

THESIS: BELONGING TO GREECE AND THE SOVIET UNION: GREEKS OF
TASHKENT 1949-1974

ELAINA MARIA LAMPROPOULOS

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTERS OF ARTS

GRADUATE PROGRAM IN HISTORY
YORK UNIVERSITY
TORONTO, ONTARIO

September 2014

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Abstract

This thesis illustrates the narrative of the Greek political refugees of Tashkent and seeks to recognize their Greek and Soviet identity. By examining the public and private spaces of Greek political refugees in Soviet Tashkent between 1949-1974, the thesis identifies the beliefs, symbols and practices, which reveal the hybridity of Greek-Soviet identity. Research and its findings are based on oral histories and Greek-language newspapers published during the period as well as on memoirs of Greeks who lived in Tashkent. This will aid our understanding of the collective memory and homemaking narrative of the Greek experience in Soviet Tashkent. The collective narrative of Greeks of Tashkent emerges as a very positive and idealized one. Greeks legitimized their settlement in Tashkent by showing how they defended Soviet ideology and how they contributed to and developed Soviet society. The homemaking narrative allowed Greeks to belong to the imagined Greek Soviet Community, the imagined Soviet community and the imagined Greek community.

Acknowledgements

Being Greek is simply my reality. Going to Greek dances, going to Greek school, eating Greek food, speaking Greek, and travelling to Greece has been my way of life, my ideology, my way of living since as long as I can remember. However, after minoring in history in my undergraduate years and taking a few courses in Greek history, I realized that Greek history and studying Greek diaspora was an undiscovered passion of mine. This past year has been an adventure. I travelled to Central Asia in March 2014, to the beautiful city of Tashkent, Uzbekistan to meet a passionate group of individuals, with a love for Greece just like mine. Then I met with more beautiful people, just as passionate about their Greek heritage, in Greece and Canada. What connected all these people was their parents' involvement in the Greek civil war, and consequently arriving in Tashkent as political refugees or being raised by those partisans in Tashkent. My journey to Tashkent has been a journey of discovering myself. I had the opportunity to understand my own Greek identity, at the same time I developed a model for understanding the intricacies of how ethnic identities and imagined communities are formed. I determined how Canadian *and* Greek I truly am, during the process of understanding the hybrid Soviet-Greek identity embodied by the Greeks of Tashkent.

I first need to thank all the participants in my study for their honesty and kindness. Without them, my study would not have happened. I also would like to thank the President of the Association of Greek Culture, Tashkent, and Stathi Kosmidis for his support. Additionally, Diana Papadakis and Theodore Lazaridis and the Council of the Association of Greek Culture, Tashkent, were integral to my research process in Uzbekistan and Greece. A special thank you goes to my father, who put the bug in my ear about Greek history and for coming to Tashkent and Greece to be my second pair of eyes and ears. We will never forget this experience. The first

day we arrived in Tashkent, we walked into the Greek Cultural Centre, and heard traditional Greek music playing and children rehearsing for the March 25th Celebration. As we walked through the entrance, we recognized familiar Greek columns supporting the ceiling, and miniature Greek flags hung across the walls. Each member in the community greeted my father and I with open arms, and we truly felt like we were in a “mini Greece.” I knew I had arrived at a special place. I thank everyone from the Greek community in Tashkent for making my research an unforgettable experience. My heartfelt thanks go out to my family and loved ones for their support and encouragement through this entire process. My parents, my brother, grandparents and friends have been so accommodating and supportive as I buried myself in my studies and research for the past year. I am eternally grateful for the support from the Argiropoulos family, who were my inspiration for this entire project. From endless phone calls and text messages to the long chats and interviews, John Argiropoulos was there throughout the process. And, I cannot forget my dearest Dimitri, who listened patiently and provided feedback, as I thought out loud for the past year about my project. I am blessed for his support and encouragement.

I am extremely grateful for having an excellent supervisor, Dr. A. Gekas, Chair of the Hellenic Studies program at York University, for his motivation and guidance throughout this journey. From our lengthy emails to long meetings, he was always supportive and consistently challenged me intellectually to go beyond my limits. I thank my committee members; Dr. R. Perin and Dr. W. Jenkins, who have been extremely helpful and encouraging of my project. Dr. R. Perin especially, was very helpful throughout this process. He was always willing to meet on short notice to make positive changes to my thesis.

Finally, I am indebted to Nicole Uriasz for reading and commenting on my drafts. She was an angel throughout this process.

I gratefully acknowledge the funding that enabled this research: the Hellenic Heritage Foundation Graduate Fellowship Award, the Dagonas Family Scholarship, the York Graduate Scholarship and the York Fieldwork Cost Fund.

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Abbreviations

KKE – Communist Party of Greece

KOT- Kommatiki Organosi Tashkent – Party Organization Tashkent – KKE Arm in Tashkent

KET – Kentriki Epitropi Tashkent – Central Committee Tashkent

EPON - Eniaia Panelladiki Organosi Neon – United Panhellenic Organization of Youth

EVOP - Committee for the Aid of Children

KEE/SEE - Central or Coordinative Educational Committee

KOB – Kentriki Organosi Vasis – Central Organizing Base

KE – Kentriki Epitropi – Central Committee

O/KNE – Omospondia Kommounistiko Neoleon Elladas – Federation of Communist Youth of Greece

EAM - National Liberation Front

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Introduction

Either forced or voluntary, Greeks have migrated throughout the world for a variety of reasons, at various times. After the Greek Civil War (1946-1949), Greeks arrived in Tashkent, Uzbekistan as political refugees. These men and women fought for the Democratic Army and many of them were members or supporters of the KKE (Greek Communist Party).¹ Out of fear, these men and women fled across the Yugoslavian border to Albania to escape persecution in Greece in late 1949.² Greek communists and Democratic Army fighters would have faced severe punishments, including death by hanging after the Greek Civil war if they had remained in Greece. Joseph Stalin provided sanctuary to a total of 11 997³ Greek males, females and child refugees who arrived in Tashkent, from Albania, hidden in Soviet grain ships, in December of 1949.⁴ Shortly after their arrival in Tashkent, the Greeks were integrated into Soviet society, in various factories or labour contracts throughout the city, with the support of the Greek Communist Party – Tashkent - KOT. Tashkent was a developing Soviet city with a multicultural and multiethnic population. The first generation Greeks, for the most part, married other political refugees from Greece and started families. As Greeks settled into Soviet life, Stalin's death rocked the community. Nikita Khrushchev's de-Stalinization of the Soviet Union, in 1956, caused a rift in the KKE, affecting the unity and solidarity of the Greek collective.

¹ Not all members of the Democratic army were voluntary recruits. Some were forcefully recruited during the Civil War.

² Greek political refugees settled through the eastern bloc with the support of local communist authorities and the KKE. Countries where Greeks settled included; Romania, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, East Germany and the Soviet Union. Katerina Tsekou, *Ελληνες πολιτικοί προσφυγες στην Ανατολική Ευρώπη*, [Greek political refugees in Eastern Europe] 1945-1989, (Athens, GR: Αλεξάνδρεια 2013), 86

³ This statistic is available at Greek Cultural Centre of Tashkent's archives.

⁴ Tsekou, *Greek political refugees in Eastern Europe*, 48.

The KOT (Kommatiki Organosi Tashkent – Party Organization Tashkent), and the Association of Greek Political Refugees, were the ruling bodies and administration for the Greeks of Tashkent. The associations of all the neighbourhoods, or wards, formed the KET – the Central Committee of Tashkent. Meanwhile in Greece, the government did not welcome the return of the Greeks from Tashkent officially until after 1974. By 1974, the community had grown to 16,200 people.⁵ Some Greeks returned as immigrants to the Greek state in the 1950s and 1960s, with the support of the Red Crescent Society. Mass repatriation after 1974, resulted in 11,300 Greeks from Tashkent returning to Greece.⁶ In relation to other political refugees from the Eastern bloc, the Greeks of Tashkent were the largest community that returned en mass. Greek political refugees from all over the Eastern Bloc were granted amnesty in 1982 and after that point the majority of Greek political refugees throughout Eastern Europe returned to Greece. Not all of them settled in Greece, some went to Australia, while others went to the United States or Canada.

Greeks arrived in Tashkent in the middle of its renewal campaign to break down “traditional social relations” and “increase the state’s ability to monitor citizens.”⁷ The city was being rebuilt in order to “destroy public reminders of (their) non-Soviet past” which included forcing Uzbeks into contemporary Soviet housing with the rest of the Soviet population. The hope was to replace the old buildings with “architecturally elaborate theatres, apartment buildings, modern factories and hospitals” for the benefit of the people of Uzbekistan.⁸ During World War two, all industry moved eastward in the Soviet Union. Literally, factories from the

⁵ Ibid, 197.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Paul Stronski, *Tashkent: forging a Soviet city, 1930-1966*, (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2010), 3.

⁷ Ibid, 3.

⁸ Ibid, 3.

western part of the Soviet Union were taken apart, and rebuilt in Tashkent. Schools were transformed into factories and research institutions were adapted for the military.⁹ Tashkent was a booming industrial city, with a large population and a major problem with housing. Greeks arrived between late 1949 and early 1950 and were settled into military barracks by the local authorities. Paul Stronski described the barracks as being “unfit for humans.”¹⁰ It was the responsibility of the factories to provide appropriate housing for their workers. The housing shortage continued until after the death of Stalin. Khrushchev’s officials pushed forward to improve housing and increase the construction speed.¹¹ Soviet officials historically tried to destroy the Uzbek traditional villages known as “mahallas,” that were characterized by large bungalows and gated courtyards. Eventually, in the 1960s, they decided to incorporate the mahallas into Soviet society by building various styles of homes within the mahallas with larger balconies and courtyards to accommodate the Uzbek living style. It became policy to merge Uzbeks and Soviets.¹² After the earthquake in 1966 however, the Soviet state saw this as an opportunity to tear down many of the traditional Uzbek homes deemed “unsafe” and rebuild Tashkent completely.¹³ Greeks lived in a growing, modernized Soviet city, with expanding public transportation, health care, education, electricity and plumbing. After the earthquake, people from all over the Soviet Union moved to Tashkent to help rebuild it. The Greeks and many other Soviets contributed to rebuilding Tashkent. Stronski described this as the “friendship of Soviet peoples”.¹⁴

Belonging to Greece and the Soviet Union will introduce an original approach to the

⁹ Ibid, 171.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid, 218.

¹² Ibid, 235.

¹³ Ibid. 253

¹⁴ Ibid, 254

study of ethnic communities. Conducting oral histories, researching the community archives for events and presentations and examining newspapers and memoirs to understand the hybridity of ethnic identity, will fill the gap in Greek civil war literature of political refugee identity. I will reveal how Greeks in Tashkent acted Greek, or believed in Soviet values to feel part of the Greek and Soviet imagined communities.¹⁵ Without ignoring the tools, beliefs and values they brought to their host country, and the influence the host country had on the Greeks, I will reveal how the Greeks of Tashkent developed hybrid identities. I examined the community's newspapers, *Pros Ti Niki* and *Neos Dromos* that were available in ASKI – The Contemporary Social History Archives of Athens. I evaluated *Pros Ti Niki*'s publications for the year 1951, and for *Neos Dromos* from 1960 onwards.¹⁶ The newspapers exposed the impact of the KOT and KET on the collective's public and private lives by organizing and facilitating the homemaking narrative¹⁷ and rooting Greeks into the Greek and Soviet imagined communities. The memoirs and interviews expose the multiplicity of identities, and how Greeks simultaneously embodied Greekness and Soviet identity.

They created a strong community with imaginary borders, symbols and practices saturated with Soviet and Greek customs. An inherent feature of the study is the examination of the public and private spaces of Greek life in Tashkent. The public spaces included the community, work, and education, whereas, the private spaces included the neighbourhoods and the homes. The administration, the KOT and KET along with the members of the community determined the appropriate behaviours and beliefs necessary to root Greeks of Tashkent into the Soviet and Greek imagined communities. The role of the KKE in Tashkent parallels the function

¹⁵ “Imagined” communities will be defined below.

¹⁶ ASKI did not have every article published from *Neos Dromos* and *Pros Ti Niki*.

¹⁷ The “homemaking narrative” will be defined below.

of the Greek Orthodox Church in North America, which influences the Greek North American ethnic and religious identity. Instead, the KKE developed the Greek ethnic and socialist identity. Greeks blurred the boundaries between the Soviet and Greek characteristics and values, and thus embodied a fused, hybrid Soviet and Greek identity.

Their positive and idealized perspective of the Soviet Union, their linguistic abilities and their socialist values suggested their Soviet identity. Greeks were accommodated and included in almost every aspect of Soviet society, and this formed their romanticized perspective of the Soviet Union. While praising the Soviet Union, its history, its values and society the Greeks acknowledged within themselves their Soviet identity. Consequently, they embodied socialist values as they lived in Soviet society forming their Soviet identity. Through the KKE's media, Greeks indicated that they belonged within the Soviet Union because they were revolutionaries like the Soviets, and that Greeks contributed to Soviet society because ancient Greek democracy contributed to Marxism as did the current Greek work force. The media sources also dictated how Greeks embodied their identity.

The media and the members of the community drew upon ancient Greek history and the Greek War of Independence, a revolution against the Ottoman empire, to identify the commonalities between Greek and Soviet history – democracy, revolution and progress. The historical lineage of the Greek people, and peasant and folk culture characterized Greekness in Tashkent. Additionally, the members of the community embodied peasant culture, meaning abiding by *philotimo*, the “need to maintain the public perception of (oneself) as a (person).”¹⁸ Furthermore, one person does not uphold *philotimo*, but a family or community embodies

¹⁸ Katherine Zepantis Keller, "Gender, Myth, and Memory, Ethnic Continuity in Greek-American Narrative," *MELUS*, 20, no. 3 (1995): 47-65.

philotimo. “*Philotimo*, is one of the ‘givens,’ the ‘core value’ of Greek identity that transcends the bifocality of Greek culture and serves itself as a marker of ethnicity.”¹⁹ Moreover, peasant Greek women are defined by *dropi*, meaning shame, where they are expected to “appear modest, obedient and uncomplaining as a daughter, wife and mother.”²⁰ In the case of Greeks in Tashkent, *dropi* was not present among the Greek women. Instead, young, old, single or married, male or female; they established that *philotimo* was a part of the community’s collective narrative of performing Greek-Soviet identity. Lastly, Greekness meant maintaining their linguistic abilities, eating Greek food, dancing to Greek music, striving for repatriation or having patriotism for Greece.²¹

Belonging to Greece and the Soviet Union demonstrated that despite living so far away from Greece the collective preserved their linguistic skills, their heritage and traditions to feel connected to their idea of the homeland. Through the ethnic clubs, organizations, events and facilities, Greeks maintained strong relationships with each other, and to the ideal of returning to Greece. Most importantly, their Greekness, or Greek identity was a feeling, an admiration, desire, and love-hate relationship for the idea of being Greek. Greeks in Tashkent developed a hybrid Greek-Soviet identity as a result of the transplantation of refugees from Greece who integrated into the Soviet space striving to become true Soviets.

Meanwhile, in the *Community Spaces* chapter, Benedict Anderson’s work on *Imagined Communities* explains why Greeks felt they belonged to each other as a community and the

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ More on Greek ethnic identity, or “Greekness” and *philotimo* can be found in: John Campbell, *Honour, Family, and Patronage: A Study of Institutions and Moral Values in a Greek Mountain Community*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964). James D. Faubion, *Modern Greek Lessons: A Primer in Historical Constructivism*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993). Michael Herzfeld, *The Poetics of Manhood: Contest and Identity in a Cretan Mountain Village*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985). Neni Panourgía, *Fragments of Death, Fables of Identity: An Athenian Anthropography*, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995).

Soviet Union, as well as to Greece. Anderson's concept illustrates how a nation is a community, based on a socially constructed concept. The nation "is *imagined* because the members of even the smallest nations will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each (citizen) lives an image of their community."²² He does not assess how a nation is different from any other form of community or how a modern nation creates its community by including, excluding and forgetting certain components of its history, but the 'imagined community' has been utilized by several scholars to demonstrate how a group of people, with certain commonalities have strong affinities for each other and pride in their unifying factor.²³

The commonalities shared between the three imagined communities, (the Greeks of Tashkent, the Soviet Union's community, Greece's community) were based on symbols, beliefs and practices. Anthony Cohen's *The Symbolic Construction of Community*, stresses how a community is created by a group of people sharing certain symbols with similar meanings.²⁴

²² Benedict R. O. Anderson, *Imagined communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. Rev. ed., (London: Verso, 2006), 5.

²³ There are various uses of the 'imagined communities' concept. Some scholars have studied how 'outsiders' identify an imagined community, or how the actual members of the imagined community, utilize their community, or connect to others within this space. Shehina Fazal, and Roza Tsagarousianou, "Diasporic communication: Transnational cultural practices and communicative spaces," *The Public*, 9, no. 1 (2002): 5-18. Liza Tsaliki, "The Media and the Construction of an 'Imagined Community' The Role of Media Events on Greek Television," *European Journal of Communication*, 10, no. 3 (1995): 345-370, doi: 10.1177/0267323195010003003 (accessed April 6, 2014). Leo R. Chavez, "Outside the imagined community: undocumented settlers and experiences of incorporation," *American Ethnologist*, 18, no. 2 (1991): 257-278. Leo R. Chavez, "The Power of the Imagined Community: The Settlement of Undocumented Mexicans and Central Americans in the United States," *American Anthropologist*, 96, no. 1 (1994): 52-73. Jean Franco, "The Nation as Imagined Community," in *Dangerous Liaisons: Gender, Nation, and Postcolonial Perspectives*, ed. Anne McClintock, Aamir Mufti, Ella Shoha (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 130-137. Graeme Turner, "After hybridity: Muslim-Australians and the imagined community," *Continuum: Journal of Media & Cultural Studies*, 17, no. 4 (2003): 411-418. Julien Cayla, and Giana M. Eckhardt, "Asian Brands and the Shaping of a Transnational Imagined Community," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 35, no. 2 (2008): 216-230. Akhil Gupta, and James Ferguson, "Beyond 'Culture': Space, Identity, and the Politics of Difference," *Cultural Anthropology*, 7, no. 1 (1992): 6-23. There are several scholars who have used Anderson's concept. These are just a few.

²⁴ Anthony Cohen, *The symbolic construction of community*, (London: Routledge), 14.

“Symbols do not so much express meaning as give us the capacity to make meaning.”²⁵ For the Greek community of Tashkent, some symbols included the revolutionary, or civil war hero. The meanings of the practices expose the hybridity of Greek-Soviet identity. *Belonging to Greece and the Soviet Union* demonstrates how within every public and private space, certain symbols were perpetuated to demonstrate Greek and or Soviet identity. In some cases the symbols represented both Greek and Soviet identity, whereas treasuring Greek foods and objects illustrated Greek identity. The “symbolic nature of community” gave meaning to the Greek collective, in each of the communities it belonged to. “People construct community symbolically, making it a resource and repository of meaning, and a referent of their identity.”²⁶ Essentially, community creates the sense of “we” so its members share certain components to create boundaries. The social relations within the community are dictated by symbols according to Cohen.²⁷ He explains that boundaries are not always obvious, like linguistic barriers, but “they may be thought of, rather, as existing in the minds of the beholders.”²⁸

The boundary was drawn for the Soviet and Greek community by linguistic abilities and heritage. Greeks revealed their membership in the Soviet community through their media, presenting how and why they belonged in Tashkent, and how they shared certain qualities with the natives of Tashkent. On the other hand, membership in Greek society was identified by the way Greeks spoke about their homeland. Their *patrida*, (meaning homeland) was central to the identity of the Greeks of Tashkent. The entitlement to one’s homeland, shared history, “common

²⁵ Ibid, 15.

²⁶ Ibid, 118.

²⁷ Ibid, 14.

²⁸ Ibid, 12.

bloodlines (and) ancient ancestry”²⁹ were central to the formation of a collective identity in Tashkent. Diaspora scholarship illustrates that even though ethnic communities spent time away from the homeland they formed a collective identity in their place of settlement. But they also shared common identity with members of the same ethnic communities in other countries.³⁰ The KKE exemplified the connection between the political refugees of the Eastern Bloc and the Greeks in Tashkent. Diaspora communities are characterized by a traumatic experience, vision of trauma and a strong memory of their homeland, evident in the narrative of Greeks in Tashkent. Roza Tsagarousiano defined diasporas as imagined communities, reconstructed and reinvented.³¹ Diasporas are transformed within their host nation because of their surroundings. *Belonging to Greece and the Soviet Union* illustrates how the public and private spaces were places where one learned how to belong to all three imagined spaces, and thus boundaries and identities were formed along with the thought that their Greek identity was rooted in their blood line, and their Soviet identity was based on their beliefs and practices that they adopted in Tashkent.³²

A community is nothing without its boundaries. Etienne Wenger argued that the boundaries of the community are created through competence and experience, and it is essential for communities to be places of learning.³³ The leadership organized the formal instruction of socialist values for the partisans. The younger participants born in Tashkent were raised within the Soviet education system and felt the benefits of Soviet life. Within the educational spaces, Greeks compared themselves to the ideal Soviet in order to determine the appropriate Soviet

²⁹ Alison Blunt, and Robyn Dowling, *Home*, (London & New York: Routledge, 2006), 171.

³⁰ Shehina Fazal, and Roza Tsagarousianou, "Diasporic communication: Transnational cultural practices and communicative spaces," *The Public*, 9, no. 1 (2002): 5-18,

³¹ Ibid.

³² Etienne Wenger, "Communities of Practice and Social Learning Systems," *Organization*, 7, no. 2 (2000): 225-246.

³³ Ibid.

behaviours, beliefs and practices they needed to adopt. By comparing “us” versus, “them” the Greek-Soviet community boundaries were determined and blurred. Boundary objects that determine a community’s ethnic space include artefacts, discourses, such as language, and processes, such as routines.³⁴ In order to understand the performance of Greekness in Tashkent, and how Greeks belonged within the Soviet community as well I will examine various processes, discourses and artefacts, which in many cases were symbols and rituals.

By basing their ethnicity on their history, the Greek collective also demonstrated their Greek identity by recreating and representing its past in its holidays and celebrations. In this particular situation, belonging to a collective was determined by how one behaved. Thus, cultural identity is based on bodily representations of the community’s memory and history. “Community is an entity to which one belongs, greater than kinship, but more immediate than the abstraction we call ‘society.’”³⁵ By drawing upon their history, Greeks ritualized and commemorated certain parts of their heritage to demonstrate their Soviet and Greek identity. The KOT portrayed the patriotic Greek holidays, such as EAM (National Liberation Front Organization) Day, as representations of Greek-Soviet identity. Paul Connerton’s text on collective memory explains that “a community is reminded of its identity” through its rituals and celebrations, which are bodily representations of the past.³⁶ The performative nature of identity formed the boundaries of each of the imagined communities. Jay Winter explains “when individuals and groups express or embody, or interpret or repeat a script about the past they galvanize the ties that bind groups

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Cohen, *The symbolic construction of community*, 15.

³⁶ Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 71.

together and deposit additional memory traces about the past in their own minds.”³⁷ These celebrations unified the collective and attached it to the imagined Greek and Soviet communities. The role the KOT and KET had for Greeks in Tashkent will be examined in terms of how they unified the collective and hosted these various celebrations, and later reported about them. The boundaries between the Greek and Soviet communities blurred as a Greek holiday representing Greek patriotism also, at the same time, represented Soviet ideals. Participating and performing in these shared rituals blurred the boundaries of each of the imagined communities, while justifying Greek membership within them.

The media, memoirs and oral histories reveal how Greeks rooted themselves in Soviet society, in a manner similar to Orm Øverland’s homemaking narrative in *Immigrant Minds, American Identities*. By examining the print media, speeches and immigrant novels of non-Anglo immigrants in the United States between 1870-1930, Øverland reveals how they rooted themselves into American society and proved that they were valuable contributors to that culture.³⁸ He reveals that non-Anglo immigrants linked their historical and political lineage to America’s democratic ideology, to America’s wars and the formation of the state.³⁹ Although his focus is on immigrants to the United States, Greeks in the Soviet Union similarly created a homemaking narrative. Greeks in Tashkent depicted themselves as revolutionaries, who fought the same war against fascism as the Soviets in WWII, and contributed to the foundation of Soviet society. Greeks drew upon their history and memory of their lives in Greece to illustrate that they belonged to the Soviet community as well as the Greek community.

³⁷ Jay Winter, "The performance of the past: memory, history, identity," in *Performing the Past: Memory, History, and Identity in Modern Europe*, ed. Karin Tilmans, Frank van Vree, J. M. Winter (Amsterdam, Netherlands: Amsterdam University Press, 2010), 11.

³⁸ Orm Øverland, *Immigrant minds, American identities: making the United States home, 1870-1930*, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 31.

³⁹ *Ibid*, 5, 121.

Memory of life in Greece, and Soviet society's values guided the behaviours, practices and beliefs reinforced by the administration and the members. Greek peasant wedding traditions connected Greeks to their homeland, whereas serving Uzbek food rooted Greeks to Tashkent's society. As migrants, but specifically as political refugees and exiles, retaining, maintaining and embodying their ethnic identity was necessary because of their trauma. "They ha(d) no desire to reinvent or re-imagine a new identity, nor even to totally adapt to their host state."⁴⁰ Greeks of Tashkent "remember(ed) their home with nostalgia" and "act(ed) to ensure ties with (their) native culture and identity." Similarly, participants wanted to illustrate that their ethnic identity was strong. They described how Greeks in Tashkent maintained their unity, how they were organized, and how in their private lives they maintained Greek culture and traditions when celebrating Greek patriotic holidays and weddings.

With reference to oral history, methodology and analysis of literature, each interview and each article in the Greek language newspapers and every memory included in the memoirs was examined for the meaning it had to the author and to the audience. From individual memories, a collective memory of Tashkent was created that was idealized and romanticized, revealing the hybrid Soviet-Greek lifestyle and identities. Wulf Kansteiner explained that collective memory is a "collective phenomenon" which "manifests itself in the actions and statements of individuals" and takes hold of "historically and socially remote events, but it often privileges the interests of the contemporary."⁴¹ Their current living standards influenced how they remembered their lives in Soviet Tashkent between 1949-1974. Those struggling in Tashkent blamed the Soviet Union

⁴⁰ Emma Haddad, "The Refugee: Forging National Identities," *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism*, 2, no. 2 (2002): 23-38.

⁴¹ Wulf Kansteiner, "Finding Meaning in Memory: A Methodological Critique of Collective Memory Studies," *History and Theory*, 41, no. 2 (2002): 179-197.

for their hardships. Conversely, those who were successful in Canada and Greece attributed their successes to the Soviet Union and remembered their lives nostalgically.

The ethnographic methods I used to gather data for my study included short, yet thorough periods of participant observation and interviews in Tashkent, Thessaloniki, Athens and Toronto. I used this information to examine the “meanings, functions and consequences of human actions and institutional practices.”⁴² I used open-ended questions and a semi-structured interview process similar to those used by ethnographers. I asked the participants to “describe what happen(ed) at certain celebrations, and I determined how the people involved (saw) and talk(ed) about their own actions and those of others, the contexts in which the actions (took) place, and what follow(ed) from it.”⁴³ I wanted to understand the meaning each of the cultural, political and social events had for the participants. In some cases, the events were based on Greek tradition, while the others were rooted in Soviet ideology. The meaning of the events provided an understanding of the symbols, beliefs and practices that held and unified the Greeks of Tashkent. Kathryn Anderson underlined the importance of listening for meaning in order to examine the interaction between social rules, institutions and women’s consciousness. By exploring the language and meanings in the interviews, I was able to determine how the participant was influenced and affected by social forces and institutions.⁴⁴

I conducted interviews in Tashkent, on March 2014, in Greece in April 2014, then in Toronto in April and May 2014. There are twenty interviews; nine in Tashkent, eight in Greece and three in Canada. Of the participants in Tashkent, three were child refugees, two were first

⁴² Martyn Hammersley, and Paul Atkinson, *Ethnography: Principles and Practice* 3rd Edition, (London; New York: Routledge, 2007), 7.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Kathryn Anderson and Dana C. Jack, “Learning to Listen: interview techniques and analyses.” in *Oral History Reader*, eds by R. Perks & A. Thomas. (London; New York, Routledge), 157-171.

generation, or partisans who arrived in 1949, four were second or third generation born and raised in Tashkent. In Greece, I only interviewed one first generation Greek, and the rest were second-generation. All three in Toronto were second-generation participants. In total, I interviewed, eleven men and nine women. However, because of time constraints the interviews with the three women in Athens were very condensed and not as in-depth as I would have liked. Some participants were suspicious of me, while others were very excited to be a part of my research. One participant in Athens questioned my integrity as a researcher when I asked her whether the KKE was involved in the workplace. It was by far my hardest interview. Some participants wanted to tell me their sorrows and disappointments with life in Tashkent and their desire to be in Greece, while others wanted to broadcast how beautiful their lives were. Depending on the person's gender, socioeconomic status, residence and age, there were different perspectives on Soviet Tashkent.

The oral histories were not simply interviews, but they “told a tale” that was rooted in an ideology of living.⁴⁵ The ideology is not simply a political paradigm, but it is the “consciousness of individuals and their conceptions of their relations to the condition of existence, which governs their actions and practices.”⁴⁶ In the oral histories, participants expanded on their community involvement and the meaning this had for them. I evaluated the newspapers to determine common trends, phrases and imagery that demonstrated how the community perceived itself in relation to their home and host nation, similar to Matthew F. Jacobson's analysis in *Special Sorrows*. He demonstrates the complexities of the diasporic imagination of Irish, Polish

⁴⁵ Ronald J. Grele, “Movement without aim: methodological and theoretical problems in oral history” in *Oral History Reader*, eds by R. Perks & A. Thomas. (London; New York, Routledge), 44.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

and Jewish immigrants in the United States by examining their ethnic newspapers from the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

The closest study to understand the development of Greek identity for the political refugees of the Soviet Union was completed by Maria Bodila in *Many Years Shall you live Great Stalin*. She assessed the curriculum and textbooks used in the classrooms of Greek children in the Eastern Bloc. The symbols and characters within the textbooks revealed the KKE's goal of politicizing the Greek children. I take her analysis even further by claiming that the educational spaces facilitated the socialization of Greek-Soviet identity, not just the Greek mentality, with socialist beliefs. The Greeks in Tashkent were different from the Greek socialists imprisoned or living in fear in Greece. They lived, embraced and experienced the Soviet Union and benefited from its services.

Despite this, Greek civil war scholarship has neglected Greek identity and remained very descriptive of life as a political refugee. There has been no analysis of *why* Greeks felt strong sentiments for the Soviet Union, or *why* so many repatriated, despite their loss of Greek citizenship (until 1974). Instead, scholars have focused on the political schisms of the Communist Party and the repatriation process, despite the rich primary sources and literature available to facilitate answers to the foregoing.

ASKI has a wealth of primary sources, including Greek language newspapers published throughout the Eastern Bloc that can be used to understand the daily structure of Greek life refugees experienced. The structural and politicized perspective of Greek political refugees leaves large gaps for social historians. In a recent publication in Greek; *Greek Political Refugees in Eastern Europe*, Katerina Tsekou studied the Greeks of Tashkent along with other Greek

political refugees in Eastern Europe. She explicitly referred to how the Greek Communist Party influenced Greek refugee life in the Soviet Union, but she also discussed the educational practices for children. She attempted to establish an overall view of how Greeks organized themselves with the KKE throughout the Eastern Bloc between 1945 and 1989. The refugee organizations in Poland, Uzbekistan, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Romania and East Germany had political activities and also exercised social functions in such fields as athletics, theatre, and leisure, providing these services for the first, second and third generation Greeks.⁴⁷ Tsekou did not theorize or analyse the significance of these events. However, the meaning of these celebrations and holidays ritualized by the Greeks in Tashkent reveals their hybrid Greek-Soviet identity.

Additionally, Tsekou completed a historiography of Greek political refugees that revealed how the KKE tampered with research in order for the Party to be perceived more positively. Essentially, there is no evidence of dissatisfaction with the KKE. My research reveals a counter narrative, even though the majority of the participants only implied their dissatisfaction with the KKE. Furthermore, studies have focused on the road to becoming political refugees more than life as a political refugee in the host nations or the refugee repatriation process. Tsekou concluded that the various novels written about refugees in the Eastern Bloc and Soviet Union were characterized by pain and disappointment. The day-to-day life of being a political refugee has not been examined. Tsekou, along with many Greek scholars assumed the Greek ethnicity and identity of all the political refugees, and did not recognize the impact host nations had on the political refugees and essentially the hybridization of Greek-Soviet, Greek-Hungarian, Greek-

⁴⁷ Katerina Tsekou, *Ελληνες πολιτικοί προσφύγες στην Ανατολική Ευρώπη*, [Greek political refugees in Eastern Europe] 1945-1989, (Athens, GR: Αλεξάνδρεια 2013), 135

Polish, or Greek-Romanian identities. Child refugees of the civil war have dominated the scholarship and became highly politicized with time. Scholars and politicians debate whether or not children fleeing north of the border were being saved, a “*paidosimos*,” meaning, “child saving” or whether the children were forcefully removed from their homes “*paidomazoma*,” meaning, “child collection.” Tskeou asked scholars for a more systematic analysis by using various primary sources.⁴⁸ I have taken on this challenge.

Chapter Overview

Belonging to Greece and to the Soviet Union explores how the Greeks of Tashkent rooted themselves into Soviet and Greek imagined communities. The following chapters expose the collective narrative of Greek life in Tashkent between 1949 and 1974. Central to the collective narrative is the collective’s representations of hybrid Greek-Soviet identity, their *philotimo*, essential to Greek peasant culture and their positive and idealized memory of Soviet Tashkent. On the other hand, a counter narrative was exposed, revealing the KOT as manipulative and Soviet society as corrupted. The performative nature of Greek-Soviet identity is central to this thesis. The representation of their identity in community’s symbols, practices and celebrations reveals their hybridity. Their hybrid Greek-Soviet identity granted the collective membership into each of the imagined community spaces. I am not concerned with creating a concrete check list of how to be Greek and Soviet. Instead, I reveal how a community illustrated that they belonged to the imagined Greek and Soviet spaces. I investigate how “we” is created by the shared symbols and practices within the public and private spaces in Soviet Tashkent. Examining

⁴⁸ Katerina Tsekou, "Περι Βιβλιογραφίας σχετικής με τους πολιτικούς πρόσφυγες του Ελληνικού Εμφυλίου Πολέμου - Bibliography on the topic of Greek political refugees of the Greek civil war," in *Η Εποχή της Συγχύσης: Η Δεκαετία του '40 και ιστοριογραφία - The Era of Confusion: The decade of '40 and a historiography*, ed. Giorgos Antonio & Nikos Marantzidis (Athens: Εστίας - Estias, 2008), 401.

the roles played by local Soviet institutions and Greek cultural organizations reveals the multifaceted nature of collective identity. Exploring the public and private spaces exposes the hybridity of the collective's identity.

The Greeks' patriotic sentiment is central to their collective identity. They are not nationalistic because nationalism is associated with fascism. Their love-hate relationship with Greece is revealed in each of the public and private spaces. The constant comparison evident in all the sources illustrates this patriotism for Greece and the Soviet Union. Greeks justify their membership in the Greek and Soviet imagined communities through their idealization of the Soviet Union and critique of Greece, while practicing and maintaining Greek peasant culture. The constant Greek praise for Soviet society demonstrates Greek loyalties and affinities for the Soviet Union. I cannot stress enough how the positivity and nostalgia for Tashkent is evident in all the spaces for the Greeks of Tashkent, thereby illustrating the collective's Soviet identity.

The thesis includes five chapters, where each chapter exposes the complex nature of the collective's hybrid Greek Soviet identity in the public and private spaces. The first chapter, on *Community Spaces*, will establish how Greeks were members of three imagined communities; the Greek collective in Tashkent, the Soviet community, and Greece's community. A figure representing these three imagined communities will be used as a heuristic device to understand how Greeks embodied each of these identities. The Greek collective in Tashkent will be evaluated to understand how the party and the Association with its youth groups and committees affected the unity of community spaces. The positive narrative of living in Tashkent will be revealed, as well as a counter narrative. Specifically, the split of the Greek communist party will be evaluated to understand the repercussions it had on the community's unity and solidarity. The

interaction between Greeks and non-Greeks, and how locals perceived Greeks also will expose how Greeks were affected by others' opinions. How the members of the community and the administration identified who was within each imagined space will be examined, which will point out how Greeks lived in each space.

Furthermore, I will assess how Greeks thought of themselves, as Soviets, and Soviet citizens, in order to discuss how Soviet citizenship affected their hybrid identity. The homemaking narrative will be evaluated, illustrating their integration into the Soviet nation's community, including the imagined community of Greece and their collective goal of repatriating. The *Community Spaces* chapter will close by examining how the community thought of themselves as Greeks, and in comparison to Greeks from Greece. Their comparison will reveal their hybrid Greek-Soviet identity. This final section will show how they established a connection to their true homeland through every Greek activity and every Greek lesson. Nevertheless, their integration in the Soviet community, with a hybrid Greek-Soviet identity, is revealed in the workspaces as well.

The *Workspace* chapter illustrates the key role played by the KOT in the work lives of Greeks in Tashkent. The work organizations established by the KOT will be examined to understand the role they played in facilitating working class identity and their hybrid identity. I critically assess how the media and the KOT dictated that being a good worker meant being a true Soviet and a true Greek, by awarding 'pioneer' achievements. This chapter reveals the benefit of hybrid Greek-Soviet identity was vertical mobility. Additionally, working practices will be assessed to understand how integrated the community truly was, and how they learned from the Soviets how to be successful.

The next chapter on *Education Spaces* reveals how becoming a true Greek and a true Soviet patriot, was orchestrated by the schools, youth organizations, the KOT and its media. I will reveal how every member of the Greek community, excluding a select few, were integrated into the Soviet education spaces, beginning with the partisans. The training opportunities in the workplaces for the first generation Greeks will be exposed as one of the main reasons why they valued and admired the Soviet Union. The symbols and the media within textbooks, which will be explained, served as role models to the youth. It is clear how and why the second-generation Greeks developed a strong positive collective narrative for Tashkent in this chapter, because of the accommodations they received from the Soviet Union. Greek students received scholarships and consequently had an idealized perspective of education in the Soviet Union. Even so, the complexity of Greek-Soviet identity remains central to the Greeks who were excluded from certain programs.

Private Spaces, however, reveals how the beliefs, practices and symbols of Greek-Soviet identity were negotiated within wards and homes. It will be exposed that the attachments to the Greek imagined space, and the development of Greek identity were strengthened within the private spaces. Unlike the public spaces, the KOT or the KET was not heavily involved with the private spaces. The party and the Association organized events within the wards for the Greeks to facilitate their unity. Yet, the party was not involved with their familial celebrations; such as, weddings, baptisms or funerals. Rather, I will explore how Greek peasant culture, the Greek Orthodox Church's traditions and *philotimo* were central to these festivities. This chapter will also examine the private realm of the home space where families were dictated by Greek and Soviet beliefs and practices. I will assess how stereotypes in the media and expectations based on

Greek peasant culture influenced the Greek home, and the roles played by children and parents in the home space. I will expose that the private spaces too were central to developing and maintaining Greek-soviet identity.

The final chapter will outline the collective narrative of Greek life in Tashkent, and elaborate on their hybrid identity. I will conclude by evaluating the Greek political refugees of Tashkent as members of the Greek diaspora but also occupying Homi Bhabha's 'third space.' I will recognize how Greeks belonged to this *in between*; to Greece and the Soviet Union with their hybrid Greek-Soviet identity.

In the first Appendix, readers will find the list of participants in the study. Furthermore, the second Appendix includes the interview questionnaire and the final appendix is a poem by Elly Leodithou and its translation.

Chapter 2 - Community Space

Greeks of Tashkent remembered how they belonged to multiple physical and imagined community spaces simultaneously. Memory and identity are dynamic and do not fit neatly into the circles in Figure 1.

Anderson's *Imagined*

Communities applies to how participants were members of imagined community spaces.

Greeks were members of each

these imagined community spaces, but they blurred the

borders of these communities,

an indication of their hybrid Greek-Soviet identity. Figure 1 represents the multiple imagined community spaces in which Greeks were members. The Greek community of Tashkent's boundaries were mediated by the KOT and its membership. The symbolic nature of community gives meaning to the people and defines boundaries.¹ The left centre circle in Figure 1 included the Greeks of Tashkent with their clubhouses, organizations, neighbourhoods and school programs. Within this space, Greeks felt unified as a collective, but faced some challenges regarding the split of the KKE. Most importantly, the members developed a sense of unity and solidarity with each other, but also a relationship with Greece as their homeland.

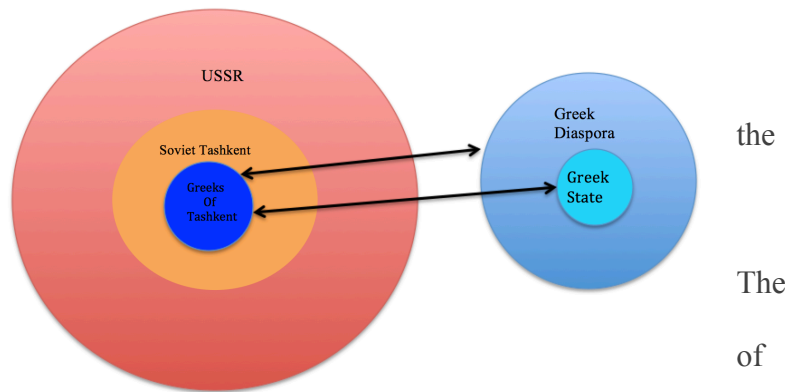


Figure 1 - Imagined Community Spaces. This image illustrates the imagined communities in which Greeks of Tashkent were members of. See arrows connecting the Greeks of Tashkent to the Greek diaspora and to the Greek State.

¹ Anthony Cohen, *The symbolic construction of community*, (London: Routledge, 1985), 14.

The ring surrounding the Greeks in Tashkent was Soviet Tashkent society that included their work, wards and schools. Beyond this ring included the Soviet Union, Soviet Tashkent and Soviet society with its workspaces, Russian language capabilities, and socialist ideology. Newspapers demonstrated the collective's hybrid identity, and rooted Greeks into Soviet Tashkent's community with a homemaking narrative through Greek and Soviet symbols. Their membership in the Soviet space was also verified by their language abilities. Then there was another circle, which encompassed all Greek people; anyone of Greek heritage, followed by the next ring representing Greece proper.

Greeks of Tashkent were members of Greece's space after they received Greek citizenship. When the participants compared themselves to the Greeks in Greece, they recognized similarities and differences, which revealed their hybridity.

Imagined Greek community

Greeks lived as a community, within a larger Soviet community dictated by the KKE and the Association. The KKE shaped the lives of Greeks in Tashkent. This organization was transplanted from Greece to the Soviet Union and other eastern bloc countries to organize the lives of Greeks abroad. It is ironic that the KKE was an illegal political party in Greece between 1947-1974, but in the Eastern Bloc and in the Soviet Union it served as the central organizing body of the Greek and Slavo-Macedonian political refugees.² The structure and framework of the

² Giannakakis Ilios, "Τα όπλα παρα ποδα: Η εγκατασταση των προσφυγων στις σοσιαλιστικες χωρες - Weapons on Guard: The settlement of refugees in the socialist countries," in Το όπλο παρα ποδα: Οι πολιτικοι προσφυγες του ελληνικου εμφυλιου πολεμου στην Ανατολικη Ευρωπη - *Weapons on Guard: The political refugees of the Greek civil war*, ed. Eftihia Voutira, Vasilis Dalkavoukis, Nikos Maratzidis, Maria Bodila (Thessaloniki Greece: University of Macedonia, 2005), 8. Slavo-Macedonian identity is a highly contested identity that identified the Slavic speaking people in Balkan region since 1913 when Macedonia was incorporated into the Greek state.

KOT and KET unified the community and contributed to their hybrid Greek-Soviet identity. The members of the community also contributed to who was within the community space, and how they were to behave. The oral histories and memoirs revealed how the community members thought of themselves as Greeks as they compared themselves to other ethnic minorities in Tashkent. The collective narrative of Greeks in Tashkent, despite the political split that occurred during the de-Stalinization of the Soviet Union was one of unity and solidarity. The common trajectory of returning to Greece and the celebration and inclusion of Greek regional identities also united the Greek collective in Tashkent.

Administration of Greeks in Tashkent

The KOT and KET were responsible for all the Greek and Slavo-Macedonian political refugees and their families living in Tashkent. The youth groups, work organizations and various social and cultural events, that included men, women and children of Greek and Slavo-Macedonian descent, unified the collective and rooted them in Tashkent and in the imagined Greek space.

The KKE's 1951 constitution, however, does not indicate that the party was responsible for developing the Greekness of its membership. Instead, the constitution stresses proletarian identity and for the party to represent the Greek working class.³ The KKE was mandated to develop the foundation for a hybrid Greek-Soviet identity, as Greek socialists in the Soviet

Roudometof clarifies that the Greek state's collective narrative identifies the Slavic speaking people in Northern Greece as a result of FYROM's irredentism. More on Slavo-Macedonian identity by Victor Roudometof, "Nationalism and Identity Politics in the Balkans: Greece and the Macedonian Question," *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, 14, no. 2 (1996): 253-301. And Anastasia Karakasidou, "Politicizing Culture: Negating Ethnic Identity in Greek Macedonia," *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, 11, no. 1 (1993): 1-28.

³ Constitution of the KKE – Communist Party of Greece. 1951. Article 1. KKE handbook made available by Diana Papadakis.

Union. According to the 1972 constitution of the association, its responsibilities included strengthening Greek identity and the proletarian beliefs of its membership, as well as developing Greek culture and teaching the youth their native language, Greek, and teaching about communism.⁴ The association clearly served both political and social roles because it was mandated by its constitution. In actuality, the KOT and the KET, and the other various organizations beneath these two bodies served the cultural, social and political needs of the Greek collective to be rooted in the Greek and Soviet imagined spaces.

From the time that the Greeks arrived in Tashkent, the KOT planned their lives. Initially, the KKE needed to play a liaison role between the local authorities and the Greeks. The KKE arranged housing, employment and education for political refugees. The Uzbek Communist Party strictly monitored the social organization of the people.⁵ Greeks lived in twelve wards in Tashkent, and two wards that were in Chirchiq.⁶ Initially, the central committee of the KKE, or the KOT was based in the seventh ward. From the seventh ward, the first newspaper, *Pros ti Niki*, was published. Some time in the mid 1950s, *Neos Dromos* took over from *Pros ti Niki* as the official newspaper of the community. Based on the evidence provided, the Greek Political Refugees Association was founded soon after the Greeks settled in Tashkent. According to Tsekou, the KKE controlled all Greek associations that were founded in the Eastern bloc.⁷ The

⁴ Constitution of Association of Greek Culture Tashkent. 1972. Articles 6-17. Constitution made available by Diana Papadakis.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ “Chirchiq, formerly Chirchik , industrial city, eastern Uzbekistan. It lies along the Chirchiq River, 20 miles (30 km) northeast of Tashkent.” *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, s. v. "Chirchiq", accessed October 05, 2014, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/113174/Chirchiq>.

⁷ Katerina Tsekou, *Ελληνες πολιτικοί προσφυγες στην Ανατολική Ευρώπη*, [Greek political refugees in Eastern Europe] 1945-1989, (Athens, GR: Αλεξανδρεια 2013), 88.

Party supported its membership and the association supported those who were not members of the Party.

Upon arrival in 1949, 7644 Greeks were members of the communist party and 504 were on probation and therefore under the Association's dominion.⁸ The majority of Greeks in Tashkent were members of the Party until 1956. All sources identified the KKE and the Association's facilities as the "Club." The *Club* included the Central Club or headquarters, which was built in 1963, see Figure 2, and every ward's club, see Figure 3. The difference between the



Figure 2 – Greek Central Club. It is located at 30 A Yusuf-Hos-Hodgib Street 100031, Tashkent. It housed the KKE and the Association's offices. Inside there is a café and concert hall. Behind this building was an outdoor stage. (Author. Tashkent. March 23, 2014.)

KKE and the Association was not clearly expressed by participants, or by the newspaper articles. The local wards hosted cultural and patriotic events for the Greeks in Tashkent, similar in nature to the headquarters, which tied Greeks to the imagined Greek and Soviet communities. People hosted festivities at their local ward instead of the Central Club, depending on proximity.⁹

The organization of the KKE and the Association formed an umbrella; the peak being the KKE, and with the ribs of the umbrella being each of the ward's associations and their individual party secretaries.¹⁰ The various associations united the Greeks in Tashkent under the auspices of

⁸ Tsekou, *Greek political refugees in Eastern Europe 1945-1989*, 86

⁹ Alexandra Basdani, interview with author, Tashkent Uzbekistan, April 1, 2014. Evangelia Koukouliata explained that she spent more time at her ward's club because it was just closer to her house than the central administration's building. Evangelia Koukouliata, interview by author, Thessaloniki Greece. April 9, 2014.

¹⁰ A Soviet official was also stationed at each of the wards, to monitor the Greek administration.

the Party's administration, and permitted strong ties to develop between members of the collective. According to Katerina Tsekou, each association had four committees for educational enlightenment, culture, tourism and athletics.¹¹ Participants described all the cultural and athletic events hosted by the club with excitement. These occasions developed the unity and solidarity felt amongst the Greeks, and connected the Greeks to Greece's imagined community. According to *Neos Dromos*, the duty of the KKE was to ensure that the KKE and associations in the wards



Figure 3 - First KOT offices located in the 7th Ward. This was where the brawl between Greeks occurred over the KKE leadership in 1955. Currently this building functions as a restaurant. (Author. Tashkent. March 28, 2014.)

and the youth and athletic groups functioned democratically.¹² Within the structure were the youth organizations and the work organizations, including KNE and EPON, respectively.

EPON Eniaia Panelladiki Organosi Neon

(United Panhellenic Organization of Youth) and

KNE – The Communist Youth of Greece served the youth in Tashkent. The first-generation Greeks were members of EPON, whereas the second-generation

Greeks were a part of the KNE. Being a member of KNE was not a serious commitment, unless the individual was the secretary.¹³ It organized social and cultural gatherings for the second-generation Greeks. The KNE worked alongside the Komsomol to Sovietise the Greeks and maintain Greekness, and consequently the members' hybrid identity.¹⁴ The KNE funnelled youth

¹¹ Ibid, 89.

¹² "Unity or Division?" *Neos Dromos*, February 4, 1971.

¹³ Margarita Mpadou, interview by author, Thessaloniki Greece, April 12, 2014.

¹⁴ However, they were not fulfilling the KKE's expectations; an article from 1976 claimed that the youth were not as involved as the KKE would hope.¹⁴ The KKE needed to instil patriotism for Greece and the Soviet Union, and the love of communism in the youth.

into the KKE, because Greeks could not join the Uzbek Communist Party since the majority did not have Soviet citizenship. Regardless of gender, Greeks could be voted into the KOT's or KET's organizations.

Both men and women were involved in the leadership and administration of the KOT and the KET. Ioannis Kotoulas explained that men were more involved in the leadership, but women who wanted to join the association or the KKE, were welcomed. In effect, women held organizational duties.¹⁵ Dinos Rozakis confirmed that he and his wife attended various party meetings in 1956; the year of the split.¹⁶ Alexandra Basdani, who was a secretary for the KKE did not specify or elaborate on her leadership role or if she was with the Women's Committee in Tashkent.¹⁷ Regardless, women were involved in the KKE's administration. The details of a women's auxiliary is unknown. Young, old, male and females contributed the various organizations beneath the KOT to breath life into the community.

Solidarity

Greek political refugees in Tashkent felt unified despite the 1956 political split between the party members. Maintaining the language was fundamental to performing Greekness and unifying the Greeks. Furthermore, calling each other *comrade* unified the Greeks in their collective, but also connected the Greeks to the general Soviet community. The boundaries began to blur as other languages were learned and the Soviet and Greek imagined communities

¹⁵ According to Katerina Tsekou, the Greek political refugees in Bulgaria had a Women's Committee of Bulgaria that also worked alongside the Central Women's committee for the educational department in Bulgaria.¹⁵ Conversely, the participants could not remember a separate women's auxiliary or association, such as the various regional and religious associations in Canada or in Bulgaria.

¹⁶ Dinos Rozakis, *Σαρανταχρονη Πορεία: Τανγεταις-Γραμμος-Τασκενδη 1936-1976 - Forty Year Fate- Taygetus - Grammos - Tashkent 1936-1976*. (Athens: Private Publication, 2008), 234.

¹⁷ Alexandra Basdani, interview with author, Tashkent Uzbekistan, April 1, 2014.

Her exclusion of details of party life may have been because I was an outsider to the community.

shared the identity of comrade. Finally, Greeks drew a connection between Greeks in Tashkent and Greeks of the eastern bloc, based on their shared past in the civil war, especially regarding heritage and language.

The KKE and the Association facilitated unity and solidarity through the various cultural, political and social events they hosted. The imagined solidarity created an atmosphere, which strengthened the community. Anthony P. Cohen describes the “importance of the community members to recognize the vitality and strength of the culture,” that they are attempting to uphold and maintain.¹⁸

The headquarters hosted various formal events and dances throughout the year, but it also was a place to drop by and socialize informally. Kostas Mpados explained how the community had these inconspicuous ways of affecting the youth. Without realizing it, children were being infused with Greek culture and Greek traditions by socializing and playing at the clubs.¹⁹ Vasilis Hatzidakis and Dimitri Katsis frequented the main club’s café to socialize, play backgammon and drink Greek coffee.²⁰ The building in Figure 2 held the indoor concert hall and the café. The indoor concert hall not only hosted concerts and patriotic celebrations, but it also held meetings for the Party. The main office or headquarters symbolized the strength of the community, but it also unified the Greek people with its various committees.

¹⁸ Anthony P. Cohen, *The symbolic construction of community*, (Chichester : London ; New York: Tavistock Publications, 1985), 118.

¹⁹ Kostas Mpados, interview by the author, Thessaloniki Greece, April 12, 2014.

²⁰ Katsis, *Enormous Contribution of Greek Political Refugees in Building Socialism in Uzbekistan*, 217. Vasilis Hatzidakis, interview by the author, Tashkent Uzbekistan, April 3, 2014.

The way the partisans spoke to each other also strengthened the unity amongst the members of the community. The partisans referred to each other, and their Soviet peers as comrades to demonstrate their respect, love and friendship. People did not say “Mr.” Ioannis Kotoulas, instead it was “Comrade” Kotoulas or simply comrade, when they greeted him at work or at social gatherings. Thanasis Kaltsas cringed when the border control officials in Greece referred to him as “mister” when he returned in 1967,²¹ indicating that Kaltsas preferred to be called “comrade” to “mister.” Theodore Lazaridis explained that comrade meant loyal companion and beloved friend, which went beyond normal boundaries of friendship.²² Calling each other “comrades” contributed to strengthening their ties at the same time honouring each other for their efforts in the resistance movement and the civil war. The first generation participants engaged in this practice more so than the second generation. There was no distinction between party member and non-party member. The friendship and unity was a continuation from their joint military expeditions in Greece from the Civil War to their settlement in Tashkent.

At the March 25th celebration of 2014 in Tashkent, Tasos Prasideis, a partisan fighter from Greece, stood up after the meal and began his speech, “Comrades (*in the masculine and feminine form in Greek*), fellow friends, children and youth, thank you for this wonderful celebration.”²³

At the same time, “comrade” was also used in the general Soviet Tashkent community. The

²¹ Thanasis Kaltsas, *Επετειος Πενηντα Ετων - Fiftieth Wedding Anniversary*, (Thessalia: Personal Publication, 2000), 48.

²² Theodore Lazaridis, interview by author, Tashkent Uzbekistan, March 26, 2014.

²³ Elaina Lampropoulos journal entry. By referring to comrades in the masculine and feminine form, the speaker illustrates how he perceives male and female comrades at the same level. The equality felt amongst the partisan fighters is demonstrated through his greeting.

symbolic nature of calling each other comrades developed a sense of Soviet and Greek identity. Greeks crossed boundaries and joined the Soviet Tashkent community by using this terminology.

The media was also influential in contributing to an imagined Greek community. Newspapers portrayed all Greeks living in the Eastern Bloc as a unified collective. Greek political refugees were seen as heroes who fought for the betterment of Greece. They were all organized under the KKE and shared many of the same values and traditions, both as Greeks and as socialists.²⁴

Who is Greek? – Regionalism

The collective and the KOT had different criteria for being an official member of the Greek community. The administration did not legitimately include under their dominion the Pontian community already present in the Soviet Union. Instead, the child refugees, partisans and second generation Greeks integrated their Pontian friends and loved ones into the Greek collective's imaginary boundaries. Pontians arrived in Central Asia due to Stalin's collectivization policies in the 1930s from Caucasus and Crimea.²⁵ Nearly 20 years later, Pontians arrived in Tashkent as political refugees from the Greek civil war. These Pontians had settled in Greece in 1923 due to

²⁴ More on the Greek political refugees in the Eastern Bloc by Katerina Tsekou, *Ελληνες πολιτικοί προσφυγες στην Ανατολική Ευρώπη*, [Greek political refugees in Eastern Europe] 1945-1989, (Athens, GR: Αλεξάνδρεια 2013),

²⁵ Eftihia Voutira, *The 'Right to Return' and the meaning of 'Home': A Post-Soviet Greek diaspora becoming European?*, (Munster, Germany: Lit Verlag, 2011), 195. Pontians, a native Greek population in Northern Turkey sojourned to Russia in the late 19th and early 20th century. After Ataturk's Nationalism and the Greco-Turkish war of 1919-1922, Christians, including Pontians, Assyrians and Armenians were vulnerable in the Ottoman Empire. The Lausanne Treaty of 1923 ended the Christian element in the Asia Minor, and the Muslim population in the Balkans, forcing hundreds of thousands of people to cross the Greek and Turkish borders. Many Pontians chose to move to Russia instead of Greece because of their extended family networks in 1923. With Stalin's collectivization policy, many Pontians in Caucasus and Crimea settled in Central Asia. Pontians in Northern Greece, were involved with the Greek resistance and Greek civil war, and consequently many became political refugees to the Eastern Bloc and Soviet Union.

the population exchanges between Greece and Turkey. They were involved in the Greek resistance of World War II and the Civil War.²⁶

Both Alexandra Basdani and Giorgos Mihailidis married Greeks who had come from Pontos to the Soviet Union.²⁷ Mihailidis explained that many partisan men went to the villages where his wife was from to find wives.²⁸ Marrying a Pontian meant marrying a fellow Greek, despite the different dialect, culture and community structures.²⁹ Endogamy was necessary to maintain the community's imaginary boundaries and traditions. Marriage thus was a performance of Greekness, and included Pontians and Slavo-Macedonians in the imagined Greek space.

Unlike the Pontians, Slavo-Macedonians were accepted as members of the Greek collective by official party rhetoric and by the majority of the members. They were included in the KET's and KOT's events and activities, but also in the private lives of Greeks in Tashkent. Macedonians distinguished themselves by their language and/or their affinities with the Former Yugoslavian Republic of Macedonia. Approximately 24% or 2954 of the political refugees who arrived in Tashkent in 1949 were Slavo-Macedonians.³⁰ The official registration of political refugees from the civil war required them to identify their ethnicity, and some identified as

²⁶ Giorgos Mihailidis justifies the involvement of many Pontians in the Greek civil war because they, the Pontians, still had the revolutionary spirit within them, after the guerrilla warfare in the Ottoman Empire, prior to the exchange. Giorgos Mihailidis, interview by author, Tashkent Uzbekistan, March 29, 2014.

²⁷ Alexandra Basdani, interview with author, Tashkent Uzbekistan, April 1, 2014. Vasilis Hatzidakis described Pontians as right-wingers or with "the King" which could explain why they were not formally included into the KOT or KET. Vasilis Hatzidakis, interview by author, Tashkent Uzbekistan, April 2, 2014. Mihailidis, agreed that Pontians were not always in favour of the communist regime, although the two communities practiced endogamy. Giorgos Mihailidis, interview by author, Tashkent Uzbekistan, March 29, 2014.

²⁸ Giorgos Mihailidis, interview by author, Tashkent Uzbekistan, March 29, 2014.

²⁹ More on Pontians of the Soviet Union in Eftihia Voutira's, *The 'Right to Return' and the meaning of 'Home': A Post-Soviet Greek diaspora becoming European?*, (Munster, Germany: Lit Verlag, 2011).

³⁰ Van Boeschoten, 'Unity and Brother': Slavo-Macedonian and Greek political refugees in Eastern Europe," in *Weapons on Guard: The political refugees of the Greek civil war*, ed. Eftihia Voutira, Vasilis Dalkavoukis, Nikos Maratzidis, Maria Bodila. (Thessaloniki Greece: University of Macedonia, 2005), 48.

Slavo-Macedonian. See Figure 4 for the registration documents. If and when Macedonians wanted to return to Greece they needed to change that documentation to say they were Greek not Macedonian.³¹ The Greek state did not allow people to return if they had declared Macedonian as their ethnicity, because it did not recognize the Macedonian ethnic group within Greece. In contrast, Evangelia Koukouliata added that the Slavo-Macedonians did not want to return to Greece, they could not stand the Greek state.³²

The regional ties were maintained, as well as the regional traditions, including dances, foods and even dialects so that they could return to Greece and fit naturally into their homeland's

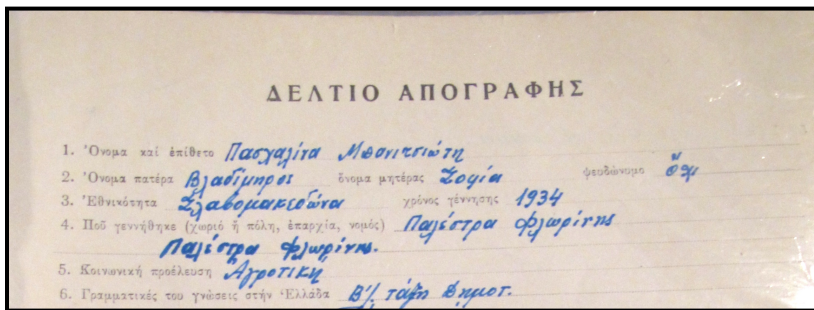


Figure 4 – Registration form for Greek and Slavo-Macedonian political refugees in Tashkent.

Line 1. Name: Pasxalina Manitsioti

Line 3 - Ethnicity: Slavo-Macedonian Date of Birth: 1934.

Line 4 - Place of Birth: Palestra Florinis [Northern Greece]

Archives Association of Greek Culture Tashkent. Tashkent. 1949 March 24, 2014.

society.³³ The first generation maintained ties with fellow villagers in different wards but the relationships did not

materialise into formal organizations, unlike those of the Greeks in North America.

³¹ Eleftherios Galanis, interview by author, Tashkent Uzbekistan, March 28, 2014.

Kostas Mpados, interview by the author, Thessaloniki Greece, April 12, 2014.

³² Evangelia Koukouliata, interview by author, Thessaloniki Greece. April 9, 2014. Some members of the community revealed that there was some tension between Slavo-Macedonians and Greeks. Eleftherios Galanis described an aggressive Slavo-Macedonian security guard at the KOT's headquarters who hated Greeks.³² This was bizarre because the central club housed the KET and KOT, employed the security guard. He hated his place of employment, and the people he consistently interacted with. Nevertheless, most agreed that the relations with Slavo-Macedonians were positive and pleasant. Riki Van Bouschoten explained, "The relations between Greek and Slavo-Macedonian political refugees was quite harmonious" up until the late 1980s.³² Slavo-Macedonians, like Greeks, they represented their regional identities.

³³ The participants confirmed that Vlach, Slavo-Macedonian and Pontian were spoken amongst each other.

Pontians danced their own dances, just like the Thessalonians or the people from Epirus, but there never was a separate Pontian or Thessalonian organization.³⁴ They especially represented their regional identities at formal and informal gatherings with fellow Greeks.

Perception of Greeks

Locals evaluated Greeks based on their character traits and cultural values in Tashkent. Greeks differentiated themselves by following *philotimo* and Greek peasant culture and consequently blending into the Greek imagined space. In some cases, this meant their work ethic or how they cared for their homes, but in other circumstances, it related to the glory of ancient Greece. *Philotimo* not only guided the behaviour of Greeks, but it also set criteria on how Greeks performed Greekness. Since Greeks were judged because of the glory of classical Greece, they legitimized their place in Tashkent and the Soviet Union.

The first generation and the child refugees discussed in more detail how Greeks were perceived and received in Tashkent society. Giorgos Mihailidis emphasized that Greeks in Tashkent cared about their homes. Locals admired how Greeks took care of their courtyards, and how the women were great housewives.³⁵ These values reflect traditional Greek values, especially *philotimo*. Furthermore, Alexandra Basdani, a second-generation Greek, described how her mother evoked *philotimo*, so that she hung her clothes properly and neatly outside so as not to shame the family.³⁶ The way Basdani draped her clothes was based on the expectation that Greeks were clean and good housewives. Therefore, stereotypes of Greeks in Tashkent and *philotimo* dictated how Greeks behaved.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Giorgos Mihailidis, interview by author, Tashkent Uzbekistan, March 29, 2014.

³⁶ Alexandra Basdani, interview with author, Tashkent Uzbekistan, April 1, 2014.

Nikos Athansopoulos described how Greeks were favoured and praised in Tashkent because of the glory of classical Greece and Athens' democracy. He associated his Greekness with the ancient glory of Greece and took pride in its past.³⁷ This not only aligned the collective with the Soviet Union's (imagined) democracy, but it also linked them to the imagined Greek consciousness.

Challenging the collective narrative

Even though the majority of the participants had a positive living experience in Soviet Tashkent, this was not universally the case. Greeks felt discriminated against because their political ideology as socialists did not align with the contemporary Soviet and KKE administration. Greeks who felt discriminated against from locals with the blessing of the party, revealed a counter narrative. This reflects how the Greeks were not exactly welcomed into the Soviet milieu as smoothly as they had hoped.

Dinos Rozakis recounted that when they arrived in 1949, Mitsos Partsalidis,³⁸ said, "the Greek soldier needs to stand on guard in front of the Soviet soldiers,"³⁹ meaning Greeks needed to obey Soviet commands at all times. Rozakis believed that from that moment Greeks were beneath Soviet soldiers and Soviet citizens.⁴⁰ Alternatively, this reflects the strained power relations between the administration and the Greeks. In addition, Evangelia Koukouliata explained that when she was about to return to Greece in 1965, she felt animosity from the locals because they did not want Greeks to live there anymore.⁴¹

³⁷ Nikos Athanasopoulos, interview by author, Athens Greece, April 8, 2014.

³⁸ Former leader and KKE parliamentarian. Macedonian Calendar, "6 January 1936." Last modified 2010. Accessed October 6, 2014. <http://imerologionmakednon.blogspot.ca/2011/01/26-1936.html>.

³⁹ Rozakis, *Forty Year Fate- Taygetus - Grammos - Tashkent 1936-1976*, 213.

⁴⁰ *Ibid*, 214.

⁴¹ Evangelia Koukouliata, interview by author, Thessaloniki Greece. April 9, 2014.

The KOT also negatively affected the lives of Greeks in Tashkent resulting in a tainted image of the party and of their lives in the Soviet Union. Even though the KOT kept Greeks together, and arranged for them to live near each other and work with each other, there were circumstances in which it attempted to control its membership. Antonis Maroudis was harassed by KOT to pay alimony to his ex wife in Greece. In this case, the KOT was attempting to exercise control on Maroudis' family life and his expenses.⁴² In addition, the KOT managed the allocation of houses. In some cases, people bribed the KOT for homes as Maroudis did. He persuaded a KOT official and was assigned a house despite the appropriate regulations. On the other hand, pro-Zachariadis followers were denied new homes by the KOT.⁴³ The second-generation positively referred to the organizational structures of the Greek club and neglects these counter narratives. They did not feel restricted or manipulated by the KOT or KET. Rather, child refugees and first generation participants felt the restrictions of the KKE.

The membership fees and mandatory donations impeded some members from making any positive changes in their private lives. Thanasis Kaltsas explained that when they were not required to pay high fees or support fundraising efforts for the party and for Greece, his family was able to improve their standard of living by buying furniture, a fridge, a television and a washing machine.⁴⁴ Nevertheless, partisans negatively perceived the KOT when it took the bulk of their pay. A child refugee admitted that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Uzbek Communist Party limited the KKE.

⁴² Antonis Maroudis, interview by author, Tashkent Uzbekistan, March 31, 2014.

⁴³ Ibid. With his family, they determined that his brother and his wife, would stay with his father and mother in their home. When Maroudis was planning to move out of his parent's home with his wife, his brother sneakily did the same thing. According to Soviet law, for Maroudis to get a new home his parent's house needed to have four people living in it. Since his brother moved out as well, and only his parents remained, he technically was not allowed to apply for a new home. Despite this, Maroudis bribed the official and was assigned a new home.

⁴⁴ Kaltsas, *Fiftieth Wedding Anniversary*, 45.

Soviet officials supervised the KKE; however, the extent of control the Soviet and Uzbek communist authorities had over the KKE is unclear.⁴⁵ Theodore Kokkinopoulos joked during our interview that “when it rain(ed) in Moscow, the KKE (held) the umbrella for the Soviets.”⁴⁶ He used this example to depict how the KKE was manipulated and controlled by the Soviet officials. Kokkinopoulos added that whatever the Soviet officials wanted was agreeable to the KKE. Soviet officials dictated how the Greeks in Tashkent needed to behave through the KKE, including how they maintained strong ties to the KKE and to Greece.

In the mid to late 1950s, the Soviet Union was going through the de-Stalinization process initiated by Nikita Khrushchev after Stalin’s death, and it challenged the solidarity of the collective and the positive memory of living in the Soviet Union. The public and private lives of all Soviet citizens were dramatically altered with the de-Stalinization process and the “thaw.” Communists across the world were torn between Khrushchev’s leadership, and Stalin’s leadership.⁴⁷ Greeks in particular felt strong loyalties towards Stalin because he provided them with asylum in the Soviet Union. The liberal Khrushchev communists aligned with the Greek faction that were anti-Stalin and against the KKE’s Secretary Nikos Zachariadis. He was the secretary of the KKE since 1931.⁴⁸ Those in favour of Nikos Zachariadis’ leadership were the

⁴⁵ Van Boeschoten, ‘Unity and Brother’: Slavo-Macedonian and Greek political refugees in Eastern Europe,” in *Weapons on Guard: The political refugees of the Greek civil war*, ed. Eftihia Voutira, Vasilis Dalkavoukis, Nikos Maratzidis, Maria Bodila. (Thessaloniki Greece: University of Macedonia, 2005), 55.

⁴⁶ Theodore Kokkinopoulos, interview by author, Tashkent Uzbekistan, April 2, 2014.

⁴⁷ Greeks were not the only members of Soviet society to resist the de-Stalinization process. Youth in Georgia demonstrated against Khrushchev in March of 1956, marking the three-year anniversary of Stalin’s death, called the 1956 Tbilisi riots or 9 March massacre. The 1956 split of the KKE that challenged the solidarity of the collective, also was reflected in the tensions in all of Soviet society. The media coverage from the Greek community on the split is unknown.

⁴⁸ Those who were in favour of Zachariadis as the secretary were called Zachariadiki, and those opposing him, which consequently became the leadership of the KKE after 1956 had many names, including “mavri” which meant “blacks” and “Koligiannides.” Followers of Koligiannis, who was the leader of the faction, opposed Stalin and

Pro-Zachariadis faction members opposed to Khrushchev and the pro-Soviet leadership. Greeks that favoured Stalin and Zachariadis in the party were slowly removed from power.⁴⁹

Tsekou explains that the split occurred within the KKE's leadership over who was to blame for the failure of the Democratic Army of Greece the military branch of the KKE, during the civil war.⁵⁰ Giorgos Mihailidis believed the factions formed because the Greeks learned that they could not return to Greece after settling in Tashkent for six or seven years.⁵¹ The disappointment over the impending long-term exile in Tashkent, finally settled in and the people reacted.⁵² In reality, the split occurred because of the de-Stalinization of the Soviet Union.

On September 10-11, 1955 in the 7th ward, violence broke out between the two opposing factions of the party.⁵³ Many Greeks were injured. The violence was referred to as the “*gegonota*” or “events.” After the split, three quarters of the party was removed from the KOT for having sympathies for Zachariadis and Stalin.⁵⁴ The liberal, anti-Stalin and pro-Khrushchev followers made up the new party. The split affected each member of the community differently, depending on their political beliefs, and their age. As an example, the second-generation does not refer to the split. The fragmentation of the party was regarded as a difficult period, which eventually was forgotten, and the community united once again. The child refugees explained that with the new leadership, many changes occurred in Greek life in Tashkent. Those who had

Zachariadis. The label, ‘Blacks,’ originated during the resistance against the German occupation of Greece and implied that the Koligiannis faction were fascists.

⁴⁹ ASKI unfortunately did not have *Neos Dromos* or *Pros ti Niki* articles published in in 1955 and 1956.

⁵⁰ Tsekou, *Greek political refugees in Eastern Europe 1945-1989*, 105.

⁵¹ Giorgos Mihailidis, interview by author, Tashkent Uzbekistan, March 29, 2014.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Dinos Rozakis, *Σαρανταχρονη Πορεία: Ταυγετος- Γραμμος-Τασκενδη 1936-1976 - Forty Year Fate- Taygetus - Grammos - Tashkent 1936-1976*. (Athens: Private Publication, 2008), 235.

⁵⁴ Koulouris, “The “Marxist-Leninist” political refugees in Eastern Europe (1964-1976) and the illegal Revolution,” 221.

been favoured in the workplaces by the Zachariadis leadership were removed and replaced by the new faction, who were in favour of Khrushchev. Antonis Maroudis added, “Many people walked away from the party.”⁵⁵ Students formed new cliques in the classroom, which reflected loyalties for and against Zachariadis.⁵⁶ Nevertheless, friendships mended over time. The narrative of unity overrides the perception of the split. Greeks still believed themselves to be true socialists, and true Greek patriots regardless of which faction they had aligned with.

Approximately, 250-270 Greeks were denied Soviet citizenship and status as political immigrants because of their pro-Zachariadis beliefs.⁵⁷ Those removed from the party maintained a sense of unity as non-party friends. Evangelia Koukouliata’s acquaintances were pro-Zachariadis, including Thanasis Kaltsas’ family and the Argiropoulos family. Similarly, Rozakis implied that his close friends in Tashkent after 1956, were pro-Zachariadis, just like him. Evidently, political perspective influenced how they viewed the split. Despite these upsets, hostilities did not last long between the official KKE members and those who were removed from the party. Greek partisans still felt loyal to the KKE that they fought alongside in the Civil War. The unity of the collective was emphasized regardless of party membership.

Imagined Soviet Tashkent

Sources reveal an idealized Soviet imagined community. Newspapers stressed the narrative that Greeks contributed to the Soviet Union’s ideology and Soviet society. The boundaries between Greek identity and Soviet identity were blurred with the homemaking

⁵⁵ Antonis Maroudis, interview by author, Tashkent Uzbekistan, March 31, 2014.

⁵⁶ Ibid & Giorgos Mihailidis, interview by author, Tashkent Uzbekistan, March 29, 2014.

⁵⁷ Tsekou, *Greek political refugees in Eastern Europe 1945-1989*, 190.

narrative. The collective belonged in the Soviet Union and to the imagined Greek community. Most Greeks did not acquire Soviet citizenship because they believed it hindered their abilities to return to Greece. Even though the majority did not become Soviet citizens they were guaranteed rights to education, work, health and housing, but not the right to hold office, vote, or serve in the military. Those who became Soviet citizens benefited professionally. Greeks felt included in Soviet society when they marched and celebrated Soviet holidays with the rest of the Soviet citizens. Their inclusion in Tashkent's society also perpetuated their idealized memory of Tashkent. The way they identified with either the Soviet or Russian imagined community reveals where they felt they belonged.

Belonging with Hybridity

The collective legitimized its settlement by speaking languages that allowed them to integrate in Soviet society, but most importantly, the KOT developed a narrative which mediated how Greeks embodied Soviet ideals while being Greek patriots.

By speaking Russian and Greek, the Greeks were members of Soviet society, the Greek community in Tashkent and the imagined Greek community. Giorgos Mihailidis described how one of his Pontian friends in Tashkent spoke Turkish because he was born and raised in Pontos, Turkey. His Turkish-speaking friend got along well with the Uzbeks, who speak a similar language.⁵⁸ Speaking Greek was a requirement to be a member of the Greek collective, at the same time as granting them membership in the Greek imagined community. Turkish speaking Greeks entered the local Uzbek community, whereas speaking Russian granted them access to the entire imagined Soviet community. Greeks illustrated that they belonged to Tashkent by not

⁵⁸ Giorgos Mihailidis, interview by author, Tashkent Uzbekistan, March 29, 2014.

only knowing local languages, but by also presenting themselves as true socialists and revolutionaries.

To exemplify that Greeks belonged in the Soviet Union, Greek and Soviet newspapers emphasized that the Soviet Union truly supported Greeks, that Greeks contributed to Marxism, and that they ultimately fought for socialism. The boundaries of Soviet and Greek identity were blurred in part because of the Sovietisation of Greek patriotic holidays. Each Greek holiday celebrated by the collective represented Greek patriotism and Soviet ideology. The administration and the collective drew upon ancient Greek heritage to prove that the collective belonged in the Soviet Union. Greeks of Tashkent attached themselves simultaneously to the imagined Greek community and the imagined Soviet community by associating themselves with ancient Greece and the revolution of 1821.⁵⁹ The imagined Soviet community included revolutionaries, as did the Greek imagined community. Performing Greekness meant performing

Sovietness.



Figure 5 - Plaque at entrance of Central Club - "Association of Greek Culture Tashkent" – The symbol above the title is the Parthenon. Author. Tashkent. March 24, 2014.)

The KOT portrayed Greeks as successors to ancient Greek democracy through the KET's logo representing the Parthenon, a symbol of ancient Greek

democracy. See Figure 5 for the plaque at the entrance of the central club in Tashkent.

Tying Greeks of Tashkent to the Parthenon, democracy and the Soviet Union, formed part of the

⁵⁹ Greek independence movement of 1821.

homemaking myth. Simultaneously, they suggested that they belonged to the imagined Greek and Soviet space by associating Greek holidays with socialism.

Greeks celebrated many Greek and Soviet holidays. Some of the festivities happened in the wards, while others occurred in Tashkent's public parks. Greek holidays included March 25, 1821, October 28 and EAM, on September 27. Even though the holidays commemorated Greece and Greek successes, the rhetoric in newspapers implicitly or explicitly drew a correlation between these holidays and Soviet ideals and values. These holidays symbolized the collective's hybrid Greek-Soviet identity.

March 25, 1821 is not only a religious holiday in Greece; it also commemorates the Greek revolution against the Ottoman Empire. Greek newspapers in Tashkent tied the Greek revolution against the Ottoman Empire to the October revolution of 1917. By connecting both revolutions, Greeks developed their homemaking myth in Tashkent based on their revolutionary past. Greeks wanted to portray to the Soviets that they belonged there because they shared a similar history. They also celebrated with songs and dances on October 28, the day when Greeks and Greece said "No" to the occupation of Greece by Italy in the Second World War.⁶⁰ Finally, on September 27 they celebrated the battle against fascism when EAM, the National Liberation Front organization was believed to have played a key role during the German occupation in Greece. EAM Day celebrated the resistance fighters who battled for peace, democracy and patriotism.⁶¹ Greeks suggested how they were ideologically aligned with the Soviet Union by stressing that Greeks battled fascism. Furthermore, the EAM resistance was portrayed as the continuation of the 1821 revolution, which justified the civil war and proved Greeks were

⁶⁰ Giorgos Mihailidis, interview by author, Tashkent Uzbekistan, March 29, 2014.

⁶¹ "EAM Lives and Inspires Us." *Neos Dromos*, September 11, 1978.

revolutionaries like the Soviets. Dinos Rozakis remembered celebrating EAM in Telman Park (present day Mirzo Ulugbek Park) in Tashkent. He explained that with all the Greek people, music and food surrounding him he felt like he was in Greece.⁶² See Figure 6 of a drawing of two male soldiers and one female soldier from the resistance.⁶³ Both male and female resistance fighters were commemorated on EAM Day.

An article published in a Soviet newspaper, *Izvestia*,⁶⁴ and then in *Neos Dromos* in 1960



Figure 6 – This is an image on the cover page of *Neos Dromos* September 27, 1978. It includes two Greek male resistance fighters and one female Greek resistance fighter. The caption says, “The Years of the National Resistance”

illustrated how Greeks suggested that the March 25th celebration of the 1821 Revolution was a representation of shared values between the Soviets and the Greeks. It explained how there was a long lasting relationship between Russians and Greeks by

saying, “There deep, in the distant past, are the roots of friendship between the two peoples.” Additionally, the Greeks and the Soviets shared values and history

in World War II when they “shared (the) fight against fascism.” The meaning of the Greek patriotic holidays was transformed in order to fit into Soviet society. Similarly, Greeks and

⁶² Rozakis, *Forty Year Fate- Taygetus - Grammos - Tashkent 1936-1976*, 217

⁶³ Ibid. This article was technically published outside the scope of my study, but it corresponds well with the interviews and the memoirs.

⁶⁴ “Izvestiya, (Russian: “News”) also spelled Izvestia, formerly in full Izvestiya Sovetov Deputatov Trudyashchikhsya S.S.S.R. (Russian: “News of the Councils of Working People’s Deputies of the U.S.S.R.”), historically important Russian daily newspaper published in Moscow. The paper was published by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. and was the official national publication of the Soviet government until 1991.” *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, s. v. “Izvestiya”, accessed October 06, 2014, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/298543/Izvestiya>.

Slavo-Macedonians in the community embodied this hybrid identity to root themselves in Greek and Soviet imagined spaces.

The KET and the KOT also commemorated the Ilinden Uprising for the Slavo - Macedonian members of the community. Celebrated on August 2, it marks the day that the people living in the Macedonian region of the Ottoman Empire revolted against the Ottoman Empire in 1903.⁶⁵ The Macedonians too were revolutionaries like the Greeks and the Soviets. Celebrating the Greek patriotic holidays and the Slavo-Macedonian holidays legitimized the settlement of Greeks and Slavo-Macedonians in Tashkent, while also drawing boundaries on who was and who was not Greek. At the same time, observing these holidays strengthened the unity and solidarity within the community, between Slavo-Macedonians and Greeks.

The KOT and KET organized the annual Spartakiada in Tashkent; a sports competition for all Greek and Slavo-Macedonians. The boundaries of Greekness and Soviet identity were blurred

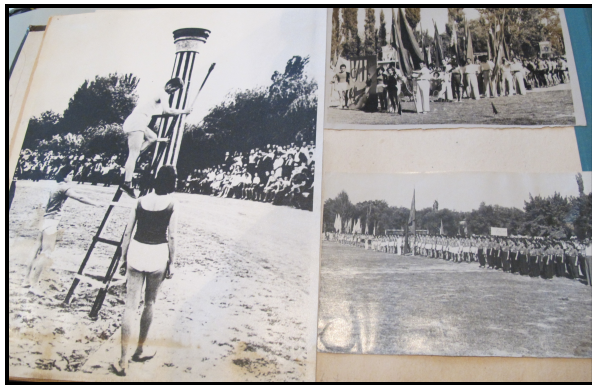


Figure 7 - Spartakiada opening ceremony. Circa late 1960s, early 1970s. Notice the crowd in the background in the image at the top right. The image on the left illustrates the flame lighting ceremony. The image on the bottom right shows the participants marching in formation. .

Archives Association of Greek Culture Tashkent.

with the Spartakiada event. Participating in the annual Spartakiada was a method of performing Greekness and believing in socialism. According to *Pros ti Niki*, the Spartakiada began in 1950.⁶⁶ There was an opening and closing ceremony to the games, and youth participated in various athletic activities and sports, including track and field, volleyball, basketball and of course soccer.

⁶⁵ Basil C. Gounaris, "Social cleavages and national "awakening" in Ottoman Macedonia," *East European Quarterly*, 29 (1995): 409-426.

⁶⁶ "Forward, with rhythm, for our second annual athletics Spartakiada." *Pros Ti Niki*, July 11, 1951.

Each ward sent teams of athletes to compete. See Figure 7, which is an image of a Spartakiada opening ceremony.

The Spartakiada was based on the ancient Thracian hero and rebel slave leader Spartacus. He symbolized how revolution was necessary to challenge hegemonic norms when he rebelled against his enslavement. Greeks demonstrated that they were revolutionaries when they resisted the German and Italian occupation during World War II and then foreign intervention in the Greek state after the war.⁶⁷ Greeks legitimized their membership in Greece's imaginary community and the Soviet Union when they presented themselves as revolutionaries like Spartacus, and competed in athletics like the ancient Greeks.

The exclusivity of the competition just for Greeks developed a sense of community, meanwhile creating a boundary for Greek-Soviet identity in Tashkent. Performing Greekness meant participating or attending the Spartakiada, and believing in socialism. The celebrations and events hosted by the KOT allowed the members to have a positive, idealized perspective of the Soviet Union and Tashkent.

Positivity

Life in Soviet Tashkent was idealized and romanticised in comparison to Greece. The positive memory of Soviet Tashkent was a performance of Soviet identity. The only exception was evident from the child refugees. Greeks illustrated their hybrid identity by admiring the Soviet Union's conveniences and services. The sources specifically praised the hospitality

⁶⁷ The KKE was referring to the involvement of the USA and Britain in Greece's civil war, and consequently the establishment of American military bases and personnel throughout Greece following the civil war. The KKE claims that the Greek state was open to the USA's intervention in Greek political affairs. Several US bases in Greece closed in the 1990s.

offered by the Uzbek SSR. Vasilis Hatzidakis expressed how “[they] lived well under communism.”⁶⁸ He was grateful for making a good living and having a home. The women appreciated the childcare support they received from the state.⁶⁹ The accommodations in the workplace and the education system contributed to the positive outlook Greeks had and continue to have of Tashkent.

Greeks who repatriated prior to 1974 compared the luxuries they had in Tashkent with their difficult lives in Greece. Evangelia Koukouliata praised public transportation available in Tashkent⁷⁰ while Veronica Manidis valued the running water inside the house and other technology, unlike Greece.⁷¹ Koukouliata explained that when she returned to Greece her home did not have electricity or adequate heating.⁷² Admiring the Soviet Union is the dominant collective narrative of Greeks who lived in Tashkent, illustrating their hybrid identity.

Antonis Maroudis and Giorgos Mihailidis exemplify the counter narrative of idealized Soviet Tashkent. Unlike the dominant, positive and pleasant narrative of Soviet life, these two child refugees were critical. When they arrived in 1955, Tashkent was desert-like, with mud houses. Mihailidis watched movies of the glorious Soviet Union, with its high-rise buildings and industry when he went to school in Czechoslovakia.⁷³ Instead, when they arrived in Tashkent they were disappointed when they saw their families living in poor conditions. Maroudis discovered his parents living in a small room with his brother.⁷⁴ Mihailidis found his parents

⁶⁸ Vasilis Hatzidakis, interview by author, Tashkent Uzbekistan, April 2, 2014.

⁶⁹ Evangelia Koukouliata, interview by author, Thessaloniki Greece, April 9, 2014. Aggeliki Palaiologos, interview by author, Athens Greece, April 8, 2014. Elly Leodithou, interview by author, Athens Greece, April 8, 2014.

⁷⁰ Evangelia Koukouliata, interview by author, Thessaloniki Greece, April 9, 2014.

⁷¹ Veronica Manidis, interview by author, Thessaloniki Greece, April 9, 2014.

⁷² Evangelia Koukouliata, interview by author, Thessaloniki Greece, April 9, 2014.

⁷³ Giorgos Mihailidis, interview by author, Tashkent Uzbekistan, March 29, 2014.

⁷⁴ Antonis Maroudis, interview by author, Tashkent Uzbekistan, March 31, 2014.

living in a shack in the 12th ward, with a mud floor and water from the outdoor baths running along the shack's floor.⁷⁵ Both compared the magnificent buildings they lived in, in Czechoslovakia, and how Tashkent was nothing in comparison.

Citizenship – USSR, Russia or Uzbekistan

Despite the majority of the Greeks not acquiring Soviet citizenship, living in Tashkent left a lasting impact on their identity. They did not need Soviet citizenship to feel that they belonged in the Soviet Union or to demonstrate that they were a part of their host country's narrative. Their inclusion in all aspects of Soviet society contributed to their idealized and romanticized memory of Tashkent, the imagined community they felt a part of.

Not gaining Soviet citizenship was a form of performing Greekness. Nevertheless, Greeks were included in Soviet society, almost as equals under the law. They romanticized their past in Tashkent because they were positively received and included in the society. Greeks were identified as “political immigrants” without citizenship.⁷⁶ As political refugees, they had the right to employment, education, housing, freedom of speech, only in accordance with socialist beliefs and values, religious freedom, and even to disseminate anti-religious propaganda. According to Robert T. Sherman, Greek “aliens (enjoyed) a comparatively high degree of protection under Soviet law.” Additionally, “stateless persons resident in the USSR enjoy(ed), under article 123 of the Civil Code, equal status with Soviet citizens.”⁷⁷ Greeks had been granted asylum in Tashkent according to the USSR's constitution, because they were at risk of being

⁷⁵ Giorgos Mihailidis, interview by author, Tashkent Uzbekistan, March 29, 2014.

⁷⁶ Tsekou, *Greek political refugees in Eastern Europe 1945-1989*, 189

⁷⁷ Robert T. Sherman, "The Civil and Political Rights of Aliens in the U.S.S.R.: A Survey of Soviet Legislation," *Texas International Law Journal*, no. 11 (1976): 571-594,

persecuted by their home state “for defending the interests of the toilers” and “participat(ed) in the struggle for national emancipation.”⁷⁸ Vasilis Hatzipanagis, a famous Greek soccer player from Tashkent, is an example of someone who had Soviet citizenship and did not have difficulties returning to Greece. In actuality, it benefited his career in the Soviet Union. With Soviet citizenship, Hatzipanagis was selected to play for the under 21 national Soviet soccer team.

Some former Tashkent Greeks in Greece and Canada referred to Tashkent, Uzbekistan as *Russia* and not as the *Soviet Union*, demonstrating which community, they identified with. Thanasis Kaltsas referred to his life in “Russia” and “Soviet Union” interchangeably in his memoir,⁷⁹ while Dinos Rozakis identified Uzbekistan or the Soviet Union as the place in which he lived, while the authorities were Soviets.⁸⁰ Greeks who remain in Tashkent described their lives in the *Soviet Union* not *Russia*. Thus, they felt a part of the Soviet imagined community. They witnessed the fall of the Soviet Union and the impact it had on Uzbekistan, and experienced the difference between the Soviet Union, Russia and Uzbekistan. Participants in Athens did not refer to Tashkent as *Russia* but instead as the *Soviet Union*. When asked, “How was life in Russia?” Nikos Athanasopoulos and Aggeliki Palaiologos immediately said “*Soviet Union*. There is a difference.”⁸¹ They identified as members of the Soviet Union community, unlike the Greeks in Toronto and Thessaloniki who referred to their lives in *Russia*.

Some Greeks were offended when recognized as “Russian,” whereas others were proud, illustrating their loyalties towards the Russian state and Russian people. Antonis Maroudis did

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Kaltsas, *Fiftieth Wedding Anniversary*, 34, 39 and Rozakis, *Forty Year Fate*, 213, 215

⁸⁰ Rozakis, *Forty Year Fate*, 215

⁸¹ Nikos Athanasopoulos, interview by author, Athens Greece, April 8, 2014.

not like to be called Russian in Tashkent,⁸² however Filia Argiropoulos described how people tried to insult him in Tashkent by calling him a “Greek,” but it did not hurt him, it made him proud. In Toronto, someone tried to insult him by calling him “Russian,” but this honoured him.⁸³ Greeks who continue to live in Tashkent and those who repatriated did not enjoy being called Russians; they preferred to be called Greeks. Those raised in Tashkent, who live in Toronto presently, felt very strongly for the Russian people and culture. Evidently, their lives in Tashkent influenced their identity and how they preferred to be identified by others.

The interchangeable identification of the “Soviet Union” and “Russia” in the newspapers influenced how the collective thought of itself in Soviet Tashkent and how they currently think of Soviet Tashkent. The KKE explained that the rightful mother of Greece was *Russia*, not the *Soviet Union*; *Russia* saved Greece not the Soviet Union.⁸⁴ A poem from March 25th, 1951 in *Pros Ti Niki*, titled “Russia” praised *Russia*’s support in the Greek revolution of 1821.⁸⁵ Then, Lenin was depicted as a god, with his influence and support for Greece. Most importantly, Tashkent was identified as the home away from home for Greeks and their place of freedom.⁸⁶ To some the Soviet Union’s support for the Greeks was merely a continuation of Tsarist Russia’s support.

Celebrating with Tashkent

Greeks joined Tashkent’s community by celebrating the Soviet holidays with the rest of the Soviet residents. Participants were active participants in Soviet society. Ultimately, their

⁸² Antonis Maroudis, interview by author, Tashkent Uzbekistan, March 31, 2014.

⁸³ Filia Argiropoulos, interview by author, Markham Canada, May 3, 2014.

⁸⁴ “The Aid from the Russian People in the 1821 Revolution and the England’s Antagonistic role.” *Pros Ti Niki*, March 25 1951.

⁸⁵ “Russia.” *Pros Ti Niki*, March 25 1951.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

inclusion in community affairs resulted in their strong loyalties to and affinities with the Soviet Union and their hybrid identity. Participants took part in the following annual Soviet holidays; February 23 Soviet Army & Navy Day, March 8 Women's Day, May 1, Labour Day, May 9 Victory Day and November 7, the October Revolution. With admiration, Giorgos Mihailidis explained how all workers marched together in Red Square because there was no difference between them.⁸⁷

The youth and the partisans participated in Victory Day May 9th and October Revolution Day to celebrate the victory of socialism over fascism.⁸⁸ Greeks emphasized their involvement in all the celebrations, marching alongside Soviet citizens in the parades and celebrations. Even though Greece and returning to Greece was always in their hearts, Greeks were embedded in Soviet Tashkent.

Imagined Greece and Greeks

Family life and the KKE's administration created an atmosphere for the collective to feel that they belonged together and most importantly, that they belonged to Greece's imagined community. Even though newspapers, memoirs and participants were critical of Greece in many ways, they recognized that it was home and where they belonged. The collective had one common goal of repatriating to Greece. All sources concurred that the collective had a common idea of what it meant to be a true Greek, and in some ways, Greeks from Greece did not fulfil this expectation. Greeks from Tashkent identified how they were *true* Greeks by respecting

⁸⁷ Giorgos Mihailidis, interview by author, Tashkent Uzbekistan, March 29, 2014.

⁸⁸ Eleftherios Galanis, interview by author, Tashkent Uzbekistan, March 28, 2014.

elders and their environment, unlike the Greeks from Greece. Most importantly, acquiring Greek citizenship was the ultimate signifier of being Greek.

Fitting into the imagined Greek community in Tashkent and fitting into Greece was dictated by blood and heritage. Amy Kaplan stated that homeland means one's "native origins, birthplace and birthright and where its members have common bloodlines, ancient ancestry, and notions of racial and ethnic homogeneity."⁸⁹ The second-generation participants knew they were Greek; it was not questionable. For instance, Eleftherios Galanis, born in Tashkent, stressed that "you cannot learn to be Greek, it's within you. You just know."⁹⁰ The first generation, and the child refugees born in Greece, recognized they belonged to Greece simply because they were born there. The second-generation Greeks however learned what it meant to be Greek from the various spaces, the KKE and their parents. Together, the collective regardless of where they were born and raised, had one goal, to repatriate.

Impermanence

Community members and newspapers believed they would return to Greece. Their common trajectory contributed to the unity of the collective. The KOT and the KET encouraged the people to think fondly of returning to Greece and making Greece a better place. In the concert hall of the Central Club there is a poster that says, "*me tin skepsi panta stin patriida*" meaning, "our thoughts always of the homeland" (See Figure 8) which, illustrates how the administration oriented the Greeks towards repatriation. The toast at family gatherings and

⁸⁹ Amy Kaplan, "Homeland Insecurities: Some Reflections on Language and Space," *Radical History Review*, Winter, no. 85 (2003): 82-93.

⁹⁰ Eleftherios Galanis, interview by author, Tashkent Uzbekistan, March 28, 2014.

celebrations, ended with “and next year in the home.” The reminder of repatriation was



Figure 8 – Poster in Central Club’s Concert hall, which says, “our thoughts always of the homeland.” (Author. Tashkent. March 30, 2014.)

embedded in the public and private lives of Greeks in Tashkent.

After returning to Greece, they were expected to transform Greek society into a socialist one.

At the beginning of their

settlement, this transformation was

meant to happen through the “*opla para poda*” (meaning “weapons on guard”).⁹¹ Partisans were told that they would return to Greece to continue the civil war, and thus they should keep their “weapons on guard.” After a couple years of living in Tashkent, the KOT and Soviet officials notified the Greeks that they could not return to Greece to continue the civil war and thus had to develop their lives in Tashkent. After that point, Greeks focused on returning to Greece as skilled and educated professionals. Even though the collective felt it belonged in Soviet Tashkent, the members still oriented themselves to returning to Greece.

Greeks were not meant to be a permanent feature in Central Asia. Thanasis Kaltsas compared how Alexander the Great passed through Central Asia, just like the Greek partisans were passing through.⁹² The KOT wanted the youth to learn that they too were a temporary community in Tashkent, so they needed to learn the Greek language, traditions and practices, because they symbolized Greekness. Learning how to perform Greekness was essential before returning to Greece for the second-generation. The constant rhetoric of returning to Greece

⁹¹ Evangelia Koukouliata, interview by author, Thessaloniki Greece. April 9, 2014.

⁹² Kaltsas, *Fiftieth Wedding Anniversary*, 1.

taught the collective that they truly belonged in Greece. The perception of Greece and the imagined community of Greece influenced how many of the Greeks in Tashkent viewed their repatriation.

Criticism of Greece

Even though many wanted to return to Greece, they saw Greece as a place of hardship and challenges. Being critical of something or someone does not mean you stop loving it. Newspapers allowed Greeks to feel connected to Greece, but taught them to be critical of the Greek state. They compared themselves to the Greeks in Greece to demonstrate how in some ways they were not the same, but were the same as the socialists in Greece demanding change. These differences were based on their hybrid Soviet-Greek identity.

Those who stayed in Tashkent, including partisans, second-generation and child refugees, viewed Greece with uncertainty and disappointment. They defined the homeland as unfamiliar, unfriendly and unstable.⁹³ Even though they recognized themselves as Greek, spoke Greek and travelled to Greece several times the majority mentioned being disappointed with their home country. Greeks had integrated into Tashkent society and learned Soviet values and practices. All participants described how their friends and relatives who repatriated faced many hardships and disappointments in their homeland. Both the first and second-generation had difficulties finding jobs, or working in their respective fields. Giorgos Mihailidis even compared how Russian Jews ‘returned’ to Israel and were incorporated in Israel’s society and had excellent jobs, unlike the Greeks who suffered in Greece and even died from anxiety and disappointment.⁹⁴

⁹³ Alison Blunt, and Robyn Dowling, *Home*, (London & New York: Routledge, 2006), 204.

⁹⁴ Giorgos Mihailidis, interview by author, Tashkent Uzbekistan, March 29, 2014.

Similarly, the media was also critical of Greece and certain Greek practices. Newspapers perpetuated the story that Greece was a place of uncertainty and in need of change by the way it described the political, the economic and the social situation. At the forefront were the inequalities faced by women, the foreign influence on the Greek politicians and the poor working conditions.⁹⁵ Papers portrayed the education system in Greece as difficult and limited because the teachers were “persecuted, exiled, and killed, the schools (were) burned down or (became) military barracks.”⁹⁶ Greeks sympathized with the Greek teachers but were critical of the Greek system.

During the dictatorship in Greece in 1967-1974, the newspapers consistently discussed political affairs in Greece. The subheading of the newspaper was “Down with the Dictatorship – long live democracy.”⁹⁷ Those arrested in Greece were portrayed as communists and fellow patriots of the Greeks in Tashkent.⁹⁸ Newspapers provided a framework for how Greeks should challenge the dictatorship to be true patriots. The media, the KOT and the collective dictated the beliefs, symbols and practices necessary to belong to the imagined Greek space.

Greek values

The collective in Tashkent believed they behaved like Greeks in many ways. Conversely, some did not approve of certain Greek behaviour because it contrasted with what they were accustomed to in Tashkent. Living in Soviet Tashkent influenced their beliefs and practices and consequently their identity.

⁹⁵ “For the Completion of the 7 Year Plan: Well rounded education for Workers.” *Neos Dromos*, January 14, 1960.

⁹⁶ “Education in the Soviet Union.” *Pros ti Niki*, March 11, 1951

⁹⁷ *Neos Dromos*, January 21 1971.

⁹⁸ “70 Greek patriots threatened with death sentence.” *Neos Dromos*, February 4, 1971.

They perceived the Greeks in Greece as disrespectful of their neighbours and their environment. Eleftherios Galanis described how when he returned to Greece his neighbour constantly threw garbage from her balcony, without considering him and his balcony below. For him, respecting one's neighbour was necessary, just like how he had lived harmoniously in Tashkent with all his neighbours.⁹⁹ Galanis also was disappointed with how Greeks did not get up from their seat on the bus for an elderly person or pregnant women, unlike in Tashkent.¹⁰⁰ Getting up on the bus was common Soviet practice.

Citizenship

Greek and Slavo-Macedonian political refugees lost their Greek citizenship because of their participation in the civil war.¹⁰¹ They were completely disregarded by the Greek state, and perceived as foreigners. Prior to 1982, they needed the Red Crescent Society to process their immigration papers for Greece. Greek naturalization laws changed as of 1982 with the Andreas Papandreou's government¹⁰² so that Greeks were allowed to repatriate with their Greek citizenship documents from the Greek embassy in Moscow. Obtaining Greek citizenship was the ultimate guarantee and identifier of being Greek. Greek citizenship was not central to Greeks who moved to Canada. Instead, acquiring Canadian citizenship was a method of returning to Greece at one point.¹⁰³ As for the Greeks still living in Tashkent and those who had returned to Greece, gaining citizenship meant gaining official membership in the Greek imagined community. The stripping of Greek citizenship was devastating, especially to the first generation.

⁹⁹ Eleftherios Galanis, interview by author, Tashkent Uzbekistan, March 28, 2014.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Tsekou, *Greek political refugees in Eastern Europe 1945-1989*, 187.

¹⁰² Tsekou, *Greek political refugees in Eastern Europe 1945-1989*, 198.

¹⁰³ John Argiropoulos, interview by author, Aurora Canada, April 30, 2014.

Ioannis Kotoulas explained how grateful he was that he finally got Greek citizenship again, and how he had received free healthcare in Greece when he was ill five years ago.¹⁰⁴ The people who had more challenges with Greek citizenship were those who returned to Greece prior to the Junta in 1967. Thanasis Kaltsas consistently was called into the police station with his wife before and after they were declared citizens of Greece.¹⁰⁵ Once Greeks became citizens of the Greek state, many were actively involved in Greek politics.

Many Greeks who returned were involved with leftist ideology. They described their involvement with the KKE or other left wing parties due to discrimination and because they felt Greece needed to change. In a way, the second-generation Greeks were fulfilling the duties they were taught in Tashkent. As citizens, they exercised their rights and obligations in Greece by being politically active.

Conclusion

Greeks of Tashkent described their lives within three imagined spaces; the Greek community in Tashkent, the Soviet community and in Greece itself. The boundaries between the imagined spaces were blurred by the KOT and the membership's discourse. Blurring the boundaries allowed Greeks to belong to each of the spaces. Greeks of Tashkent viewed themselves at a unified collective, within each of these spaces, despite the 1956 split. Their collective included the Slavo-Macedonians and Pontians who had married into the community. Feeling included in Tashkent was a strong narrative for the Greeks of Tashkent, which ultimately contributed to their Soviet-Greek identity. Their hybrid identity granted them membership

¹⁰⁴ Ioannis Kotoulas, interview by author, Tashkent Uzbekistan, April 3, 2014.

¹⁰⁵ Kaltsas, *Fiftieth Wedding Anniversary*, 51.

collectively in Tashkent, to the Soviet community and to Greece's imagined community. They justified their membership in each of these spaces through their behaviour, beliefs and practices. How they felt within each of the spaces, and compared with others within these spaces revealed how they had a hybrid Greek-Soviet identity. The KOT and the newspapers facilitated the hybrid identity by blending the significance of Greek holidays with Soviet ideals and beliefs. Being a true Greek patriot meant being a Soviet as well. The rings of the imagined community were blurred when the Greeks learned from the locals and when the locals learned from the Greeks. At the same time, Greeks of Tashkent did not idealize Greeks or romanticize the Greek state. Rather, the Soviet Union was idealized. The positive and idealized perspective of the Soviet Union is dominant in their narrative. Conversely, they were very critical of Greek people and the Greek state especially during the military Junta of 1967-1974 in order to prove that they belonged to the imagined Soviet community. Despite their critique of the Greek state Greeks still believed their true homeland was Greece. Hence, the majority repatriated

Chapter 3 - Work Space

After approximately one month of quarantine in Tashkent, the Uzbek SSR Communist Party and the KGB with the KKE assigned Greeks to their employment.¹ Some of the men, who were of higher rank in the Greek Democratic Army were sent for military training by the KOT, whereas the majority of men and women were assigned to various factories and construction brigades.² Finding work was never a challenge in Tashkent. Theodore Kokkinopoulos mentioned the “Soviet Union has work even for the dead, but don’t ask for money.”³

Such immediate integration into the Soviet Union aided performing hybrid Greek-Soviet identity in the workplace. Greeks were guided by *philotimo*, the shame-honour system in the workspaces, to honour both the Soviet Union and Greece as productive workers. Just like the Soviets, Greeks were mobile to and from the farms for the cotton industry, while some worked after hours in Tashkent’s shadow economy.⁴ The majority emulated the ideal Soviet worker to illustrate that they belonged in Soviet life. The KOT represented Greeks in the workplace to guarantee that they worked hard and were accommodated. Meanwhile the foregoing actions (with some exceptions) supported their membership in the Soviet and Greek imagined communities. Equality in the workspaces granted Greeks membership in the imagined Soviet space. Greeks fondly remembered working in Tashkent because they had the opportunity for vertical mobility within factories and horizontal mobility to switch careers.

¹ Evangelia Koukouliaata, interview by author, Thessaloniki Greece. April 9, 2014.

² Katerina Tsekou, Katerina Tsekou, *Ελληνες πολιτικοί προσφυγες στην Ανατολική Ευρώπη*, [Greek political refugees in Eastern Europe] 1945-1989, (Athens, GR: Αλεξάνδρεια 2013), 123.

³ Theodore Kokkinopoulos, interview by author, Tashkent Uzbekistan, April 2, 2014.

⁴ J.M. Feldbrugge, "Government and Shadow Economy in the Soviet Union," *Soviet Studies*, 36, no. 4 (1984): 528-543, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/151932> (accessed August 8, 2014). The shadow economy involved both legal and illegal activities to ensure that it functioned. Greeks engaged in (e) “professional activities in the sphere of production, distribution and services.”

Men and women worked alongside each other in the factories and on construction sites, but women rejected promotions due to gendered reasons. There was only one exception and counter narrative to the issue of vertical mobility. Nevertheless, mobility was necessary to save money and it was common for all Soviet citizens. Despite this, the KOT shamed the female community members and called them capitalists when they tried to improve their circumstances. This demonstrated the differences between how the administration wanted the people to live their lives and how the people wished to do so.

Greeks made efforts to behave like other Soviets, thus illustrating how they integrated into Soviet society. Even though they learned common Soviet practices in the work place, Greeks had certain habits at work that differentiated them from the rest of Soviet society. Performing Greekness at work meant speaking Greek and being a part of EPON or the KOB. Belonging to the Soviet and Greek imagined communities was dictated by the KOT's involvement in the workplace, and how Greeks were included and accommodated in Soviet places of employment.

Partisans and child refugees highlighted their work experiences, more so than the second-generation children who did not work as much in Tashkent, many having left in their school years, or in their early 20s. The second-generation Greeks, instead, discussed with excitement and nostalgia their schooling and the various cultural and social events they attended in the wards.

Belonging to the Soviet Union as Workers

Working in Tashkent and making it a better place contributed to the Greeks' homemaking narrative as worthy and valuable members of Soviet Tashkent's society, but also as good

representatives of Greece. Greeks felt that they belonged to Tashkent's society because they contributed to its growth and development, and they were acknowledged for their efforts. They were mobile and worked after hours to return to Greece, comfortably, because that is where they felt they truly belonged, despite how welcoming Tashkent was to them.

Philotimo ensured that Greeks honoured their host and home countries. Partisans were very proud of their work accomplishments in Tashkent because they contributed to their new home's progress and essentially to communism. A friendly competitive work ethic, called "amilla" was necessary in the workplace.⁵ Greeks who displayed "amilla," supported the Soviet economy and positively represented Greece, as hard working individuals. When Greek workers surpassed production norms, they achieved the status of 'pioneers.' Greeks were included in Soviet society when they too were celebrated as pioneers.

Whenever any worker in the Soviet Union surpassed a norm, it was customary to post a photo of him or her within the factory or newspaper.⁶ Greek newspapers, *Pros ti Niki* and *Neos Dromos*, published many photographs of Greek 'pioneers.' See Figure 9, for an example of a Greek 'pioneer;' Athanasoulos, Kostakis.

Commemorating Greeks as good workers in the Soviet Union, and emphasizing that being good workers meant being good Greeks contributed to the homemaking myth of Greeks in the



Figure 9 – *Pros Ti Niki* March 9 1951 published an image of "Comrade Athanasoulos Kostakis, Staxanofikos of the 5th Ward. Surpasses the norms by 205%."

⁵ "Information on Amilla." *Pros Ti Niki*, March 16, 1951.

⁶ Evangelia Koukouliata, interview by the author. Thessaloniki Greece, April 9, 2014

Soviet Union. The fact that Greeks literally built infrastructure in Central Asia sanctioned the existence and integration of Greeks into Tashkent’s Soviet collective, but it also emphasized their ethnicity and their duty to Greece. Their hybrid Greek-Soviet identity was demonstrated when they prided themselves on contributing to the Soviet Union. See Figure 10 for Ioannis Kotoulas’ ‘Pioneer’ achievements.⁷ He explained that working hard for the Soviet Union meant that he was making Greece proud.⁸

The Greek homemaking narrative was produced when Greek craftsmanship was praised. Greek craftsmanship was of high quality according to the memoirs and the interviews. Locals also admired Greeks for building Tashkent’s infrastructure.⁹ Greeks were naturally included in the Tashkent’s collective narrative because they proved worthy with their hard work and commitment to communist progress, even though not all Greeks felt proud of their achievements.¹⁰



Figure 10 – A Certificate of Achievement for Cotton picking in 1958. (Author. Tashkent. April 2, 2014.)

⁷ The day after our interview, he returned to the club to show me more certificates of achievement showing how proud he was of these achievements.

⁸ Ioannis Kotoulas, interview by author, Tashkent Uzbekistan, April 3, 2014.

⁹ Alexandra Basdani, interview with author, Tashkent Uzbekistan, April 1, 2014.

¹⁰ Some Greeks did not celebrate their pioneer successes because they realized it only made their lives more difficult. Kaltsas did not want his picture to be in the newspaper for his hard work because he felt it was silly to celebrate these achievements. He explained that being a pioneer did not cure them of their nostalgia for Greece nor did it award them with returning. Greeks simply wanted to one-day return to Greece, illustrating that they belonged to Greece. They also realized that constantly striving to surpass the norms was physically exhausting and unsafe. They noticed that once they surpassed the norms, these increased so they stopped striving to surpass them.

All labour was for the betterment of the Soviet Union's economy. They stressed that their efforts were vital to building Central Asia and consequently justified the Greek settlement in Tashkent. Greeks collected cotton from farms in the Golodnaya Steppe, because they were told it was necessary for the growth of the Soviet Union. As a plus, they were paid well to do this work.

¹¹ The cotton industry in Central Asia was a key industry to the USSR.¹² Thus, Greeks developed and contributed to the harvesting of a key product in their host country. Partisans and Greek youth were a part of this labour force. Greeks found their niche in Soviet Society because they supplemented the need for manual labour.¹³ In the case of the Mihailidis family, the father refused to return to Greece because he felt the Soviet Union's system allowed Greeks to succeed.¹⁴

The Shadow Economy

Locals hired Greek contractors and other Greeks after normal work hours to do projects in their homes with materials stolen from various jobsites. This was not exclusively a Greek practice, but it was common for Soviet contractors to participate in the shadow economy. Greeks demonstrated that they were a part of the working class, and integrated into Tashkent's society by finding extra employment. Foremen claimed to government officials that their projects required a larger amount of materials than was in fact the case in order to sell the extra materials

¹¹ Dimitris Katsis' entire memoir was dedicated to the work the Greeks did in the Steppe Region.

¹² Boris Rumer, "Central Asia's cotton: The picture now," *Central Asian Survey*, 6, no. 4 (1987): 76-88, <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/02634938708400604>. Insufficient labour in rural parts of Central Asia resulted in "cotton farms to recruit auxiliary labour to work the cotton fields by mobilising significant contingents of people from other sectors of the economy as well as school children and students."¹²

¹³ Theodore Kokkinopoulos took it even further when he said the Greeks wanted to return to Greece like "The Count of Monte Cristo," some parents starving their children to do so

¹⁴ Giorgos Mihailidis, interview by author, Tashkent Uzbekistan, March 29, 2014.

on the black market.¹⁵ Stronski explains, “With shortages of consumer goods and housing space in the Uzbek capital, food and building supplies became important commodities. Those with access to them had the potential of becoming wealthy, at least in Soviet terms.”¹⁶ Foremen used half of the materials for the specific project, and sold the rest on the black market. This misapplication of materials permitted Greeks to make additional income as contractors for private homeowners in Tashkent.¹⁷ The newspapers examined, do not indicate whether or not the KKE was involved or officially aware of the misapplication of materials, and after hour work. It was a black market, and under cover. However, the KKE was involved in the regular workspaces.

After the KKE assigned the Greeks their first jobs, they became very mobile. Changing jobs was an opportunity for better pay. It was common practice for Greeks to supplement their income after hours in the shadow economy, similar to other Soviet citizens.

The KKE in the Workplace

Partisans and child refugees did not acknowledge the KKE’s role in the in the workspaces. Evidence of the KKE in the workplace was found in the newspapers and the memoirs.¹⁸ The Uzbek Communist party allocated the government contracts to the KKE for them distribute employment to the Greek contractors’ unions. In reality, the KKE assigned the partisans their

¹⁵ Giorgos Mihailidis, interview by author, Tashkent Uzbekistan, March 29, 2014.

¹⁶ Paul Stronski, *Tashkent: forging a Soviet city, 1930-1966*, (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2010), 182.

¹⁷ Giorgos Mihailidis added that he knew people involved in the misappropriation of extra materials but wanted to “sleep better at night” and to “feel better about himself” so he was not involved in the false use of materials. Giorgos Mihailidis, interview by author, Tashkent Uzbekistan, March 29, 2014.

¹⁸ Only one first generation participant referred to EPON in the workplace. The second-generation simply disregarded the impact of the KKE. They were a part of the KNE – Communist Youth of Greece. The KNE was responsible for the Greek youth in school and not for the Greek workers. Only two second-generation participants mentioned that once up for promotion, it was suggested, (with emphasis) by the KKE that they become party members.

jobs or sent them for additional military training or schooling.¹⁹ The KKE provided accommodations, as well as translators for the Greek workers, which contributed to the positive and almost idealized memory of their lives in Soviet Tashkent. The KOT was responsible for the quick transition of Greeks into the workspaces and ultimately into Tashkent's society. At the same time, the Greek organizations within the work place ensured Greeks connected to each other, and ultimately felt like they belonged to Greece's imagined community. Being a member of EPON *Eniaia Panelladiki Organosi Neon* (United Panhellenic Organization of Youth) ensured that the partisans were a part of the imagined Greek community, but also the imagined Soviet community.

Greek organizations in the workspace accelerated the Sovietisation of the Greeks in Tashkent, which eventually allowed Greeks to belong to the imagined Soviet community. Through these work organizations, the KKE taught Greek workers to have a socialist consciousness.²⁰ Newspapers announced meetings and presentations at factories about Greek employment and their enlightenment.²¹ EPON played a similar role for the Greeks as did the Komsomol, the All-Union Leninist Young Communist League, for Soviet citizens. The newspapers explained that EPON and the Komsomol shared office space.²² According to Ilias Giannakakis, "it was mandatory for the workers to be members of these trade unions where they worked."²³ The week of March 4th in 1951 was EPON Week, according to *Pros ti Niki*. Being a

¹⁹ Vasilis Hatzidakis, interview by author, Tashkent Uzbekistan, April 2, 2014.

²⁰ Tsekou, Greek political refugees in Eastern Europe 1945-1989, 122.

²¹ "The Second Meeting of the Council of EPON." *Pros Ti Niki*, June 15, 1951.

²² "Continued positive relationship between EPON and the Komsomol," *Pros Ti Niki*, June 29, 1951. During WWII and the Greek Civil war, EPON was one of the many KKE resistance groups. After the war, EPON served as the youth group and trade union under the administration of the KKE in the various eastern bloc countries and the Soviet Union.

²³ Giannakakis Ilias, "Τα όπλα παρα ποδα: η εγκαταστη των προσφυγων στις σοσιαλιστικες χωρες - Weapons on Guard: The settlement of refugees in the socialist countries," pages. 3 - 18 in *Το Όπλο παρα ποδα: Οι πολιτικοι*

member of EPON, or *eponites* was a natural component of working in Tashkent. As EPON originated in Greece, this tied Greeks to their homeland and to each other while in the Soviet Union. Another Greek trade union was the KOB, the *Kommatikis Organosis Vasis*, Base of Communist Organization. This united each of the Greek contracting groups beneath the KOT. In 1956, six KOBs were established according to Katsis. Leaders of the KOB were elected from the Greek work brigades they managed. The Uzbek Communist Party dictated the projects to the KOB and KOT.²⁴ As members of the KOB and EPON, Greeks were integrated into both Soviet and Greek life in Tashkent, thus contributing to their hybrid Greek-Soviet identity.

Partisans did not discuss their role with the KKE in a detailed manner. The complete non-existence of the KKE in the workplace was highly unlikely, especially for the first generation.²⁵ However, EPON and the KKE were involved in factory life and building projects according to the newspapers and memoirs. Without the KKE, the settlement and integration of Greeks into Tashkent's Soviet society would not have occurred so smoothly. The KKE screened all Greeks and placed them in various factories and work brigades throughout Tashkent. Local authorities and the Greek administration ensured that Greeks worked near their homes. When Vasilis Hatzidakis found his own job in Tashkent without the support of the KKE, the KKE removed him from that position and gave him one that *they* deemed appropriate.²⁶ At the club meetings,

προσφυγες του ελληνικου εμφυλιου πολεμου στην Ανατολικη Ευρωπη - *Weapons on Guard: The political refugees of the Greek civil war*, ed. Eftihia Voutira, Vasilis Dalkavoukis, Nikos Maratzidis, Maria Bodila (Thessaloniki Greece: University of Macedonia, 2005).

²⁴ Katsis, *Enormous Contribution of Greek Political Refugees in Building Socialism in Uzbekistan*, 57.

²⁵ The limited testimony on the KKE and EPON in the workplace may be due to my limitations as a researcher. I did not ask specifically about EPON, instead I asked about the KKE during my research. I later discovered the role of the EPON through the newspapers analysis.

²⁶ Vasilis Hatzidakis, interview by author, Tashkent Uzbekistan, April 2, 2014.

the KOT announced when it was necessary to help Uzbek farmers collect cotton.²⁷ Once the Greeks were settled in Tashkent with stronger Russian language skills and more job experience, they moved to better-paid or preferred jobs with and without the KKE's support.

The party arranged for experienced Greek workers to be placed in their respective fields, which members valued. By encouraging Greeks to work in their skilled trades, the KKE fostered their integration into Soviet society, and ultimately their hybridity. For example, Margarita Mpadou explained that her father was a photographer by trade. He took pictures during the resistance and the civil war. Consequently, in Tashkent, he worked as a photographer at a spa.²⁸

The teachers and scholars from Greece taught Greek as a second language in Tashkent.²⁹ The shortage of teachers compelled the KKE to recruit

and train Greeks who had at least middle school literacy skills, and sometimes even elementary level literacy skills.³⁰ In addition, according to Katsis, the party arranged for skilled tradesmen such as

bricklayers and carpenters to be contractors in Tashkent.³¹ See Figure 11. Greeks acculturated and integrated into Soviet society by continuing to work in the professions in which they were trained.

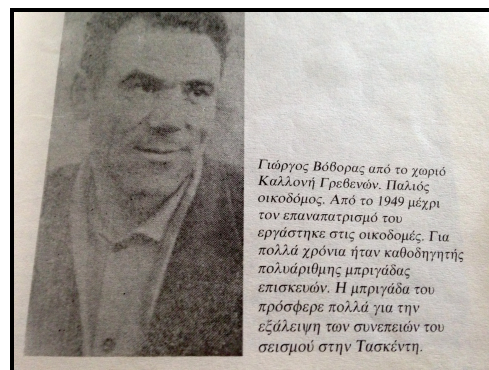


Figure 11– An image of Giorgos Vovoras from Kalloni Grevena. Old Builder. He was a skilled tradesman from Greece. The caption says, “from 1949 until his repatriation, he was a builder. For many years, he was a foreman of many brigades. His brigade especially supported the rebuilding of Tashkent after the earthquake [1966].” Katsis, 42.

²⁷ Ioannis Kotoulas, interview by author, Tashkent Uzbekistan, April 3, 2014. Theodore Kokkinopoulos, interview by author, Tashkent Uzbekistan, April 2, 2014.

²⁸ Margarita Mpadou, interview by author, Thessaloniki Greece, April 12, 2014.

²⁹ Maria Bodila, “The Education of Child Political Refugees in Eastern countries (1950-1964): framework and socialization,” (PhD dissertation, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, 2000), 15.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Katsis, *Enormous Contribution of Greek Political Refugees in Building Socialism in Uzbekistan*, 42.

The party however maintained its political agenda to remind Greeks of their military goals. Some of the male partisans were sent for supplementary military training upon arriving in Tashkent. Evangelia Koukouliata's husband went for the first year or so. He was selected because he ranked higher in the Democratic Army.³² Kaltsas refused to go because he did not want to remember the war. He was not the only man to do so.³³

Equality in the Workplace

The majority of the participants believed that there was no distinction concerning ethnicity, age or party membership between themselves and Soviet citizens in career opportunities or recognition of achievements. Hatzidakis said that the most memorable aspect of living in the Soviet Union was the equality.³⁴ Women were elevated in Soviet society, thus Greek women also had the opportunity to progress within a factory and change jobs, despite being shamed in newspapers for their mobility. Although there were circumstances where the KKE excluded certain Greeks from the Greek community and Tashkent's Soviet community because of their political beliefs, in most cases Greeks were accommodated and included in the Soviet workplace. Not all Greeks felt like they belonged to the Soviet Union's society, and this is a counter narrative. Antonis Maroudis was prohibited from working in his field because of his ethnicity. For the most part, however, Greeks could get promotions. Also, the KOT determined if pro-Zachariadis followers had equal opportunities in the workplace. Regardless, the positive, idealized memory of working in Tashkent prevailed.³⁵

³² Evangelia Koukouliata, interview by author, Thessaloniki Greece. April 9, 2014.

³³ Kaltsas, *Fiftieth Wedding Anniversary*, 40.

³⁴ Vasilis Hatzidakis, interview by author, Tashkent Uzbekistan, April 2, 2014.

³⁵ Wulf Kansteiner, "Finding Meaning in Memory: A Methodological Critique of Collective Memory Studies," *History and Theory*, 41, no. 2 (2002): 179-197. This may also be influenced by the current world crisis of

Their coworkers who were Uzbeks, Tartars, Russians, Koreans, and even Germans perceived the Greeks positively in Tashkent. Evangelia Koukouliata explained that the Greeks, with permission from the locals, would bypass the line-up to hang up their coats, so they could hang theirs up first. For her, this illustrated how the Greeks were respected and honoured in Tashkent by others.³⁶ The majority of Greeks felt welcomed in Tashkent, and they were a part of the Soviet working class.

Workplaces provided accommodations for ill, pregnant and nursing women, including the Greek women. They were “pioneers” just like the men. Articles portrayed Greek women in the Soviet Union as hard workers, comrades and mothers.³⁷ For example, John and Filia Argiropoulos’s mother worked at a factory that built tractors until she was diagnosed with a heart condition. After that she worked at a textile factory, which was less strenuous, for fewer hours.³⁸ Greeks were provided accommodations regardless of gender, like the rest of the workers in Soviet society.

The women worked alongside men on the construction sites and in the factories. Alexandra Basdani exemplifies how women had opportunities to have authority in their places of employment, yet did not take these opportunities for gendered reasons. Alexandra Basdani rejected the supervisory role due to her responsibilities at home.³⁹ Basdani chose to not complicate her life at home, while raising her children. Women had other priorities; including,

unemployment, especially in Uzbekistan and Greece. Greeks had a positive collective narrative of their work experience in Tashkent, characterized by the guarantee of work, the ability to change jobs, and vertical mobility. The contemporary context influences the construction of memories for people. Wulf Kansteiner mentioned that collective memory often “privilege(d) the interests of the contemporary.”

³⁶ Evangelia Koukouliata, interview by author, Thessaloniki Greece. April 9, 2014.

³⁷ “The Active Female Contractor.” *Pros Ti Nikis*, March 7, 1951.

³⁸ John Argiropoulos, interview by author, Aurora Canada, April 30, 2014.

³⁹ Alexandra Basdani, interview with author, Tashkent Uzbekistan, April 1, 2014.

family and friendship, but felt accommodated and welcomed in Soviet society because of these opportunities.

Greek women too received maternity leave and other benefits at work after giving birth. Greek women idealized their lives in Tashkent for the support they received from their employers and the local authorities as mothers. Evangelia Koukouliata was driven with other mothers from the factory to the day-care to nurse her daughters.⁴⁰ The exact period of maternity leave differed between employers, as did the maternity pay. Regardless, the mothers and fathers, both of the first generation, the child refugees and the second-generation explained that the mothers were taken care of and their positions were available for them to return to after their time off. Rita Kalopoulos believed that women did not take their entire maternity leave time because they wanted to return to work and be with their co-workers. She explained that because the Soviet Union supported the women and cared so well for the children, the mothers were aware that their children were in good hands. Thus they felt comfortable returning to work.⁴¹ Even so, the KOT attempted to restrict Greek female workers because they said that their behaviour shamed the collective.

Women were subject to harsh criticism from the Greek administration because of their mobility to various jobs. The KOT had different expectations of their membership than the membership had for itself. The party wanted its members to demonstrate their socialist spirit and not strive for material things. However, Greeks chose to change their jobs often in order to gain better pay, to return comfortably to Greece. An article from March 4, 1951, “The weakness of the organization of competition for Women in the 12th Ward” described the beautiful new rooms

⁴⁰ Evangelia Koukouliata, interview by author, Thessaloniki Greece. April 9, 2014.

⁴¹ Rita Kalopoulos*, interview by author. Athens Greece, April 8, 2014.

and homes for Greeks in the 12th ward, but concluded that not all women had embraced the “socialist spirit.”⁴² The KOT shamed them for changing jobs to make more money. In contrast to this narrative in the newspapers, the participants and authors considered mobility necessary and beneficial. Although the article could have instilled collective guilt and shame-in the Greek women of the 12th ward, the participants were aware that wherever they worked, they contributed to building a communist society. Representing their Greek identity while they contributed to a communist society was permitted and remembered positively by the Greeks of Tashkent. Despite this, some Greeks implied that their ethnicity inhibited their vertical mobility.

Antonis Maroudis was very bitter and frustrated over the injustice he experienced in Tashkent before he retired. Maroudis’ life story exemplifies how ethnicity inhibited certain career opportunities in the Soviet Union, despite certifications and qualifications.⁴³ Maroudis mentioned several times how “they (the Soviets) didn’t want us (Greeks) to succeed.”⁴⁴ As a graduate of electrical engineering at the Technical Institute of Leningrad with a speciality in radio electrical engineering, Maroudis was one of many educated Greeks in Tashkent. He could not achieve his potential because Soviet law changed after he graduated to restrict individuals not born in the Soviet Union from working in radio technologies.⁴⁵ This situation is a clear example of the complexity of the Greek work experience in Tashkent, similar to how de-Stalinization influenced the work place as well.

The dynamics within the community of Greeks changed after the 1956 KKE split. The party essentially punished Greeks who were in favour of the Zacharaidis leadership through their

⁴² “The weakness of organizing the women’s competition in the 12th Ward.” *Pros Ti Niki*, March 4 1951.

⁴³ Antonis Maroudis, interview by author, Tashkent Uzbekistan, March 31, 2014.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

employment. Greeks negatively affected by the KKE felt excluded by the administration and by Soviet society because of their political beliefs. In *Forty Years Fate*, Dinos Rozakis described how Ilias Ksirotiris, a teacher trained in Greece who continued his education in the Soviet Union and graduated from the Military Academy of Lenin, could not get a job in Tashkent because he had pro-Zachariadis sentiments. As a result, the KOT assigned Ksirotiris to be the principal of the Greek department at the orphanage in Ivanovo, Russia.⁴⁶ Ksirotiris was devastated when he was transferred to Ivanovo because he was separated from his family and friends in Tashkent.⁴⁷ Ksirotiris' fate illustrates how pro-Zachariadis followers faced consequences in the workplace and how credentials did not matter.

Performing Greekness at work

Even though Greeks felt a part of Soviet society through their contributions to Soviet infrastructure Greeks also belonged to the imagined Greek community. Working with Greeks, speaking in Greek, and being a part of the Greek organizations allowed Greeks to feel connected to each other and to their homeland. Celebrating with Greek dances and music while picking cotton also was a representation of their ethnic identity. Greeks who worked at or for the KOT or KET performed Greekness in their career because they organized events displaying Greek culture and patriotism. Simply speaking, Greeks at work demonstrated their ethnicity and helped partisans adapt to Soviet society.

⁴⁶ "Ivanovo, *oblast* (region), western Russia, northeast of Moscow astride the middle Volga River and centred on Ivanovo city." *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, s. v. "Ivanovo", accessed October 06, 2014, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/298233/Ivanovo>.

⁴⁷ Dinos Rozakis, *Σαρανταχρονη Πορεία: Ταγμετος – Γραμμος - Τασκενδη 1936-1976 - Forty Year Fate- Taygetus - Grammos - Tashkent 1936-1976*. (Athens: Private Publication, 2008), 257

Working the cotton fields was not just an opportunity to supplement their income, or support the Soviet Union's economy, but a chance to celebrate as Greeks. After completing their tasks, or sometimes even during the cotton picking, Greeks drank vodka and played Greek music.⁴⁸ Drinking at work, or coming to work drunk was deemed a Russian practice, and Greeks generally frowned upon it except while cotton picking.

Working for the KET, KOT or KOB, or even being a Greek dance instructor or language teacher was performing Greekness as a career. It was their duty to represent the ideal Greek patriot. The KKE's organizations maintained the unity and friendships between Greeks. Those who had Greek friends perpetuated Greek beliefs, values and practices more than those that had more non-Greek friends. Eleftherios Galanis was the drummer for the second Buzuki band in the mid 1970s. This band performed Greek songs at all the patriotic holidays. Greeks connected through the music and dances to Greece's imagined community.⁴⁹

Speaking Greek at the jobsite was a performance of Greekness and a way of having clear communication between coworkers. This maintained their Greek identity and strengthened their unity as a community to their homeland.⁵⁰ It was more natural for the first generation, whose Russian language skills were limited. Theodore Kokkinopoulos explained when he and his father worked together they spoke Greek to each other. There was an unwritten rule that the owner fed the contractors working in their home. However, Kokkinopoulos specifically remembered when he worked in an Uzbek's home, because the lady of the house did not offer them food or drink. After Kokkinopoulos asked for something to eat, she brought two eggs for him and his father to

⁴⁸ Nikos Athansopoulos, interview by author, Athens Greece, April 8, 2014.

⁴⁹ Eleftherios Galanis, interview by author, Tashkent Uzbekistan, March 28, 2014.

⁵⁰ Drawing upon Toronto's multicultural experience between 1950-1970s, speaking another language other than English at work in some cases was frowned upon. Brigades of Greeks worked together, including fathers and mothers, with their older children.

share and emphasized they should eat a lot because they did difficult work. In response to this, Kokkinopoulos' said that his father told him sarcastically in Greek, "Imagine if our work was actually hard?"⁵¹ Kokkinopoulos' emphasis on the languages spoken illustrates how Greek was used to communicate to elders whose Russian language skills were weak, but it was also spoken to be secretive.

Similarly, Nikos Athanasopoulos was the supervisor for many Greek partisans like his father and spoke Greek to them.⁵² This freedom and comfort with their Greek language must have been liberating. In fact, Alexandra Basdanis' colleagues were in awe when she spoke Greek at the office.⁵³

Conclusion

The KKE fostered a positive memory of working in Tashkent and most importantly the Greek homemaking narrative. Greeks clearly established they belonged to the Soviet workplaces by proving they were hardworking pioneers just like the Soviets. The boundaries of belonging to the Soviet and Greek imagined communities were blurred when performing Greekness meant being a hard worker like any Soviet citizen. Greeks learned Soviet practices such as working after hours, which is indicative of their integration into Soviet society and how they felt comfortable living in Tashkent. Their comfort living in Tashkent however did not inhibit Greeks from returning to Greece. Even though they illustrated that they belonged to both the Soviet and Greek imagined communities, when possible the majority of the Greeks of Tashkent returned to Greece, with their skilled trades in hopes of making Greece a better place.

⁵¹ Theodore Kokkinopoulos, interview by author, Tashkent Uzbekistan, April 2, 2014.

⁵² Nikos Athansopoulos, interview by author, Athens Greece, April 8, 2014.

⁵³ Alexandra Basdani, interview with author, Tashkent Uzbekistan, April 1, 2014.

The first generation also set an example for the second-generation to be just as hardworking. The boundaries and practices of Greekness were negotiated with the support of the Greek *collective* in Tashkent, not just by the administration.

Greeks became skilled tradesmen or continued to work in their trades in the Soviet Union allowing them to make better wages and feel more positive about their work experience in Tashkent. Ultimately their positive work experiences contributed to their idealized and romanticized perspective of Soviet Tashkent and their hybrid identities. EPON and KOB created a sense of unity and solidarity for the Greek workers. But Greeks also felt included and accommodated when they had translators at the work place or when they spoke Greek at work.

Chapter 4 – Education Spaces

Educational space included the classroom, textbooks, newspapers and youth organizations. Members of the community learned how to behave in a Greek-Soviet manner through formal and informal education channels. Stalin believed education and culture meant progress, where traditions of the old world inhibited the growth of the community.¹ A true Greek patriot believed in socialism and had a good education. Students learned that Greeks respected their peers, including coworkers and classmates, their teachers, the environment and especially the elderly, both in the classroom and in the community. Learning the values, beliefs, and symbols of Soviet and Greek imagined spaces granted Greek youth membership in both communities.

Generally, Greeks characterized their educational collective narrative positively. They emphasized their inclusion in the Soviet education system, and its superiority over Greece's past and current system. The comparison between the Greek and Soviet education system reflected their loyalties and pride in the Soviet Union and ultimately their Soviet identity. On the other hand, Greek language classes implicitly and explicitly defined their hybrid identities through topics and themes. Greeks learned what it meant to be members of the imagined Soviet and Greek communities by being revolutionaries like Lenin or Stalin. Maria Bodila's, *Many Years should you live, Great Stalin*, a curriculum analysis for children educated in the eastern bloc and Soviet Union, exemplifies how Greek and Soviet symbols within Greek textbooks illustrated the hybridity of Greek-Soviet identity. Bodila systemically examined the textbooks utilized in the

¹ "For the Work of the Party to Organize the Women." *Pros ti Niki*, July 11, 1951.

Greek language classroom in the Soviet Union.² My analysis however, goes beyond the classroom, to include newspapers where Greeks “acquire(d) symbols (in the entire community) which equip(ped) them to be social.”³ Greeks formed a transnational relationship with Greece and enhanced their patriotism for the Soviet Union within the educational spaces.

Incentives to integration were language classes, which allowed the Greek spirit to flourish in the hearts of Greek students simultaneously with the socialist spirit. Students, both young and old, learned that being a good student in Soviet schools and in the Greek language media, allowed them to belong to the Soviet and Greek imagined spaces. Boundaries between Greek and Soviet identity were blurred in the classroom and in the media. Newspapers illustrated the imagined community and the homemaking narrative for Greeks, and ultimately how Greeks belonged to the imagined Soviet and Greek communities.

Partisans in the classroom

The KKE and local officials monitored and organized adult education for partisans in Tashkent.⁴ Local authorities provided Russian language classes to help the Greeks integrate into Soviet society. With Russian language skills, many Greeks continued with post secondary and skilled trades training. They praised the Soviet Union for the opportunities to educate themselves. By praising the Soviet Union and learning Russian, the Greeks illustrated how they were members of the Soviet community.⁵ For those who attended, like Evangelia Koukouliata, the “lessons taught (them) how to behave” in Tashkent. The KKE told Dimitri Katsis and the

² Maria Bodila, *Πολυχρονος να Ζεις μεγαλε Σταλιν- Many Years should you live Great Stalin*, (Athens: Metaixmio, 2004), 13.

³ Anthony Cohen, *The symbolic construction of community*, (London: Routledge, 1985), 16

⁴ I begin with the partisans in the classroom and not with the second generation, because the partisans arrived in Tashkent first. With the support of the KKE they integrated in Soviet workspaces and educational spaces. Essentially, the first generation was exposed first to hybrid Greek-Soviet educational spaces.

⁵ Nevertheless, newspapers reveal how many Greeks did not attend the classes because the instruction was poor.

partisan fighters that in this new stage of their lives they needed “to step up to hardworking peaceful work (and) as quickly as possible get professional training and gain production experience.” This illustrates how central the KOT truly was to their education. As a result of the KOT’s organizations, Greeks learned Russian and consequently understood socialism and their new society.⁶

EPON was a work union but it also Sovietized the Greeks during its meetings at the workplace. As a youth group, similar to the Komsomol, EPON facilitated instruction on communist life. An “eponitissa⁷” after an EPON meeting, in *Pros ti Niki*, said, “now I know what it means to be a part of EPON and why I need to be better.” She described that “(being) a member of the youth means you need to present yourself towards life here, (which meant) giving all you can to your work, all your strength.”⁸ Greeks learned about the community they lived in and how they needed to behave to fit in at the EPON meetings and presentations, including the need to learn Russian.

Knowing the Russian language was a key component of being a true Soviet. The media and the KKE insisted on Greeks learning Russian because it gave Greeks the opportunity to further their education and assimilate into Soviet society. Consequently, Greeks also developed a Soviet identity.

Lessons took place in the factories, not in schools, since places of work addressed cultural and political issues no less than hands-on manufacturing concerns. Newspapers described learning at a workplace as honourable and necessary for the betterment of humanity.

⁶ Dimitri Katsis, Τεραστια Συμβολη των Ελληνων Πολιτικων Προσφυγων στην Οικοδομηση του Σοσιαλισμου στο Ουζμπεκισταν - *Enormous Contribution of Greek Political Refugees in Building Socialism in Uzbekistan*, (Athens: Personal Publication, 1988), 22.

⁷ Female EPON member.

⁸ “Week of Celebrating EPON.” *Pros Ti Niki*, March 2, 1951.

On the other hand, sources reveal that some Greeks did not consistently attend such classes.⁹ As a result of low attendance, partisans learned Russian poorly. Margarita Mpadou and Kostas Mpados explained how their parents had difficulties with the Russian language.¹⁰ This did not inhibit their ability to become managers in the work place and feel comfortable in Tashkent, but it did prevent further education.¹¹

Outside of the trades, many first generation Greeks continued their education in Soviet universities, colleges or technical schools. Dimitri Katsis explained how “they attended night schools, technical schools, educated themselves completely, and continued on to post secondary education at night and day institutes, universities; (some) becoming professional scholars.”¹² An official means of encouraging integration, especially in regard to education were KKE party representatives within these classes. As an example, the party suggested that Thanasis Kaltsas take additional training courses and become class KKE secretary.¹³ The KKE in the classrooms simultaneously connected Greeks to the Greek community, but also to the socialist community. The party ensured that the child refugees and second-generation youth were just as included as their parents in the Soviet education spaces.

⁹ “News from the Wards.” *Pros Ti Niki*, March 11, 1951. Newspapers published the names of those who attended to shame those who did not attend and praised those who did. Leaders of the community and the editors of the newspapers hoped that Greeks would attend the classes by evoking shame, and in turn *philotimo*. People who did not attend the classes claimed the instruction was weak despite the pressure from the KKE to attend.

¹⁰ Kostas Mpados, interview by author, Thessaloniki Greece, April 12, 2014. Margarita Mpadou, interview by author, Thessaloniki Greece, April 12, 2014.

¹¹ Kostas Mpados, interview by the author, Thessaloniki Greece, April 12, 2014.

¹² Katsis, *Enormous Contribution of Greek Political Refugees in Building Socialism in Uzbekistan*, 24.

¹³ Thanasis Kaltsas, *Επετειος Πενηντα Ετων Γαμου - Fiftieth Wedding Anniversary*, (Thessalia: Personal Publication, 2000), 35. He learned Russian history, up until the October Revolution of 1917 and Central Asian history and even ancient history.

Inclusion in the Soviet Union: Day care, Elementary and Secondary

When Greek youth positively compared Soviet Tashkent's education system to that of Greece, they emphasized their strong loyalties towards the Soviet Union. The narrative of inclusion and accommodation is evident for both the second-generation and child refugees, indicating how comfortable they were in Soviet Tashkent. This does not deny that the Greeks born and raised in Tashkent also felt strong loyalties towards Greece, even though they criticized it.

Refugee children and second-generation Greeks remembered their education very positively in Tashkent. Many revealed how they had the same opportunities as any Soviet child, such as in-school medical and dental care.¹⁴ Some former students explicitly compared the education system in present-day Greece to that of Soviet Tashkent. The constant comparison between the two societies resulted in Tashkent fairing more positively than Greece even though their knowledge of the Greek education system was mediated through their children or grandchildren. Their praise was indicative of their loyalties and affinities towards the Soviet Union and evidently their Soviet identity.

Former students admired the Soviet education system for many reasons; including the fact that they had opportunities to study many subjects.¹⁵ On the other hand, four participants explained how students in Greece did not show respect for their teachers unlike in Tashkent.¹⁶ Eleftherios Galanis explained that Soviet teachers were as respected as doctors or lawyers in

¹⁴ Rita Kalopoulos, interview by author, Athens Greece, April 8, 2014.

¹⁵ Margarita Mpadou, interview by author, Thessaloniki Greece, April 12, 2014. Mpados, interview. Nikos Athansopoulos, interview by author, Athens Greece, April 8, 2014. Aggeliki Palaiologos, interview by author, Athens Greece, April 8, 2014. Elly Leodithou, interview by author, April 8, 2014. Kalopoulos, interview.

¹⁶ Nikos Athansopoulos, interview by author, Athens Greece, April 8, 2014. Aggeliki Palaiologos, interview by author, Athens Greece, April 8, 2014. Kostas Mpados, interview by the author, Thessaloniki Greece, April 12, 2014.

Tashkent.¹⁷ Furthermore, Mpadou was pleased that she wore a uniform to school in Tashkent, unlike in Greece, because the uniforms developed a sense of harmony amid students.¹⁸

Generally, second-generation Tashkent Greeks perceived the Greek education system negatively in comparison to the Soviet education system, which not only was a critique of Greece, but an indication of Soviet loyalty.

Former students viewed Soviet schools as a place of opportunity and culture. Greek children had the same opportunities as the Soviet children to learn about art, play music and participate in athletics.¹⁹ Health and the arts were valued in Soviet society, and also by the Greeks of Tashkent. Veronica Manidis learned to play the violin in Tashkent,²⁰ while Galanis became a professional musician.²¹ Furthermore, John Argiropoulos explained how one year he learned how to fire a rifle at a shooting club in his school from a teacher who was a Russian military officer.²²

Greeks needed the Russian language classes and training to succeed in Tashkent. Nikos Athanasopoulos explained that it was his responsibility to be a good student in Tashkent in order to return to Greece as a qualified technician, to benefit Greece, but also to prove in Greece that the Soviet Union was a modern, progressive place. He said the Soviet teachers “would get you at the *philotimo*.” It was his duty and honour to be a good student because that meant he was making Greece proud, but it was also his responsibility to show to Greece that the Soviet Union

¹⁷ Eleftherios Galanis, interview by author, Tashkent Uzbekistan, March 28, 2014.

¹⁸ Margarita Mpadou, interview by author, Thessaloniki Greece, April 12, 2014.

¹⁹ H. Tolis, “Health Policy Circle at School AP 128.” *Neos Dromos*, April 2, 1960. On April 2, 1960, an article was published in *Neos Dromos* about students of the 6th ward’s school, including many Greek children who learned first aid.¹⁹ The article exemplified the diversity of subjects and topics students were exposed to in Tashkent without facing discrimination. Participants were grateful for all the opportunities they had in the superior education system. They hoped to retain all this knowledge to prosper in Greece

²⁰ Veronica Manidis, interview by author, Thessaloniki Greece, April 9, 2014.

²¹ Eleftherios Galanis, interview by author, Tashkent Uzbekistan, March 28, 2014.

²² John Argiropoulos, interview by author, Aurora Canada, April 30, 2014.

had protected and treated Greeks well. The educational spaces, including the classroom and Soviet organizations taught youth how to be good Soviets and good Greeks.



Figure 12 – Class photo of Young Pioneers, circa 1960 – 8th Ward Class. The scarves around their necks symbolized their membership as Young Pioneers. (Author. Veronica Manidis' private collection. Tashkent. April 9, 2014.)

Their participation in the youth groups developed their loyalties to the Soviet Union.²³ Greek students were members of Soviet society as they engaged in the same rites of passage as other Soviet youth.²⁴ As Little Octobrists, they wore a pin on their school uniforms of young Lenin.²⁵ After the Little Octobrists, Greek students were members of the All-Union Pioneers

Organization. See Figure 12 for an image of Greek children with their Young Pioneer scarves. After this, children had the option to join the All-Union Leninist Young Communist League or Komsomol. Joining the Komsomol was more meaningful to a few of the participants. Filia

²³ Russiapedia, "Of Russian origin: Pioneers." Last modified 2011. Accessed June 8, 2014.

<http://russiapedaia.com/of-russian-origin/pioneers/>.

²⁴ G. Melvyn Howe, "Geography in the Soviet Universities," *The Geographical Journal*, 124, no. 1 (1958): 80-84, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1790569> (accessed July 28, 2014).

²⁵ Most participants, except for Theodore Kokkinopoulos, remembered being a part of the Little Octobrist and all the Soviet youth organizations. Kokkinopoulos believed he was excluded because he was Greek. Perhaps he does not remember participating. On the other hand, if Young Octobrist's needed to be born in the Soviet Union, Kokkinopoulos would have been excluded because he was born in Yugoslavia in Buljkes. Buljkes, Yugoslavia was an experimental autonomous communist Greek village that began during the Civil War. Giannakakis Ilios, "Τα οπλα παρα ποδα: Η εγκατασταση των προσφυγων στις σοσιαλιστικες χωρες - Weapons on Guard: The settlement of refugees in the socialist countries," in *Το οπλο παρα ποδα: Οι Πολιτικοι προσφυγες του ελληνικου εμφυλιου πολεμου στην Ανατολικη Ευρωπη - Weapons on Guard: The political refugees of the Greek civil war*, ed. Eftihia Voutira, Vasilis Dalkavoukis, Nikos Maratzidis, Maria Bodila (Thessaloniki Greece: University of Macedonia, 2005), 6.

Argiropoulos said that being a member of Komsomol was a necessary step to get into his preferred university.²⁶

According to Katerina Tsekou, Greek children in the eastern bloc were members of Greek youth organizations known as the “*Aetopoula*” or “Little Eagles” and EPON.²⁷ However, only one former student referred to the Aetopoula. She explained that the Aetopoula functioned in a fashion similar to the All Union Pioneers, but for Greek students only.²⁸ At the same time as their socialization into the Soviet Union, the development of an equivalent Greek youth organization integrated the children into the KKE. Participants remembered participating in the youth organizations very positively because they were involved in Greek and Soviet celebrations.

Their hybrid Greek-Soviet identity was perpetuated when the participants joined in Soviet holidays and festivities. Students learned that to be a true Soviet, one must be a working class hero and a revolutionary hero. The Soviet holidays represented to all youth, including Greek youth, socialist values. Sharing the same symbols amongst a group of individuals was necessary to develop the boundaries of a community.²⁹ At school they celebrated Women’s Day and Soviet Army and Navy Day. Women’s day took place on March 8th. To honour his mother Galanis made gifts for her at school, but also for the girls in his classroom.³⁰ Newspapers, celebrated Women’s Day to clarify the expectations and criteria of being a Soviet-Greek women; patriotic, honourable and hardworking. Similarly, for Soviet Army and Soviet Navy Day, girls

²⁶ Filia Argiropoulos, interview with author, Markham Canada, May 3, 2014.

²⁷ Bodila, *Many Years Shall You Live Great Stalin*, 200.

²⁸ Veronica Manidis, interview by author, Thessaloniki Greece, April 9, 2014.

²⁹ Citation Cohen, *The symbolic construction of community*, 19.

³⁰ Eleftherios Galanis, interview by author, Tashkent Uzbekistan, March 28, 2014.

celebrated the boys in the class, who were the future patriots and soldiers of the Soviet Union.³¹ Their inclusion in the elementary schools also continued into post secondary institutions.

Post-secondary education

Greeks felt included and accommodated by the Soviet education system, especially in their post secondary studies. The Soviet state provided Greeks with scholarships and granted students with lower grades admission into university through positive discrimination. Graduates from Soviet universities and technical institutes idolized the education system. The constant comparison between the contemporary Greek and past Soviet education systems indicates how the second-generation children truly appreciated the Soviet system and noticed the limitations the Greek system had and still has. Greeks were loyal to the Soviet Union because they were accommodated.³²

Greeks had the same opportunities as Soviets to attend any university program except ones that were categorized as secret. For example, Filia Argiropoulos wanted to attend university to study physics, but he was prohibited because he was not a Soviet citizen.³³ Generally, the second-generation Greeks were very pleased with the fact that they could go to university and study what they desired. Some became actors, dancers and musicians, while others were doctors,

³¹ The majority of Greeks born in the Soviet Union did not get Soviet citizenship because of the impending move to Greece and also to avoid military service.

³² On the other hand, corruption involving library books and the exclusion of pro-Zachariadis followers from certain university programs tainted the positive collective memory of school in Tashkent. Librarians gave books to readers, only if they got a tip or bribe, in the form of money or movie tickets from them. Dinos Rozakis explained in his memoir that certain Greeks were discriminated against because of their political ideology. He believed that certain Greeks, including his daughter did not get into university because they were followers of Zachariadis.³² Filia Argiropoulos explained this was one of the downfalls of communist society; although, he was generally very pleased with the education in Tashkent.³² Students thus had to navigate these practices of exclusion based on political beliefs and corruption in order to study. The administration and its media did not provide students information on how to navigate the corruption or difficulties in Soviet society, but instead dictated what it meant to be a true Greek-Soviet patriot, an attitude that most Greeks in Tashkent adopted.

³³ Filia Argiropoulos, interview with author, Markham Canada, May 3, 2014.

dentists and engineers. The only limitation was the requirement of Soviet citizenship for certain professions.³⁴

Firstly, Aggeliki Palaiologos explained how in Tashkent she was not expected to attend additional tutoring lessons, as was the case in Greece. In addition, the examinations to get into university in Tashkent were not as strenuous as the Panellinies, the annual Greek national examination for entering post secondary institutions. Palaiologos valued learning in the classroom, and being prepared by the teachers and not tutors for post-secondary education. Galanis was disappointed that Greece lacked a conservatory for the bouzouki in the 1970s.³⁵ The Soviet Union's education system seemed superior to and more advanced than the Greek system, also because of the financial support it provided students, both in the past and currently.

The Soviet government and the Red Cross/Red Crescent Society granted Greeks scholarships while attending university. Antonis Maroudis explained that he received a significant scholarship from the state but also from the Red Cross³⁶ because his parents were political refugees.³⁷ From 80 to 90% of post secondary students including Greeks in the Soviet Union were granted scholarships so that "virtually all of the superior men and women (were) able to attend (post secondary schools)."³⁸ Greeks received positive discrimination because they lived outside their homeland.

³⁴ It seems that the policy changed after Giorgos Maroudis entered the school program.

³⁵ Eleftherios Galanis professional musician, graduated university

³⁶ All participants referred to the Red Crescent Society, as the Red Cross except Maroudis in the interview and Rozakis in his memoirs. They use the official name "Red Crescent Society" to describe the humanitarian support they received as Greeks in Tashkent.

³⁷ Antonis Maroudis, interview by author, Tashkent Uzbekistan, March 31, 2014.

³⁸ "Soviet Education," *Science*, 128, no. 3318 (1958): 242-243, DOI: 10.2307/1755745 (accessed August 1, 2014).

Students also were accepted in the same programs as Soviet citizens even if they had lower grades because they were political refugees.³⁹ Even if the students did not have the best grades, they attended night school or did long distance courses. Rita Kalopoulos emphasized that accommodation was the rule, and no one was left out.⁴⁰ However, there were some exceptions to this rule.

Newspaper as Education

The media provided models of Greek and Soviet patriotism and socialism, for Greeks to learn how to be members of the Greek and Soviet imagined communities. *Pros ti Niki* and *Neos Dromos* served as an educational tool for Greeks that reinforced the hybridity of the collective and their dual loyalties.⁴¹ The media drew a parallel between Greek civil war heroes and the Soviet Union's successes. Greek men were portrayed as revolutionaries like the Soviets, whereas women in the media represented the sacrificial, patriotic role they traditionally played in war.

The media praised the Soviet Union extensively while suggesting that Greeks upheld Soviet values. *Pros ti Niki* applauded the Bolshevik party and the Komsomol for exposing Greeks to art and culture. The first page of *Pros to Niki's* publication in July 1951 quoted Lenin, "life without work is theft, life without art is barbarianism."⁴² The KOT developed an imagined Greek community through the newspapers that belonged to Greece and the Soviet Union. Greeks felt connected to Greece and the ideal Greek patriot through the publication of stories of civil war heroes such as Elektra and Manolis Glezos. The Greek settlement in Tashkent was

³⁹ Diana Papadakis, interview with author, Tashkent Uzbekistan, March 29, 2014. Her mother was accepted into university in Tashkent with a lower average based on the fact that her mother was the daughter of a political refugee.

⁴⁰ Rita Kalopoulos, interview by author, Athens Greece, April 8, 2014.

⁴¹ The circulation is unknown but each participant remembered having the newspaper in his or her home.

⁴² "Mass Cultural Works, A serious tool for Education." *Pros Ti Niki*, July 11, 1951.

normalized through the newspapers by promoting how Greeks exemplified Soviet ideology. Greeks who were cultured and educated were true Soviet and Greek patriots.

Throughout the years of the Greek military Junta, newspaper articles allowed readers to develop a stronger admiration for Greek people, while encouraging social and political change for Greece. The newspaper described how seventy Greeks were threatened with execution in Greece for being communists. The actual organization of articles on Greece, the Soviet Union and the Eastern bloc countries contributed to the hybrid Greek-Soviet identity. On the same page, Soviets celebrated Lenin's jubilee.⁴³ The media associated a revolt against the junta with Lenin's revolution, suggesting that Greeks simultaneously embodied Greek and Soviet identity by wanting to revolt against the Junta while praising Lenin's revolution. Greeks drew upon the 1821 Revolution against the Ottoman Empire, the root of Greek nationalism, to illustrate that they too were revolutionaries like the Soviets, and belonged to the imagined Soviet and Greek communities.

Greek Souliotisses were included several times in *Neos Dromos* to demonstrate what a true female Greek patriot was like. Souliots were Albanian Orthodox people who defended themselves against Ali Pasha of Ioannina in the late 18th century and early 19th century.⁴⁴ The Souliot women were extremely active in the Greek Revolution, and not only brought food to their fellow patriots, but they also battled against Ottoman forces. "According to one song, Moscho (female leader of Souliot women) led 300 armed women to win the battle of Kiafa in

⁴³ "From life and successes of our colony." *Neos Dromos*, February 7, 1971.

⁴⁴ "Ali Paşa Tepelenë, byname Lion of Janina (born 1744, Tepelenë, Albania, Ottoman Empire—died February 5 [Jan. 24, Old Style], 1822, Janina, Ottoman Empire [now Ioánnina, Gr.]), Albanian brigand who, by murder and intrigue, became pasha, or provincial governor, of Janina from 1788. He extended his capricious rule within the Ottoman Empire over much of Albania and Macedonia, Epirus, Thessaly, and the Morea." *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, s. v. "Ali Pasa Tepelene", accessed October 06, 2014, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/15331/Ali-Pasa-Tepelene>.

1792.”⁴⁵ In December 1803, when the women realized they would be defeated by Ali Pasha’s forces, they chose to throw their children and themselves into a gorge, instead of being captured and raped.⁴⁶ Tashkent’s Greek language newspapers underscored how their heroism made them immortal.⁴⁷ There is no doubt that this historical piece was written in *Neos Dromos* to evoke patriotism for Greece but also to produce a revolutionary fever for Greeks in Tashkent. Greek women from Tashkent’s community were expected to fight for Greece and sacrifice themselves like the Souliotisses. Likewise, articles in *Neos Dromos* also showed images of the female soldiers in the Greek resistance. Similarly, the school textbooks portrayed women as patriotic and supportive of the civil war and socialism. The classroom was a central site of performing Greek identity as children learned about their revolutionary history and their heritage.

KKE Educating Greeks in Tashkent: Hybrid Identity

In 1948, the KKE formed a committee called, the Committee for the Aid of Children, EVOP, to “publish text books and other books, train and appoint all Greek teachers from day care to university, organize seminars and meetings on educational issues, career guidance for youth and collect statistics about schools, teachers and students from daycare to university to understand how the schools were functioning.”⁴⁸ In 1956, the committee’s changed its name to the Central or Coordinative Educational Committee, KEE/SEE. EVOP and the KEE served the same role. Bodila completed a systematic analysis of the textbooks used in the Greek language classes in the Eastern Bloc and the USSR. She concluded that the key purpose of Greek language

⁴⁵ Anastasia Verveniotti, "Greek Revolution," in *Women and War: A Historical Encyclopedia from Antiquity to the Present*, ed. Bernard A. Cook (Santa Barbara, Calif.: ABC-CLIO, 2006), 254.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ V.K. Papakogou “Souliotisses.” *Neos Dromos*, March 31, 1960.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 34.

instruction was “to develop the Greek and socialist (mentality).”⁴⁹ Bodila is one of the few scholars who examined this material. To take Bodila’s analysis even further, the symbols and main actors in the textbooks demonstrated Greek-Soviet identity in a harmonious manner, meanwhile illustrating the homemaking narrative of Greeks in the Soviet Union and how Greeks belonged there.

Greeks developed a hybrid Greek-Soviet identity because the curriculum was ideologically aligned with Marxism, yet included symbols that represented Greeks in Greece, Greeks in the Soviet Union and Soviet society as whole. EVOP selected texts to include in the Greek language books from Greek contemporary literature and classical ancient literature translated into demotic Greek, but also Soviet literature. The constant reference to their rightful homeland oriented the Greeks towards Greece, but the curriculum was based on socialism and the benefits of Soviet society.

The textbooks simplified the KKE’s ideals so that students could learn what it meant to be a true Greek patriot. The main actors were workers, children, women, and soldiers who fought for socialism.⁵⁰ Characters were developed and transformed into proper Greek socialists and were contrasted with negative examples, illustrating the KKE’s goal of instilling communist beliefs.⁵¹ By presenting both the positive and negative stereotypes, children were persuaded to believe that participating in the civil war and resisting economic exploitation were patriotic

⁴⁹ Ibid, 121.

⁵⁰ Maria Bodila, “The Education of Child Political Refugees in Eastern countries (1950-1964): framework and socialization,” (PhD dissertation, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, 2000), 4.

⁵¹ Ibid, 166.

efforts for the betterment of Greece and its people.⁵² Students learned that a better Greece meant a socialist Greece.

The symbolism in the textbooks contributed to the development of an imagined Greek community by creating an emotional connection to Greece and a homemaking narrative for Greeks in Tashkent. They were portrayed as believers and fighters for socialism, and ultimately members of the Soviet milieu despite their loyalties to Greece.

Students recognized that Greek patriots displayed agency, which is a socialist value, through the various characters in the books. The KEE hoped that children would learn that patriotism required effort, and that Greece was their home, but it needed to transform, with the support of males, females, young and old. Children in the books in Greece supported the resistance movement and the civil war effort. In this case, the schoolchildren learned that true Greeks supported the KKE. Similarly, women in the textbooks supported the KKE and were expected to encourage their children in the civil war efforts. If their children died, the women mourned the loss, but they were proud that their children tried to make Greece a better place. On the other hand, there were negative stereotypes of women, who did not encourage their sons and daughters in war. Female resistance fighters in the textbooks were true patriots who battled fascism, fought for peace and encouraged socialism. Together, Slavic- speaking women and the Greek women fought to change Greece.

Elektra Apostolou and Mirka⁵³ who were real resistance fighters were also heroines in both the textbooks and newspapers.⁵⁴ The curriculum stated that teachers should use the play on the

⁵² The stories were written to elaborate on life before exile and after exile, thus the setting of the pieces were Greece and places outside of Greece.

⁵³ Members of the community named their baby daughters Mirka and Elektra after the two female heroines - Indicative of their Greek-Soviet identity, and their revolutionary past.

life of Elektra in the textbooks to teach students the significance of EPON Day.⁵⁵ Elektra sympathized with the resistance fighters and those in exile, so she provided food for the fighters and eventually joined O/KNE (The Federation of Communist Youth of Greece) during the Greek resistance in World War Two. She too was exiled to the island of Anafi with her baby daughter Agni, like many Greek resistance fighters, where she died in 1944 of melancholy.⁵⁶ Elektra symbolized the continuation of the 1821 revolution and the general fight for the Greek working class. Specifically, Elektra's patriotism represented the continuation of the Souli women's devotion to Greece. Students learned that their partisan parents participated in a heroic effort to free the Greek State. The KKE hoped that the children would sympathize with the war effort, and learn the important role both Greek and Slavic women played in the war.

EVOP and the KKE simplified the complex Slavic Greek identity by including Mirka's court trial in the grade six textbooks.⁵⁷ Mirka was a Slavic-speaking resistance fighter who fought for Slavic language rights and a better, socialist Greece. Students learned through her trial, that the fascist Greek state condemned Mirka to death. She was a heroine who fought for her people, the Greeks and Macedonians.⁵⁸ Bodila concludes that, "Mirka (saw) the two peoples (Greeks and Macedonians) having the same fate and that Greece (was) her homeland."⁵⁹ Instead, Mirka believed that the Slavo-Macedonian language should be taught to her people freely in Greek public schools. Mirka felt that the home of Slavic Greeks was Greece, and together with the Greek partisans, they fought for a socialist Greek society. Many second-generation Greeks

⁵⁴ Poets like Giannis Ritsos, (famous socialist poet from the Peloponnese) and textbooks romanticized Elektra's life and her efforts in the resistance.

⁵⁵ Bodila, *Many Years Shall You Live Great Stalin*, 178.

⁵⁶ Ibid, 178.

⁵⁷ Ibid, 182.

⁵⁸ There was no mention of an autonomous Macedonian state in the books.

⁵⁹ Bodila, *Many Years Shall You Live Great Stalin*, 183.

concluded with this sentiment.⁶⁰ They recognized Slavo-Macedonians as fellow Greeks who spoke a different language and whose parents fought for Greece as well. This contradicts the Greek state's rhetoric, whereby the Greek state does not acknowledge the Slavic-speaking population in Northern Greece. It is obvious that the KKE embedded their political ideology into the Greek language program.⁶¹ The imagined Greek space, according to the KKE and its members included both Greek and Slavic speaking males and females, who fought for a better, socialist Greece.

The male partisan was "a conscious man and his heroic acts (were) not unintentional, or an act unmeasured, but based on an ideological code of conduct. His actions (were) based on social responsibility and moral conscience."⁶² A true partisan cared for his civil rights, obeyed his orders, and all his efforts were for the Greek people.⁶³ Students learned that resistance fighters were flawless patriots for Greece and for the Soviet Union, and that they should strive to be like them. The textbooks ultimately set criteria for how Greek men should behave. Greeks developed a complex loyalty and critique of Greece while sympathizing with the Soviet system in which they lived and from which they benefited. The comparison between the host and home country perpetuated their hybrid identities.

EVOP ensured that the schoolbooks included comparisons between working in Greece and the Soviet Union to prove that Soviet society was a better place. This rooted the Greek collective in the Soviet Union. Students learned about the terrible adversities Greek workers faced in Greece. Along with the workers in the text, students understood that going on strike in Greece

⁶⁰ Kalopoulos, interview.

⁶¹ Macedonians identified as Macedonian not Greek when repatriation began, and Slavo-Macedonians were rejected from Greece.

⁶² Bodila, *Many Years Shall You Live Great Stalin*, 227.

⁶³ Ibid, 228.

helped stop the exploitation of workers. At the same time they grasped the benefits of the work experience in the Soviet Union. Students absorbed that the workers were central to Soviet society and that Greek workers contributed to socialism with their labour. The textbooks emphasized that Greeks contributed to the Soviet Union and maintained Soviet ideology. Therefore EVOP perpetuated the homemaking narrative through the learning materials, but also connected Greek children to Greece's imagined community.

Greeks of Tashkent remembered their Greek language classes as embodying the Greek spirit⁶⁴ and a place to learn how to be Greek and love Greece.⁶⁵ John Argiropoulos learned how to love Greece and be a true patriot from his Greek language teacher in Tashkent.⁶⁶ The Greek classroom was where students connected to Greece and learned about their heritage. Greek children also had the opportunity to have pen pals with people in Greece. Greek resistance fighters exiled to Greek islands received letters from children in the Soviet Union.⁶⁷ Also, students were encouraged to send letters to their families in Greece. Students learned about their family and their villages from their parents, but Greek patriotism was developed with the support of the classrooms' symbols, lessons and presentations.

Performing Greekness

Attending cultural events, being in Greek classes and learning Greek, and even reading the Greek newspapers was a performance of Greekness in the educational spaces. The boundary between 'us' versus 'them' was created by the physical removal of Greek students for their Greek language classes. Greek children learned about their identity, about who they were and

⁶⁴ Eleftherios Galanis, interview by author, Tashkent Uzbekistan, March 28, 2014.

⁶⁵ John Argiropoulos, interview by author, Aurora Canada, April 30, 2014.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Bodila, *Many Years Shall You Live Great Stalin*, 112.

who they were not, through language instruction. They learned about their heritage and their home country in the Greek language classes. It was not simply learning a second language.

Members of the community fondly remembered their Greek language lessons that shaped their Greek socialist identity. They admired the textbooks and the content for including contemporary poets such as Kostis Palamas.⁶⁸ Greeks from the 12th ward, the “village,” had strong Greek language skills because of their constant interaction with Greeks inside and outside the classroom, unlike Greeks from multicultural wards.⁶⁹ Their language classes were fundamental to being a part of the Greek imagined community, even though not all perfected the Greek language.

Above all, the Greek language was not their mother tongue for many of the participants. Second-generation participants born in the late 1950s and early 1960s had difficulties expressing themselves in Greek.⁷⁰ They responded to their parents in Russian, even if they were spoken to in Greek.⁷¹ Theodore Lazaridis,⁷² as a child had difficulty expressing love and admiration in Greek. The famous Russian poet Pushkin inspired him when he needed to express love.⁷³ The Russian language continues to be used with ease amongst the members of the community that lived in Tashkent, and now live in Greece and Canada. Greek was their heritage language but the limited interaction with a variety of topics made it hard to express themselves. Students wanted to excel in all subjects, especially ones rooted in Greek scholarship.

⁶⁸ Rita Kalopoulos, interview by author, Athens Greece, April 8, 2014.

⁶⁹ Rita Kalopoulos, interview by author, Athens Greece, April 8, 2014. Aggeliki Palaiologos, interview by author, Athens Greece, April 8, 2014. Elly Leodithou, interview by author, Athens Greece, April 8, 2014. Nikos Athansopoulos, interview by author, Athens Greece, April 8, 2014.

⁷⁰ The oldest second-generation participants, born in 1950-1951 spoke mainly Greek until they went to school, unlike their younger siblings.

⁷¹ Theodore Lazaridis, interview by author, Tashkent Uzbekistan, March 26, 2014.

⁷² Lazaridis was from the 7th ward.

⁷³ Theodore Lazaridis, interview by author, Tashkent Uzbekistan, March 26, 2014.

Participants wanted to do well in the so-called “Greek” subjects or topics, to be proud of what Greeks had contributed to academia and the world. Theodore Kokkinopoulos wanted to achieve good grades in geometry because he knew that Greeks, like Pythagoras had contributed to the subject.⁷⁴ Conversely, Thanasis Kaltsas’ wanted to describe Alexander the Great’s prominence, but he had to admit to his teacher that he never learned about him in Greece.⁷⁵ Greek partisans justified their settlement in Tashkent by drawing upon Alexander the Great’s life in Central Asia, prior to the Russians. Students included themselves in Greece’s imagined community by associating themselves with Greek subjects and scholars.

Conclusion

Greeks living in Tashkent legitimized their settlement in Tashkent by educating their community members about their revolutionary history. The Sovietisation of Greeks was completed through the informal and formal education channels, especially under the supervision of the KKE. The party published textbooks for the language classes and newspapers that were ideologically aligned with Marxism and Greek patriotism. Through the media and classroom, Greeks developed their homemaking myth at the same time as their imagined community and boundaries for the Greek collective in Tashkent. The lessons, topics and values in the classroom, organizations, and newspapers suggested that Greeks belonged to both the Soviet and Greek imagined communities. Greek revolutionary heroes of 1821 and the civil war heroes symbolized the unique Greek-Soviet identity. Greeks maintained their connection and loyalties to Greece, while valuing socialism and the Soviet way of life. On the other hand, participants did not remember *how* and *if* they were Sovietized; because it was rooted in their beliefs and values.

⁷⁴ Theodore Kokkinopoulos, interview by author, Tashkent Uzbekistan, April 2, 2014.

⁷⁵ Again, the downfall of the Greek education system was recognized over the superiority of the Soviet system.

Greeks displayed their Sovietisation by constantly criticizing the Greek education system in comparison to that of the Soviet Union's.

Chapter 5 - Private Spaces

Private spaces include Greek homes in Tashkent and their wards. In the context of this research the house space and the physical spaces surrounding it were examined to understand in what ways Greek-Soviet identity was represented and performed. Despite the belief that a home is usually a private space “an anchoring point through which human beings are centred” and a “place to which one withdraws from, which one ventures forth,”¹ the majority of the Greeks lived communally. At the same time, the private spaces permitted people to “establish connections with others and create a sense of order and belonging as part of society, rather than separate from society,” specifically related to the Greek collective in Tashkent, to the Greek imagined community and to Soviet values.²

Greek families developed close relationships with their neighbours because their doors were always open to them and other community members. The wards served as private yet communal places because of their construction. The politics of the community influenced social cliques and relationships within the community. Partisans remained friends with those who were from the same faction after the KKE split in 1956. The media presented ward life in terms of the KOT’s celebrations and events that unified the entire collective, but the family centred festivities.³ Greek cultural practices were adapted to fit secular Soviet society.

Greek families represented both Greek and Soviet values, traditions and practices in the home space. Children learned from their parents, the community and the KOT what it meant to

¹ Alison Blunt, and Robyn M. Dowling, *Home*, (London ; New York: Routledge, 2006), 11.

² Ibid, 14.

³ I relied heavily on the oral histories and memoirs to understand how Greeks hosted formal and informal gatherings in the ward space.

be a true Greek-Soviet. Parenting methods and the division of labour within the home represented peasant culture and Soviet values, thus their hybrid identity. Greeks in Tashkent did not need religious holidays. Being Greek was a secular identity, unlike the Greeks in North America.

The Ward

Housing

During 1949, when the Greeks arrived in Tashkent, the KKE and the Soviet authorities arranged for them to live in former military barracks. Evangelia Koukouliata claimed the facilities had previously housed prisoners of war. Others claimed they were simply military camps.⁴ At first, men and women lived separately. The wards served as quarantine locations; where only doctors, Russian language teachers and Soviet commanders could enter.⁵ Movement between the wards was only restricted during the quarantine and at the beginning of their settlement. After a few years, Greeks moved into the Finnish style homes, in wards that are still standing today (See Figure 13). There were several buildings within each ward. They were two stories high and each had at least 36 apartments while each apartment had at least three or four rooms.⁶ All sources confirm that the Soviet authorities awarded the houses to the Greeks upon arrival in Tashkent and for their children after a time. The KOT allocated the homes to each of the families. At first, one family was assigned one room per four-room apartment. Thus, three or four families lived in one apartment. The hallways served as the kitchen space; they would share

⁴ Evangelia Koukouliata, interview by author, Thessaloniki Greece. April 9, 2014. Thanasis Kaltsas, *Επετιος Πενηντα Ετων Γαμου - Fiftieth Wedding Anniversary*, (Thessalia: Personal Publication, 2000), 35.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Kostas Mpados, interview by the author, Thessaloniki Greece, April 12, 2014.

a gas stove. At first, the bathing and laundry spaces were outside in the courtyards. Over time, however plumbing was brought indoors along with gas heating. Prior to gas heating, stove heaters were placed between rooms. Theodore Lazaridis' house in the 7th ward was warm in the winter and cool in the summer.⁷

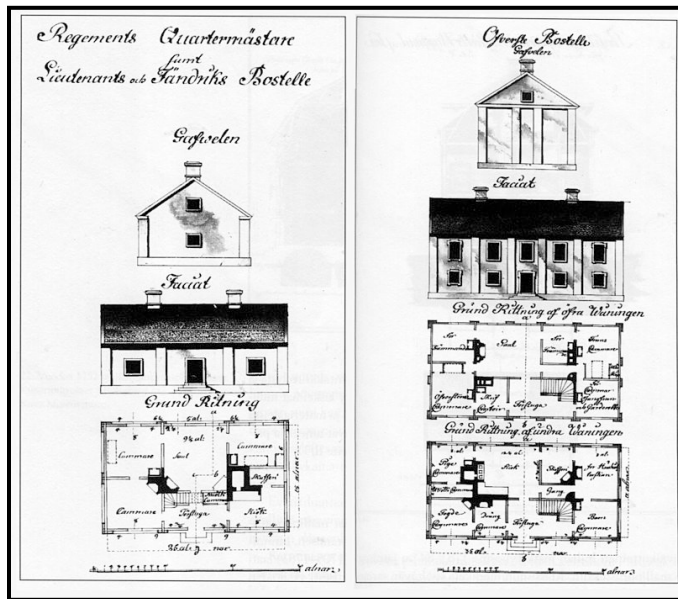


Figure 13 - Finnish Style Home - Many of these homes were built in the wards. At the beginning of their settlement, each room was occupied by one family. Over time, one family occupied an entire apartment. Photo credit –Wikipedia

The entire neighborhood was a semi-private space facilitated by its construction. The open and shared living spaces amongst the Greeks created a communal living arrangement that was excluded from the rest of Tashkent. The main doors to the buildings faced inwards, towards the courtyard and not the main roads surrounding the wards. Instead there were main gates for the people to enter and exit; at first the gates had Soviet guards.

Evangelia Koukouliata justified this arrangement for safety reasons.⁸ Their lives were self-sufficient within the wards. They were equipped with schools, daycares, restaurants and a club, which housed the ward's KKE secretary and the president of the ward's association. As more wards were built, Greeks spread throughout Tashkent, and people travelled to visit each other.

⁷ Theodore Lazaridis, interview by author, Tashkent Uzbekistan, March 26, 2014.

⁸ Evangelia Koukouliata, interview by author, Thessaloniki Greece. April 9, 2014.

Over time, Soviet officials and the KOT allocated new homes to the Greeks as more apartments were built throughout the city or in the newer suburb Chilanzar.⁹ Eventually each family had an apartment in one of the buildings.¹⁰

Some Greeks in the 12th ward built their own homes on their own property. The KOT provided the land and the family was responsible for building their home. Andrea Panopoulos's father home had four large rooms, and a basement that served as a cool room for storage.¹¹ They had a private gated courtyard where they planted vegetables and fruit trees. Even though the majority of Greeks in Tashkent did not own their homes, they all had a sense of pride in their courtyard and their dwellings.

All participants described their neighbourhoods with nostalgia. They remembered the socializing, their activities and the events that essentially developed a sense of unity and belonging to Greece and the imagined Greek community in Tashkent. Elly Leodithou wrote poems about the 12th ward, which depicted the nostalgia, melancholy and longing for her childhood friends and the ward.¹² See Appendix III for a translated version of one of her poems.

Politics – The KOT

⁹ “Chilanzar (also spelled Chilonzor) is one of 11 districts (*tuman*) of Tashkent, the capital of Uzbekistan.” Wikipedia, "Chilanzar." Accessed July 2, 2014. <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chilanzar>. The wards became multicultural including Uzbeks, Russians and Jews as Greeks moved to other neighborhoods in Tashkent or repatriated.

¹⁰ The wards were a site of accommodations and blending of cultures. Nikos Athanasopoulos described how the Uzbek farmers sold milk and yogurt in the ward, and they called out in *Greek*, instead of Russian, “milk” and “yogurt” so that the Greek women knew what was being sold. In addition, “milk” in Russian sounds like a curse word in Greek. “Malako” in Russian means “milk”, whereas “malaka” in Greek means “wanker.” The sound and spelling of the two words is very similar and could cause trouble if called out. This example shows how the host society adapted to the Greeks. Even the shopkeeper in Athanasopoulos' ward learned Greek to accommodate the clientele. Athanasopoulos was excited and pleased when he described how the locals accommodated the Greeks in Tashkent. The inclusive and accommodating ward life contributed to their positive memories.

¹¹ Andrea Panopoulos, interview by author, Toronto Canada, May 27, 2014.

¹² Elly Leodithou, *Μια πολιτεία ηταν - It was one ward*, (Athens: Stamatis Oktoratos, 1996). Appendix III includes one of her poems, and a translation.

The sources revealed that the KOT was the true organizer of the ward's communal and administrative affairs. The first generation described going to the club for social events and sorting out problems with housing. The second-generation referred to the social events and athletics organized by their clubs. Within the media, Greeks were particular and critical of the administration in the wards to ensure they were properly supported.



Figure 14 – 7th Ward Celebration. The poster says, “Congratulations to the comrades and heroic fighters of our nation.” This was a celebration for EAM in the mid-1960s. They were dancing to Greek music evidently by their circular formation and the instruments in the centre of their formation.

The KOT and KET had numerous sub-committees that hosted events in the wards and at the central club. See Figure 14 of a celebration in the 7th ward. The sub-committees supported the spiritual enlightenment for the community, meaning teaching members how to live under socialism and maintain Greek cultural practices. This demonstrates how involved the KOT was in the private lives of Greeks in Tashkent, but also how the party encouraged its members to maintain a hybrid Greek-Soviet identity.

The KOT was involved in Greek home life. Each building had a KKE representative. Thanasis Kaltsas said, as a building representative, he collected the rental fees, membership fees and helped the pregnant women in the building while their husbands were doing their military training. He called the ambulance for the women because they were very nervous about their first

pregnancies.¹³ Likewise, the KOT arranged for Soviet doctors to give lessons on how to tend to babies.¹⁴ This taught Greek women how to raise their children according to Soviet standards, as young Soviets.

The KOT remained in the Greek youth's lives with its youth organization, the KNE.¹⁵ Alexandra Basdani explained that the KNE hosted parties and dances at the clubhouse in her ward every weekend. Greek musicians played Greek music all night, which perpetuated Greek cultural practices among the youth. Elly Leodithou was not allowed to attend dance parties because she was a girl, and her father did not want anything to happen that could dishonour her family; *philotimo* was the guiding factor.¹⁶ *Philotimo* dictated the double standard for males and females within the community.

Another committee was responsible for opening the communication channels with the partisans' villages for the repatriation process. From Tashkent, the Repatriation Committee sent letters to the mayors to persuade them to allow the families to return to Greece. They just wanted the partisans to return to Greece honourably and not be ashamed of themselves.¹⁷ Prior to 1982, Greeks needed the permission of their villages' committee to repatriate. This committee illustrated how Greeks truly were oriented to repatriation, despite their positive and accommodating experience in Tashkent. Greece was their home. These committees and KOT representatives helped Greeks adjust to Soviet life, but they also helped them maintain a connection to their homeland. For the most part, the committees did not have any difficulties

¹³ Kaltsas, *Fiftieth Wedding Anniversary*, 38-39.

¹⁴ "From the Lives in the Wards." *Neos Dromos*, March 4, 1951.

¹⁵ Alexandra Basdani, interview by author, Tashkent Uzbekistan. April 1, 2014.

¹⁶ Elly Leodithou, interview by author, Athens Greece, April 8, 2014.

¹⁷ "For our Honourable Return: Memo from the Athenian Political Refugees of the USSR." *Neos Dromos*, April 2, 1960.

with the KOT's administration.¹⁸ To the members, the KOT was impenetrable; its fundamental role through the media was suggesting the criteria required to be a pro Soviet-Greek.

The media welcomed criticism of the committees and organizations, but not of the KOT's power. Community members who wrote for the newspaper were very critical of events, and the leadership in the wards. This illustrates that their lives in the Soviet Union were not perfect. There were conflicts and challenges that the members of the community felt obliged to speak about. Critiques were based on improvement, not on resisting the leadership. In one case, on March 19, 1960, there was a complaint about the 10th ward's newsletter, which was weak and unorganized. The author accused the KOT of not addressing the needs of its membership. Then again, on March 29th, 1960, the journalist accused the 8th ward's KOT secretary of not organizing enough cultural and social events.¹⁹ The criticism was specific to the expected duties and obligations of the various associations. The media illustrated how the community organized itself and what its values were.

Media - Unity, solidarity

The media contributed to the formation of a hybrid Soviet-Greek identity within the private space of the wards and connected Greeks to the three imagined community spaces they were members of. Newspapers described how the wards celebrated the Greek Revolution of 1821, or how the youth group performed, or how the soccer team from the 7th ward won the championship

¹⁸ In 1971, the president of the Chilanzar association resisted the KOT's authority. The president, Mr. Mela was referred to as a former colleague because he believed that the association "(was) a non-party organization and should not (have) transferred party beliefs. As an independent organization, the Association should instead (have) (unified) the political refugees for the strengthening of beliefs against the dictatorship (in Greece)." The article then explained that Mr. Mela's challenge was inappropriate and that the KOT's duty was to support the associations. The KOT was responsible for making important decisions for the *collective* based on Marxism and Leninism in order to protect the working class for the common development of socialism.¹⁸ This was the only example in the newspaper articles, where a ward president refused the KOT leadership.

¹⁹ "Party life: The Mass Political and Cultural works in the 8th Ward." *Neos Dromos*, March 19, 1960.

at the Spartakiada in 1960. (See Figure 15). Members of the community were expected to attend or participate in these various events to demonstrate that they were revolutionaries. With all the Greeks representing their wards, participation in the activities created a strong sense of unity and harmony. Publishing about these events also helped collective unity



Figure 15 – The rehearsal for the March 25th Celebration in 1960. Girls are wearing Greek traditional dress. The caption reads, “The Fourth Ward’s Dance group.” – Photo from *Neos Dromos* March 17, 1960.

The “radiouzel” (*rad-ee-ou-zel*), a public announcement system, in each of the wards also contributed to the unity felt by participants. The KOT and Soviet authorities monitored what was announced, but it usually included news about Greek life in Tashkent, Greece, and Soviet affairs, announced in Russian and Greek. Children read poems and sang for everyone to hear.²⁰ Rita Kalopoulos mentioned that Greek, Russian and Uzbek music played on the PA

system throughout the day.²¹ The wards were a multicultural place, but by including Greek music and poetry in the PA’s announcements, it meant that Greeks were a welcomed people in the Soviet community. In addition, the PA Sovietised the Greeks, by broadcasting Soviet news and propaganda. Greeks became incorporated into Tashkent’s community and formed a collective identity through broadcasts from the PA system.

Socializing – Friendships

Not all social affairs were organized by the KOT. Informal gatherings embedded in Greek peasant culture occurred spontaneously and often within the ward space. Spending time

²⁰ Elly Leodithou, interview by the author, Athens Greece, April 8, 2014.

²¹ Rita Kalopoulos, interview by author, Athens Greece, April 8, 2014.

with Greek people throughout the day, in various activities, contributed to the unity the collective felt in the wards. The way Greeks socialized and maintained their relationships in Tashkent revealed their Greek or Soviet identity. There were gendered differences in socializing, where women gossiped and men played backgammon and drank, but the fact that they were usually among Greeks strengthened the unity and their personal relationships. Greeks became *koubari* to each other. For the Orthodox Church, *koubari* are the individuals who are actively involved in the Orthodox marriage or baptismal ceremony. However, in Tashkent they became *koubari* without the religious ceremony illustrating their attachment to practices and traditions rooted in Greek peasant culture.

Greeks were guided by *philotimo*, another characteristic of peasant culture, in their social gatherings and practices. The parties with Greek music and dance were ways Greeks connected with each other and to the imagined concept of what Greek life was like. Finally, the way Greeks valued Greek foods and objects was a performance of Greekness.

Soviet identity was exposed in wards where Greeks were less numerous. Consequently, Greeks spoke more Russian and associated with more Soviets. The second-generation especially had strong loyalties towards the imagined Soviet and Russian community because Russian was their native tongue. Their identity was associated with their language skills.

In most cases, Greeks developed strong relationships with other Greeks because of proximity. Because the majority of Greeks did not have close relatives with them in Tashkent, the people they lived next to were like their kin and their *koubari*.

Koubari can be married or single. They act as spiritual guides and close friends to the married couple throughout their lives. In addition, *koubari* are the godparents of a child. The parents of

the child refer to the godparents as *koubari*, whereas the child refers to his or her godparents as *Nono* and *Nona*, masculine and feminine respectively. The fact that the Greeks maintained the custom of *koubari* despite not having the religious ceremonies for weddings and baptisms was a clear performance of Greekness. Friendships between the families in Tashkent were guaranteed by becoming *koubari*, even though those who did not become *koubari* maintained their friendships as well. See Figure 16.



Figure 16. Mpados family photo at holiday celebration, Circa early 1960s. Photograph from Mpados family collection.

relationship to the imagined Greek community.

Another indication of the closeness between Greek families was that the children played together and referred to their parents' friends as uncle and aunt. Using the Greek way to refer to adults as "aunt" and "uncle" was a performance of immigrant culture. Greek and Italian youth in North America also refer to their parent's friends as aunt and uncle. Playing Greek games, or listening to Greek music, with Greek people was clearly a performance of Greekness. Greek boys teamed up together and represented their wards in sports competitions. In other cases, youth

Evangelia Koukouliata explained that if she was working and it started raining, her neighbour collected the clothes for her from the laundry line. She added that they were so close, that in some cases they took each other's children to the doctor.²² Greeks created new families by becoming *koubari*. Maintaining these traditions together strengthened the collective and their

²² Evangelia Koukouliata, interview by author, Thessaloniki Greece. April 9, 2014.

played competitive volleyball against other wards. (See Figure 17). Participants claimed that girls and boys had strong friendships.²³ This resembles the strong friendships the partisans had as comrades regardless of gender. Second-generation Greeks socialized indiscriminately and inclusively, with Greeks, non-Greeks, Slavo-Macedonians, males and female, reflecting how they were taught and what they valued. Activities and pastimes were gendered. Boys played more sports, while girls danced. Aggeliki Palaiologos performed with the Greek band Buzuki.²⁴ Andrea Panopoulos played a Greek game called “Tzami.”²⁵ Children currently play this in Greece.



Figure 17 - Volleyball match played between two of the ward's teams. Circa late 1960s, early 1970s. Photo from the *Archives of the Association of Greek Culture Tashkent*.

Nikos Athanasopoulos explained how children felt like siblings because “(they) were all potty trained from the same potty.”²⁶ He spent time at school, after school, in the summers and at the club with the same people. Strong relationships developed between Greeks. The first generation and the second-generation participants explained feeling very close to the Greeks in their neighbourhoods. Having Greek friends helped them maintain their Greekness, especially by speaking Greek amongst themselves.

Language is a key factor in ethnic identity. Learning a second language is different from actually having a heritage language that is spoken everyday. Partisans spoke Greek amongst themselves in the wards and to their children. The second-generation however, had a pattern of

²³ Nikos Athanasopoulos, interview by author, Athens Greece, April 8, 2014.

²⁴ Aggeliki Palaiologos, interview by author, Athens Greece, April 8, 2014.

²⁵ Andrea Panopoulos, interview by author, Toronto Canada, May 27, 2014. The purpose of the Tzami is to knock of the opponent's tower of rocks while they are trying to do the same.

²⁶ Nikos Athanasopoulos, interview by author, Athens Greece, April 8, 2014. “απο το ιδιο γιο-γιο μεγαλωσαμε”

language use based on their age and the ward in which they grew up. For example, Filia Argiropoulos remembered speaking Russian more than Greek when he was a child because he lived outside the 8th ward. Those who grew up within a Greek ward, used Greek more often. When Nikos Athanasopoulos moved into central Tashkent, his Russian language skills were very poor because he had only spoken Greek in the 12th ward.²⁷ On the other hand, some participants had difficulties expressing all their emotions in Greek because of their limited interaction in the Greek language. For those who spoke more Russian, it was evident that they had strong loyalties to the Soviet Union and to Russia. They enjoyed Russian film, music, literature and culture.²⁸ The second-generation, when amongst themselves spoke Russian because it was easier for them. In the case of Greeks, the mixing of Greek and Russian exemplifies the strong impact Soviet Tashkent had on their identity, and finally their hybrid identity. They belonged to both imagined spaces by speaking Greek and Russian interchangeably at their formal and informal social gatherings.

Pastimes were based on traditional gendered practices, illustrating how Greeks continued certain Greek peasant cultural traditions. Partisan men played card games, chess and backgammon, while their wives cooked and cleaned as they gossiped.²⁹ Their gossiping reflected how they were driven by *philotimo*. Alexandra Basdani explained how the women of the ward commented on her brother returning home late at night or if a woman had hung the laundry poorly. Basdani said that her mother told her if she hung her clothes poorly, she would get into

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Theodore Lazaridis, interview by author, Tashkent Uzbekistan, March 26, 2014.

& Filia Argiropoulos, interview by author, Markham Canada, May 3, 2014. Theodore Lazaridis associated himself with the Russian imagined community when he was in Ukraine and the movies were not offered in Russian. He saw himself as a member of the Russian minority in Ukraine that felt discriminated against.²⁸

²⁹ Ioannis Kotoulas socialized by playing cards, chess and backgammon indicative of Greek peasant culture. On the other hand, women gossiped as they sat outside hanging clothes or doing their sewing. Ioannis Kotoulas, interview by author, Tashkent Uzbekistan, April 3, 2014.

trouble because it was disgraceful to the family. If one came home late at a night, that too was shameful. Nikos Athansopoulos described how the gossiping completed the picture of the wards as Greek villages. He explained that, “if (he) walked with Koula one day to the store, the next day they (the Greek mothers) had married (them).”³⁰ Usually the participants did not accuse the men of gossiping while they played cards. Only the women gossiped.

Greek drinking practices reflect both Russian and Greek traditions. Safekeeping ouzo for special occasions and making wine were methods of performing Greekness, but drinking vodka was Russian. For the most part the Greeks drank vodka just like the Russians either because they wanted to emulate the Russians or because vodka was the cheapest alcoholic beverage available in Soviet Tashkent.³¹ If ouzo, a timeless Greek aperitif, was available in Tashkent, they drank it slowly, or kept it for special occasions. Kostas Mpados’ father and his friends simply smelled the ouzo, and drank vodka instead. They did not want to drink it because it was like gold to them.³² Ouzo was a way the Greeks connected to their homeland and performed Greek identity. It evoked nostalgia for their old life, and how they yearned to return. Andrea Panopoulos explained that her father made wine in their storage room.³³ These men were trying to recreate Greek peasant drinking practices when they made wine and ouzo. They represented their Greek identity by incorporating Greek tokens into their formal and informal celebrations.

Formal gatherings and Holidays

The symbols of Greekness in the holidays, weddings, baptisms and funerals formed the community’s boundaries and thus the appropriate behaviours for Greeks in Tashkent to belong

³⁰ Nikos Athansopoulos, interview by author, Athens Greece, April 8, 2014.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Kostas Mpados, interview by the author, Thessaloniki Greece, April 12, 2014.

³³ Andrea Panopoulos, interview by author, Toronto Canada, May 27, 2014.

within the imagined Greek space in Tashkent and Greece. The festivities were rooted in Greek traditions and practices influenced by the Greek Orthodox Church and Greek peasant culture. Partisans remembered the customs from Greece and passed them on to their children to ensure that they maintained Greek identity. Conversely, the traditions were adapted slightly due to the secular Soviet society. The traditions and practices included in the Greek formal gatherings and celebrations are the arrows between the imagined Greek space of Tashkent and Greece proper in Figure 1 of Chapter 2 – *Community Spaces*.

Contrary to Greek national identity, which is associated with the Greek Orthodox Church, the KOT did not encourage religion for the collective. *Neos Dromos* published in the youth section saying that there was no God.³⁴ Greeks in Tashkent did not celebrate Saint Days³⁵ or Name days unlike other Orthodox Christians. In Greece, they celebrate Saint Days more so than birthdays.

Instead of Christmas festivities, New Year's Eve was celebrated with parties and the exchange of presents.³⁶ Similarly, in Greece, presents are exchanged at New Year's Eve not at Christmas, indicating a continuation of traditions or following how the Soviets celebrated.³⁷ Furthermore, Theodore Lazaridis specified that over time Greeks started having bigger festivities for Easter.³⁸ Some even painted eggs.³⁹ Evangelia Koukouliata noted that people celebrated if

³⁴ "On God's Existence." *Neos Dromos*, March 31, 1960.

³⁵ Everyday of Orthodox Greek calendar marks a Saints days. Usually this means this is the day when the saint "fell asleep" or died.

³⁶ Veronica Manidis, interview by author, Thessaloniki Greece, April 9, 2014.

³⁷ In reality, the majority of the Greek partisans were not raised with joyful holiday celebrations; with the German occupation of Greece from 1941 to 1945, then the Greek civil war from 1945-1949, the people especially from Northern Greece did not have an upbringing like others from southern Greece or from the plains regions of Greece.

³⁸ Theodore Lazaridis, interview by author, Tashkent Uzbekistan, March 26, 2014. The fact that participants remembered that the Easter celebrations became more public over time indicates that at the beginning either the families were restricted or they simply did not know they could celebrate religious holidays.

³⁹ Elly Leodithou, interview by author, Athens Greece, April 8, 2014.

they could determine when Easter fell that year.⁴⁰ Religion was not at the forefront of Greek celebrations, but Greek Orthodox traditions and Greek peasant culture characterized the celebrations for babies and weddings as a rite of passage into the Greek state.

Most participants were not at a church the same day as their civil wedding, nor did they baptize their children until it was necessary. See Figure 18, illustrating a civil marriage ceremony. It is unclear whether they were allowed to participate in the religious ceremonies, or if they simply chose not to.



Figure 18 - Antonis Maroudis' civil wedding ceremony. See the officiator in the centre of the photo, with Maroudis on the left and his ex-wife on the right. Circa 1965. Photograph from Antonis Maroudis' personal collection.

Greeks did not get married in a church until they needed the appropriate documents from the church in order to repatriate. This contrasts strongly with the Greek diaspora communities in North America and Australia.⁴¹ Alexandra Basdani and Giorgos

Mihailidis were the only people interviewed who got married in a church the same day as their civil ceremony. Both married Pontians from Tashkent,

who characteristically were more religious and sometimes wealthier than the Greek refugees.

The KOT questioned Basdani about getting married in a church, but she responded to the officials "the church did not harm anyone."⁴² Greeks who returned to Greece prior to 1982 needed to have a religious marriage service so their marriage and their children were recognized

⁴⁰ Evangelia Koukouliata, interview by author, Thessaloniki Greece. April 9, 2014.

⁴¹ Chimbos, "The Changing Organization of Greek Canadian Communities," 208-216.

⁴² Alexandra Basdani, interview with author, Tashkent Uzbekistan, April 1, 2014.

by the Greek state.⁴³ Second-generation participants were baptized in their late teens and early twenties. In some cases, they were baptized and married, at the same time as their children.⁴⁴ Filia Argiropoulos viewed his baptism as a necessity.⁴⁵ For the majority of participants the service did not have a spiritual or religious meaning. Nevertheless, it was a rite of passage to return to Greece and it was a step towards achieving Greek citizenship and officially belonging to the Greek imagined community. The partisans in the study had simple civil wedding services, without a celebration. Even though the party criticized elaborate weddings, many second generation Greeks had elaborate weddings infused with Greek traditions and practices.

Weddings were criticized in the newspapers for being too ‘capitalist’ and luxurious.⁴⁶ Stalin claimed that traditions at weddings were from, “the old conditions, the traditions, and superstitions which were from the heritage of the old community, (and they were) dangerous and enemies to socialism.” The article stressed the KKE should have taught the newlyweds that extravagant weddings were a representation of capitalism.⁴⁷ For the collective, elaborate weddings rooted in Greek tradition was *philotimo*, it honoured the families hosting the wedding, and connected the guests and families to the Greece’s imagined community.

Participants could not recall any Russian or Soviet traditions in their wedding celebrations, except for their civil marriage service. The second-generation women married in Tashkent described their weddings as “just like how they were in Greece,” despite the fact that there was

⁴³ Greek Minister of the Interior. Legislation Online - OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, *Code of Greek Nationality*. Last modified 2014. Accessed June 3, 2014.

<http://www.legislationline.org/documents/id/5394>. Civil weddings in Greece were not recognized until after 1982.

⁴⁴ Elly Leodithou, interview by author, Athens Greece, April 8, 2014. Margarita Mpadou, interview by author, Thessaloniki Greece, April 12, 2014.

⁴⁵ Filia Argiropoulos, interview by author, Markham Canada, May 3, 2014.

⁴⁶ “For the Work of the Party to Organize the Women.” *Pros Ti Niki*, July 7 1951.

⁴⁷ *Ibid*.

no religious ceremony. Neighbours and *koubari* were invited to witness Greek traditions and practices such as the Greek music and dances.

Musical traditions were transplanted from Greece to Tashkent because it was all they knew. According to Koskoff, “singing is a vehicle of catharsis for women” and “in Greek vocal tradition, women are the guardians of song.”⁴⁸ When interviewed, Elly Leodithou sang a traditional Greek song, which mothers’ sang for their daughters when they got married. She emphasized that she learned it from her mother, who had remembered it from Greece.⁴⁹ Leodithou is an example of how women maintained Greek vocal traditions in Tashkent. When Margarita Mpadou got married, her husband arrived with musicians at her home to accompany them to the celebration.⁵⁰ In Greece, musicians usually accompanied the bride to the church. A Greek wedding was incomplete without these traditions and practices.

Whether or not dowries were expected in Tashkent is unclear. Only Elly Leodithou mentioned that the furniture we sat on was part of her dowry and she stressed that having a dowry was a Greek tradition her parent’s encouraged.⁵¹ Margarita Mpadou explained that the two families had to play-fight over the bride, until the groom’s family ‘paid’ the price.⁵² It was not a legitimate dowry. They were pretending. Also, Leodithou and Basdani said that the groom’s best man or *koubaro* would put the shoes on the bride’s feet.⁵³ This tradition continues to be practiced in Greece as well. The bride was supposed to pretend the shoes did not fit, and the *koubaro* would make them fit by putting money and gold in her shoes. Evidently the second-

⁴⁸ Susan Auerbach, "From Singing and Lamenting: Women's Musical Role in a Greek Village," in *Women and Music in Cross-cultural Perspective*, ed. Ellen Koskoff (New York: Greenwood Press, 1987), 25.

⁴⁹ Elly Leodithou, interview by author, Athens Greece, April 8, 2014.

⁵⁰ Margarita Mpadou, interview by author, Thessaloniki Greece, April 12, 2014.

⁵¹ Elly Leodithou, interview by author, Athens Greece, April 8, 2014.

⁵² Margarita Mpadou, interview by author, Thessaloniki Greece, April 12, 2014.

⁵³ Elly Leodithou, interview by author, Athens Greece, April 8, 2014.

& Alexandra Basdani, interview with author, Tashkent Uzbekistan, April 1, 2014.

generation's weddings were much more extravagant than the partisans' ones. The parents lived vicariously through their children when families performed all these Greek traditions. This taught the collective what it meant to be Greek.

Some traditions were based on Greek regional identities. The majority of Greeks in Tashkent came from northern Greece. Their regional identity was evident in their traditions and dances. Margarita Mpadou stated that "*syrtaki*" was most danced at celebrations.⁵⁴ Also there were many Pontian and Macedonian dances performed. The video of Filia Argiropoulos' older brother's wedding in 1972, showed guests dancing Pontian dances.⁵⁵ After the wedding celebrations, newlyweds also were expected to fulfill certain expectations based on Greek and Soviet practices.

Greek families and the general Tashkent community expected newlyweds to move in with the groom's parents. This was the tradition in Greece as well. Some who were interviewed wondered whether or not the elders encouraged this practice because of tradition or necessity. Margarita Mpadou explained that she and her husband did not qualify for their own home in Tashkent once they were married. Only after their daughter was born did they have the required number of people to move out of her husband's family home.⁵⁶ In response, Kostas Mpados explained that it was *tradition* for the bride to move into the groom's home.⁵⁷ Consequently, moving in with the groom's parents was a rite of passage and a performance of Greekness. It was appropriate for the groom's family to accept the bride into their home. Giorgos Mihailidis added

⁵⁴ Margarita Mpadou, interview by author, Thessaloniki Greece, April 12, 2014. & Diana Papadakis, interview with author, Tashkent Uzbekistan, March 29, 2014. Syrtaki is very simple dance. The steps are: step with right foot-step with left foot- kick left foot-kick right foot.

⁵⁵ The Argiropoulos family had Pontian roots. They were dancing Kochari or kotsari. " Magda Zografou, and Stavroula Pipyrou, "Dance and Difference: Toward an individualization of the Pontian self," *Dance Chronicle*, 34, no. 3 (2011): 422-446, doi=10.1080/01472526.2011.615235 (accessed October 6, 2014).

⁵⁶ Margarita Mpadou, interview by author, Thessaloniki Greece, April 12, 2014.

⁵⁷ Kostas Mpados, interview by the author, Thessaloniki Greece, April 12, 2014.

that Greeks generally frowned upon the groom moving into the bride's family home, calling him a *sogabros*, meaning, "groom who moved into bride's family home." This went against *philotimo*. It was as if the groom's family could not support the bride. Mihailidis' father asked him not to marry his wife because he went as a *sogabros*.⁵⁸ The living arrangements for newlyweds were based on necessity, but also on *philotimo*.

Greeks traditions were embedded in baby celebrations as well. Greeks referred to such celebrations as a *baptism*, even though the actual *baptismal* service often occurred before repatriation. This reflects the community's hybrid Greek-Soviet identity because the traditional Greek religious celebration was transformed to fit into Soviet society.⁵⁹ Markedly, partisans celebrated the birth of children the way Greek peasant culture dictated, and called it a *baptism*. They celebrated with Greek music, Greek dancing and of course Greek food. When Giorgos Mihailidis grandmother visited from Czechoslovakia, his parents had a *baptismal* celebration for his sister, even though no actual baptism took place.⁶⁰ He explained that the celebration was for his baby sister and his grandmother's visit. The secular celebration connected the revelers to Greece. The naming of the child was also dictated by Greek peasant culture.

According to Greek peasant cultural practices, new parents were expected to name their child after the father's parents. Traditionally, the groom's parents' names have priority, unless his family had made a request otherwise, or a relative passed away tragically. It is *philotimo* for the family to have the child carry the grandparents' names. On the other hand, Maroudis

⁵⁸ Giorgos Mihailidis, interview by author, Tashkent Uzbekistan, March 29, 2014.

⁵⁹ I was perplexed with the fact that Greeks identified the baby celebration as a baptism when there was no religious service. My need to identify a baptismal celebration with a religious service relates to my Greek-Orthodox identity.

⁶⁰ Giorgos Mihailidis, interview by author, Tashkent Uzbekistan, March 29, 2014.

explained that his mother did not want his daughter to have her name.⁶¹ Community members also named their children after civil war heroes to commemorate their revolutionary history. Elly Leodithou's brother, Nikos was named after her mother's brother who had passed away in the war, and after the civil war hero Nikos Beloyiannis.⁶²

The members of the community negotiated the appropriate behaviors and boundaries of how to appropriate Greek burial traditions. The KOT was not involved with these practices. Even so, funeral practices and traditions resembled those dictated by the Orthodox Church. Most participants, had difficulty discussing funeral practices. Alexandra Basdani was ambiguous. She mentioned that some Greeks put a red star on their tombstones to represent communism, while others had crosses to represent Christianity.⁶³ Besides the actual burial ceremony Elly Leodithou explained how she learned from her mother and the other mothers in her ward that when someone passed away it was appropriate for the family of the departed to share food with others. When Leodithou's father died, her mother was with him in Yugoslavia, so Leodithou baked a cake and shared it with their neighbors.⁶⁴ Sharing cake with the neighbours resembles the Greek Orthodox Church's tradition of distributing boiled wheat when someone dies. This practice honours the deceased and their family. This is another example of how in Tashkent the Greeks transformed Greek traditions.

Summary

The ward was the space for hosting large formal and informal celebrations. These celebrations were sites where Greekness was performed and the boundaries of the Greek

⁶¹ Antonis Maroudis, interview by author, Tashkent Uzbekistan, March 31, 2014.

⁶² Elly Leodithou, interview by author, Athens Greece, April 8, 2014.

⁶³ Alexandra Basdani, interview with author, Tashkent Uzbekistan, April 1, 2014.

⁶⁴ Elly Leodithou, interview by author, Athens Greece, April 8, 2014.

collective in Tashkent were negotiated, while connecting Greeks to Greece's imagined community. The partisans perpetuated Greek peasant culture because this was all they knew. They attempted to teach their children what it meant to be Greek during these formal and informal gatherings. Soviet identity was strongly represented by the second-generation Greeks whose Russian language skills were stronger than their Greek ones. The home space similarly reflected the hybridity of the collective.

Home

The home space was neither completely private nor entirely public, just like the neighbourhood space. Privacy was limited for these Greeks because they initially lived in one bedroom of an apartment with three other bedrooms, and shared the kitchen and the bathroom. Nevertheless, Greeks highlighted how they had harmonious and pleasant living experiences in such close quarters. Second-generation members described how their families had entire apartments. The responsibilities of each family member revealed "household and domestic relations (were) critically gendered," through "relations of caring and domestic labour,"⁶⁵ since home is more than a physical space, it is "an emotional space"⁶⁶ and a "site and set of meanings."⁶⁷ The meanings associated with parenting and marriage reveal how Greek and Soviet values were embedded in their lives

Sharing duties between husband and wife represented the equality of Soviet society, but that was not always the case in Greek homes. The mother was the head of the household, despite the father as an authority figure. *Philotimo* influenced how Greeks furnished their homes, and

⁶⁵ Blunt & Dowling, *Home*, 15.

⁶⁶ Roberta Rubenstein in Blunt & Dowling, *Home*, 22.

⁶⁷ Blunt & Dowling, *Home*, 22.

how they raised their children. Additionally, food represented the hybrid Greek-Soviet identity in the home. The KOT was involved in private spaces by dictating how women, but not men or children, should perform in the home. The home space illustrated how Greeks represented their hybrid identity.

Standard of living

The material objects in Greek homes suggested *philotimo*. In some cases, Greeks honoured their families by being humble, and not desiring expensive things. Giorgos Mihailidis stressed that they “lived poorly, but we were rich.”⁶⁸ Even though his family did not have beautiful furniture or expensive chinaware, he was satisfied with his lifestyle. Kostas Mpados explained that his mother was simple and did not like extravagant, expensive items in her home.

For others, *philotimo* meant having beautiful things, and modern appliances. Elly Leodithou observed that some people had expensive furniture from Romania and chinaware from Ukraine.⁶⁹ Thanasis Kaltsas was pleased when he bought appliances for his family to better their living standards.⁷⁰ This suggests that some Greeks in Tashkent desired “cosmopolitan domesticity” to “express their identities” and “distinguish themselves in terms of class” which contradicts Soviet ideals and principles.⁷¹ Alexandra Basdani’s mother decorated their home with crochet doilies and curtains with patterns that she had learned from Greece. This made their space more homey and beautiful, but it also brought Greece within their home.⁷²

Family was created between neighbours with their open door policy. Eleftherios Galanis explained that if he needed sugar, he walked into his neighbour’s kitchen across the hall as if it

⁶⁸ Giorgos Mihailidis, interview by author, Tashkent Uzbekistan, March 29, 2014.

⁶⁹ Elly Leodithou, interview by author, Athens Greece, April 8, 2014.

⁷⁰ Kaltsas, *Fiftieth Wedding Anniversary*, 34.

⁷¹ Blunt & Dowling, *Home*, 149.

⁷² Alexandra Basdani, interview with author, Tashkent Uzbekistan, April 1, 2014.

were his own home.⁷³ Kostas Mpados explained when the kitchens were shared, he ate from any pot of food when he came home from school.⁷⁴ By contrast, Thanasis Kaltsas explained when men returned from their military training they looked at him with amazement for living in such tight quarters and lacking privacy.⁷⁵ Most Tashkent Greeks viewed the open door policy positively. They felt a sense of comfort and closeness to their fellow Greeks and consequently maintained a collective hybrid identity.

Performing Hybrid Identity

Within the home space, the collective's hybrid Greek-Soviet identity was illustrated through food, parenting style, and the division of domestic tasks. Children were expected to support their family's integrity and honour as Greek-Soviets. They connected with their families in Greece and to the imagined Greek community as their homeland was brought into their homes through letters and packages.

Food

“Food and the social and cultural practices of cooking and eating are important in charting and maintaining a collective memory and identity, both within particular places and across wider diasporas.”⁷⁶ The Greek and Uzbek foods within their homes “embod(ied) and communicate(d) cultural meaning.”⁷⁷ In many ways eating Greek food was a method of maintaining Greek identity. Similarly, cooking non-Greek foods is indicative of their hybrid identity.⁷⁸

⁷³ Eleftherios Galanis, interview by author, Tashkent Uzbekistan, March 28, 2014.

⁷⁴ Kostas Mpados, interview by the author, Thessaloniki Greece, April 12, 2014.

⁷⁵ Kaltsas, *Fiftieth Wedding Anniversary*, 39.

⁷⁶ Blunt & Dowling, *Home*, 212.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ The memoirs and the newspapers did not describe cooking. Only one newspaper article suggested to women to cook with wooden utensils to savour the nutrients. “Women’s Corner.” *Neos Dromos*, January 12, 1960.

Greek mothers in Tashkent prepared pickled foods, *pites*⁷⁹ and preserves. Olive oil, and ouzo were treasured Greek items. Male participants married to non-Greek women, learned to cook Greek foods themselves. The ward's restaurants also cooked Greek foods. The restaurant in Nikos Athansopoulos ward had a Greek cook who baked *revani*, a Greek syrup-based cake. While the children played outside, the cook snuck *revani* out to them. He described this "as the taste of Greece."

At the same time, the Greek women slowly learned to cook non-Greek foods like *samsa*, *manti* and *plof*. Tashkent Greeks continue to cook Uzbek foods, that is, traditional Central Asian dishes, in their homes in Greece and Canada.⁸⁰ *Samsa* is a triangular shaped meat pocket.⁸¹ *Manti* is a type of dumpling stuffed with vegetables and meat.⁸² *Plof* is a rice-based meal that can be made in a variety of ways, usually with vegetables and meat. In Uzbekistan, they make it with lard.⁸³ Evangelia Koukouliata stressed that Uzbek and Russian women at her work taught her to make these dishes. Instead, Alexandra Basdani learned how to make them from her sons-in-law.⁸⁴ For the most part, they incorporated Greek and Uzbek foods in their informal and formal meals. Cooking non-Greek foods illustrates how the Greeks in Tashkent developed a hybrid Soviet-Greek identity and specifically how they developed a hybrid Uzbek-Greek identity.

⁷⁹ An unleavened bread stuffed with cheese or spinach or meat

⁸⁰ Evangelia Koukouliata, interview by author, Thessaloniki Greece, April 9, 2014. John Argiropoulos, interview by author, Aurora Canada, April 30, 2014. Andrea Panopoulos, interview by author, Toronto Canada, May 27, 2014. Margarita Mpadou, interview by author, Thessaloniki Greece, April 12, 2014.

Nikos Athansopoulos, interview by author, Athens Greece, April 8, 2014. Elly Leodithou, interview by author, Athens Greece, April 8, 2014. Aggeliki Palaiologos, interview by author, Athens Greece, April 8, 2014.

⁸¹ Mehnat. Uzbek National Cuisine, *Breads*. Last modified 1995. Accessed June 3, 2014. <http://www.uzbekcuisine.com/breads.html>.

⁸² Sharipova, Malika. The Art of Uzbek Cuisine, "Gushtli manti (Manti with meat)." Last modified Dec 1, 2009. Accessed October 6, 2014. <http://uzbekcooking.blogspot.ca/2009/12/manti.html>.

⁸³ BBC Good Food, *Uzbek Plof*. Last modified March 7, 2014. Accessed July 3, 2014. <http://www.bbcgoodfood.com/recipes/439632/uzbek-plof>.

⁸⁴ Alexandra Basdani, interview with author, Tashkent Uzbekistan, April 1, 2014.

Parenting

The lessons and values younger participants learned from their parents were influenced by *philotimo* and socialist values. Generally, second-generation participants and child refugees learned from their parents the importance of hard work, family, respect, honesty and being considerate of others. Alexandra Basdani and Eleftherios Galanis stressed the importance of respecting elders, which is representative of Greek peasant values. By contrast, Margarita Mpadou said she learned to respect her teachers from her parents and at school in Tashkent.⁸⁵ Thus respecting elders is indicative of the similarities between the cultures. Galanis and Giorgos Mihailidis stressed the importance of caring for others in need. Galanis wondered, “how could I have my son in 200 euro Nike shoes, when the other child does not even have shoes!”⁸⁶ He valued equality, which in some ways is a socialist principle. At the same time, being honest and hardworking was a common thread throughout the collective narrative and illustrates their working-class identity and their Soviet values. With corruption being common in the workplace, parents taught their sons to be honest and hardworking. Additionally, Aggeliki Palaiologos never felt pressured to fulfil gendered roles. Her mother never forced her to learn how to knit or to crochet. She felt liberated to have any hobby.⁸⁷ Nikos Athanasopoulos pursued rock climbing in the Soviet Union.⁸⁸ Parents were instrumental in demonstrating and teaching their children Greek-Soviet values.

⁸⁵ Margarita Mpadou, interview by author, Thessaloniki Greece, April 12, 2014.

⁸⁶ Eleftherios Galanis, interview by author, Tashkent Uzbekistan, March 28, 2014.

⁸⁷ Aggeliki Palaiologos, interview by author, Athens Greece, April 8, 2014.

⁸⁸ Nikos Athansopoulos, interview by author, Athens Greece, April 8, 2014.

Marriage – Responsibilities

The duties and responsibilities for women and men in their home life differed. Newspapers did not describe men in the home, but only at the job site or in the club's affairs. Conversely, Greeks expressed that gendered roles were perpetuated to a certain degree within their homes. Certain men were more involved with household tasks than others.

Contrary to the newspapers' representation of men, partisans supported their wives in the kitchen. Vasilis Hatzidakis and Ioannis Kotoulas, cooked Greek foods for their families.⁸⁹ Both were married to non-Greeks, thus their involvement in the kitchen could have been due to the fact that they wanted to enjoy Greek food at home. Evangelia Koukouliata's husband (first generation) was very involved with raising their children. He changed diapers and ironed clothes. She contrasted the support *she* got, with the uninvolved fathers in Greece at the time. She added, "Men in Greece wouldn't even hold their children!" Happily, she said, "the men changed" in Tashkent.⁹⁰ For Koukouliata, Soviet society was the reason for this change in Greek men. She had a positive view of Tashkent because she credited the Soviet Union with transforming her husband and her domestic life. The responsibilities and duties within the home were negotiated among married couples.⁹¹ Some men were more involved with their children, while others were responsible for house renovations. The KKE's media dictated the role women had within their homes and society.

⁸⁹ Vasilis Hatzidakis, interview by author, Tashkent Uzbekistan, April 2, 2014. Evangelia Koukouliata, interview by author, Thessaloniki Greece. April 9, 2014.

⁹⁰ Evangelia Koukouliata, interview by author, Thessaloniki Greece. April 9, 2014.

⁹¹ John Argiropoulos' father cooked bean soup when his mother was not available, because that was the only thing he could make.⁹¹ His brother, Filia however remembered that his father's nickname from his mother was "Grouzeen" meaning "Georgian." Georgian men were characterized as unsupportive and did not help their wives in the household. Clearly, their mother wanted him to help more, but he obviously did not, and got his nickname.⁹¹ The fact that their mother used a Soviet based nickname for their father clearly exemplifies how their lives in Tashkent influenced how they viewed the world, and consequently their identity.

The newspapers had a women's section that published articles on topics such as style, cooking and childcare. Women were expected to perform in their homes, their workplace and in their community according to the media. The KOT shamed women for not attending classes or not being involved in community affairs.

The women's section in the *Neos Dromos* claimed that 2605 women were categorized as *Heroines of the Soviet Union* by their workplaces.⁹² The newspaper was trying to motivate women to be good workers while suggesting appropriate feminine attire and the role women were expected to play in their homes. The article presented a woman in a skirt and jacket suit that was in style that year. It also explained the proper way to clean pots and pans. The women's articles were educational and informative, yet developed stereotypes and expectations of how women needed to behave in Soviet Tashkent. This contrasts with how Aggeliki Palaiologos felt about her parents who did not pressure her to fulfill gendered roles.⁹³ Despite this, the majority remembered their mothers as the main cooks and cleaners of their homes. As mentioned in the *Community Spaces* chapter, the cleanliness of Greek homes was acknowledged by Soviet society.

Notwithstanding the significant role played by women at home, men continued to believe that they were the head of the household. This power struggle clearly represents Greek peasant culture. Alexandra Basdani remembered when she spoke to her father, she would look down at the ground. It was customary for Greek children to show their fathers respect this way, especially if they were being scolded, because men were the master's of the households and the leaders of

⁹² "The Woman in the Soviet Union." *Neos Dromos*, January 12, 1960.

⁹³ Aggeliki Palaiologos, interview by author, Athens Greece, April 8, 2014.

their families. Athanasopoulos however told a joke to represent what a farce the division of labour was in the home, and who really was the head of the household:

Someone comes to the door and asks, “Who is the head of the household?” The husband responds, “The woman!” The man at the door awards the family a rooster. He goes to another house and asks, “Who is the head of the household?” In the second house, the husband responds proudly, “ME!” In response, the man at the door says, “Well give this man a horse! What colour horse would you like, red or black?” In response, the husband calls his wife, “Marika! What colour horse do we want, red or black?” The man retracts his offer of a horse, and says, “Well then, give this man a chicken.”⁹⁴

Nikos Athansopoulos laughed a lot while telling this joke. It illustrates that even though Greek men felt they were the masters of the home, women were truly the head of the house. This reflects Greek mentality. It was honourable for the father to have a figurative role, but the mother had the literal one.

Children’s responsibilities

The KOT, their families and other members of the community raised the children. After all, “It takes a whole village to raise a child.” The KOT expected children to play, go to cultural events and be educated. Conversely, the child refugees contributed financially to their families, illustrating that the family as a unit.⁹⁵ Each member of the family contributing to the family’s income characterizes Greek peasant culture. Child refugees were more aware of the hardships their parents faced in Tashkent, unlike the second generation Tashkent Greeks who simply helped their parents by completing chores.

⁹⁴ Nikos Athansopoulos, interview by author, Athens Greece, April 8, 2014.

⁹⁵ Theodore Kokkinopoulos, interview by author, Tashkent Uzbekistan, April 2, 2014. Antonis Maroudis, interview by author, Tashkent Uzbekistan, March 31, 2014. Giorgos Mihailidis, interview by author, Tashkent Uzbekistan, March 29, 2014.

Child refugees described their childhood with hardship because they were expected to support their families. Theodore Kokkinopoulos started working at a very young age, and completed high school at night. He wished he had the opportunity to attend university.⁹⁶ Because Giorgos Mihailidis's family was so impoverished, he pilfered materials from his school to build furniture for his home.⁹⁷ Families in contemporary Greece also functioned as a unit, where children supported farm work and domestic duties.

Unlike the child refugees, second-generation Tashkent Greeks had an idealized perception of their childhood in Tashkent. At the same time, the KOT in *Pros ti Niki* and *Neos Dromos* constructed stereotypes and expectations for how youth needed to behave in Tashkent. At the same time, the party encouraged youth to participate in the KNE, because that was where they “learn(ed) to be patriotic, be(came) internationalists and to love communist society.”⁹⁸ By being involved with KNE, Greek children participated in Greek activities and events and clearly involved themselves in the imagined Greek community at the same time as the Soviet community. The media represented how children needed to present themselves in Soviet and Greek society, but not privately within their homes.

Parents expected all their children to help them with chores. Interestingly enough, the second-generation men described how they contributed in their homes, more so than the women. Theodore Lazaridis helped his mother bring heavy loads of laundry outside. Kostas Mpados explained that Lazaridis helped his mother because it was expected and necessary. Mpados said,

⁹⁶ Theodore Kokkinopoulos, interview by author, Tashkent Uzbekistan, April 2, 2014.

⁹⁷ Giorgos Mihailidis, interview by author, Tashkent Uzbekistan, March 29, 2014.

⁹⁸ E. “The Question of the School-aged Youth under the lens of the KNE.” *Neos Dromos*, August 14, 1976.

“How could a woman carry such a heavy load?”⁹⁹ Conversely, John Argiropoulos explained that, he dusted the house to help his mother.¹⁰⁰ Family life created the atmosphere for children to feel a part of Greece’s imagined community.

Connecting to Greece

Greece was brought into their homes with stories, food and traditions. Stories of Greece encouraged the youth to be nostalgic for this imagined space. Kostas Mpados said his father described Greece as paradise. His parents competed with each other over whose village was nicer.¹⁰¹ Most importantly, Greeks connected to Greece through physical exchanges of letters and goods.

Partisans sent letters home to notify their families that they were alive, that they survived the war and to tell their families in Greece of their spouses and children in Tashkent. Thanasis Kaltsas wrote in his memoir when he first sent a letter to his parents in Greece. He simply wrote, “I AM ALIVE!” to his family.¹⁰² Their relatives in Greece responded and sent mementos and gifts from Greece. John Argiropoulos’ family in Greece sent letters and slivers of gum. For him, gum was a piece of Greece because it was not available in the Soviet Union.¹⁰³ Eleftherios Galanis and Giorgos Mihailidis mentioned that their families in Greece sent music records, with famous Greek artists such as, Stelios Kazantzidis and Mikis Theodorakis, whose songs were characterized by nostalgia.¹⁰⁴ As mentioned before, Kostas Mpados father treasured ouzo. That

⁹⁹ Theodore Lazaridis, interview by author, Tashkent Uzbekistan, March 26, 2014. He did not mean to degrade women, or Lazaridis’ mother’s strength, but Lazaridis was a true gentleman when he supported his mother

¹⁰⁰ John Argiropoulos, interview by author, Aurora Canada, April 30, 2014.

¹⁰¹ Kostas Mpados, interview by the author, Thessaloniki Greece, April 12, 2014.

¹⁰² Kaltsas, *Fiftieth Wedding Anniversary*, 38.

¹⁰³ John Argiropoulos, interview by author, Aurora Canada, April 30, 2014.

¹⁰⁴ Giorgos Mihailidis, interview by author, Tashkent Uzbekistan, March 29, 2014. Eleftherios Galanis, interview by author, Tashkent Uzbekistan, March 28, 2014.

ouzo however was sent from Greece. Margarita Mpadou's family in Greece had sent olive oil as well. For many of the Tashkent Greeks, Greek music and Greek dancing was the centre of Greek culture, but these packages linked families and Greek objects transnationally and truly brought Greekness into their homes to touch and feel.

Conclusion

The not-so-private home and ward spaces contributed to the hybrid Greek-Soviet identity. Greeks lived communally from the moment they settled in Tashkent. Even after they got their own apartments, living communally contributed to the maintenance of Greekness and Greek traditions, beliefs and practices. Languages spoken in the wards contributed to whether or not the Greeks felt more sympathy for Russian or Greek culture and traditions.

With their Greek friends, Greeks solidified their relationships by becoming *koubari*. This religious practice was transformed into a secular one in Tashkent. Nevertheless, being *koubari* and calling elders "aunt" and "uncle" meant they were family. As family, they happily shared their kitchens and laundry facilities. Greeks ate from their neighbour's stove, and took their neighbour's child to the doctor. Living in such close proximity with other Greeks allowed the Tashkent Greeks to develop strong relationships and maintain their Greekness together.

The partisans maintained gendered differences within the home to reflect Greek peasant culture. The values of hard work and equality passed on from the first generation to the second-generation illustrated socialist beliefs. Beyond this, private spaces demonstrated strong Greek symbols, beliefs and practices. The KOT and the community members set expectations and criteria for how to behave in a Greek manner. The party determined the appropriate ways for youth to pass their time whereas the family members determined where youth lived after

marriage and how they celebrated their weddings. The formal celebrations were saturated with Greek traditions and practices. *Philotimo* was central to how Greeks celebrated and behaved in their private spaces. Even though Tashkent was their temporary home the Greeks of Tashkent attempted to continue their Greek traditions, beliefs and practices in the private spaces in order to return to Greece as Greeks. Greece was home.

Conclusion

For Greek political refugees, the inclusive and accommodating environment of Soviet Tashkent fostered their romanticized and idealized collective narrative. This nostalgia and positivity for Soviet Tashkent is the memory that overwhelms the public and private spaces. The only counter narrative to this, concerns the members of the community who were pro-Zachariadis followers. Friendships formed along party politics for the first generation Greeks. Despite this, the second-generation participants insisted that over time there were no differences between pro-Zachariadis followers and pro-Soviet followers.

In each of the spaces, the KOT, and members of the Greek collective defined the boundaries of Greek-Soviet identity with their practices, beliefs and symbols. Comparing themselves to locals and Greeks in Greece allowed the community to create their hybrid Greek-Soviet identity. They performed their hybrid identity to belong to Greece and the Soviet Union's imagined communities. Whether it was about hanging the clothes, or marriage traditions, the Greeks were directed by *philotimo* and Greek peasant culture. The newspapers, however, did not reference the private lives of Greeks in Tashkent. Instead, the media presented how Greeks belonged to the Soviet Union because of their hybridity.

When examining *Community Spaces* Greeks compared and contrasted themselves to others within the three imagined communities they belonged to. They were the Greeks of Tashkent, people of the Soviet Union's imagined community and the imagined Greek community. Their culture was "continually recreated by people through their social interaction, rather than having it imposed upon them."¹ Their criticism of Greece's political situation illustrates their patriotism, and membership in the Soviet and Greek imagined communities. Most importantly, their

¹ Cohen, *The symbolic construction of community*, 19.

homemaking narrative confirmed that they belonged in the imagined Soviet community at the same time as they were members in Greece's imagined space. Greeks proved that they were revolutionaries who fought for communism, who contributed to communist ideology and communist society through the workspaces.

Greeks also had a positive collective memory of working in Tashkent because they felt a sense of purpose and accomplishment. They presented themselves as industrious workers who made Greece proud. They attributed their work ethic to their heritage and to belonging to the imagined Greek community. As members of the working class, they were equal to their fellow Soviet colleagues. Greeks proved that they were good Soviets through their work ethic and their contribution to Tashkent's and the Golodnaya Steppe's infrastructure. They were pioneers of the Soviet Union just as the locals. Likewise, women too were commemorated in the workplace and perceived equally. The female participants were offered promotions, yet their responsibilities to their families and friends took priority.

Just like the locals, working after hours with pilfered materials was a common way to save money. Additionally, the community members believed changing jobs often positively, even though the newspapers perceived their mobility as a capitalist practice. Changing jobs often and working after hours was necessary to save so they could repatriate, and essentially was a method of maintaining membership in the imagined Greek community. Performing Greekness in the workspaces was based on the collective's involvement in Greek work organizations such as EPON or KOB. Being involved with the Greek organizations granted Greeks membership into the Greek Soviet community, and ultimately into the Greek imagined community. Without the KOT, the Greeks would not have transitioned so smoothly into the Soviet workforce. Most importantly, speaking Greek at work was welcomed and encouraged by the Soviet officials.

The collective memory of the educational spaces in Tashkent was also positive and idealized because Greeks were included and accommodated into the Soviet classroom and organizations. Greek language media and curriculum politicized, Sovietized and instilled Greek values, beliefs and symbols in the collective. Students learned that they belonged to the imagined Greek and Soviet communities because of their language skills, beliefs and heritage. Beginning with the partisans, the KOT and the local authorities contributed to the integration and accommodation of Greeks in Tashkent by teaching them Russian and how to live in Soviet society. Youth had the same opportunities as locals to complete Soviet elementary and post secondary studies. Their involvement in Soviet youth groups contributed to their incorporation into the Soviet imagined community. Greeks were critical of Greece's education system because of their positive experience in Tashkent. The curriculum also was responsible for simplifying the KKE's agenda, including the relationship between Greeks and Slavo-Macedonians. Slavo-Macedonians were Greeks who spoke a different language; they shared Greece as their homeland. Educational spaces encouraged patriotism for the Soviet Union and Greece.

Discussing private spaces elaborated on how Greeks brought Greek peasant culture and Greek Orthodox practices into secular Soviet Tashkent society. Their Soviet identity was limited to their Russian language skills and their diet. Greeks felt a part of the imagined Greek community when they performed Greekness in their private spaces. The collective narrative of the private spaces in Tashkent was characterized by how they lived harmoniously, celebrating Greek and Soviet holidays together. The newspapers did not discuss the events that were organized by the community members; only the events hosted by the ward's KOT or association were mentioned. The holidays, weddings, baptism and funeral customs were saturated in Greek traditions. Even though many of the traditions such as having a *koubaro* were religious practices;

religion was not a strong feature in the lives of Greeks in Tashkent. The KOT frowned upon religious practices, even though some Greeks did get married in churches shortly after their civil service. Most religious weddings were conducted only when it was time for Greeks to repatriate. Additionally, they developed an affectionate relationship with Greece through letters, packages and goods. Performing Greekness in the private space was also evident in the expected behaviours of the men, women and children. Expectations were rooted in *philtotimo* and gendered practices.

By adopting cultural practices in Tashkent, Greeks revealed that they belonged to the Soviet and Greek imagined communities. Belonging to two imagined spaces illustrates the complexities of diasporic identity, where the collective, reconstructs itself, “problematizing the issues of home, belonging and nation.”² Greeks of Tashkent are members of the Greek diaspora because of their forced migration; they were exiles. Avtar Brah recognizes that the word diaspora evokes “imagery of traumas of separation and dislocation.” A diaspora group scatters voluntarily or involuntarily.³ The Greeks of Tashkent were political refugees. According to William Safran’s definition of diaspora, the Greeks fulfill each of the criteria.⁴

Greeks fulfil Safran’s criteria by their autonomous social and cultural structures to serve their needs. They associated with locals, but membership in the Greek community of Tashkent was based on heritage and central to their membership in Greece’s imagined space. Even though they were not welcomed back officially until 1982, these Greeks supported their homeland by educating themselves and being good representatives of Greece.

² Jopi Nyman, *Home, Identity, and Mobility in Contemporary Diasporic Fiction*, (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2009), 22.

³ Shehina Fazal, and Roza Tsagarousianou, "Diasporic communication: Transnational cultural practices and communicative spaces," *The Public*, 9, no. 1 (2002): 5-18,

⁴ William Safran, "Diasporas in Modern Societies: Myths of Homeland and Return," *Diaspora*, 1, no. 1 (1991): 83-99.

Greeks constitute a transnational community by their connections and relationships throughout the Eastern Bloc. Richard Bruneau believes that transnational communities are impermanent, and the collective narrative illustrated that Greeks were to settle temporary in Tashkent.⁵ Impermanent communities do not develop strong organizations. This does not characterize the Greeks of Tashkent. For William Sheffer, a transnational community has weak boundaries and is subject to hybridization.⁶ Even though Greeks did adopt various Soviet beliefs and practices, the collective did not have a weak understanding of what it meant to be Greek. They constitute a diaspora more so than a transnational community.

Central to diasporic identity according to Avtar Brah is the 'homing desire.' This does not mean that every diaspora 'returns,' but she sees the urge to return as an emotion and orientation towards the host and home country. Home is a "mythic place of desire in the diasporic imagination. It is the place of no return, even if it is possible to visit the geographical territory that is seen as the place of 'origin.'" ⁷ Notwithstanding, home is also "the lived experience of a locality. Its sounds and smells, its heat and dust, balmy summer evenings, or the excitement of the first snowfall, shivering winter evenings, sombre grey skies in the middle of the day...all this is mediated by the historically specific everyday of social relations."⁸ For the first generation and child refugees, home was associated with the smells of Greece's mountain villages, whereas the second generation attached to the imagined idea of Greece, which was created with the KKE's involvement in the public and private spaces, and with the members of the community.

⁵ Michel Bruneau, "Diasporas, Transnational spaces and communities," in *Diaspora and Transnationalism: Concepts, theories and methods*, ed. Rainer Bauböck, Thomas Faist (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2010), 43.

⁶ Gabriel Sheffer, "Transnationalism and Ethnonational Diasporism," *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies*, 15, no. 1 (2006): 121-145, DOI: 10.1353/dsp.0.0029 (accessed January 10, 2014).

⁷ Avtar Brah, *Cartographies of diaspora: contesting identities*, (London: Routledge, 1996), 188

⁸ *Ibid*, 189.

Collectively, the community “anchored (itself) in the place of settlement,”⁹ Tashkent, at the same time as imagining their homeland, and recreating their cultural practices to reflect their hybrid identity. They exemplify the complexities of diasporic identity, of belonging to this unknown territory, this in between. Not feeling 100% rooted in Tashkent, or in Greece. Homi Bhabha identifies this uncharted territory as the *third space*, which cannot be simply defined or characterized, but within this space, meanings and symbols are not fixed, they are constantly adapting. “The same signs can be appropriated, translated, rehistoricized and read anew,”¹⁰ just as the Greeks redefined patriotic holidays or transformed customs to fit into Soviet society. Hybrid identity is created in this “unhomeliness,” when a community is relocated, but not without a home.¹¹

This thesis has contributed to Greek diasporic scholarship as well as Greek civil war studies. Greek identity has been examined through oral histories, memoirs or newspapers. Despite all the Greek language newspapers in the diaspora, no one has systemically analyzed them to understand how Greeks formed their ethnic identity or their host country’s identities. I hope my work inspires other researchers to examine Greek communities throughout the world, during different periods of history, to understand how Greeks perform their Greekness and how they adopt their host country’s values and traditions.

⁹ Ibid, 191.

¹⁰ Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, (London: Routledge, 1994), 37.

¹¹ Ibid, 9.

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Glossary

Greekness – Greek ethnic identity, characterized by a feeling and sentiment towards Greek people, history and culture. Greek peasant culture and *philotimo* are central to expressing and illustrating this ethnic identity.

Homemaking narrative – discovered by Orm Øverland's homemaking narrative in *Immigrant Minds, American Identities*, to reveal how immigrant communities rooted themselves and proved their value to American society while developing a collective narrative. He examines how non-Anglo immigrants linked their historical and political lineage to America's democratic ideology, to America's wars and formation of the state.

Imagined communities – coined by Benedict Anderson in *Imagined Communities*, describing the formation of national community as a social construction. People within this community acknowledge that they share certain characteristics and values, despite the fact that they have not and will not meet everyone within this community.

Koubaro/i –(Greek) individuals are actively involved in the Orthodox marriage or baptismal ceremony.

Nono, Nona – (Greek) Godparents

Patrida – (Greek) homeland

Philotimo – (Greek) – honour-shame value system, central to Greek peasant culture. The need to honour oneself, and one's family, over shaming.

Appendix A – List of Participants

The list of names following (except those marked with a " * ") have waived anonymity as outlined in your informed consent.

Name	Age	Generation	Location of Interview
Theodore Lazaridis*	mid 50s	2nd	Tashkent
Eleftherios Galanis*	mid 50s	2nd	Tashkent
		Child	
Giorgos Mixailidis	born 1940	Refugee	Tashkent
Alexandra Basdani	born 1950	2nd	Tashkent
		Child	
Antonis Moroudis	born 1940	Refugee	Tashkent
	April 12,		
Ioannis Kotoulos	1930	1st	Tashkent
Vasilis Xatzidakis	born 1929	1st	Tashkent
Diana Papadakis*	early 30s	3rd	Tashkent
		Child	
Thodoris Kokkinopoulos	born 1948	Refugee	Tashkent
Kostas Mpados	late 50s	2nd	Thessaloniki
Margarita Mpadou	late 50s	2nd	Thessaloniki
Veronica Manidis	Early 50s	2nd	Thessaloniki
Evaggelia Koukouliata-Katsanikos	80s	1st	Thessaloniki
Nikos Athanasopoulos	born 1950	2nd	Athens
Aggeliki Palaiologos	born 1950	2nd	Athens
Eleni Leontidou	born 1950	2nd	Athens
Rita Kalopoulos		2nd	Athens
	born		
John Argiropoulos	1960?	2nd	Toronto
	born		
Filia Argiropoulos	1956ish	2nd	Toronto
	born in		
Andrea Panopoulos	1955ish	2nd gen	Toronto

Appendix B - Interview Questions

Schooling:

- How were teachers involved in your life, inside and outside of the school?
- Who were some of the greatest teachers you had and why?
- What were some of your favourite subjects?
- What did you learn about Greece from School?
- What did you learn about the world wars?
- What kinds of school programs were there for Greek language and Greek ethnicity?
- What did you learn about being Greek at school?
- What dreams or goals did you have as a child for your career?
- How did the parents feel about the school of children? Any complaints? Suggestions?
How could it have been better?
- Did the adults learn more Greek after coming to Tashkent?
 - Where did you learn? How? From who? When

Career:

- What job did you have in Tashkent?
- Did you enjoy your work?
- How did your job in Tashkent influence your life? Did you ever want a better job?
- What was something you strived for while working? Did you want to make more money?
Or be a foreman?
 - Did you want to get a better education instead?
 - What dreams did you have about your career?
- Did you stop working when you had children?
 - How long were you off?
- Was the Greek communist party apart of your work in anyway?
- Did you have any problems at work with safety?
- How did you address your concerns? Could you talk about the problems at work? With who?
- What language was spoken at work?

- Could you speak Greek at work?
 - Was there ever a moment at work where you were in trouble for being or speaking Greek?
- Did you make any friends at work that were not Greek?
- Did you ever want to own your own home?

Community:

- When you first came to Tashkent how was it?
 - What programs were in place? How quickly did you move into a home? How quickly did you get a job? How close did you live with other Greeks?
- What holidays would you celebrate throughout the year?
 - Winter, spring, summer, fall
 - How did you celebrate these holidays?
 - What food was present at the holidays?
 - Who was invited to the holidays? Non-Greeks?
- What kind of Greek events did the πολιτεια host that was different than the club?
- What language was spoken among the adults of the community?
- What language was spoken among the children of the community? Were the kids ever in trouble if they spoke Russian?
- What did the ‘club’ do for you that made you feel Greek?
- By living in the small community, what did you learn from this experience?
- What conflicts did you ever have with any people from the community?
 - Did you have any disagreements over
- How did you live when you first came to Tashkent?
 - I had heard about a military arrangement of lifestyle at the beginning? With separate living spaces for men and women?
 - How did this affect your initial experience in settling in Tashkent?
- Would you read the Greek newspaper in Tashkent?
- How did the women socialize together in the community? What did the women do together?
- How did the men socialize together in the community?

- What did they do in the outings that made them Greek?
- What traditions were there for when babies were born?
- What happened in Tashkent after the earthquake? Were there any differences?
 - Did your job change?
- Did you have parades with flags?
- Τι σας προσφερε το club?
 - Οταν ηγναίνε εκει? Τι κανατε? Ποσο συχνα?
- What plays were organized by the club?
- Difference between club and local πολιτείες (wards)?
- How would men gather in the community? How and when would women gather in the community? Did they have separate or joint events?
- What events were specific for the children?
 - How were children expected to behave in public or at home? Were they expected to sit quietly at meetings? Playing with other children?
- Who in the community was commemorated or praised?
- Who in the community was looked poorly upon? KKE members vs. non-members?
- Did you feel more loyalty towards Greeks than towards the Uzbeks or Russians?
- What came first, family, work, and community? Why?

Personal Politics:

- What were your rights and obligations in Tashkent? As political refugees or as children as political refugees?
 - Could you vote for KKE?
 - Could you vote at all?
 - What type of services could you use? Hospital? Dental care? Childcare?
- How do you see politics?
- How involved were you in the party in Tashkent?
- How involved was the party in your family and your life?
- When Stalin died, how did you feel about that?
- What did the community do when Stalin died?

- What the Party do when Stalin died?
- I heard that people had to be interviewed in Tashkent by the party officials to be considered members of the Komma, were you interviewed?
 - How was that experience?
- When people were ousted by the Komma and no longer members, how did that impact the community?
- What happened to the people who followed Zachariadis?
 - Did you know anyone?
 - How did people treat them? Good, bad, why?
- When Greece had the junta, how did you feel? What did you think about it? What were people in the community discussing about the Junta?
- What was the response with Lamprakis was died in 1963?

Social/Family:

- How was your family life prior to going to Tashkent?
 - What did you learn from your parents about marriage?
- Who were your closest friends?
 - How did you become friends
 - Why?
 - Did they come from the same part of Greece? Same school? Relatives?
 - Were they Uzbek/Russian?
- Did you spend time with Greeks from the same village or region of Greece as you? Why or why not?
- How did the parents share or not share family and parenting responsibilities?
 - Who spent more time with the children?
- What are important lessons you learned from your parents?
 - On how to be in life, on what to do in life?
 - What were the most important things you wanted to teach your children about life?
- What languages were spoken at home? If the children spoke Russian? Would they respond in Russian?

- How important was it for the children to learn Greek and speak Greek?
- How were the children named? After family members?
- Did you have Greek pictures or decorations in your home?
- Did you cook non-Greek foods at home too? Like plov? Manti? Borsch?
- What was the most awkward, uncomfortable situation you had with your parents? Any big disagreements?
 - Big fights with kids ... big fights with parents
 - How to behave with others
 - How to behave with Greeks vs. non-Greeks
 - How to behave with people of other political background
- Did your family celebrate different holidays than the community? What did you celebrate with your family and close friends?
 - How did you celebrate?
- What type of food did your family cook when in Tashkent?
 - What was your favourite childhood meal?
- I had heard about camping for kids? Just the Greek kids? Did that happen for the Greek kids of Tashkent?
- What were the most important things you wanted your children to learn about life?
- What music did you listen to? What radio station? I heard there were Greek radio stations. What did they talk about?
- Did you read the newspaper often?
 - What languages were used in the newspaper?
 - What do you remember about <<προς τη Νικη>> vs. <<Νεος Δρομος>>
 - Τι σας αρεσε? Ποιο ηταν το καλυτερο αρθρο?
 - Το διαβαζατε πολυ?
- What type of childhood games would you play as a child? Who did you play with more?
- Did women do ksematiasma?
- Did people know how to do vendouzes?
- How would you describe Greece to your kids? What stories would you tell them?

Identity:

- Describe the most monumental experiences in your life? Why were they monumental?

- What did you think of Greece before you ever went there?
 - When you first arrived in Tashkent
 - What did you think life was like? How was it different than when you actually went? What did you imagine about the nature, lifestyle, working, past times? Government?
 - When you found out it was possible to return
 - When you found out you were going to return
 - Were you involved in the process of returning? Was your opinion considered?
- Why did you feel so attached to Greece? What has helped you stay attached to Greece while not living in Greece?
- What does it mean to you to be Greek? How are you a Greek?
- Who were the strongest influences on how you learned about what it meant to be Greek?
 - Church, Community, Family, Friends, Rate their importance to your Greekness
- How do you practice religion?
 - Christmas and Easter, Weekly, monthly, Prayer or, Belief in god
- What made it hard to be Greek in Tashkent? Or what made being Greek easy in Tashkent?
- What do you think of Greece? How is Greece important to you? (Good bad and ugly is okay)
- Did you ever think of returning? Why did /didn't you return?
- Do you feel at home in Greece? Or here Uzbek?
 - What feels natural? Or unnatural? Where do you feel normal?
- What is the Greek mentality? Greek way of thinking?
- What is the Russian way of thinking? Or the Russian mentality that you learned

Appendix C – Informed Consent Form (English)

Date:

Study Name: Identity in Greek Diaspora in the 1950s to 1970s, in Tashkent and Toronto

Researcher: Elaina Lampropoulos, York University, Graduate History Department, Masters Thesis, elaina.lampropoulos@gmail.com/elaina24@yorku.ca

Purpose of the Research: Our understanding of Greek identity beyond the nation state and in relation to Greek nationalism has improved through various studies and theoretical approaches; instead I will focus on the formation, maintenance and embodiment of Greek identity in Toronto, Canada from the 1950s to 1970s and in Tashkent, Uzbekistan, a former Soviet Socialist Republic, from the 1950s to the 1970s, both in the public and private sphere. By examining how Greeks formed communities in Tashkent and Toronto, I will learn how Greek people felt a sense of belonging to their host nations and to their home countries. This will be a comparative historical ethnography of two Greek communities that can be assumed to belong to a Greek transnational community. By examining Greek language newspapers and conducting oral histories and focus groups, I intend to determine the ways in which Greeks in Tashkent and Toronto embody and performed Greek identity. By comparing ethnic Greeks in a Soviet city and a Canadian city I hope to discover the similar and different ways the Greek communities organized themselves in order to determine Greek transnational tendencies, beliefs and values.

What You Will Be Asked to Do in the Research: *The participant will be expected to participate in an open ended interview process that may last from 1 hour to 2 hours.*

Risks and Discomforts: We do not foresee any risks or discomfort from your participation in the research.

Benefits of the Research and Benefits to You: You will have an opportunity to develop an understanding of the formation and origins of your Greek identity. You will be contributing to Greek diaspora studies and knowledge.

Voluntary Participation: Your participation in the study is completely voluntary and you may choose to stop participating at any time. Your decision not to volunteer will not influence the treatment you may be receiving, or nature of the ongoing relationship you may have with the researchers or study staff or the nature of your relationship with York University either now, or in the future.

Withdrawal from the Study: You can stop participating in the study at any time, for any reason, if you so decide. Your decision to stop participating, or to refuse to answer particular questions, will not affect your relationship with the researchers, York University, or any other group associated with this project. In the event you withdraw from the study, all associated data collected will be immediately destroyed wherever possible.

Confidentiality: Unless you choose otherwise, all information you supply during the research will be held in confidence and unless you specifically indicate your consent, your name will not appear in any report or publication of the research. Data will be collected with handwritten notes, and video/audio tapes on a digital device. Your data will be safely stored in a password secure file on my computer separate from the research and only research staff will have access to this information. The data will be stored on

the researchers computer until August 2014. After August 2014, if you agree, your interview will be stored anonymously, at the Greek Canadian History Project Archive at the York University Library. The only information available to the researchers of the archive will be your age, gender, place of birth and nationality. Confidentiality will be provided to the fullest extent possible by law.

Questions About the Research? If you have questions about the research in general or about your role in the study, please feel free to contact the researcher’s supervisor, Dr. A. Gekas either by telephone 416-736-2100 ext.30423 or by e-mail agekas@yorku.ca. This research has been reviewed and approved by the Human Participants Review Sub-Committee, York University’s Ethics Review Board and conforms to the standards of the Canadian Tri-Council Research Ethics guidelines. If you have any questions about this process, or about your rights as a participant in the study, please contact the Sr. Manager & Policy Advisor for the Office of Research Ethics, 5th Floor, York Research Tower, York University (telephone 416-736-5914 or e-mail ore@yorku.ca). Graduate History Department, Karen Dancy Program Assistant - 416.736.2100 ext. 66981 or email kdancy@yorku.ca or Dr. William Jenkins – Graduate Program Director - (416)736-2100 x 22488 wjenkins@yorku.ca

Legal Rights and Signatures:

I (_____ *fill in your name here* _____), consent to participate in (_____ *insert study name here* _____) conducted by (_____ *insert investigator name here* _____). I have understood the nature of this project and wish to participate. I am not waiving any of my legal rights by signing this form. My signature below indicates my consent.

Signature _____
Participant

Date _____

Signature _____
Principal Investigator

Date _____

Additional Consent

◇ Waive anonymity

Signature _____
Participant

Date _____

◇ Archive interview

Signature _____
Participant

Date _____

◇ Photographic evidence

Signature _____
Participant

Date _____

◇ Journals

Signature _____
Participant

Date _____

Signature _____
Principal Investigator

Date _____

Appendix D – Informed Consent Form (Greek)

Informed Consent Form

Ημερομηνία:

Έρευνα:

Η ελληνική διασπορά την περίοδο του Ψυχρού Πολέμου. Τασκέντη, Τορόντο και η διαμόρφωση Ελληνικών διακρατικών ταυτοτήτων

Ερευνήτρια:

Ελένη Λαμπροπούλου, Πανεπιστήμιο του Υόρκ – Μεταπτυχιακό Ιστορίας,
elaina.lampropoulos@gmail.com/elaina24@yorku.ca, 416 558 9415

Σκοπός της έρευνας: Μέσα από διάφορες μελέτες και θεωρητικές προσεγγίσεις γνωρίζουμε πολύ καλύτερα για τη διαμόρφωση της Ελληνικής ταυτότητας πέρα από το έθνος κράτος. Στην έρευνά μου ενδιαφέρομαι να μάθω πώς οι Έλληνες του Τορόντο και της Τασκένδης θυμούνται τη ζωή τους και με ποιους τρόπους διατήρησαν την ταυτότητά τους στην οικογένεια και στην κοινότητά τους, από το 1950 μέχρι το 1970. Συγκεκριμένα με ενδιαφέρει πώς οι Έλληνες του Τορόντο και της Τασκένδης μορφώθηκαν και τι δυσκολίες αντιμετώπισαν στην καινούρια χώρα τους. Σκοπεύω να εξετάσω τις Ελληνικές εφημερίδες στην Τασκένδη και στο Τορόντο και να πάρω συνεντεύξεις από Έλληνες που ζούσαν στην Τασκένδη ή στο Τορόντο από το 1950 μέχρι το 1970. Στόχος είναι να μάθω πώς οι Έλληνες εξέφραζαν και διαμόρφωσαν την ελληνικότητά τους και να βρω τις διαφορές και τις ομοιότητες στον τρόπο οργάνωσης της προσωπικής και κοινοτικής ζωής ώστε να φτάσω σε συμπεράσματα για τα χαρακτηριστικά, πιστεύω, αξίες και τάσεις που συγκροτούν μια διακρατική Ελληνική ταυτότητα.

Τι θα σας ζητηθεί να κάνετε στην Έρευνα: Συνέντευξη για 1 η 2 ώρες με διάφορες ερωτήσεις.

Κίνδυνοι και ταλαιπωρίες: Δεν προβλέπονται τυχόν κίνδυνοι ή ή δυσφορία από τη συμμετοχή σας στην έρευνα.

Οφέλη από την έρευνα και τα οφέλη για σας: Θα έχετε την ευκαιρία να αναπτύξετε μια κατανόηση της διαμόρφωσης και προέλευσης της ελληνικής ταυτότητας σας. Θα συμβάλλετε στις Ελληνικές Σπουδές της διασποράς και στη γνώση της πρόσφατης ιστορίας της ελληνικής μετανάστευσης.

Εθελοντική Συμμετοχή: Η συμμετοχή σας στη μελέτη είναι εντελώς εθελοντική και μπορείτε να επιλέξετε να διακόψετε τη συμμετοχή σας οποιαδήποτε στιγμή. Η απόφασή σας να μη συμμετάσχετε δε θα επηρεάσει την αντιμετώπιση που θα έχετε ή τη φύση της διαρκούς σχέσης που ίσως έχετε με τους ερευνητές ή το προσωπικό του πανεπιστημίου ή τη σχέση σας με το Πανεπιστήμιο York τώρα ή στο μέλλον.

Απόσυρση από την μελέτη: Μπορείτε να διακόψετε τη συμμετοχή σας στη μελέτη ανά πάσα στιγμή, για οποιονδήποτε λόγο, αν το αποφασίσετε. Η απόφασή σας να διακόψετε τη συμμετοχή σας, ή να αρνηθείτε να απαντήσετε σε συγκεκριμένες ερωτήσεις, δεν θα επηρεάσει τη σχέση σας με τους ερευνητές, του Πανεπιστημίου Υόρκ, ή οποιαδήποτε άλλη ομάδα που συνδέεται με αυτό το έργο. Σε αυτήν την περίπτωση όλο το υλικό και οι πληροφορίες που σχετίζονται με την έρευνα θα καταστραφούν, όπου αυτό είναι δυνατό.

Confidentiality: Εκτός και αν επιλέξετε διαφορετικά, όλες οι πληροφορίες που παρέχετε κατά τη διάρκεια της έρευνας θα πραγματοποιηθούν εμπιστευτικά και αν δεν αναφέρετε ρητά η συγκατάθεσή

σας, το όνομά σας δεν θα εμφανιστεί σε οποιαδήποτε έκθεση ή τη δημοσίευση της έρευνας. Τα δεδομένα θα συλλέγονται με χειρόγραφες σημειώσεις και video / audio κασέτες σε μια ψηφιακή συσκευή. Τα δεδομένα σας θα αποθηκεύονται με ασφάλεια σε ένα αρχείο με ασφαλή κωδικό πρόσβασης στον υπολογιστή μου χωριστά από την έρευνα και μόνο ερευνητικό προσωπικό θα έχει πρόσβαση σε αυτές τις πληροφορίες. Τα δεδομένα θα είναι αποθηκευμένα στον υπολογιστή τους των ερευνητών μέχρι τον Αύγουστο του 2014. Μετά τον Αύγουστο του 2014, εάν συμφωνείτε, η συνέντευξή σας θα αποθηκεύεται ανώνυμα, στο Αρχείο Ελληνικό-Καναδικής Ιστορίας, στη Βιβλιοθήκη του Πανεπιστημίου Υόρκ. Οι μόνες πληροφορίες που διατίθενται στους ερευνητές του αρχείου θα είναι η ηλικία σας, το φύλο, ο τόπος γέννησης και εθνικότητας. Εμπιστευτικότητα θα πρέπει να παρέχεται στο μέγιστο δυνατό βαθμό από το νόμο.

Ερωτήσεις σχετικά με την έρευνα? Εάν έχετε ερωτήσεις σχετικά με την έρευνα εν γένει ή για το ρόλο σας στη μελέτη, μην διστάσετε να επικοινωνήσετε με τον αρχή εποπτείας, Δρ Α. Γκέκα, είτε μέσω τηλεφώνου 416-736-2100 ext.30423 ή μέσω e-mail agekas@yorku.ca. Η έρευνα αυτή έχει ελεγχθεί και εγκριθεί από την Αρχή Ανάπτυξης συμμετέχοντες κριτική Υποεπιτροπής Δεοντολογίας Review Board Πανεπιστημίου του Υόρκ; και είναι σύμφωνο με τα πρότυπα των κατευθυντήριων γραμμών του Καναδά Τριμελές-Συμβούλιο Ηθικής και Δεοντολογίας. Εάν έχετε οποιαδήποτε απορία σχετικά με αυτή τη διαδικασία, ή σχετικά με τα δικαιώματά σας ως συμμετέχων στη μελέτη, παρακαλούμε επικοινωνήστε με το Διαχειριστή & πρεσβύτερος σύμβουλος πολιτικής για το Γραφείο Ερευνητικής Δεοντολογίας, 5ος όροφος, York Tower Έρευνας, το Πανεπιστήμιο του York (τηλέφωνο 416-736 -5914 ή e-mail ore@yorku.ca). Τμήμα ιστορίας, Καρεν Ντανση, Karen Dancy βοηθός του διευθυντή προγράμματος-416.736.2100 ext. 66981 η email kdancy@yorku.ca. Ο Δρ. Ουίλιαμ Τζενκινς – Διευθυντής του προγράμματος μεταπτυχιακών Ιστορίας- (416)736-2100 x 22488 η email, wjenkins@yorku.ca.

Legal Rights and Signatures:

Εγώ (_____όνομα σου _____), η συγκατάθεση να συμμετέχουν σε (_____μελετη_____) διεξάγονται (_____ερευνητής όνομα _____). Έχω κατανοήσει τη φύση του έργου και επιθυμούν να συμμετέχουν. Δεν έχω καμία παραίτηση από τα νόμιμα δικαιώματά μου με την υπογραφή του παρόντος εντύπου. Η υπογραφή μου παρακάτω δηλώνει τη συγκατάθεσή μου.

Υπογραφή _____
συμμέτοχος

ημερομηνία _____

Υπογραφή _____
Ευρενητής

ημερομηνία _____

Πρόσθετη συγκατάθεση

◇ Να αποποιηθείτε ανωνυμία

Υπογραφή _____
συμμέτοχος

ημερομηνία _____

◇ Αποθήκευση συνέντευξης

Υπογραφή _____
συμμέτοχος

ημερομηνία _____

◇ Παλιες Φωτογραφιες

Υπογραφη
συμμέτοχος

ημερομηνία

◇ Παλια Ημερολογια

Υπογραφη
συμμέτοχος

ημερομηνία

Υπογραφη
Ευρηνητης

ημερομηνία

Appendix E– Poem by Elly Leodithou

«Σε όλους τους γονείς μας ζώντες και απόντες αφιερωμένο απο τα παιδιά τους»

By: Elly Leodithou

Πριν εξήντα χρόνια σκέψου μια ζωή
Φτάνανε τα τρένα σε μια ξένη γη
Και περνούσαν χρόνια με υπομονή
Είχαν την πατρίδα τους πάντα στην ψυχή
Και πίστευαν πάντα πως θα'ρθει ο καιρός
Να γυρίσουν πίσω μα ο καιρός αργός
Νιάτα και ομορφιά σκορπούσαν δύναμη, χαρά
Σπούδαζαν, δούλευαν, μάθαιναν πολλα
Κι πίστευαν παντα πως θα'ρθει ο καιρος
Να γυρίσουν όλοι μα ο καιρός αργός
Η ζωή κυλούσε δούλευαν σκληρά
Κάνανε οικογένεις απέκτησαν παιδιά
Δεν πίστευαν πλέον πως θα'ρθει ο καιρός
Δεν γύρισαν όλοι ο καιρός σκληρός
Μια γενιά καινούργια μες στην ερημιά
‘Ανθιζε, μεγάλωνε, έφερνε φτερά
“Και του χρόνου στην πατρίδα” φράση αγαπητή
Σλόγκαν είχε γίνει σ’όλη μας την ζωή
Και πίστεψαν πάλι των γωνίων παιδιά
Σήμανε η ώρα να γυρίσουν πια
Τώρα που εξήντα γίναμε κι εμείς
Πια από κοντά μας λείπουν οι γονείς
Το Ταξίδι μας αυτό μικρός φόρος τιμής
Σ’όσους φιλοξένησε αυτή η άξια γης
Δεν χτυπούν τα σήμαντρα δεν μοιρολογούν
Πάντα δίπλα μας σαν γερανοί
Σιωπηλά πετούν.

Translation by author:

“To all our parents, those here and absent, dedicated from their children.”

By: Elly Leodithou

Imagine before 60 years, a life ago
Arrived by train, to a foreign land
And the years passed with patience
They had their homeland always in their souls
They believed always that the time would come
For them to return, but that moment took time
Youth and beautiful spread strength and happiness,
They educated, worked, learned a lot
And they believed always that the time would come
For all of them to return, but that moment took time
Life continued, they worked hard
They had families, had children
They stopped believing that the time would come
Not all returned, there were hard times
A whole new generation born into the desert
Flowering, growing, bringing wings,
“And next year in the homeland” a loving phrase
Became a life motto to us all
And they believed again, the parent’s children
The time came, to return
Now that we are 60 as well
We miss our parents’ closeness
To everyone to lived on this hospitable, honourable ground
The bells don’t ring, nor do they myrrh
Always next to us like cranes
Flying low.