were asking as if we were satisfied and secured our rights, that is how we learned how to claim by unity...imagine that in the beginning I did not know and I was working seven days per week with the same salary for all days, when the union realized that we did not get paid

¹⁷⁹ Elevtherios Tzavos.

¹⁸⁰ Elevtherios Tzavos.

*they acted and after that I was paid two hundred percent more for Saturdays.”¹⁸¹ We could argue for the good will and the professionalism of the Dutch unions against the Greek workers, but at the same time, as we have already mentioned, we could interpret the union’s close control as an attempt to ensure their own rights. As it is normal, the local workers were trying to avoid the devaluation of their class and labor fights, since then, which could have happened by the arrival of the Greeks, who were ignorant, uninformed and they were willing to make compromises. The Greek workers had all the characteristics of the ‘ideal’ worker of the capitalistic labor system, and that was not a coincidence. On the contrary, they have been selected exactly for that reason, by their employers, while, the union leaders were professional enough to be conscious about that situation. Babalidis speaks about the union’s role: “*Here there was the NVV. Those are socialist unions whose leader is not elected by its base, but self elected by the top members. You could become a member; there was no problem with that, on the contrary they were positive because they wanted to be able to know what is going on with the guest workers. Although, if they found out that you were a communist they were reporting that to the police, return the charges and expelled you.*”¹⁸² As Babalidis clearly claims, the Dutch union’s priority was to ensure that the ‘guests’ were not being exploited with the result of their own labor conditions devaluation. As we have revealed above, unions never reacted to the indirect discrimination of the foreign workers. Moreover, their interests were convergent with the State’s interests. If the general spirit was anticommunism, then the unions were cooperating with the mainstream official strategy and they expelled those who threatened the good market function. The American program to depoliticize unions, such as the Socialist Dutch Association of Trade Unions (NVV) has been successful. In that sense, the capitalistic liberal values diffusion in Dutch life reduced the danger of worker’s reactions and radicalism. As a result, the union’s position was not in contrast to that of capitalists. Unions in the 1960s were adjusted to the dominant ‘centralized’ political rationale; they had the role of the intermediary between the capitalists’ and the workers’ interests, for the unobstructed market’s function and the wealth insurance for both sides. Moreover, most of the interviewees have the impression that their local co-workers were becoming hostile when they found themselves in an inferior position. Tzavos*

¹⁸¹ Thanasis Bahtsevanidis.

¹⁸² Lambros Babalidis.

describes his consistent effort for further professional education and the consequences: *“At some point, while all the head workers of my sector were mentioning in the updates, how diligent and hard a worker I was, I did not get any promotions like others did [locals]. I went to the head offices and complained that while I have been working like if I had been the owner of the company, I never get promoted. So, in 1980 they sent me to avondvakschool, where I trained in a special traineeship to become team chief. Actually, after the training I became team chief, but I had great problems in that post. Every morning I had to deliver a concentrate list, from my superiors with every job written that should be done this day. I had to manage my team and share the work in the most efficient way. I could not understand the block letters and only after a while did I understand the meaning of the list. At the beginning I was leaving the paper on the table and I pretended that I was going for a coffee. Meanwhile the guys were taking the list, reading it and indirectly they were sharing the jobs between them. But things were not going well. The other teams were discussing that we were producing twenty thousand tones less per day, so named us the most inefficient team... At the same time my Dutch colleagues were sabotaging me; they were saying to me: “go back to your village”, “you dirty Greek you are not going to manage us...” I was getting so anxious that I lost sleep thinking about how I would manage to accomplish the tasks of the next day. In the end I gave up, I resigned.”*¹⁸³ While, usually the Dutch were positioned in supervising posts, when the migrants happened to take a leading role, they were confronted aggressively. Such cases were few and far between, because most of the Greek workers either remained in the same post for a lifetime or they had isolated special posts, due to their lack of communication. Kokkinos, who belonged to the old privileged and wealthy Greek group in Rotterdam, identified several times a hostile disposal of his Dutch co-workers, due to his superior status position in his family’s shipping company. *“With the Dutch people I always had typical occupational relations. What they did not like was that on several occasions I was in a position of power, towards them and they had to follow my instructions. I knew that they had that complex of inferiority with my position, because I am Greek and I was trying to manage them in an indirect way, in order to cooperate without problems. I never challenged them. Although I was speaking perfect Dutch, in my work environment I received discriminative and rude comments under the pretext of a joke: “klere*

¹⁸³ Eleutherios Tzavos.

Griek”, “*Euronast*”...”¹⁸⁴The workers testimonies show an axiomatic belief of European societies: the unequal distribution of rights between local and foreign workers was acceptable, and inequality for foreigners was a ‘normal’ situation. In rare cases, when the local workers were pushed by the working conditions into an inferior working post they became offensive.

The discriminating behavior of the local workers was supplemented by the pathology of the new working environment. Sideris writes in her autobiography: “... *the workers that were working in the factories in Utrecht at that time were peasants in Greece. They were used to work outside in the countryside, in the clear fresh air and the sunlight. Now they had to adjust to the factory’s productive line, being monitored and ordered by a strict and unknown foreman, which did not even speak their language. ...In a work that they did not know.*”¹⁸⁵ Sideris points out the discrepancy between the working environment that the Greek people had used to work in and the new industrialized work environment, in big claustrophobic factories. The change of the environment for people that were used to a rural life became even worst when the working place was a steel factory. Bahtsevanidis, who came illegally to work in Utrecht in 1967, says: “*When I first came, my brother in law helped me to get a job in Demka, Utrecht. It was a heavy job and really dangerous for my health. If you turned on the light in the tunnel from where we were extracting the metals we could see a cloud of metal dust floating in the air; all that material was going into our lungs. I was drinking liters of milk in order to maintain my health.*”¹⁸⁶ In Utrecht’s Greek Journal *Metanastis*, in a survey that was conducted by the Foreign Worker’s Statistical Center in 1976, an interviewee named Pericles, who worked for ROYCO (a factory that made instant soup), on the *lopende band* (assembly line) testified: “...*this is not a job that you get tired by heavy duties, but by ennui, boredom, do you know how is it to spend eight to ten hours per day, the whole day, in front of a moving tape that pass continually in front of you?*”¹⁸⁷ Even when the working environment was typical and the job was not extremely heavy, working in a modernized production line was not easy. The American Fordism model, which was followed by the Dutch industries - organized in a continual production line, in standardization

¹⁸⁴ Demetrios Kokkinos.

¹⁸⁵ Σιδέρη, *Πατρίδες*, 115.

¹⁸⁶ Thanasis Bahtsevanidis.

¹⁸⁷ Utrecht’s Greek migrant in his work, house, leisure environment, *Metanastis* Year 4, issue 1, January-February, 1979 14.

and in the use of specialized machinery by unskilled personnel - was totally unfamiliar for the Greeks. Guest worker's discrimination has been also confirmed by an article in *Metanastis*, where the decisions - as those have been sent to the European committee in Brussels - of the International Committee of Foreign Workers in 1978, were discussed. The decisions condemn the unjust treatment and claim equal foreign workers rights - for men and women - with the local population; that is explained as: a. the ability of work change according to the workers interests b. equalization in social security, welfare benefits and pension's rights, c. equal protection measures d. rights of syndicalism etc.¹⁸⁸ If we take into consideration that this article was written in 1979, it is obvious that the problem of discrimination did not end with the official agreements that Greece signed with the Netherlands in 1966, not even in 1969, when the countries signed bilateral social security agreements. Although, there were formal policies, Greece was not in a position to secure the exported workers and impose conditions that secured them and helped them to develop hierarchically in their work environment. Dimitris Giannakos, who has been a social worker in Utrecht's, 'Foreign Workers Institute' in 1975 and later a councilor in 1985, wrote a review about the situation of the Greek workers in the Netherlands.¹⁸⁹ Describing the worker's problems he focuses on the lack of preparation from the home country and the lack of care from the host country. More specifically, he explains that those people had no information on the labor circumstances and the disadvantage of a non familiar language, thus the lack of clear communication. Moreover, he refers to 'legal differences' between the local and the Greek workers concerning the right of voting, the lack of studying, unemployment fees, expression freedom. One year unemployment and dependence on the WW for a Greek worker would mean his expulsion to his home land. The social worker's conclusions focus on three characteristics, that of: *inequality temporariness, dependence*, for the Greek migrant's sociopolitical status, which has been promoted by their position in their working environment.¹⁹⁰ All those reasons mentioned above in the Greek worker's working environment, the high grade of unhealthiness and risk for the guest workers, - while the locals are reported to have the post of the superintendents-the heavy and difficult jobs without the privilege of linguistic communication,

¹⁸⁸ 'News from Greek Communities Federation', *Metanastis*, Year 4, issue 3, May-June, 1979.

¹⁸⁹ Dimitris Giannakos, 'De Eerste Stappen Op Weg Naar Zelforganisatie', in: Praktijkwerkstuk van Dimitris Giannakos. *Sociale Akademie de 'Nijenburgh' PTO* (Utrecht 1979).

¹⁹⁰ *Ibidem*, 3, 4.

the night shifts, the difference of the environment resulted in mental and physical problems for the migrants. Sideris reports in her autobiographical work “...that as a result the Greeks were often sick by psychosomatic illness. Some of them have even been confined to a mental hospital. Some of them were sent back home. I was usually going to visit them in the hospitals in order to translate for them. So I lived the experience of someone who is sick in a foreign place.”¹⁹¹

The Greek ‘guests’ were imposed to accept all discriminating labor conditions and exploitation, because they were afraid that they would be expelled. Moreover, their lack of language and direct communication aggravated their unprivileged situation; for two of them it has resulted in accidents at work, which caused permanent damage. At the same time, none of them allocated experience in industrial conditions and environment, a fact that has led to unpleasant memories of their first labor years in the Netherlands. Labor difficulties resulted in coherence between the workers, who depended on the knowledge of more experienced colleagues, or the unions. Six out of twelve workers, who have had dealings with unions, evaluated their involvement as being positive and supportive in the long run, although they recognize their exploitation and inequality in relation with the local workers. The latter considered their interaction with the labor unions as a valuable experience. While all have spoken of extreme fatigue and hardship only two of the progressive workers were negative, due to their refusal to assent to the union’s mainstream politics and the cooperation with the employers. Those two, who consciously left due to their problematic past in the home land, have argued about direct exploitation and discrimination of the guest workers by the unions, the employers and the local colleagues. While theoretically, the Greek workers seemed to be secured and covered by bilateral agreements and union’s vested rights, their lack of acclimatization and mainly lack of knowledge about their rights and benefits formed an indirect exploitation towards them, with the silent acceptance of the unions. Greek workers were discriminated indirectly; the possible nominal equality that their contracts contained was eliminated by a biased social inequality, in which the migrants were exposed to.

¹⁹¹. Σιδέρη, *Πατρίδες*, 114.

*Greece just sold us out*¹⁹²: comparisons and permanency.

All that indirect exploitation and self underestimation that those migrants have received - from the point of their departure from their homeland to the point of their arrival in the *pension*, along with their first experience of their work environment - became the primary reason for their disappointment, for both the home and the host country. In Merodoulakis words: “*Do not think that anyone did us a favor, actually they sold us out, and they wanted to get rid of us... “to cleanse the place.”*”¹⁹³ As those people, especially fellow left-wingers were unwanted in Greece after the civil war, Merodoulakis interprets that the state left an open space for ‘progressives’ to leave so as to get rid of them. But also Mitropoulos, who does not belong to the “radicals” group, made that assertion. “*What I understood from the first moment was that we were not secured by any agreement between the two countries. We had a lot of difficulties, because our state did not respect us. If your own country does not respect you, how can you expect someone from a foreign state to do so?*” *There we had to obey instructions without objections; otherwise they would send us back. The slightest mistake could cost you your resident’s permit. Greece just sold us out then. Karamanlis exchanged each head of us, Greek workers, for a bag of charcoal.*”¹⁹⁴ That expression, *for a bag of coal* became the key impression for the Greek workers in the Netherlands in the 1950s and 1960s, as most of them used it stereotypically, to describe their impression of Greece’s behavior towards them during that period. Sideris also uses the expression: “*The Greek workers, who were then working there, have been sold for some tones of coal...*”¹⁹⁵ Koutsakis compares the conditions of the Greek’s migration to the Netherlands with the flaw of the Turkish guest workers, after 1964.¹⁹⁶ “*Greece was never interested in the migrants abroad; they turned their back on us. Greek politicians never did anything to help us here in the Netherlands or show any support. When the Turks came here the Turkish state funded (Turkish) banks, helped with the housing issues and make Turkish neighborhoods. They even had help with Dutch administrations to legalize Turkish migrant’s papers. They came from distant villages in Turkey but they instantly opened shops and settled here because of the help of their*

¹⁹² Panagiotis Mitropoulos.

¹⁹³ Stelios Merodoulakis.

¹⁹⁴ Panagiotis Mitropoulos.

¹⁹⁵ Σιδέρη, *Πατρίδες*, 101.

¹⁹⁶ Vermeulen, ‘Greeks in the Netherlands’ in: *Φλόγα Ανθια* -Ayres et al., 230.

state. *The Greek state never cared to support us to make banks, schools, shops. What we have achieved we did it only with our own powers. What did the Greek state give to us? We had no support and that is why we had no coherence and cooperation between us.*¹⁹⁷ Koutsakis compares Greek state's operations regarding labor post war immigration to Western Europe with the Turkish case. The Greek workers felt that their state completely abandoned them in unknown conditions without any interest about their future. Mitropoulos: *"I was sending 120 guilders per week to my mother through the company, until the day she died. And when my sisters were about to marry I collected the money for their dowry. My sisters with the money of my immigration got married, what did you think? Greece benefited from us the workers here, but what did we get out of Greece? What were our rights? They have left us to god's mercy."*¹⁹⁸ Greece's inconsistent and inefficient management mode, in terms of the recruitment agreements and particularly the worker's belief that they have been 'sold' by their own country, has been a repellent factor for an immediate return. As Babalidis says: *"The Dutch were taking for granted that we were here temporarily. They thought that we were going to work as dogs and then we will return to our country. When they realized that we were here to stay they changed their course. We were all staying as long as things in our homeland would not get any better. Who would have gone back? Life in the Netherlands was difficult but also challenging for those young men. On the contrary, in Greece things were getting worse. Greece's continual political regression was permanent, until the political changeover of 1974 (Μεταπολιτευση). Unemployment, the lack of a welfare state and the unequal allocation of national income were permanent elements of Greek society. In that sense, the immediate return to Greece, at least in that first period from 1955 to 1967, was not an option. Mitropoulos: "... and the years become a lifetime. You come for one year, afterwards you stay some while more and finally you stay forever".*¹⁹⁹

All of the interviewees emphasized they did not plan to stay permanently. Saving money was their goal. What attracted them to the Netherlands, until the end of the 1970s? Koutsakis: *"While in my village I had no shoes to wear, here I would go shopping at the best shop at the market, the place for gentlemen. I went shopping when I first came to Carsinger, a place where businessmen*

¹⁹⁷ Sarantos Koutsakis.

¹⁹⁸ Panagiotis Mitropoulos.

¹⁹⁹ Panagiotis Mitropoulos.

were shopping. I bought a suit, a coat, even an umbrella, I became a gentleman. We were deprived from all goods when we arrived here, but money gave us respect.”²⁰⁰ The Greeks, who had been unemployed and deprived in their own country, could finally work as much as they could; money offered the opportunity for upward mobility and social acceptance. Those who were determined to work and were persistent, were able to work more than three, eight-hour shifts per day, even on holidays. Mitropoulos: “When there was a day off or public holidays I always worked. I went to the central station with a friend from Epirus and there we found some contractors [koppelbazen] that were hiring people for various freelance jobs. There were many jobs then, they were all telling you, “Where do you want to work? We need more people” there was no unemployment. One day one [contractor] took us in the dock was a ship was doing repairs to its machines. We had to take of six huge pistons of their place by pulling a long and thick chain - there were no mechanical equipments still for those kinds of jobs - which was cutting our hands. After cleaning them we had to move them back. When the eight hour shift ended we asked for overtime. After the end of the second shift my colleague told me: we will die from hunger and fatigue. We went to the ship’s kitchen were we ate two dishes each. After that we worked one more eight hour shift, which is how much we were working, because of our need.”²⁰¹ Men like Mitropoulos resorted to the mechanisms that they had from the difficult and hard way they were raised in Greece’s barren land and they tried to take advantage of the abundance of job opportunities, in an inveterate way. Those workers who migrated for exclusively economic reasons were insistent of their goals. There is clearly a distinction between the workers that have settled in areas like Utrecht (Bahtsevanidis, Artoglou) or Eindhoven (Pertsinidis) and those who reached Rotterdam. While the former have been focused on their work in order to gain quick profit, the latter were also challenged by the ‘modern’ and ‘free’ life of Rotterdam’s city. Money offered to some of them a new modern life, through an automobile; that would give them the feeling of following the majority’s lifestyle. Siderakis: “After two years I was earning so much money that I could not spend it. With 85 guilders per week I had whatever I wanted. I bought my own car, a Chevrolet, and when I went to my homeland I would walk in Tsimiski- [central and expensive market street in Thessaloniki] –with my head high and my

²⁰⁰ Sarantos Koutsakis.

²⁰¹ Panagiotis Mitropoulos

wallet full!" I saved my money; I did not spend it like other foolish peasants Greek workers. Most of them came from their villages, had never seen a woman before and what they earned they spent on cards and prostitutes. I was familiar with underground life since I was a child; I had no need of it ..."²⁰² As Siderakis reveals Dutch sexual liberation of that period disorientated the Greek men who was coming from a conservative culture, where women were isolated from men and premarital sexual relation was forbidden. The fact that they could relate in an intimate way with Dutch women has been challenging and unprecedented in a pleasant manner. Tzavos: "I wanted to live as much as I could. I was spending all my money on women and bars. Although in the beginning I came with the intention to go back after a few years, the libertine life here "put me in". In Greece we could not go near a woman otherwise you found yourself married in a moment...until I came here I had not seen a woman's knee...and suddenly I could have sexual relations for free! I lost my mind by that..."²⁰³ Moreover, Rotterdam's port has been the point where in the 1960s and 1970s thousand of sailors were disembarking. A whole leisure system was set up, not only by Greek but also Dutch bar, restaurant and hotel owners, which was offering entertainment for the male population and were gaining huge profits. Serakis: "Until 1980, Rotterdam's bars were "a man's paradise". The place seemed to me then like heaven, everything a man wanted was here, alcohol, money, women, bars.."²⁰⁴ As a musician who worked in such bars all his migration life in the Netherlands, Aristotle Georgiadis describes that era's atmosphere: "In that era, the 1970s decade has been the golden period for Greek nautical sector. In the zenith of that period almost twenty five ships were anchoring in the port. The meeting point was "cozy corn" a Greek cafe in Binnenveststraat. I worked in Rotterdam's "Athene". We were a band of Greek musicians and we mainly played for Greek sailors and workers. The bars where we played had women and drinks and I remember that in the 1970s and the 1980s Greeks but also Dutch clients were spending a lot of money in those clubs."²⁰⁵ The leisure system was so well organized that there were occasions when sailors were losing all of their savings on prostitutes and gambling. Georgiadis reports: "I remember before 1975, it was such promiscuity between the sailors that bank representatives (Emporiki and National Bank)

²⁰² Giannis Siderakis.

²⁰³ Elevation Tzavos.

²⁰⁴ Giannis Serakis.

²⁰⁵ Aristotle Georgiadis.

were visiting every Greek ship that was approaching the dock and were taking sailors deposits, in order for them not to spend their money in prodigality's."²⁰⁶ Measures by Greece's national bank tried to ensure the security of sailor's savings before their embarkation. The large number of sailors and the resulting profit opportunities led four out of ten interviewees, who worked in Rotterdam's port, to open their own business: *Rotterdam's port cafes and clubs were frequented by sailors. A ship's personnel disembarked for twenty to thirty days and would spend all their money on alcohol, card games and women, which we would offer in our bars. I opened my business in 1968, night life in Rotterdam then was lively, so that made it extremely profitable.*²⁰⁷ In that sense, the Greek workers who were installed in Rotterdam's area were able to live a free life, which they could not have lived in their own country and some also took advantage of that to start their own business. A young man who worked hard during the day at the same time evaluates his 'free' life then as a fundamental asset: *If someone says to you that in Holland they did not treat us right he will be a liar. We had here whatever we wanted, free alcohol, drugs, sex, work, money. How would we find all that in Greece?"*²⁰⁸ We must also mention that at the same time homosexuality was accepted more in Dutch society, while in homogenous orthodox Greece it was not accepted. A man who chose not to get married says: *"Here, I changed a lot of things that I was used to in Greece. First of all here there are no gender taboos, people are more open than in Greece. I learned to do all the domestic jobs and I have undertaken roles that in Greece are only for females."*²⁰⁹ In that sense, a lifestyle without moral criticism about their sexual attitude has been a positive incentive for the Greek migrants in their first installation in the Netherlands.

Dutch banks

Finally, the aggressive strategy of the Dutch banks in the 1960s to offer unconditional loans to foreigners has been interpreted by some of them as a golden opportunity that they would have never found in Greece. Slovakian: *"The first bank which I visited, offered to lend me triple the*

²⁰⁶ Aristotle Georgiadis.

²⁰⁷ S.K.

²⁰⁸ Stelios Merodoulakis.

²⁰⁹ Haralampos Papadopoulos.

amount of the money that I already had. They were not concerned that I was an immigrant...I wanted to work hard. If the bank had not offered me the loan I would have done nothing."²¹⁰ For that ex refugee from Asia Minor the credit 'trust' of the Dutch banks was unexpected, which gave him back a degree of self-respect. But the banks did not support only those that already had savings as Pertsinidis reports: *"The banks supported me without hesitation. They gave me loans for more than I was asked for. They knew we were hard workers. Although I had finished only the first year of high school and I had no formal training when I came, my hands were my fortune."*²¹¹ For Pertsinidis, who had been poor and deprived when he left Greece, the bank's credit has been a confirmation about his labor power and the recognition of his hard efforts. The Greek national bank was traditionally, considered as part of the conservative Greek status; servicing monarchy and rural oligarchy.²¹² Greece's government's economic interference was 'protecting' and supporting the industries and their owners, not individuals. In that sense, Greek migrants in the Netherlands were confronted by a perspective of economic credibility, better than they had experienced in their own land. From their low position they could take part in their new guest land's prosperity. Merodoulakis: *"The banks were giving us loans for as much as we wanted."*²¹³

Observations

The whole first phase of the Greeks' migration to the Netherlands (1955-1967) reflected the frame of a predefined inequality, vulnerability and dependence, characteristics which have been the result of various convergent reasons. Their low social position in the host land resulted primarily from their low status in Greece. Exposal to poverty, violence, death and lack of education have been common denominators among the workers, whether they belonged to a left or a right-wing family. Deprivation in Greece positioned them to a vulnerable social start position in the Netherlands, which meant second-class citizens. For six progressives, for whom

²¹⁰ Leonidas Slovakian.

²¹¹ Haris Pertsinidis.

²¹² George Mavrokordatos, *Social coalition and Party strategies in Greece, 1922-1936* (London 1983) 180-181.

²¹³ Stelios Merodoulakis.

the perspectives of dying and being sent to prison back home had been coercive reasons to migrate, the status of vulnerability in the Netherlands was higher than for their co-ethnics. The spirit of anti-communism positioned them in a defensive social state. The gap of materialistic development between the two countries reinforced the Greeks' vulnerability. Pragmatic discrepancies in wealth, prosperity and power among Greece and the Netherlands functioned as a first layer of inferiority for all the migrants. A low social position was imposed on the workers before their arrival to the future land and, similarly, worked against them in the host land. Only one conscious left among them was critical about the developments of the Netherlands and interpreted the conditions in the new land with skepticism.

Greek immigrants have been treated as a contemporary labor exportation product, whose social human capital (lack of industrial skills, level of education, language, urban and union experience) had been specifically selected by the sending and the hosting state. Greece's role towards the post war workers migration proved to have been inconsistent, and contemptuous, governed by a clientelistic spirit. The sending country as the intermediary between the Greek workers and the Dutch employers proved to be inadequate and inconsistent; Greek authorities that recruited the workers withheld substantial information, either on purpose or by disinterest. The Greek's state deficient support and its masking role considering the actual housing and working conditions has been disappointing for all Greeks, including the right-wing voters. The contribution of the Dutch state to the worker's alienage was thus pre-scheduled and affected the entire group, at least in the installation period. The workers were handpicked in order to create a productive unit that would tolerate discrimination and exploitation. Their lack of previous contact with urban environments, their unfamiliarity with administration practices, bureaucracy and hierarchy, or the absence of interaction with local societies resulted in their isolation and dependency. Actually, fifteen out of eighteen interviewees admitted their total ignorance concerning their labor contract or rights, their housing conditions and the general situation during installation. A system formed by the cooperation of the state's authorities and the industries owners promoted the preservation of the worker's low social and labor status. In the *pensions*, the workers were controlled and simultaneously intimidated by the fear of expulsion. The linkage between residency, obedient behavior and maximum productivity without any claim, has been

another characteristic of the Greek migration. For one third of the group, the threat of expulsion was ominous, since it implied a forced return to Greece. The Greeks labor position was lower than that of the local workers. In the working place, their lack of language skills and the possibilities of unobstructed communication enhanced their vulnerability and also their dependency on other workers or the unions. Four of the migrants mentioned the need for employment as the reason to silent tolerance regarding the exploitation and discriminations they were confronted with in their working environment. Although, they all complained about dangerous and hard jobs, seven out of eighteen praised the abundance of work, lack of unemployment and wealth that changed their negative impressions of the Netherlands. Unions have been mentioned by five of them as a source of support and knowledge, while only two of the eighteen argued that the unions had a manipulative role because of its anti-communist attitude. Another characteristic factor of the first period is the workers' reliance on temporariness, which enhanced their receptiveness to all adversities. Although, when they realized that they were 'on their own' in the new country the relationship with Greece changed; they lost their previous trust and felt isolated from their homeland. For all workers, that realization was decisive for the determination to elongate their settlement in the Netherlands.

However, the receiving country offered the newcomers benefits and opportunities that challenged them and reversed their primary negative impression. Money's adequacy in the new land offered the illusion of social respect and – limited - participation in the majority's wealth and life model. Moreover, migrants made use of the willingness of the banks to grant loans. For five of them, who were settled in the broad Rotterdam urban area, the guest land became the land of 'tolerance' for a life style they never imagined back home; sexual liberation, use of drugs and alcohol without social criticism. These were reasons to forget all obstacles of their settlement procedure. The relations with co-ethnics in their first stage of settlement implicated dependency, interaction and mutual support. This is mentionable, if we consider the political adversities and rivalries that were formed between them in the civil war; which those migrants carried from their near past in Greece to the new land. The migrants' problematic past in Greece however remained inactivated during the first phase in the Netherlands, due to the lack of essential support by both

the sending and the receiving state and the need for coherence in order to survive in a totally unknown and illegible environment

Chapter III.

Reunification and settlement after 1967.

In order to study the worker's integration during their permanent settlement in the Netherlands after middle 1970s I focus on semi-measurable indicators. Firstly, I analyze the propensity to endogamy in order to pinpoint the role of religious, social and cultural background of the migrants and how their past reflected on the second phase of permanent settlement in the Netherlands. Secondly, I follow the different trajectories of the descendants in terms of the Greek language preservation, their progress in the Dutch education system and the interaction of these factors with the marriage pattern of the first generation. Thirdly, I detect majority's culture through its contradictions with the Greek elements, as described by the interviewees. The main axons will be values and moral codes, the family model, and institutional adaptation. Fourthly, opportunities structures of the host country, the welfare system and private banking system will be analyzed in order to estimate whether and to what extend the Netherlands structural frame favored the Greek migrants and offered them modes for social and economic upward mobilization. Fifthly, I analyze self-employment patterns among the Greek migrants, to reveal the reasons and the consequences of that occupational change. Finally, repatriation trajectories, including deficient attempts will be considered, in order to shed light to 'push and pull' factors of return and the grade of Greek's integration in the Dutch life model. How those factors interact? To what extent did their interaction influenced the group's relations with their home land and consequently their integration with the host land? Which observations arise for the group's identificational definitions? Are there differences, considering their social and economic mobility, between 'progressives' and 'conservatives'?

Marriage patterns

Family formation for the Greek guest workers in the Netherlands started early, in 1965 and culminated during the period 1968 to 1972. The majority of the interviewees married three to five years after their arrival in the Netherlands, from 1967 to 1970. As they described, after their

first installation in the host country it was necessary for a period of three to five years in order to feel secure in their employment and also become accustomed to their new daily life. Artoglou: *“When I brought my wife to the Netherlands I did not feel temporary at work anymore.....”*²¹⁴ The feeling of being temporary started to fade for the migrants, as they put their life in order. Moreover, those who had a permanent job in a specific factory were specialized and became gradually experts in their sector, so their employers saw them as permanent and irreplaceable personnel and offered opportunities, including better housing, appropriate for families. Artoglou: *“I learned quickly to handle my tools and the welding; I was making models - foundries for bridge constructions. The more as I was learning, I was getting more responsible posts. My employers were appreciating my work and they were giving me new responsibilities. The company found me a family house in Claserstraat 17.”* Artoglou was one of those who remained in the same industry for all his working life; that relation of interdependence extended in the housing level, which was provided by the employers. Security in his work and housing level permitted him to make plans for a family. After a period of adjustment, the members of an exclusive male group felt that they were ready to proceed in the next step of their life cycle, family formation.

Table 9: Marriage patterns.

Name	Place and Date of Settlement	Orientation	Marriage pattern/Date
Pertsinidis Haris	Eindhoven, 1963	Rural origins, religious, Conservative.	endogamy, matchmaking, 1966
Artoglou	Dordrecht, 1964	Rural origins, Religious, Conservative.	Endogamy, Matchmaking, 1966
Bahtsevanidis Thanasis	Utrecht, 1967	Rural origins, Religious, Progressive	Endogamy, Matchmaking, 1972
Mitropoulos Panagiotis	Rotterdam, 1964	Rural origins, Religious, Conservative	Endogamy, Matchmaking, 1967

²¹⁴ Haralampos Artoglou.

Kokkinos Stelios	Rotterdam	Rural origins, Religious, Conservative	Endogamy, Matchmaking, 1968.
Slovakian Leonidas	Rotterdam, 1959	Refugee, Religious, Conservative	Endogamy, Matchmaking, 1962.
Koutsakis Sarantos	Rotterdam, 1959	Rural origins, Progressive	Endogamy, 1967
Polyhronakis	Rotterdam, 1968	Rural origins, Higher education	Endogamy
Serakis Giannis	Rotterdam, 1968	Urban origins	Endogamy, 1978
Moraitis Christos	Rotterdam, 1952	Rural origins, Religious, Conservative	Intermarriage, Catholic, 1958
M. Kakomanolis	Rotterdam, 1956	Refugee, Religious, Conservative	Intermarriage, Catholic, 1962
S.K.	Rotterdam, 1963	Urban experience, Progressive	Intermarriage 1967
Merodoulakis Stelios	Rotterdam, 1964	Urban experience, Progressive	Intermarriage 1966, Catholic
Tzavos Eleytherios	Rotterdam, 1964	Refugee, urban Experience, Progressive	Intermarriage 1967, Catholic
Babalidis Lambros	Rotterdam, 1964	Urban origins, progressive	Intermarriage 1969, unknown
Theodosiou	Rotterdam, 1965	Urban origins, Progressive	Intermarriage 1969
Sotirakis Giannis	Rotterdam, 1966	Urban experience, Progressive	Intermarriage 1969, Atheist
Andrikopoulos Stathis	Rotterdam, 1964	Urban origins, Religious, Conservative	Intermarriage, 1969

The differences between members of the same ethnic group, in concern to marriage patterns and choices can reveal the reasons and motives for those marriages and mainly the role of their marriage as an indicator of assimilation in the new social environment. Half of the interviewees were involved in an inter-ethnic marriage. It is mentionable, that amongst the ones that married a Greek woman the majority used the services of a ‘matchmaker’. The lack of Greek women in the

Netherlands, prior to 1970, forced them to seek for a spouse in the homeland. Matchmaking became the solution for Greek workers that could not handle loneliness. Mitropoulos: *“In 1967, I had my life in a certain control so I decided that it was time to stop being alone. I went to Athens and I found her through a match that one of my aunts did for me. We got married ... in a church in Athens.”*²¹⁵ The men that chose to use matchmaking in order to find an appropriate spouse, were on the one hand, orthodox conservative and would not decide to make such an important step in their life without having some moral ‘credentials’ for the prospective bride. On the other hand, there was no possibility to have any kind of romantic connection with a Greek woman, and moreover, to transfer her in the Netherlands, without marriage. As Artoglou confirms, in matchmaking, the choice of a spouse was so significant, that it was the result of his kinship’s selection: *“In 1966, I went to Greece to find a wife to get married. A cousin of mine, who had migrated in America, had taken a girl from Serres and he was very pleased, she was a woman for marriage. His wife had a cousin. I saw her and I liked her, so we got married after fifteen days in Greece.”*²¹⁶ Qualities of a good woman for marriage were her orthodox faith and her obedience to the patriarchic Greek model, where the husband rules and the wife accept silently. Moreover, a good and hardworking wife could offer additional revenue to the family income as Artoglou’s wife says: *“I came here in 1966. Immediately, I started working, which was what I wanted... to help my husband to put our life in an order. We were poor in Greece and here I had the opportunity to change my fate.”*²¹⁷ In that sense, a traditional Greek wife would be the responsible housekeeper and also would work hard, in order to contribute to the improvement of the family’s living standards. In that sense, cultural affinity and common family values were the primary criteria for Greek men who chose to marry a co-ethnic.

Kokkinos, one of the men who married a Greek woman, was raised in the Netherlands and was familiar with Dutch girls since his childhood. His choice to get married by matchmaking was a conscious decision: *“I did not have good relations with the Dutch girls, I found them too liberal. I got married a Greek girl through matchmaking. Indeed I went to my own origins, my village in Chios and searched for a bride, I wanted to get married in A Greek way. My marriage took place*

²¹⁵ Panagiotis Mitropoulos.

²¹⁶ Haralampos Artoglou.

²¹⁷ Aggeliki Artoglou.

in Agios Nikolaos in Rotterdam.”²¹⁸ Kokkinos was raised in a wealthy family, the main shareholder of a Greek shipping company in Rotterdam. His family’s economic position and the corresponding social status enhanced the man’s ethnic identification, which reflected in his attitude to marriage. He selected a spouse, but he limited his choice to Greek women. In that sense, interethnic marriage took the meaning of a strictly ethnic identificational action; the preservation of ethnic purity. Moreover, this man that has interacted with Dutch girls since his childhood considers their attitude not compatible with a Greek man’s moral codes. That enhances the impression that mainly the choice of an ethnic marriage reflects a conservative ethnic mentality; more specifically, the adaptation of an ultra traditional custom as ‘marriage through matchmaking’ can be related with religious and traditional moral filters. The Greek newcomers in the Netherlands that decided to intermarry were the most conservative in the sample; all of them were clustered near the Greek Orthodox Church in Rotterdam and they were conservative in their family’s political tradition back home. Dutch women seemed ‘too liberal’ as equality between the two genders and an individualized private life were core values of Dutch society. We must mention that the Netherlands in the 1960s experienced dramatic and radical changes in religion and church attendance issues. Secularization, as the phenomenon of religion’s influence minimization, became the new behavioral model and has been resulted from new modern values establishment, ‘freedom, equality and democratic legitimacy’, in Dutch society.²¹⁹ In that sense, Dutch women’s behavior and values, especially in matters related to religion, must have been interpreted by the Greek migrants as totally different and undiagnosed for their own scale.

Even among those who had an out-marriage with a Dutch woman, religion was a common filter for the choice of a non co-ethnic spouse. Two Greek men, who were conservative and identified strongly as orthodox, point out their religion affinity with their Dutch wives, as a fundamental criterion. Moraitis explains that his marriage choice was determined by the assumption of responsibility for his actions as an adult man, so he had no other choice, but he points out his wife’s religious origins. *I was a good friend with a colleague and we usually went out together in our ‘ports’. He had an affair with a Dutch girl so he introduced me to Betty. We ‘expand’ our*

²¹⁸ Stelios Demetrios Kokkinos.

²¹⁹ Schuyt and Taverne, *Dutch Culture in a European Perspective*, 327.

*relation more than a friendship, I exposed her... [he means that he felt that their relationship was a social exposure for the girl, because they had pre-marital relations], so ...I did what I had to do, I got married with her in 1958. We got married in the Greek Church Agios Nikolaos of Rotterdam, by father Maximos. [He leaves the room and after a while he brings an old, small wooden statue of the crossed Jesus]. She was a fanatic catholic and her family also; this was the gift of her aunt, who was a nun. It was her Rosario, which was hanging by her neck when she was praying and she gave that to us when we got married. My mother was sure that I will marry a Greek woman, but when she found out that Betty was a catholic, she never said anything again.”*²²⁰ As he says, interaction between Dutch women and ‘foreigners’ - as the Greek migrants - was not taboo in the cosmopolitan urban area of Rotterdam, in the 1960s and 1970s. What Moraitis points out is the Dutch girl’s religious affinity with orthodoxy and her family’s religious tradition. That Christian connection was decisive also for his mother’s critical opinion, as he says. The second ‘man of God’- he remained near the church for all his life until the present - that got married to a Dutch woman confirms: *“I was travelling for three months in the sea and for the next six months I stayed in Rotterdam. Although my father used to say: “shoe from your topos, even if it is patched”, I was open minded and also I needed a woman’s company in my lonely life. In Rotterdam, I met a Dutch girl with whom I felt in love and in 1962 I got married; she was like our own girls and she was also a strict catholic.”*²²¹ As we see, religion has been a significant determinant for the out-marriage between Greek orthodox men and Dutch catholic women. Between the interviewees there were men who attempted to marry a Dutch girl, but the objection of their kin in Greece promoted their reservations, mainly due to religious and cultural diversity. Siderakis: *“Until 1980, Rotterdam’s bars were “a man’s paradise”. When I first came here I fell in love with a Dutch girl. I took her to meet my mother in Greece. My mother told to me she didn’t like her, so I ended the relationship.”*²²² The main reason for that rejection was the cultural differences between Greek and Dutch society. Siderakis continues to reveal the excuse for his mother’s rejection: *“These girls are not appropriate for you” ...I then understood that I had to marry a Greek. Dutch women desired us but they had difficulty with their attitude. We are accustomed to women that take care of everything at home.*

²²⁰ Christos Moraitis.

²²¹ Manolis Kakomanolis.

²²² Giannis Siderakis.

Then Greek man stays out late at night, plays cards etc...Dutch women cannot stand that behavior for long."²²³ According to that man's interpretation, the traditional Greek masculine attitude, where the woman is responsible for domestic duties, even if she works, and never complains about her isolation in the house, were deemed as not acceptable for Dutch women, whose ideals were gender equality in all life levels.

Nine out of eighteen interviewees were married to a Dutch woman. Rotterdam's Greek's present the highest percentage between the groups in out-marriage rates. Indeed, the men that lived in other areas (Utrecht, Dordrecht and Eindhoven) all chose a Greek spouse; in that sense the urban environment of Rotterdam seems to have promoted to a higher degree the interaction between migrants and the social majority. Babalidis explains: *"I never was fond to that nonsense, προζενιο (matchmaking). I do not believe on that kind of relations. All Greeks then (in the 1970s) were going back home to find a virgin girl, a good wife to get married with. I did not want to do so, I wanted a real relation...that's what my marriage has been the result of..."*²²⁴ In the same norm K.S. confirms: *"In 1967 I got married to a Dutch woman. It was not a matter of strategy; I fell in love with her."*²²⁵ In his words there is clearly a defensive attitude towards the implication that an out marriage played a role in a migrant's strategy, in order to promote his upward mobility.

Stathis Andrikopoulos, the Greek consular official during the period of settlement and family formation in the Netherlands, 1967 to 1972, remembers the marriages between the guest workers and the Dutch women, as the reason for problems between Dutch and Greek authorities; moreover, he interprets the Greek men's preference for Dutch women as a clear strategy for obtaining permanency in the country. Andrikopoulos: *"Most of them were getting married with a Dutch girl for strategy reasons; either they wanted to avoid their military responsibilities in Greece or they had other economic or even political reasons. Then they were divorcing and we had new problems. Some of them were "stealing" the children and were going back to Greece as we had to track them down; the children had to be attributed to its mother. Otherwise we had a great problem with the Dutch authorities; as it is natural the Dutch state had to protect its*

²²³ Giannis Siderakis.

²²⁴ Lambros Babalidis.

²²⁵ S.K.

own citizens...”²²⁶ The latter, clearly implies that the Greek workers used any method – including marriage with local women - to secure their position in the Netherlands. It is an irony that the ex-consular official was also married to a Dutch woman. Although, only one worker - Theodosiou - refers to the improvement of his living conditions after his marriage with a local: “...and I fell in love with a Dutch woman, Edith. We were married in 1969. In the beginning I had to renew my resident permit every three months, after my marriage things became easier for me. Moreover, I could not obtain a permit by to open my own business, but once we were married she assisted me as she knew the system and spoke the language which I could not, and in three days I had in my hands all the paperwork. Since 1973 I have started my own businesses with the help of my wife.”²²⁷ Not one of those who had a mixed marriage implied an ulterior motive; on the contrary they all absolutely deny it. In those terms, the phenomenon of out-marriage, which arguably, was common amongst Greek men and Dutch women in the 1970s, particularly in Rotterdam’s, must be considered as evidence of ‘structural assimilation’, or as ‘the litmus test of assimilation’.²²⁸ Even the rate of divorce in those marriages, which in our case has been very small, should not diminish the significance of mixed marriages, considering the major cultural and religious gap between the prospective spouses. As I showed, mixed marriages occurred mostly between Greeks, who had a previous urban life experience and they did not belong to the conservative part of the Greek group. Although, I must point that the religious and cultural differences of Dutch women were interpreted in the same way from all Greek men. The interviewees in their entirety, either they had right or left wing political orientation, used their orthodox religion as a major part of their ethnic identity. Christian Orthodox homogeneity has been after 1850, main characteristic of Greek Christian civilization.²²⁹ The stereotype about communists not being religious is not valid in the case of Greek left-wing migrants. As Sideris, a militant and conscious Greek communist wrote: “*I have never being religious, ...but how different meaning those things [religion ceremonies] take when you are away from your land...you find your roots again, you have the feeling of belonging somewhere, that you are not*

²²⁶ Stathis Andrikopoulos.

²²⁷ Georgios Theodosiou.

²²⁸ Alba, & Née, *Remaking the American Mainstream*, 90.

²²⁹ Παναγιώτης Κιτρομηλίδης, *Νεοελληνικός Διαφωτισμός*, (Αθήνα, 1996) 466-514,477.

alone, to verify each and every time your existence and your Greek identity.”²³⁰ Additionally, as I pointed out in the first chapter, that specific group of Greek migrants was not highly educated and generally had a mix cultural background, where traditional values and ethics were dominant. In that sense, Greek men, in order to marry a Dutch woman, had to overcome many religious, cultural and ethnic stereotypes.

Marriage patterns reveal two sides of the same coin, on the one side the motives and choices of the migrant’s minority, but also boundaries that transpired from the dominant host society. In all cases of mixed marriages, the Dutch woman’s family acceptance for a marriage with a migrant was not given; all of them referred to difficulties. Moraitis wife recalls the opposition of her family: *“My parents were really religious and so was my whole family. When I announced them that I was planning to get marry with a Greek, my father told me that anyone would think that I was a whore, a dirty, bad woman that slept with a stranger and not with a Dutch. But when they met him they changed and started to support him.”*²³¹ All the migrants who married a Dutch woman were isolated by her family. Tzavos: *In 1967, when I was twenty-seven I fell in love and got married to a Dutch catholic girl. Her parents did not approve it so we did not have relations or their help with the kids or financially...She found tenderness and protection with me, her father did not even share his food with his children.*”²³² Tzavos wife admitted that her family’s opposition was so strong that her relationship with her parents was never restored.

Babalidis also recalls his difficulties in order to marry a local girl: *“I and my wife had a lot of problems around our marriage. Her father was dead and her mother was too conservative; she did not want me. She had no relations to us for many years. Sometimes I am thinking that maybe her mother was right. She (his wife) did not have easy time near me.”*²³³ He refers to his political actions in the Netherlands that caused him troubles and also had an impact on his marriage. According to a traditional Greek man, emancipation and freedom of sexual behavior is a man’s privilege. The Greek man as a father is authoritarian and restrictive to his daughter; that reveals problems that the children of a mixed marriage had to confront, due to the cultural difference of

²³⁰ Σιδέρη, Παπρίδες, 97.

²³¹ Betty Moraitis.

²³² Eleftherios Tzavos.

²³³ Lambros Babalidis.

the parents. In contrast, when the same Greek mentality is preserved in co ethnic couples, the situation is different. Artoglou describes with pride the conservation of the Greek religion and cultural tradition through their daughter's life: "*Our daughter is Soumela [traditional Pontiac name for Holy Mary] ...We married her through matchmaking with a Greek born in America. His parents were our closest family friends from Pontos, so we thought to unify our blood with that marriage. She has two children today, Polykseni and Christos, who talk fluently Greek. My daughter keeps our traditions and she is devoted to the church life; in Florida she is the president of Greek Orthodox Church and spends all her leisure time there.*"²³⁴ There are indications that members of the second generation, which were descendants of endogamy, had serious problems integrating into the host society. In an article written by Sideris in Utrecht's journal *Metanastis*, children whose parents were both Greeks complained about the contradiction between the Dutch social environment and their family culture. "*I think that the Greeks that came here have been static to the perceptions that they had when they first came from Greece; meanwhile even in Greece things have changed*".²³⁵ Another girl said: "*I blame my parents. They have not done any try to adjust here, even a little, and to develop their selves. They live in a "closed" society and their only interest is to accumulate money.*"²³⁶

Metanastis refers to the problems that result from a mixed marriage, which was a frequent topic; firstly, there is reference to the Greek's man behavior in the home and the conflict with Dutch mentality. As the article mentions, Greek male behavior remains 'enigmatic' for the Dutch wife mainly because the men do not discuss their approach, but prefer to say: "*that is the way we are used to behave in Greece.*" That autarchic Greek behavior does not leave an open space for discussion and consensus between the spouses and results in misunderstandings. Many children have been raised in the Netherlands in this type of a family environment, a fact that has negative and positive aspects, according to the article, which depend on the couples' good cooperation.²³⁷ In another issue, a young girl complaints about her father's strict and oppressive behavior, which

²³⁴ Aggeliki and Haralampos Artoglou.

²³⁵ Dimitra Sideris, 'I do not feel ...nor Dutch...neither Greek', *Metanastis*, year 7, issue 4, July-August, 1982 14, 15.

²³⁶ Dimitra Sideris, 'I do not feel ...nor Dutch...neither Greek', *Metanastis*, year 7, issue 4, July-August, 1982 14, 15.

²³⁷ 'Children of mixed marriages', *Metanastis*, year 3, issue 5, May-June, 1978 7-9.

was totally opposite from their social life in Dutch school. *“What to say about my mother? My father is the boss in the house. Our mother has nothing to say”*²³⁸ *‘That is the Greek culture, dowry and the women’s restriction. It is not easy to change. I do not agree with those values...’* are the words of another child that represent the second generation which were raised between two different cultures, where the father’s attitude has been contradictory with the dominant social Dutch mentality. In another article of the same issue, the author refers to the research of Marietta van Attekum and Toon Pennings entitled: *Olijfbomen op Hoog Catharijne? Griekse Gezinnen in Utrecht*; the title itself attempts to describe symbolically the strong Greek element (olive) in the wide Dutch modern environment (Hoog Catharijne). The conclusions of the research point out that *“in the family, dominant are the traditional division of roles and the hierarchical exercise of power, implemented by the father”*.²³⁹ Apparently, this confirmation of the differences between mixed couples match with Babalidis’ wife’s point of view about the ‘eastern’ affinities of Greek men, which have been the main reasons for divorces between mixed couples. The ‘Eastern’ role for the Dutch woman refers to compromise and acceptance of attitudes and behaviors which are contradictory to modernized Western values, in order to save the marriage. As two of our interviewees explain - who were the only cases that were divorced by their Dutch spouse - cultural differences were important. *“My wife after some years decided to go back to university and to study to become a lawyer. Once the children finished school she wanted to get a divorce. She could not stand my way of life; it was a matter of trust. Since 1968 I was self-employed, (“Le Mann”) mainly in the hospitality industry. I had night bars working with international clients. As you understand my way of living and my work relations were never acceptable for my wife, so she decided to leave me.”*²⁴⁰ It is clear from this man’s words that a woman, who even after motherhood, lived her life trying to be autonomous and preserved her dreams for education and self-employment as his Dutch wife, could not accept the life-style of her Greek husband whose life was also erratic, due to his occupation. The same problems were reported by Merodoulakis: *“In 1966 I fell in love and got married to a Dutch woman. At the beginning we had a lot of problems because her family did not want me. She was well educated; they did not want her to*

²³⁸ Dimitra Sideris, ‘I do not feel ...nor Dutch...neither Greek’, *Metanastis*, year 7, issue 4, July-August, 1982 11-13.

²³⁹ Athanasios Apostolou, ‘Utrecht’s Greeks’, *Metanastis*, year 7, issue 4, July-August, 1982, 9.

²⁴⁰ S.K.

get married to a migrant laborer. Against their wishes we got married. Her mother never stopped opposing and fighting me, in the end she succeeded, we divorced. My wife took away from me our child, Ourania who was born a year into the marriage. I gave her my mother's name. I never see her as she has been persuaded that I am not good enough."²⁴¹ But as he continues we see that the main boundary in the mixed marriage was not the ethnic difference, but the non-acceptance of the life style of the Greek husband. Merodoulakis: "*One of the main reasons of my wife's dissatisfaction was my last occupation. In 1976 I decided to become self-employed and run my own business. I had bars, in the port area. The money was good, but there were risks which were great. There I learned to live by the rules of the underground... and that was a main reason for my divorce.*"²⁴² When the Greek husband set the rules of family life, according to his own approach, ignoring the different mentality of his wife, the marriages were doomed; that had negative consequences for the next generation who were raised separately from their father. This situation explains the words of B.W.: "*All the women I know that have been married to a Greek man they have become Greeks or they divorce. If you want to stay married their impact is very strong. I am the only one who struggled to remain the same*". What she points out is that, if a Dutch woman was not able to change her attitude and mentality in her marriage with a Greek man, then the dissolution of the marriage was the final solution. By this comment the latter focuses on the strong reliance of the Greek traditional patriarchic and authoritarian mentality of the Greek men, which seem to not have changed through time. It is remarkable, that the second generation has been given Greek names. According to the custom the children - depending on the gender - take the name of the father's parents. Additionally, we find evidence that there has been a traditional Greek cultural and religious imposition by the men to their Dutch spouses. As Betty Moraitis, the Dutch wife of a Greek interviewee confirms the preservation of Greek religion and culture became like a natural process: "*We have a daughter; we baptized her in the church Ioanna... She got married to a Dutch, but she asked him to be baptized as an orthodox and then they got married to Rotterdam's church. Their children's names were Greek, Anastasia and Maximos*".²⁴³ This case of intermarriage indicates that, in cases of mixed couples who were related through religious affinity, the Greek culture and

²⁴¹ Stelios Merodoulakis.

²⁴² Stelios Merodoulakis.

²⁴³ Betty Moraitis.

customs related with family model were imposed onto the Dutch spouse and remained dominant. It would be interesting to follow those children's trajectory in the education system, in order to search to what extent the marriage pattern of their parents affected their own integration procedure.

Two parallel linguistic and educational realities - Intergenerational integration.

The interviewee's majority had a common desire, to offer their children the opportunity to be educated at a university level. Knowledge and education for their descendants has been a priority for the Greek's in the Netherlands. "*Children's education is one of the most serious subjects.*"²⁴⁴ Simultaneously, Greek language preservation, as the main element of ethnic identity and the establishment of Greek schools in the host land were the main goal for the Greeks in the Netherlands. For pre-war Greeks, the learning of the Greek language: "...*could give the opportunity to our children to remain Greeks.*"²⁴⁵ Although, the formation of the school will be analyzed in the third chapter, we must mention here that the operation of the school has been often the reason for internal ethnic conflicts and divisions, a fact that proves the great importance of the ethnic language preservation for the Greek migrants.

The lack of knowledge of the Dutch language was a decisive reason for the Greek's persistence to change their children's future and provide them with better prospects through education. Dina Bahtsevanidis, the Greek wife of a worker says: "*I gave birth to two children, Giorgos and Panagiota. We wanted passionately to give to our children the opportunity to go to the university and become educated. Our son followed the Kunstacademie and he followed for two years classes of ancient Greek philosophy and history. When he was attending Gymnasium one of his teachers told us that it was an honor for the school to have such a good student as him, because*

²⁴⁴ 'Greek children's education', *Metanastis*, year 6, issue 1, January-February, 1981.

²⁴⁵ Records of the first systematic attempt for Greek school formation in 1946, in: Theodoridis, *Kroniek van de Vereniging*, 16, 17.

he was Greek but also a good character. That does not mean that we did not have discriminating problems. Many times our children were complaining about their surname, which was a source of bad jokes and mockery against them; but we have taught them to ignore that behavior so it did not affect them.”²⁴⁶ Dina Bahtsevanidis, who came to the Netherlands at the age of 17 and had not finished her schooling, worked in a factory in order to assist her parents, and had different dreams for her children. “When I arrived here I did not speak at all. Our neighbor, an old Dutch woman have started to teach me a few words by gestures showing me the mouth, the eyes...I was repeating, writing everything down. My sister, followed the same class for two years, but then she continued normally. I went straight to work; no more childhood...”²⁴⁷ Investing the hard work of herself and her husband’s, in order to offer to her children the opportunity of a better life, was for her a life goal. The good cooperation between the couple, the children and the Dutch school authorities resulted in a successful academic trajectory for the second generation; despite the discrimination problems that the children were confronted with at school from the local children, due to their “foreign” name. Most of the ethnic Greek couples reported two main discrimination problems, which were related to local children’s attitude and the difference between the parent’s culture and the school’s administration system. Mitropoulos: “In the house we were talking Greek because my wife and I never learned the language seriously. When our first children went to school he knew better Greek than Dutch. He was really reactive with the language. The teacher was speaking to him in Dutch and he was vomiting at the same moment...Then my wife was crying...after the second class of the primary school things became better. They advise us not to encourage him to speak only Greek in the house. Kids were good pupils, my daughter studied linguistics in Amsterdam, and they both work in companies.”²⁴⁸ Those children did not have any regular contact with the Dutch language until the age of the kindergarten; their strong reaction to the ‘strange’ language seems to have been prompted by the mother’s behavior, rather than by the wrong attitude of the teacher. After some time the children integrated into the education system and eventually attended university. Another couple of Greek workers in Utrecht - Artoglou - confronted more problems due to discrimination in their children’s school. “In the school, our children were complaining about discrimination. Although

²⁴⁶ Dina Bahtsevanidis.

²⁴⁷ Dina Bahtsevanidis.

²⁴⁸ Panagiotis Mitropoulos.

teachers were giving as compliments, because we were always close to our children and followed their progress, on the other they advised them not to listen to what their parents were saying but only to what they were saying! When Panagiotis were about to go to high school, professor Tonnino gave as a report that “he is not capable” for this level. “...he is interacting only with Turks and Spanish; he obeys only to his parents...” [Was written in the report], so they did not accepted him in Johann De Witte gymnasium. We applied then to discuss with the school director but she did not accept to talk to us... The reason we wanted him to go to the gymnasium was the ancient Greek language and culture that they get there, which would be helpful for him...he is Greek. So he went to MAVO and then to HAVO. Finally, although he lost some time he studied in the economic school of Rotterdam and he is working like a professional today. We had faith for his progress...”²⁴⁹ The strong interference of the parents in their children’s school matters was in contradiction with the educational spirit of the Netherlands in the 1970s. Personal performance and the promotion of an individual’s talent have been core values for the Dutch educational system, at that point.²⁵⁰ In that sense, the children had to choose between two authorities and apparently, the only option was to follow the school’s rules. The negation of the school authorities to negotiate with the parents was interpreted by them as clear discrimination, due to their migrant status. Another point, which was mentioned above, was that the school did not approve the exclusive relations between migrant’s children, as an indicator of a non integrative will, on their behalf. In that previous case, the final outcome has been positive for the children because of the family’s determination. In regards to discrimination at school, Sotirakis spoke who in the end had a direct confrontation with the school administration: “*I never interfered in the children’s school matters because my wife was absolutely responsible for that. But once, when my son Fillipos went to the primary school he come one day in the house crying, the new teacher has told him that especially him, because his surname was a “foreigner’s” one, should pass some examinations to prove that he could handle the language. I went then to the school and I have made a Greek arrangement, “My children passed the examinations to high school with 9,5 right? Then, if you disturb in that discriminating way the children again I will*

²⁴⁹ Aggeliki Artoglou.

²⁵⁰ Schuyt and Taverne, *Dutch Culture in a European Perspective*, 297.

*cut your throat.” It stopped there. Both my children went to university and today they work”.*²⁵¹ Although, the mother was a native, the difference of the “foreigner” surname was the reason for the children’s discrimination, according to Sotirakis’ interpretation that was the only interference in his son’s educational issues. Takis Sideris is the son of Nikos and Dimitra Sideris and lives in Utrecht since 1963. We cycle in the city and as he shows a building he makes a confession: *“I cannot ever forget that place, my school...all my life I feel dirty, since the children were calling me, “dirty Greek” all my years here. Still now, that I am 50 years old, I am a social doctor and a musician, that I feel as an acknowledged member of the Dutch society, always this stigma is hunting me... I still feel that my clothes are not clear enough...”*²⁵² Although there is strong case for evidence of bias towards the second generation by the native children, mainly resulted from the difference of the Greek names, however, traditional Greek naming has been continued to the third generation; a fact that indicates that invisibility has not been a priority for the Greek workers in the host society.

In a different case, Kokkinos, a man who was raised in the Netherlands by Greek parents and had at home a strong influence of the Greek language and culture narrates: *“I was going to school [the Greek school] every Saturday afternoon. My father prohibited me from speaking Dutch in the house, we were speaking only Greek. My house had always Greek character”.*²⁵³ That is the case of a house where occupational and economic stability resulted in a clear choice of ethnic distinguishment; apparently, a family’s migrant status varies widely depending on the ‘vulnerability’ grade. That man’s parents were not poor workers; they had a secure job for their son, so they focused on the ethnic language. The Greek character of the household had negative consequences on the children’s adaptation of school. As he continues: *“I had no good performance in school; I have been untamed. My teachers were constantly making complaints to my parents. So after primary school they decided to send me to a strict protestant school in Utrecht, only for boys. There I was forced to become more judicious, only the weekends I was returning home. Although the punishments they did not achieved to make me Dutch. I remained Greek. One day the director called me in his office and said to me: “Why don’t you ever interact*

²⁵¹ Giannis Sotirakis.

²⁵² Takis Sideris.

²⁵³ Demetrios Kokkinos.

with Dutch students, you have only colonial friends!”²⁵⁴ The negative and isolated attitude of the family towards the Dutch environment and culture affected strongly this man who resisted integrating into the Dutch educational system; his words: “*they did not achieve to make me Dutch*”, reveal his determination to remain visibly Greek, which was mainly the result of his parents’ refusal to integrate to the host land’s customs and language. The school’s remarks for compliance reflect the spirit of Dutch policies for the role of the educational institutes as assimilative mechanisms for the ethnic minorities. Finally, that men’s lack of interest for higher education was related to his employment in the profitable family-ethnic business. The same happened for the three children of a Greek couple - Pertsinidis - who were self-employed in a profitable leisure business and assigned their occupational continuity to their children, a matter that restricted their attendance to a university. “*We had three children Agapios, Ioanna and Antonios. They did not go to university because our job in the restaurant needed their hands and it still earns good money...They became Dutch, It doesn’t bother me.*”²⁵⁵ What he implies is that his descendants never learned the Greek language; the family focused only in the prosperity of their business. The same is also the case of a hotel owner Slovakian in Rotterdam who was a refuge in Greece. “*We had three children, they do not speak Greek, and generally they have no connections with Greece. They did not go to the university because they have already a big fortune...*”²⁵⁶ For this man, the higher education of his children and the preservation of the Greek language and customs were not a life time goal.

Tzavos, who was a worker and failed to be promoted due to his linguistic deficiency confronted, his children’s education in a totally different way: “*The kids went both to the Athenaeum Gymnasium and then studied in the university. They do not speak Greek, I never send them to the Greek school, because I was sure that they will stay here so I did not wanted to torture them with extra lessons...and also I did not them to have the same problems like me with the language, I wished for them to learn their school language and have progress.*”²⁵⁷ Tzavos’ personal insecurity and adverse experiences with the Dutch language in the host country resulted in the negation of his ethnic language. His marriage with a Dutch woman and his decision for

²⁵⁴ Demetrios Kokkinos.

²⁵⁵ Haris Pertsinidis.

²⁵⁶ Leonidas Slovakian.

²⁵⁷ Elevation Tzavos.

permanency were decisive for the loss of the Greek language in the second generation. The same decision has been made by Theodosiou, another laborer, who married a Dutch wife: “*We have a daughter, who is named Paraskevi after my mother. She went to a Dutch school and never learned Greek. She likes Greece for vacations only, her life is here and she’s Dutch*”.²⁵⁸ Additionally, it seems that when a Greek man married a Dutch wife, they entrusted the language training and the school matters to their spouse. Kakomanolis: “*.... never had any problems with children’s school. To admit the true, as long as I was traveling that was a matter of my wife. They both got a university degree, my son in electronics and my daughter in linguistics. I did not come here as a ‘gasterbeider’...But also the workers did well in the second and third generation; they made progress because they worked hard, but also the system helped them to do so...*”²⁵⁹ Kakomanolakis admits his deficiency to get involved with his children’s education; he also differentiates his children’s prospects from the ‘gasterbeiders’ ones, due to his higher status and social position as a naval officer. However, he points out that the laborer’s’ second generation was successfully educated, due to the combination of the system’s opportunities and their personal efforts. Moraitis, another Greek father with a Dutch wife confesses that he assigned his daughter’s education to his wife because he was completely unable to assist in the Dutch language: “*My daughter learned to speak a little Greek just in order to communicate with me. She does not learn it to her children. I actually never learned to speak Dutch. When my daughter was going to school I was ashamed because I could not help her at all. That with the language was a big mistake of mine...finally, she went to a school to become a nurse and now she is working to a hospital*”.²⁶⁰ The Greek fathers were feeling that they were losing their patriarchal status and their credibility, because of their inadequate use of the Dutch language; as a result they assigned their children’s education to their wives. The majority of the second generation that was raised by mixed couples did not master the Greeks language, as another ex-laborer confirms: “*We raised two beautiful boys who both went to university and are now successful in their fields’. My children speak only some words in Greek*”.²⁶¹ Learning and preservation of the Greek language emerges as a key element of the group’s ethnic identity. Ethnic couples

²⁵⁸ Georgios Theodosiou.

²⁵⁹ Manolis Kakomanolis.

²⁶⁰ Christos Moraitis.

²⁶¹ K.S.

presented a stronger persistence in the matter of the Greek language's preservation, since by definition (endogamy) were more ethnically 'sensitive'. Moreover, these couples were facing their future in the Netherlands with a sense of non-permanency, comparing to mixed couples.

Greek's intergenerational educational and occupational assimilation in Dutch society has been of a high standard. Differences appear between the way that mixed and interethnic couples approached, the Dutch educational system. Children of ethnic couples were testified to have high university attendance and their occupational integration into the Dutch employment market afterwards. The only exceptions were observed in families where the children were not encouraged to pursue higher education, due to the existence of a highly profitable family business, mainly outside Rotterdam. In those cases, the second generation was occupied in the family business and gained social and economic progress in a more 'self determined' way. Ethnic couples, confronted conflicts with the second generation. Focus in accumulation - both parents' hard working - and also social isolation and regression reflected on children's discomfort for their parent's regression. The parent's attitude, social isolation and retreat, as it was defined by their children, resulted in contrasts with the Dutch educational system. The children's educational life, between two different 'authorities', the parental and the school's, was problematic for the first years of their school life. The lack of knowledge of the Dutch language was for the ethnic couples a corroborative factor for their children's confusion. 'Normalization' began after the first two years of primary school, when the children started to feel secure with the native language and apparently, the parent's behavior became gradually less interventional.

Among mixed couples the elements of interference in the children's educational procedure and the interest for the preservation of the Greek language are weak, compared respectively with the characteristics between ethnic couples. The acceptance of the school system was easier in these cases, due to the Dutch mothers' familiarity with the latter. Actually, the Greek fathers entrust school matters to their wives, which they consider as more appropriate. Dutch mother tongue and the fact that mixed couples have been more determined to remain in the Netherlands, due to the woman's origins determined a low preservation of the Greek language for the second generation. Similarly with the children of ethnic marriages, the descendants of mixed marriages presented high university attendance and occupational assimilation into local society.

Oppositional cultural dualities

Neither the group of Greek migrants nor Dutch society has been homogenous or static. However; some core elements of historical, political and religious past were common in both sides. In those terms, we analyze the cultural contradictory dualities between the two groups developing in time, as those were presented by the interviewees. Cultural contradictions reveal main differences between the host majority and the newcomers. All factors of integration-occupational changes, opportunities structures, patterns of repatriation, - are inseparably related to each other and must be taken into account. As a first step, we clarify main cultural contradictions and position them in the wide frame in order to make conclusions.

The words of Maritsa Dimitopoulou, a woman who has been in the Netherlands during the Second World War, as the bride of a wealthy Greek post war migrant, reveal the situation in the country, before 1947: *“I left Greece impatiently (1946), in order to experience my future life, I was young... an idealist. When I arrived in Utrecht I was shocked. Not only the change was big, - the climate, people’s attitude - but also I came in an era where things in the Netherlands were also difficult. The food was being given by coupons and the conditions for poor people were difficult...but I was never deprived from something, my husband offered me whatever I needed. If you had money there were plenty of goods, from the black market. But in the society generally, typically everything was measured. Their food was simple, potatoes, bread and vegetables. I was really shocked to see that when a daughter was going to her mother’s house she had to take her food portion with her, otherwise she could not eat there! Because of the situation Dutch people seemed to me as bad tasted and stingy. When we were going to visit a Dutch house everything was measured. I was eating the small portion that I was been given and I did not dare to ask for more. When I was going back home I was eating properly. They were never saying, like we do “take something more; you have not being eaten enough...”*²⁶² The description of Dutch postwar daily reality can be compared with the respective era in Greece. The Netherlands were politically stable and implemented programmed policies in every sector, for the restoration of normalcy.

²⁶² Maritsa Dimitopoulou.

Deprivation and impoverishment were a reality in post war Netherlands. Of course, as Maritsa Dimitopoulou testifies the financially better-off had access to all goods, but the majority of people were living in frugality. The same interpretation has been given by S.K, who came to the Netherlands as a worker twenty years after the war: *“The Dutch are hardworking, frugal, they have never been rich. I do not speak about the aristocracy or the colonialist families. I speak about the common people.”*²⁶³ Apparently, wealth and prosperity of the Dutch society, which the workers described as their first impression in the first chapter, were the result of a transformation that took place in the 1950s. The majority of Dutch people, experienced difficulties and anxiety, which reflected in their mentality during the post war period. That clarification can maybe explain some Dutch cultural elements that the Greek migrants defined as acculturation boundaries between them and the host majority.

Dimitopoulou has already described an early post war ‘scheduled’ life implemented by the central administrations, due to the lack of goods. In Greece, at the same period (1947), the civil war had spread chaos; people have never experienced a ‘planned’ life like the one in the host country. Maritsa Dimitopoulou: *“When I gave birth to my first children, in 1948, I was walking a lot through the urban neighborhoods the baby stroller. What took me a long time to get used was that everything has been made uniformly. The blocks were even, the outside views of the houses...From the open curtains, - everywhere it was open then - you could see the same scenery, the pots with flowers in the ledge, a piano, and the table laid at six...Everything seemed precise and scheduled by a program.”*²⁶⁴ The programmed life contradicted with the Greek spontaneous extrovert attitude and mentality. A common complaint of the workers was that the Dutch were not ‘warm’ meaning friendly and ‘open’. Babalidis: *“You cannot make friendships here with the local population. I have tried but even though I cannot say that I have done a heart friend here. You cooperate with a person for years; you work with him half of the day. A Sunday, a holiday, you wish to see him, speak with him. As you are with your car you pass by his house and you knock his door. He opens the door and he replies astonished: “Do you need something? They are not warm, human, after a while you do not try anymore to make bonds with them.”*²⁶⁵

²⁶³ S.K.

²⁶⁴ Maritsa Dimitopoulou.

²⁶⁵ Lambros Babalidis.

The lack of interest has been interpreted as wearisomeness on behalf of the Dutch: “... *they are boring; they do not understand our teasing and joking. If you notice, after six o clock in the afternoon there is no one outside. I am used to that for the winter months, but in summer I go now and stay in Greece for almost four months.*”²⁶⁶

Polyhronakis who came in 1968 to the Netherlands and combined hard work with university studies and achieved to become a social worker for the Dutch state: “*Dutch are extremely organized but cold and inhospitable. I was inviting them in Crete to spend the Easter and get to know our customs and when we were coming back they were making an appointment in their agenda (diary), with me and my wife (she is Greek) after several months!*”²⁶⁷ The use of a diary for matters of social relations and friendship was interpreted by M. as disinterest and offending on the part of the Dutch couple. The same attempts have been made from other workers also, in order to show their respect and appreciation to their colleagues. Theodosiou: “*They are people of personal interests and they are after anything free. I remember characteristically an incident with a Dutch superintendent that I worked with. We were working together every day for years and he was always decent towards me. He never distinguished me negatively from the others because I was a migrant. I offered to accommodate him and his wife in Crete at my home for fifteen days all expenses paid for by me. We all had a nice time... when we came back to Holland ... nothing. The Dutch couple never invited us to exchange visits at their house, not even a cup of coffee. They do not understand that what we do is not because we feel inferior, we are not beggars. What we want is to make bonds, to be acceptable and able to show them how our culture is. It is all about Greek hospitality, that is what we have learned all our lives...*”²⁶⁸ The desire of Greek migrants to make bonds with the locals and also to present the beauty and culture of their homeland was dominant; the negation of the natives to respond in the same way was offensive. The latter clearly states that ‘hospitality’ has been wrongly interpreted by the Dutch as servility; a term that is in total conflict with Greek masculine mentality. In the same realm naval officer Kakomanolis complains: “*I never had interaction with Dutch people, that’s why my wife had to become Greek. I always say to her she has to realize I am one hundred percent Greek.*

²⁶⁶ S.K.

²⁶⁷ Manolis Polyhronakis.

²⁶⁸ Giorgos Theodosiou.

Our difference, our hospitality, is considered by the Dutch as obsequiousness. They look at us as people from the third world. Only some Philhellenes respect us. The non-educated people....”²⁶⁹ Greek hospitality has been mentioned by the majority of the Greeks as core value of their culture and civilization. ‘Gifts’ in a ceremonial society had a sentimental and also a political meaning; in terms of ‘a ritual’, in the wider frame of a formal bond and alliance.²⁷⁰ A migrant of the 1960s was considered in his homeland as ‘privileged’ that gained wealth. Mitropoulos narrates that his lack to provide gifts to all his friends and family kept him away from his homeland for years: *“The factory was paying us to have holidays three weeks per year. “I won’t go”, I was saying to my boss. When he was answering me why I was explaining that I did not had so much money to buy gifts for everyone. That impressed him a lot; he could not believe that I meant it..I was explaining him that if I wanted a small thing to buy for all friends and family in Greece, I was lost. “You are not obliged by anyone to buy gifts” he was insisting. He could not understand that I would do that with pleasure. For the first six years I did not go on vacations; I worked those days also in order to raise as much money as I could. Then I would be able to visit my village with pride...”*²⁷¹ Apparently, the offer of a present was interpreted by his Dutch employer as an obligation, but M. clarifies that it would be a pleasure for him to please his people back home and perhaps to confirm in such way his success in the foreign land.

One of their main ethnic elements with which Greek migrants identify is *φιλοτιμο*. Kokkinos: *“The Dutch do not have this that we call φιλοτιμο. They do not have a word definition for this idea in their language, it cannot be translated.”*²⁷² Indeed the formal translation for this word that relates to a main Greek moral value is: ‘pride, dignity, sense of honor’.²⁷³ The misunderstanding of the Greek’s behavior or even the formal confrontation of their offers for friendship and hospitality resulted in their disappointment with local society. Merodoulakis: *“No, I never made Dutch friends, only Greeks and Italians. Dutch people are concerned only about themselves, they are individualists. They do not share anything with no one else, not even a piece*

²⁶⁹ Manolis Kakomanolis.

²⁷⁰ Mosses I. Finley, *The world of Odysseus*, (New York 1965).

²⁷¹ Panagiotis Mitropoulos.

²⁷² Demetrios Kokkinos.

²⁷³ See: Weidenfeld Nicholson *Honour and shame: the values of Mediterranean society* (London 1965).

of bread. They do not have (in their culture) what we call “filotimo””²⁷⁴ Greek migrants make a direct linkage: “They are totally dependent on their state.”²⁷⁵ Another develops that thought even further: “In Greece there is a “give and take”, the “harisma” (gift) to the neighbors, the kin, and friends. In the Netherlands people care only about themselves and their home. There are no intimate relations with other people because the state takes care of them so they do not really need each other. They are foreigners amongst themselves.”²⁷⁶ What these Greek interviewees imply is that the welfare state has replaced human relations. For the majority of the interviewees the lack of response on behalf of the Dutch resulted in isolation and guided them to seek for bonds with co-ethnics or other migrants. Sideris “was surprised by the fact that the Dutch parents have never called her children inside their own houses [as she was constantly doing with children of the neighborhood]. They did not permit them. She could not understand. By the time, she could not understand many things she was observing...the unbridgeable gap that was separating the Protestants by the Catholics. They hated each other. They did not let their children to play together. They had separate schools and shops. They could not get married between them. They were very strict and dogmatic towards their religions.”²⁷⁷.

Artoglou points out that discrimination against the Greek migrants was not a Dutch ‘class’ matter: “Dutch friends from the heart? No, I do not have. It would be like if you wanted to marry oil and water, can that ever happen? I have interacted with nobles and decent men and with bums; they all – I have experienced their psychology-distinguish their own people, you are always foreigner, they stand you out.”²⁷⁸ Aggeliki Artoglou. a woman worker admits: “I always felt foreigner, when after two years I have tried to speak Dutch, they were laughed at me in my face, I felt humiliated...still when I have to make a conversation with a local I feel full of hang-ups, complexes.”²⁷⁹ Pertsinidis: “Dutch people are not like us, warm and good hosts...but I have adopted their habits. This is their land. I came here to live; I eat bread here, so why should I complain? Shall I try to change them? I work with them and because I am good at my job they

²⁷⁴ Stelios Merodoulakis.

²⁷⁵ S.K.

²⁷⁶ Giannis Serakis.

²⁷⁷ Σιδέρη, Πατρίδες, 69.

²⁷⁸ Haralampos Artoglou.

²⁷⁹ Aggeliki Artoglou.

appreciate me. Everywhere there are good and bad people, I mind and look after my own business.”²⁸⁰ Pertsinidis has been a refugee from Pontos to Evros and was relocated with his family during the population exchange in 1922. His gratitude for a land that hosted him and offered him opportunities for a better life makes him resilient. Moreover, Pertsinidis belongs to the self-employed part of the group so obviously he kept his relations with the locals to a formal level as he was dependent on them economically. In a similar vein, Dina Bahtsevanidou, another restaurant owner that had to interact with Dutch people due to her occupation in the hospitality sector says: *“Dutch people are not warm, but if you just have professional relations with them they are typical.”*²⁸¹

A totally different view of acculturation is revealed by the words of two women, which were interacting with locals due to their high economic and social position, in different time periods. The older said: *“I never had a “sister” friend here, a Dutch woman because that “directness” that they show, as they like to call it, was always very annoying for me....When the weather is nice all Dutch people used to come out of their houses like snails. So, we went with my husband and another couple near a canal to eat and have a discussion. I was feeling nostalgia for the blue clear sea and when they proposed me to swim in the canal I refused saying that the water seemed really dirty. Immediately the woman responded me in a rude manner: “if you liked Greece so much, then why didn’t you stayed there and you came in our country?” I felt so bad that I did not speak again until we left. I realized then that no matter who we were we would always be strangers for Dutch people.”*²⁸² As the latter points out, even when social conditions were propitious, as in her case, a Greek would always be a ‘stranger’, due to the majority’s well hidden arrogance against the foreigners. For her, Dutch directness was defined as overt rudeness and insult. However, that woman’s life conditions –high economic position, access to majority’s upper social class-permitted her selective acculturation perspective. Today, she can paint the same Dutch attitudes in different colors: *“After all those years I came to the conclusion that those people here are telling you something not because they have to, for a reason, but only when they feel so. They are not at least hypocrites and usually they do not talk behind your back.*

²⁸⁰ Haris Pertsinidis.

²⁸¹ Dina Bahtsevanidou.

²⁸² Maritsa Dimitopoulou.

If they respect you and smile at you it is because they want it so...”²⁸³ The same pattern of change we find in the words of another woman who had equally privileged conditions in the Netherlands: *“After all those years in the Netherlands and my common life with a Dutch lawyer, who also belonged in the upper class of the dominant society here, helped me to adapt easily the Dutch cultural specificities. And I really feel in some points, more comfortable here in the Netherlands. When I go back home for vacations, I do not have a lot of things to say with my old friends...I feel a bit “different”. After my husband’s death I live in a Dutch way of life, I prefer it.”*²⁸⁴ For the latter, the occupational security and its social image, her mixed marriage and the given social position as also the Dutch language knowledge gave her the opportunity for selective acculturation with the locals. Selected isolation from the host society has been found more in cases of Greek men who had no professional link and dependence to the host land. A merchant marine officer admits: *“I have never been able to “get into them”, [the Dutch], I am a nationalist; I am strongly identified as Greek. In Egypt we have learned to adore everything related to Greece. We were doing parades to celebrate all our National Days ...we were shouting to everything “zeto” [a Greek way of acclamation and approval, as English “hurray”], “zeto” for the Greek king, for the Nation...”*²⁸⁵ The latter is one of the few cases who selected to negate every interaction with the host society not only because of his occupational particularities, but also due to a strong national identification which was preserved during his childhood as a refugee in Egypt.

Was there a period when Greeks did not felt biased and discriminated by the locals, or at least did they feel accepted? One of them remembers: *“When we first came here (1964), people were very positive with us, they wanted to meet the Greeks. They were opening their windows and were inviting us in. ...I never learned how to write Dutch, I learned the language empirically. There was a woman, (van Dijk) who was a philhellene and as giving free lessons every week, so I learned how to speak.”*²⁸⁶ In philhellenism refers also a post war Greek inhabitant in Utrecht, which was a totally different case that the workers, but can help us understand the behavior of older and educated Dutch in the 1960s. Dimitopoulou remembers: *“With my husband’s wealth*

²⁸³ Maritsa Dimitopoulou.

²⁸⁴ Maria Aggelidou- Rohar.

²⁸⁵ Manolis Kakomanolis.

²⁸⁶ S.K.

*our social life was rich. We traveled a lot and we were often going to restaurants or to the cinema-that was the way for me to learn the language. Our interaction with the Dutch people was often, they were opening their houses for us. Especially in my case, the Dutch not only were friendly but they were protective towards me. The educated Dutch adored and admired the ancient Greek splendor. In their opinion I was an aristocrat. Of course the popular crowd did not even know from where I was coming from. The woman that stayed with us to take care of the house every day asked me if in my country we were wearing shoes or we were living naked.”*²⁸⁷

A linkage with Greek ancient history has been made once more by a woman that lived in the same city with the latter twenty years later: *“When I arrived here I did not speak at all. Our neighbor, an old Dutch woman who has been a teacher of ancient Greek history has started to teach me a few words by gestures showing me the mouth, the eyes...”*²⁸⁸ Theodosiou, a worker who married a Dutch woman identified some few people that could evaluate Greek cultural capital, but not in a grade that could develop an affinity between the cultures: *“Although my wife is a local, she became more Greek than I became Dutch. I could not interact with the local people. There were always some philhellenes that appreciated our Greek origins and history, but generally we didn’t get on, they are a different culture.”*²⁸⁹

A culture familiar with accumulation has been traced by the interviewees who give it a negative connotation. Sotirakis: *“Dutch people are exactly like Maxima [the queen to be] has said: “...coffee and cookies, lekker and gezellig.” They care for their personal interests and those of their country. Most of all they care for the money.”* Kakomanolis confirms: *“their god is money; they have not found the word respect”.*²⁹⁰ Georgiadis: *“What I learned here in that place is that life is a business. You give and take. If you pay your taxes then the state will support you. The civilian and the state have a common fund. The civilians here take care of their state and the government reciprocates. Local people respect their society, but they have no other concerns...a philosophical way of thinking beyond reality...They have collective attitudes but they are not pleasant, they are stuck in money values.”*²⁹¹ Moraitis, whose daughter was raised by his Dutch

²⁸⁷ Maritsa Dimitopoulou.

²⁸⁸ Kostantina Bahtsevanidou.

²⁸⁹ Giorgos Theodosiou.

²⁹⁰ Manolis Kakomanolis.

²⁹¹ Aristotle Georgiadis.

wife: *“I tried to convey to our daughter my love for Orthodoxy and the value of personal progress, not only the significance of materials and money, as it is here. I mean progress in education, but also in self-respect and then social respect. I tried to “arm” her with values beyond money, so she could really make progress in her life”*.²⁹² Other interviewees expressed similar views: *“What I found difficult to accept and adopt has been their moral code. The couples are living much more liberal than we are used to. They may be married and at the same time have extramarital affairs. For me and my husband it is impossible to interact with such people, we do not trust them”*.²⁹³ *“They misunderstand the word democracy and the word freedom. Here they are morally unrestrained. They show openly things that are taboos, out of limits...do not show that in public television, I do not wish so...And euthanasia? That is not freedom.”*²⁹⁴ As a general title on Greek reactions to the Dutch family system we could post: *“Families are not bounded here with strong relations, as in Greece.”*²⁹⁵ Couples where both spouses are Greek preserved their traditional family bonds without any hesitation and criticize the Dutch majority: *“Here the families are not coherent. The young members do not help the older and the opposite the grandparents do not help with the grandchildren. My son’s children are getting raised with the Greek way. I or my wife collect them every day from school; feed or play with them, until their parents finish their job.”*²⁹⁶ Greek people observed that the elderly Dutch did not have their children’s care and have tried to replace that ‘family absence’: *“... there is no warmth of human contact. They are strangers one with the other. When my mother was still alive she always suggesting me: “you should go and visit Mrs. Annette, she has no one to take care of her..,” referring to an old lady that used to live near but when she got very old she has been transferred to a nursery house; and I was going every week like she was my grandmother, I never found her own grandchildren visiting her...Dutch people are not interested about the ‘other’”*.²⁹⁷ *“Families in Greece are much more coherent than here in the Netherlands. Here, the older ages live in nursing homes, standardized but human. An aunt of Betty’s died in a place like that. The way that older live in Greece it does not exist here. Our daughter should*

²⁹² Christos Moraitis.

²⁹³ Dina Bahtsevanidou.

²⁹⁴ Manolis Kakomanolis.

²⁹⁵ Sarantos Koutsakis.

²⁹⁶ Panagiotis Mitropoulos.

²⁹⁷ Stelios Kokkinos.

normally stay with us... I thought to buy a house with double entrance, for older parents to live with their children's families, but it was too expensive".²⁹⁸ *"I have learned ...to be discreet, I do not annoy anyone, not even my children, and I never go to them uninvited; only when they call me. Now I appreciate independency, the Netherlands changed me to that point. I would go also in a nursing home, why not? If it was respectable...I agree with that Dutch attitude. I also did death insurance; if I die I do not want to be a burden to anyone*".²⁹⁹ Tzavos focuses more in the dimension of independence as a positive consequence of typical and confined relations between Dutch family members in general. The idea of independence among family members is vital for another man who approaches the matter from the viewpoint of a father: *"Here there is no family, the children, even when it is still going to school, do some jobs in order to have pocket money. Since it is young, it (the children) is imposed by the parents to pay its own expenses. I would never do such a thing to my children. I always was given them extra pocket money. Even the subsidy that I have been taken from the state for having children, I never spend it, I left it in the bank and when they got eighteen years old and started to study, I gave it to them in order to use it as they wished*".³⁰⁰ Lack of love has been also reported by a man whose Dutch wife's family has been secluded from the couple: *"...got married to a Dutch catholic girl. Her parents did not approve it so we did not have relations or their help with the kids or financially...She found tenderness and protection with me, her father did not even share his food with his children*".³⁰¹ The issue of sharing among the family members and primarily, parent's attitude towards their children has been criticized often by the Greeks.

An issue related with moral values and codes has been religious acculturation, mainly among mixed couples. Moraitis' daughter who was baptized in the Greek Church not only kept the orthodox tradition but she assimilated her Dutch spouse: *"She got married to a Dutch, but she asked him to be baptized as an orthodox and then they got married to Rotterdam's church. Their children's names were shared, one Greek, Anastasia and on Dutch, Maximos*".³⁰² We find religious acculturation also in cases where the Dutch mothers had no religious orientation: "My

²⁹⁸ Christos Moraitis.

²⁹⁹ Elevation Tzavos.

³⁰⁰ Panagiotis Mitropoulos.

³⁰¹ Elevation Tzavos.

³⁰² Christos Moraitis.

children speak Greek; they are interested in their origins and Greek culture. The one that lives in Chicago is married to a Greek American girl and he often goes to the Greek community church there. As I know he is connected with the wide Greek community of Chicago and the second generation there."³⁰³ In this case, there is a clear connection between the main elements of Greek identity; the interconnection of language and religion has been preserved and passed on to the second generation of a mixed couple. Children whose mother tongue and education are Dutch identify themselves to a new country, clustering near the Greek community and Church. These interesting cases on the one hand, reflect the strong impact of the father's Greek cultural identity, and on the other hand, imply the absence of a spiritual model implemented by the mother. The issue of religious acculturation between mixed couples and knowledge of the Greek language has been significant for the Greek community in the Netherlands, as it is written in *Metanastis*. The relevant article discusses the possibility of the Greeks' isolation from their religious culture due to the Dutch wives' negative impact. The point which the article focuses on is that Greek language use during the church's rituals should be adjusted, in order to attract the Dutch spouses and promote the descendant's Greek identity.³⁰⁴

Aside the Greek's cultural criticism regarding values, moral codes, and family models, institutional adaptation has been one main point of discussion; all of the Greeks have been able to evaluate the consequences of the latter main Dutch cultural element, which –due to various geopolitical reasons- has been a weak feature in their host land. *"I took their goods; voluntarism, order, meritocracy. The governments have "consensus", they consult with each other for the social common good. People never do strikes, they obey what the state has been said. They are materialists, but they have social and political collectivity.*"³⁰⁵ The welfare formation has been the main reason for the Netherland's 'consensus' spirit through the 1960s.³⁰⁶ Kakomanolis, a nationalist, as he is self-defined, evaluates as regression political and social protests. Apparently, he is making an indirect comparison with the post-civil Greek climate, where sociopolitical conflicts have been lethal. Although, he defines that the reason of consensus is not a quality difference between the citizens, but the result of an indirect convergent agreement for common

³⁰³ S.K.

³⁰⁴ 'Children from mixed marriages', *Metanastis*, year 3, issue 5, May-June, 1978.

³⁰⁵ Manolis Kakomanolis.

³⁰⁶ Schuyt and Taverne, *Dutch Culture in a European Perspective*, 63.

wealth, however he evaluates that this ‘collectivity’ is absolutely positive and a point which he has willingly adopted. ‘Consensus’ as a social tactic and mentality has been identified by another naval officer, who is self-identified as religious and a political conservative: “*What I like most is that they are gentle and calm people and take care to confront things in an easy and positive way. They do not get angry easily, those tricks that people in Greece do, the theatrical manners they you never see it here. Dutch do not avoid ‘foreigners’ they show respect and they are typical. It is a matter of collusion.*”³⁰⁷ The latter also interprets the quiet and non-nervous manners in a personal level as a ‘consensus’ quality, which he had never experienced in his homeland. Of course, the reason for that difference of social and individual expressions, between the Greeks and Dutch, was the result of socioeconomic differences and historical conjunctures. Under different conditions Greek men changed their attitude: “*I become quieter, because I do not need to struggle for survival. In Greece the only thing I remember is a constant struggle for domination to the other children, in order to steal a mandarin to eat, not to die. Here I have nothing to claim, I am secure.*”³⁰⁸ This man struggled for survival since birth, and he has realized the need to change his social expression. “*What I do not like is that people have this attitude of reporting anything to the authorities. Because my disability is recognized by the doctors I applied to the municipality and they gave a free parking place in the opposite side of my house’s door, so I won’t have to walk for a long distance. At least once a week I find someone that has been parked there, although the number of my car is written very clear in that point. I can then call and if he does not move it in an hour then he pays three hundred euro and the authorities are taking the car. My wife is always arguing with me for that matter and she shouts: “call the police” and my neighbors are saying to me the same. I cannot, I have never done it. We Greeks are not squealers to tell on other people*”³⁰⁹ The Dutch’s eagerness to report to authorities is inexplicable for Greek people, due to the fact that ‘collaborationism’ with norms and structures against another person in Greece constitutes a form of treachery and compromise. The lack of trust to the authorities and the state has been confirmed from another who said: “*Moreover, we cannot agree because they think differently. You do a discussion and the Dutch repeats to you what he has read in the national newspaper. He does not criticizing what the state*

³⁰⁷ Christos Moraitis.

³⁰⁸ Elevtherios Tzavos.

³⁰⁹ Elevtherios Tzavos.

is saying to him. We are not like that, our mind makes different turns”.³¹⁰ Prejudice and suspicion by the Greek migrants against the State’s institutions and authorities seemed justified; considering their background in their homeland and moreover their disappointment by their state. Greek people cannot be convinced by mass media or official norms and policies because of their previous struggle and life experience where their state did not confront them as citizens with rights; in that sense, criticism is expected. Institutional criticism has been developed fully by a communist: *“Then they have the mentality of obeying in their state; their institutional adaptation is extreme, even if the state’s decisions are wrong or injustice they are feeling imposed to obey. “The police officer hat fits to every head.” That was an advertisement in the Dutch television. That attitude seems totalitarian, cannot be adapted by a Greek... We are accused (the Greeks) for our politically incapacity, but all history has been written by conflicts and workers resistance...”*³¹¹ He interpret ‘consensus’ as the Dutch’s blind obedience to their state and its laws without any criticism, all in the name of ‘order’; as a consequence everyone is transformed to an oppressor. For those workers who focused in all their life as migrants on their occupational sector and took no part in political actions, the Dutch ‘order’ and ‘schedule’ seemed ideal. *“Justice and Law without exceptions, that is what I keep from this land, those are the things that make you feel secure.”*³¹² Some of the interviewees appreciated the indiscriminate implementation of the law as political stability, bureaucracy function, equal confrontation for all citizens and mainly, security; those were the matters that they have been deprived of in their past life in Greece. *“In other respects, the Dutch are typical and well organized, they have order and tactics. I got used to that way of life and that made me not to want to go back permanently. In Greece everyone is complaining, they protest, they do not obey the authorities...here everything function like a clock, if you are diligent and hardworking no one disturbs you.”*³¹³ A Greek restaurant owner noticed a shift in local people’s behaviors related to that issue: *“In 1973, I experienced a change in people’s attitude when the King comes back to Greece and the Greek population expelled him through a referendum. Dutch people reaped the worst impression from that fact; that we did not approved crowned Democracy; they are deeply royalists. They love*

³¹⁰ Haralampos Artoglou.

³¹¹ Lambros Babalidis

³¹² Ntina Bahtsevanidou.

³¹³ Haralampos Artoglou.

their crown and thus do not understand our attitude.”³¹⁴ Generally, Greece’s relationship with the crown has been historically recorded as a backward step for the country’s trajectory. During the first phase (1832-1862), the royal institution, due to its political and cultural difference destroyed local autonomy³¹⁵ and implicated Greece in an aggressive version of nationalistic ideology, in order to gain popular support. During the second phase (1863-1974) the backstage interference of the crown in political developments disparaged generally all the political and parliamentary institutions.³¹⁶ Royalty in Greek worker’s consciousness has been a political genre inappropriate for Greek political culture and reality, and has been related with totalitarianism and Greece’s paternalism. The Greek antithesis to the adoption of the royal institution has been expressed by a worker: *“In 1965, I went to “Van Harte” the feast that the queen has given in the name of the Greeks in the Netherlands. Even the royal couple was there. Of course, those celebrations meant nothing for a worker’s life, it is more for people who are not conscious and thus believe that an action like that makes him more accepted. Maybe the feast made the relations between the Dutch high society and the old Greek group more firm, because after that, the Greek Gala that “Enosis” were organizing annually becomes particularly successful. We (the workers) felt on the occasion like strangers. I was always reminding them, (his fellow workers) even if you have Dutch passport your face is always a ‘foreigner’s’.*”³¹⁷ As he explains the Greek workers had no relation with that environment as socially different by the old Greek group in the country as also by the Dutch upper class. His comment about ‘consciousness’ implies the political and social consciousness about the significance of class differentiation among the two societies and the two different Greek groups. Kakomanolis who was a captain and has been identified as a follower of royalty remembers: *“The only incident I never forget was the Greek’s Gala in 1965, when the Dutch King and Queen were present. This was the only time I felt proud to be a Greek in the Netherlands.”*³¹⁸ Kakomanolis has been a part of Greece’s Diaspora in Egypt and has been influenced by a nationalistic implementation and identifies with the nationalistic movements of Greece to liberate and unify the country’s unredeemed

³¹⁴ Ntina Bahtsevanidou.

³¹⁵ Ιωάννης Πετρόπουλος, *Πολιτική και Συγκρότηση κράτους στο ελληνικό βασίλειο, 1833-1843* (Αθήνα 1985) 41.

³¹⁶ Βασίλης Κρεμμυδας *Η Μεγάλη Ιδέα, Μεταμορφώσεις ενός εθνικού ιδεολογήματος* (Αθήνα 2010) 41.

³¹⁷ Lambros Babalidis.

³¹⁸ Manolis Kakomanolis.

populations (Great Idea), which politically has been related with the royal powers. Obviously, his different class position as a captain formed a positive interpretation for the Greek's interaction with the royal Dutch family. Sideris has also referred to this incident in her autobiography: *"It was 1965 that I she was called in 'Vara' labor's party radio station to discuss...they wanted to organize a dinner for all Greeks in the Netherlands, meaning for 4000 people. Everyone in the Netherlands knew what Greek hospitality means, they have said to her and they wanted to follow that paradigm. They have chosen especially Christmas day.....The program would be named 'Van Harte' ...the money would be given by Dutch people by an appeal made by the radio. Every day the station was transmitting that appeal combined with news and customs from Greece, and from the life of Greeks in the Netherlands."*³¹⁹ As Sideris describes there was a successfully organized Greek reunion in the host country with Greek foods, Christmas decorations and music. 'Pigasos' Utrecht's dancing group and musicians from Greece along with the well-known singer Nana Mouskouri contributed to a celebration which unified Greeks with the Dutch. The author points out that this: *"...has been a gesture of good will. That celebration would remain unforgettable for the Greeks in the Netherlands. It was something that has never happened before in any other European country"*.³²⁰ Her words are confirmed by an article in Utrecht's Nieuwsblad, where the enthusiasm of the Greek people about the melancholic songs by Moushouri were described, which have more poetic lyrics than the Dutch songs, according to her opinion; after 'Pigasos' folk dances which unified everyone, Utrecht's Byzantine choir made the final act.³²¹ The article refers to the Island of Crete and syrtaki dance, which is famous through M. Kakoyanni's movie "Zorba the Greek", which represented "Greekness" in Europe. A worker remembers: *"You were saying Greek in 1960s and 1970s and people were interested, they knew "Zorba the Greek" and they wanted to learn to dance with us, Greek men were popular...after 1985, we become 'dirty' Griek."*³²²

According to Sideris that Greek image in the 1970s was so popular in the Netherlands that Greek dance groups, like Utrecht's Pigasos, become multitudinous. Sideris reports a festivity on Utrecht's soccer field were almost three hundred Dutch were dancing Greek dances assisted by

³¹⁹ Σιδέρη, *Παπρίδες*, 122.

³²⁰ Ibidem, 124.

³²¹ *Utrecht's Nieuwsblad*, Friday, December 27, 1964, issue 188.

³²² Giannis Sotirakis.

the lead dancers of the group. *“Pigasos became later, the symbol of two different culture’s brotherhood and harmonious coexistence, based on Greek dances”*. That Greek cultural resonance resulted to a growth of Dutch tourism to Greece. A letter of the Greek Ambassador of that period, Mr. Griva-Gardikioti, to *Pigasos* founders has been congratulatory: *“...due to your dancing group’s serious efforts and the successful presentations and performances of Greek dances and its transmission to Dutch people, tourism from the Netherlands has been raised for that year (1965) by thirty percent. Our sincere congratulations.”*³²³ The interest of the Dutch in Greek folklore and culture developed, and many started to take Greek language lessons and were interested in the country’s traditions and customs.

Dutch Welfare state: Paternalism or Opportunity?

Greek’s impression concerning Dutch Welfare state is commonplace, they have all implied that it has been powerful and interventionist towards its citizens, including themselves. To emphasize the state’s role some of them expressed a radical approach that the welfare system has even replaced strong social and family ties. However, the majority of the Greek migrants have felt favored by the opportunities structures in the Netherlands.

Occupational and life security, offered by the state, has been a key word for Greek migrants in the host country. Moraitis: *“In the Netherlands I always felt secure. I had the luxury to stop working and leave the sea for two or more years and then I could find job again. In Greece that would not be possible. Employment officers help you in a fiendish way...when we had economic difficulties they always were finding a job for Betty in order to support our income. We never missed the opportunity to work. Their state helps you either you are young, either you are older. In loose or problematic persons, male or female the state gives the opportunity of work or education.”*³²⁴ Moraitis impression is that the Dutch Welfare state has been supportive in all the phases of his life, in order to maintain the same standards of leaving, a fact which made him feel secure. Opportunities for job, for him or his spouse in dependence with their family needs, such

³²³ Ibidem, 145.

³²⁴ Christos Moraitis.

as pregnancy and birth, a physical or psychological problem were issues that have been encountered positively by the administrations, according to his words. He also stresses that welfare support in job and training concerns not only workers, but even people who belong in vulnerable social categories, such as elders, families, unemployed, widows or orphans. Indeed, after the war in the Netherlands ‘a fundamental transition occurred from social security that was established via labor and applied only to employees, to social security that applied to all citizens’.³²⁵ Siderakis who decided to become self-employment: *“What I appreciate from the Dutch state is its support. When I decided to go into business for myself I was living on the unemployment insurance funds. So until I had a business plan, the Dutch system was supporting me. In Greece I am disappointed by the state. Here the laws are enforced with no exceptions.”*³²⁶ While Siderakis was trying to decide and form his new occupational position, which was risky as any shift from a secure high skilled and well paid job in a construction company to self employment. Dutch state supported him economically during the difficult period of his occupational transition. Occupational initiatives and stimuli have been main objectives of the post war Dutch welfare system.³²⁷ For the Greek workers unemployment support has been a main issue, as it has been enhanced by another: *“I have never felt insecurity about unemployment in Holland. If I ever was without a job the state would support me until I found a new one. If you really wish to work here and you are not lazy you never have problems I have no complaints from the Dutch state, I worked hard and it paid me back.”*³²⁸ By the same token, the latter points out his satisfaction by the State’s fair recompense for his working efforts and he implies security for his elder life through his pension. *“I have sent remittances to my mother and it was convenient that the tax service here would subtract those amounts from my tax bill. The Dutch state is a hundred years ahead than that of Greece. The Dutch state offers you potential solutions for any problem. I became a pensioner at 65 and I am paid one thousand three hundred euro. I went to Greece for the recognition of my pension rights and this is what I was answered: “we have lost your revenue stamps, we cannot give you pension.”*³²⁹ Siderakis: *“The Greek state was*

³²⁵ Schuyt and Taverne, *Dutch Culture in a European Perspective*, 263.

³²⁶ Giannis Siderakis.

³²⁷ Schuyt and Taverne, *Dutch Culture in a European Perspective*, 275.

³²⁸ Giorgos Theodosiou.

³²⁹ Giannis Serakis.

*never interested in supporting people with potential and to assist to help them take advantage of their skills. I have been given that opportunity here, and that's why I appreciate the Dutch state. When in 1983 I asked at the Town hall a permit to open a canteen in Zeeland it took three weeks".*³³⁰ Structural opportunities for all have been the common narration of the Greek migrants in relation with the function of the Dutch Welfare state. There was only an exception of a worker who expressed his disappointment believing that he has been discriminated by the state in the matter of his pension: *"I am not satisfied with the Dutch state, because they [the authorities] looked on how to exploit and cheat on us [the guest workers]. I worked twenty five years, always in a full shift system [three shift including night hours]. When I entered the twenty-fifth year of work, without no warning, the employers cut me the third night shift. I thought that this happened because I have been old and it was natural as a privilege. I did not know my rights and no one asked me for my choice. If I have been suspicious I would have taken a lawyer, but I never imagined that after all those years of hard working, they would cheat on me. That change on the last year of work cost me two percent minus per year of my pension. Since 1964, the policies have changed (and that was the result of the 1964's policy for the night shifts). Today I see Dutch workers, which I know them since long and I also know that they have worked less and they take more money than me. They were protected somehow"*³³¹ Mitropoulos preserves his self-identification as 'foreign' worker and does not feel that he is positioned in an equal level with the local workers. The latter's preservation of the 'discriminated guest worker' status, even after fifty years in the host country, is related probably, to the severe conditions (accident and difficult posts) that he had confronted.

Health sector has also been decisive for the Greek's in the Netherlands, especially, considering their lack of language knowledge. Perstinidis *"In 1977, while I was driving to Greece, I had a severe car accident in Yugoslavia. I almost died. My boss sent there a Dutch woman who spoke Greek and Yugoslavian to translate, she made all the negotiations with the doctors and he covered all my expenses. He had also contacted the Dutch Embassy and the doctors were really careful with me. I was grateful for the interest he had shown."*³³² That man's medical treatment

³³⁰ Giannis Serakis.

³³¹ Panagiotis Mitropoulos.

³³² Haris Perstinidis.

and recovery has been covered by his insurance, as an industry's permanent worker; it is remarkable how grateful he has been for that confrontation, in which he has not been used in his home land. Artoglou remembers his son's illness and the support of the local Health system: *"our children got seriously sick in 1968. There we had great difficulties because we could not understand what the doctors were saying to us... we felt insecurity that they would not take care of him because we were not their people... We thought to take him and bring him in Greece, but Mr. Ferfault in Sophia's hospital told us that such a thing would be a crime and he reassured as that he could do the best for our son. Then they brought there a university lecturer who has studied Greek and she was translating everything for us. I have no complaint, they have treated us perfectly and the expenses have been paid by my work"*.³³³ As he mentions, the couple's first instinctive thought in a point of high risk for their children, has been to transfer their son in their home land; that is typical for the way those workers have felt, due to their lack of communication. Moreover, their reaction reveals the anxiety of migrants, who confront a severe life problem away from their home land. However, the positive outcome of their son's medical case assured them that they have been confronted as equal as the locals by the Welfare system. In cases that the culmination of a health occurrence has been tragic, a migrant's interpretation relates the incident with his discrimination as a 'foreigner'. Slovakian: *"One day my wife suddenly wasn't feeling well. The ambulance came and took her, and after half an hour in the hospital the doctors came out and told me that she was dead. "Did they not know their job, or they did not take care of her because we were foreigners, Greeks?"*³³⁴ Generally, Greek's evaluation for the Dutch welfare system and its equality towards the Dutch citizens has been positive. *"Here the law is above all. Are you working? Do you have a salary? Are you legal? Then you have health insurance, free travels...you take credit, value as a person. When I left Greece I felt small, "no one". Here I had difficulties, I have been discriminated but I made something"*³³⁵ Tzavos words are apocalyptic for his deprivation in his own country; as he admits his life in the Netherlands has been stigmatized by his migration status, but due to the structural opportunities of the host country and his hard work, he has gained an identity, he has become 'someone'.

³³³ Haralampos Artoglou.

³³⁴ Leonidas Slovakian.

³³⁵ Elevation Tzavos.

The fact that financial credit has been given to the migrants by the Dutch banks has been evaluated by them positively. Pertsinidis: *“In 1987 ...The banks supported me without hesitation. They gave me loans for more than I was asked for. They knew we were hard workers. Although I had finished only the first year of high school and I had no formal training when I came, my hands were my fortune.”*³³⁶ Pertsinidis explanation for his credibility in the Dutch banks was that he was trusted by the system due to his diligent and attentive life. Slovakian, who became self-employed, bank’s credit contributed to his quick wealth: *“I had come with fifty thousand guildens, it was not enough. The first bank which I visited offered to lend me triple the amount of the money that I already had. They were not concerned that I was an immigrant...I wanted to work hard. If the bank had not offered me the loan I would have done nothing. So I bought land in the center of Rotterdam and I built a four floor hotel-restaurant, my clientele were international and local people also. The Dutch bank and the administration services functioned perfectly and after three years I had repaid the bank and I was making a fortune”.*³³⁷ Greek migrants recognized the significance of the Dutch welfare state in their life cycle and the opportunities that they have been offered by the system. All reported that they have been advantaged by the welfare system as Dutch citizens. Six out of fifteen workers talked about occupational ‘security’ and ‘support’. For one, who has been a successful businessman, the host’s country’s ability ‘to exploit everyone’s skills and talents ‘has been the superior opportunity system. For four persons health and retirement insurance were decisive, while four talked about the bank’s credit. Bank credit in combination with the era’s prosperity and the support of the welfare system gave opportunities to the migrants to make their own business and become self-employed. How did Greek migrants use the Dutch structural function and opportunities?

5. Occupational Trajectories.

Table 10: Self-employment.

³³⁶ Haris Pertsinidis.

³³⁷ Leonidas Slovakian.

Name	Date of occupational shift	Type of entrepreneurship	Place
S.K.	1968	Bar-owner	Rotterdam
S. Koutsakis	1970	Bar-owner	Rotterdam
Theodosiou	1973	Ship-supplier	Rotterdam
S. Merodoulakis	1976	Bar-owner	Rotterdam
Th. and D. Bahtsevanidis	1979	Restaurant-owner	Utrecht
Siderakis	1983	Canteen-owner	Zeeland
Georgiadis	1984	Restaurant-owner	Leiden
Pertsinidis	1987	Restaurant-owner	Dordrecht

Kokkinos, a member of the “*Enosis*” Greek union in Rotterdam, responding to a question about the relation of the old Greek wealthy group, - where he belonged -, with the newcomers Greek workers in the 1960s, has pointed out: “...*those people eventually become professionals; they opened bars, cafes, restaurants... they were working hard, they were not asking for our help.*”³³⁸ Halve of seventeen workers have been self-employed, in the period 1968 to 1987. The first attempts were made by workers who were employed near the port area and were experiencing personally Rotterdam’s night life, in bars which were primarily addressed to sailors, but have been also meeting points for migrants and local people. S.K.: “*I opened my business, “Le Mann”, in 1968... night life in Rotterdam then was lively, so that made it extremely profitable. Rotterdam’s port cafes and clubs were frequented by sailors. A ship’s personnel disembarked for twenty to thirty days and would spend all their money on alcohol, card games and women, which we would offer in our bars.*”³³⁹ Two other Greeks, who were working in Rotterdam’s area, decided to take advantage of the favorable climate and become bar owners Merodoulakis: “*In 1976 I decided to become self-employed and run my own business. I had bars, in the port area. The money was good, but there were risks which in turn were great. There I learned to live by*

³³⁸ Stelios Kokkinos.

³³⁹ S.K

the rules of the underground... and that was a main reason for my divorce.”³⁴⁰ All workers who become bar owners at that period, were eventually involved with the underground of the city and more scarcely were convicted for illegal activities; for that reason, only few people who were bar owners did agreed to speak about that period of their life. Moreover, while their business was extremely profitable, their personal life was affected and their *lumpen* life style has prompted the dissolution of their marriage. In that sense, those Greek’s self-employment attempts may have been contemporary successful, but had no long-term results. Koutsakis: *“After 1970, I opened bars, etc...I really do not want to speak about that...but I did not end with money, I have spent it here and there”*³⁴¹ Actually, Koutsakis economic standard did not dramatically improved because their sub-life style demanded expenses and also their social position worsened more usually after a divorce by their Dutch spouses. One of them lost the right to see his daughter, because of his non-acceptable life, due to his occupation.³⁴² Theodosiou who did risk to a different occupational area, also attached to the port, succeed: *“Since 1973 I have started my own businesses in ships supplies with the help of my wife. I am extremely satisfied about my decision.”*³⁴³ During that time Greek ship supplying companies were thriving in Rotterdam. “Atlas Economic Ship stores” has dominated this market area; the company’s founders were main members of the Greek’s union in the Netherlands since 1947. As the son of a main shareholder of the company, Kokkinos says: *“Feirios was the president, my father’s cousin Helios was the vice president and Stathakis was the main shareholder, this was the synthesis. We were always working exclusively in the Greek shipment sector and our head managers were always Greeks. At that time Greek nautical sector was in its zenith and there was much wealth in our companies. After 1989, there was a big crisis in Greek shipping, the ‘bosses’ were incorporated, the crews have changed .”*³⁴⁴ The shipping supplying market was wide and profitable enough, at least until the end of 1990s that had the potential to employment newcomers, as Theodosiou, who were entering that area in the beginning of the 1980s. The crisis in Greek shipment and generally in the international nautical sector was reported also by a man who worked as a musician in Rotterdam’s bars, until the

³⁴⁰ Stelios Merodoulakis.

³⁴¹ Sarantos Koutsakis.

³⁴² Stelios Merodoulakis.

³⁴³ Giorgos Theodosiou.

³⁴⁴ Stelios Kokkinos.

beginning of the 1990s: *“After 1981, some major international changes happened; ship’s personnel were not purely Greek anymore, it has been replaced by Pakistani and other cheaper sailors and so the cooperation of the Greek personnel was lost. Then the Greek shipment declined.”*³⁴⁵ That is the reason that we identify two main periods of self employment between our interviewees: *“Firstly, the period from 1968 to 1976, when Greek workers started their own business in Rotterdam’s port, a market which lasted until the end of 1990s when they had rights to be pensioned. Secondly, after 1979, Greek workers have been employed in the restaurant sector. A couple of workers in Utrecht created their own business in 1979. “Some friend of us from Kavala urged me to do something of my own. Thank god I did that, and I did the right time before everyone woke up because I made good money; and more, we felt that we were the boss, I did not had “Johann” [the anonymous Dutch men who is supposed to be the supervisor and give orders all time] to yell at me.”*³⁴⁶ According to his words they had the opportunity to be pioneers in the Greek food market, so the competition was still small. Their self employment offered them primarily, economic wealth and also independence from the social majority’s control and oppression. The ideal solution for economic mobility and impartiality from local employers was found in self employment, for a couple that has worked in the Dutch industries for more than a decade. Ntina Bahtsevanidi said: *“After 1979, we made our own business at Hilversum. We named our restaurant “Δελφοι”. It was the third Greek restaurant that has opened in the Netherlands after two which were in Utrecht. We did so well that we worked only for twelve years and then we stopped. We do not have the need to work again.”*³⁴⁷ Thanasis Bahtsevanidis continues: *“I and my wife are now the masters of our life. We bought the building of our shop, that cost us one thousand five hundred guilders per month and we mobilized upward economically and socially... since my 55 year I enjoy life. Today I do the public relations for the Gouda’s tennis club and I have the image of a successful Greek businessman.”*³⁴⁸ In that sense, their economic development, which has enabled them to stop working in an early age, has been followed by their social mobility. The fact that a Greek ex-guest worker is today the public representative for a Dutch health club, which has also the implication of high class constitution ,

³⁴⁵ Aristotle Georgiadis.

³⁴⁶ Thanasis Bahtsevanidis.

³⁴⁷ Ntina Bahtsevanidi.

³⁴⁸ Thanasis Bahtsevanidis.

has been a life's milestone for that man. Along the same lines, his wife confirms their social promotion: *"For my successful involvement with the restaurant business, in 1988, they have called me in a school in Utrecht to make a presentation of my achievements. In the presentation it had been emphasized that I have been a migrant and without knowing the language I have managed to succeed occupationally. My speech has been registered in a book titled: "Hoe leer je dat" and was also transmitted through a local radio station. In that event I have been the only Greek person among twelve "successful" professionals. This was the time that I felt proud and acclaimed for what I have achieved in my life here."*³⁴⁹ As she characteristically points out, their success should be evaluated carefully, taking into account the couple's lack of language knowledge, which she considers a particularly difficult boundary. She has been asked to present their self employment trajectory in the context of Dutch school carrier guidance for its students, so her speech becomes the symbol of their success, which has been official reaffirmed by one of the host country's institution. Moreover, the ex-worker's success as restaurant owners has been registered in a form of written press as also has been transmitted by the radio; those facts were for that woman the epitome of acceptance by the Dutch society, as a result of her family's efforts. Another couple of Greek co ethnics opened their own restaurant business, were the interviews had taking place. The owner of 'de Grote Griek' in Dordrecht said: *"In 1987 I opened my first Greek restaurant in Dordrecht. After three years I opened also a smaller take away with Greek food were my wife and my son work. I have stayed in the restaurant with my daughter. Things have been good for us...we worked seven days a week from morning to night, but we were rewarded, we bought both our shops and we live well all the family. We expand constantly."*³⁵⁰ That couple of Greek workers are still working in their business fifteen years later, on the one hand because all their children were occupied in the family restaurants and did not attend the university or followed another occupational trajectory, on the other hand, it is possible, that their late entrance in the Greek restaurant market in the Netherlands, did not offered them a prodigious economic profit that could make them retire. As an ex restaurant owner in Leiden reports: *"Until 1984, the restaurants business becomes a popular occupation between Greek migrants. People*

³⁴⁹ Ntina Bahtsevanidi.

³⁵⁰ Haris Pertsinidis.

were waiting outside to get in and the owners were becoming rich.”³⁵¹ The lack of competition in the 1990s offered the opportunity to those who entered that ethnic food market to make quick profit. Although Pertsinidis family have known an upward economic mobility, the father’s words reveal a static view of his migration status: “*Before 5 years they forcibly relocated from where I had my restaurant for almost twenty five years...they were making new constructions and then the town plan had in that spatial point an expansion of the train station...so according to them I had to transfer my restaurant in two months after their notification. I did everything I hired the best lawyers, in order to stay to that privileged post that I had bought years ago, but ...nothing changed. They offered me a ridiculous compensation, which was not corresponded to the value of my property...That behavior by the administrations made me wonder, if a Dutch businessman was in my place would they behave to him in the same way? Could, the administrative indifference and intolerance for my problem, be explained by the fact that I was a Greek migrant?*”³⁵² Pertsinidis felt that he has not been confronted by the Dutch state as equal with the social majority; on the contrary he believes that he has been discriminated. In those terms, the family’s social development did not follow their economic mobility as we have seen in the previous case. Georgiadis, who has also entered the market in the middle of the 1990s, attributes his failure in the competition of the Greek restaurant owners: “*I also opened a restaurant in Leiden, in 1986 and kept it for ten years. I cooperated with Dutch businessman, but they treated me as I was inferior to them. They had attitude, because I was a foreigner and I had their need. But, I never had problems with the Dutch; I only had with the Greeks. My own people were jealous to see me making progress...Other restaurant owners were coming to my shop pretending the clients just to spy and see how I was doing; I never felt support from my own people. Even my clients were mostly Dutch.*”³⁵³ Georgiadis did not achieve to make any economic long term change in his life standards and also preserved a bitterness of his failure that restricted him by his co-ethnics. A possible explanation of his failure could focus on the differences between him and the previous cases of self employed Greeks; his previous experience as a musician and his motivation and skills were not appropriate for such a competitive and hard working professional sector. The lack of a spouse and family support –

³⁵¹ Aristotle Georgiadis.

³⁵² Haris Pertsinidis.

³⁵³ Aristotle Georgiadis.

psychological and practical- has been also negative for such an occupational shift. An ingenious *Odysseus*, as he is self identified have found ways to become rich making a canteen in a place which has been commercially deteriorated when he discovered it and visualized his business there: *“When in 1983 I asked at the Town hall a permit to open a canteen in Zeeland it took only three weeks. I worked so well in that job, I was selling tons of potatoes per day and the money were more than satisfying, but what I gained more from my job was social respect and admiration. Everyone come to my canteen and I had the opportunity to show them who I really am...so more than money I made friends, even the mayor of the local village was parking his car out of the canteen and was coming to eat and discuss with me. Every weekend German people were coming in hundreds, I was giving them for free some ouzo from Greece and then...a party was going on. In that shop of mine I become someone to the society, the Greek that they liked to visit, in order to eat and have nice time.”*³⁵⁴ He worked successfully with his Greek wife, until his retirement. He suggests that the most crucial consequence after his self-employment has not been his economic upward mobility and savings; besides, he has already been a well-paid specialized worker. According to Siderakis sayings his success lied in the fact that he has been appreciated for his personality and character and so, in this way he become socially recognizable and accepted. Interactions with the local society combined with economic success were the reasons of his final estimation for the Dutch state confrontation towards him: *“I have been given that opportunity here, and that’s why I appreciate the Dutch state.”*³⁵⁵ On the contrary, when the Greeks self-employment attempts were involving Greek administrations and authorities the result has been disappointing: *“What we have achieved we did it only with our own powers. What did the Greek state give to us? We had no support and that is why we had no coherence and cooperation between us. I tried in 1979, to organize a collective Greek business, a supermarket with Greek imported products. We managed everything required (paperwork) here in Holland in ten days. When we started to prepare paperwork for the Greek state we found insuperable obstacles, it was impossible. We all, one after the other gave up’”*³⁵⁶ Koutsakis efforts to start an import business of Greek food products in the Netherlands gave him the opportunity to compare the two state’s necessary procedures and conditions for the start of an import business; his

³⁵⁴ Giannis Siderakis.

³⁵⁵ Giannis Siderakis.

³⁵⁶ Sarantos Koutsakis.

conclusions has been absolutely disappointing from his home land. A bar owner has also tried to establish an import-export business between Greece and the Netherlands, but the result has been identical with the previous case: *“I wanted to start a spare parts importing company, but I could not find a legal easy way to do that. The authorities tried to cheat me and take my money; the responsible authorities in the Trade Ministry (In Greece) were asking me for bribes.”*³⁵⁷ Once more, it has been pointed out that whenever the Greek migrants undertook a business plan depended on Greece’s administrations, that simply did not have been completed, due to the lack and inefficiency of organizational structures or the administrative representative’s attempts to deceive them.

Half of the Greek workers we analyzed started their own business in the period 1968 to 1987. Common place, of the Greek self employed in the Netherlands during 1968 to 1987, has been the assumption that the host’s country opportunities structures have assisted in an administrative level their self employment attempts. The Netherlands favorable environment for occupational development of the Greek migrant’s has been a restriction in a possible return in their homeland.

7. Repatriation

*‘You come for one year...and finally you stay forever’*³⁵⁸

Although all the interviewees admit that they had always vision their return home, only five among them have attempted in a point of their life to the Netherlands to repatriate; all except one have returned back in the Netherlands. *I have made an attempt to return in 1977. I stayed five years and then I came back. I worked in three different jobs, as night guard, in the tourist sector, in the fields...in the end I had an argument with my own brother and I left again. The conditions in Greece are inhuman; even if you work hard you do not get a reward.”*³⁵⁹ The comparison between the employment opportunities of the two countries has been come to an end on behalf of the host land. Greece’s unemployment, which has been an endogenous element of the country’s

³⁵⁷ S.K.

³⁵⁸ Panagiotis Mitropoulos.

³⁵⁹ Giannis Sotirakis.

economic history, has been the primer suspending factor for his permanent stay in Greece. In his words there is also an implication for a family dispute, which he does not clarify. Another man who has tried to repatriate has been more explicate about his experience: *“When in 1982 I decided to return I was completely disappointed – “Lend me some money and I will give it back soon”: I never saw anything. I stayed for a year and I spent money that I had collected for a decade in Holland. I decided that I had nothing to share with anyone in Greece, I was a stranger and I came back after a year and a half.”*³⁶⁰ He has felt stranger in his own birth land, because people that he has been familiar with in the past, changed their attitude towards him and his wife and have tried to exploit them. As he continues: *“I always remember myself sending remittances to my family back home. Every month I was sending to my father five hundred guilders to place them in an account. When my sister got married I had to send a big sum for her dowry. But my father instead of keeping the money in a bank he gave it to my brother to build a house. I was afraid that Greek State will take my father’s land because I had migrated but in the end it was my family that cheated me. I finally ended up with no inheritance, not even the family house, in the sense that I was the older son. My family thought of me as a money source, nothing else, along with my relatives and old friends from the village. I went once in 1977 back to the village and I bought for all the family members’ expensive presents, kitchen, refrigerator etc... I spent four hundred thousand drachmas [One thousand four hundred euro]. When the merchant saw all that cash he offered me to give me (to marry)... I was 33 then... his daughter who was only sixteen years old! The people were poor and saw immigrants as money”.*³⁶¹ Immigrants were confronted as wealthy back home; remittances and the ‘myth’ of their prosperity - as it has been cultivated by the migrants themselves to prove their success - were factors that enhanced that approach. As a result, there were cases when economic differences consequently created family disputes. While, that worker has been supportive to all his family’s needs, he has been disappointed by the feeling of isolation and exploitation by his own father and close family members. After that, the family ties have been ruptured and the way back to the Netherlands become the most natural option. Koutsakis wife confirms: *“We attempted to return home to Greece. It’s a strange feeling; you are a stranger to your family and to your relatives. I felt that*

³⁶⁰ Sarantos Koutsakis.

³⁶¹ Sarantos Koutsakis.

what we shared before was now gone; I was suspicious that they were looking at me as a stranger. I had started to make company with women which were not local, Greek or others who were migrants there. I understood their problems as I have gone through the same troubles, to be unwelcome, to not know the language. I did not feel comfortable, I had changed, I'm happy that we came back here (the Netherlands), it is my home now."³⁶² With a shift in family bonds also her self-definition changed. Primarily, she felt that she could not trust her 'blood bonded' family. Additionally, she realized that she had a different approach for 'foreigners' in her homeland, with whom she could share the same 'difficult' experiences of being a minority in a society. That shift has been decisive for returning in the Netherlands, where they both identified as their country after twenty five years of stay. That Greek couple's confession constitutes evidence that migrants ethnic identification depends on the bonds they share in a place; when those close bonds change, respectively their ethnic identity change. As long, that couple had the vision of a familiar, trustful and beloved environment in Greece, repatriation seemed ideal; when they experienced that this was an illusion and that they were seen as strangers, they realized that they did not consider that place as 'home' anymore. A similar experience of the idea of 'home' change and adjustment after a repatriation attempt has been narrated by Pertsinidis: *"In 1969, I made an attempt to go back home, but when I got ill and experienced the situation in the hospitals and the health sector, I decided not to do so, we came back...I also found it annoying that people were coming up to us to whine and had pathetic behavior...maybe they wanted help, but I felt strange. I thought I would be happy there, but I felt like a stranger... I had gotten used to the Dutch way of life.*"³⁶³ That man made an early attempt to repatriate, only four years after his immigration from Greece; nevertheless, he could not adjust again to his homeland. After his experience to the Netherlands' social insurance and health care system, Greece's reality was interpreted by him as primitive and made him feel insecure for his family's future in Greece. Additionally, he also reports a ravenous attitude by his kinship and friends back home. Pertsinidis describes his contemporary definition for 'home': *"Home can be everywhere now. In the years gone by we would travel by train and then in our car to Greece. Now we take the plane and we can be in our village in four hours. My job is here and my home is there. Modern day*

³⁶² Maria Koutsaki.

³⁶³ Haris Pertsinidis.

transportation brings your country everywhere.”³⁶⁴ After he realized that his stay in the Netherlands is permanent his nostalgia and vision for ‘home’ changed. ‘Country’, according to him, is not static but follows someone’s life cycle and conditions. Today, he is able to travel in Greece for as long he wishes and return in the family business obligations and the usual routine of his Dutch life. Dutch modern state’s structures and norms have been a significant reason of adjustment for the Greek migrants of the 1960s, as that element was exactly what they have been deprived from during their past in Greece. As a consequence, the lack of order and law implementation in Greece caused despondency for their return. S.K. complains: *“I have attempted to go back to Greece to live four times in my life but the Greek state betrayed me once more. Nothing has changed since I first left.*”³⁶⁵ S.K., who has left from his homeland in his nineteen years deprived from the right to study and work, due to his father’s political orientation, repeats his disappointment and bitterness for Greece’s state unacceptable confrontation towards its citizens. Greek authorities have tried to excerpt money, as a bribe for the completion of usual bureaucracy proceedings. *“After that I realized that the best I had to do is to stay here in the winter and travel as a Dutch tourist in Greece from spring to autumn.”*³⁶⁶ S.K. is defined as Dutch because he has used his citizenships rights in the host country. *“In 1972, I renounced my Greek citizenship and I took a Dutch one.”*³⁶⁷ He has consciously adapted a Dutch identity and accepted his permanent residency in the Netherlands; Greece becomes vacation’s destination. The same disappointment from the homeland has been repellent for repatriation: *“In Greece I am disappointed by the state. Here the laws are enforced with no exceptions. Why should I ever go back?”*³⁶⁸ Acculturation in the Netherlands and familiarity with the host land life model has been the reason for return for a man who went back in Greece to stay with his brothers, but came back after one year. *In 1981, my brother came in the Netherlands in order to ask me to go back home with him and stay near our family. I was then in a bad situation,...my previous life in Rotterdam’s night has cost me my reputation, I have been incarcerated...my wife has left me and took my daughter with her...my brother come to ‘collect’ me back to my roots in order to feel*

³⁶⁴ Haris Pertsinidis.

³⁶⁵ S.K.

³⁶⁶ S.K.

³⁶⁷ S.K.

³⁶⁸ Giannis Serakis.

safe. I went with him and stayed to Thessaloniki. I had an easy life, but after a while I started to realize I did not like that life, it was different than what I have used to...I liked Netherlands freedoms and tolerance, so I came back, that is my home now.”³⁶⁹ Merodoulakis integration in the Netherlands has been decisive enough to change his life view.

Interviewees admit that although they always had the return in their mind, they never really attempt it. Moraitis: *“You always think a return. I spend now long periods in Greece with my sister and my brother, it easy to be with them and then come back here where my grandchildren are. To stay in Greece permanently...no, it is difficult now. Here I have the confidence of medical treatment, the security of the Health System. They do not leave anyone in the street here; social security has its tentacles everywhere.”*³⁷⁰ Dutch Welfare privileges are once more pointed out as main reason for return’s cancellation; especially the Health care system is very significant depending on people’s age. Moraitis advanced age justifies his insecurity for Greece’s public Health sector, which is far less operational and organized than the Dutch one. Additionally, changes in life cycle, as the birth of grandchildren in the family have also functioned as push factors for the return in Greece. Especially, for traditional Greek men, family’s coherence and support becomes a priority as we have already analyzed. Mitropoulos: *“You come for one year, after you say some while more and finally you stay forever. It was not possible for me to return; as soon as the children went to school I was trapped. Then, the son got married, the grandchildren arrived, the pension...The dream has gone. Now every day I have a mission; I go with the buss, I take the young one (grandchild) from school, I bring him home, to his grandmother. Here he eats, sleeps, plays and his parents are taking him late in the afternoon when he is supposed to go to bed. On Fridays nights we keep them both here, so my son and his wife can have some rest.”*³⁷¹ That phrase, ‘you come for one year...and finally you stay forever’ has been repetitive during all the research period by the majority of the Greek migrants. What Mitropoulos describes as his own ‘trap’ away from his dream, his return, is more a vision that kept his idea for his home country alive, than a realistic motivation. According to his words, every step in his life cycle ‘captured’ him more in the Netherlands. The most decisive fact has

³⁶⁹ Stelios Merodoulakis.

³⁷⁰ Christos Moraitis.

³⁷¹ Panagiotis Mitropoulos.

been the birth of his descendants whom he traditionally take care seven days per week, as if he would do if he was living still in Greece.

Changes in life cycle caused respectively changes in priorities and decisions. Tracing migrants of the 1960s in the Netherlands who have repatriated in Greece was not a main goal of that research, but I interviewed in Greece someone who belongs in that category. Polyhronakis had migrated since 1967, when he was eighteen years old - since he had been arrested as a high school student - mainly for political reasons. He worked and studied, became a social worker and got married to a second generation Greek girl in the Netherlands. In 1980, when his children were near the age of primary school the couple have decided to return in Greece, because: *“The main reason for my return was that, when the children were in the school age we have decided that we preferred for them to take the Greek education. I was working then- in 1981- in the Netherlands as a social worker. I had no support or motive to return to the Greek state, only the right to bring a car without taxation and one household. In the beginning I was shocked, I found a job in the Municipality and the salary was one tenth comparing at my last salary in the Netherlands...but in the end I did not regret it. Quality of life is deferent here, better“*. Children’s education has been a significant factor for Greek migrant’s decisions, on the eve or not in a country.³⁷² Polyhronakis and his wife have chosen to go back in Grete estimating that Greek curriculum,- which generally includes ancient Greek history, language and philosophy, for the first high school years in all occupational directions- would be more appropriate for their children’s education. After 1981, Papandreou’s socialist government has shown an increased interest on Greeks repatriation mainly from Europe. As Polyhronakis testified Greece’s repatriation policies were limited, in the point of free tax import of primer goods and there were not any essential measures for the re-integration of the immigrants in their home land, in the level of occupation, education etch. Daily wages comparison between the two countries is a natural consequence for a repatriate. What is mentionable in Polyhronakis case is that although his salary has been reduced ten percentage points his final assessment for his movement back home has been positive. ‘Quality of life’ has been evaluated as more important than economic mobility. However, the lack of propitious policies for repatriation from the homeland and the

³⁷² Manolis Polyhronakis.

hostland has averted Greek's return. As we assessed before; all levels of structural integration are inextricably connected, so our conclusions should be based on that interdependency.

Observations

Eight among sixteen workers pledged to intermarriage. The group's main characteristics, i.e. the relatively small size and mainly male composition of the group, were the primary reasons that enhanced the high intermarriage patterns. Spatial factors were decisive for the marriage choices of the workers. Rotterdam was a center of international interaction and acculturation; its specific 'libertine' life style in the 1960s altered the Greek workers' ethnic traditional identities and stimulated mixed marriages. The migrants' spatial dispersion through the urban space played a reinforcing role to the previous intersecting marriage pattern. In Utrecht or Dordrecht we found only endogamy trajectories. Previous urban experience of the workers had an impact on their marriage choices. Seven among nine mixed marriages were made by workers with previous urban experience in Greece. Moreover, it was also related to the occupation of the workers. All the seamen of our sample group, who were more familiar with alternative urban spaces by visiting countries and ports, married a Dutch spouse. Religion orientation has been significant as well. While the progressive part of the workers makes 1/3 of the group, as we notice, a higher percentage was married with a Dutch spouse. Two 'loyal' orthodox married a Dutch wife, because they were seamen and their rare social connections, outside of their occupation, took place exclusively in Rotterdam. In those cases religious filters were implemented. Five out of eight intermarriages had the precondition of religious affinity; those workers selected Catholics spouses in order to secure a traditional marriage context. Consequently, considering mixed marriage we cannot argue about a clear assimilative indication, but rather about the result of a selective acculturation. That argument is reinforced by the detected problems between mixed couples. The adherence of Greek men to the traditional nuclear, patriarchic model resulted in marriage problems: two out of eight marriages ended for such reasons. Paradoxically, religious orthodox conservation was detected in the second generation of mixed marriages in which the mother was not religiously orientated. This phenomenon associates with the combination of a

strong religious tradition from the father's side and the lack of a respective orientation from the mother. Moreover, the analysis showed that in six between eight mixed marriages, there was a direct and insistent opposition on behalf of the Dutch woman's family, which ended in the total restriction of the couple from the kinship of the local woman. Although, the previous finding does not invalidate the assimilative action of mixed marriages, the restriction by Dutch families must be considered as a boundary to the mobility of the Greeks. One among the workers refers to strategic reasons behind his mixed marriage, because as a single person he had difficulties with administrative and bureaucratic procedures. Political orientation was further indicative for the worker's marriages and interrelates with the moral values of religion. Endogamy marriages were mainly made by the conservative nationalist part of the group; five out of eight were settled by matchmaking.

The perseverance of the ethnic language was promoted by ten out of fifteen couples. For the ethnic couples, Greek language's maintenance was more important, as those couples presented a higher ethnic and conservative identification than the mixed ones. Ethnic couple's belief that their staying in the Netherlands would be temporary enhanced their efforts to preserve the mother tongue to the descendants, for the case of a return in Greece. Four workers with Dutch spouses interpreted the Greek language as an obstacle to the children's integration and social development. That fact indicates the men's gradual retreat in ethnic identity matters, mainly for defensive reasons. The interrelation of the two languages was competitive during the children's first school years, but normalized afterwards. The university attendance and occupational assimilation was high for all children. For mixed couples the intergenerational integration regarding educational and university attendance has been clearly unobstructed. On the one hand, this is because the children were raised with the mother tongue of the host country and, on the other, because the Dutch spouses were able to introduce their descendants 'naturally' in the Dutch educational and wider social system. Additionally, the lack of family-ethnic business enhanced the need for university attendance for children of mixed marriages. While the ethnic couple's social isolation and regression formed a negative precondition for the children's integration, the latter's educational and occupational trajectories turned out equally successful. Exceptions were only two cases due to familial business operation.

Cultural antithetical dualities of a traditional religious Greek and a non-traditional modernized Dutch culture were formed in the level of language, religion, values, attitudes and mentality, family life and children's upbringing, institutional adaptation. The acculturation of the non-worker studying Greek migrants to the Netherlands revealed the significance of social and economic status. Two upper class Greek women with knowledge of the language have finally fully accepted and adapted to the host culture and their new way of life. While higher social class migrants had the opportunity to interact with local people, the workers have not been accepted. That observation highlights that acculturation should be studied through a two direction project; the migrant's and respectively the host societies approaching actions. The acculturation of the workers reflected their occupational evolution and political orientation. After some primary attempts to social interaction were disappointed, five seamen and nine industrial workers developed a grade of defensive mechanism and restricted their interaction with Dutch colleagues and their families. Their protected labor environment, either absolutely ethnic in the case of the shipment sector, or in a factory, permitted them a typical selective acculturation towards the locals. The workers mostly interacted with co-ethnics and less with other migrant minorities. Those four who were self-employed promoted clientele relations with the majority and kept their interaction to a formal level. Only one ethnic couple whose economic and social upward mobility has been significant referred to acculturation to the Dutch society. The point in which all the members of the group were strongly culturally influenced by the Dutch was the level of institutional adaptation. Considering the Greek people's common vulnerable background, the social and political *consensus* in the host country attributed to a sense of stability and security, and promoted their productivity and economic development. Six 'progressive' workers diversified their approach towards Dutch institutional adaptation; they decoded the adaptation of Dutchmen to their state and policies, without any criticism, as a lack of political spirit and indifference for social protests and fights. However, those reactions to Dutch's institutional adaptation did not impact the general respect for the administrative function of the host state.

All interviewees confirmed that the strong welfare state favored Greek workers. Two out of eight self-employed refer to the Dutch administrative efficiency and organization as the key point of their occupational success. Admittedly, general motives to self-employment were their economic

upward mobility and their need for independence from the host local market and employers. Main stimuli were social acceptance through a successful career. None of them has been unemployed. Those who became self-employed in the period 1968 to 1987 can be grouped in two main categories, depending on the market sector in which they have been employed, the period, the place and the character of the business. Spatial factors were also significant. Four out of eight, who had been workers in Rotterdam's port area, attempted to take advantage of that area's 'golden period' in the 1970s and 1980s. They started businesses like bars, and ship supplier companies. Leisure and shipment sectors were not addressed exclusively by Greek customers, but were depending on them. One who becomes a shipment entrepreneur succeeds in his goal for economic security. On the contrary, those who were involved with Rotterdam's port leisure market did not achieve their goal in the long term. The unstable and socially ineligible way of life of that occupational area did not allow them to make any savings. In that sense, their self-employment movement cannot be assessed positively, as it has not been the reason for the workers social mobilization. The ethnic food market has been equally important for the workers occupational upgrading. A second group of immigrant entrepreneurs mobilized in a later period, between 1979 and 1987, and is composed by three couples of Greek workers and one single man, who had worked until then as an entertainer. They all started their business in Utrecht, Dordrecht and Zeeland, which was favorable for family business. The presentation of traditional Greek culture, esthetic and hospitality through their food business took the character of a 'Greek self-identification project' in the host society; those ethnic 'products' become the secret of their commercial success. Moreover, family character and operation of their business was very important. In the sole case of the musician, who became an immigrant entrepreneur when competition in the ethnic food market had become too high, the economic goals have not been achieved, as he had no family support. Successful occupational mobility promoted the Greeks integration in the host society, where they felt accepted for the cultural elements that characterized them. At the same time, a new entrepreneur identity for a part of the group nurtured competitions among the Greeks.

Although return to the homeland has been a common dream for all the interviewees, eight out of twenty made an attempt to repatriate; seven of them returned to the Netherlands. Only one

remained in Greece. He evaluated the Greek educational system as more important for his children than the employment adversities he confronted there. The lack of labor opportunities and low wages in Greece were reported as dissuasive for two worker's repatriation attempts. Moreover, the phase of their life cycle determined their decision to remain in the Netherlands; grandchildren's birth and care have been repellent agents for the repatriation of two Greeks'. Three referred to the absence of welfare formation in Greece and, more specifically, the health care system and social security. For two, who belonged to the 'pursued' part of the group, the structure of the state, the confrontation with contemptuous citizens and administrative corruption in Greece caused insecurity and disappointment. The research of Greeks' lapsed attempts of repatriation revealed a high grade of acculturation to the Dutch life style. This was not clear by the comparison between the different core elements of the two cultures, as we have traced them by their own words. Four out of six who returned in Greece felt 'strangers' and realized that their bonds with their family and kinship had fundamentally changed. Their 'home' and self-definition had shifted considering that they returned to the Netherlands where they felt in their 'own country'. Two of them argued that modern easiness of transportation has given them the possibility to travel to Greece for vacation only. All of the interviewees divide the annual period between Greece in the spring and summer months and in the Netherlands for the rest of the time. Analysis revealed similar trajectories between 'progressives' and 'conservatives' in relation with intergenerational development. It is mentionable that the progressive group members did not present social and economic mobility through occupational shifts. That fact confirms that economic mobility was not a priority in the progressives' motivations and goals to migrate to the Netherlands.

Chapter IV.

Institutional Politics, Rotterdam and Utrecht.

Greek's institutional and self organizing-formal and informal actions in the Netherlands is the theme of the fourth chapter. The church and its role in Greek's community are presented first. School formation, its significance and control is following. Three main tendencies – nationalists, progressive and non active - and their political actions are analyzed in the end. Did the workers have had access to the Orthodox Church? Which has been the role of the Greek school for their identification? How were the group's internal political differences expressed through the population's institutionalization and which were the differences between Rotterdam and Utrecht? How the grade of class and political consciousness has been 'translated' in terms of political activism and when it resulted to leadership? To what extend those diversities determined the character of the 'naturalized' organizations after 1974?

Greek Church's political and social role.

The identification of the Greek national status with Orthodoxy has been reflected in Greek migrant units' behavior abroad. 'Religious nationalism';³⁷³ is the major characteristic of Orthodoxy.³⁷⁴ In the analysis I do not focus on the religious, but on the political and social roles of the church in the host land, according to church's confrontation towards the migrant workers, since their arrival in 1962-64. During the first formal meeting of the old Greek union *Enosis* in 1946 Netherlands, the president of the constituent assembly emphasized the role of god in union's formation and announced the establishment of an orthodox church and a Greek school.³⁷⁵ *Enosis* has been composed mainly by post war wealthy shipping company's holders, ship feeders and successful businessmen. Consequently the union represented the 'high class'

³⁷³ A definition that has been used by Bishop Meletios for the ideological convergence between the State and the Church. Το οικογενειακό Βήμα, Φεβρουάριος 1979, Μαρία-Εύα Θεοδορίδου, 'Η Μικρασιατική Ελληνική μειονότητα στο Παρίσι.' In: F. Ανθία-Ayres, et al., *Ελληνική Διασπορά στη Δυτική Ευρώπη*, 197.

³⁷⁴ Greek Revolution (1821), the Great Idea (1844-1922) and the consequent wars of 1897, 1912-13 were based spiritually in the coalition of orthodoxy and national identity.

³⁷⁵ Theodoridis, *Kroniek van de Vereniging van Grieken*, 15.

Greeks in the country; it has been an offensive organization that, due to its member's high social position, has chosen to be ethnically and religiously distinguished. *Agios Nikolaos* in Rotterdam, named after the sailor's protector, has been the first church that operated since 1957, owned and controlled by *Enosis*.³⁷⁶ Church's possession of the old group established dichotomies between the latter and the New Greek group; as identification will be considered as the matrix of the conservative Greek status in the Netherlands. *Enosis* nationalistic spirit, as this has been reflected in the union's original statute³⁷⁷, has been transferred in the temple's interior. The left wing angiography of the church's temple depicts a small boat in a rough sea. In the boat, Jesus, accompanied his disciples, saves from the sea a sailor.³⁷⁸ That image, referring to Odysseus, combines Christianity and antiquity as a continuum and suggests the 'rescuing' role of Orthodox Church for Greek sailors and migrants. On a broader level, the painting highlights Greek orthodox spiritual and enlighten role in a 'materialistic' Western society. The church has been a main social 'space' for co-ethnics and thus the contact point for our research meetings. Ten out of twenty-one interviewees belongs to the regular body of the Sunday liturgy attendees since their arrival in the Netherlands almost fifty years before. Unique *Agios Nikolaos* – until Utrecht's church establishment in 1987 - has symbolized for those sailors and workers their main bond with their homeland. Kakomanolis: *"My only contact with my compatriots was the church; I always was there, near the church. Until now, the church kept me alive."*³⁷⁹ It preserved their religious spirituality. For Kakomanolis, Church attendance embodied an imaginary homeland and enhanced his bonds with his compatriots. *"For me and my wife, church kept us in one place."*³⁸⁰ The religious 'place' fostered links with the homeland and supported psychologically the Greek couple's migration struggle. For another 'conservative' worker, church- as a main language conserver- maintained for the second generation Greek identity: *"Every Sunday we were coming to Agios Nikolaos. We always paid some contribution for the school and for the church's conservation. That is where, our children learned "Πιστενω" and "Πάτερ Ημών" ("I*

³⁷⁶ After 1969 it belonged administrative in Belgium Bishopric and respectively, in Constantinople's ecumenical patriarchate's jurisdiction. The 'owners' of the church are represented to a marble plaque in the temple, see: Appendix II.

³⁷⁷ *Enosis* supreme goal has been the preservation of Greekness, in: Theodoridis, *Kroniek van de Vereniging van Grieken*, 16, 17.

³⁷⁸ Work of A.Liakos, see: Appendix II.

³⁷⁹ Manolis Kakomanolis.

³⁸⁰ Panagiotis Mitropoulos.

believe in God the Apostles Creed from the Bible and Lord's Prayer). We were saying those prayers all together".³⁸¹ Familial and respectively ethnic coherence has been implied as church's contribution to the immigrants' life. The parochial but also the clergy personnel have been the interviewee's center of reference. Mitropoulos: *"I always go to church every Sunday. The Bishop is a good man, he is a humanist."*³⁸² Mitropoulos who has been the temple's keeper for decades continues: *"I was helping always every Sunday and today I am a verger in the church voluntarily. I cooperated with Maximos all my life. This man was running everywhere in ships, in houses... we were visiting sick people; we were going to jails."*³⁸³ Mitropoulos focus on the clergy's philanthropic service, which has been exclusively psychological for the immigrants and has no brokerage service sense.

Maritsa Dimitopoulou, a main member of the old Greek group in the Netherlands, confirmed: *"I have been an active member of "Enosis" in Rotterdam mostly in the sector of philanthropy. As members of the church's parish we were gathered, - only the wives of old Greek men who were wealthy - and we were planning our actions under Maximos guidance. Once in a month we were helping our poor compatriots who were labor migrants. Maximos was coming with us and we visited hospitals and institutions to support the Greeks who had problems."*³⁸⁴ Church's services have been convergent to the old group's image promotion, in a sense of the upper wealthy class' philanthropy to the proletariat. In those terms, church's actions supported temporarily the workers in a psychological level, but in a long term promoted the group's competition and conflict. Church access and monopoly from the prewar group becomes a matter of prestige and class distinction. Dimitopoulou clearly differentiate 'wealthy we' and 'poor them' in her words. *"The Greeks in the Netherlands were then aristocrats. I have met in a social event the professor of Leiden University Sofia Antoniadou, a noble woman, a personality like our Virgin Mary in appearance but also in feelings. She was the spirit of the old Greek union in Rotterdam."*³⁸⁵

³⁸¹ Haralampos Artoglou.

³⁸² Christos Moraitis.

³⁸³ Panagiotis Mitropoulos.

³⁸⁴ Maritsa Dimitopoulou.

³⁸⁵ *Multiversiteit' in de 20e eeuw, Sophia Antoniadis hoogleraar Griekse en letterkunde 1929-1955*, in: <http://www.historie.leidenuniv.nl/historisch-museum/tentoonstelling/sinds-1575/20e-eeuw-de-universiteit-wordt-multiversiteit.html> and *Sophia Antoniadis: De Eerste vrouw in een mannenbolwerk*, in: <http://www.mareonline.nl/arx/lustrum/22.html> (last access 4-7-2013).

*“When the Greek migrants came in country we understood a change in people’s attitude... they considered them as wretches.”*³⁸⁶ A clear status distinction between the ‘aristocrats’ prewar Greeks and the post war ‘wretches’ working class has been formed by the latter. Although, half of the research sample has been selected by the church attendees, in the purpose to reveal the conservative approach among the working class, interviewees revealed that all workers, including liberals and communists, have attempted to link with the church. A bond with the Orthodox Church has been instrumental for the Greek immigrants. On the one hand, church - especially in a homogenous religion culture - has been the main linkage with the homeland. On the other hand, church as a public space promotes the community position and possibly provides opportunities for upward mobility (occupational links, prestige etc.) Has Rotterdam’s church fulfilled its dialectic social mission as a brokerage between the immigrant’s two groups or moreover, the host society and the worker’s group? Pertsinidis: *“Father Maximos was the priest at our marriage and at my children’s baptisms. In the beginning I went to church but ...I did not like that the church and the old Greek community in the Netherlands had no respect and never accepted us. I am conservative by family, but for them I am no more than a worker.”*³⁸⁷ Although, he clearly declares his traditional religious and national loyalty, he interprets the church’s confrontation as a rejection promoted by the old group’s demands for Class demarcation. Workers underestimation by the church has been pointed out as the main problem, by a musician who participated voluntarily as a professional to *Enosis* festivities. *“Enosis”, not directly but through Maximos [the priest who was responsible in 1960s and 1970s] asked us the musicians to play for them in various festivities for free. We were playing usually in Saint Nickolas name day, in the front yard of the temple and it was one of the times that all Greek community in the Netherlands was present. This was my way to help the church but I did not want to have other affiliations with “Enosis” because they did not respect us”.*³⁸⁸ Worker’s money donations for the temple’s restorations have not been sufficient to ensure acceptance by the Greek status. In that way requested social membership through the church has been refused to the new comers. Papadopoulos: *“Since the day I stepped my foot in this country I asked for a church. I have supported that church with personal work, but no one ever respected that or*

³⁸⁶ Maritsa Dimitopoulou.

³⁸⁷ Haris Pertsinidis.

³⁸⁸ Aristotle Georgiadis.

recognizes my offer. When in the 1980s they had to replace the bell I paid for that also. Even today I give to the church a monthly amount from my pension ... The administration of the church does not approve me or consider my offers. I remember all the time, the priest had conflicts with the 'Enosis' group; he also looked at his interests. Today I am – voluntarily- the cashier of the "Enosis". No one nevertheless recognize my support".³⁸⁹ Acceptance, recognition and respect are the key words repeated by the workers. Working class position, the post-war immigration, and their lack of an extensive social family network in the host country have been reasons for their exclusion from the church, in the sense, of real membership and participation to decisions and benefits. Moraitis complains that although, his religious identification and church attendance has not been followed by his membership in 'Enosis; his religious consciousness has kept him loyal. Moraitis: *"There is no connection though between the two administrations. I mean the church administration and the old "Enosis". In older times, I did not even know that there was a Greek union in Rotterdam, it was "closed". The administrations have not achieved to abridge, so we could be more united...Although I always go to the church..."*³⁹⁰ The 'closed' character of *Enosis* has been confirmed by the union's current president, Maria Aggelidou Rohar: *"Enosis" have never been a community, in the sense of a Greek migrant's center. "Enosis" belonged always in the old group of Greeks, who were here before the War and they also owned and had the responsibility for the operation of our church. "Enosis" always paid by the groups own expenses all the needs of the church, - we never took any subsidy by the Dutch state- and also financed the priests and the school teacher's salaries."*³⁹¹ Greek workers, who have identified with their religion, have been rejected as non-church members, because the church has been established by the older group, in which they did not have access. Church's control has been the point of competence among the two class diverse Greek groups. Tzavos: *"In the beginning I was attending the church often in order to keep close to my people, but "Enosis" was only interested to take money or economic help, on the pretext that they were the representatives of the Greeks here. Which Greeks? They never wanted us. They never come to our feasts, they found us plebs, and we could not go to theirs...it was unbelievable expensive to get in. "Enosis" wanted to dominate, their role was of that of a higher class, distinctive from*

³⁸⁹ Haralampos Papadopoulos.

³⁹⁰ Christos Moraitis.

³⁹¹ Maria Aggelidou Rohar.

ours.”³⁹² In the same realm with the previous workers, Tzavos defines the church as concordant with the old group and as such, not genuinely accessible for the workers. Moreover, the workers voice their sense of criticism with regards to the ‘old’ hierarchy (church and *Enosis*) specifically in the point of a ravenous tendency towards them: “*I was disappointed by the church too. Who built that church? Enosis? Every time I came back to the port of Rotterdam from a bark in a Greek ship I gave fifty guildens for Saint Nickolas, we all did, it was imposed by our boss, Onassis and Niarhos. The captains gave much more than that. When it was built and finished they did the inauguration, nobody invited us, and it was the church of Enosis, not ours. They did not even put a plaque to monument our offer. In the one they have put outside they commemorate all others, Greek and Dutch rich people or politicians, but not the poor Greek sailor. The sailor made that church but we have no place in there.*”³⁹³ Since 1955, an agreement between the Greek ambassador in the Netherlands and Greek ship-owners, decided the obligatory contribution of fifty gulden, for every ship that was embarking in the Dutch port under Greek flag, for the construction of the temple. Additionally, Theoharidis, the commander of the Port Authority, imposed the contribution of forty gulden for all Greek sailors, for the same reason.³⁹⁴ Sailor’s and captain’s economic ‘aid’ has been continued until 1983, when ‘it has unfortunately, been terminated’ - as it has been expressed by the writer of *Enosis* chronicle, regardless union’s reactions.³⁹⁵ Ship owners have cooperated with all Greece’s post-civil war rightwing oppressive governments, especially, the dictatorships (1936-1940), (1967-1974), in order to suppress sailor’s unionism and their existing rights. The coalition of the ship owners, with the status quo, as it pre-existed in Greece,³⁹⁶ has been implemented in the Greek community in the Netherlands. Yambannis in his autobiography suggests that ship chandler’s *Enosis* member’s prosperity has been the result of ships catering over costing, the difference of which was reaped by them.³⁹⁷ In that sense, *Enosis*, the church, and the higher hierarchy of the naval authorities in Rotterdam have been arrayed opposite the workers and the sailors establishing a political and social

³⁹² Eleutherios Tzavos.

³⁹³ Sarantos Koutsakis.

³⁹⁴ Greek sailor’s contribution is referred in a *memoratum* plaque in Agios Nikolaos .see Appendix II.

³⁹⁵ Theodore I.Theodoridis, *Kroniek van de Vereniging van Grieken in Nederland (1946-1996)*, (Utrecht, 1996) 20, 21.

³⁹⁶ Glogg, *A Concise History of Greece*, 131.

³⁹⁷ Yambannis, *Οι αναμνησεις ενος ναυτεργατη*, 71.

controversy. Polyhronakis: *“The church was private; it has been made by Stathakis family-they were ship owners and feeders- the same people that formatted the Union “Enosis”. When Stathakis died Maximos came from the Patriarchate of Constantinople to do personally the burial ceremony. I never had any contact with those”*.³⁹⁸ Polyhronakis implies that the church and the old union formed a distinguish class in which workers had no position. S.K. criticism becomes more specific: *“Enosis and the “shipsantides” [greeklish paraphrase for the ship suppliers] had become rich because they were stealing from the ship owners. I did not want to have any relation to or with them; they also did the church prive. Later there were rumors that the Church Committee stole the money that Greek migrants had contributed to the church through a covenant. People like Stathakis, Orfanoudakis, Gigkas, they “straddled the pole”, and appropriated the church. We all had to be present in the church for marriages, baptisms, celebrations, but... I gradually stopped going after a while. Actually, all those people did not love religion or the church; they just used their titles for favoritism and clientele services. This was in conflict with Hellenism, especially with us, the outsiders ...we got really disappointed”*.³⁹⁹ S.K. also interprets *Enosis* and church as a unified body and criticizes the involvement with economic scandals. He concludes that the church has been used for political and economic reasons in favor of the privileged oligarchy that had access at the top of hierarchy. Church’s privatization and simultaneously, the worker’s mandatory participation in religion rituals have formed a dead end for the workers, who identify as ‘outsiders’ of Hellenism, in the frame of a religious institution, which is supposed to be ‘open’ to all by definition. For the mixed marriage couples things have been problematic. Until 1982, when civil marriage was recognized in Greece, religious orthodox marriage was obligatory. It seems that this was used by the church as a political mechanism. Babalidis: *“The church and the union (Enosis) were controlling us in many ways, mainly with the religious ceremonies. ... In 1970, I got married to my Dutch wife. We got married to the town hall. When my daughter Kalliopi was born they named her bastard because we did not have been married religiously.”*⁴⁰⁰ Political marriage was not acceptable for Greece’s administrations and orthodox marriage ceremonies had the precondition of orthodox

³⁹⁸ Manolis Polyhronakis.

³⁹⁹ S.K.

⁴⁰⁰ Lambros Babalidis.

embracement on behalf of the Dutch spouse.⁴⁰¹ In that way, Orthodox Church controlled all the significant life points of Greek migrants and imposed them to follow the traditional rules; particularly those who were considered liberal through their marriage and life choices. Moreover, criticism about clerical commercialism is present. Sotirakis: *“When I got married, the Greek priest in charge to marry us asked me to persuade her to be baptized. I thought that this was not right and we just got married in the town hall as the Dutch people do. When my first children were born the Greek state, the local authorities would not give me a certificate, arguing that if the children were not the ‘product’ of a legal orthodox marriage, they could not recognize it; in other words my child was a bastard! That was their method of control and they were tormented us in that way. So, we decided to baptize my wife and the children and alongside to do the marriage ceremony. My wife was very sad for that trajectory, because she was an atheist and she did not wish to be baptized but we could not do otherwise. The conclusion after all, is that the priest also asked me after the ceremonies, a huge amount of money, that I thought to beat him. I got so disappointed that I never stepped my feet back in Agios Nikolaos again.”*⁴⁰² His wife’s forced proselytizing and the ritual’s economic redemption by the priest convinced the latter, that the Orthodox Church in Rotterdam had no religious sense, but has been an oppressive mechanism, which made the worker’s life more difficult. The dual status of *Enosis* and the church actually, erected barriers to the workers. None of the twenty-one interviewee’s registration requests in *Enosis* have been accepted. Sotirakis: *“We did not dare to step in the old ‘Enosis’, the ‘shipsantides’ did not want us to register there.”*⁴⁰³ Or as another worker says: *“If you wanted to register in ‘Enosis’ you had to make an application first and then to wait until they would approve it. Innocent as I was in the beginning I thought to apply, in order to belong with my own people (ethnic compatriots). Everybody told me: ‘you are a sailor and they are ship feeders, they will never accept you’, so I did not, I have my pride I need no favors.”*⁴⁰⁴ The meaning of ‘belonging’ in that man’s words becomes extremely significant regarding that those workers had no political rights during the first five years after their arrival and even then, in late 70s their political membership in the host country has not been firmed, but depended on the

⁴⁰¹ Πέτρου, *Γράμματα από το Άμστερνταμ*, κστ’.

⁴⁰² Giannis Sotirakis.

⁴⁰³ Aristotle Georgiadis.

⁴⁰⁴ Giannis Sotirakis.

‘good will’ of the municipality where the workers were residents.⁴⁰⁵ Membership’s importance, for materialistic or not reasons, is repeated in Babalidis words: “As soon as I arrived, the first month already I went to meet the president of “Enosis” in order to become a member of the Greek union. His name was Firios. “What is your occupation?” he asked me. “I am a worker”, “then you cannot be registered and except of that you need the “conviction’s certificate” (“πιστοποιητικό κοινωνικών φρονημάτων”) and I assume that you do not have it. After that I understood their role.”⁴⁰⁶ Class distinction has not been the only filter for membership in ‘Greek’s of the Netherlands Union’; political orientation has been a precondition, a fact that proves the union’s identification as a conservative political mechanism, which followed the right wing anti liberal spirit of the homeland and represented the capitalistic oligarchy in the Netherlands. As Babalidis confirms: *our coming here ruined their plans*⁴⁰⁷ meaning that prewar Greek immigrants were annoyed by the newcomers they confronted them in an analogous way. In the same spirit: “In 1971, for the celebration of March 25th, the Greek consulate in the Netherlands has organized a concert with Theodorakis music and singers Farantouri and Kaloyannis. The consulate after the Church’s glorification had given a dinner; where all the conservative members of Enosis were invited, but no Greek worker was present... we were damaging their image.”⁴⁰⁸ In a wider frame, the research shows that the same immigrants that left Greece victimized, for their ancestor’s political orientations, confronted a new persecution in the host land by the Greek conservative old status. The old group has tried to keep them from any social formation that would give them politic step and recognition. Babalidis: “I was the president of the football team “Olympic” more because I have been also a player; but we also liked to play for interaction and fun. “Enosis” though that I was involved with the team in order to play a formal political role. They were pressing the players here and in Greece that they were participating to a team whose head was a communist and they forced me to resign. In 1971, the team went under the managing of the old Greek union and Gasparis who was then their henchman.”⁴⁰⁹ For Greek workers, the right of belonging has been denied; not only by the lack

⁴⁰⁵ Giannakos, De eerste stappen op weg naar zelforganisatie, praktijkwerkstuk, 3,4

⁴⁰⁶ Lambros Babalidis.

⁴⁰⁷ Lambros Babalidis.

⁴⁰⁸ Manolis Polyhronakis.

⁴⁰⁹ Lambros Babalidis.

of political rights from the host country, but also by their co ethnics. To the ‘Janus face’ of a modern nation⁴¹⁰ - the lack of belonging in an ethnic majority - has been added the refusal of belonging to the same ethnic minority. Greek worker’s ‘rights to have rights’,⁴¹¹ were not only limited already by being an unprivileged low class minority in a supposedly ‘homogenous’ host majority, but also they have faced the same pathology among their own group. For the liberate workers the exclusion has been radical as the Greek status in the Netherlands followed the same anti liberal and oppressive political strategies and implementations of the sending state. Naturally, those oppression and conflicting tendencies between the immigrant workers and the old status have been transformed during the dictatorship in Greece and have been expressed in the host country.

School’s control and operation

School’s paradigm is characteristic. The first school has been established in Rotterdam by *Enosis* in 1959. The classes were taking place in *Agios Nikolaos* on weekends from a chanter - teacher who ‘theoretically’ had a pedagogical diploma. After 1965, the Greek state assigned the teacher and lessons were taking place in ‘Enosis house’. A Dutch newspaper article in 1974 refers to the intelligence and control European net that was acting in the Netherlands, during the junta, in which the Greek school has been used for fascist propaganda, as it has been revealed in 1974: *‘twee Griekse priesters die in Rotterdam en Utrecht werken, de onderwijzer van de Griekse school in Utrecht (waarvan vorig jaar bekend werd dat er fascistische leeslectuur gebruikt werd)...*⁴¹² Polyhronakis remembers: *“Every Wednesday and Saturday there was the Greek school in Rotterdam and Utrecht. The teachers were Calogerakis from Rethymno and Antoniadis from Kavala. We made a public denunciation through Dutch newspapers that there was fascist propaganda that was taking place in Utrecht’s school, the books had nationalistic context and the priest was proselytizing the children to nationalistic models. They brought a Dutch*

⁴¹⁰ Jurgen Habermas, ‘The European Nation state: on the Past and Future of Sovereignty and Citizenship’ (Cambridge 1998) in: *The inclusion of the other: Studies in Political Theory*, eds. J Habermas, C Cronin, P De Greif, 105-129 (Chicago: 1998), 115.

⁴¹¹ Hannah Arendt, *The origins of totalitarianism* (New York [1951] 1968) 296-297.

⁴¹² ‘Two Greek priests who work in Rotterdam and Utrecht as also the teacher of the Greek school in Utrecht (which last year became known for using fascist propaganda material as educational readings at school).’ Rapport actiegroep: Grieks bureau dekmantel voor spionage –acties’ *De Volkskrant* Dinsdag, Maart 12, 1974.

committee and certify that we were right.”⁴¹³ Babalidis refers to the incident: “Whoever does not bring his children to attend the Greek school is not a “patriot” they were saying to us during the junta. Yes, we all wanted to support the school, but after 1967, it was not a school anymore but a nationalistic and fascist propaganda. Then we gathered some parents and we complaint to the responsible Dutch authorities. “Prove it, the accusations are not enough”, they answered us. Then we arranged to trap the teacher, in order to reveal the truth. The Dutch people were going to take an interview from that man, so they have positioned in the room a transmitter. After the interview, which was directly questioning his role, the man made a call from the Detachment telephone asking his superiors: “...and what if the Dutch find out that I am a military and not a teacher?” At the same time the conversation has been recorded by camera and broadcasted by the Dutch television. Next day that person did not appear to teach again. The politics for the Greek school changed totally since 1971. The Dutch state could not do differently because they were exposed in the public opinion. After that the teachers were appointed by the Dutch state when they were passing successfully examinations here. They were paid by the Greek and the Dutch state, but they were controlled by the latter.” As we see the school, has functioned in the host country as an institutional ramification of the Greek state; as such its purpose and means were the nationalistic proselytism of the migrant’s second generation. Greek authorities were interfering in the Netherlands, transferring Greece’s political and social pathology and causing conflicts between the group members. Due to the fact, that the Greek school has been the meeting point for the second generation, conservative workers complaint. Although, they were not members of *Enosis* they were considered as traitors of the working class: “When there was the junta the communist here were hostile to us, they were calling us “fascists” “traitors” “snitches”... We were going once a week the children in Rotterdam, in order to attend the Greek school. The teacher’s name was Sigalos. I remember when we were going down the stairs we could hear the “others’ saying: “the fascists of the church just came”. That was the “microbe” that kept us separated...in Greece and here.”⁴¹⁴ The ‘microbe’ has been political diversity among the group. For the progressive workers, Church’s and *Enosis* identification has been the reminder of the Greek state’s totalitarianism through time in their home, which has been

⁴¹³ Manolis Polyhronakis.

⁴¹⁴ Haralampos Artoglou

transferred to present in the new country. During junta time, the division between the old and the new group, expanded also among the workers; the ‘progressive’s confronted negatively the ‘conservatives’ who clustered in the church. The conflict situation reflected in school’s function. The inner conflict situation did not end after junta’s collapsed and that proves the significance of the ‘ethnic ‘school’ in the host land, as a social and political mechanism. A formal letter from Babalidis archive to the ambassador in Rotterdam, 1976, shows that even after the junta’s fall, school’s control has been a central factor of Greek’s dichotomies. The united Greek union’s secretariat in the Netherlands, defined school’s issue as a ‘sacred affair’ for the Greek community, and demanded the de-commission of the school in the ‘Engel’s School’ buildings, as it has been decided after democratic voting among the interested parties in 1974’s assembly. *Enosis* members brought forward a signature list, in order to house the school in union’s buildings. Additionally, they report that two elected members of the school committees, who were the Dutch wives of Greek workers were expelled, with the reasoning of being ‘foreigners’ and irrelative with Greek education. Such incidents have been reflected the internal struggle of conservatives and ‘progressives’ towards their choices and orientations. The committee complained about a few old families behavior as *‘we have the church to our own; we wanted the school to be private and not a social heritage of all Greeks in the Netherlands’*⁴¹⁵ and claim the necessity of a statute. After 1974, left wing workers experienced from organization formation in the previous period where they have played a leading role took Rotterdam’s school control. Situation around the school’s control has not been different in Utrecht. Greek afternoon classes have been operated imbedded in the Dutch ‘*Sint Bonifacius*’ school. After 1979, Greek school became independent and supported economically by the municipality. In the beginning it functioned in the Greek house infrastructures every Saturday afternoon and after 1980 operated every Saturday and Wednesday afternoon integrated to the Dutch school ‘*V.D.Leeuwschool*’⁴¹⁶. “*Odysseas*” has been the ‘apple of discord’ between liberal and conservative members as: “*the school has become a political problem...since some parents demand a mixed parent’s committee (with the participation of the Dutch parents) and some, including teachers, administration and*

⁴¹⁵ Paper no 1, Lambros Babalidis, Evstratios Adam, Dimitris Otantzis, *Secretariat of the Steering Committee of the United Greek communities in the Netherlands*, 25 March 1976, see: Appendix VI.

⁴¹⁶ *Dialektopoulos Grieken in de Lage Landen*, 79.

authorities, which claim for separate committee."⁴¹⁷ Organizational participation of Dutch spouses was not recognized by conservative Greeks and has been confronted with hostility, as a measure against an acculturation procedure. School proceedings revealed an 'ethnic division' among the Greek group, responding to their political and social orientation. As a result, rigidity and refusal has been expressed towards the mixed couples, especially, 'foreign' women. The struggle for control upon the church and the school has been dominant and continued to Greek's next organizational trajectories.

Political Organizations in Rotterdam and Utrecht

Greek Church during 1970s in the Netherlands did not respond to become a social - 'all Greeks in the Netherlands' - forum. Worker's social support has been promoted by another religion's church. "*Stichting was a foundation that has been supported guest workers and was established in 1965, by the official Dutch churches that showed their philanthropy work towards the migrants. Gradually, those institutions formed more stable structures and have been managed by a Dutch Board. In those boards were participating persons who – theoretically - have had knowledge about organizational management; as lawyers, companies' directors...which however were totally "irrelevant" in matters that had to do with migrants and their problems.*"⁴¹⁸ Babalidis has directly criticized those organizations⁴¹⁹, as being irrelevant with the migrants' life and problems. Although, SBWW has been the Greek's first opportunity given by the host for their political action as also their interaction with other migrants and the locals. Those private charities were established and funded in 1960, by the Catholic Church's cooperation with the state, in the frame of new welfare measures for the guest workers. After 1970, the Foundation of the Welfare of Foreign Workers has been totally directed by the state.⁴²⁰ As we find in Sideris archives, Greek workers clustered around those organizations and formed their own 'working group' in order to be informed, influence the decisions and promote their interests. Sideris has been the leader of '*Griek Werkgroep*' in Utrecht's Stichting, since 1963.⁴²¹ "*We (the progressive workers) created the 'Migrantenraad' (Migrants Council) in about 1970,*

⁴¹⁷ Greek children's education, *Metanastis* Year 6, issue 1, January-February, 1981, 8.

⁴¹⁸ Lambros Babalidis.

⁴¹⁹ *Stichting Bijstand Buitenlandse Werknemers, SBBW*, Foundation of the Welfare of Foreign Workers.

⁴²⁰ Schrover, 'Pillarization, Multiculturalism and Cultural Freezing, 342.

⁴²¹ Σιδέρη, *Πατρίδες*, 111.

*in order to express our opinion to the municipality authorities, not only the Greeks but also Moroccans, Turkish even fascists were participating, it was open”*⁴²² Migrant’s council has primarily been established in Utrecht. The foundation subsidized ‘Greek houses’ that became main ethnic meeting points. The ‘Greek houses’ did initially organized national celebrations, as the liberation from the Ottoman’s (25th of March) or the negation of surrendering in Italian fascist’s invasion (28th of October), in which Greeks of all political orientation were participating.⁴²³ In such an ethnic cultural rationale, ‘Pegasus’ dance group formation started in Utrecht 1963 and become gradually Greek’s folklore representation⁴²⁴. In Utrecht the class demarcation between prewar and post war Greek migrants was not strong. A member of the old group describes the immigrant’s interaction: *“During the junta, after 1967, in the same places where we were going (“Enosis” members) Dimitra Sideris was coming. She has been an active communist that in Junta’s time she scrambled against the Greek dictatorship, she was protesting, did hunger strikes...the police was hunting her...Although she was an organized member of the Greek communist party in the Netherlands and she was trying to promote her political interests- there was a leader if I remember well but they were divided during the junta- we became friends. My husband did not agree with that friendship, but I considered her as a good and dynamic woman. We made a lot of company and I have tried to help her when I could.*⁴²⁵ In her autobiography Sideris confirms a high level of osmosis between Utrecht’s Greeks.⁴²⁶

While, the ‘ethnic house’ of Utrecht has been active since 1960 and the old group’s members were interacting there was not such a social and cultural movement in Rotterdam. ‘Greek House’ on Oude Binnenweg has been the meeting point mainly, for the left workers, as Yambannis and Babalidis.⁴²⁷ Realization of self organization need come early for the left workers in the host land. They realized that their lack of membership in a formal organization deprived them from any possible ethnic communal activity. *“I realized the role of self organization here, two months after my arrival in the Netherlands. One day, as I was seating with three others- he mentions K.*

⁴²² Lambros Babalidis.

⁴²³ *Nieuwsblad* December 27, 1964.

⁴²⁴ Σιδέρη, *Πατρίδες*, 113.

⁴²⁵ Maritsa Dimitopoulou.

⁴²⁶ Σιδέρη, *Πατρίδες*, 64,65,86,87.

⁴²⁷ Γιαμπανης, *Οι αναμνησεις ενος ναυτεργατη*, 143.

*Yambannis as one- we thought: “no one is doing something for us, let’s organize a Greek dance with Greek music and food” and we agreed. But we did not have money... We visited then the Union to support us for our feast. They agreed with the only condition that the feast would be done under their surveillance, and clearly sponsored and organized by the “Enosis”. We did not agree because we wanted (the feast) to be organized from us for the Greek labor population. We met again in house and that time Maximos was always trying to put pressure on us, they were threatening us that they could throw us out of the country. In all our conversations the problem was that they did not want us to be shown us an independent ethnic cluster.”⁴²⁸ ‘Old status’ powers domination and repulsion towards the workers has been the main explanation for the absence of expanded participation by the wide spectrum of the Greek workers in Rotterdam’s ‘Greek house’. “The issue of self organization was the main thorn for the Greek emigrant. In the sense of how the others - the powerful - were facing, treating you, the Dutch state and authorities and then respectively the local Greek authorities, the Consulate, the Port Authority and the church, meaning the old Greek union. All of them, what they fear most for us the worker migrants, were our self organization and institutionalization. When they perceived such a movement they were trying to get rid of us... The “Christians” wanted to extinguish all the new matrix of us, the political active ones; in 1964 they gave orders to the Police to find ways to expel us; they denounced us in the Dutch authorities that we were communists.”⁴²⁹ Rotterdam has been the administrative matrix for Greek authorities and the most significant economic core of the country, in that sense Greek left radicalism has been pursued by authorities. The Netherlands have been members of NATO (1949)⁴³⁰ and ECSC (1950)⁴³¹; in those terms, their official position towards the Soviet bloc and communism has been determined for obvious economic and political reasons. Moreover, *the general secretary of NATO in the period 1971 to 1984 has been a Dutch, Joseph Luns. The Dutch state was receiving junta’s representatives in NATO’S base in Soesterberg, and they were not presented them officially in Amsterdam.*⁴³² Anticommunism, diffused in the Netherlands after the middle 1960s. CPN’S support to the*

⁴²⁸ Lambros Babalidis.

⁴²⁹ Lambros Babalidis.

⁴³⁰ North Atlantic Defense Cooperation.

⁴³¹ European Coal and Steel Society

⁴³² Lambros Babalidis.

soviets and critical position against the Hungarian Uprising in 1956 has been the reason for the communist's isolation and criticism by the mainstream political and social spectrum, according to D.Sideris.⁴³³ Babalidis develops that issue and describes a situation of 'fragile balances', where communism has been confronted with mistrust and hostility in the Netherlands on 1960s: *"Although there was a legal communist party in the country's parliament, after the soviet invasion in Budapest, in 1956 they were criticized for their support to communism, by politicians and the society. The Netherlands was in the NATO, so there was also a strong anticommunist political implementation by the state. So, the Dutch authorities were forbidding any political activity from a communist group, which was already banned in the country of origins. I was then (in 1964) working in RDM and the personnel officer called me and four others to tell us about the accusations and warn us to behave otherwise he clearly stated that he would fire us from the job."*⁴³⁴ RDM, where 120 Greek workers were employed in 1964, has been the matrix of left political mobilization in Rotterdam. Yambannis who has been registered in Dutch administration with a false name, due to his communist action in the Greek sailor's union sector and Babalidis have been coworkers and they constituted EDA⁴³⁵ in the host land. *"I organized UDL in the Netherlands, it had no official form, but we cooperated with the Dutch communists CPN"*.⁴³⁶ Yambannis writes that his meetings and cooperation with the leader of CPN⁴³⁷, Joop Mantel were kept secret, in order to avoid his immediate expulsion.⁴³⁸ Authorities of the host and the homeland were collaborating and using their power to expel the political and class conscious workers, in the general anticommunism vein. The accidental meeting of the two activists with Sideris couple from Utrecht during 'Zorbas' film projection in a Tilburg's cinema has been the beginning for the informal establishment of UDL web in the country.⁴³⁹ Moreover, structural opportunities such as the *Stichting Bijstand Buitenlandse Werknemers* (SBBW) and the formation of *Migrantenraad* mobilized the self-organization of the left Greek workers. That

⁴³³ Σιδέρη, *Πατρίδες*, 78.

⁴³⁴ Lambros Babalidis.

⁴³⁵ United Democratic Left, *Ενιαία Δημοκρατική Αριστερά*.

⁴³⁶ Lambros Babalidis.

⁴³⁷ The communist's party in the Netherlands.

⁴³⁸ Γιαμπανής, *Οι αναμνησεις ενός ναυτεργατή*, 135.

⁴³⁹ *Ibidem* 145.

political experience prepared and assisted the formation of the Greek Antidictatorship Committee (A.D.K)⁴⁴⁰, PAK⁴⁴¹ and PAM⁴⁴² in the Netherlands.

Anti-dictatorship radicalism, 1967-1974.

Greek Junta had no political plan or consistent ideology; the only concrete policy that was implemented was a general restriction for all democratic procedures and values; media censorship, prohibition of demonstrations, banning of political parties and also the severe prosecution of all the diverse political orientations have been junta's tactics. The army enhanced ideologically and materially, was acting independently and in the context of impunity.⁴⁴³ April's 27th of 1967 the Pretorius regime was imposed in Greece; seven days later the first Greek protest took place in Utrecht. As Sideris wrote, the Dutch police had prohibited music or voices so Greek migrants walked in the street silent "*as in a funeral*".⁴⁴⁴ Authorities' reactions were instant: "*Once I dared to go to a protest in Utrecht, it was on 1967, and the next day they threatened me that they will close me down (the bar). The Dutch Police was also indirectly cooperating with them, so they came and checked if everything in my business was legal ...in an intimidating way. I had no relation with the church or the Greek authorities here, I was "burned" from Greece (an outcast) and I knew the consequences should I have any dealings with them. During the Junta period, Gasparis and Kalisperakis had established a paramilitary organization in the Netherlands with the support of the Port Authority, the Greek Consulate and the social worker. That was the triangle of Greek Junta's modus operandi in Holland.*"⁴⁴⁵ When S.K. refers to the 'social worker' he means the representative of the GA⁴⁴⁶ which collaborated with the 'post of labor attaché' in the consulates.⁴⁴⁷ Babalidis defines the role of those Greek state's

⁴⁴⁰ Anti Diktatoriale Komitee based in: Rijnmond, Karel Doormanstraat 147 b, Rotterdam.

⁴⁴¹ Πανελλήνια Αντιδικτατορική Κίνηση, Pan-Hellenic Antidictatorship Movement in Rotterdam.

⁴⁴² Πανελλήνιο Αντιδικτατορικό Μέτωπο in Utrecht.

⁴⁴³ The Gendarmerie and National Security battalions (TEA) were engaging in arbitrary arrests and property destruction. The whole militaristic network was supported by a well technologically equipped information system, which was actually working with the supervision and support of CIA employees. Ibidem, 311.

⁴⁴⁴ Σιδέρη, Πατρίδες, το μικρό το 'Μέγα', 159.

⁴⁴⁵ S.K.

⁴⁴⁶ Εργατικό Κλιμακίο

⁴⁴⁷ Venturas, *Gouvernements grecs et partis politiques*, 53.

administrations and their role towards the workers: “It was an organization established, monitored and controlled by Greece. Actually, they had the role of the intermediate in case that there was a problem between a worker and a company, of course they were protecting the company’s rights, and simply they were “leashing” the worker. During the Junta the Detachment was manned by employees who played the role of the Greek worker’s narks (spies, informers)”.⁴⁴⁸ S.K. reveals an indirect intimidation way: “Because Kalisperakis was also an owner of a nightclub he would bribe all the club owners, with money or exceptions concerning the authorization and operation of their shops. They also approached me in order to give them information about my compatriot’s beliefs. That is what they were doing, through the bar owners or the woman that worked there and was related to Greek customers, they were trying to find out any incriminating information about them”.⁴⁴⁹ Kalisperakis name has been reported by Babalidis: “During the junta employees appointed by the regime, like Kalisperakis, were working in the Stichting.”⁴⁵⁰ According to the interviewees, the same person ‘represented’ the Greek work group in SBBW and parallel he has been a bar owner and the main actor of right wing parastate.⁴⁵¹ An incident out of Rotterdam’s Consultant, in 1971 revealed the situation; two groups, the maritime attaché’s and the consultant’s secretariat has shut each other and being arrested by the police. The article confirms illegal activities as the reason of the conflict.⁴⁵² Two weeks investigations showed that Gasparis, the consultant secretariat, who was also the owner of a bar named ‘Pergola,’ had criminal convictions in his past for blackmailing, violence and homicide attempts. Testimonies accused Rotterdam’s police that have been bribed by that circuit, in order to grant resident permissions for Greek right wing followers.⁴⁵³ Babalidis adds: “Even the bars and that entire underground world had the role of quisling for us (. the organized). The junta parastate in the Netherlands was living in that dark environment and they were also owners of such places. How they controlled the owners? The registration was saying that the shop should be closed in one o’ clock in the night. The owners in order to enjoy the authorities’

⁴⁴⁸ Lambros Babalidis.

⁴⁴⁹ S.K.

⁴⁵⁰ Lambros Babalidis.

⁴⁵¹ Μαργαρίτης et al., *Νεότερη και Σύγχρονη Ελληνική Ιστορία*. 311.

⁴⁵² ‘Griek (39) schiet voor consulaat landgenoot neer’ October 16, 1971.

⁴⁵³ ‘Rijksrecherche stelt onderzoek in Steekpenningenschandaal bij Rotterdamse politie?’ *De Rotterdammer* Vrijdag, Oktober 29, 1971.

exceptions were giving information for every movement of anyone who was, in their opinion, insubordinate, primarily to the Greek and secondary to the Dutch authorities.”⁴⁵⁴ Using every way, junta has tried to control and intimidate all workers and restrain liberal workers from being organized in the Netherlands. During that period, tactics of imprisonment or exile in segregated islands, tortures and extortions were commonplace by the Junta in Greece. In response, a large number of political refugees left the country for Western Europe, where they applied for political asylum. Politicians from the progressive political stream escaped to Sweden and Germany respectively were later become central points of political actions against the dictatorship.⁴⁵⁵ All that oppositional activity mobilized junta for taking measures for Greek immigration in Western Europe. In a confidential paper that has been send to European consultants in 1969, Greece’s secret intelligence service orders - through ‘Poseidon plan’ - the cancellation of antinationalistic actions by workers and students (directive no.1) and the deprivation of their passports (directive no. 4).⁴⁵⁶ The confrontation of political and class conscious left workers by the parastate in Rotterdam was severe, as Yambannis and Babalidis report that criminal attempts has been made against them: *“Nobody liked my actions. In 1972, I sent a statement to the NRC Handelsblad (newspaper), that if something would happen to me or my wife, even if it seemed to be a car accident, it would have been a murder. I was then pointing out junta’s partners in the Netherlands. When I got married we have learned that they were giving a bounty for me”*⁴⁵⁷

Films, well-known musicians and composers have been used by the right camp for propaganda. *““Enosis” had money and support from the Greek state so they propagated the colonel’s regime in every way. In 1969, they projected in a special rented hall a film named: “to the borders of betray”.*⁴⁵⁸ *The plot was about a Greek secret soviet communist spy who gets arrested by the hero, a nationalist major. During the progress of the movie, all the history of ELLAS⁴⁵⁹ and Greek communism has been completely banned. At that same period in Greece EAT-ESA⁴⁶⁰ were*

⁴⁵⁴ Lambros Babalidis.

⁴⁵⁵ Lagaris, Greek Refugees in Western, Central, Northern, and Southern Europe in: Klaus et al., *The Encyclopedia of Migration and Minorities in Europe*, 466.

⁴⁵⁶ *Ελευθερη πατριδα* Αυγούστου 3, 1969, in: Γιαμπανης, *Οι αναμνησεις ενος ναυτεργατη*, 167.

⁴⁵⁷ Lambros Babalidis.

⁴⁵⁸ Lambros Babalidis.

⁴⁵⁹ ‘Hellas’

⁴⁶⁰ EAT -ESA

tormenting and killing people. They have killed Panagoulis brother, Halkidis in Thessaloniki; Tsarouhas in Leptokaria...the catalog of the executed communists in Greece is thick.”⁴⁶¹ Intimidation by the Greek authorities was general. Kakomanolis remembers the intensive control and authoritarianism by the Greek administrations: “Unfortunately, we try to “eat each other” even abroad. Even the Greek authorities here were not meant to help us and support us. When I had to renew my passport I was nervous because of their behavior...imagine they did that to me, a captain, what they have done to the workers...!”⁴⁶² Sailors and even captain’s control has been accomplished by the Maritime Attaché. “those who were “strong” here in Junta times were the spies of the dictatorship and they cared only to give us trouble. They were squealers for money and power. Without any evidence whatsoever you could suddenly be involved in difficult situations...I was accused in 1969, by the Greek parastate in the Netherlands that I had asked for political asylum. The Maritime Attaché, Totsis, called me in his office and asked me to deliver my naval booklet and resign. Thank God we found a solution, I confirmed that I would not take part in any political actions and ...but after that I had no political activity. And do not believe if people tell you that they fought in Junta time. It was not easy, they controlled you from everywhere. Some that today argue that they protested at that period they were lying in order to gain privileges. Only few people like Babalidis fought, personal, initiative, not collective. We were scared.”⁴⁶³ All workers and sailors outline a persecutory, intimidatory era, when only a few had the courage to react politically. That is the time when Greek left migrant’s political and social past in Greece is reactivated in the host country, but not for all ‘progressives’. “I never participated in any organization, I was afraid. The Junta was not a joke. They were taking retaliation measures in Greece. They were torturing our families. I did not want anyone to harm my father or the rest of my family in any way.”⁴⁶⁴ Considering their unprivileged past left migrants were psychologically pressured: “I never participated in any community or union in the Netherlands. I did not want to get involved with politics; it can only bring troubles to one’s life.”⁴⁶⁵ Passports detention was not rare among the workers: “In 1968, I needed to renew my

⁴⁶¹ Lambros Babalidis.

⁴⁶² Manolis Kakomanolis.

⁴⁶³ Sarantos Koutsakis.

⁴⁶⁴ Giannis Theodosiou.

⁴⁶⁵ Thanasis Bahtsevanidis.

passport. I went to the Greek consulate and A. the person responsible, took it and kept it in his drawer. When I asked him to give it back to me because without it I could not be able to stay in the Netherlands, he refused. The Consulate and the Port authority were then the local Greek authorities. From those two sources everything was checked. If the passport was not stamped you could not obtain a residency permit, work... so they were sending you back. That was the “fear and trembling” for all of us. Thank God, my family knew the American ambassador and he mediated. Next morning the employee brought me my passport to my house. They could not disobey an American diplomat.”⁴⁶⁶ Worker’s vulnerable status has not been changed even being in the country four years already. They were facing the threat of becoming ‘stateless’ in the Netherlands, but also their expulsion to Greece. Considering that the communists were facing jail and death in Greece, their return in the host country would be dangerous for their life. That has been the reason for Greek citizenship’s renounce: “In 1972, I renounced my Greek citizenship and I took a Dutch passport. I did it to be protected from the dictatorship, as I had to travel to Greece to see my father. In that way the Dutch state protected me.”⁴⁶⁷ Babalidis explains: “the workers had the right after five years of permanency and continual residency and occupation to the same employer, to apply for Dutch passport and citizenship; the renouncement of the Greek citizenship was obligatory precondition. Things become complicated when Dutch authorities found out those Greek authorities-following clientele attitude-granted Greek passports to their voters. After that the Dutch state permitted to some ethnicities, -Turkish, Moroccans- to have double passports.”⁴⁶⁸ Citizenship application had a precondition that made its possession rather difficult, the continual employment to the same employer. That is the reason that among our interviewees only those who were imposed to visit Greece and were facing certain prosecution were applying. Babalidis: “we did not want to take the Dutch citizenship, why should we? We were Greeks not Dutch...The ones that applied had very important reasons.”⁴⁶⁹ His words imply a strong ethnic identity as also the strong belief of permanency in the Netherlands. Yambannis and Sideris were already deprived of their Greek citizenship for their political orientation and their oppositional action abroad, as an application to the Greek committee for the recognition of

⁴⁶⁶ Stelios Merodoulakis.

⁴⁶⁷ S.K.

⁴⁶⁸ Lambros Babalidis.

⁴⁶⁹ Lambros Babalidis.

their anti dictatorial action reveals.⁴⁷⁰ In those terms Dutch citizenship's acquisition has been mandatory, and sometimes proved a salvation for Greek communists. When Amnesty has been given in Greece 1973, Sideris travelled home; she has been arrested and released after the intervention of the Dutch ambassador.⁴⁷¹ *"In August of 1973 the Greek state announced that they would permit the entrance to those that did not have passport, I went to see my family and they arrested me. I have had given help to some Greek traders that had good relations with the dictatorship and they pressed the situation to be released and exiled. I left with an American passport that one Greek businessman has provided to me."*⁴⁷² Citizenship's deprivation for the Greek workers in the Netherlands was mobilized by the Consulate as in the case of S. Kounelas. Kounelas has been a journalist of the Greek program, which was included in the Dutch national radio, named radio *mozaiek* and has been deprived of his Greek citizenship for his oppositional broadcasts.⁴⁷³ The incident has been denounced by A.D.K.⁴⁷⁴ While the Greek ambassador declared (*'Jaren lang stond ik overal buiten'*)⁴⁷⁵ his un-involvement with junta and liberals intimidation in the host land⁴⁷⁶, all left workers has been contradicted that statement with their interviews. The latter argued about an authoritarian and dangerous network, which was consisted officially by the Consulate, the Maritime Authorities and GA, with the coordination of *Enosis* and the church. An apocalypse that has been made for the ambassador Kottakis in 1971, which forced him to resign, is revealing for the radical right wing administration abroad.⁴⁷⁷ As the Bulletins article reported, the latter has been the leader of a fascistic coup in 1968 Italy and has been accused for criminal actions.⁴⁷⁸ Eneool has been a nationalistic organization in Utrecht which was established in 1967, and has been directed and operated by junta's colonels. 'Enneol's' president has been the Consulates official. In 1968, a Dutch *Werkgroep* of liberals has been established by Den Uyl -president of labor party and later prime minister for years- named

⁴⁷⁰ Application to Judgment committee for Antidictatorial action (1967-1974) according to: article 4, Law 1543/85 and 58448/29-7-85 Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Public Order .See: Appendix I.

⁴⁷¹ Σιδέρη, *Πατρίδες*, 165.

⁴⁷² Manolis Polyhronakis.

⁴⁷³ Evangelidis, Grigoriou en Poursanidis: Migrantenraad in handed van linkse politieke activisten, *Reformatorisch Dagblad*, December 18, 1973.

⁴⁷⁴ Antidictatoriale Committee voor de Grieken in Nederland

⁴⁷⁵ 'For years I did not participate, I kept a distance from all issues'.

⁴⁷⁶ Griekse Ambassadeur: 'jaren lang stond ik overall buiten' *Haagsche Courant*, Augustus 30, 1974.

⁴⁷⁷ See: Appendix V.

⁴⁷⁸ 'Een ongept Bliceerde Brief uit Italie, De Nieuwe Griekse Ambassadeur Comploteerde al Eerder', Antidictatoriale Komite voor de Grieken in Nederland, *Bulletin no 2*, Juli 1971.

Vrije Griekenland.⁴⁷⁹ Lawyers, artists, professors, and intellectuals were helping in every way the Antidictatorial movement of Greek left workers. In a 1973 newspaper, Hannelore Runft, a Dutch lawyer has been depicted in Greece where she would defend Drakaropoulos, a left worker that was being tried by the junta⁴⁸⁰; this kind of support by the Dutch society has been frequent. The group which officially supported the Greek anti junta actions denounced 'Eneol' involvement to the network of Greek worker's espionage, referring to the cooperation of *Arbeidscommissie* (GA), SBBW of Rotterdam and Utrecht. Eneol members, in order to terrify and threaten the workers were blackmailing them in several ways. The *Werkgroep* claimed, - as it has been written in a central newspaper of that era, - the Dutch government's interference and the fascist's expulsion for their illegal actions.⁴⁸¹ Another article refers to 'fascistische Grieken Eneol' which defines as violence group that intimidated the Greek immigrants. The author refers to a formal Greek Utrecht's organization 'Hellas', which has been 90 percent, subsidized by the Greek Cultural Ministry since 1969 and functioned under the control of Greek nationalists. 'Hellas' manifestations (festivities, excursions) were also financed by SBBW. As it has been detected Eneol members were forcing workers families, - mainly, those who were politically silent- to participate in nationalistic festivities; the disobeying confronted threats for their family in both countries.⁴⁸² The organization has been criticized for having linkage with Eneol and the full support of the dictatorship.⁴⁸³ An article in 1973 reveals the interference of 'Hellas' in Utrecht's Migrantenraad and the anti-liberal organization's role. Grigoriou, 'Hellas' president accused the left activists that they were controlled by the Soviet Union and were not really interested for migrant's problems. Additionally, 'Hellas' active member Poursanidis refers to a bank robbery by a liberal worker in Utrecht for provocative reasons against the liberal activists. *Migrantenraad* president, Sjef Theunis has been also criticized indirectly as being tolerant to the leftists.⁴⁸⁴ "*Sjef Theunis has been member of PPR, the pacifistic party that has had liberal political orientations and has tried to cooperate with all migrants in the Raad; the*

⁴⁷⁹ See Appendix V, p. 220.

⁴⁸⁰ Hannelore Runft, een Westduitse Advocate en Drakaropoulos die werdern veroordeeld door een rechtbank in Athene, *Buitenland*, Januari 23, 1973.

⁴⁸¹ 'Werkgroep stuit op Griekse spionage' *Het Parool*, Dinsdag, Maart 12, 1974.

⁴⁸² Het Griekse regime heeft lange armen, *NRC HANDELSBLAD*, Zaterdag, 30 Maart, 1974.

⁴⁸³ 'Rapport actiegroep: Grieks bureau dekmantel voor spionage -acties' *De Volkskrant*, Dinsdag, Maart 12, 1974.

⁴⁸⁴ Evangelidis, Grigoriou en Poursanidis: 'Migrantenraad in handed van linkse politieke activisten', *Reformatorisch Dagblad*, December 18, 1973.

fascists wanted to get rid of us."⁴⁸⁵ Conflicts between the two groups were continual and escalated. The right camp used the communists division in 1968, to weaken the leftist's activism.⁴⁸⁶ *"In 1968, the communists were divided. Sideris couple in Utrecht acceded in the euro- communist party, in Greece KKE εσωτερικου. Yambannis and I remained in our previous political positions. They believed that the political struggle could take place in a European level; we were saying: "who is going to fight for Greece's democracy, the Dutch and the Germans? The Greek people's will." That division made a great damage, not only to the left Greek party but also weakened the left opposition in Greece. But generally, the centralization in politics has that meaning; social democracy always supports the right governments everywhere. When the market has profits, social democracy increases its powers and promotes the image of the Welfare state. The motto is: "take" and every one gets happy and quite. Even the Dutch communists become cautious with us.*"⁴⁸⁷ Babalidis refers to 1968 soviet's invasion to Czechoslovakia, and the following disruption in the Greek communists group; they were divided in two parts, euro communism UDL internal and UDL.⁴⁸⁸ The distinction has been made inferring that the latter's policies were dictated by the Soviet Union.⁴⁸⁹ According to Babalidis after that isolation radical left workers as him have also been confronted with suspicion by the Dutch communists who were 'centralized' due to the a-political climate. *"When in 29 January of 1974 we have send to the Dutch parliament a list of people who were tortured in ESA detention centers in Greece. After that we were addressed to PVDA, the minister of internal affairs in the Netherlands; he ignored us...actually, he informally answered: we won't support communists."*⁴⁹⁰ On the contrary, UDLin, was closer to the European model. That differentiation reflected to the role of Utrecht's left leadership and its connections with journalists, and media. Sideris had access to 'progressive newspapers while Vrij Nederland has been supporting the Greek anti dictatorial struggle also financially.⁴⁹¹ Additionally, Sideris refers to the major mobilization of Utrecht's

⁴⁸⁵ Lambros Babalidis.

⁴⁸⁶ Lambros Babalidis.

⁴⁸⁷ Lambros Babalidis.

⁴⁸⁸ ΚΚΕ Εσωτερικου and ΚΚΕ, euro communists and communists supposed to be controlled by Soviet Union.

⁴⁸⁹ Glogg, *a Concise History of Greece*, 160.

⁴⁹⁰ Lambros Babalidis.

⁴⁹¹ Σιδέρη, *Πατρίδες*, 245.

university students who were helping in various ways.⁴⁹² Babalidis Rotterdam's UDL's leader confirmed the 'progressive role of Utrecht's University at that time: "*After 1970, I have started to take invitations from universities to make a speech about Greece's situation. Rotterdam's Erasmus was the most conservative and there only Joseph Luns has been invited. Utrecht's and Nijmegen University were more "open" and progressive. In 1971 I made a presentation in Utrecht's university which was so crowded, 5000 people had come to listen. The presentation took place after a demonstration that we did in the center of the town. I have been interviewed by Ben Herbergs, Dutch journalist. Next day photographs of our actions and the massive people's response were in the first page of Vrije Volk.*"⁴⁹³ Utrecht's social environment – which was related to Dutch but also the wider rebel spirit (Paris, may 1968) - and the absence of strict social demarcations among the Greeks permitted to Utrecht's euro communist leadership a role of mediator, the 'public relation office' of the Antidictatorial movement.

Despite the controversy among the left, November's 1968 mobilizations for Panagoulis amnesty united all left workers who started hunger strike out of Den Haag's Greek embassy. "*We knew that it was a matter of time for the colonels to execute Panagoulis. We have decided to make a hunger strike. ..Fortunately, we made it, they gave him a favor; this was a big success and satisfaction for Greek workers proletariats abroad. We pressured them by mobilizing the common opinion.*"⁴⁹⁴ Sideris wrote for the following torchlight protest in Den Haag where Dutch and Greek liberals participated. Van der Stoel, who was at that time minister of Foreign and president of the European council, was present, who according to Sideris the Dutch minister was cooperating with the leaders of UDLin.⁴⁹⁵ The conviction reflected partly, the efficiency of Greek migrant's political activism in Europe against Junta. One year later, *Vrije Griekenland committee's* pressure has been the reason for the deletion of Greece by the European Council. Despite the oppression and intimidation of Greek anti-dictatorship actors in Western Europe, by the Greek authorities, the anti-dictatorship movement had an impact in local societies. The deletion of Greece by the European Council in 1968, with the conviction of human rights violation reflected partly, the efficiency of Greek migrant's political antifascist activism in

⁴⁹² Ibidem, 189.

⁴⁹³ Lambros Babalidis.

⁴⁹⁴ Lambros Babalidis.

⁴⁹⁵ Σιδέρη, Πατρίδες, 178.

Europe. Those developments had a dual effect: on the one hand, left workers realized the significance of scheduled and organized massive action that would coil together the migrants and stress their opposition against the dictatorship; as also the importance of the Dutch liberals' contribution, in order to influence the European public opinion. On the other, oppressive measures against them by junta's power centers in sending state and their endings in the receiving state have been extremely intensified. UDL members establish the ADK (Antidictatorial committee), ΠΑΜ (Pan-Hellenic Antidictatorship Movement)⁴⁹⁶ and ΕΣΑΚ⁴⁹⁷ (Unions Uniform Antidictatorship Movement). Although those organizations were informal, and it has been possible to find more information about them, than for 'supposedly' formal ones at this period, like 'Hellas' or Eneol. The reason lies on the nature of Antidictatorial organizations; they have been made to distinguish their political cause and the liberal beliefs of their members, while the nationalistic organizations had secret character and tactics. ΕΣΑΚ, which were the organization of labor antifascist's unionists, released a magazine, titled the *Greek Worker (ο Έλληνας Εργατης)*.⁴⁹⁸ Polyhronakis, a young then, member of ΠΑΜ says: "*During the junta time I was participant in PAM's concentrations and protests. I have not been an organized communist but Babalidis has been my mentor. I was helping in the circulation of the newspaper "Έλευθερη Πατριδα" (Free Homeland) that was pressed in London and we circulated in all Western Europe.*"⁴⁹⁹ For announcements and actions of Antidictatorial Committees Abroad, a seasonal journal was circulated since 1971. The founding act and the purpose of the committee have been presented in initial identificational issue, where "the unity of the anti-dictatorship forces" has been proclaimed as the main precondition for the "establishment of a genuine democracy" in Greece.⁵⁰⁰ As derives by the text the committee appeals to all democrats living abroad, regardless of their party position to coordinate' and 'take active part". Babalidis explains that the groups have fought against all antidemocratic forces: "*The anti dictatorial committee supported all anti fascist spectrums; we were fighting against political groups such as Turkish Grey Wolves. When the Italian fascist Almirante come to give a lecture in the country we have send signed*

⁴⁹⁶ Πανελληνιο Απελευθερωτικο Μετωπο.

⁴⁹⁷ ΕΣΑΚ, Εννιαια Συνδικαλιστικη Αντιδικτατορικη Κινηση. see Appendix I, p.202, 203.

⁴⁹⁸ The cover of which has been shown in: Γιαμπανης, *Οι αναμνησεις ενος ναυτεργατη*, 308.

⁴⁹⁹ Manolis Polyhronakis.

⁵⁰⁰ Information from Greece on Greece, Central Council of the Greek Antidictatorship Abroad, *bulletin no.1*, 27 September, 1971.

*memorandum to the Dutch government and finally, we stopped him in Belgium borders, he never talked here.*⁵⁰¹ The appeal calls upon every Greek democrat in the Netherlands to participate in a campaign, in order to activate Greek and foreign personalities, Amnesty International, the red cross or in general act to ensure all prisoners and restricted patriots release as also Greece's liberation.⁵⁰² The continual attention of all democratic powers to Greece's pathology has been the main goal for A.D.K members.⁵⁰³ *"My antidictatorship action did not only concern the Netherlands but we were being connected to all western countries, Sweden, Germany...Here ΠΑΚ⁵⁰⁴ was not illegal, as it was in Greece, at least theoretically. I have been the secretary of the movement and all my life was revolved around one thought: "how would it become possible to highlight and bring to publicity every day the matter of Greece." Every weekend we were building in Rotterdam's central square a kiosk equipped with posters and material⁵⁰⁵, and we were trying to mobilize people against the junta. The police most of the times was dissolving us. Against us we had-formally- the Consulate of Greece and the Greek Labor Detachment."*⁵⁰⁶ A.D.K. bulletin refers also to the imprisonment and torture of H. Sartzetakis in Korydallos prisons. Sartzetakis has been a supreme judicial which become legendary for his democratic and professional integrity when he opposed the political pressure and revealed the political assassination of EDA deputy G.Lambrakis, which caused an extreme political unrest.⁵⁰⁷ Sartzetakis has been used as a democratic institutional Greek image for the antidictatorship struggle abroad. *"Only when the film "Z" has been viewed in the country, in 1970 and we made a successful demonstration the situation "opened up." Since then the newspapers have started to give us the opportunity to express our opinion and the political world, in order to exploit the situation politically and be shown as democratic, have started to approach us."*⁵⁰⁸ In 1969, K.Gavras film "Zeta" in the script written by Vasilikos described the search of Lambrakis perpetrators by the young judge Sartzetakis, who against the Junta's oppression became a symbol

⁵⁰¹ Lambros Babalidis.

⁵⁰² 'Information from Greece on Greece, Central Council of the Greek Antidictatorship Abroad', *bulletin no.1*, 27 September, 1971 3.

⁵⁰³ See: Appendix I.

⁵⁰⁴ Πανελληνική Αντιδικτατορική Κίνηση, Pan-Hellenic Antidictatorship Movement.

⁵⁰⁵ See Appendix I, p. 197 and Appendix VII.

⁵⁰⁶ Εργατικό Κλίμακιο.

⁵⁰⁷ Koliopoulos and Veremis, *Modern Greece* (2010) 137.

⁵⁰⁸ Lambros Babalidis.

of integrity and professionalism made the story known and since then was used often to promote the Greek democratic campaign.⁵⁰⁹ A 1969 archive poster entitled “*actie voor vrijlating Sartzetakis, Ritsos en alle andere Griekse politieke gevangenen*” refers to the unknown judge who gained worldwide fame for his courageous action and has been imprisoned for years without any formal trial.⁵¹⁰ Ritsos has been a stereotypical reference for the Greek communists, since his poetry was well known for its themes of resistance. The poet was a communist intellectual who supported the left in the Civil war and had been exiled by the Junta to the island of Gyaros in 1967. His early collection ‘Epitaphios’ 1936⁵¹¹, was set to music by Theodorakis⁵¹² in 1950, and since then it has been the anthem of the Left.⁵¹³ When Theodorakis gave a concert in 1974 in Rotterdam, Ritsos song has been sang from a full stadium with Greeks from all country; in his interview the composer stated: *Grieken niet bang meer*.⁵¹⁴ Ritsos poem on May 1936 refers to a strike of Thessaloniki’s tobacco union workers, which ended in a tragedy where 12 people were killed and hundreds were wounded by the army.⁵¹⁵ It is not a coincidence that in all A.D.K. annual programs demonstrations for May Day have been central. Babalidis explains: “*Dutch people do not celebrate the first of May, for all us migrant workers that day is sacred*”.⁵¹⁶ In the first official demonstration of May Day that A.D.K. organized in Utrecht the committee is addressing to Dutch, Spanish, Greeks, Portuguese and Africans to participate against worldwide fascism.⁵¹⁷ The program included an open discussion under ‘van j’ Accuse’ Dutch ‘anti nazis’

⁵⁰⁹ Antidictatoriale Committee voor de Grieken in Nederland, *Bulletin no3*, September 1971.

⁵¹⁰ Poster no.1 *Ritsos en alle andere Griekse politieke gevangenen*, Antidictatoriale Committee voor de Grieken in Nederland. ADK archives.

⁵¹¹ 9th May 1936, ‘An heroic May of tobacco workers’ In: http://sine-materia.blogspot.nl/p/blog-page_16.html (access 10-3-2013)

⁵¹² Theodorakis, (1925-+) who composed music for the poetry of these significant Greek poets exported Greek poetry and its spirit to an international level. Theodorakis was arrested in 1967, after the organization of PAM. Even during his exile, he managed to send his music abroad, where it was directed and sung in public concerts. After the pressure of well known international personalities he was released and resorted to Paris in 1970. Until the fall of the regime he was struggling through his music to influence Europe’s public opinion, in order to amount pressure to topple the dictatorship. Seferis’ poetry was set to music composed by Theodorakis which was strongly linked and influenced with the anti-dictatorship struggle in Greece and abroad.

⁵¹³ Theodorakis concert in the Netherlands 1970, with Finish singer Arja Saijonaa in:

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RFuivRHOewU> (accessed 12 March 2013)

⁵¹⁴ Theodorakis, ‘the Greeks do not feel fear’ in: ‘Grieken niet bang meer’ NRC HANDELSBLAD, Maandag 25 Februari 1974

⁵¹⁵ Clogg, *A Concise History of Greece*, 181.

⁵¹⁶ Lambros Babalidis.

⁵¹⁷ See: Appendix I.

organization and the projection of a Spanish antifascist film “Spain 1968”.⁵¹⁸ Although, A.D.K. was a Greek democratic organization the level of acculturation with the majority, but also with other migrant groups has been high, as it has been mentioned to the statute of the committee. The political osmosis-co operational and confrontational- of that period, between the Greek workers and the Dutch resulted to an organizational experience and strategy, which helped them after 1974, in communities’ formation and has been reflected in Greek -Dutch organizational forms in 1974. Moreover, the leading role of the Grieks among the other migrants’ worker groups prepared a wider form of cooperation, after 1981.

Antifascist pick points, during the period 1973-74, worth to be mentioned as political acculturation projects between its actors. Student’s prosecution and incarceration in Greece by the colonels caused the Committee’s reaction, which occupied the Embassy in Den Haag and posted: “*handen af van Griekse Studenten*”⁵¹⁹ In the photo of that issue, Riek Trost a Dutch journalist accompanies the workers. Babalidis who appears also in the photo explains: “*Rie Troost, a journalist in Rotterdam’s newspaper has been real helpful as an access to Dutch media.*”⁵²⁰ Trost’s interview in 1973 refers to the Greek’s parastate in the Netherlands saying: “*de junta moet niet alleen in Griekenland.*”⁵²¹ Troost has been one of the many Dutch people that Babalidis , as leader of A.D.K and UDL has reported as partners, but they cannot all be mentioned for practical matters in that study. “*Siebe Hellinga from Friesland has been an analyzer in a public service, he was self-defined as christianocommunist; was also great help. Amsterdam’s university professor Marie van Erp Taalman was teaching ancient Greek and she was supporting financially widows from the civil War in Greece. Iris de Leeuw was the artists that was painting the Committee posters and has been taken care our actions artistically.*”⁵²² The list with Dutch people that supported actively the Greek Antidictatorial struggle can be long, considering Sideris and Yambannis autobiographies.⁵²³ In September 1973, *Vrij Nederland*, - which according to Sideris has been an old resistance weekly newspaper, under Bokman’s

⁵¹⁸ Antidiktatoriale Komitee voor de Grieken in Nederland, *bulletin no1*, March 1971.

⁵¹⁹ ‘Hongerstaking voor Griekse ambassade’, *STAD*, Maandag 26 Februari 1973.

⁵²⁰ Lambros Babalidis.

⁵²¹ ‘Waar Grieken werken is de geheimen dienst’ *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad*, Juni 23, 1973.

⁵²² Lambros Babalidis.

⁵²³ Σιδέρη, *Πατρίδες*, 187.

address and has supported the Greek left workers-the writer questions about political interrogations to the workers by the *Migrantenraad*. For the psychological pressure against the Greek workers, whose status and rights have already been suspended, according to the author, and Dutch police involvement, questions on the Dutch parliament have been asked.⁵²⁴ When two months later tanks attack students and workers in Athens,⁵²⁵ the Netherlands broadcast first the strife. “A Dutch journalist from *Het Vrije Volk* was hidden in a hotel opposite the Polytechnic University and the Junta policy was not aware of that. He gave the video in a KLM pilot and the Netherlands were the first European country that broadcasted the 1973’s junta’s attack to the protestors.”⁵²⁶ “We learned first the incidents of Polytechnio in 1973, because one Dutch operator-reporter of “*Het Vrije Volk*” was hidden in a hotel opposite the University and he achieved to record the facts and send the tape first in the Netherlands with a KLM pilot. Immediately, we went to the Greek embassy in Den Haag and we occupied the space there for ten days showing our support to our brothers and sisters in our country. The Dutch people were with us.”⁵²⁷ Ab Goerani, the special journalist reported the dispute in Dutch newspapers.⁵²⁸ One week after a multitudinous demonstration in Utrecht highlights the high bondage of Greeks and Dutch through their common fight against authoritarianism. In that issue, the main (alive) political actor, Babalidis has been presented and interviewed; the caption under his photo reveals the combatant political climate of the era: “*Volgende keer niet met blote handen tegen de tanks.*”⁵²⁹ A photo of Greeks and Dutch with torches and placate for Greece’s liberation is accompanied by the title: “*Links and rechts, we zijn allemaal tegen de junta.*”⁵³⁰ That title has been representative for ADK’S invitation to all political spectrums without demarcations. After 10 days, the following actions of A.D.D.K have been radical: “A large number of Dutch friends helped us and took part in the occupation of GDL that day and that did not happened accidentally, we had strategy reasons; first, we wanted them to get an active role in our struggle

⁵²⁴ ‘Wat wil de politie weten over de gasterbeiders?’ *Vrije Nederland*, September 8, 1973, no 36.

⁵²⁵ ‘Tanks breken verzet in Athene, zware strijd tussen politie en studenten’ *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad*, Zaterdag, November 17, 1973.

⁵²⁶ Manolis Polyhronakis.

⁵²⁷ Lambros Babalidis.

⁵²⁸ ‘Bisschop per tank naar eedaflegging’, *Het Vrije Volk*, Maandag, November 26, 1973.

⁵²⁹ Lambros Babalidis declaration: next time we will not go with empty hands against junta’s tanks’, in: *Het Vrije Volk*, Zaterdag, November 24, 1973.

⁵³⁰ ‘Lefts and Rights we all stand out against junta, in: ‘Links and rechts, we zijn allemaal tegen de junta’ *Het Vrije Volk*, Zaterdag, November 24, 1973.

and that would create strong bonds of trust between us. On the other hand, do not forget that those people were our protection; the police would never harm them, so we were positioning them in the front.⁵³¹ Greek's and Dutch political interaction has strengthened the bonds between them and resulted to a formal interethnic organization few months later. Rebels' movement (*Provo's*)⁵³² that has been in power until the middle of 1980s has been used by the members of ADDK for protection by the Dutch police and support in such high risk actions. In Amsterdam's Krasnapolsky hotel an official Greek Dutch committee, named *Solidariteit Grieks Verzet* (support to Greek resistance) has been formed in January 1974, where Dutch parties (CPN, PvdA, PPR, D'66, PSP) and all workers representatives were participating. Van de Berg, the secretary of Foreign Affairs claimed from the Minister Van de Stoel to interrupt all trade bonds with Greece.⁵³³ Babalidis: "During the junta time the Dutch state had in motion significant trade exchanges with Greece."⁵³⁴ In a poster of A.D.K. entitled: "*Westers kapitaal en junta regime profiteren van elkaar ten koste van het Griekse volk*", Onassis shipping companies and Olympic Airways has been highlighted. Moreover, the poster reports that Dutch banks had been invested 350 million in Philips Company in Athens and accused the Netherlands for its economic cooperation with junta.⁵³⁵ In the same spirit, an article questions the reasons of The Netherlands towards the boycott that Greek workers and sailors organized in June, while Scandinavian countries and Australia has supported the sailor's general strike, as it has been arranged in Stockholm.⁵³⁶ ΕΑΣΚΕΝ - Yambannis was its cofounder - and ΕΣΑΚ⁵³⁷ have been coherent organizations with a wide web in Europe's and Australia's ports.⁵³⁸ The article implied cooperation and acceptance of junta by the official Dutch state. Successful boycott by the Greek antifascists alarmed the oppositional status and increased pressure to the dictatorship in Greece. Nikos Sideris refers to the successful boycott from Greek and Dutch sailors in Rotterdam's and

⁵³¹ Lambros Babalidis.

⁵³² A photo of a demonstration, in Utrecht, 24 November 1974, where Dutch 'provos' and Greek workers protest against fascism. See Appendix IV.

⁵³³ 'RoelmWalraven: samen met Griekse patriotten tegen gemeenschappelijke vijand' *De Waarheid*, Vrijdag, Januari 25, 1974.

⁵³⁴ Lambros Babalidis.

⁵³⁵ Poster no 1. *Westers kapitaal en junta regime profiteren van elkaar ten koste van het Griekse volk* (Western capital and junta regime benefit from each other at the expense of the Greek people).ADK archive.

⁵³⁶ 'Nederland schuwt boycot van Griekse schepen WAAROM?' *De Nieuwe Linie*, Juni 5, 1974, 29e jaargang no.23.

⁵³⁷ Αντιδικτατορική Συνδικαλιστική Κίνηση Ελλήνων Ναυτεργατών and Εννιαία Συνδικαλιστική Αντιδικτατορική Κίνηση

⁵³⁸ Γιαμπανης, *Οι αναμνησεις ενός ναυτεργατη*, 255.

Antwerp's ports; his participation in the boycott had an immediate effect: his Greek citizenship was renounced.⁵³⁹ In March, the Dutch press has been inundated by articles on the results of the investigations concerning the GA occupation and the archive's examination by a group of Greeks and Dutch activists. *De Volkskrant* referred to the "Black Calendar" of the two hypothetically social workers⁵⁴⁰ which were placed by the junta in the GA to spy and snitch the workers as also the role of Utrecht's and Rotterdam's priests.⁵⁴¹ Rotterdam's, The Hague's and Brussels' Consulates consisted the central points of the European espionage network. In that network, information were provided by "Enneol" and priests of Utrecht and Rotterdam, which were cooperated with the Greek ambassador, listing the workers according with their political activities and ideas. Meetings have between Greek NATO militants' colonels,⁵⁴² the 'labor attaché in the Embassy of the Netherlands, and the 'militaire attaché' in Bonn,⁵⁴³ and confirm an inter-European network. In another newspaper of the same date, the *Werkgroep* denounced Utrecht's police that assisted the espionage of the Greek workers, (4,000 at that time according to the author) which has been promoted by Eneool and 'Hellas'. GA (Griekse Arbeiscomissie) is likened as a masquerade that hides the authoritarian Greek regime. Specific Dutch industries (de Vries Robbe Gorkum, NV Philips telecommunicatie Hilversum, Demka Utrecht and Nederlandse Aluminum Maatschappij) have been collecting systematically information about the workers - even in pre junta period - which were provided to GA and been used for their oppression and intimidation to the host country and their families in their home country.⁵⁴⁴ The linkage between the two countries has been confirmed by Mastorakakis, a worker, who had escaped of the junta to the Netherlands after tortures and imprisonment. The man focus on 'Hellas' actions in Utrecht, which through the school and various supposedly 'cultural' celebrations that the workers-recorded 1100 persons in that time- were forced to follow have been terrified Greeks families.⁵⁴⁵ After the official apocalypses of the worker's anticommunist espionage in a European level in

⁵³⁹ Αίτηση Νίκου Σιδέρη προς την Νομαρχία, Επιτροπή Κρίσης, για την αναγνώριση αντιστασιακής δράσης κατά της δικτατορίας, άρθρο 4, Ν. 1543/85 και 58448/29-7-85 απόφαση του Υπουργού Εσωτερικών και Δημοσίας Τάξης.

⁵⁴⁰ Stamatakis and Papanikolaou.

⁵⁴¹ Γιαμπανης, *Οι αναμνησεις ενός ναυτεργατη*, 229.

⁵⁴² Profilis, Kordatos and Kefsikis.

⁵⁴³ 'Rapport actiegroep: Grieks bureau dekmantel voor spionage -acties' *De Volkskrant*, Dinsdag, Maart 12, 1974.

⁵⁴⁴ 'Rapport van actiegroep op basis van documenten en interviews: Utrechtse politie helpt Griekse Spionnen' *NRC HANDELSBLAD*, Dinsdag, 12 Maart, 1974.

⁵⁴⁵ 'Het Griekse regime heeft lange armen' *NRC HANDELSBLAD*, Zaterdag, 30Maart, 1974.

the Dutch newspapers, the entire political world on the Netherlands accused the Dutch government. “*Een grote flater voor de Nederlandse regering*”⁵⁴⁶ has been characterized by the president of pacifists PSP, Van de Spek, Dutch government’s hypocrisy which was covering the situation. Espionage net exposure is in agreement with Babalidis statements: “*For my political action I have been stigmatized by Western European police. In Sweden 1971, I was going for an international meeting of the antifascist committee, when they have arrested me in the airport and I have been refused to enter the country. I come back disappointed from a Scandinavian country... In 1972, I was traveling to Sweden as a representative of ΠΑΚ, to the international Conference of the Antidictatorship Committees, when they arrested me and kept me in the airport. My entrance in the country was forbidden without any official excuse.*”⁵⁴⁷ Babalidis refers to Scandinavian countries and Germany because those countries were main poles of Greek politicians from the progressive stream, which escaped and became members of PAM, the Pan-Hellenic Liberation Movement, or PAK (Patriotic Antidictatorship Front). His arguments for an intra-European antiprogressive net, especially oppressive against Greek workers have been fully confirmed after junta’s fall (April 1974); “*Paleologos, tijdens de colonelscoup van 1967 rechterhand van de Griekse juntaleider George Papadopoulos en topfunctionaris van de Griekse geheime politie KYP, kwam eind 1971 als ambassaderaad naar Brussel. Zijn lijnen van het net liepen in Nederland via de Griekse ambassade en het consulaat naar het Grieks arbeidsbureau in Utrecht en het Griekse Scheepvaartbureau in Rotterdam.*”⁵⁴⁸ Embassy’s senior official, a member of KYP - has escaped to Lebanon before his trial as the rest junta leaders – “*begon daar met de opbouw van een network dat democratische Griekse gasterbeiders in de Benelux-landen en West Duitsland,... via spionage en intimidatie van hun Gezinnen.*”⁵⁴⁹ The first assembly of Rotterdam’s SBBW after 1974 reflected the power relation change between the Netherland’s

⁵⁴⁶ ‘A major blunder for the Dutch Government’ in: Griekenland roept spionnen terug, *Het Vrije Volk*, 8 Augustus, 1974.

⁵⁴⁷ Lambros Babalidis.

⁵⁴⁸ ‘Paleologos, during the coup of 1967, a colonel that has been right hand of the Greek junta leader George Papadopoulos and top operator of the Greek KYP secret police, came the end of 1971 as Counselor to Brussels. He just walked in lines of the Netherlands through the Greek embassy and consulate to the Greek Labour Office in Utrecht and the Greek Shipping Agency in Rotterdam ...’ in: ‘Arbeiders-spion van werraad beschuldigd’, *Het Vrije Volk*, 27 Juni, 1875.

⁵⁴⁹ ‘There began the construction of a network that controlled democratic Greek gasterbeiders in the Benelux countries and West Germany, through espionage and intimidation of their families’ in: ‘Arbeiders-spion van werraad beschuldigd’, *Het Vrije Volk*, 27 Juni, 1875.

Greeks ...we have gathered twenty persons to clash with the 'thugs' (nationalists)...but they didn't have power anymore...⁵⁵⁰ says the most active ADDK member for the right wing competitors that were dominating in the *Migrantenraad* since 1967. The democratic Greek migrants controlled the council after 1974, while those that meanwhile have graduated from Dutch universities have started to work in the organization as social workers; Polyhronakis, one of the interviewees has been one of them. Babalidis: "*Giannakos was working after the fall, but he mostly acted politically than helped the workers' personally, I have helped Apostolou, who has studied theology to work in the institution; he had introduced himself as a progressive. Later, he attacked me personally while I was the community's president and has tried to take the power for the PASOK party. After 1981 he attempted to become euro minister and he entered in the Dutch electoral list, where he has been elected.*"⁵⁵¹ Raad mechanisms and experience proved extremely important, partly because it has been used by educated workers to gain upward social and political mobility and rarely to enter the political space of the host country. Those exceptions have been criticized negatively by active left workers, - as the latter -, as opportunists who cared most for their personal development. The Raad, besides its initial social identity, did not succeed to remain neutral during junta and supported the power status in the country. Giannakos as a social worker for the Raad confirms the linkage and support of 'Hellas' and Eneol by the Consulate and SBWW. He talked about the Greek workers isolation and their exclusion by older organizations or their self-organization. After 1974 he detected a major positive shift in SBWW goals and tactics.⁵⁵² Criticism about the church's involvement and paternalism of the Raad and also conflicts between the Greeks or new groups like Amicales and Grey wolves, increased tension; the Raad has been released in 1977.⁵⁵³ Although, the *Raad* has been a forum where migrants had the opportunity of political expression and that formed the bases for their next formal organizational steps.

⁵⁵⁰ Lambros Babalidis.

⁵⁵¹ Lambros Babalidis.

⁵⁵² Giannakos, 'De eerste stappen op weg naar zelforganisatie', 7.

⁵⁵³ *Geschiedenis van de Migrantenraad, 50 jaar gasterbeiders in de stad Utrecht Migrantenraad*
in:<http://www.50jaargastarbeidersutrecht.nl/Portals/0/content/cultuur-en-religie/zelforganisaties/geschiedenis-migrantenraad.pdf>.

Normalization after 1974 and diversified ‘communities’ trajectories.

Dutch state, in a frame of multiculturalism and the preservation of foreign cultures-in order to facilitate repatriation- subsidized and supported the ‘communities’. After 1974 a shift of Greek government’s migration policies reflected a new awareness about the instrumental role of Greek Diaspora,-especially for their involvement in junta and Cyprus issue- and has been subsidized by the Greek state⁵⁵⁴ Sotirakis: *“I helped for our community formation in 1974 in Rotterdam. In the beginning we were supported fully by Rotterdam’s municipality, they have given as building, provided subsidies. We were also taking some small help by Greece, but...they have just sent us teachers.”*⁵⁵⁵ It seems that communities were economically dependent to the Dutch state while Greek state’s support has not been pragmatic, with some exceptions concerning school’s function. Babalidis, as a representative of UDL, has been the founder of Rotterdam’s “community”.⁵⁵⁶ Babalidis *“Until 1974, we did not control any organizational vehicle. Rotterdam’s Greek Worker Community has been established to secure the interests and rights of the labor Greeks immigrants. Our objectives were Greek ethnic identity preservation, and integration – and not isolation - to the Dutch majority. We focused more in Greek school’s operation for the maintenance of Greek educational culture and language. We fought for ‘everyone’s school’, all community’s members; that is what I have applied all those years (during his 18th presidency of Rotterdam’s Greek community), not folklore, but the promotion of the authentic cultural heritage. The bourgeois class in Greece has presented and promoted Greek folklore, in order to have a ‘digestible’ touristic image in Europe. UDLin. Dimitra Sideris was following that Greek folklore ‘rule’ for promoting the Greek community in Utrecht”*.⁵⁵⁷ UDL established their own organizations, but still, there were differences between Utrecht and Rotterdam, depending to the leaders. In Rotterdam, UDL dominated through Babalidis and controlled also the school, which has been separated from *Enosis* and the church. In Utrecht, UDLin under Sideris leadership not only formed a community, but succeeded to merge the two-conflictual- pre-existed ones, ‘Hellas’ and Panellinios that have been conflictual during junta.

⁵⁵⁴ Venturas, *Gouvernements grecs et partis politiques*, 49.

⁵⁵⁵ Giannis Sotirakis.

⁵⁵⁶ *Vereniging van de Werkende Grieken Rotterdam an Omstreken, Κοινότητα Ελλήνων Εργαζομένων Ροτερνταμ* (1974)

⁵⁵⁷ Lambros Babalidis.

“Panellinios” has been an organization formed by ‘progressive’ workers like Nikos Sideris and due to its character has remained isolated by ‘Hellas’. Actually, “Panellinios” was not necessarily consisted of communists, but had a non-radical face that included, the labor Utrecht Greek’s class. In the middle of 1975, “Anagennisi” has been established with democratic procedures by UDLin in Utrecht, but it was not conflictual free, at least in the first operating year. In DSA we find letters that reveal the continuity of contradiction among the Greek members. In the first letter, the undersigned E.Kouskousidis complains that communists decided for everyone autarchically and have divided the Unitarian effort by excluding the non active Greeks during junta times.⁵⁵⁸ In his own words “*those who did not obey to the soviet boot have been considered fascists.*”⁵⁵⁹ In the same realm, another letter makes a distinction among the political non-active workers during junta and the fascists; it reveals that as precondition of the new organization has been the exclusion of *the well known three fascists.*⁵⁶⁰ The community’s constitution has included an “Honor Protocol” in which: “*persons (their names were mentioned) that acted supportively to junta during 1967 to 1974, and oppressed or intimidated our co ethnics have no right to be elected in the community.*”⁵⁶¹ Actually, patriotism has been a key word that has been referred often in the analysis. The term has been used by the nationalists to excerpts violently worker’s consent to nationalistic actions, or to prevent them to join ADK activism. Patriotism has been also used by the left to mobilize non active and indecisive workers during junta. “*The other Greeks here have accused me as antipatriotic because I always had an independent way of thinking. Those patriots criticize me; the Greek element in the Netherlands is negative. The territorium which is called Patrída (homeland) I love it and I did not need to prove it to anyone, but I am an artist I do not take a specific political position, I do not believe in confrontation. The only think I seek for was to give pleasure and comfort to people with my music.*”⁵⁶² Non-political action choices during junta meant the lack of belonging in an entity; transformation of patriotism’s term reveals the extension of the ethnic’s group division during 1967 to 1974.

⁵⁵⁸ See Appendix IV.

⁵⁵⁹ Euripides Kouskousidis, Letter to Utrecht’s Greeks, 8 January, 1976 in: DSA.

⁵⁶⁰ Anonymous letter to ‘Anagennisi’ organization,’ 14 December, 1976, see Appendix III.

⁵⁶¹ Σιδέρη, *Πατρίδες*, 248.

⁵⁶² Aristotle Georgiadis.

In 1977, Sideris formed 'Foreign Women Center', which functioned in "Anagennisi" building and addressed to all ethnicities migrant women. In that sense - taking under consideration the organizational support by the Dutch state after 1975 - organizational experience of UDLin members resulted to a wider formation of schemes that included also non- ethnic members. In 1974, the Federation of Greek Communities in the Netherlands has been established, for the coordination of all communities in the country; left Greek's contribution to the Federation's formation has been decisive since the founders were the local communities' presidents.⁵⁶³ Through that operator, Greek working class acquired a coherent representation to both sending and receiving state's decision centers, but also in the European level. In that sense, communities, under a legitimate structure cultivated the relations between migrants and Greek state and 'naturalized' the relation of the latter with the receiving state. After 1974, communities officially took an intermediate role between the workers and the two states, partially restoring the previous inequality. In that sense, after 1974, Greek worker's 'alienage' has been blocked. Due to left workers leadership, after a long period of struggle (1960-1974) workers have been able to be formally represented and put their own terms in the negotiation table with the home and mainly, the host authorities and society. Communities Federation has participated in workers international meetings in Europe. Babalidis: *"In 1978 we participated in the first international council; the results of that meeting were send to the European Council in Brussels and considered our claims for equal political, social and labor rights with the local workers. Although, we had reacted to the Dutch policies before, like in 1973 and the wet Boersma, after the communities' formal formation we were confronted with respect. At least our struggle has not been wasted."*⁵⁶⁴ In 1973, an incision in Dutch state's migration policies towards the guest workers become clear. Until the 1970s the Netherlands was not considered by the Dutch politicians an immigration country⁵⁶⁵ OPEC countries oil crisis 1973-74, inflation and the consequent unemployment resulted in unrest. Dutch trade Unions turned against guest workers. Boersma, Social Affairs Minister, proposed policies that restricted permanent residency.⁵⁶⁶ *"We*

⁵⁶³ Babalidis, Adam, Apostolou, Vassilopoulos were the founders.

⁵⁶⁴ Lambros Babalidis.

⁵⁶⁵ See incident when Dutch Molluccans hijacked a train (Assen –Groningen) in 1977, in: Penninx, Schoorl, van Praag The impact of international migration, 160.

⁵⁶⁶ Giannakos, De Eerste Stappen op Weg Naar Zelforganisatie, 5.

*reacted with massive demonstrations then, we knew so many people...we had a big network of workers and Dutch democrats after all those struggles.”*⁵⁶⁷ After ‘communities’ formation, workers had the opportunity to be represented - until 1981 exclusively by left. The right wing groups were ‘marginalized’ either because of their class indifference towards union and labor matters, either because they did not had any access to the New Greek political vehicles. As we have seen, while in Rotterdam the Community has been absolutely distinguished from the old “Enosis”, in Utrecht, left (internal) implemented a dialectic relation with all Greek immigrants, under conditions. In 1981, Rotterdam’s UDL leadership mobilized five ethnic groups and established L.S.O.B.A.⁵⁶⁸ (Netherlands Migrant Worker’s Organization) and a ‘Platform’ of 60 migrants organizations. Giannakos reports a corporative bloom after 1979, when other nationalities, (Moroccans, Turks, Italians, etc) attempted cooperation with the Greeks.⁵⁶⁹ Babalidis, member of the Platform L.S.O.B.A. and Rotterdam’s community president for 18 years reports: *“We had established since 1981, the platform, the Communities Federation, which was representing different ethnicities. Our voice becomes even stronger... For example in 1982, the Dutch state has attempted to implement a policy for an ethnic spatial concentration; to build ethnic ghettos. Amsterdam is the capital of their culture, but Rotterdam is their political workshop; its been called “Rijnmond” mouth of Rhine. Its significance is that it has always been the economic and industrial heart of the Netherlands. That is the reason that here you have the biggest proletariat. Whatever change the Dutch administrations want to rehearse and “pass” to society, they are implementing it firstly here”.*⁵⁷⁰ Rotterdam’s role, as a ‘political laboratory’ for the implementation of Dutch politics - due to the spatial and symbolic power concentration of migrants and host authorities - has been an additive reason for the workers Greeks organizational radicalism during junta, but also after 1974. In combination with the worker’s restriction by Enosis and the church, Rotterdam’s political characteristics resulted to intense reaction by the left workers. Additionally, the existence of seamen left unionism and UDL’s leaders determined a different organizational character for Rotterdam comparing to Utrecht.

⁵⁶⁷ Lambros Babalidis.

⁵⁶⁸ Πανολλανδικη Οργανωση Εργατών Μεταναστών

⁵⁶⁹ Giannakos, De Eerste Stappen op Weg Naar Zelforganisatie, 45.

⁵⁷⁰ Lambros Babalidis.

After 1981, Papandreou social democratic government have tried to present a shift towards Greek communities abroad and established an operational organization “Council of Hellenes Abroad”.⁵⁷¹ A. Papandreou has been in 1968 founder of PAK⁵⁷² in Sweden where he was exiled by junta and there he had the opportunity to realize the significance, the role and the impact of Diaspora for politics in the sending country. PASOK implemented new policies towards Greek immigrants who have taken part in the anti dictatorial struggle. An article’s title in ‘Apodimos’⁵⁷³, which presented Greek Diaspora, is characteristic: “*Greek immigrants are included to the agents of ‘Change’ in Greece.*”⁵⁷⁴ In Sideris archives, we find UDL members applications for pensions by the Greek state due to their Antidictatorial fights abroad,⁵⁷⁵ a measure of Papandreou government that enhanced PASOK image and appeal among the Greek communities. Worker’s which belonged to the progressive part, but have not been active during junta, after 1981, have been promoted by the Greek state to assume the leadership from the left; a fact that mobilized new conflicts. Tzavos: “*After 1974, I was involved to the formation of the worker’s community in Rotterdam, before that I did not want to have troubles. I also become a president for some period...after 1981. The state in that period was giving us subsidies, paying the rent, supporting us generally. Then the community was giving further training for dancing, photography, sewing...it become a cultural center.*”⁵⁷⁶ Sotirakis, another progressive, describes the strife among UDL and Pasok after 1981, in the communities: “*Babalidis tried to buy the building for the community but it was in 1981, when Papandreou’s socialists had won the elections, so they tried to dominate here also; they opposed and isolated Babalidis, and so the plan for the community’s expansion ended. In 1987 Babalidis resigned from his position.*”⁵⁷⁷ Political conflicts between group members provoke criticism by non political active members, which interpreted, the community as a leisure and ethnic culture ‘space’: “*I did register in Rotterdam’s “community” in 1974 and I spend all my free time there playing “tavli” or cards.*

⁵⁷¹ Συμβούλιο Αποδημου Ελληνισμού

⁵⁷² Πανελληνιο Απελευθερωτικό Κίνημα, Pan-Hellenic Liberation Movement

⁵⁷³ ‘Emigrant’, Έκδοση της Επιτροπής Αποδημου Ελληνισμού του ΠΑΣΟΚ.

⁵⁷⁴ Where ‘Change’ has been the main victorious slogan for PASOK in 1981 elections in: Αποδημος, Έκδοση της Επιτροπής Αποδημου Ελληνισμού του ΠΑΣΟΚ, Αθίνα 1985 22.

⁵⁷⁵ Αίτηση Νίκου Σιδέρη προς την Νομαρχία, Επιτροπή Κρίσης, για την αναγνώριση αντιστασιακής δράσης κατά της δικτατορίας, άρθρο 4, Ν. 1543/85 και 58448/29-7-85 απόφαση του Υπουργού Εσωτερικών και Δημοσίας Τάξης.

⁵⁷⁶ Eleftherios Tzavos.

⁵⁷⁷ Giannis Sotirakis.

*But every time elections were going on in Greece, for one month before every one was quarreling. They did not speak to each other for months after the elections...those that all the previous time were heart friends...This is what I did not liked, the discord of politics, it seems Greeks have it in the blood, it's a Greek characteristic.”*⁵⁷⁸ Home state's escalating interference politics after 1981, is obvious in the government's special issue for Greek Diaspora, which is entitled: *“what is hidden backstage the attack towards Greek communities abroad? OEK (Federation) answer to orchestrated publications.”*⁵⁷⁹ In that article, it is argued that the right wing press in Greece attacks the “communities” Federation for authoritarianism towards the Greek immigrants, for being Pasok parastate and impede church's and Consulate's course. OEK responds to the provocative accusations by presenting its statute, which reflects the political body's open character; a group of minimum forty persons that can establish a recognized union, under a democratic constitution has been able to become Federation's members.⁵⁸⁰ Apparently, the marginalization of the right wing power centers - abroad and in Greece - in combination with the new massive victory of socialistic Pasok resulted to a reaction against the communities. In that period communities have reached the zenith of their influence and acceptance by the sending and hosting state and among the immigrants. Utrecht's different leadership (UDLin) which had from the beginning an ethnic and cultural character resulted to different trajectories than Rotterdam's ‘Worker's Community’. Sideris, which cooperated with PAK members abroad - as there was a coalition between Pasok and UDLin - describes a period in the 1990s when Utrecht's “Greek house” acquired a fully social and cultural ethnic quality, organizing multitude cultural events for the Greek migrants, creating a library and establishing a women's organization.⁵⁸¹ Anagennisi transformation from activity Centrum to an open meeting point after 1978 has been reported.⁵⁸²

⁵⁷⁸ Aristotle Georgiadis.

⁵⁷⁹ Τι κρύβεται πίσω από την επίθεση εναντίον ελληνικών κοινοτήτων της Δ.Γερμανίας, απάντηση της ΟΕΚ στα ενορχηστρωμένα δημοσιεύματα, *Αποδημος, Εκδοση της Επιτροπής Αποδήμου Ελληνισμού του ΠΑΣΟΚ*, 29,2(Αθίνα 1985) 22.

⁵⁸⁰ Τι κρύβεται πίσω από την επίθεση εναντίον ελληνικών κοινοτήτων της Δ.Γερμανίας, απάντηση της ΟΕΚ στα ενορχηστρωμένα δημοσιεύματα, *Αποδημος, Εκδοση της Επιτροπής Αποδήμου Ελληνισμού του ΠΑΣΟΚ*, 29,2(Αθίνα 1985) 23.

⁵⁸¹ Σιδέρη, *Πατρίδες*, 247-283.

⁵⁸² Giannakos, *De Eerste Stappen op Weg Naar Zelforganisatie*, 44.

Observations

Greece in the middle of twentieth century was religiously homogenous and the Orthodox Church was identified with the nation. Rotterdam's Agios Nikolaos, which belonged to the old pre-war Greek group, was the 'Apple of Discord' for the Greek migrants in the Netherlands. Out of twenty workers, fourteen of them approached the church in the first weeks of their arrival in the country. For four workers, the Church played the role of an imaginary spiritual and ethnic homeland in a foreign country; it consequently constituted a great psychological support during their migration procedure. Moreover, church participation has been referred to by four of them as membership to a social ethnic space in the guest land; an opportunity for ties and connections that expanded the worker's limited social network. For two workers, church attendance was related to the preservation of ethnic language and identity for the second generation. Both conservative and progressive workers have tried to access the church. Eight to twelve conservatives preserved their loyalty to the church, despite their negative criticism which mainly concerns the social and political malfunction of the church. The privatization of the church by *Enosis* resulted in restricted access and class demarcations for the new group. Their later time period of migration and, mainly, their social class origins, followed by their inferior economic status formed the segregating filters for these workers. The repulsion of the progressive migrants was promoted out of political motives. Six of the fourteen workers restricted their relations with the church to a mandatory level of religious ceremonies - marriage, and baptism - which became a kind of control and demonstration of power and prestige to them. The marriages of progressive workers with non-orthodox spouses were indirectly rejected. In that sense, the church was not accessible to the workers, neither played the role of mediator with the host country for them, despite of her religious and psychological philanthropic role. Although the workers and the sailors had contributed economically for the reservation and operation of the church, they were absolutely restricted to real participation in the level of decisions and control. Implies about the church's involvement in simony and economic scandals - where the old group had taken advantage of its direct access and control- were the reasons that all the interviewees were disappointed and had lost their trust in the political and social role of the institution. Diversity concerning the relation of the workers with religious organizations through time reveals once

more the differing political qualities of the group. The ‘conservatives’ have stayed near the church without being able to participate in the institutes control and operation. The ‘progressives’, on the other hand, deviated from church attendance and kept a typical distance, although this had not been their initial desire.

All migrants considered the operation of the school as instrumental, mainly considering its function as sustenance for the Greek culture. The school was under the control of *Enosis* and the church’s control until 1974. During the junta, ‘pseudo’ teachers promoted nationalistic propaganda to the second generation in the Greek school. The privatization of the school by the old regime provoked reactions from the progressive workers. From 1971, the control of the school was taken over by the Dutch state, while in 1974 it was resumed by the Greek ‘communities’ and their members. The school then acquired an autonomous, secular character. The Dutch state policy towards ethnic schools after 1974 was part of the multicultural approach and sought to maintain the ‘mother tongue’ language skills for the perspective of the repatriation of the ‘guests’. The Greek school operation in Utrecht and Rotterdam was free of conflicts until 1976, but after that point its function has been normalized. ‘Communities’ treated the Greek school –without demarcations- as ethnic heritage for all the Greek second generation in the host land.

The formation of political organizations by the Greek working immigrant class in Utrecht and Rotterdam took part in three periods. During the first period, 1960 to 1967, the worker’s arrival has caused the establishment of SBBW Foundations. Dutch political opportunity structures permitted the establishment of ‘Greek Houses’, where initial social ethnic concentration took part and also mobilized the formation of a Greek council (*Migrantenraad*) for the group’s representation to the SBBW and the municipality’s administration. Utrecht’s SBBW gave the workers the chance to experience political action through informal working representation groups, following the scheme of the *Migrantenraad*. During that period in Utrecht, *Hellas* and *Panellinios* have been formed. *Panellinios* was actually operated into the frame of the “Greek House” by the leadership of left workers and had a social and cultural character, which was confirmed by the successful and popular cultural activities. ‘Panellinios’ addressed generally to

co-ethnics and had no direct or evident exclusion filter. *Hellas* activities revealed its character during Junta's period.

In Rotterdam during the first period, the situation was different. On the one hand, the presence of the Dutch and the Greek authorities in the urban environment operated in a sedative way for the workers action, as ten out of twenty interviewees testified. On the other hand, labor concentration in specific industries, permitted class and political conscious militant left wing workers (Yambannis, Babalidis) to create a network of sailors and workers and form an informal extended political matrix. A suppressive regime in Rotterdam, was formed by the Consulate, the Maritime Attaché, *Enosis*, the church, and Dutch authorities. At the same time, authoritarianism provoked reactions from the left core, which resulted in radical strife in the next period. The old Greek 'regime' in the country tried to prevent Rotterdam's workers - posing class, political filters - from formatting a formal organization. Nevertheless those restrictive actions resulted in an opposite trajectory. Direct Organizational prevention and competition from the old formal union 'Enosis' radicalized the workers politically and equipped the leaders with oppositional justified arguments. For the progressives, who's motivation to migrate were the attempts to their social and political extermination in Greece, their new goals in the host land have been decisive for their organizational activation. A reinforcing factor for the mobilization of the progressive workers was their deprivation of political rights, leaving them with a status of 'alienage' in the host country. The left political and class conscious workers in Rotterdam and Utrecht got in touch with each other in that period, and established the core of leaders.

The second period, 1967 to 1974, constitutes a high politicization period, mainly through antidictatorship activities of the workers. The political juncture in Greece triggered the group's heterogeneous elements and caused rapid organizational progression. Three main groups were formed: the nationalists, who enjoyed the 'old status' support; a progressive group, which formed and determined political developments through its actions; and the 'silent' group, which was composed by non-right-wing democrats, who had for various reasons chosen not to participate in oppositional activities. In Utrecht, *Hellas* - subsidized by the Greek and the Dutch state - was defined as the official right-wing organ of the nationalistic Greek regime in the host country. A nationalistic propaganda was addressed through school and national festivities to

workers by using compulsive methods. *Panellinos* remained silent during that time, due to the political unrest in the Greek community and the lack of support from the Dutch state. In Rotterdam, *Eneol* was composed by militant fascists, who were operating in the limits of the city's underworld, acting illegally. The organ's main target was the proselytization and intimidation of the 'silent' group and to pursue and deter the active left workers. All workers testified tactics of extortion during that period; the renouncement of passports and occupational expulsion were used against them as tactics of intimidation, with the cooperation of Greek and Dutch authorities. Four out of four seamen reported authoritarian confrontation by the Maritime Authorities. While none of the workers in the first right-wing group declared their participation, seventeen out of twenty one did not participate in political activities during that period. Six progressive workers amongst them were intimidated and remained non-active; the rest remained loyal to their initial economic emigrational motivation. During junta, four out of twenty-one of the interviewees had been politically active in ADK actions, which had been officially established by members of UDL in Utrecht and Rotterdam. ADK was an organization linked to an international level of other respective Antidictatorial Greek formations and addressed a wide political antifascist spectrum. The movement appealed to political democratization and the support of the oppressed population in the homeland and, simultaneously, claimed for the social and political equality of Greek workers and justice in the host land. ADK had the – unofficial - cooperation of CPN as well as the support and collaboration of a Dutch *Werkgroep Vrij Griekenland* which was composed by progressive members of the Dutch society. That specific reactive condition and cooperation of one majority's part with the progressive Greek workers was instrumental for the collective experience and political and organizational actions of the progressive Greeks. A.D.K actions lobbied, which resulted in the mobilization of the Dutch public opinion and Dutch political pressure against the Greek junta on an international level. The left group actions and its political interaction with Dutch and other immigrant's ethnicities in the anti-fascistic front contributed to the fall of the junta and formed a new basis for further organizational collaborations.

After 1974, migration was re-politicized in the Netherlands. Dutch Multiculturalism fostered the new formal Greek organizations, which underwent a period of naturalization and changed

character and target group. In Rotterdam, the Greek workers community, under UDL leadership, prevailed over *Enosis*, took the control of the school control and enjoyed the approval of the worker's class. Nine out of fourteen workers in Rotterdam became active members of the 'community', which was defined as a 'Greek workers organization'. The name of the community points out the shift from the informal 'immigrant' status of the 1970s to a permanent class-conscious 'worker' status in the 1980s. The leaders of Rotterdam's community, under Babalidis Praesidium, continued the worker's political activism through institutional avenues, and promoted the group's empowered representation to the host state. Institutional support by the Dutch state, which funded worker's institutions and stimulated the organizational experience of the UDL leaders, led to the foundation of an umbrella organization for Greek worker's in the Netherlands in 1976, and workers of other ethnicities in 1981. In that sense, L.S.O.B.A and the Foreign Worker's Platform reflected the high class consciousness of the Greek left in Rotterdam, and the strong ties that were formed during the collective anti-dictatorial struggle between antifascist Greeks, Dutch and other ethnicities in the Netherlands. The Greek 'communities' Federation development was instrumental for the representation of the Greek working class in Greece and in the Netherlands and influenced policies formation in both states. After 1981, political changes in Greece resulted in internal conflicts in the 'communities'. Socialists, who were non-active during the junta and participated in the community only after 1974, attempted to gain power and secure left leadership. The conflictual environment gradually weakened the immigrants' participation as well as the community's efficiency in the level of decisions and claiming. Gradually, the community's character lost its radical nuance and transformed into an ethnic class and a political organ that integrated in the 'consensus' climate.

In Utrecht after 1974, organizational trajectories were different from Rotterdam. *Hellas* the right-wing old status, which had become isolated after the disclosure of its authoritarian and oppressive role in the Greek community during junta, accepted to be merged with the new formal 'community' *Anagennisi*. While the community in Rotterdam was a 'workers' organization, in Utrecht *Anagennisi* was formed by two contradictory groups, which was not without conflicts. *Anagennisi* membership was accessible to a wide political spectrum because it was oriented in the ideology of euro-communism; because of that, it employed conciliatory and dialectic

strategies towards all Greek migrants. Utrecht's Greek 'community' also embraced workers from other ethnicities and created gender organizations (woman's union). Generally, after 1974, the role of the community in Utrecht was mainly social and cultural.

Conclusions.

The key theme of this thesis was the situation in Greece before the nation's post-war migration, and how this influenced and shaped the group's integration after migration, in the Netherlands. Analysis of the migrants' social, political, religious and cultural status in their homeland has revealed that the instrumental factor shaping the group's move to the Netherlands has been Greece's political pathology (radicalism, power segmentation, revanchism, communist's pogrom) in the period before migration.

Greek post civil war politics and socioeconomic situation created a group with a vulnerable and low status. In the 1950s and 1960s these people left for European and transatlantic destinations. In our case, the aforementioned conditions formed a Greek migration group in the Netherlands, which was characterized by low human capital, and poverty. The Greek emigrants inherited from their homeland a high grade of vulnerability, internal radicalism and lack of cohesion, characteristics that relates to the group's 'heterogeneity'. The communists were facing in Greece the deprivation of life standards (work, education) and the prospect of death. In that sense, the group's motivation for emigration was differentiated by economic reasons and had also a political character.

Greece's situation and its position in the periphery of Europe reflected on the country's bilateral agreements and migration policies. The Greek state has confronted the group's emigration to the Netherlands in clientele logic, being inconsistent and manipulative, ignoring the worker's sustainability in the receiving country. Dutch employers and authorities took advantage of Greece's immigration tactics in order to serve their own interests. Greek migrants in the Netherlands were not likely to protest or complain, and thus formed a workforce that could easily be exploited. Greeks were submissive in the first period of their settlement in the Netherlands and this led to indirect exploitation and discrimination by employers and Dutch authorities. In that sense, the 'situation before' has been the base for Greek's alienage, which was enhanced by the opportunity structure in the host society. Nevertheless, the group's vulnerable position and the fear of expulsion from the Netherlands have been a driving force for the worker's integration in the host society. Although, self-occupation and intergenerational incorporation have been

points of upward social mobility for Greeks it was the progressives' institutionalization during 1967 to 1974 that changed their status in the host society, plus easy credit from Dutch banks. The 'heterogeneous' radicalism in the Netherlands has been the result of the communists' past and experiences in Greece, before the 1960s. Too much oppression by competitive organizations and power centers resulted to left worker's coiling and high institutional and political activism, which lead to their formal class representation to Greece and the Netherlands after 1974.

The main sources for this thesis were twenty-five in depth interviews which were conducted in the Netherlands between August 2012 and February 2013. Personal narrations and individual accounts combined with analysis of journal articles have shown the group's status and its progress along the path of integration. Initially, the interviewees described Greece after the civil war and their position within that frame. Throughout that analysis revealed issues such as inequality, vulnerability, dependency, and this stigmatized all Greek's integration routes in the host country. We followed 'Odysseus' steps between 1955 and 1981 from traditional Greece to the modern Netherlands. This study shed light on the real dimensions of the state's bilateral agreements and mainly the extent to which the group's initial social and labor position, identification and mobility were predefined or limited by that interrelation. Analysis of archival material has shown that the Greeks' inequality and vulnerability in their country of origin resulted in indirect discrimination and exploitation by both Greek and Dutch authorities and by Dutch employers. Subsequently, this work has highlighted the group's struggle for a secure social and labor position within Dutch society, by analyzing semi-measurable factors of integration, (marriage, and occupational patterns, selective acculturation with the locals and the intergenerational incorporation to the host society). Comparisons between the pre-war and the post-war group showed that the main barrier, which has been plugged to the worker's by the 'status' (Dutch society and old prewar group) was class. Respectively, on the part of the worker's, the obstacles that were lifted up against their acculturation with the Dutch have been emerged through the contradiction between Greek's traditional origins (religion, family model, rural culture) and Dutch modernization.

Chapters II and III concluded that - considering the group's unprivileged status and lack of language - the workers' social and occupational mobility is positively evaluated. Both

conservatives and progressives showed social mobility through intergenerational educational and occupational incorporation. For the conservatives an upward social and economic mobility has been achieved - due to their initial emigrational motifs - mainly, through self-employment. The paralleling Dutch welfare system supported the worker's permanent settlement in the Netherlands. In chapter IV, I focused on the workers' political action in the period from 1967 to 1974 again based upon interviews and archival material, (mainly newspaper articles, journals and two left-wing leaders' autobiographies). Analysis revealed that while the conservatives focused mainly in their social and economic development the progressives became political active. A part of the progressive wings pioneered in demonstrations, hunger strikes, squats of organizations, mobilization of the press and public opinion, in order to promote the political interests in Greece (anti-junta struggle) and to claim their group's political representation in the Netherlands. In that sense, the group's 'diversities' emerged from the mainstream and promoted offensive and radical political strategies.

While competition by the Greek authorities, the old Greek regime (prewar group and the church) and the host government has been restrictive and prohibitive for unofficial workers' organizations, mainly in Rotterdam, their action has not been in vain. On the contrary, the worker's reaction has been powerful. Schrover and Vermeulen assumed a bell shaped form in immigrants' organizational activity, whereby organizational activity reduced if there was either too much or too little competition from governments or other institutions.

Cross-checking the Greeks' institutional formation, between 1967 and 1974, this research has shown that in our case, the result of offensive competitive action by the Greek conservative status and the Dutch state, against the informal left oriented worker's organizations in the Netherlands had the opposite effect. I found that those institutional cores were enhanced due to a defensive reaction of the Greek migrants, (1967 to 1974) and finally, became officially recognized and powerful groups after 1974.

The left-wing part of the Greek progressives developed a collective mentality, which under special acculturative relations with the non-mainstream Dutch society resulted in a status change of the Greek workers. The formation of communities after 1974 and the formal class and ethnic representation through them, to the host and the home state, have been considered as a milestone for the Greeks' post war migration to the Netherlands. Chapter IV concluded that after 1974, the

establishment of Greek communities (*κοινοτητες*) in the Netherlands blocked the ‘alienage’ status of the post war Greek migrants in the host land. The previous ‘unwanted’ organizations were transformed so as to represent all classes of Greeks. Dutch multiculturalism at the same time contributed to the Greek worker’s institutional empowerment until 1981. After 1981, Greece’s entrance to EU changed the Greek migrants’ position in Europe.

Comparisons between the character of Rotterdam’s and Utrecht’s organizations (1967-1974) and communities (after 1974) made clear the significance of organization’s leadership. Was the reason of the institutionalized left-wing workers’ strong reaction the grade of their political and class consciousness? Has that dynamic been the result of ‘one man’ leadership? The answer is mixed; leading personalities, with a high level of class and political consciousness, emerged from oppression in their homeland and the experience of unionism and acculturation of the host land; social and cultural host opportunities structures; 1970s European rebellious conjuncture; the ‘firing’ occasion from home; all of these factors constitute part of the answer. Although the point that defined the trajectories of the organizations in the two cities was the political orientation of their leadership.

The main theoretical argument of this thesis has been the significance of the political situation in the sending country and its role on shaping the preconditions of a group’s integration in a receiving country. According to that thesis, Greece’s situation before the workers emigration to the Netherlands formed the group’s special character, the two state’s bilateral agreements, the group’s position and the terms of its integration in the host society.

In a wider perspective, this work gives us a reason to rethink the dichotomy ‘homogeneity-heterogeneity’. Even if we accept this dichotomy for pragmatic reasons, our case shows the importance of ‘diversity’ - here political orientation and background - and its dynamics form as carrier of social mobility and acculturation. And that point can be transferred to all levels of ‘hypothetical’ alienage: political, social, religious, racial, gender, educational, cultural. Hypothesizing that integration constitutes a goal for both ‘majorities and minorities, ‘heterogeneity’ has been proved positive for that process. In that sense, ‘fear for the different’ is unfounded and needs to be readdressed. I include the role of ‘heterogeneous’ - in terms of anti

mainstream, as this is defined and constructed by 'supposed' homogenous majorities - as the carrier of reversal and development.

In this regard, this work is an attempt to overcome simplistic and essentialist approaches about social, political, cultural and religious dichotomies, and to realize the extension of 'constructed', 'scheduled' and predefined schemes directed by States and the global interdependence, in synchrony and diachrony. A comparative perspective between post war worker's activism and organizations in Western block countries, which have hosted 'guest workers' in the same period, such as Belgium, Germany or USA, would be helpful to confirm non-essentialist dimensions, about 'labor' migration, and to check the extent in which the situation before migration in the sending country has affected the integration procedure in the receiving country, in different cases. Discussion about the factors and their dynamics, which determine and mobilize an immigration group's social status and integration, literally and theoretically - subsuming three main entities; the group's character, the sending and the receiving state - is still open to debate and provides the opportunity for further research.

APPENDICES

Table of Contents

Appendix I:	ADK Demonstrations	p. 189
Appendix II:	Agios Nikolaos	p. 200
Appendix III:	“Anagennisi”, Utrecht	p. 203
Appendix IV:	Articles (ADK and newspapers)	p. 211
Appendix V:	Demonstration’s photos	p. 217
Appendix VI:	Greek schools	p. 219
Appendix VII:	Diverse	p. 226
Appendix VIII:	Portraits	p.231

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: ADK DEMONSTRATIONS

'I MAY DEMONSTRATIE VAN GRIEKEN, PORTUGEZEN, SPANJIE' ADK, BULLETIN

NO 1, SPRING 1971

STICHTING
ANTIDIKTATORIALE KOMITÉ



VOOR DE GRIEKEN IN NEDERLAND

A.s. zaterdag 1 mei wordt te Utrecht door Nederlanders, Spanjaarden, Grieken en Portugezen een 1 mei demonstratie georganiseerd, welke om 14.00 uur zal vertrekken van het Stadhuis, Oude Gracht (bij de Dom). Na afloop wordt er de film "Spanje '68" gedraaid en treedt de Grieks Nederlandse dansgroep "Orpheas" op. Vanaf 9.00 uur 's-morgens kunt U terecht in de Raadskelder onder het stadhuis, waar stands staan van actiegroepen en politieke partijen.

Diskriminatie wortelt in het fascisme
Onder dit thema zullen de Anti-Diktatoriale Komitees der Grieken in Nederland, de Spaanse Anti-fascistische Komitees en het Angola Komitee aanwezig zijn met een gezamenlijke grote stand op dinsdagavond 4 mei in het Krasnapolskygebouw, ingang grote zaal Warmoesstraat te Amsterdam in het kader van de jaarlijkse demonstratieve vergadering van J'ACCUSE, ter gelegenheid van de dodenherdenking.
Toegangsprijs: Fl. 1,50. Aanvang: 19.30 uur

Τό Σάββατο 1η τῶν Μῆν, ὁργανώνεται στήν Οὐτρέχτη ἀπό Ὀλλανδοῦς, Ἰσπανοῦς, Ἑλλήνες καί Πορτογάλλους πορεία μέ τήν εὐκαιρία τῆς Πρωτομαγιάς. Ἡ πρωτομαγιάτικη πορεία ξεκινάει στίς 2η ὥρα τῶ μεσημέρι ἀπό τῶ Δημαρχεῖο τῆς Οὐτρέχτης, Οὐδε Gracht (κοντά στή ΝΤΟΜ. Μετά τῶ τέλος τῆς πορείας θά προβληθεῖ τῶ φιλμ "Ἰσπανία 1968" καί στή συνέχεια, τῶ Ἑλληνοολλανδικῶ χορευτικῶ γκρουῦπ "ΟΡΦΕΑΣ" θά χορέψει ἑλληνικοῦς χορούς. Τό Σάββατο ἀπό τῆς 9 ἡ ὥρα τῶ πρωῦ, μπορεῖ ὁ καθένας νά ἐπισκεφθεῖ τήν ὥραλα ἐκθεση πού ὁργανώνουν διάφορες ἐπιτροπές στή Ράατς Κέλδερ (RAADSKELDER) κάτω ἀπό τῶ Δημαρχεῖο τῆς Οὐτρέχτης. Ἡ ἐκθεση ὑποστηρίζεται καί βοηθεῖται ἀπό ὁργανώσεις καί πολιτικά κόμματα τῆς Ὀλλανδίας.

Ἡ καταπλῆση πού ἀσμεῖ ὁ Φασισμός

Πάνω σ' αὐτό τῶ θέμα ὁργανώνεται στό "Αμστερντάμ" ἀπό Ἀντιφασιστικές δυνάμεις μεγάλη καί πολύ ἐνδιαφέρουσα ἐκθεση. Συμμετέχουν ἐπίσης οἱ Ἀντιδικτατορινές ἐπιτροπές τῶν Ἑλλήνων στήν Ὀλλανδία, οἱ Ἰσπανικές Ἀντιφασιστικές ἐπιτροπές καί ἡ ἐπιτροπή τῆς Ἀγγόλας. Ἡ ἐκθεση γίνεται τήν Τρίτη 4 τῶν Μῆν ἐπί τῶ Μέγαρο Κρασανάπολσκυ: εἴσοδος γιά τή μεγάλη σάλλα ἀπό τήν Βάρμουσ Στράτ (War moesstraat). Ἡ ἐκθεση καί ἡ πλατεία συζήτηση, ὁργανώνεται κάθε χρόνο τήν ἡμέρα αὐτή, ἀπό τήν ὁργάνωση "ΖΑΚΟΥΖΕ" μέ τήν εὐκαιρία τῆς ἀπελευθέρωσης τῆς Ὀλλανδίας στίς 5 τῶν Μῆν ἀπό τῶ Γερμανικῶ φασισμό καί σέ ἀνάμνηση τῶν θυμάτων τῆς θηριωδίας τῶν.
Εἴσοδος 1.50 χούλντεν. Ἐναρξη 7.30 τῶ Βράδου.

STICHTING
ANTIDIKTATORIALE KOMITÉ



VOOR DE GRIEKEN IN NEDERLAND

AFDELING RIJNMOND

Bankier
Alg. Bank Nederland N.V.
Rek.nr. 50.35.14.152

ROTTERDAM,
Karel Doormanstraat 147 b
Tel. 010 - 12 48 76

juni 1971.

Mijne Heren,

Betr.: Zomerkampagne 1971
Anti-Diktatoriaal Komitee voor de Grieken in
Nederland

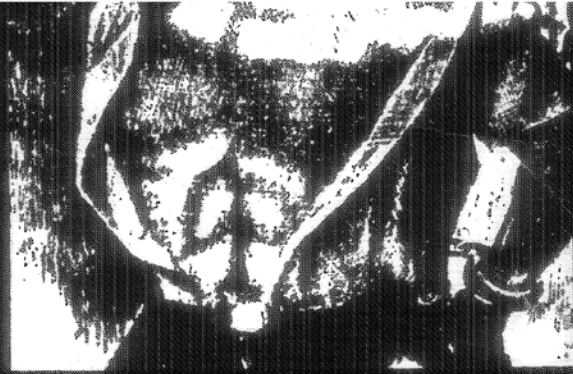
Onze zomerkampagne 1971 bestaat uit twee delen.

- a) Onze affiche "Groeten uit Griekenland" waarmede wij tot uitdrukking willen brengen, dat een onbezorgd vakantie-vieren in Griekenland, alleen mogelijk is, als men persé de nog vele politieke gevangenen in de kampen en gevangenissen wil vergeten.
Wie deze affiche (4 kleuren, zeefdruk van Iris Utrecht) wil hebben en zo ons werk voor de politieke gevangenen en hun gezinnen wil steunen kan deze bestellen door Fl. 2,75 te storten op onze rekening bij de Algemene Bank Nederland no. 503514152 onder vermelding: affiche
- b) Propagandastand Beursplein
Elke zaterdagmiddag van 12 - 18 uur zal op het Beursplein te Rotterdam van begin juni tot eind september onze stand staan met informatie-materiaal voor het Nederlandse publiek.

Wij zouden het op hoge prijs stellen, als U voor deze berichten ruimte ruimte wilt geven.

Hoogachtend,

Anti-Diktatoriaal komitee
voor de Grieken in Neder-
land
Afd. Rijnmond



**Α.Ε. ΕΛΛΗΝΩΝ
ΟΛΛΑΝΔΙΑΣ
ΔΙΑ ΤΟ
ΝΕΟ ΕΤΟΣ
ΕΥΧΕΤΕ
ΕΙΡΗΝ
ΔΗΜΟΚΡΑΤΙΑ**

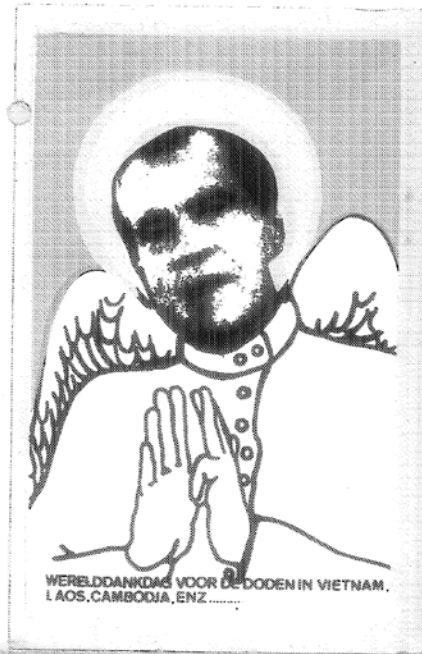
JAARKALENDER 1972

	JANUARI	FEBRUARI	MAART	APRIL
Z	2 9 15 23 30	5 13 20 27	5 12 19 26	2 9 16 23 30
M	3 10 17 24 31	7 14 21 28	6 13 20 27	3 10 17 24
D	4 11 18 25	1 8 15 22 29	7 14 21 28	4 11 18 25
W	5 12 19 26	2 9 16 23	1 8 15 22 29	5 12 19 26
D	6 13 20 27	3 10 17 24	2 9 16 23 30	6 13 20 27
V	7 14 21 28	4 11 18 25	3 10 17 24 31	7 14 21 28
Z	1 8 15 22 29	5 12 19 26	4 11 18 25	1 8 15 22 29
	MEI	JUNI	JULI	AUGUSTUS
Z	7 14 21 28	4 11 18 25	2 9 16 23 30	5 12 19 27
M	1 8 15 22 29	5 12 19 26	3 10 17 24 31	7 14 21 28
D	2 9 16 23 30	6 13 20 27	4 11 18 25	1 8 15 22 29
W	3 10 17 24 31	7 14 21 28	5 12 19 26	2 9 16 23 30
D	4 11 18 25	1 8 15 22 29	6 13 20 27	3 10 17 24 31
V	5 12 19 26	2 9 16 23 30	7 14 21 28	4 11 18 25
Z	6 13 20 27	3 10 17 24	1 8 15 22 29	5 12 19 26
	SEPTEMBER	OKTOBER	NOVEMBER	DECEMBER
Z	3 10 17 24	1 8 15 22 29	5 12 19 26	3 10 17 24 31
M	4 11 18 25	2 9 16 23 30	6 13 20 27	4 11 18 25
D	5 12 19 26	3 10 17 24 31	7 14 21 28	5 12 19 26
W	6 13 20 27	4 11 18 25	1 8 15 22 29	6 13 20 27
D	7 14 21 28	5 12 19 26	2 9 16 23 30	7 14 21 28
V	1 8 15 22 29	6 13 20 27	3 10 17 24	1 8 15 22 29
Z	2 9 16 23 30	7 14 21 28	4 11 18 25	2 9 16 23 30

**HULP
VOOR
GRIEKSE
POLITIEKE
GE-
VANGENEN**

2 de Romeer actie

3 politieke Kaarten





O P R O E P

Ανακοίνωσις.

Ἡ ἀνακοίνωσή μας σκοπὸν ἔχει τὴ συμμετοχὴ σας στὴν γιορταστικὴ βραδυὰ, τὸ Σάββατο στὴς 8 τοῦ Γενάρη 1972, στὴν Οὐτρέχτη. Ἐναρξὴ 8 ἡ ὥρα μ.μ.
Διεύθυνσις: ΜΑΡΚΟΥΣ ΣΕΝΤΡΟΥΜ
Φάν Βάιντενλααν 2 (Θογράφεν-Λεωφ. ἀρ. 6)

TOT HET BIJWONEN VAN EEN FEESTELIJKE VERGADERING OP ZATERDAG, 8 JANUARI 1972, AANVANG 20.00 UUR TE UTRECHT, MARCUSCENTRUM, VAN WIJDESTEINLAAN 2 (HOOGRAVEN - BUSLIJN 6)

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στὴς 8 τοῦ Γενάρη 1972, οἱ Ἀντιδικτατορικὲς Ἐπιτροπὲς τῶν Ἑλλήνων στὴν Ὀλλανδία, ὀργανώνουν γιορταστικὴ βραδυὰ στὸ ΜΑΡΚΟΥΣ ΣΕΝΤΡΟΥΜ στὴν Οὐτρέχτη.

Op 8 januari a.s. organiseren de Antidiktatoriale Komitees voor de Grieken in Nederland een feestelijke bijeenkomst in het MARCUSCENTRUM te UTRECHT ter gelegenheid van de sluiting van de driemaandelijke actie voor: ALGEMENE AMNESTIE VOOR DE GRIEKSE POLITIEKE GEVANGENEN.

Ἡ βραδυὰ αὐτὴ ἔχει σὰν χαρακτηριστικὸν κλεῖσιμο τῆς τριμηνιαίας καμπάνιας γιὰ τὴ χορήγηση ΓΕΝΙΚΗΣ ΑΜΝΗΣΤΙΑΣ σ' ὅλους τοὺς Ἕλληνας πολιτικούς κρατούμενους. Ἡ καμπάνια αὐτὴ γίνεται κάθε χρόνο, κάτω ἀπὸ τὴ καθοδήγηση τοῦ Κ.Σ.Α.Ε.Ε., παρόντος μέρους ὅλης Α.Ε. (πάνω ἀπὸ 110) σ' ὅλο τὸ κόσμον καὶ ἔχει διεθνή χαρακτῆρα.

Deze actie wordt jaarlijks gevoerd onder leiding van de Centrale Raad van de Antidiktatoriale Komitees in het Buitenland (ruim 110 Komitees in alle vrije landen van de wereld), en daardoor op internationaal niveau gevoerd.

στὴν Ὀλλανδία ὅπως καὶ στὴ μακρινὴ Φινλανδία καὶ σὲ ἄλλες χώρες γίνονται σύμβολα ἀλληλεγγύης καὶ ἀγῶνα γιὰ τὴ λευτεριά, Ἕλληνας πολιτικοὶ κρατούμενοι, ὅπως ὁ Χρῆστος Σαρτζετάκης, ὁ Νίκος Καλοῦδης καὶ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνας ἀγωνιστές, ἀντίπαλοι τῆς χούντας. Ὁμιλητὴς τῆς βραδυᾶς θὰ εἶναι ὁ πρόεδρος τοῦ Κ.Σ.Α.Ε.Ε. συγγραφέας ΖΗΣΗΣ ΣΚΑΡΟΣ;

In Nederland en o.a. Finland werden als boel voor alle gevangenen enkele mensen (naam genoemd, CHRISTOS SARTSETAKIS gemeenschappelijk.

Κατόπιν τῆς χορευτικῆς συγκρότημα τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῆς Ἀμβέρσας θὰ χορεύει ἑλληνικούς χορούς, ἐπίσης στὸ διάλειμμα θὰ γίνῃ κλήρωση λαχείων λαχειοφόρου ἀγορᾶς καὶ στὴ συνέχεια θὰ ἐπακολουθήσει ἐλεύθερη διασκέδαση, χορός, τραγούδι κ.τ.λ. μέχρι τὸ κλεῖσιμο τῆς βραδυᾶς. Τὰ ἔσοδα ἀπὸ τὴ λοταρία, μετὰ τὴν ἀφαίρεση τῶν ἐξόδων, θὰ διατεθοῦν γιὰ τὴν ἐνίσχυση τῶν οἰκογενειῶν τῶν πολιτικῶν κρατουμένων. Οἱ Ἑλληνοολλανδικὲς Α.Ε. Ὀλλανδίας ὡς προσκαλοῦν νὰ τιμῆσετε μετὰ τὴ παρουσία σας τὴ βραδυὰ αὐτὴ. Οἱ Α.Ε. τῶν Ἑλλήνων στὴν Ὀλλανδία.

Van de Nederlandse lijst:
JANNIS RITSOS
CHRISTOS SARTSETAKIS
PROFESSOR MARONITIS
IRO JANNARI
NIKOS KALOUDIS
GRIGORIS FARAKOS
KOSTAS LOULES

ΟΥΤΡΕΧΤΗ
Χαλγιούνστράτ 29

zijn de eerste vier politieke gevangenen vrijheid gesteld! Het is heel bemoedigend dat internationale solidariteit - teg met publikaties door de nieuwsmedia z werking nog steeds niet mist.

POTTEPNTAM
147B

Op de avond zal gesproken worden door Voorzitter van de Centrale Raad, de Griekse schrijver ZISSIS SKAROS, als een Nederlands lid van het A.D.K. Nederland. De bijeenkomst wordt feestelijk besloten met dansen enz. De netto opbrengst van de avond is bestemd voor ons werk in Nederland gedeeltelijk voor onze rekening 'Politieke Gevangenen'. Daartoe wordt er in de avond een tombola gehouden. Aan de uitgaande lijst zijn.

Oproep voor de demonstratie van de 1ste mei
in Utrecht.

1 mei is de dag van de arbeid.

1 mei is een internationaal feest.

op 1 mei lopen wij samen met de Griekse en Spaanse kameraden door de binnenstad om te demonstreren tegen alle vormen van onderdrukking en uitbuiting. kom daarom allemaal.

laten we van de 1 ste mei weer een strijddag maken voor de vrijheid,

eenheid en solidariteit van alle volken ter wereld.

leve de arbeiders !

leve de eenheid !

leve de vrijheid !

Start van de demonstratie: de RAADSKELDER, (onder het stadhuis) om presies 2 uur.

Na afloop wordt er in de Raadskelder gesproken door een Spanjaard, een Griek en een Nederlander; daarna een filmvertoning "Spanje '68" en een Griekse Dansgroep treedt op.

KOMT ALLEN KOMT ALLEN KOMT ALLEN KOMT ALLEN KOMT ALLEN

De ESAK zet de strijd voort om de levensbelangen van de arbeiders te behartigen in het bijzonder en van het Griekse volk in het algemeen door bestrijding van de diktatuur.

Zij zijn tegen de fascistische dwingelandij en hebben angst om de mensonterende omstandigheden, waaronder wij moeten leven.

Doch dit is ons deel, want het is de enige weg die gegaan kan worden in ons verzet, waarvoor wij in het alleruiterste zelfs ons leven zullen hebben te geven.

Wij roepen u dan ook ernstig op om alle krachten te geven voor de strijd. Dit zal n.l. de enige weg zijn om ons land te bevrijden van de fascistische concentratiekampen en van de gevangnissen voor politiek verdachten; om terug te winnen de democratische vrijheden voor ons volk en de rechten van de arbeiders.

- V. Grammatikos, ex voorzitter TBC bestrijding Athene-Pireus
- A. Angeloroelos, voorzitter vakbond voor houtbewerkers Athene
- E. Angelakis, voorzitter bouwvakkers voor (elpis) Alexandroepolos
- P. Vlachos, voorzitter personeelsvakbond Patza (autovervoer)
- K. Vavafingos, voorzitter-raadgever vakbond bakkers Athene
- N. Giannidis, Adviseur Zandarbeiders Athene
- A. Gorgoelis, adviseur vakbond mijnwerkers Chios
- K. Doelopoelos, raadgever vakbond tankerbouw en metaalbewerkers Pireus
- G. Dimitriadis, raadgever van betonwerkers Pireus
- N. Theofilaktos, kassier vakbond metselaars Patza
- I. Karazelis, voorzitter bakkerijpersoneel Amfissis
- A. Iakovidis, voorzitter transportarbeiders
- P. Kalfakapos, lid bond machinisten Pireus
- K. Kigilis, raadgever arbeiders schoenindustrie Pireus
- K. Kalafidis, kassier bond bakkerij personeel Nausa
- P. Dogakos, ex raadgever pottenbakkers Thessaloniki
- C. Kaliazis, adviseur pottenbakkers Athene
- D. Kremidis, Oete ex voorzitter typografenbond Athene
- N. Kollias, raadgever metselaarsbond Ekousina
- D. Kokkas, comité metselaars Thessaloniki
- K.S. Karavolas, ex voorzitter groep metselaars Patza
- N. Karakidis, vakbondlid bakkerijarbeiders Pireus
- D. Likiavtopoelos, adviseur bond schoenmakers Patza
- P. Lamnatos, kassier bond arbeiders centrale verwarming Athene
- D. Moelzikos, voorzitter arbeidersbond suiker en fruit Pireus
- A. Boentoerakis, voorzitter bond centrale verwarming
- Chr. Minalopoelos, voorzitter arbeiders mijnbouw Unie Serras en overkoepelend orgaan metaal van Griekenland
- T. Makrelodoglos, ex algemeen sekretaris bond leerlooiers Athene
- I. Betzoenis, voorzitter bond bakkerijarbeiders Thessaloniki
- G. Oikonomos, alg. sekretaris vakbond bouwvakkers Volos
- N. Orfanos, bestuurslid van Oeno-zeelieden
- N. Palthenis, eerste sekretaris bond arbeiders ambtenaren koelkasten en droogijmakers Thessaloniki
- K. Pongos, tweede sekretaris gemeenschap metaalwerkers Griekenland
- A. Petzatos, eerste sekretaris technische arbeiders ijzerwerkers Patza
- G. Pikeas, voorzitter chauffeurs Pargos
- D. Protopsaltis, ex sekretaris bond kantoorbedienden Athene
- N. Piknis, ex adviseur bond machinisten Pireus
- E. Pontikakis, ex sekretaris schoenmakers Athene
- S. Pagiavlas, adviseur havenarbeiders Thessaloniki
- I. Panagiotopoelos, raadgever unie personeel (EHS) en administratie gemeenschap electriciteit
- C. Panathodimos, vertegenwoordiger bakkerijarbeiders in EKA

Vertaling van de

BIJDRAGEN op postgiro
22 10 973 ten name van
G. Menexis, Vlaardingen

V E R K L A R I N G

over de doeleinden van ESAK, alsmede werkzaamheid der afdeling
in Nederland

Collega's Grieken-arbeiders in Nederland!

Zoals u allen bekend is, hebben fascistische elementen in ons land kans gezien met steun van de Amerikaanse CIA en binnenlandse militairen een fascistisch regime te vestigen (het z.g. kolonelsbewind).

Tegenstand kan slechts worden geboden door alle vrije krachten van ons volk, waarbij de arbeidersklasse voorop dient te gaan. in de strijd tegen het onwettige bewind van de junta.

In binnen- en buitenland bestaan voor dit doel meerdere organisaties en één hiervan is ESAK. ESAK is een universele organisatie van vakbondsleden en -bestuurders uit de arbeidersklasse. ESAK overkoepelt de meerderheid van de democratische Griekse vakbonden in binnen- en buitenland, terwijl daarenboven ook de meerderheid van de gevangenen genomen vakbonders uit onze organisaties afkomstig is.

ESAK heeft altijd de steun gekregen van de internationale democratische vakbondsbeweging.

ESAK, afd. Nederland, waarvan wij hier met blijdschap de oprichting bekend maken, streeft de volgende doeleinden na:

- 1e samenbundeling van de krachten van alle hier werkende Grieken tot strijd tegen de fascistische dwingelandij;
 - 2e voorlichting aan de Griekse arbeiders in Nederland over de mogelijkheden binnen de Nederlandse vakbondsbeweging voor het verkrijgen van doelmatiger materiële en morele steun voor ons volk, speciaal voor de arbeidersklasse en de anti-diktatoriale beweging;
 - 3e het bestuderen en het onder de aandacht brengen van sociale, kulturele en vakbondsproblemen, welke bestaan onder de hier werkende Grieken - en het vinden van een oplossing binnen het kader van nauwe samenwerking met de democratische vakbondsenorganisaties in Nederland;
- wij zijn van mening, dat als één van de belangrijkste kanalen om de massa bewust te maken tot sociale en anti-diktatoriale strijd de verbondenheid van de werkers met de vakbonden behoort.

Voor dit doel roept ESAK alle Griekse arbeiders in Nederland op zich als lid te melden bij één der democratische vakbonden - onderscheiden naar een ieders beroep - en ESAK geeft in het algemeen alle mogelijke steun aan activiteiten welke kunnen leiden tot een beter functioneren van de Griekse arbeiders binnen de Nederlandse vakbonden.

- 4e ESAK geeft waar mogelijk materiële en morele steun aan leden van vakorganisaties in Griekenland zelf en werkt voor de vrijlating van politieke gevangenen en geeft hulp aan hun betrekkingen, welke op onmenselijke wijze al drie en een half jaar te lijden hebben onder de maatregelen van de fascistische junta.

ESAK, afd. Nederland, roept alle Griekse arbeiders en vakbondsleders op - ongeacht hun politieke of ideologische richting - welke willen werken tegen de diktatuur.

MANIFEST VOOR DE 1 MEI-DEMONSTRATIE 1971.
IN HET GRIEKS, SPAANS EN NEDERLANDS.

ΕΛΛΗΝΑ, Συμπatriώτη, 'Εργάτη, Μεταλάστη. ΤΙΜΗΣΕ με τήν συμμετοχή
σου, τήν ΕΡΓΑΤΙΚΗ ΠΡΩΤΟΜΑΓΙΑ: ΕΛΛΑ και ΕΣΥ για να ΠΗΣ.....

" Ζ Η Τ Ω Η Π Ρ Ω Τ Ο Μ Α Γ Ι Α "

ΠΑΡΕ τήν ΘΕΣΙΝ σου στήν ΠΡΩΤΟΜΑΓΙΑΤΙΚΗ ΠΟΡΕΙΑ ΠΟΥ σέ ΠΡΟΣΚΑΛΛΟΥΝ
ΟΙ 'Ελληνικές 'Αντιδικτατορικές 'Επιτροπές 'Ολλανδίας σέ Συνεργασία
μέ τήν Ε.Σ.Α.Κ. τήν Ε.Α.Σ.Κ.Ε.Ν. μέ τήν, het Angola-komiteé, de P.S.P.,
de Raadskelder etc.

και διάφορες άλλες πολιτικές και κοινωνικές, εργατικές 'Οργανώσεις
ΠΕΛΑΤΟΝΤΑΣ τήν ΠΡΩΤΟΜΑΓΙΑ, περπατάς και ένώνης τήν ΔΙΑΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑ ΣΟΥ, μέσα
στήν Παγκόσμια ΚΑΤΑΚΡΑΥΓΗ πού δεινέ ΜΑΧΗ ένάντια, στή ΧΟΥΝΤΑ, ΠΕΡΠΑΤΑΣ
και ΕΣΥ, για να λειτουργήσουν στήν ΕΛΛΑΔΑ ΟΙ ΣΥΝΔΙΚΑΛΙΣΤΙΚΕΣ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΕΣ
ν'άποληθούν ΟΛΟΙ ΟΙ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΟΙ ΚΤΡΑΤΟΥΜΕΝΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΣΥΝΔΙΚΑΛΙΣΤΕΣ, και ο
έλληνικός λαός ν'άποκτήσει τό ΔΙΚΑΙΩΜΑ ΝΑ ΖΗΣΗ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΟΣ ΣΤΟΝ ΤΟΠΟ ΤΟΥ
ΖΗΤΩ Η ΠΡΩΤΟΜΑΓΙΑ, ΖΗΤΩ Ο ΕΝΩΜΕΝΟΣ ΑΓΩΝΑΣ ΤΗΣ ΠΑΓΚΟΣΜΙΑΣ ΕΡΓΑΤΙΑΣ.
ΤΟΙΟΣ ΕΚΚΙΝΗΣΗΣ ΔΗΜΑΡΧΕΙΟΝ ΟΥΤΡΕΧΤΗΣ ώρα 2μ.μ.

Compatriotas Españoles

El 1º de mayo es la fiesta Universal del trabajo. La Umanidad progresista
se manifiesta, en memoria de la gloriosa geste de los martires de
Chicago, y de todos los sacrificios de la clase obrera por la implan-
tacion de la jornada de ocho horas de trabajo.

Un grupo de jovenes holandeses, en Utrecht, organizan la manifestacion
del 1º de mayo, e invitan a los Griegos y Españoles a participar que
partira a las 04 horas de

Al finalizar la manifestacion haran uso de la palabra un holandés un
Griego y un español, a continuación en la sala De Raadskelder, se
se proyectara un film de isort, metraje Espana 68, y actuara un grupo
de baile Griego.

Asiste a la manifestacion autorizada por la policia cumpliendo con tu
deber como profetario y explotado.

Que el 1º de mayo sea una jornada de solidaridad Internacional, en de-
fensa de los oprimidos que luchan por su amancipacion e independencia
y libertad.

VIVA EL 1º DE MAYO
VIVA LA DEMOCRACIA

PERSKOMMUNIQUE

Naar aanleiding van de oproep van de 63 gevangen
genomen Griekse vakbondsbestuurders en -leden werd
een dezer dagen te Rotterdam opgericht het

ANTI-DIKTATORIALE KOMITE DER GRIEKEN IN NEDERLAND
afd. Rijnmond

Doelstellingen van dit komitee zijn:

a) samenwerking met de Centrale Raad van Antidiktatoriale
Komitees der Grieken in het Buitenland (met
afdelingen in alle vrije landen) al het mogelijke
te bewerkstelligen binnen het raam van de wettelijke
bepalingen tot terugkeer van de democratie in
Griekenland en alle democratische gezinde krachten
te bundelen om de val van de junta te bevorderen;

b) hulp te bieden aan de politieke gevangenen en hun
betrekkingen in de breedste zin des woords;

c) bijstand verlenen aan Griekse vluchtelingen in
Nederland

sub b en c eveneens met alle middelen welke de
Nederlandse wet toestaat.

Alle hulp zal worden verleend ongeacht politieke
gezindte.

Het rompbestuur bestaat uit Griekse en Nederlandse
leden.

Korrespondentieadres van het Komitee luidt:

Karel Doormanstr. 147B

Bankiers: Algemene Bank Nederland, rekeningno. 503514152.

Aangezien voor dit doel zeker veel geld benodigd zal zijn
verzoeken wij sympathiserenden hun bijdragen op deze rekening
te storten. Op gezette tijden zal afrekening worden
gegeven.

Het komitee roept alle anti-diktatoriale Nederlanders en
Grieken in andere steden op soortgelijke komitees op te
richten en zich eveneens aan te sluiten bij de Centrale
Raad van Anti-Diktatoriale Komitees der Grieken in het
Buitenland, waarvan het sekretariaat gevestigd is te
Brussel 1180, W. Churchillstraat 175.

Sabado I de Mayo, Holandeses, Espanoles, Griegos y Portugeses organizan en Utrecht en conmemoración del Io de Mayo una manifestacion, la cual saldrá a las dos de la tarde de el Ayuntamiento (Stadhuis, Oude Gracht(junto a la Catedral))

Despues de la manifestacion se proyectará el documental "ESPANA '68" y actuaran el grupo de danza Griego-Holandes "ORPHEUS".

A partir de la nueve de la mañana, se pueden visitar los Stands que organizan grupos de accion y partidos politicos en el Raadskelder (Bajos del Ayuntamiento).

El Fascismo Engendra La Discriminacion

El martes 4 de Mayo en Amsterdám, se celebra el Dodenherdenking, (Recordatorio a las victimas del Fascismo) en el edificio Krasnapolskygebouw-entrada Grote zaal Warmoesstraat. A las siete y media de la tarde dará comienzo la manifestacion anual de protesta "J'ACCUSE" YO ACUSO (precio de entrada 1,50 Fl.) El comité Antidictatorial Griego, el comité Antifascista Espanol, y el comité de Angola, estaran presentes juntos en un mismo Stand

APPENDIX II

AGIOS NIKOLAOS



ΚΤΗΤΟΡΕΣ
ΙΕΡΟΥ ΝΑΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΥ
ΑΝΤΩΝΙΑΔΟΥ ΣΟΦΙΑ
ΑΡΙΤΖΗΣ ΚΛΕΟΜΕΝΗΣ
ΚΑΚΟΓΙΑΝΝΗΣ ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΣ
ΣΤΑΘΑΚΗΣ ΕΥΣΤΑΘΙΟΣ
ΦΙΟΡΕΝΤΙΝΟΣ ΜΑΤΘΑΙΟΣ
ΦΙΡΙΟΣ ΦΡΑΓΚΙΣΚΟΣ
ΨΩΜΑΣ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΣ
ΧΙΩΤΑΚΗΣ ΧΑΡΙΛΑΟΣ

ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΑΙ
ΙΕΡΟΥ ΝΑΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΥ

ΔΗΜΟΣ ΡΟΤΤΕΡΝΤΑΜ
GEMEENTE ROTTERDAM

ΤΑ ΜΕΛΗ ΤΗΣ ΕΝΩΣΕΩΣ
ΕΛΛΗΝΩΝ ΟΛΛΑΝΔΙΑΣ

ΕΛΛΗΝΕΣ ΝΑΥΤΙΚΟΙ

ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΟΛΛΑΝΔΙΚΟΙ
ΝΑΥΤΙΑΚΟΙ ΟΙΚΟΙ

ΦΙΛΟΙ ΤΗΣ ΕΝΩΣΕΩΣ
ΕΛΛΗΝΩΝ ΟΛΛΑΝΔΙΑΣ

ΕΘΝΙΚΗ ΤΡΑΠΕΖΑ ΕΛΛΑΔΟΣ ΡΟΤΤΕΡΝΤΑΜ

TOOP BOOIT SENIOR

S.P.C. DE JONG

ΠΕΤΡΟΣ ΚΑΡΔΑΛΙΔΗΣ

APPENDIX III

ANAGENISI UTRECHT

Ελληνες της Ουτρέχτης και Περιχώρων. "Αποτυχημένοι
 Είναι λυπηρό να αρχίζω κανείς με τέτοιου είδους ανακοινώσεις και
 είναι λυπηρότερο το ότι το έτος 1976 βρίσκει τον Έλληνισμό της Ου-
 τρέχτης χωρισμένο στα δύο, επειδή το θέλησαν μερικά φραξιονιστικά στοι-
 χεία ή μερικοί φιλοδοξούντες συμπατριώτες μας. (Εξαιρήτε ο κύριος 'Αποσ-
 τόλου γιατί δεν τον ενημέρωσαν.) Από την στιγμή όμως αυτήν θα πρέπει
 να καταλάβη με ποιους συνεργάζεται..... "

Θα πρέπει να καταλάβη το γροϋπ της Ολιγαρχίας ότι ο Έλληνισμός έμειψε
 σε, απεφάσισεν και τμήσε διά της ψήφου του την ένωτηρήν ενέργεια στις
 28/12/1975 και είναι απεφασισμένος να καταδικάση την διαιρετικήν πρά-
 ξιν των φατριαστών στις 11/1/1976 διά της άποχής του. ^{Δεν ήταω δεξιάς} ^{Γνωστός ο Ζοταν}
 Θα πρέπει να καταλάβη ο κ. ντέμπορ, διευθυντής του Γραφείου ξένων
 εργαζομένων, ότι, δεν έχει καμένα δικαιώματα να διαιρή τον Έλληνισμό.
 Να σταματήσῃ μιά για πάντα της συνωμοτικές ενέργειες εις βάρος του Έλλη-
 νισμού. Είναι υποχρεωμένος εκ της θέσεως του διευθυντού να συμπαραστέ-
 κετε και όχι να πιέζη τους ξένους εργαζομένους. Οι ενέργειές του απέ-
 δειξαν ότι είναι άπειρος -άδέξιος. Η άνοιχτή συμπάραστασις του προφορι-
 κή και γραπτή προς μια ομάδα Ελλήνων, που αποβλέπουν σε ΚΟΜΜΑΤΙΚΗ άνα-
 διοργάνωση κρίνεται συνωμοτική: "Έλληνες της Ουτρέχτης και Περιχώρων,
 Έναντι της καλής θελήσεως του Έλληνισμού, της ένωσης αυτού, να είσθε
 βέβαιοι ότι θα ύπαχωρήση ο κάθε διαβαλαμάτας, οί κάθε είδους διασπαστι-
 κές ενέργειες παντός μηχανόραφου, ως επίσης και η πολιτική του κ. ντέ
 Μπούρ "διαίρεσε και βασίλευσε". Ο Παρασηνιακός διορισμός του Γιαννακού
 εις την ύπηρεσίαν του στίχτινκ αποβλέπει καθαρά εις τα συμφέροντα του
 στίχτινκ και όχι του Έλληνισμού. Ο Έλληνισμός είναι ο μόνος αρμόδιος
 διά την προώθησιν αντιπροσώπου του και όχι δύο ή τρεις Ολλανδοί ή Έλ-
 ληνες. Προς τούτο θα πρέπει να κληθῇ ο Έλληνισμός ν'άποφασίση.
 Άγαπήτέ "Έλληνα της Ουτρέχτης: Καθηήον όλων μας είναι" επομένως και οί-
 κός σου, να συμβουλέψης τόν άδερφόν, τούς γονείς και φίλους σου, τόν
 γεύτονάσου, τόν γνωστόν σου συμπατριώτη, να συζητήσης μαζί περί τίνος
 άκριβώς πρόκειται στις 11/1/1976, Άποχή. Άποχή. Άποχή. Μόνον όταν
 δεν κατέυει κανένας τότε θα καταλάβουν οι άρχηκά πηλοι τό σφάλμα" που
 κάνουν εις βάρος του Έλληνισμού της Ουτρέχτης. Πάντα επικαλοῦνται την
 λέξι "έτυμηγορία οί κύριοι της διασπαστικής ομάδος, όταν όμως ήρθε η
 ήμερα της λαϊκής έτυμηγορίας την απέφυγαν σαν τόν διαβόλο"τόλυβάνι."
 Φοβούνται την λαϊκήν έτυμηγορία διότι ~~φύγαν~~ κατ'επανάληψιν ο Έλληνισμός
 τούς κατέδινασε εις την άποτυχία προς γνώσιν και συμδρφωσίν: αυτοί δ-
 μας δεν συμφορδόνται, οργανώνονται, λαμβάνουν αποφάσεις αντιλαϊκές "
 Ολιγαρχικές και αντιδημοκρατικές όπως της χαρακτήρησει και μέλος της
 Έφορευτικής Έπιτροπής τους διαμαρτυρούμενος. (δέν είσακούσθη.)
 (Ευρηπίδης Κουσκουσίδης.)
 Συνωμοτούν, αποβάλλουν Έλληνες και επιτρέπουν Ολλανδούς εις την όργανω-
 σίν διότι μόνον έτσι θα επικρατήσουν" # "Έτσι εργάζεται μια καλή άργά-
 νωση ένα καλό κόμμα. Τα άρμόδια άτομα διορίζονται προοθοῦνται παραση-

"Μωάν να τίνε τό φουρίατε! Γεώω δνι ούγρο θη, έστου έθτε α
 τουπουνοίμα αν ναί τιν 'ορδόςθλο' ευμενός τας, ος έθτερο ούα
 τί τνι ασταρπία ναί έπεις τούτω έναίτου αίνιατε!
 Μοίμας ηένει άπό νοίνασ ναί υνευδύηοντε δνι υ ποζερο τό
 έργον τω ναί τί νοίμα, ηοίνάδην, τά δέτατα ούένει υγείη
 υ' άροσμίτασ; Μοίμας τίά άπό ούά ναί ουλίταρπίου έμίδορίσ.
 ηοί υς έουθεπίδσ δνι έσπία φίνα δέτα ούοσίον ναί άσπύρα
 ναί γέρον, ηιό άνιτοτα τνι άύον ναί τάτασ, ένω άνεδύξδσ τού
 χροία ~~επίτασ~~; Τί ναί νώ;
 τίά τό δέτα έζάουγροσ τνι υολπορίεσ ναί έγίδοτασ - υ' άροσμίτασ
 ο' ναίνασ τασ άρχοίμασ ναί τί τνι νοίμασ τό τούτω τασ -
 ναί ουένια ναίταρπίσ εν άν έύασ γέρον εν τούτοισ δνι ατ
 ναί άδύμα ναί άνιθάδου ηοναίετ. ένω έουθεπρίντεσ ο' αν
 ναί τνι τινί, άρτα ηούτερεν δνι άύοσ, έσπύμασ τασ μοίμασ.
 τίά τίσ άρταίεσ τό άνύναρπύτω έσ. μήμασ υσίτεσ έπασπύ
 τνι υφραλοίμασ τασ τί τίά βιβροδίμασ, τί δνι αδίμασ, τί
 ήρα ηνινα υυχαρπίασ ναί έαύωσ έσπύμασ.
 Καί ηαί δέτω ναί ηοοδίμα ηαπατρίμασ ο' αν ηοναίετ
 βούτασ δνι υίετα τό έμύερίον τνι ηελανάδου ναί εν τούτοισ
 ηηροδίμασ, ηνι εν τούτοισ, ναίεσ άρτα τνι έσπύμασ τούτω
 τνι ηούτε έν ηαπερίεσ ηαί ναί άνοσπύμασ τούτεπία!
 ? Ονω δ' υπίετα ναί ούσ ο' ιδον τό πάτα τνι αλλό άνιθάδου
 ναί ναίετασ ηαττίνο δνι έπύτα, έυνορατνι ~~ο~~ ούέμασ τί
 τό έργον ο' αν ηοοσούμασ δνι ο' αν ηέμασ ηαί ηοίμασ
 ηοοπίσ υδ ναίμα υπίμασ εν άν δνι ο' αν έύασ τούτεσ
 τνι δνι έτα ηατάσ, ~~ο~~ ηη άσπύμασ τνι ηοοδίμα τού

...προσοχή στις ενέργειές τους, ποιός τους διδρίδε; ποιόν αντιπρο-
σωπεύουν; και τό πως ενεργούν θα καταλάβουμε περί τίνος πρόκειται.
...πικαλούνται τήν Ένωση, ενώ δέν αποβλέπουν σ'αυτήν, διότι εκ μέρους
...δύο κοινοτήτων έγινε ή πρότασις νά γίνει έπιτροπή, τριών μελών τής
...ΕΛΛΑΔΟΣ, τριών μελών τής ΠΑΠΚΑΛΗΝΙΟΥ και τριών μελών τής αυτοδιόριστης
...μάδος γιά τήν σύνταξιν του καταστατικού. Απάντησις τηλεφωνική και
...προσωπική διά μέσου Γιαννακού δχι, αδύνατον, δέν γνωρίζω γιατί.

...την ήμερα τής Γενικής Συνελεύσεως έγινε
...πρότασις του Ε. Τομπουλίδη - Μ. ΜΟΜΟΒΙΤΣ και ΖΕΜΓΑ, κοινή ήμερο-
...ηλιά 4/1/1976 γιά νά πετύχουμε τήν Ένωση. Ήνταμελής έπιτροπή έπισ-
...κεύθη τήν αυτοδιόριστον έπιτροπή πρός συζήτησιν τής άνωτέρω πρότάσεως
...γιά τά συμφέροντα του Έλληνισμού, γιά πραγματική "ΕΝΩΣΗ".

Γενομένης συζητήσεως, πρώτη επενέυει ή κ. Σιδέρη (Νίκο δέν γίνεται)
...μέλος τής έπιτροπής να τους χαρακτήρησε δικαιολογημένα διασπαστάς
...και ανθρώπους άρχηγάπηλους. Απάντησις κυρίας Σιδέρη, Νίκο νά πάρης
...τους κυρίους και νά φύγετε, δέν άνέχομαι νά μέ βρίζουν μέσα στο σπίτι.
...Αξιότιμη κυρία Σιδέρη δέν συνιθίζω νά βρίω και σβόμαι τόν καθέν
...κάνω κριτική τών πράξεων, έχω τό δικαίωμα νά κρίνω ό δέ κύριος Σιδέρης
...έκλισε τό πρακτικό τής βραδυάς.

Αν αγαπητοί μου συμπατριώται παραβλέπαμε τά ούμφέροντα του Έλληνισμού
...και άποφασίζω άν συμφωνούσαμε μέ τήν άπόφαση τών Σιδεριδών ίσως νά πύναμε
...και τό καφεδάκι τής φιλόξενης έλληνίδος. Η έπίσκεψις ύμωσ δέν άπέρλε-
...σ'αυτό. Προχώροντας στήν συζήτηση φθάσαμε και στο έυαίθθητο σημείο τών
...προσωπικών ούμφερόντων, Αγανακτισμένη : φασίστα έξω από τό σπίτι.
...Ευμπερασμα : Όσοι δέν ύπακούουν στήν κώσικη μόδα, όσοι δέν καπι-
...κεύονται, όσοι δέν είναι ξενοδόουλοι και σκοταδιστές, όσοι δέν είναι
...ρομπότ σύμφωνα μέ τά λεγόμενα τής κυρίας είναι φασίστες.

Αυποδμαι πάρα πολύ γιά τόν παράλογον συλογισμό τής κυρίας, διατρέχει
...τόν κίνδυνο θά τήν διαγράφη και τό κόμμα της, μέ τέτοιες παραλογίες.
...τά μέλη τής αυτοδιόριστης έπιτροπής εξέφρασαν τό διασπαστικό δχι διά
...άκόμα μια φορά, ό δέ Πρόεδρος τελευταίας κατάπιε μέ πικρία τήν σερβι-
...ρισμένη άπόφαση τής κυρίας πού του ήρθε οάν κεραυνός.

(πληροφορίες γιά τά τελευταία τομπουλίδη - ΜΟΜΟΒΙΤΣ.

Αυτή είναι ή άλλη θεία τής καταστάσεως και πρέπει νά τήν φέρω ό κα-
...θένασμα, γιά νά απαντήσουμε στούς παράλογους διασπαστάς δχι διά τής
...άποχής μας από τής εκλογές 11/1/1976 καταδικάζουμε κάθε είδους διασ-
...παστικές ενέργειες εις βάρος του Έλληνισμού τής ούτρέχτης και μεριχώ-
...ρων και βοηθούμε τήν πραγματική "ΕΝΩΣΗ" τών ούκοινοτήτων τής 28/12/76

Έν ούτρέχτη τή 8/1/1976 Έκ τής συμπαραστατικής Έπιτροπής
...ΤΗΣ " Ε Ν Ω Σ Η Σ "

Υ.Γ. : Είς άνακοίνωσιν των καπιλεύονται γιά άκόμη μια φορά μέ έπίδέξιο
...τρόπο, μνημονεύοντας τάς τοπικάς Έλληνικάς άρχάς γιά νά παρασειρουν
...τόν Έλληνισμόν, εξαπολύοντες φανταστικάς συνοφαντίας εναντίων δρασ-
...στηρών μελών του Δ/Σ τής ΕΝΩΣΕΩΣ ή όποία αντιπροσωπεύει τό 75% τών

(5)

Α Ι Τ Η Σ Η

ΠΡΟΣ
Την Νομαρχία

ΕΠΩΝΥΜΟ: ΣΙΑΔΕΡΗ Ζ
ΟΝΟΜΑ: ΝΙΚΟΣ
ΟΝΟΜΑ ΠΑΤΕΡΑ: ΧΑΡΑΛΑΜΠΟΣ
ΟΝΟΜΑ ΜΗΤΕΡΑΣ: ΕΥΓΕΝΙΑ
ΧΡΟΝΟΛΟΓΙΑ ΓΕΝΝΗΣΗΣ: 3-3-1919
ΤΟΠΟΣ ΓΕΝΝΗΣΗΣ: ΠΕΝΖΑ Ρεζιάς
ΔΙΕΥΘΥΝΣΗ:
(ΟΔΟΣ, ΑΡΙΘΜΟΣ, ΠΟΛΗ, ΤΗΛΕΦΩΝΟ)
ΜΕΝΕΛΑΟΥ 41
ΑΝΣ ΠΕΤΡΑΛΕΝΑ
11852 ΑΘΗΝΑ Τηλ. 3472286
ΑΡΙΘ. ΛΕΤΥΝ. ΤΑΥΤΟΤΗΤΑΣ
N 025143

ΔΙΚΑΙΟΛΟΓΗΤΙΚΑ

Βεβαίωση δημόσιας αρχής για τη φυλάκιση ή εκτόπιση ή κράτηση σε στρατιωτικά, αστυνομικά και κάθε είδους κρατητήρια ή δίωξη από τις καταδικαστικές υπηρεσίες της δικτατορίας ή την απαίρεση Ιθαγένειας ή διαβατηρίου ή τη διακοπή αναβολής στρατεύσης λόγω σπουδών εξ αιτίας της δράσης αυτής.

Σε περίπτωση που τα παραπάνω δεν υπάρχουν, υπεύθυνη δήλωση ή ένορκη βεβαίωση του ίδιου του ενδιαφερομένου και όμοιες δηλώσεις ή ένορκες καταθέσεις δύο άλλων αντιστασιακών.

Ημερομηνία

Για την Επιτροπή Κρίσης, για την α γνώριση αντιστασιακής δράσης κατά της δικτατορίας 1967-1974 (αρθρ. 4 Ν. 1543/85 και 58448/29-7-85. απόφα του Υπουργού Εσωτερικών και Δημόσιας Τάξης.

Ζητώ να μου αναγνωρισθεί η αντιστασιακή μου δράση κατά της δικτατορίας στο χρονικό διάστημα από 21-4-24-7-74.

Συγκεκριμένα: Από 21.4.74 η.π.π. που ήρθα κ. κουνιά στην Ελλάδα, μέχρι που έφυγα δεν σταμάτησα να αγωνίζομαι. Είμαι Ολλανδία, όπου έμεινα, έχω τ.ο.υ. της και για να φύγω το χρησιμοποίησα απ' τη χώρα έχω κ.κ. η.χ.ν.κ.κ. μεν.ε.φ.α.β.ε.δ. εκπρόσωποι του Πεζοπορικού Μετ (ΣΑΠ) στην Ολλανδία. Ζα.ε.ε.ω.κ.κ.ε.φ.ω.ζ.α.π.α. της απόφασης του Κεντρικού Συμβουλίου του ΠΑ.Π. για την εκπροσώπησης του σε Πενζα και τη σύμψη του και εκδήλωση διαμαρτυρίας και κινητοποιήση στην όρε από το σπίτι μας.

Εγώ ήμουν υπεύθυνος για το διαφωτιστικό τοξεία και με και νύχτα γύριμα εόχη την Ολλανδία και Συμβούλια Ρεζιά κόβω και τους παρακινώ να παρουν θέση εναντια στα χούντα και να μας βοηθήσουν

Με τιμή
Ο αιτών

N. Σιδέρης

APPENDIX IV

ARTICLES

Wanhoop en wanhoop van een immigrant Lambros Babalidis stond jaren op de bres voor buitenlandse werkers

voorzitter van het Platzenlanders Rijnmond, ter van de Griekse voetbalvereniging Olympic, voorzitter van de vereniging voor Werkglieden en bestuurslid Stichting Buitenlandse werkers Rijnmond. Hij was een van de oprichters van de vereniging van buitenlandse werkers SOBA en mede-initiatief van de vereniging van buitenlandse werkers TV Mozaiek. Hij heeft ontgezeglijk hart voor buitenlandse werkers. Onlangs kreeg hij de Erasmusprijs voor zijn verdiensten in de buitenlandse werkersvereniging.

van de Lange

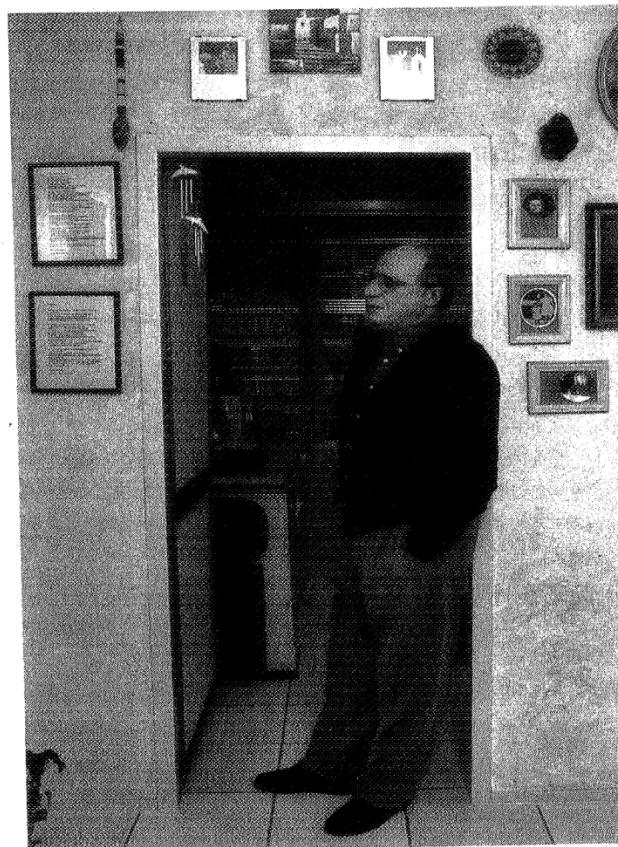
Lambros — Hij lijkt op een film van een sociale roman. Zijn leven is doordrenkt van politiek, zijn politiek bepaald. Hij komt uit Tessaloniki. Werd geboren in 1939. Een arbeider. „Mijn vader werkte in de tabak fabriek. Wie in de ogen van de overheid. Ook de kinderen van de arbeiders waren links.” Tweede Wereldoorlog was afgevoerd en Griekenland raakte betrokken in een burgeroorlog. Hij kwam het land onder een dictators bewind. Lambros was toen acht of elf. Hij was begonnen met de klassieken, van Jules Verne tot Emile Zola. Een ontwikkelingsjongen, die een leidende rol speelde onder de jongens in de

reeds zijn 15e vroeg iemand voor de regering wilde werken. Hij weigerde. „Er werden mensen gemarteld en gedeporteerd, daar wilde ik niet aan meewerken.” Zijn weigering maakte hem verdacht in de ogen van de dictators. Hij ging naar het gymnasium. Maar zijn moeder werd ziek en hij brak de opleiding af en ging werken om de medicijnen te leren. Drie jaar later stierf zijn vader. Hij vervatte de studie. Toen kwam de onrust in Cyprus tegen de Nederlandse bezetting. Een golf van demonstraties sloeg door het land. Hij vond demonstraties

zondaar geworden.” Hij moest in militaire dienst, had voldoende kwaliteiten voor officier. Maar de commandant zei: „Ik zal er voor zorgen dat jij geen rang krijgt.” In mei 1963 woonde hij in Tessaloniki een politieke bijeenkomst bij. De arts en parlementariër Gregorius Labrakis hield daar een toespraak. Op de terugweg van het stadion naar het hotel werd de spreker ingesloten door een cordon politie-agenten en doodgeknuppeld. Babalidis was getuige van de moord. „Het was een complot,” zegt hij. De gebeurtenissen zijn later verfilmd in 'Z'. De film won in 1969 een Oscar.

Druivenplukker

De moord op Labrakis was voor Babalidis de druppel die de emmer deed overlopen. Hij wilde weg uit Griekenland. Op legale wijze zijn brood verdienen was hem onmogelijk gemaakt. „Ik was immers politiek onbetrouwbaar?” Hij moest aan de kost komen als zwartwerker. Als bouwvakker, als druivenplukker. Een vriend die bij het arbeidsbureau werkte zei: „Er zijn een heleboel bedrijven in Holland die buitenlandse personeel zoeken. Wil jij naar Holland?” „Oké,” zei Babalidis. Maar hij kreeg geen paspoort. Een half jaar later, na de parlementsverkiezingen, kreeg hij zijn paspoort alsnog. „Op het arbeidsbureau liepen mensen van de RDM uit Rotterdam. Ze bekeken de handen van de kandidaten. Alleen mannen met sterke handen kwamen in aanmerking.” Babalidis werd aangenomen als pijpfitter. Hij woonde in een pension aan de Heemraadssingel en had het op de scheepswerf niet slecht naar de zin. Hij werd kraanmachinist, dacht erover weer te gaan studeren. Het was 1967, het jaar van de staatsgreep. Griekenland kreeg een kolonelsbewind. Hij stond voor de keuze: zijn burgerlijke leven voortzetten, of de strijd aanbinden met dat regime. Hij koos het laatste. „Het werd de moeilijkste tijd van mijn leven. Overdag werkte ik bij de RDM, 's avonds was ik politiek actief. Ik reisde honderden kilometers per dag. Ik organiseerde acties en hield overal in het land



leefdoetjes. „We gaan je kind overvoeren.” Omstreeks die tijd waren er niet meer dan vijfduizend Grieken in Nederland. Velen leefden langs elkaar heen. De meesten werden geweerd als lid van de Griekse vereniging in Rotterdam. „Daar moest je politiek betrouwbaar voor zijn, oké?” Babalidis en een paar vrienden trachtten buiten de bestaande vereniging om een feest te organiseren. Er kwam bijna niemand opdagen. De maandag daarop moest hij bij de personeelschef

toen was een facade,” zegt hij. „Gastarbeiders die waren ontslagen, werden door de politie van hun bed gelicht en naar het Centraal Station gebracht. Daar moesten ze een kaartje naar huis kopen. De politie stond aan de kant van het gezag, en het Nederlandse gezag stond aan de kant van de kolonels. Hoe vaak we er ook om vroegen, bij onze acties kregen we nooit politiebescermering.” Zijn ervaringen hebben hem wantrouwig gemaakt. Arbeiders, migranten — de machtelozen moe-

DE Tijd
16 APRIL 1973
gen Voorparl
issel

ocratie gebaseerd op een
artij. Gelukkig heeft het
leze sluwe politiek door-
n de studenten waaraan
en, arbeiders en boeren
nomen heeft dit duidelijk

ire filmactrice Melina
het zo: „De studenten
m met de gangsters en
van het hitlerianisme af
un folteraars, de onmen-
kolonelsbewind, zijn heus
nnelijk.” Amalia Fleming
an toe dat de junta een
de jeugd.

er Georges Mylonas van
rdediging van de demo-
: zich verheugd over de
van solidariteit en strijd-
oorheen zo verdeelde aan-
de verschillende politieke

gens hem een mythe dat
volk apathisch zou zijn.
beslist niet luisteloos af-
it naar het juiste moment
kan toeslaan.

e Grieken op de zijde van
kiezen. „Hij wil Cyprus
enland verenigen maar
te doen zolang de kolonels
ind zijn.” Volgens Mylinas
ar groot dat de kolonels
atsgreep op Cyprus zullen

inister zei het te betreu-
e regeringen van diverse
the landen van Europa niet
et kolonelsbewind durven
Daarom is het zaak de
pinie te mobiliseren. Voor
t hij overigens veel lof. De
0 in dit land verblijvende
enieten er vrijheid en be-

1 de Belgische regering niet
oordigd was gaven wel twee
van staat, Henry Rolin en
ierre Vermeylen, acte de
Deze laatste deed in strijd-
de Griekse sprekers niet

brusselse betoging, waaraan
aardigden van anti-dictato-

Consul kiest nu Karamanlis

„Je bent nu
eenmaal
diplomaat”



• Pantzaris: „U begrijpt
het”

Rotterdam — Theodor Pantzaris, sinds december 1970 de
Griekse consul in Rotterdam, wil hier voorlopig niet weg.
Alle kritiek van het comité Solidariteit Grieks Verzet op
zijn onbegrip voor de nieuwe democratische verhoudingen
in Griekenland wuift hij weg. „Ik geloof in Karamanlis”,
zegt de man die tot voor kort bekend stond als een verbeterd
aanhanger van de Griekse junta.

Pantzaris kwam deze week in opspraak omdat hij twee
Griekse verzetslieden een paspoort weigerde. Volgens de
consul omdat de betreffende Sakis Ioannides en Spiros
Vergos geen lid zijn van een geregistreerde Griekse verenig-
ing, wat formeel vereist is. Maar Ioannides, die bij de
Atheense ministeries telefonisch om opheldering heeft ge-
vraagd, zegt dat de consul de betreffende verordening
bewust verkeerd interpreteert met het doel zijn reis naar
Griekenland te torpederen.

Weet de consul niet, dat sinds de machtsovername in juli
het beleid aanzienlijk versoepeld is, en dat de comités in
bijvoorbeeld Londen, Parijs en Rome grif met het
stempelkussen omspringen?

Pantzaris: „Ik herhaal, dat ik daarvoor een specifieke,
schriftelijke order uit Athene moet ontvangen. En die is
er nog niet. Overigens niet zo verwonderlijk, want om zoets
schriftelijk te bevestigen moet de betreffende wet eerst op
de helling”, laat hij er onthullend op volgen.

Het is de eerste en enige keer, dat Pantzaris zich verspreekt.
Maar het komt wel duidelijk over: zolang Athene aan andere
urgenter zaken de voorrang moet geven, kan hij rustig
doorgaan met het volgens de letter hanteren van wetten,
die bepaald niet meer naar de geest van het nieuwe bewind
zijn.

Hoe is het eigenlijk mogelijk dat hij, tot voor kort een
vertegenwoordiger van de junta, nog steeds zijn post be-
kleedt?

„Een consul is diplomaat, meneer”, is het antwoord, „en geen
politicus. Ik moet mijn land dienen, ongeacht de politieke
koerswijzigingen en mijn eigen, diepe politieke overtuiging.
Ik kan toch niet iedere keer, dat het bewind verandert, mijn
ontslag indienen? Dat gaat toch niet? Ik werk al sinds 1965,
toen Papandreou aan de macht was, in de diplomatieke
dienst”.

De indruk van kritiekloze volgzzaamheid dringt zich op.

Ik citeer uit een uitvoerig rapport, dat door tegenstanders
van de junta is opgemaakt en waarin Pantzaris onder andere
genoemd wordt als de man achter de schermen van de Eneol,

Door Alexander Münnhoff

een beruchte fascistische knokploeg die geprobeerd heeft de
Grieken in ons land goedschiks of kwaadschiks achter de
kolonels te scharen.

Pantzaris ontkent met ingehouden woede: „Schrijft U maar
op, dat ik in mijn 9-jarige carrière nog nooit grotere onzin
heb gehoord. Ik geef niet om de politieke overtuiging van
mijn landgenoten, ik behandel iedereen op gelijke basis,
zolang wat zij vragen wettelijk is”.

Het verdere gesprek is steeds weer tot dit credo te herleiden.
Zijn eigen politieke overtuiging wil hij voor zich houden.

Pas bij het afscheid komt het hoge woord eruit: Pantzaris
geloof in Karamanlis. „Nu staan alle Grieken achter hem,
dat was onder de dictatuur niet het geval”.

Hij kijkt me strak aan en vraagt: „Zegt U eens eerlijk, wat
denkt U: ben ik links of rechts?”

Ik kies voor het tweede.

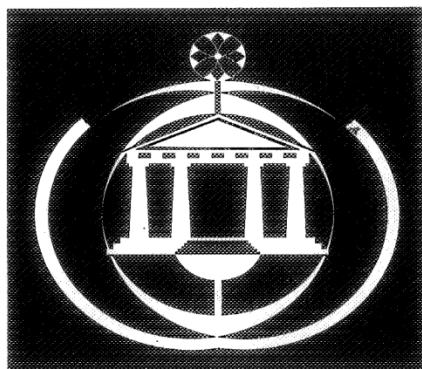
„En nu”, gaat hij verder, „als U mij zo ziet, zoudt U dan
denken dat ik een fascist zou kunnen zijn?”

De term is wat fors, dus zeg ik dat hij, als ex-dienaar van
de junta, voor die kwalificatie in aanmerking zou kunnen
komen.

Even stilte, dan: „Wat denkt U dat ik zou stemmen?”

Karamanlis, zegt ik zonder aarzelen.

KATO H DIKTATORIA
WEG MET DE DIKTATUUR



GRIEKENLAND VRIJ
ELEFTERH ELLADA



n rechts, we zijn
el tegen de j...t...

GRIEKSE AMBASSADEUR:

30.8.1974

„Jaren lang stond ik overal buiten”

Bijna niemand is zo ingenomen met de reis van minister Van der Stoep van buitenlandse zaken naar Athene als de Griekse ambassadeur in ons land Michael Cottakis.

Hij ziet het bezoek dat vanmiddag begint als een bekroning van zijn verblijf in Den Haag, want de ambassadeur speelde de afgelopen maanden een opmerkelijke dubbelrol.

In plaats van protestnota's van de kolonels aan de Nederlandse regering te overhandigen benutte hij de audiënties bij de minister voor strikt vertrouwelijke gesprekken met mr. Van der Stoep. Gesprekken waarin hij de bewindsman openhartig vertelde op welke manier het militaire bewind in Athene, volgens hem, het beste onder internationale politieke druk kon worden gezet.

Het begon allemaal ruim een jaar geleden toen mr. Van der Stoep, die net tot minister van buitenlandse zaken was benoemd, de ambassadeur voor een kennismakingsbezoek ontving. Het dreigde een wat pijnlijke ontmoeting te worden, maar Cottakis schudde de minister hartelijk de hand en zei „Excellentie, ik ben geen ambassadeur van de kolonels, maar van het Griekse volk”, waarop Van der Stoep opmerkte: „prachtig, dan kunnen wij zaken doen”.

Ten val

Terugkijkend op zeven jaar militaire dictatuur zegt ambassadeur Cottakis nu: „Ik zit al vijf en twintig jaar in de diplomatieke dienst en wat ik het ergste vond was dat Griekenland steeds meer geïsoleerd raakte. Ik voelde mij soms eenvertegenwoordiger van een andere planeet. Je stond overal buiten, maar

tegelijktijd besepte ik heel goed dat het de enige mogelijkheid was om de kolonels ten val te brengen. Ze moesten zich gewoon vastdraaien in hun eigen machtswellust, want het was eenvoudig onmogelijk om een guerrilla-oorlog tegen hen te beginnen. Ik vond het dan ook erg aandoenlijk dat er in Nederland nog zulke idealistische jongelui waren, die eind vorig jaar na de overval op de Polytechnische School in Athene, de ambassade kwamen bezetten. Ik bood ze koffie aan en stuurde de politie weg, waarop een van de protestanten, een aardig jong meisje, stomverbaasd uitriep: „hemel, het lijkt wel alsof u helemaal geen fascist bent”. Het was misschien tegenover de buitenwereld beter geweest als ik direct na het aan de macht komen van de kolonels mijn ontslag had genomen, maar daarmee had ik alleen maar bereikt dat ik mijn plaats vrij had gemaakt voor een stroman van de junta. En dat was precies wat ze graag wilde.

Het is Papadopoulos namelijk nooit gelukt om de Griekse diplomatieke dienst onder controle te krijgen. Hij voelde zich erg onzeker tegenover ons, want diplomatie was iets waarvan hij niets begreep. En ik had dan ook nooit het idee dat ik met een dictator sprak als ik bij hem op bezoek was. Papadopoulos maakte op mij meer de indruk van een kleinzielige ambtenaar, want zelfs over de meest onbenullige dingen durfde hij niet alleen een beslissing te nemen. Hij zei altijd dat hij nog even overleg moest plegen, maar vertelde daarbij nooit met wie... Je voelde toen dat generaal Ioanides de sterke man achter de junta was.”



Rotterdam, 19 mei 1971.

Geachte Redaktie,

Betr.: Michel Kotakis,
de nieuwbenoemde ambassadeur van Griekenland.

Naar aanleiding van het in "Vrij Nederland" d.d. 8 mei 1971 gepubliceerde dokument, inzake de bemoeiingen van de heer Kotakis met de poging tot een ultra-rechtse staatsgreep in Italië in 1969, heeft het Eerste Kamerlid Mr. J.H. van Wijk aan de Minister vragen gesteld.

Wij verzoeken U bij de Griffie van de Eerste Kamer naar deze vragen te informeren en tot publikatie over te gaan.

Naar wij uit betrouwbare bron hebben vernomen zal te Milaan, vermoedelijk in de loop van de volgende week, het proces tegen de Italiaanse samenzwoerders beginnen, waarbij het onderhavige dokument naar alle waarschijnlijkheid een centrale rol zal spelen

Hoogachtend,
Bestuur van het
Anti-Diktatoriale Komitee
voor de Grieken in Nederland
Afd. Rijnmond
Secretariaat:
Karel Doormanstraat 147B,
Rotterdam

APPENDIX V

DEMONSTRATION PHOTOS





APPENDIX VI

GREEK SCHOOLS

Σχολική Έπιτροπή Έλληνικού Σχολείου ROTTERDAM.

Πρός τούς γονείς καί κηδεμόνας τών μαθητών
του Έλληνικού Σχολείου .

Τήν 25^η Ιανουαρίου 1976 , κατόπιν πρωτοβουλίας γονέων ,
συνήλθον εις τήν αΐθουσαν διδασκαλίας του Έλληνικού σχολείου,
δόδος NOORDERHAVENKADE 45 , ROTTERDAM , οί ενδιαφερόμενοι γονεΐς
καί κηδεμόνες , όπου συνεζήτησαν τά προβλήματα του Έλληνικού
σχολείου καί άπεφάσισαν τόν σχηματισμόν σχολικής έπιτροπής γο-
νέων .

Σκοπός τής έπιτροπής είναι :

1.) Η διοργάνωσις συγκεντρώσεων γονέων καί κηδεμόνων , όπου
δύνανται νά πληροφορηθοΐν περί τής προόδου τών παιδιών των εις
τό σχολεΐον .

2.) Η διευκόλυνσις του έργου τής διδασκαλίας , εις τήν προε-
τοιμασίαν π.χ. έθνικών έορτών κ.τ.λ.

3.) Η συζήτησις καί προτάσεις προς έπίλυσιν προβλημάτων άφορόν-
των τήν διδασκαλίαν εις τό Έλληνικόν σχολεΐον :

Η σχολική έπιτροπή άποτελεΐται έν πέντε (5) μελών , τά όποια
άπαραιτήτως πρέπει νά φέρουν τήν ιδιότητα γονέως ή κηδεμόνος
μαθητου του Έλληνικού σχολείου . Τά μέλη τής σχολικής έπιτρο-
πής εκλέγονται έτησίως κατά τήν συνεδρίασιν τών γονέων καί κη-
δεμόνων , πλην του προέδρου καί αντιπροέδρου , οί όποιοι εκλέ-
γονται ανά δύο (2) έτη .

Κατά τάς εκλογάς τής 25^η Ιανουαρίου 1976 , εκελέγησαν οί ά-
κόλουθοι γονεΐς ως μέλη τής αΐ σχολικής έπιτροπής :

1. Πρόεδρος : Κ^α P.S.E. VAN GOOR . DEMERTZI .
GRIEGLAAN 22 . ROTTERDAM 3013. Τηλ. 010-225200.
2. Αντιπρόεδρ. : Κ^α TH: LANSER . ANAGNOSTOPOULOU.
KLEIWEW 21. ROTTERDAM. 3012. Τηλ. 010-185081.
3. Γραμματεΐς : Κ^α P . VOULGARAKIS .
BONAVENTURASTRAAT 63^α. R/DAM. Τηλ. 010-847265.
4. Ταμίας : Κ^α A. LAMPE . MAKRI.
GOUDSERIJWEG 166. R/DAM.

Σύμβουλος : Κ^α . Δ. HARINGSMA - PAPANREOU .
BEUKELSWEG 49^B. ROTTERDAM.

Αναπληρωματικά μέλη είναι :

α) W. KAGIORGIS

FAGELSTRAAT 30^α. 'S-GRAVENHAGE . Τηλ. 070-883740.

β) Κ^α. ILIOPOULOS

BILDERDIJKSTRAAT 22^α. ROTTERDAM. Τηλ. 010-152668.

γ) Κ^α. ALEXANDRIDIS

MATHENESSERDIJK 39I . ROTTERDAM.

Η σχολική επιτροπή υπόσχεται να συμβάλει τά μέγιστα διά τήν άρτίαν λειτουργίαν του Έλληνικού σχολείου ROTTERDAM .

Έν ROTTERDAM τῆ 6^η Μαρτίου 1976.

Η Πρόεδρος τῆς σχολικῆς Έπιτροπῆς . Ο Γραμματεὺς αὐτῆς.

P.S.E. VAN GOOR-Δεμερτζή.

Παντελ.Βουλγαράκης.

ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΙΑ ΤΗΣ ΣΥΝΤΟΝΙΣΤΙΚΗΣ
ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΗΣ ΤΩΝ ΕΝΩΜΕΝΩΝ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΩΝ
ΚΟΙΝΟΤΗΤΩΝ & ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΩΝ ΣΤΗΝ
ΟΛΛΑΝΔΙΑ
ΜΟΛΕΝ ΣΤΡΑΑΤ 40
ΧΟΡΙΚΕΜ

1977

25η Μαρτίου 1976

ΠΡΟΣ

Αξιότιμον Κύριον Πρόσβυ.

Στήν παροιμία του Ρόττερταμ των Ελλήνων δημιουργήθηκε τις τελευταίες ημέρες μία απροσδόκητη αλλά και συγχρόνως επικίνδυνη κατάσταση που έχει φέρει μεγάλη αναστάτωση στην πλειοψηφία των Ελλήνων στην πόλη αυτή.

Η κατάσταση αυτή έχει στενή και άμεση σχέση με το Ελληνικό σχολείο της πόλης. Για την συντριπτική πλειοψηφία των Ελλήνων του Ρόττερταμ το σχολείο όπου απολαμβάνουν τα παιδιά τους το αγαθό της Ελληνικής παιδείας, παίρνει μία έντελως ξεχρηστική και πάρα πολύ σπουδαία θέση. Το σχολείο θεωρείται στην κυριολεξία από τους Έλληνες της περιοχής αυτής σαν μία πραγματικά ιερή υπόθεση. Είναι όπωσδήποτε ιερή υπόθεση ή Ελληνική παιδεία για όλους τους Έλληνες μετανάστες που ζουν έξω από την πατρίδα τους, εφ' όσον θέλουν να διατηρήσουν αυτοί οι ίδιοι, αλλά ιδίως τα παιδιά τους ανέρατα την Ελληνικότητά τους.

Στο γράμμα μας αυτό θα αναφέρουμε σύντομα και ίσως κάπως γενικά τους λόγους που κατ'αρχήν γνώμη μας οδήγησαν τα πράγματα ένεπύ φτάσαν ώστε να πάρουν αυτή την δυσάρεστη αλλά και συγχρόνως επικίνδυνη τροπή που πήραν τελευταία.

Το Ελληνικό σχολείο του Ρόττερταμ υπάρχει εδώ και μερικά χρόνια. Συστηματικά έρχισε να λειτουργεί τα δύο τελευταία χρόνια, για όρισμένα χρόνια στεγάζονταν σε κάποια μικρή αίθουσα που φέρει το όνομα "Ελληνικό σπίτι".

Λόγω αναταλλαλότητας όμως αυτού του οικήματος, όπως τονίσαμε επανειλημμένα από τους ίδιους τους γονείς, σε συγκέντρωση τους που έγινε πριν δυό χρόνια (στην αρχή της σχολικής περιόδου το 1974-1975 σε αίθουσα του γνωστού "Ενγκελς"), για αυτόν τον λόγο μετά από απόφαση των γονέων που πάρθηκε στην παραπάνω συγκέντρωση, μεταφέρθηκε το Ελληνικό σχολείο σε οίκημα που στεγάζει νόμιμο και πραγματικό Ολλανδικό σχολείο. Το οίκημα καλύπτει όλες τις αναγκαίες προϋποθέσεις που χρειάζεται ένα σύγχρονο και μοντέρνο σχολείο στην εποχή μας.

Προσφέρει δηλαδή ασφάλεια, άνεση (διαθέτει μεγάλη αυλή για να παίζουν τα παιδιά) υγιεινή, (βρίσκεται σε μία από τις ωραιότερες περιοχές της πόλης μέσα σε δέντρα) έχει πανονικά σχολικά θρανία, είναι εξοπλισμένο με όργανα διδασκαλίας, έχει ατμόσφαιρα σχολική και γενι-

...είναι ένα πραγματικό σχολείο όπως γράφουμε και παραπάνω.
Παρ'όλα αυτά όμως και ενώ η πλειοψηφία των γονέων είναι ικανοποιη-
ση, υπάρχουν όρισμένοι νοσταλγοί του παρελθόντος, του μίζερου παρελ-
θόντος θα μπορούσαμε να πούμε, χωρίς να φοβηθούμε ότι υπερβάλλουμε.

Στην αρχή της σχολικής χρονιάς 1975-1976 δύο μέλη της δυναζόμενης
"Ενώσης των Ελλήνων Ολλανδίας" που έδρεύει στο Ρότερνταμ, προ-
πάθησαν γυρνώντας με μία λίστα να πάρουν τις υπογραφές των γονέων για
να μεταφερθεί το σχολείο πάλι στην προηγούμενη μίζερη αίθουσα, που εί-
ναι έντελώς ανατάλληλη για τέτοια αποστολή.

Φυσικά η ενέργεια τους αυτή δεν βρήκε απήχηση και η προσπάθεια των
ανθρώπων αυτών απέτυχε όπως ήταν επόμενο παταγωδώς. Έφεραν όμως πάλι
για μία ακόμη φορά αναστάτωση στον κόσμο των Ελλήνων του Ρότερνταμ.

Εδώ θα μπορούσε να διερωτηθεί εύλογα κανείς, γνώριζε ή δεν γνώριζε
την ενέργεια τους το διοικητικό συμβούλιο της κοινότητας στην οποία
τά άτομα ανήκουν; και αν δεν γνώριζε γιατί δεν σταμάτησε τα άτομα έγ-
καιρα όπως έπρεπε να κάνει; αν γνώριζε όμως την πράξη αυτή γιατί την
έβγαλε; Τι και ποιανού συμφέροντα εξυπηρετούσε ή μεταφορά του σχολείου
στην παλιά και ανατάλληλη μικρή αίθουσα, που με κανένα τρόπο δεν καλύ-
πτει μία καμιά μά έντελώς καμιά από τις προϋποθέσεις που αναφέραμε.

"Όλα αυτά όπως είναι αυτονόητο παραμένουν νωπά στην μνήμη των Ελλή-
νων του Ρότερνταμ και δεν ξεχνιούνται εύκολα, ούτε και θα ξεχαστούν
όσο αυτή η κατάσταση διαρκεί και δεν αλλάζουν τα μυαλά όρισμένων άμε-
τανόητων ανθρώπων.

Δεν έφταναν όμως αυτά όπως φαίνεται, από τα πράγματα, έπρεπε δυστηχώς
να δημιουργηθούν και άλλα, για να επιδεινώσουν και αυτά με την σειρά
τους την ήδη τεταμένη ατμόσφαιρα που πάντα επικρατούσε.

Στις 25 του Γενάρη εκλέχτηκε κάτω από ίσως κάπως από μία έκποψη άνω-
μαλες συνθήκες μια σχολική επιτροπή.

"Όλοι όσοι ενδιαφέρονται σ'αυτή την πόλη για το σχολείο όπως είναι
φυσικό και λογικό περίμεναν κάτι το θετικό από αυτήν την επιτροπή.

Να βάλει και αυτή το πετράδάκι της προς όφελος και την καλύτερη λει-
τουργία του σχολείου, να βοηθήσει την δασκάλα στο έργο της.

Η επιτροπή αποτελούμενη από πέντε τακτικά και τρία έκτατα μέλη,
άρχισε ~~...~~ ομολογουμένως κυριολεκτικά ανάποδα μπορεί να ειπωθεί τη
δουλειά της. Απαγόρεψαν τα τακτικά μέλη της τα αναπληρωματικά μέλη
της επιτροπής να παίρνουν μέρος στις συνεδριάσεις με το έτσι θέλω.

Δυό μητέρες Ολλανδέζες σύζυγοι Ελλήνων εργατών γονέων που έφτιαξαν
και την επιτροπή πρωτοβουλίας και συγκάλεσαν τους γονείς στη γενική
συνέλευση της 25 του Γενάρη αποκλειστικώς έτσι από τις άλλες κυρίες
και έμειναν απ'έξω, παρ'όλο που ήταν εκλεγμένα αναπληρωματικά μέλη
της επιτροπής. Σύμφωνα με τα λόγια της προέδρου της επιτροπής :

...ήταν Έλληνίδες και 2ον) θα εμπόδιζαν τις συνελεύσεις δίδθεν
...δεν γνωρίζουν την Έλληνική γλώσσα. Έδώ πρέπει να σημειώσουμε
...όλα σχεδόν τα τακτικά μέλη γνωρίζουν αρκετά καλά την Ολλανδική
γλώσσα.

Τό σπουδαιότερο όμως είναι, ότι κατάφεραν με τον τρόπο αυτό περιφρό-
νησαν τελείως, την προτίμηση και την σήφο των γονέων που έδωθη σ'αυτές
τις δύο κυρίες από την γενική συνέλευση των γονέων της 25ης.

Γεγονός πάντως είναι, ότι κατάφεραν να δημιουργήσουν πάλι μια όρισε-
νη κατάσταση, μ'αυτή την άφυχολόγητη ενέργεια. Τό αποτέλεσμα ήταν φυ-
σιικά γνωστά εκ των προτέρων. Γονείς στράφηκαν έναντίον άλλων γονέων
και άλλοι στράφηκαν ενάντια στα ίδια τα τακτικά μέλη της επιτροπής.

Η έρώτηση που μπαίνει τώρα είναι, ποιές είναι αυτές οι κυρίες που
έκαναν αυτές τις διακρίσεις;

Είναι οι γνωστές κυρίες που είναι συζευγμένες με Ολλανδούς και που
γι'αυτό τον λόγο οι ίδιες έχουν άπωλεσει την Έλληνική ύπηκοότητα πρό
πολλού.

Τέλος μετά την μεσολάβηση της Έλληνικής κοινότητας των εργαζομένων
του Ρόττερντάμ και περιχώρων και σε ειδική συνέδριση με την σχολική
επιτροπή κατορθώθηκε να ξεπεραστεί αυτό τό πρόβλημα, και να ρηί δοθεί
πραιτέρω ένταση και να παίρνουν μέρος στις συνεδριάσεις με συμβου-
λευτική γνώμη όπως ήταν φυσικό και τα αναπληρωματικά μέλη.

Την λύση αυτή την δέκτημε με ανακούφιση ό καθένας και ή γενική άπο-
ψη ήταν ότι ή παραπέρα πορεία της σχολικής επιτροπής θα ήταν πλέον όμ-
αλή. Σε μερικές μέρες όμως δημιουργήθηκαν και πάλι νέες εξελίξεις πιό
άρνητικές αυτή την φορά. (Έδώ πρέπει να κάνουμε μια μικρή παρέθε-
ση και να σημειώσουμε ότι ή Κοινότητα των Έλλήνων εργαζομένων έδω-
σε συμβουλή στα μέλη της σχολικής επιτροπής γά προχωρήσουν στην όδη-
μιουργία καταστατικού και να ύποβληθεί πρός έγκριση στην γενική συν-
έλευση των γονέων ώστε να έχει ή επιτροπή κάποια βάση να στηρίζεται
και ένα όδηγό στην μελλοντική της πορεία. Μέχρι αυτή την στιγμή πάν-
τως που γράφονται αυτές οι γραμμές δεν έγινε τίποτε πρός αυτή την
κατεύθυνση και δυστυχώς ένεϊνο που ισχύει ακόμα είναι τό " αποφασί-
ζομε και διατάσσομε").

Ίσως να έχετε ύπ'όψη σας τά δύο έγγραφα που όύνταξε και απέστειλε
ή επιτροπή πάλι στους γονείς. Καταστατικό δεν έφτιαξαν ακόμα, παρ'
όλα αυτά όμως βάλθηκαν πάλι να προσπαθούν με τά δύο έγγραφα αυτά να
παραμένει πιστή ή επιτροπή στό όρμό της άπωλειας που με πείσμα από
την αρχή είχε χαράξει. Στο ένα έγγραφο αυτοδιορίζονται ό πρόεδρος
και ό αντιπρόεδρος αυτόβουλα γιά δύο χρόνια ενώ τά άλλα μέλη μόνο γιά ένα
ένα. Όσο αφορά τό άλλο έγγραφο, ζητεί μια έπώνυμη επίθεση ενάντια στη
δασκάλα στηριγμένη σ'ένα θέμα που ήδη είχε λήξει πρό πολλού, αφού

χαν δοθεῖ οἱ ἀμοιβάτες ἐξηγήσεις ἀπὸ ὅλες τῖς ἐνδιαφερόμενες πλευρῆς.
Ἐν νέον γίνονται διακρίσεις μεταξὺ τῶν μονίμων ἐγκατεστημένων καὶ
μὴ μονίμων ἐγκατεστημένων Ἑλλήνων.

Ἐπὶ πλεον ἀπειλῆς πρὸς τὴν διεύθυνση τῶν τελευταίων καὶ τῶν Ὀλλαν-
δικῆς καταγωγῆς γονέων. Νά μὴ παραπονοῦνται ἂν τυχόν καὶ βλέπουν τίπο-
τε στραβό, διότι ὅπως γράφουν ἡ Ἑλληνική κυβέρνηση καὶ ἡ πρεσβεῖα
πιθανόν νά μὴ φέρουν ἄλλους δασκάλους.

Προεξοφλοῦν ἐν τῶν προτέρων καὶ τὴν φύση τῶν παραπόνων ἀλλὰ ἐπίσης
καὶ τὴν ἐνδεχόμενη θέση πού ἴσως πάρει σύμφωνα πάντα μὲ τὸ γραπτὸ τους
ἡ Ἑλληνική κυβέρνηση καὶ ἡ πρεσβεῖα.

Ῥαῖο πατριωτισμὸ ἐπιδεικνύουν οἱ κυρίες αὐτές ὅταν λέγε ὅτι αὐτές
πού εἶναι μόνιμα ἐγκατεστημένες δέν τῖς νοιάζει ἂν τὰ παιδιὰ τους
ἀφεληνιστοῦν ὅπως καὶ ἡ πρόεδρος τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς τὸ ἐπανέλαβε σέ συνο-
μιλία πού εἶχε μὲ τὸν πρόεδρο τῆς κοινότητος τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐργαζομένων
τοῦ Ρόττερνταμ.

Κύριε πρέσβυ θά θέλαμε νά σταματήσουμε ἐδῶ ἀλλὰ δυστυχῶς νέες ἐξελί-
ξεις μᾶς ἀναγκάζουν νά συνεχίσουμε παραπέρα.

Ὅπως ἀναμενόταν οἱ δύο αὐτές ἐπιστολές ἐξόργισαν στήν κυριολεξία
πολλοὺς γονεῖς οἱ ὅποιοι ζήτησαν τὸ γρηγορώτερο σύγκληση γενικῆς συνέ-
λευσης, γιὰ νά συζητηθοῦν καὶ τὰ καινούργια προβλήματα πού παρουσιά-
στηκαν.

Με πῆγμα ἀρνοῦνταν τὴν συζήτηση μὲ τοὺς γονεῖς καὶ οὔτε γενικὴ συν-
έλευση ἔγινε μέχρι τώρα, μὲ ἀποτέλεσμα ὅταν δεῦνθημε πιά ἡ κατάσταση,
οἱ κυρίες προτίμησαν νά ἐξαφανιστοῦν γιὰ νά ἀποφύγουν προφανῶς κάθε
ἐνώχληση. Ἀποφάσισαν πάλι νά παραμείνουν "στὸ ἀποφασίζομεν καὶ δια-
τάσσομεν" καὶ τίποτε ἄλλο. Καὶ ἔτσι μὲ τὴν καθόλου σωστὴ τακτικὴ πού
δέν στηρίζεται σέ καμμιά δημοκρατικὴ βάση ὅπως ἀβίαστα μπορεῖ νά δια-
πιστώσει ὁ κάθε ἀντικειμενικὸς παρατηρητῆς, ὁδήγηθηκε ἡ ὑπόθεση αὐτὴ
σ' ἓνα ἀπιέξυδον ἀδιέξοδο.

Ὅποιοσδήποτε μπορεῖ νά καταλάβει ἀμέσως, εἴμαστε τῆς γνώμης, ὅτι τὸ
πῆγμα καὶ οἱ κακοὶ σύμβουλοι πουθενά δέν ὀδηγοῦν ἢ σίγουρα ὀδηγοῦν
σέ συνέπειες μὲ καταστρεπτικὰ ἀποτελέσματα γι' αὐτὸ τὸ ἔδιο τὸ σχολεῖο
πού ἤδη ἔχει ἐπηρεαστεῖ ἡ ὁμαλὴ λειτουργία του.

Ἀλλὰ πῶς νά καλυτέρευον τὰ πράγματα καὶ νά καταπραῦνθοῦν τὰ ἐξημ-
μένα πνεύματα, ὅταν ὀρισμένα ἀπὸ αὐτὰ τὰ ἄτομα φανερώνουν πιά τοὺς
σκοποὺς τους ὅταν μὲ τὸν ἄλφα ἢ βῆτα τρόπο ἀφήνουν νά φανεῖ ὅτι ἡ πρό-
θεση τους καὶ ὁ ἁπώτερος τους σκοπὸς εἶναι ἡ μεταφορὰ τοῦ σχολεῖου
πάλι πίσω στήν ἀκατάλληλη αἴθουσα;

Ἀλλὰ δυστυχῶς δέν εἶναι μόνο αὐτὰ, τῖς τελευταῖες ἡμέρες σύμφωνα
μὲ τῖς πληροφορίες πού ἔχομεν (δέν θέλουμε νά πιστεύουμε ὅτι ἀληθεύουν)
ἐντὸς ἀπὸ τῖς γνωστῆς οὐδὲ τρεῖς οἰκογένειες πού πάντα ἀκολουθοῦν τὸν
παλιὸ σκοπὸ ὁπλαδὴ ἔχομε τὴν ἐκκλησία, ἀλλὰ θέλουμε καὶ τὸ σχολεῖο

...ική και όχι κοινωτική ιδιοκτησία όλων των Ελλήνων
... και που στην περίοδο των σκοτεινών χρόνων της δικτα-
... την εύκαιρα να γιορτάζουν κάθε επέτειο της στο-
... ν' απέκτησαν καινούργιο σύμμαχο.
... πλάουμε δεν γνωρίζουμε αν εϋσταθούν οι πληροφορίες που έχου-
... είναι άκριβεις, ότι δηλαδή και οι Ελληνικές προξενικές
... ενικές αρχές που είναι εγκατεστημένες στο Ρόττερντάμ συμπαρί-
... η βοήθούν εμπρακτα τους σκοπούς που αναφέραμε πιο πάνω, τότε
... δεν μας μένει να κάνουμε τίποτε άλλο από το ν' αμυνθούμε αν
... διαπιστώσουμε ότι συμβαίνει κάτι τέτοιο.
... έχουν σημειωθεί, πάλι από πληροφορίες που συγκεντρώσαμε,
... απειλών ενάντια σε γονείς που δίκαια διαμαρτύρονται και
... συμφωνούν μ' αυτές τις απανταχούσες της σχολικής επιτροπής, με σκο-
... προφανώς το κλέψιμο του στόματός τους.
... επιτοξούν επίσης απειλές που στρέφονται ενάντια στο διοικητικό
... Κοινότητας των Ελλήνων εργαζομένων του Ρόττερντάμ και
... να κυκλοφορούν εν νέου μέσα στους Έλληνες της περιοχής έντε-
... κνοί φιθαρτισμοί περί κομμουνιστών και μη κομμουνιστών και κάτι τέτοιου
... ειδίσεις και ειδησούλες κάνουν τό γύρω της παροικίας.
... δουλειές μας θυμίζουν άλλες εποχές και τρόπους και μεθόδους
... Έλληνας δεν άνεχεται αλλά αντίθετα τις καταδικά-
... αποτροπιασμό.
... όμως νομίζουμε ότι ούτε τυχαία αλλά ούτε συμπτωματικά δυνατό
... αυτά και αυτό γιατί τό χρόνια της δικτατορίας έχουν δι-
... Έλληνες πολλά. Ένα πράγμα είμαστε σε θέση να σας
... σιγουριά και υπευθυνότητα. Τό ότι θα κάνουμε ότι είναι
... προστατεύουμε και να περιφρουρήσουμε τό αγαθό της παι-
... αυτή την περίπτωση εκπροσωπεί τό μικρό αλλά ανεκτίμητης
... Έλλήνων του Ρόττερντάμ και θα χρησι-
... νόμιμο μέσο που έχουμε στην διάθεση μας, για να μένει
... πατρίδα εδώ στο χώρο της Ολλανδίας κτήμα και περιουσία
... Έλλήνων, χωρίς περιορισμούς και δια-
... καθώς και στο πρόσωπο του πρώτου γραμ-
... και έκκεντο σας συνεργάτου, θα βρούμε κάθε ένδι-
... επίλυση αυτών των καυτών προβλημάτων
... Έλληνες του Ρόττερντάμ αλλά και κατ'έπείτα-
... Ολλανδίας.

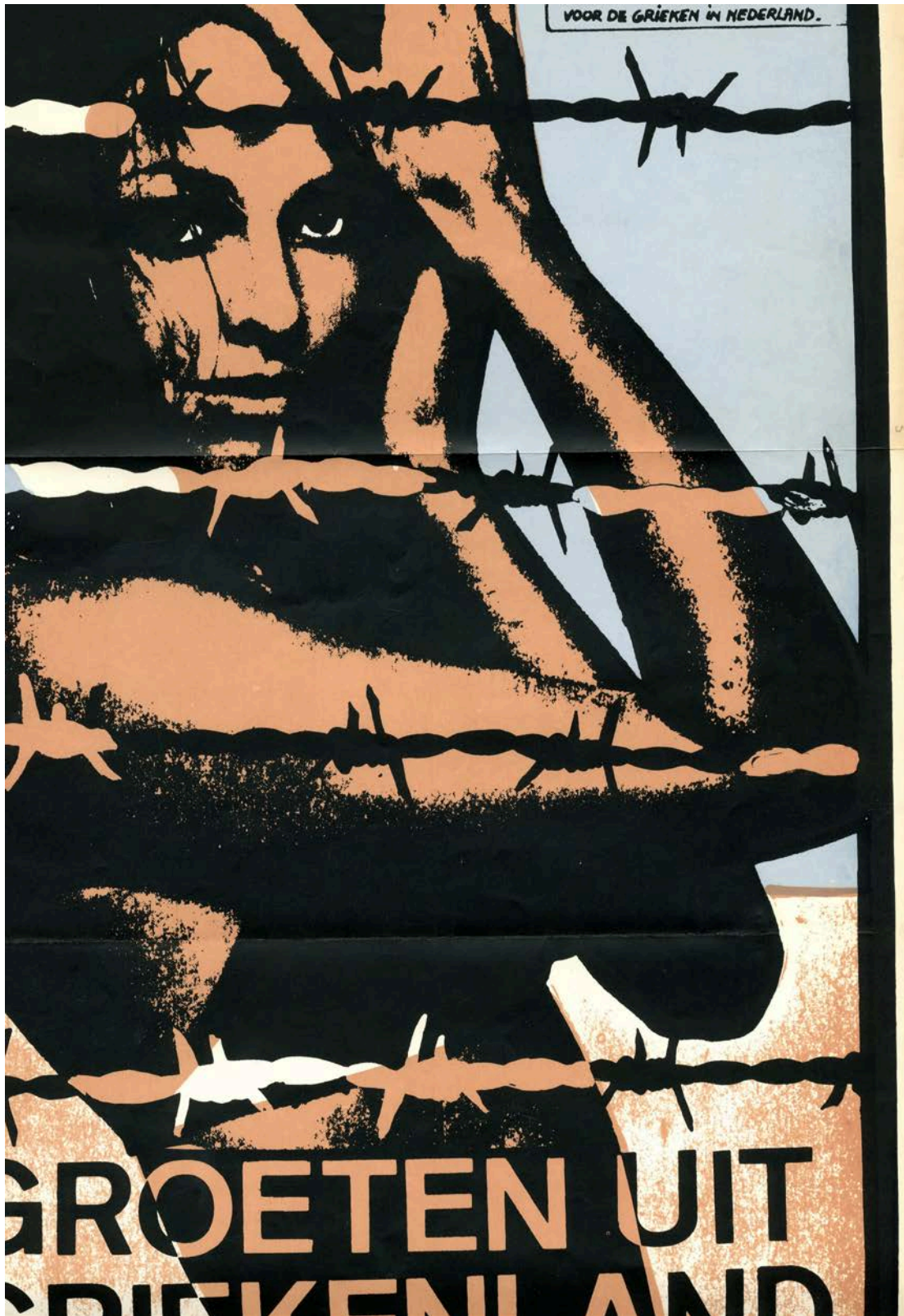
APPENDIX VII

DIVERSE

1. EXAMINATIONS



2. ADK JUNI 1971 POSTER NO 1



3. GREEK WORKER



5. VAKANTIE ACHTER PRIKKELDRAAD GRIEKENLAND
DIKTATUUR



APPENDIX VIII

PORTRAITS

1. Artoglou



2. KAKOMANOLIS



3. KOKKINOS



4. MITROPOULOS



5. PAPADOPOULOS



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Interviews

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